# 011010 Irshad’ son and daughter visit at Irshad’s bhatta

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| Name | Discssuion/Points | Coding |
| Nighat | Your sister and her in-laws used to live here before, right? |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Yes, they were there before. |  |
| Nighat | But why are the rooms demolished now? |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | I am not sure, but they were saying the contract of this place was over and it no longer belongs to them. They were living here under some sort of contract. |  |
| Nighat | Hmmm. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Now this contract is over, and so they had to vacate the two rooms that they had built. |  |
| Nighat | Ok, these two rooms in the front? |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Yes, they same. |  |
| Nighat | Ok, so is anyone else living at that place as well? |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Yes, there are homes. But they have gone for now. |  |
| Nighat | Ok, so just now they were locked. Where is your mother now? |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | She has gone there, just now. |  |
| Nighat | Ok. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Whenever she is free, she just goes there. |  |
| Nighat | (Smiling) |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | She misses you and the other lady too. |  |
| Nighat | Ohh. |  |
|  | (Someone sneezes) |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | I think it is because of cold water, people get cold and flu. |  |
| Nighat | Hmmm, so now all this place belong to your family? |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Yes. It will be nice shade here in summers. |  |
| Nighat | Hmm but last time when we came here, there was another home too. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Yes. |  |
| Nighat | Then it was knocked down. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Yes. |  |
| Nighat | So these two rooms belong to your family? |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | No, we have three. That one which is upstairs, that is also ours. |  |
| Nighat | So, do you have any animals? Do they pay you on daily basis? |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | No, we don’t know. Husbands know all this. |  |
| Nighat | Hmmm. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | We take living expenses after five six days so that we can eat. And from the rest we ask them to deduct our loan and we usually take loan because we have to do many things like roofing the rooms. So we take big amount of money at one time. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | You should drink more water and liquids. Do give him green tea too and also pour some lemon juice in it, because I think he has malaria. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | No he is not suffering from malaria. I don’t know what is wrong with him. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So does he often get fever like this with so much fever. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Yes |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So, you should go for check up. It is like malaria, so how often he gets fever like this? |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Either one month or even less than one month. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | And then he gets fever again |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So have you ever told the doctor all this history of getting fever again and again? |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | No, we just go and bring medicine. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | No, you should not do that. So where is Irshad? |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Mother has gone there. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Wow. You have done nice makeup. Where are you both going? |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | They have put lipstick because their skin is too dry. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Oh, then you should give some Vaseline to them. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | I will get Vaseline at the start of winter season. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes bring that one, the petroleum jelly, which is very oily. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Ok, I will. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Hmm. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Should I make tea? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | No, we just took tea. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | We just took our breakfast because it is morning time. Walaikumassalam. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Should we bring some cold drink for you |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | No, I just took breakfast. Actually I came here yesterday evening and then I decided to come and see you today. I informed you by phone too. |  |
| Irshad’s Son | Yes you called, day before yesterday. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, I was there in Islamabad day before yesterday. Then I came back here. Please sit comfortably. |  |
| Irshad’s Daughter | Come here. |  |
| Irshad’s Son | I saw you yesterday. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, I came back yesterday but then there was a wedding here in village. So I attended that wedding too. And then I had to do some other things so I could not come to see you. And it gets dark quite early in the evenings these days. So we don’t go outside when it is dark. |  |
| Irshad’s son | So how are you? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Fine, thanks to god. Tell me about your work, did you find any? |  |
| Irshad’s son | No, without reference it cannot be done. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | But you refused to do the work that was available to you. |  |
| Irshad’s son | For that work I would have had to go there. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | What do you mean by this? Of course you will not get any job to do inside this home. These days there is so much shortage of jobs, it is so hard to find. And you were getting a job but you refused at that time. See one man has already gone for job from this village. |  |
| Irshad’s son | Yes, from Narra Mughlan. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes. These days no place is far away. People even go abroad for work and you cannot even go to another city. That is not so far. If you really wanted to do the job, then places do not matter. It was a permanent job and you just refused it. And you know it is so hard to get job these days. And what happened about the job at the place that you were talking about? |  |
| Irshad’s son | It was not a permanent job, they asked me if I want to do temporary job then I could go there. I said that I will not go for a temporary job. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So what was that job? |  |
| Irshad’s son | Gardener work. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So do you know gardener’s work? (With little sarcasm) |  |
| Irshad’s son | It is just watering plants and like that. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | But they need a proper professional gardener, and if you are looking for a permanent job then you should be proficient in work then. So the truth is that you don’t know the work; you don’t know the gardener’s work. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | He should first go there at least and learn the work. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, when he must go there first, then he will be able to the job |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Yes. |  |
| Irshad’s son | But you can try again for some other job and if there is another person there too with me it will be so easy for me. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | I have already told you that one man from here has gone there to work. I sent him and he has already started working there. He is working there for two months now, and after one more month he will get the permanent job there. No one gets permanent job at first; first three months are probation period. And after that if he is successful in these three months, only then he gets a permanent job. |  |
| Irshad’s son | Hmm. While documents are in process, you can consult with some others too. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok, I will ask from him that if the position is still vacant, then I will try to do something. But right now, at this time he must be busy at job, so I will call him later and will ask if the position is still vacant or if there is some other job available too. But then, if you go there for a job, then you will have to stay there and work too. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | (Laughing.) |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | It should not be like this, that you go there for some time and then come back after a while. Do you work steadily. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | He cannot go there to work. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Why can he not go? |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | I know him, he cannot. |  |
| Irshad’s son | Because it is so far away, that is why. If there are one or two persons with me, then together it will be easy. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | The previous job (that he has left) was close to this area but he did not go. |  |
| Irshad’s son | No, here I cannot. It is temporary job, and a temporary job is useless. Let me bring some cold drink for you. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | No, thanks. I told you that I just ate my breakfast. We are not like you all, who wake up so early in the morning. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | So you just woke up? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, we just woke up. |  |
| Irshad’s son | So, when will you go back to Islamabad? Tomorrow? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | No, I will be here for four/five more days. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | They have just come here yesterday. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | I just came back here yesterday, we were there on weekend and then I came back. So I will be here for next four/five days. Why? Do you want to go to Islamabad? |  |
| Irshad’s son | No. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | (Laughs) |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So what is your plan? What kind of job do you want to do? I must know that. |  |
| Irshad’s son | Work should be easy so that one can come back to home after every two three months. It must not be so far, just near here. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | It should be such a job that one can visit home after every two/three months. It should be close to this place, not far away. |  |
| Irshad’s son | Yes. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Please find for him some easy job. (Smiling) |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | What do you mean by easy job? Job is job, how can it be easy? |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Yes job is job. |  |
| Irshad’s son | People put restrictions. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Of course whoever will appoint you on job, they will have conditions and restrictions too. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | It is not easy to get job. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Of course whoever will appoint a person on job, they will appoint for job to do work and if you will start saying that you want to go back home after every other day then (it will be hard to keep the job.) |  |
| Irshad’s son | So ask from someone, if there is some nice job in army then it will be fine. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | On one hand you are saying that in army there are many restrictions. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | (Laughing) |  |
| Irshad’s son | Yes, but if there is no other option then we can do that too. There are other people who are working there. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes there are other people working there too. But that is what I am unable to understand is that what kind of easy job will there be, that you will like to do. |  |
| Irshad’s son | Every other job is easy than this. This is the hardest one. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, this job at the kiln, what are you doing there now? |  |
| Irshad’s son | I am making bricks at the kiln. It is too much hot there. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Of course in May and June, it is very hot there. |  |
| Irshad’s son | No we don’t feel that much heat; actually everyone is there so whole day passes easily while chatting. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok. |  |
| Irshad’s son | Can you find some job for me, with you? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Does your clerk (munshi) come these days? |  |
| Irshad’s son | Yes, he comes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | What is his name? Bashir? |  |
| Irshad’s son | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | He is the one who lives in Mughlan. |  |
| Irshad’s son | No, he lives in Dhok Rajan. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok, Dhok Rajan. I think he once talked with Adeel and asked him to tell me to visit his home. And after that Adeel had to go, he got transferred. And now he got transferred to Sindh. |  |
| Irshad’s son | Yes, he went to Sindh. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | And it is same in our jobs too. Today we are here, and tomorrow somewhere else. |  |
| Irshad’s son | Is it possible to get some work of visiting and travelling, like you. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | What do you mean? |  |
| Irshad’s son | Like your job. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | But for this job, you need to be educated, and you need degrees. It is not a work to just travel here and there. (Laughing) Make proper photographs; they should not be dark. |  |
| Irshad’s son | Do you work at PTV Home? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | No, we don’t work at PTV. We do research work on women’s health. We collect information about the causes of a woman’s death. For example, your elder sister, do you remember her? |  |
| Irshad’s son | Yes, I do. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So you took her to hospital, but there were so many problems and issues in that. Where are her in-laws? |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | They are here at backside; just in neighborhood. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So, do you not go there often? |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | No we go there, but not very often. |  |
| Irshad’s son | But not so often? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok. So which Dai did you bring for her, when she was pregnant? Did you call Asfand? |  |
| Woman 1 | We did not bring any Dai. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | No we did not call any dai. when she got sick, we took her to hospital. We did not bring any dai at home. |  |
| Irshad’s son | When she died, she was in hospital that day. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | She lived there in hospital for three, four days and then they did not tell what was happening to her, and after that she got operated on fourth day. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So the baby was born with operation? |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Was it normal delivery or c-section. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | C-section; baby was very fine. Baby was born on that Friday evening and she was fine, she was holding baby in her lap. Then baby started getting sick. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | He was getting blue...? |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Yes blue and black; baby was so healthy and fat, we have his picture too. She (the mother) was holding him in her lap and giving shade to him with her hands. I was sitting with her. It is not that she was alone. Then we said that there is so much sunlight, we should arrange for some shade for baby. And she was giving shade with hands, and just like that the baby died. We could not understand what happened. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Oho. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | She was there in hospital the whole day on Friday. Then we brought her back home, and she was quite fine and able to walk. Then when she walked in room, she got severe pain in leg. We brought medicine from doctor, and gave them to her. And she could not recover. Next day she was unable to move at all. |  |
| Irshad’s son | Is he Adeel’s brother, who is manager there? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes. |  |
| Irshad’s son | That is why he was saying that his brother is there, so no need to worry. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | We told you this and that there is no problem there. But first you said you will bring documents, and then you said you will not come. |  |
| Irshad’s son | Ok then, can you ask from him once again about job. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, I will ask in evening and if he agrees then I will come here and tell you tomorrow morning. |  |
| Irshad’s son | Ok fine. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok. (Some silence) So when they took your sister to hospital then the clerk (munshi) who was there at that time, he lives in Khanpur, right? |  |
| Irshad’s son | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Do you know his address? |  |
| Irshad’s son | Yes I know. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Can you take us there with you? I want to meet him that clerk. |  |
| Irshad’s son | Ok. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So will you take us there? |  |
| Irshad’s son | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So when can we go? |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | On Friday may be. |  |
| Irshad’s son | Whenever you will say. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | That clerk (munshi) is usually at home. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, so we can go tomorrow or day after tomorrow? But you have to be at job too. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | (Laughs) |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | That is why I am asking when can we go? |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | You have your own car? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Then there is no problem. It would not take so much time and you can go even in evening after finishing the job. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | But it gets so dark in evening; it is not advisable to go on this road late in evening. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Ok. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | It is good to go during day time. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | They can finish work in later afternoon, so one person can assist you. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, so you finish your work by late afternoon? |  |
| Irshad’s son | So we can go there next week, we have to go back to home too on Thursday. Will you be here? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, I will be here. But you know I asked you earlier too that I want to meet that munshi. Then we could not make it. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Yes we went. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, you left. And now the thing is that my work here is going to end within two months. So I want to meet that munshi. That is why I am insisting to go there within this week, if it is possible. Because later I will not have time, because then the meetings will start. I am afraid next week meetings will start, that is why I want to go this week, tomorrow or day after tomorrow. |  |
| Irshad’s son | Ok, on Thursday I have to go so plan before that. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok, we will go before Thursday. We have our own car, so it will go and come back within one hour. Just we have to meet him. |  |
| Irshad’s son | Ok. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Fine, we will go by car from here and will be back within one hour. So we can plan for day after tomorrow. But if you say tomorrow we can even go tomorrow. Because then I will get busy in my meetings. Adeel is also not available during day time, he is at job. So I will talk to him at night. |  |
| Irshad’s son | In which house are you living now? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | We are living in Narra Mughlan, on first turn from Narra on right side. There is a home with outer wall of white color, we live there. Amma Ruqayya’s home. |  |
| Irshad’s son | Amma Ruqayya’s home. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | But if you will ask someone, they can tell you about where we live. Irshad was saying that she will visit us. So I am here these two three days, but then maybe I have to go. That’s why I am insisting that we meet him within these days. |  |
| Irshad’s son | So I will tell you tomorrow, after asking someone. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok. |  |
| Irshad’s son | Because it can happen that we go there, and he is not there at home. So we can call him first. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, you can ask him first. Do you have his phone number? |  |
| Irshad’s son | Yes. |  |
| Nighat | What happened to him? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | He has cough. |  |
| Irshad’s son | This is such an awful job. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Which one, at kiln? |  |
| Irshad’s son | Yes, we are helpless, there is no other option. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | It is true the job is hard here. So how much is your education. |  |
| Irshad’s son | Seventh class. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Then why you did not study more. |  |
| Irshad’s son | I did not like to study. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Why |  |
| Irshad’s son | When we are studying we don’t like it, but later we realize the consequences. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, then you later thought what you have done by leaving studies. |  |
| Irshad’s son | If I had studied then, I must have completed matriculation by now. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, if you had done matriculation, even that could have helped. But why did you not like to study? There must be some reason that you don’t want to study. |  |
| Irshad’s son | Because we failed for the first time that year at the school that we were studying in Narra Mughlan; we both brothers failed. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Why did you both fail? |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Because they were watching movies all the time, they got CDs that is why they failed. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So from where did you get the CDs? |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Ask from him. |  |
| Irshad’s son | My friends had those and they took us with them for movies. (I was in bad company.) |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | They had never failed before. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So you used to go there, in their home to watch movies? |  |
| Irshad’s son | No, they live here; we are relatives. So we used to watch movies, and could not concentrate on studies. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | But tell me, if you have to roam outside you need money for that too. So from where did you get money? |  |
| Irshad’s son | We used to get the money from home. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So did they not ask you at home where you were spending money? |  |
| Irshad’s son | Yes, they used to ask, but at that time the mind set is like that and so we had excuses. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok, tell me who were those boys, with whom you used to roam around? |  |
| Irshad’s son | They are from here. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So they are your own relatives. |  |
| Irshad’s son | Yes, they are also uneducated. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok. |  |
| Irshad’s son | They have their own set up and we have our own. We just watch movies, we don’t know about them. So it became our habit. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | The munshi here, does he also take you to watch movies sometimes? |  |
| Irshad’s son | Which munshi? This one? No, no. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | And the former munshi? |  |
| Irshad’s son | No, he was an old man. He used to ask us not to watch movies. He was a very nice man. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So when did you start working at the kiln? |  |
| Irshad’s son | It is almost two years now. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Just two years, so before that you did not do any job? |  |
| Irshad’s son | Even this I do at my own will, whenever I want to do it. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | But is it not like this that you have to finish thousand bricks from one home? |  |
| Irshad’s son | This is according to your will; you do however much you can and no one can asks you to do more or not to do it. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So if you will not do it, then from where you can eat? |  |
| Irshad’s son | That is the thing, if don’t do it then no one asks. But then we have to bear the consequences ourselves. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So when you go there to get payment, they pay according to how many bricks you have made. |  |
| Irshad’s son | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So how much they pay you for one brick. |  |
| Irshad’s son | Two hundred and seventy or eighty. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | For one thousand bricks, they pay you two hundred seventy or eighty. |  |
| Irshad’s son | We make *kacchi* brick (that is not fully hard, and dried). |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, so they pay two hundred and seventy for one thousand bricks. |  |
| Irshad’s son | We never left this labor work; we have so many tensions and worries. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | What kind of tensions? |  |
| Irshad’s son | There are so many tensions. Every other day someone gets sick or someone dies, or there is some wedding things like that.. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Whose wedding is there now? |  |
| Irshad’s son | We have to go Gujrat. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So everyone will go? |  |
| Irshad’s son | No, just we two. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Assalamoalaikum. (She is the mother-in-law of Irshad’s daughter who died after delivery). |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Walaikumassalam, how are you? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Fine. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | He is saying that he has to go on Thursday on wedding. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | So you will go? |  |
| Irshad’s son | Yes, we will go on Thursday. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Who is she, relative? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | I am their aunt (father’s sister). |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok. So you also work at this kiln. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | On this kiln |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes on the same kiln, we live up there. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok, up there. |  |
| Irshad’s son | She lives there in Rasheeda’s home |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So you are her mother-in-law. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Please sit, why are you standing? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | How can I sit, there are so many things to do at home. I just came here to ask where she has gone. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Please sit. What will you do there at home? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | There are so many household chores; soon it will be lunch time. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Do you work at kiln too? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | No I have never worked there. I work at home. I have recently undergone a surgery. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | What kind of surgery? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | For tumors. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | It must have been a serious, big operation. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes, it was just just five months ago. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Just five months ago? It is not so long, there must be instruction to not even carry weight too. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes, and now tell me how can I do household chores, but still I do everything. If I feel some pain then I rest for some time. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Otherwise are you fine? Any wound or something? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | No, I am fine. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Did you have many tumors? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes, four. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Four tumors? Since when? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes, since almost two years. Earlier, I went for spiritual healing (dam darood) so that it could get cured. But it did not work so I had to go for surgery. It was done in summers in Jaith (June) from Sargodha. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok, you got operated from Sargodha? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Why did you to Sargodha for surgery? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | We thought that since we have relatives there (it would be easy). Their daughters asked me to go to their place. They were there to look after me. My eldest daughtet-in-law, she is also there. She never came to kiln. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | She lives in Sargodha? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes, she lives there, so she was with me. Her parents too don’t work at kiln, so she does not come here. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So where is your son? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | My son also lives in home there, but now he has come here. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So he works here. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Only daughter-in-law does not work here? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Her brother is in army, and he says that it is his insult if his sister works at kiln. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | (Laughs) |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | So he does not let her work at kiln. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So you have just one daughter-in-law. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | No, I have three. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok three. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes, my three sons are married. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Sheedan was also your daughter-in-law? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes, we have married him again as well. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Do they have kids? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes, they have. May Allah give long life to them. He is about one and a half years old. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | For how long has he been married? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | It is about three, four years. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So how long after Sheedan’s death did you marry your son again? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | It was almost two and half or two years. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So when did she died? Six, seven years ago? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | No it is almost five years, either four or five. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Hmm.. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | That girl is her daughter, the one who is sitting there. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | They live with me. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So what happened to Sheedan? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Nothing happened really, it was just God’s will. She gave birth to a child in Gujar Khan. Boy was born at 9.00 am and by this time he had already died. His life was just eight hours. Then we brought her home and she was fine for the whole month after that c-section. She used to move around the house easily. |  |
| Irshad’s son | Ok, I am going now. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok, then I will come tomorrow; you talk with munshi and arrange meeting. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Then she told me that she had severe pain in leg. Then I asked my son, to take her to get some medicine or injection. When she got up, her leg did not work. She just fell down and then started laughing, that she had fallen down. So we picked her and put her on the bed, and called doctor at home. Injections were given and medicines too. But she had no relief. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | She was telling about pain in leg only? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes only in leg; two days and two nights we were struggling. We took her to Khan Pur once, and then twice we tooktwo times to Gujar Khan. Where ever they asked us to take her, we took her there. Those two days and two nights we could not stay at our home. And then we took her to that hospital and she got admitted there at 9.00pm. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | It was just pain in leg, then why did you struggled/suffered so much? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | God knows what was wrong with leg? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | What was she telling that it was very severe pain? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | She was telling that from inside it is severe pain (sorrh). She was asking to put her on ground straight, since she had severe pain. Then we took her to Gujar khan around 11.00 pm. She got admitted there, where she was given some infusion. It was early in the morning before sunrise when infusion was about to finish. But the pain was still there. Then we asked to remove infusion, and we assisted her to urinate there in a bucket. Then we cleaned her and then put on bed. And when we looked at her face, we saw she was in a hard time, about to die. We brought her back home, but she was already dead. We just recited Surah-e-Yaseen. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So no one could know, what actually happened to her. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | No one could understand. She had some *saya* (super natural too)? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So did you go for spiritual healing (dam darood) too? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | We did so much of that as well. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Before going to hospital, you were doing dam darood? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So where did you take her for dam drood? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | There is one *molvi* around here*,* he came here in home and did his work to get rid of the *saya*. Then we took her to KhanPur too, *saya* was presented there too. And other places too, but that *saya* did not leave her. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | And when the baby was born, when she started feeling labor pain, did you call some dai at home or not? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | No, we did not. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So she did not have labor pain. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | No she had them, but we arranged transport and took her to Gujar Khan. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Why did you take her to Gujar Khan? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | We took her there, because no dai was here and she was about to deliver. We thought to take her to hospital, instead of wasting time here and there. When we went there, they told that baby is inverted in position, so they will do c-section. Then she was admitted there, and baby was born. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Did she used to go to hospital during her pregnancy or not? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes, she used to go to hospital. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | How many times? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | That I don’t know. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | In which hospital did she use to go? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | She used to go to Aafia for checkups. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | To Aafia in Malyal? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok, at that time she did not go to government hospital? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | No. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | But Aafia charges so much money. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes, she takes money of course and she does ultrasound. Who can do it for free; she takes three hundred. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So where did you other daughter-in-law deliver baby? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | At home? Here? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | No, at her parents’ home. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | And my third daughter-in-law, she too has a kid and that was delivered in government hospital here. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | In Malyal |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes in Malyal, but she too has *Saya.* At that time it was not so much but now it is more and she is again pregnant. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Can I see your daughter-in-law, to check what is wrong? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | She has gone to work. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | I am a doctor that is why I am asking you to let me check her. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Really? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | I can check what the problem is with her. I can examine her. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Earlier when she gave birth to a child, there was some water inside her. The child died at that time. It was almost one and a half year ago. Then again she got pregnant but miscarried and now again she is pregnant. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | That is why I am asking you that we can go now to her and check her. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | We can call her here. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | No, no need to call her here. We can go. I have a car, and we can go there in two minutes. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | But I can call her here. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok, but I will see her reports too. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | She does not have any reports. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | But she is going to doctor? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | I don’t know, if she has gone this time or not. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So she has not gone to doctor this time, till now. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | No, I don’t know. Go and call Abida to come here. Tell her that her mother is saying there is a doctor here so come. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | And bring all previous reports too. Because if previous reports are available then I will see and tell her what the actual problem is and what should be done. I will take her to the doctor myself. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | May Allah bless you for doing that! |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | I will take her to doctor. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | She is just one month pregnant, and she already has one son and one daughter. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So she has one son and one daughter. And two have died. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes, one was miscarried after three months and the other was full term baby. It is now one and a half year since that. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | That baby died just after the birth? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes, he took just one breath. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok, he took just one breath. How old are her other kids? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | The son is of the same age like that girl who is playing there. And daughter is three years old. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok, so are you going for dam drood too for her? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes we are doing that, but *Saya* does not leave. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Where are you taking her for dam darood? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | They have their own *pir* in Wazirabad. Roda ka shah, may be you have heard. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | That *murshad* takes her there. They gave some medicine when last time she was pregnant. But they too could not help. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | What did they say? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | They say if they take out one, next one haunts her and like that. She suffers so much especially when she is pregnant; they tease her so much. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So what is the problem with her these days? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | There is no problem as such; I don’t know whether she has gone for checkups or not. And what did they tell? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So you don’t know? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | She lives in separate home. And she does not ask me to go with her. If she had been living with us, I would have taken her to hospital. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok, so she lives in separate house. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Ok. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Your son, does he too work on this kiln? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes, he does. Do you live here is Narra Mughal? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes I live there. (Some silence) Kids are hungry now. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Kids are hungry all the time. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes (smiling). |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Where is the other sister; has she gone back to village? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | No the elder sister, has gone to Sindh. Because we work at different places, so she has gone there now. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Ok |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | But she will come back here too, so we will work together here. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | What kind of business are you doing? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | We do research, and collect information about pregnant women |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Ok |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Or if someone dies during pregnancy, like Sheeda.., maternal death. So we ask questions to know the reasons. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Ok |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | That is why I keep on asking about Sheeda. We ask what happened to them? How everything happened?  So who took her to Gujar Khan? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | I took her, and her mother too was with us. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So did munshi take her? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | No, not this munshi. The other one who is senior, he went with us. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So he went there with you. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes, he went with us to help. He was so much sympathetic to us. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So he went with you? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes, he and my husband too, and me and her mother, all of us. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So when she started feeling labor pain, you did not show her to anyone here? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | No. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | And before too, she was going to only Aafia? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | No, I don’t know. They do whatever they want. She was also living separately. So I don’t know if she went somewhere else too, or if she get some check up done or not. Actually girls are very shy about this and go where they want to. It’s not right for me to say that I took her some place. I should tell you the truth only. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So was the *saya* causing trouble from the start of the pregnancy? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | No, not at that time. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So how did you come to know that she had *saya?* |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | We learned about that because she used to be ill most of the time. We thought what could be the reason for this, so we took her to Khan Pur. There was a person who presented (hazar kerna) that thing. Then we came to know that she had some *saya*. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So when she used to be sick all the time, did you not take her to doctor? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes, we used to take her to doctor every other day to get medicines. But medicines did not help. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So she remained sick for the whole month. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So you are here. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Yes, she came from work. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Please tell me that why I have so much pain? I cannot sleep at night or move if I have once laid down. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | It is because you have recently got operated, so are you taking some medicines? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | No, I am not. They gave me three syrups when I went there for checkup after fifteen days of operation. I took those and after that I did not go there. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | You should have gone there, and you should take medicine, tonics and vitamins for making blood and calcium. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | It is too much painful. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Assalamoalaikum, please sit. What is your name? |  |
| Abida | Abida. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | How many months pregnant are you? |  |
| Abida | Eighth |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So where you have been going for check up, to Aafia |  |
| Abida | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So do you have reports from Aafia? |  |
| Abida | Yes I have that ultrasound report. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Did she give you some medicine too? |  |
| Abida | She did ultrasound, and gave tablets too. I have used them. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Those are tonic (tablets for weakness). |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok, what kind of tablets were those. Can you tell me color? |  |
| Abida | No, I don’t remember. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok, how many kids do you have? |  |
| Abida | Two. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | I told you it is one boy and one girl. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So what did Aafia tell you? Is the baby in correct position? |  |
| Abida | Yes, it is correct. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So will it be a normal delivery? |  |
| Abida | I don’t know this. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | She did not tell you about this, that baby will be normally delivered or not? |  |
| Abida | No. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So where will you go to deliver baby. |  |
| Abida | I don’t know. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Aamir was born here, so this time too we will do it here. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So if it will be done here, who will you call? If the baby gets born in home then whom will you call? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | You can come here then. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | No, I don’t deliver babies. But I am asking if the delivery will be at home then who will you call? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | No it cannot be done in home now. |  |
| Abida | We will go to hospital. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So in which hospital will you go? |  |
| Abida | We can go to Aafia, and in Dumman too there is a government hospital. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes, when the daughter was born, I had taken her to that hospital. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | In Dumman? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | And where was the son born? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Son was born in that government hospital in Malyal. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok, who is younger, daughter or son? |  |
| Abida | Daughter. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok, this one. So when she was born, you went to Dumman hospital? |  |
| Abida | No, no. She was born in home here. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | We did everything ourselves. And I am talking about now that if there will be need, we will go to Dumman. It is government hospital so we go there to save money; we are poor people. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | They take so much money, around four, five thousand. And for ultrasound they charge three hundred. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, she takes three or four hundred. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | And in Dumman, they do the ultrasound for free. Why you did not go there? |  |
| Abida | They don’t have ultrasound there. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | No, they do it there. |  |
| Abida | But they too must be charging money. Even if it is government hospital, they never do it for free. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | But I don’t know about that. |  |
| Abida | There is usually no ultrasound in government hospitals. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So how many times did you go for ultrasound? |  |
| Abida | Two times. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | And when? |  |
| Abida | One in fourth month and one now, in eighth month. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So they did not tell you about any date, that when the baby will be delivered? |  |
| Abida | They asked me to come again in ninth month for ultrasound, and said that they would tell then. And now just few days are left in the completion of the eighth month. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Then the ninth month will start? |  |
| Abida | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Do you remember your exact date? |  |
| Abida | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Then what happened to your kids before, to the ones who died? |  |
| Abida | Just one kid has died. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | And one that was aborted? |  |
| Abida | That was due to weakness. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Look there upwards; I can see you are anemic. So she did not give you any medicine for that? |  |
| Abida | No. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Any red colored tablets? |  |
| Abida | She did not check in detail. I was just going there and coming back so fast. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So does she do like this with only you, or with everyone else too? |  |
| Abida | I don’t know about others; I just know about myself that how she behaved with me. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So have you ever observed there, that how she treats other ladies. How much time does she spend on one patient? |  |
| Abida | She does not give much time to anyone. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So she does everything very fast. |  |
| Abida | Yes, but usually when you go to doctor they check temperature, blood pressure and take a blood test too. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So did she measure your blood pressure? |  |
| Abida | No, other doctors do all these things, but not her. She just does ultrasound and that’s it. She never tells me anything or gives advice. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So you did not have any blood test done? |  |
| Abida | No, but they tell about other things like vaccination. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So did you get vaccinated? |  |
| Abida | No, she said there is no need for that. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Really? Why? |  |
| Abida | I don’t know. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Your other child who died, when did that happen? |  |
| Abida | It has been two years now. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Did you get an ultrasound done then? |  |
| Abida | Yes ultrasound was done twice for that too. But I had water in belly and they said that because of that water the child died. There was weakness too and then there was water in belly so he died. We have to work the whole day, and it is so hard and that is why we get weak. And weakness causes hundreds of problems. And doctors don’t give advice and neither do the LHVs. They don’t give proper advice to us and therefore all these problems arise. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, true. |  |
| Abida | If they do a thorough check up and then advise properly then no problems will arise. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes. But then why do you go to Aafia? You can go to someone else. |  |
| Abida | We are new here and we don’t know many places. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | No, but you were telling about Dumman hospital so then why don’t you go there? |  |
| Abida | Yes, now I will go to Dumman hospital. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So when will you go there? |  |
| Abida | After few days, when my ninth month will start then I will go. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So I will go with you, I will take you to the hospital myself. |  |
| Abida | I will go on 8th October when my ninth month will start. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Is she talking about next week? |  |
| Nighat | Yes; let me check the day. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Is it on coming Tuesday? On Tuesday we will come back here, and on Wednesday I will take you to hospital myself. Ok, I will take you to hospital on my own car. |  |
| Abida | Ok, thank you so much. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | No, it’s ok. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | From where did you come? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | I came from Narra Mughlan. Do ask from Irsahd she knows me. I am here since five months. |  |
| Abida | We too know you, last time when you came I was here. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, you were here but now you have demolished the house. I thought you have left this place. |  |
| Abida | No, now we have made the house up there. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok, and I called Irshad many times, but she did not pick the call. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Why, she did pick once. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | One time Munnawar picked the call and the other time no one talked. I said to myself then that it is so hard to find you. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Come here on this side; there is so much sunlight there. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, true. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | You can turn your face towards this side. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, I called your mother many times but could not reach her. Actually when the mobile is with the boys then they keep the tone down and you miss the calls when you can’t hear the phone ringing. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Yes, sometimes it is hard to listen to the phone ringing. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Actually when we are back in our home, we don’t usually pick the phone. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, then you say what is the point of picking the phone. (Laughing)  Does your son go to school? |  |
| Abida | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Which school? |  |
| Abida | Here in Dhok Raja. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | In which class? |  |
| Abida | He is in nursery class now. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | And why don’t these girls go to school? |  |
| Abida | School is not in our village, so I don’t send them alone there. Had it been near to our village, I would have picked them and dropped them myself. But how can we go so far away. |  |
| Sheedan’s mother-in-law | These four poor girls can’t go that far even if they are together. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok. |  |
| Abida | They have to go so far and walk so much. For boys it is ok, they can walk together but not girls. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | But girls too, if they are together they can go there. |  |
| Abida | No, it is hard to have many girls together going to school. Some people don’t allow them to go. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | These are your husbands, who actually don’t let them go to school. Is it? |  |
| Abida | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Do take care of yourself now; of your eating habits specially. Do you still go to work in people’s homes? |  |
| Abida | Not so much, but if I am alone in home, then there are so many thoughts and tensions and one gets depressed so it is good to do be busy in household chores. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, that is true. If one is busy then he is not indulging in worrisome thoughts at least. |  |
| Abida | Even at night I keep on thinking what will happen? |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Don’t worry; everything will be fine with Allah’s help. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | You already had kids, then what was the need for more kids? |  |
|  | (Everyone laughs) |  |
| Abida | Two kids are not enough. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | But you have two, one son and one daughter. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Just one kid is not enough actually. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | There is not one kid; you have two kids, a daughter and a son. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | Daughters are not ours; they will leave one day after marriage. So two sons are good, they will live with parents. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So it is your wish that you have a son now. Did you ask from doctor? |  |
| Abida | Only God knows whether it will be girl or boy. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | But they tell you when you ask them. |  |
| Abida | Yes they do tell. But I never ask. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | If it will be girl then? Will you try to get pregnant next year again? |  |
|  | (Laughing.) |  |
| Abida | God knows that. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | (Laughing) How can you say that; it’s not God’ will. Next year you will again try to get pregnant to have a boy. It is not God’s will; it is your own desire. |  |
| Abida | (Smiles.) |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Have you tried to get some breaks between subsequent pregnancies? |  |
| Abida | Yes my daughter is quite grown up and my son too. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So did you use something for that? |  |
| Abida | No, it is from Allah. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So if it will be a boy this time, will you end this or you still want more kids? |  |
| Abida | I don’t know. (Smiling shyly) |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Why you don’t know? |  |
| Abida | You know, it is men’s will. It is not in our control. Women cannot do anything, whatever their husbands will say, the poor women, they have to do that. They have to agree to what husbands say. Men are men. If it is in women’s control, then they would not want to bear so much pain many times. Few kids are enough. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok. |  |
| Abida | But men are so strict, they don’t listen to anyone. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | You are not married? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | No, I am not married, and these are the reasons I did not get married. |  |
| Abida | No need to do it too. (Smiling.) Marriage is a problem (Laughing.) |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Life is so good before marriage, isn’t it so? |  |
| Abida | Yes it is very nice; you live according to your own will. Is she your relative? |  |
| Nighat | No, but we work together. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | And because we work together so it seems we are relatives. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | And the one who is with you all the time, they are everything. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | From which village are you? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | We came from Narra, but before we were living at Baby’s place where you mother works. Then we left that place, and now again we have shifted because their ceiling was leaking so much during rain. I was afraid if it will collapse. That is why we have shifted again. |  |
| Abida | Ok, can we go now? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, sure. You do your work. I will come again tomorrow and again I will come on Wednesday too. If I am unable to come, then I will call Munnawar and tell him. Sometimes when I go to Islamabad, then there are so many things to do so I can get late. But I will tell you. |  |
| Abida | Ok. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | There is no need to go immediately to the doctor’s on the first day of the ninth month. Wait till I come back and I will take you to hospital. Ok? |  |
| Abida | Ok. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok, I think we should also leave now. We could not meet Irshad. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | My mother has gone since long, even before you came here. |  |
| Sheedan’s Mother-in-law | You can come in evening time; everyone is free at that time and available to talk. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, I will come in evening time now. Today Irshad called me therefore I came to see her. Otherwise I come in evenings. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | It is ok, even now we were here to sit with you and to give you company. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Tell Irshad about us. I know your mother will find us, she knows we have moved to the other place now. She can easily find and there everyone knows me in village. Even if she will ask from Baby, she will tell her where I am living now. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Baby is not here now. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, but her mother is there and her sister too. |  |
| Irshad’s daughter | Where is Baby? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | She has gone to Islamabad. And you should go to doctor and take medicine for the kid. |  |

Transcribed by Saadia