**190510**

**First meeting with Noori Musali**

**Duration 1:59:56**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Name** | **Translation** | **coding** |
| **Zobia** | Assalam u alaikum ! How are you? Okay listen my name is Dr Zobia . I am a doctor. Slow down the fan its running so fast. .. I am a doctor… we are here for written documentation.. okay… Ayesha that’s okay. Now tell them why have we come here; I have come from Islamabad this is my team and we have come here for 6 months. |  |
| **Noori** | Okay |  |
| **Zobia** | We have come here… problems that woman faces during pregnancy and delivery. |  |
| **Noori** | Yes |  |
| **Zobia** | We have come here to discuss this |  |
| **Noori** | Okay |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay but we want to inquire everything |  |
| **Zobia** | Means bleeding is not only the problem; poverty is another problem |  |
| **Noori** | Yes |  |
| **Zobia** | One cannot go to hospital without money |  |
| **Noori** | Yes right |  |
| **Zobia** | What are the problems of poverty and mother in law also does not allow to go ; its another problem. |  |
| **Noori** | Yes |  |
| **Zobia** | Right |  |
| **Noori** | When your husband doesn’t allow you to go or your father in law; these all are problems. |  |
| **Zobia** | These are the problems that arise |  |
| **Noori** | Yes right |  |
| **Zobia** | So we have come here to inquire. So would you cooperate with us? |  |
| **Noori** | What sort of? |  |
| **Zobia** | Oh… we’ll make it like this we’ll come to your home |  |
| **Noori** | Its your choice |  |
| **Zobia** | So we’ll come to your home… and often with you… we’ll interview… is it possible? |  |
| **Noori** | Where? |  |
| **Zobia** | As you like ; at your place or here |  |
| **Afshan** | If you want to come here then its okay… whatever you say… we can come to your place. |  |
| **Noori** | Home means I am not getting this |  |
| **Afshan** | Okay not at home… ahh… dr Zobia has told this to you right… Dr Zobia has told you that we have come here to gather information about the problems woman faces during the delivery of baby. However people do not ask poor people about their problems. They also face problems. |  |
| **Noori** | Yes |  |
| **Afshan** | Okay. So we want to discuss this with you. So how many children do you have? |  |
| **Noori** | 3 daughters |  |
| **Afshan** | So you delivered 3 babies. How old are they? |  |
| **Noori** | My elder daughter is in her youth |  |
| **Zobia** | What do you mean? |  |
| **Afshan** | Okay how old is she |  |
| **Noori** | She is 15 years old |  |
| **Afshan** | Okay and the one who is younger than her? |  |
| **Noori** | She is 10 years old |  |
| **Afshan** | She is 10 years old and the youngest one is 7 years old |  |
| **Noori** | Yes |  |
| **Zobia** | So you didn’t give birth to a boy? |  |
| **Noori** | God is the one Who bestows |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | Yes |  |
| **Zobia** | Did you try? |  |
| **Noori** | Actually I got ill and after that I am not getting better. |  |
| **Zobia** | What is your illness? |  |
| **Noori** | I am not getting this |  |
| **Zobia** | Yes? |  |
| **Noori** | Few say that I have some problem in my lungs while others say there is something else… I have created this problem |  |
| **Zobia** | What do you mean? |  |
| **Noori** | The reason |  |
| **Afshan** | What is the problem? |  |
| **Zobia** | What is the problem? |  |
| **Noori** | Problem like this. I was fine and my youngest daughter was feeding my milk. now anyhow… now I am ill so I feel pain in my stomach |  |
| **Afshan** | Hmm |  |
| **Noori** | I was feeling pain in my stomach so I took two pills of Desprine |  |
| **Afshan** | Yes |  |
| **Noori** | I was taking those medicines continuously; I was bleeding. When I was bleeding I didn’t go to the hospital. I was in this condition for 9 days. And I was unable breath now this is my condition |  |
| **Afshan** | Yes |  |
| **Noori** | I went to hospital take her father’s report; its in the direction of Changi next to the stop near to Maliyal |  |
| **Afshan** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | In that direction |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay switch off the fan |  |
| **Noori** | No we are not switching it on |  |
| **Zobia** | We are ? hot… |  |
| **Noori** | Its too hot |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay its hot |  |
| **Noori** | I just came here after taking bath its too hot |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay hot |  |
| **Afshan** | Her voice |  |
| **Noori** | I am sweating |  |
| **Zobia** | Sit comfortably |  |
| **Noori** | She was saying baji please complete it there is some other work inside. I said okay we’ll see there is some work in the street as well |  |
| **Zobia** | Yes |  |
| **Noori** | I asked her to make rice properly. I’ll come after doing that work in the street |  |
| **Zobia** | Yes that’s fine |  |
| **Noori** | Oh I felt so much hot that you cant imagine. I cant bear this hot weather |  |
| **Zobia** | Take off your shawl as there are all ladies |  |
| **Afshan** | Keep your shawl on side there isn’t any stranger. We are here with you. |  |
| **Nooei** | I am taking these medicines from past 4 to 5 years. Wherever I have been they said that this is good doctor and I went to this doctor as well. Now someone has suggested me that there is a doctor named Khalid in Gujarkhan. I went to him. He did my ultrasound everything. But I am still in pain. |  |
| **Zobia** | Why what is the problem |  |
| **Noori** | That’s what I am telling you that I have been taking these medicines. |  |
| **Zobia** | So how old was your daughter at that time |  |
| **Noori** | At that time she was breastfeeding |  |
| **Zobia** | How old? Of how many months? |  |
| **Noori** | She was 1 and half years old |  |
| **Zobia** | Yes |  |
| **Noori** | She was 1 and half years old now she is 7 |  |
| **Zobia** | She was 1 an half years old |  |
| **Noori** | One and half years old |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | When she turned 2 I took these medicines due to which I started bleeding |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | I was continuously bleeding after that I went to hospital |  |
| **Zobia** | Which hospital |  |
| **Noori** | Near my parent’s home ; change hospital |  |
| **Zobia** | Private hospital? |  |
| **Noori** | I was living there before |  |
| **Zobia** | You were living in Changi? |  |
| **Noori** | Yes |  |
| **Zobia** | How far is the village from here? |  |
| **Noori** | Its not that far its near. Anyhow if I say then its far |  |
| **Zobia** | Yes |  |
| **Zoori** | First Gujrat stop comes |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | Near Maliyal |  |
| **Zobia** | Yes |  |
| **Afshan** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | Cars are usually parked here on this side so she goes there. |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay that is your parent’s village |  |
| **Noori** | Yes… then I went to that third hospital. I told them that I took these medicines… when I went to urinate; blood flowed out heavily… I was breathless. |  |
| **Zobia** | Yes |  |
| **Noori** | Then they gave me medicines due to which it stopped |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay… when you were bleeding did you feel pieces of flesh coming out with blood? |  |
| **Noori** | No |  |
| **Zobia** | There was only blood? |  |
| **Noori** | Yes |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | I took a bath after a month. And then the second month passed. I was feeling weakness as it was cleaned completely from inside. |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | I conceived a baby and after a month I had a miscarriage. |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | I had a miscarriage so they gave me medicines so there wasn’t any hindrance. They asked me to do the ultrasound ; I had my ultrasound but they didn’t find anything in it. They asked me to do it again next month ; so I went for ultrasound they told me that I was in 3rd month of pregnancy. |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | They said no problem; baby is not alive so clean it up. |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | So I cleaned it. My daughter was breastfeeding at that time. That milk was not drained. I went to each and every place I had cramps in my stomach, itching and severe pain. You cant imagine. |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | I was taking each and every medicine prescribed by doctors. Wherever I went I took medicine…..my nerves are now visible while they were not visible before. I couldn’t get injection. Now look you can see my nerves. After taking a lot of medicines they came up. |  |
| **Zobia** | Yes |  |
| **Noori** | While my nerves were not visible like this. |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | Don’t know if blood flows in this side or not |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | I feel pain in this side. Don’t know it happened after cleaning or something else . |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | I take this and that medicine. I went to Gujarkhan as they suggested me |  |
| **Zobia** | Hmm |  |
| **Noori** | They said that there is water in both sides. There is pus in lungs. They told me so many other things. But he gave me medicines thrice (laughing) I took those medicines. Don’t know. |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | I don’t reduce medication. Now they had told me about the Hakeem (herb doctor) at Khaniwal. I went there. He also gave me medicines I took those too. Now Its my own problem of evil shadow… strange things… these evil shadows of ghosts… |  |
| **Noori** | Means I have that |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | Its been so long since I have been to *Mae* for making *Taweez* on my own name… I have been to her. |  |
| **Afshan** | Where is the Mae? |  |
| **Noori** | This *Aalay* |  |
| **Afshan** | Really? |  |
| **Noori** | Alay |  |
| **Afshan** | Aalay? Where is this place? |  |
| **Noori** | On this side of Khaniwar where the car goes |  |
| **Afshan** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | Car commonly goes from this side. |  |
| **Afshan** | Okay yes |  |
| **Noori** | Yes |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | I went there so she gave me taweez for 21 days. She asked me to drink this and show it to her. I am drinking that taweez now see what God wants |  |
| **Zobia** | How do you drink taweez |  |
| **Noori** | I have to mix this in water and drink it for 21 days |  |
| **Zobia** | Its written on a paper? |  |
| **Noori** | Yes |  |
| **Zobia** | So you mix it in water and drink it? |  |
| **Noori** | Yes |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | I thought may be its due to evil shadow… its been so long. That’s why… so when I went to Chandi my neighbor was telling that I am feeling this pain due to evil shadow. |  |
| **Zobia** | Yes |  |
| **Noori** | Anyways that Mae told me that its not due to evil shadow you have some medical problem. |  |
| **Zobia** | So don’t know what illness do you have? |  |
| **Noori** | She told me there is some problem in my chest. She told me all the problems. That all the time I have fever and my body aches |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay yes |  |
| **Noori** | My whole body was aching (*sara wajood dard se khicha*) |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | I cant move my back aches |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | I cleaned this with a broom |  |
| **Zobia** | Yes |  |
| **Noori** | Then I can’t stand I just can’t change my posture. |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay sit comfortably |  |
| **Noori** | Each and every part of the body… this part aches a lot |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | It aches like anything |  |
| **Zobia** | How old are you? |  |
| **Noori** | I don’t know about my age (laughing) |  |
| **Zobia** | No its not that much |  |
| **Noori** | No they didn’t note it down on my birth but my father wrote 40 at my wedding (laughing) |  |
| **Zobia** | Laughing… at wedding |  |
| **Noori** | he guessed |  |
| **Zobia** | 40 years |  |
| **Noori** | Yes; its also written on my identity card |  |
| **Zobia** | Now you are 40 or at the time of wedding you were 40 |  |
| **Noori** | Laughing |  |
| **Zobia** | So when you got married? In early age |  |
| **W1** | Power has restored? |  |
| **Zobia** | No there is no need of electricity |  |
| **Afshan** | No we don’t need it now |  |
| **Noori** | At wedding… as I am telling you that my daughter is 15 years old and I got married at the age of 16 |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay so you got married at the age of 15 |  |
| **Noori** | Yes |  |
| **Zobia** | after how many years of illness you got married? |  |
| **Noori** | No I was quite elder. My all siblings were younger than me. So I got married in the last. |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay? |  |
| **Noori** | Yes |  |
| **Zobia** | How come? |  |
| **Noori** | My brother was in class 10 when he got married. Then my third sister got married. |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | After that my sister who is younger than me got married. Then my youngest brother was left so he got married after me. While we arranged three marriages before mine. |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay you got married little late. |  |
| **Noori** | Yes |  |
| **Zobia** | Why? |  |
| **Noori** | Because there wasn’t anyone later |  |
| **Zobia** | What was the reason? |  |
| **Noori** | There wasn’t any reason but our father was like that. He was quite strict and used to work according to other’s will. And even he didn’t care for his family due to his mood. He did this… and he usually got into brawl with a policeman if he wanted to… and he called names of mother and sister (*tumhari mah ko, behan ko ,falanay ko*)…. he used to utter rubbish. |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | Our father was like this |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | That’s why I decided that I would arrange marriage of my siblings. I’ll settle them. My siblings were engaged; and their in laws usually come to our place to fix the wedding but my dad always refused. at that time posting letters was common now we have telephone |  |
| **Zobia** | Yes |  |
| **Noori** | I sent a letter to my *mamu* (mother’s brother) to come. he came and arranged their wedding by fraud |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | Yes… our dad was like that (laughing) |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay, so you arranged it by fraud. |  |
| **Noori** | Yes by fraud |  |
| **Zobia** | What sort of fraud? |  |
| **Noori** | We told him that the other party is irritating us. So we called our mamu. I took him along. I didn’t listen to my father. Because my dad always listened to outsiders. And he never gave importance to family… and his daughters were getting young and they had to settle… and if someone comes to our home instead of asking that why did he come here he used to say harshly and beat him why the hell he came here. |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay… yes there are men like this. |  |
| **Noori** | Yes… so I arranged their marriage and opened their way… after that I got married. But when they brought proposal my dad refused and said we don’t give our daughters to such families. |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | And my brother yelled, accept this proposal and solve this problem get over this. As you know people talk a lot at the back of young single girls. If you go out. Now he is working here so there is no issue . no one would say that oh she has gone there. |  |
| **Zobia** | Yes |  |
| **Noori** | Everyone knows that her husband is a live. |  |
| **Zobia** | Yes |  |
| **Noori** | But if sister or daughter is not married. Rather her family is good with her but society doesn’t let her live peacefully |  |
| **Zobia** | No she is right |  |
| **Afshan** | Yes right |  |
| **Noori** | My dad said this to my brother that if you accept this proposal… my husband was already married |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay Oh |  |
| **Noori** | Her two wives died |  |
| **Zobia** | Oh they died? How did they die? Do you know that? |  |
| **Noori** | God knows… they died during delivery. Both gave birth to babies. One of the babies was left a lone at 7th day and now he is young |  |
| **Zobia** | Hmm |  |
| **Noori** | One daughter and one son. Girl has got married while son is still unmarried |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | Yes girl got marries |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | She is married to her aunt’s (father’s sister) son |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay drink water |  |
| **Noori** | No I am not thirsty drink it |  |
| **Zobia** | Why we made this for you |  |
| **Noori** | No thanks you may drink it |  |
| **Zobia** | Why? |  |
| **Afshan** | We have made this drink for you |  |
| **Noori** | No thanks you may have it |  |
| **Afshan** | No drink it |  |
| **Noori** | Actually I just have had my breakfast |  |
| **Zobia** | Listen …. You work hard and get sweaty |  |
| **Noori** | Yes |  |
| **Zobia** | So you may get thirsty drink it |  |
| **Noori** | No baji I don’t feel like having it |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | I feel nauseated |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | Actually when I eat something it is not digested on time. So I am not greedy to eat anything. I will be able to work with empty stomach. And if I drink this after my breakfast then it would upset my stomach |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | Then I wont be able to work |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | My husband is so strict |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay? |  |
| **Noori** | He doesn’t allow me to come here |  |
| **Zobia** | Why? What does he say? |  |
| **Noori** | He doesn’t allow me to move outside. While I insisted him a lot and came here. Even I had a fight with him that let me go I’ll get better after getting out of the bed. So I came here after insisting him. He even doesn’t allow me when baby calls me. That baby who lives at Dhok. |  |
| **Zobia** | Yes |  |
| **Noori** | She called me first… she was acquainted with me. |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay.. yes |  |
| **Noori** | That loan…. So we lived there and gave loan to others. |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | So at that day she came here and called. Girls from that school came here to call me. Then he was not allowing me and he doesn’t allow me. I said wait… let me leave this bed. I used to put blanket for whole day and night and I had severe headache so I used to tie it with a strip. And I usually call him at 12 that Talib come home I am dying. This was my condition. I was half dead even I was unable to breath. If I talk little loud my body shivers. I cant talk in aloud tone. |  |
| **Zobia** | Hmm |  |
| **Noori** | I am talking here while in school… |  |
| **Zobia** | Yes |  |
| **Noori** | I don’t talk much in school I just do my own work…but when they call me I fight with them and say that please don’t call me while I am busy with my work. |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay… so what do you do in school? |  |
| **Noori** | I mop and clean it with broom |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay do you make lunch? |  |
| **Noori** | Yes there are two other working on it. While other is here he makes it and gives it to kids and then do the dishes |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | Yes |  |
| **Zobia** | So what do you cook? |  |
| **Noori** | I cook one time meal in a week. |  |
| **Zobia** | For all? |  |
| **Noori** | Yes. Chart is hanged there so we cook accordingly |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay what is cooked today? |  |
| **Noori** | Today rice and beans |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay rice and bean. So when do you serve meal to kids? |  |
| **Noori** | We serve junior classes at 10 while seniors are served after them |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | Hmm |  |
| **Zobia** | So that’s good… so do you get money? Its your job? |  |
| **Noori** | Yes |  |
| **Zobia** | So how much do you get? |  |
| **Noori** | 5000 |  |
| **Zobia** | They give you 5000. So what does your husband do? |  |
| **Noori** | My husband works outside on weddings he plays dhol |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay; he does that |  |
| **Noori** | Yes |  |
| **Zobia** | So is he at home or gone somewhere? |  |
| **Noori** | He is at home |  |
| **Zobia** | He is at home these days |  |
| **Noori** | Yes he is at home |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay your daughters go to school? |  |
| **Noori** | No they don’t |  |
| **Zobia** | Why? |  |
| **Noori** | I insist them to go. Actually when we go to work then they stay at home and their father doesn’t say anything to them. |  |
| **Zobia** | Why aren’t they studying? |  |
| **Noori** | There is a government school but there is only one teacher and 5 classes. |  |
| **Zobia** | One teacher and five classes? (astonished) |  |
| **Noori** | Yes its till 5th grade |  |
| **Zobia** | And only one teacher |  |
| **Noori** | How can one teacher control 5 classes? Atleast there should be five teachers for five classes |  |
| **Zobia** | Hmmm |  |
| **Noori** | From the very beginning … everyone should have her own class. Now in our school at chandi there are five teachers for five classes |  |
| **Zobia** | Hmm |  |
| **Noori** | While senior classes like 9 and 10 there is no proper arrangement of teachers. While early morning there Is a lot of traffic because students come from other villages… even there are two to three schools and private schools are also opened separately. |  |
| **Zobia** | Is your village that big? |  |
| **Noori** | Our village is so big |  |
| **Zobia** | Okay |  |
| **Noori** | Yes |  |
| **Zobia** | So why don’t they send their kids there? Is there anyone to keep them? |  |
| **Noori** | My daughters get irritated by others |  |
| **Zobia** | What do you mean by irritate? |  |
| **Noori** | Nothing they are moody |  |
| **Zobia** | They do not study? |  |
| **Noori** | My elder daughter lived at my mother’s place for so many days |  |
| **Zobia** | Hmm |  |
| Noori | Anyhow let it... but one day she got sick. Actually she was at my parent's place she was studying there. Her father went there to see her and he found that the blood was coming out of her nose. After that he scolded me that Firdous is ill and you are worried about her studies.I told him that i got so much angry therefore i brought her here. Take her and hold her in your lap... after that she studied for 3 more years but when i got sick then there wasn't anyone to look after them or to listen. i am all alone. now she is wise ; while at that time she was small. now she makes chapattis . and he didn’t admit her in school ; he said that now she has grown up why would we admit her . |  |
| Zobia | How old is she now? |  |
| Noori | On her own will |  |
| Zobia | And the other one? |  |
| Noori | I send my other daughters to school but they go according to their mood. Because i go there in early morning. i think that they would come later but they do not come . |  |
| Afshan | So when do you reach here? |  |
| Noori | 7 |  |
| Afshan | 7 o clock; then when school starts |  |
| Noori | 7:30 |  |
| Afshan | 7:30 |  |
| Zobia | So your husband does not send them? |  |
| Noori | Husband (laughing) he is senseless |  |
| Zobia | What? he is senseless? okay... your people... |  |
| Noori | When i come back from school i usually fight with him and i say that if you go somewhere then that is something else but when you are at home then send them.... but he doesnt. |  |
| Zobia | What does he say? |  |
| Noori | They dont listen to me now what can i do |  |
| Zobia | So who else are at home you and your daughters... |  |
| Afshan | Mother and father in law? |  |
| Noori | No one else |  |
| Afshan | Your father and mother in law are here? |  |
| Zobia | Where have they gone? |  |
| Noori | they have their own home in Narrah |  |
| Zobia | Their home is also in Naraah? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Near to your place? |  |
| Noori | Here school on the upper side |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Afshan | Yes |  |
| Noori | This private girls school |  |
| Afshan | Yes |  |
| Noori | Opposite to that school on the backside |  |
| Afshan | Okay |  |
| Noori | That is my father in law's home |  |
| Zobia | Who lives at your father in law's home? |  |
| Noori | Dont know how many people live there but there are so many. I have never been to that place |  |
| Zobia | You are not in good terms with your in laws? |  |
| Noori | Ahhh ( saying no) |  |
| Zobia | Dont you talk to them? |  |
| Noori | When my family went to his place before wedding; when my brothers were arranging goods for my wedding... at that time they said that we are not going to arrange this wedding.... after that my family went to my sister's place called her here and fixed the date of my wedding.... my brother in law was telling them that they would not get him married... Talib... because this will ruin my home my wife doesn’t allow us to do this... sister in law of Talib. |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | She is his cousin (mother's sister's daughter) and sister in law as well. They were saying that who would give us money if he got married. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Yes… they had a brawl. When they started fighting with them my husband took the responsibility of that fight. |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | He called his sister and brother in law; they send the message that they don’t do it…. After that when I got married don’t know what happened to them God knows when my doli (palanquin) was carried then I don’t know they drove me so crazy I don’t know anything. |  |
| Zobia | okay |  |
| Noori | Since that day they are after my husband but he doesn’t go to their place. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Even if his mother dies he will never go there. If they were good with us then we would take care of them. And they took the clothes back which they had brought for me. And my husband’s wedding suit was brought by sister and they took that dress off. Moreover my sister in law (*jhaithani*) gave that dress to her son. They brought some clothes earlier so I stitched a dress for my husband immediately. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | They are so cruel when someone throws you out naked then how you can go back to those people… |  |
| Zobia | Oh so they had thrown your husband out of his home? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | I was not there when they threw him out. I was at my parent’s place. Otherwise I would bring luggage. They asked my husband to take his luggage therefore he asked people for shelter. While one of my suit cases is still there but it was locked. There wasn’t anyone to take it here. Whereas he took bed, chair, table, suitcases crockery everything. But that suitcase was missed and they didn’t tell me. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | It was settled by deed of compromise (*raazi naama*) and they didn’t tell me. When I came here they already settled it then I asked them that why don’t you write that they didn’t earn anything and at that time you earned a lot of money. |  |
| W1 | Assalamu alaikum (someone coming inside) |  |
| Afshan | Waalaikum salam |  |
| Zobia | Yes… Assalam u alaikum |  |
| W1 | How are you? |  |
| Zobia | Come in we are fine… first class |  |
| W1 | Assalamu alaikum |  |
| W2 | Waalaikum salam |  |
| Zobia | We met Noori madam today so we thought of talking to her |  |
| Noori | Drink water |  |
| Zobia | Take this water |  |
| W1 | No I don’t drink water |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| W1 | I don’t drink *Jameshirin* |  |
| Zobia | Okay so have you come from office? |  |
| W1 | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Okay so how is your dad? |  |
| W1 | He’ll come at night |  |
| Zobia | He’ll come? Will he come here? |  |
| W1 | He’ll come… and if he didn’t come then I’ll take you.. I am here today. |  |
| Zobia | Okay your field trip is not today |  |
| W1 | No I have to go; few ladies would come for the meeting. But my time is till 3:30 or 4 |  |
| Zobia | Okay what sort of meeting is there? |  |
| W1 | Today we are… farmer field school it’s near but it’s in district pindi. It’s a drive of 2 minutes from here. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| W1 | There is a beautiful farm of tomatoes. Those were grown on bough and just came from Holand recently |  |
| Afshan | Okay |  |
| W1 | Its been one or two years since it was introduced in Pakistan. It’s a very good farm and 60 tomatoes grow on one plant. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| W1 | So its really big… |  |
| Afshan | Its fruit? |  |
| W1 | So we are going to see that. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Did it come? |  |
| W1 | Yes it came |  |
| Noori | Samina will take you all?  (everybody laughing) |  |
| W1 | Yes she is taking us |  |
| Noori | Is she going? |  |
| W1 | Your family… |  |
| Noori | Who is going |  |
| W1 | Mothers of these all kids |  |
| Noori | Mothers? |  |
| W1 | I am not going mothers of these all kids… |  |
| Noori | Which teacher is going? |  |
| W1 | None of the teacher is going because it will disturb the class. So they will take you on Sunday and these mothers… Samina was saying that if you’ll go there then you’ll just talk about the tomatoes (laughing)  (everybody laughing) |  |
| Zobia | Okay … whose mother? |  |
| W1 | Students of this school …. |  |
| Afshan | Kids studying in this school… |  |
| Zobia | Hmm… |  |
| Afshan | How many children are there? |  |
| W1 | I don’t know. There were 25 earlier but now 20 more have come. |  |
| Noori | 16 more have come |  |
| W1 | 16 more kids have come? |  |
| Zobia | 35 in total | ` |
| W1 | We just give admission in nursery |  |
| Zobia | Okay only nursery… I wanted to ask you that… |  |
| W3 | Power is not coming back and there isn’t any water so in a mean while… |  |
| Noori | It just came look what is this |  |
| W3 | No there is no electricity it’s something else |  |
| Zobia | Yes look here |  |
| W3 | I just came from my home there isn’t any electricity |  |
| W1 | yes there isn’t any electricity |  |
| Afshan | Yes power is not restored. |  |
| Zobia | Yes its not the electricity that is supplied by WAPDA its UPS |  |
| W3 | Stand up and get ready its 9:30 |  |
| W1 | Yes its 9:30 I am waiting |  |
| W3 | What? |  |
| W1 | No one is there and we don’t about the conveyance yet |  |
| Noori | Who will go with you ? |  |
| W1 | Farzana |  |
| Noori | Yes that Ansa would be here |  |
| W1 | Ansa |  |
| Noori | She’ll be here right |  |
| W1 | Yes she’ll be here |  |
| Noori | Yes I have to photocopy a page from her |  |
| W2 | Ayesha if you want to go then get ready |  |
| Zobia | Ayesha will go with you? |  |
| Noori | What will she do? |  |
| W1 | She’ll sow tomato |  |
| Noori | Among these |  |
| Zobia | Will you not show them tomatoes? |  |
| W1 | How can we take them today? Sadia was saying that We’ll take them now but I suggested her that we’ll take them on Sunday because now kids… |  |
| Afshan | Due to school… it is open |  |
| Noori | Yes school is open |  |
| W1 | If we take these teacher so who would teach them at their back |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Afshan | They had to cook food and teacher had to teach them |  |
| Zobia | Okay but tell me one thing that would you give them plants? |  |
| W1 | We’ll not give plants to any body; we’ll just show them. That is in November. |  |
| Noori | But they should give them |  |
| W1 | They’ll bring but it’ll grow in November |  |
| Afshan | Okay so they’ll grow at a certain time and you’ll bring it at that time |  |
| W1 | Okay you keep on conversing we’ll meet you later. 3:30… |  |
| Zobia | Okay perfect |  |
| Afshan | Okay right |  |
| Zobia | Okay so you didn’t give them advice when they threw you husband out |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Then where did you go? |  |
| Noori | After that we begged these people for the shelter |  |
| Zobia | Who are they? Where is their home? |  |
| Noori | Naraah |  |
| Zobia | Whose house? |  |
| Noori | That was sadia’s parent’s home; where we lived before. |  |
| Zobia | Okay that was an empty home? |  |
| Noori | Yes it was empty |  |
| Afshan | So where did they go? Where were they living? |  |
| Noori | They don’t live here actually there brother is living abroad… and when they come they live in their house that is in the village. They had built this home but they don’t live here. So my sister in law has come from Sadar. So her husband’s first daughter got married to her aunt’s son. So they live here. |  |
| Afshan | Okay |  |
| Zobia | So are they at home? |  |
| Noori | They… that turn of Naraah at upper side |  |
| Afshan | Yes |  |
| Noori | There |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Afshan | Okay |  |
| Zobia | Okay so they live here |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | And you? |  |
| Noori | We lived here and my sister in law was living there. Their uncles family was living little ahead. |  |
| Zobia | Okay So how far was their home? |  |
| Noori | Not that far from here |  |
| Zobia | Okay so tell us your address we’ll come |  |
| Noori | Okay |  |
| Zobia | We’ll talk to your husband okay girl…. |  |
| Noori | What would you ask my husband regarding this (laughing) |  |
| Zobia | His 2 wives had died? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | How they died? |  |
| Afshan | What happened to her first… |  |
| Noori | I cant understand this now |  |
| Zobia | You didn’t ask him? |  |
| Noori | I just know this as her relatives usually tell this. That they placed something on their head due to which they died (*saron pe chizay khadi kar k*). As they are after me … I got married. After that they made me insane. When I gave birth to my elder daughter they just ruined me you cant understand. |  |
| Zobia | What? |  |
| Noori | Means they still are making Taweez Dhaaga |  |
| Zobia | What do you mean? |  |
| Noori | Laughing… its out of your thinking capacity |  |
| Zobia | No we… |  |
| Afshan | We have come to understand this. |  |
| Zobia | We have come to learn this that… |  |
| Afshan | How would we know if you do not inform us |  |
| Zobia | We cant understand is this anything to say |  |
| Noori | This *Taweez*, *Hilal’s Peer Fakeer (*noble sage*)* he’ll never do this. |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | Like that |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Noori | Like they make taweez for a person so that he would remain sick. Means he’ll suffer from sickness. Now my elder daughter… they tied *Su*. |  |
| Zobia | What did they tie? |  |
| Noori | They tied the *Su* so that my daughter would die in the womb and me as well. |  |
| Zobia | Okay so they did this to you |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Means my three daughters were delivered after nine months but I had one still birth. The one who died was after my eldest daughter |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Okay tell me one thing that when you got married you came here so your Baraat (wedding procession) came here? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | So after how many months you conceived? |  |
| Noori | Don’t know after an year |  |
| Zobia | You got pregnant after one year? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Then pregnancy…. |  |
| Noori | Not one year … before that. I was not conceiving so I told this my neighbor Khala Parveen that 8 months passed since I got married but I am not conceiving. Then she told me that if you take bath during your menstrual periods then blood accumulates in uterus. then it can happen |  |
| Zobia | I am not getting this |  |
| Afshan | So what did they tell you … did she suggest you any medicine? |  |
| Noori | Then she told me that whenever you get ill then make *chawaray.* These are warm and put little part of *dandaasa (*that is used to clean teeth) and cook |  |
| Afshan | In milk? |  |
| Noori | No in water |  |
| Afshan | Okay |  |
| Noori | Put 2 glasses of water and cook it properly |  |
| Afshan | Hmm |  |
| Noori | Boil it and when half glass water is left then throw out the *Sikla (dandaasa : teeth cleaning twig)* and eat *chawarays* furthermore drink the remaining water as well. |  |
| Afshan | So drink water? |  |
| Noori | Green tea doesn’t remain in |  |
| Afshan | Yes |  |
| Noori | You have to leave half glass from those two glasses of water |  |
| Afshan | Okay |  |
| Noori | So blood will come out properly and will get pregnant |  |
| Afshan | Okay |  |
| Noori | So I drank that excessively thus I conceived a baby girl |  |
| Afshan | Okay |  |
| Zobia | Okay when you got pregnant then what did you do? |  |
| Noori | Nothing … I had to do something? |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Afshan | Did you go to the doctor? For the checkup? |  |
| Noori | No |  |
| Zobia | Why? |  |
| Afshan | So how did you know this that you got pregnant? |  |
| Noori | When a month passes you don’t realize |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Afshan | Only |  |
| Noori | I puked, I had fever and headache |  |
| Afshan | You didn’t go to any midwife for the checkup? |  |
| Noori | There isn’t any midwife. God is with us. (laughing) |  |
| Zobia | Okay, okay why didn’t you go for the checkup … in any hospital or any other place? What was the reason? |  |
| Noori | Nothing means I was at my father in law’s place when I got pregnant. So we just go to our cousin’s (mother’s brother’s son) place at Kalas. Therefore we went to Kalas hospital for the checkup. |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | So you went there? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | How many times? |  |
| Noori | Twice. I told her that I felt pain in these sides |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Then she gave me medicines and they give medicines when you ask |  |
| Zobia | Was there any doctor at that time? |  |
| Noori | There is a doctor |  |
| Afshan | Now she is here but was she there at that time |  |
| Noori | No there wasn’t any doctor |  |
| Afshan | Okay |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Yes… this Changi hospital was here and Dangi hospital was here when my daughter was born |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | When she was delivered after completing months we went to dangi hospital |  |
| Afshan | Okay |  |
| Noori | So they took whole day and night and the cervix was open but baby was not coming out |  |
| Zobia | Then? |  |
| Noori | I was given drips but it didn’t do anything. At last doctors were unable to do anything |  |
| Zobia | then |  |
| Noori | Then they said that its due to Taweez and Dhaga that’s why baby is not coming out |  |
| Zobia | okay |  |
| Noori | First use your own method then it’ll happen otherwise it would not |  |
| Zobia | Workers in the hospital said that? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Which hospital? |  |
| Noori | They are nurses of our village. They know everything. There uncle substantiates this. Then they send my younger sister to take her to Anwar he’ll find it out. We can deliver baby if it is ready to come out and in this case even the cervix is open. Then it means that… |  |
| Zobia | Okay she was nurse of your own village |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Which village? |  |
| Noori | Here Chandi’s |  |
| Zobia | Chandi’s |  |
| Noori | Zaiban |  |
| Zobia | Zaiban. Was she a *dai* or midwife? |  |
| Noori | No she is a nurse and well experienced. She was working at Kalas but now she is at dangi |  |
| Zobia | Okay she was LHV? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Okay she said that baby will be delivered if you use your own method |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | So what did you do? |  |
| Noori | Anyhow wherever she went. After her there were nurses from Gujariyala they were in Chandi hospital. Then they started at 2 o clock and at 8 o’clock they gave up too. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | She said that it can’t be delivered |  |
| Zobia | Okay then |  |
| Noori | Then my husband came and they say that there is a man in Bughat. |  |
| Zobia | What do they say |  |
| Noori | Bughat |  |
| Zobia | Bughat … what is that |  |
| Noori | It’s a name of a village |  |
| Zobia | Okay it’s a name of a village… then |  |
| Noori | Yes Bughat… there is a man who finds it out with the help of Jinnat (ghosts) that throw this Taweez in flowing water and then go to home. So InshaAllah you’ll have a baby. Then my husband brought taweez and I drank it. After that my daughter was born |  |
| Zobia | Okay so you gave birth to a baby |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Itself |  |
| Afshan | Text missing |  |
| Noori | No hospital. Civil hospital Chakwal. |  |
| Zobia | So you took her to civil hospital Chakwal. |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Then how did they deliver it normally or with operation? |  |
| Noori | No just like that |  |
| Zobia | It happened normally |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Not with operation |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | It means … its okay… so then that baby remained healthy? |  |
| Noori | Yes… she is young |  |
| Zobia | So you gave your own milk? |  |
| Noori | Yes… in the beginning my milk was not producing. While my other sister gave her milk for 5 days. Then as I started eating then my milk was produced. |  |
| Afshan | Then you gave your own milk? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Then your sister’s |  |
| Afshan | Did you give other milk? |  |
| Noori | Yes I gave her other milk for 7 to 8 months because I conceived my second daughter… |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | In 7th or 8th month you conceived |  |
| Noori | After that I had a still birth then I got contraceptive injections. I said that a woman should have to be normal in that case she can conceive baby easily. (laughing) |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | After that I was getting contraceptive injections. After that injection my condition got worst (*sujh bhuj gae hu*). I have just become like this. I can’t sit, can’t stand and even I can’t work. If I sit for mopping then I can’t walk. This was my condition. I thought these injections would be good but hell with these injections. |  |
| Afshan | Hmm |  |
| Noori | Then I went to Ghajyala’s *hakeem* I told him everything that baba it was done like this after that he gave me medicines. He said don’t worry. After that I didn’t get my periods but I had little spots. |  |
| Afshan | Hmm |  |
| Noori | Then I brought medicine from him then I told him that my condition got worst due to these contraceptive injections. He said you shouldn’t have to get this is the reason. |  |
| Noori | I told him that when I was getting injections I was fine but when I stopped them then my condition got worst. (laughing) |  |
| Zobia | What happened? What do you mean by worst condition? |  |
| Noori | *Wajood sujh bhuj gaya . (*swelling in whole body*)* |  |
| Zobia | Okay *Wajood sujh bhuj gaya* |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | I can’t sit , stand and can’t even work. My belly came here. |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | Everybody was saying… Mughals were saying that are you pregnant? I said stupid (*dalli*) I am not pregnant. I told them this is swelling … this was done… there was swelling in my hands and feet … I have become too fat. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Then I brought medicine from Gujyala’s hakeem. He told me that you’ll get better then he said that, I am giving you medicines God will give you spirit. Afterward I gave birth to my third daughter. I had still birth after the eldest one then the third one was born. |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | Then I conceived |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | When I stopped taking injections I was fine I had spots… |  |
| Zobia | Okay right |  |
| Noori | After that I brought medicines from Arif. Now I fell ill and I was pregnant as well. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | This was the condition |  |
| Zobia | Okay so when you conceived second baby was it perfectly fine |  |
| Noori | Yes it was fine but the other problems were quite severe. |  |
| Zobia | What kind of problem? |  |
| Noori | When I conceived second child my husband said , you can abort baby because I don’t want child. |  |
| Zobia | What? Okay |  |
| Noori | Hmm |  |
| Zobia | For operation? |  |
| Noori | Yes to operate. |  |
| Zobia | He didn’t want child |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Facing all the pregnancy issues through out nine months. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Afshan | So do you go to doctors? |  |
| Noori | Pregnancy is general… no I don’t rush towards doctors. |  |
| Afshan | Yes |  |
| Noori | To these peer fakeers (sage )… |  |
| Afshan | So you go to these peer fakeer… okay |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | What kind of problem you face? |  |
| Noori | When I conceive a baby ; if I don’t inform this to anybody I remain well. But as I told someone that I am pregnant then… |  |
| Afshan | Hmm |  |
| Noori | Then they’ll start at my back; my whole Bradari |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Yes… that she may die at any cost we’ll be happy. |  |
| Zobia | You or your baby? |  |
| Noori | Me… they have problem with me. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | My husband is with me and their son. That’s why they have problem. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Even they are fighting till now for my son. He is my husband’s son so my brother in law wants to snatch him from us. |  |
| Zobia | Why? |  |
| Noori | He says that he wants him to marry his daughter… and I am refusing this. |  |
| Zobia | So what does your husband say? Your son |  |
| Noori | He is showy he doesn’t say anything. Even I discuss these issues. If he would say something to them then they would never become our master. But he doesn’t say anything to them. Actually they brought him up… both sister and brother. When I got married the other girl was studying |  |
| Zobia | And son? |  |
| Noori | Son is younger than her. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Yes… he is young and I arranged his wedding. |  |
| Zobia | So they come to you? |  |
| Noori | Yes they are with me |  |
| Zobia | So you brought them up? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | You brought them up |  |
| Noori | That girl was studying so I made her study three more years. While elder one had studied till 5th grade. |  |
| Zobia | Okay yes |  |
| Noori | Yes my step daughter |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | And that boy is here from past 5 years … with me. Otherwise he used to wander here and there. Sometimes in mughlan and other times in Naraah. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Like this |  |
| Zobia | Now he is here permanently? |  |
| Noori | Yes… its been 5 years therefore he is stable. |  |
| Zobia | Why did he come here? |  |
| Noori | He lives with me |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Afshan | Why |  |
| Zobia | They feel good when he lives with them |  |
| Noori | Laughing… obviously he’ll live with his parents he would not live with others… no one lives with uncles |  |
| Zobia | Yes… its his father’s home |  |
| Afshan | Yes… its his home |  |
| Noori | He is his father |  |
| Zobia | Yes absolutely |  |
| Noori | My husband is his father |  |
| Zobia | Yes right |  |
| Noori | Yes… uncles can’t take place of his father |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | Now four days… my daughter was at my brother’s place they brought her up; they would never say that we are not giving her back… I know their purpose they don’t want him to become our son as he is stepson. So I arranged his marriage they live at phupi’s (father’s sister) place next to my door. I was in bed for four months I was suffering from sickness; at that time my daughter was so small now she has grown up. She left her school for me … she was working privately in Naraah… I asked her to study here but she left it for me… that who will look after home… she was so innocent and small … people know this thing that I did good for her…. I didn’t do this much for my own daughters who were delivered with so many complications. I have never prioritized them but I always take care of her till now…and in return if she doesn’t do anything I feel so bad. |  |
| Zobia | Why doesn’t she come? |  |
| Noori | They don’t allow her to come here |  |
| Zobia | They don’t allow her to come |  |
| Noori | He is his father they don’t allow him to go to his own father then what am I (*kis baagh ki mooli hu*) |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Absolutely |  |
| Noori | I was master of my daughters. My in laws has sent a man from Khankah . My mother in law, brother in law and sister in law has sent this man to ask Talib that why doesn’t he throw me out. Just make your decision and throw her out |  |
| Zobia | That man… |  |
| Noori | To my husband |  |
| Afshan | I am not getting this what are you saying? |  |
| Afshan | They are saying that I am mother of three daughters that’s why they sent that man |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Afshan | So they sent message to my husband that why don’t you leave her |  |
| Zobia | Okay to leave you? |  |
| Noori | Throw her why are you living with her |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Noori | And throw her out and come to us |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | They want my husband to go to his parents |  |
| Zobia | Okay so he doesn’t go |  |
| Noori | (laughing) even he doesn’t go even if his mother is ill |  |
| W2 | What is the reason why does he hate her? |  |
| Noori | My husband has never done anything at my back. He listens to me and I listen to him. |  |
| Zobia | Means your husband is in a good relation with you. |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Is he nice? |  |
| Noori | He is good for me. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | My husband knows this that I don’t go out meaninglessly. Even she is their daughter but she defends me because I took care of her. Everyone knows there are other step mothers they even don’t allow to touch the crockery. So that girl lived with me and throughout that time I fulfilled her wishes. Whatever she said either bad or good I never retaliated. Wherever I do work you should take care of home and don’t dare to go out. Then she lived at my in laws place. For nine month she was working for molvi and they were eating from her. She was living with them. They ate from her for 9 months and I was sending her goods from here. (*mera konsa chaki k nichay hath aya hua tha*) can’t they make it for her. |  |
| Afshan | Hmm |  |
| Noori | She is not stable…people don’t say anything to me. |  |
| Afshan | Hmm |  |
| Noori | Wherever people sit for gossips then they do not say anything to me rather they say this to Shenaz that you can’t even pay back your mother whatever she did for you. No one does like this. There was so much hustle bustle after the wedding of this girl |  |
| Zobia | What kind of hustle bustle? |  |
| Noori | Due to goods and items which we gave to our daughter on wedding. They were saying that they had never seen such thing in their area before. That you people have given her more than your capacity. |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Noori | There was a big veranda that was filled with the items there was no place to put *bari* (gifts from groom’s family). Then daughter of my niece; she is also granddaughter of my husband she got up when they brought the bari . She was standing near dowry so she showed the items of bari . There wasn’t any place for a needle. |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Noori | But no one talks about me in this area. People say that you arranged her wedding so well. No one curse. |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Noori | And when she gave birth to a daughter I spent 10 to 12 thousand rupees |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Means I took a lot of things for her. Five dresses for her daughter and for my own daughter |  |
| Zobia | 5? |  |
| Noori | 5… I brought 5 warm dresses for her daughter and 2 dresses for her husband, for her mother in law, 1 kilo ghee means each and everything that was in the tradition of girl’s parents. Don’t know if you people give it |  |
| Zobia | No its not |  |
| Noori | Then for her baby I took blanket, pillows, bed , chair, *tapai,* *paidi*, walker , cycle etc. |  |
| W2 | Where did you get this money |  |
| Noori | What? |  |
| W2 | How did you save money? |  |
| Zobia | Where did you get this money from? |  |
| Noori | Money… from my husband… from home |  |
| W2 | He is with empty pocket… how much he earns |  |
| Noori | It depends on the work |  |
| W2 | But how much he earns? |  |
| Noori | If he goes for some work then he brings 3000 sometimes 2000, 2500, 3500… |  |
| Zobia | For one day? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Wage? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | What does he do? |  |
| Noori | On weddings |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Yes… but now it’s not that much common; means people used to do this a lot in past but now they have become poor (laughing) |  |
| Zobia | Okay what is he doing these days? |  |
| Noori | He is doing the same work |  |
| W2 | How much he earns now? |  |
| Noori | me? |  |
| W2 | No how much he earns now? |  |
| noori | Husband? |  |
| W2 | Yes your husband? |  |
| Afshan | Yes your husband |  |
| Noori | Whatever he brings from outside… |  |
| Zobia | No I am not getting this ; do people arrange such marriages? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | People call them on weddings? |  |
| Noori | Yes they go |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Not near but they go faraway |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | They go to Karachi or Hyderabad … towards kohat. Too far.. they go to Islamabad… to Lahore. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | So he doesn’t stay at home |  |
| Noori | When some one phone him then he goes otherwise he stays at home |  |
| Afshan | So how do people call them? |  |
| Noori | What?> |  |
| Afshan | How do the call… |  |
| Noori | Phone means when they had to go for some work then they call people here |  |
| W2 | There would be a group |  |
| Noori | Yes right |  |
| W2 | There are some other people with him |  |
| Noori | Yes right |  |
| Zobia | Other people |  |
| Noori | Means like your team |  |
| W2 | Yes |  |
| Noori | They also have such team |  |
| W2 | They also have |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| W2 | Then they must divide money |  |
| Noori | Yes they do |  |
| Zobia | Now there is a wedding of Arif’s daughter so would you go |  |
| Noori | No |  |
| Zobia | Why? |  |
| Noori | Its boys |  |
| Zobia | Okay the boy’s side will do |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Girl’s side would not do |  |
| Zobia | So do you go to weddings that are held in village |  |
| Noori | No |  |
| Zobia | Why? |  |
| Noori | We don’t go like that… but whenever they call we go. |  |
| Zobia | So do these villagers call you? Why? |  |
| Noori | Not the villagers but outsiders |  |
| Zobia | Okay why don’t these villagers call you? |  |
| Noori | Because they don’t do this in village. |  |
| Zobia | They don’t do? |  |
| Noori | No |  |
| Zobia | Why? |  |
| Noori | There is some other system in village. Actually there team is from outside. Its outside. |  |
| Afshan | In that band… |  |
| Zobia | That’s right |  |
| Afshan | Right |  |
| Zobia | Its purpose is… |  |
| Afshan | Yes |  |
| Noori | Means members are from outside…. Means as you are senior and they are with you … likewise they have the same system |  |
| Zobia | I am asking |  |
| Noori | What? |  |
| Zobia | Means look this is your profession. |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | To sing songs on wedding? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | So you people don’t sing in this village |  |
| Noori | No |  |
| Zobia | What’s the reason |  |
| Noori | They go in the village like this when they get a call |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | Means they are his fellow men. They usually come when they get a call… otherwise they don’t go to the village |  |
| W2 | Tell me one thing; do villagers call these drummers? |  |
| Noori | If they call them from outside then they had to go with them in team…. They had to go in team |  |
| Zobia | But your team is from village |  |
| Noori | Generally no |  |
| Zobia | So villagers do not call your team? |  |
| Noori | No |  |
| Zobia | Why don’t they call? |  |
| Noori | Team is not here my husband is the only team member living here |  |
| Zobia | So they don’t call your husband? |  |
| Afshan | They even don’t call your husband on Mayun? |  |
| Noori | No I am not getting this |  |
| Zobia | Not getting this okay |  |
| Noori | I am telling you. Means as you are doing this work. You people will call them so they will not do like this in their village. |  |
| W2 | No but if someone call us then we’ll go |  |
| Zobia | No its not the issue that if someone called us then we’ll go. She is right |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | So we don’t do it in our village |  |
| Noori | Right |  |
| Zobia | Yes we don’t do it in our village. |  |
| Noori | Its their system. But if you do it you village then you’ll call your team |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | That we have to handle this case because the person is ill. Just like that or something like that. So you’ll call your own people. Similarly they’ll call their own people so they’ll do it in the village. Means if they approach them then they’ll call Talib then he’ll go with the team. Means usually he doesn’t go like this, |  |
| Zobia | Why? He can go |  |
| Noori | No |  |
| Zobia | Its your profession to do this? |  |
| Noori | Yes… but generally he doesn’t do this |  |
| Zobia | Is this family profession |  |
| Noori | Like kammi do this work |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | No that’s not our work |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | We never did that |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Is this your family profession? |  |
| Noori | No |  |
| Zobia | My father in law used to do that? |  |
| Noory | Father in law went out somewhere before us don’t know where (laughing) |  |
| Zobia | Don’t know what was he doing? |  |
| Noori | No don’t know about father in law |  |
| Zobia | And your brother in law |  |
| Afshan | So what does your brother in law do? |  |
| Noori | There was a team of my husband and brother in law. So whoever approached them; they generally go to their work. My brother in law had a dhol once but since I came here he had sold that dhol . And now he is working. |  |
| Zobia | What is he doing? |  |
| Noori | My brother in law fills water for the people and his son is a mason. He earns 500 per day. They give 250 to labor so they get 250 per day. They don’t have any problem. |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Noori | They bought a buffalo for 20,000 Rs; it’s at home sleeping. We had built house near Mughlan . Now our nephew is constructing home and now they are renovating room. Obviously they are earning that’s why spending money on home. |  |
| Zobai | Hmm… where is the girl… not arranging her marriage? |  |
| Noori | Who? |  |
| Zobia | Your younger daughter |  |
| Noori | Mine |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | Hmm she is small |  |
| Zobia | Hmm she is small |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | She is 15 years old |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Yes… she is so young. |  |
| Zobia | Okay tell me one thing where was the other girl delivered? |  |
| Noori | My all three were delivered at hospital. |  |
| Zobia | Which hospital |  |
| Noori | Chakwal |  |
| Zobia | Chakwal hospital |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Were they delivered well? Did you face any problem? |  |
| Noori | No |  |
| Zobia | You didn’t go to any peer fakeer? |  |
| Noori | No we rush towards peer fakeers throughout nine months. |  |
| Zobia | Okay why do you go and where do you go? |  |
| Noori | Hmm (thinking) we go to everyone. |  |
| Zobia | Do you go to baba shirazi? |  |
| Noori | No we don’t go to baba shirazi means we go to the person who can find it out (*hisaab kitaab wala*) like that…. We go to pay homage |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | The one who can find (hisaab kitaab wala) |  |
| Zobia | Who is that person? |  |
| Noori | These peer fakeers (sage and saint) Saeed etc. |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Noori | We go to them |  |
| Zobia | Yes you go to them… so what do you ask from them? |  |
| Noori | Nothing, we don’t ask anything from them. Just discuss our problems … like that |  |
| Afshan | For black magic? |  |
| Noori | Yes… so he makes taweez(amulet) according to it. |  |
| Zobia | So they give Taweez dhaaga ? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | So you bring these taweez through out nine months? |  |
| Zobia | Do you go for the checkup? |  |
| Noori | She is the elder and other one is younger. I didn’t know this that evil shadow is the cause of miscarriage. I didn’t know this |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Noori | This is my younger daughter the third one… she was in 5th or 6th months in my womb…. |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | There was a nurse in our village named Chandi |  |
| Zobia | She is sindhi |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Afshan | No Chandi the one who is nurse in the village |  |
| Zobia | Okay chandi |  |
| Noori | So here my sister in law was sick. We brought her home after delivery. I told her even she knew this thing. Then an evil shadow transferred to her due to which infant died in womb (*muk mak gae pait mai* ) (laughing) |  |
| Zobia | Oh |  |
| Noori | So when I came back home… at that time my elder daughter was single… after that when I woke up in the morning. Then she said mom eat it if it is cooked. So I got up and washed my hands and mouth. After that I came and sit here. So the girl was writhing and died at the spot. She didn’t move. Two to three days passed like this. I told this to other women. They all were gossiping then I told this to Samina that I had a girl and it’s not showing any movement. The woman who makes juice at the back the one who is from Kashmir was saying that you drink juice and if baby is healthy then it doesn’t move. I told her that what you are talking about; it’s been nine months I can’t even take a bite of food due to vomiting… baby became healthy due to that one glass of juice while I didn’t eat anything… I thought maybe she is right that baby doesn’t move if it’s healthy. |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Noori | I was tolerating… I didn’t go to any nurse, doctor. *Na changi na mandi* (good or bad) nothing |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Noori | After that my nephew died… there are beds made of iron. So I went there after them I was sitting there till 11 o clock. I had a feeling that my stomach is filled *na changi na mandi* |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | I was uninterested in everything |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | And that girl was not moving in womb. |  |
| Zobia | Then? |  |
| Noori | She died. She died in the womb. sort of… then she moved after 21 days… 21 days imagine |  |
| Zobia | Hmm… what did you do? |  |
| Noori | Then Sir Alamgir from Jehlum |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Afshan | Hmm |  |
| Noori | Then I went to my mother’s place he usually comes to my parent’s home. So he came there due to my nephew’s death. There is a nurse in Chandi I went to her for checkup. She has seen the baby before her head is little out it shows that there is a lot of water there. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | It looks like that.. my other sister has been doing this work of nurse then she told me about this doctor in chakwal , She’ll attend you privately and she’ll charge 100 Rs . Go for the checkup she’ll give medicines for this water twice then it’ll be fine. |  |
| Zobia | Okay so you don’t know that infant had died? |  |
| Noori | Baby was not dead it was in 7th month |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | She was so thin and small. So there was Chaaliswa (custom which takes place forty days after the death of a person) of my nephew who died. Therefore we came here my husband was making *dhaig (*food cooked in big pot) he was standing there. Meanwhile he was talking to me and he was asking me, you went there so what are they saying. They suggested me to go to Chakwal there is swelling in my body. Then he said no problem go whether they charge you 100 or 200 you’ll feel better. Then Mae came and said they’ll check and then you would come to know about the problem. Then she told me everything. I told her that I don’t eat anything I can’t sit I cant do anything then she said don’t worry God will bless you. Then she said , I’ll see after offering my prayers. She offered Namaz then she searched and gave taweez to me. It took 21 days… then she told me to tie this Taweez on your waist and drink it for few days and then come back. I’ll give it to you later then tie it on that day. I was sitting there at the time of sunset after having my lunch then she moved from this side a little like a cloth |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | I had a feeling that there is a baby |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Noori | That she started moving day by day |  |
| Zobia | Okay she didn’t show any movement for 21 days |  |
| Noori | She was completely silent and was not moving at all. I thought she is dead |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Then I got an evil shadow. Actually she was in our village … in Mughlan and I didn’t know about her. I gave birth to my daughter here and during those days I was with that woman. |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | Actually I didn’t know about that so they gave me taweez… after that nurse told me that you were ill since 12th |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | They were telling me that its not coming out then at 21st I gave birth to my daughter. I feel ill on 11th and my baby was delivered on 21st. After that Peer of Lehdi came to Chandi. |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Noori | Actually my mother went to that place and she told them that I am pregnant and sick. Even she is not feeling any pain but the baby is not coming out. Then they told her that take her to a hospital because days are exceeding and after that it’s dangerous for both mother and child. My brother phoned my husband; he was at work. He called him and after that he came home at night. So we went to hospital next morning |  |
| Zobia | Which hospital? |  |
| Noori | Chakwal |  |
| Zobia | Chakwal hospital? |  |
| Noori | Yes, my all children were born at hospital |  |
| Zobia | So your husband doesn’t say anything to you when you got to the hospital? How much they charge in hospital |  |
| Noori | They don’t charge anything |  |
| Zobia | They don’t take any money? |  |
| Noori | No |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Case is handled free of cost |  |
| Zobia | Okay free case then what about the medicines? |  |
| Noori | They usually give us some medicines while we also buy from outside |  |
| Zobia | So how much money do you spend? |  |
| Noori | I spent 1400 in the delivery of my daughter |  |
| Zobia | So other |  |
| Noori | Including Car fare , food everything |  |
| Zobia | Including? |  |
| Noori | Yes including all these |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | stayed whole day and night |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | They gave me drip at seven and then clock strike two |  |
| Zobia | So you buy drips with your own money |  |
| Noori | No they gave it in the hospital |  |
| Zobia | Do they give drip? |  |
| Noori | Free |  |
| Zobia | Free? |  |
| Noori | Yes… it’s a civil hospital. |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Noori | Actually it’s a civil hospital |  |
| Zobia | No actually I am saying this because few people say that they charge a lot of money |  |
| Noori | No that… |  |
| Zobia | They charge 7000 Rs |  |
| Noori | That is charged in different hospitals |  |
| Zobia | No I am talking about the civil |  |
| Noori | No |  |
| Zobia | No! they say that they charge 7000 in chaklala hospital |  |
| Noori | No |  |
| Zobia | Didn’t you…? |  |
| Noori | Three of my daughters were born here |  |
| Zobia | So you didn’t pay any? |  |
| Noori | No my three daughters were born here they don’t charge. They check and send back; they charge 12 Rs for bed .did you get it? 12 Rs in total for bed. And then the case is handled free of cost but anyhow I don’t know that how much they charge other people. |  |
| Zobia | What do you mean? |  |
| Noori | I don’t know how much they charge for operation |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Noori | By the way all of the cases are free of cost in Kalas and our hospital. And the timings of the hospital are 7 to 2 and its free of cost… but if they come after 2 for any case then I don’t know about the charges… anyhow it would be free because the Kalas hospital is also civil. Patients can go at any time they want there is no tension when my elder daughter was born… |  |
| Afshan | Yes |  |
| Noori | I did both of the cases there |  |
| Afshan | From Kalas? |  |
| Noori | Yes from Kalas in both cases either it was boy or girl. I had three daughters and went to chakwal twice ; for my elder and younger daughter…. And middle one was born at home. Nurse of Chandi had handled the case |  |
| Afshan | Handled the case at home? |  |
| Noori | Yes here in village by that nurse. |  |
| Zobia | Who was born at home? |  |
| Afshan | Second daughter |  |
| Zobia | Okay the second one was born at home? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Why did you deliver her at home? |  |
| Noori | That nurse is here in the village…in Chandi |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | She is in the village |  |
| Zobia | Why did you got to her? |  |
| Noori | To whom? |  |
| Zobia | To nurse? |  |
| Noori | Actually I go to my parent’s place when I had to deliver a baby. |  |
| Zobia | Okay so you called her there. |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | She comes whenever you call either at night or day |  |
| Zobia | She comes? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | How much she charges? |  |
| Noori | At that time she took 600 or 700 |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | I gave her money because she was running for my work throughout the month. |  |
| Zobia | Whole month |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | I was just getting into 8th month and I went there |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | You went there in 7th month |  |
| Zobia | What does this nurse do? She does everything? |  |
| Noori | She gave drips |  |
| Zobia | Okay then? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | So she deliver at home? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Do they have all equipments? |  |
| Noori | Yes all equipments |  |
| Zobia | Does she give injections? |  |
| Noori | Medicines injections everything |  |
| Zobia | Does she give drips? |  |
| Noori | Yes drips everything |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | if there is need of infusing injection into the drip then she does that too |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | My bhabi had 5 children and she handled all the cases |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Those who are living in village handle all the cases. While there are few in hospitals … pindi Islamabad |  |
| Zobia | Why? |  |
| Noori | They are retired so they are at home. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | So does she do the massage |  |
| Noori | She went to Suhaway |  |
| Zobia | Suhawa? |  |
| Noori | She is from Suhawa but she is married here; moreover she lives in hospital and her children also live with her. |  |
| Zobia | Which hospital? |  |
| Noori | Its here in pindi or Islamabad and her daughter got married. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | She is a nurse and I guess she is your age fellow… her name is Fari |  |
| Zobia | Which nurse? |  |
| Afshan | That nurse from chandi? |  |
| Zobia | Okay that nurse from Chandi? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Okay… okay these women from village seriously go to Chandi or you are the only one? |  |
| Zobia | In this village |  |
| Noori | Whenever they want to do the case they call her. Along with the medicines there is a doctor in the hospital in chandi. That dr usually brings medicines. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Yes… that’s good you we have discussed a lot of things now we’ll go |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | We want to talk to your husband ; we want to ask him that how his wives died. |  |
| Noori | Laughing… let it |  |
| Zobia | Can we ask him or not? |  |
| Noori | Leave it… they died because they had to… I don’t about that their grand daughter told me that the mother of these kids… |  |
| Afshan | Hmmm |  |
| Noori | I don’t know if she was talking about her or another one because both had baby boy. She was saying that they gave her cold water after the delivery due to which she had a sore throat. |  |
| Zobia | What happened? |  |
| Afshan | By giving her chill water? |  |
| Zobia | So what happened? |  |
| Zobia | She had a sore throat and died? |  |
| Noori | Hmmm |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | They gave chill water from fridge |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | But I don’t about the other one. |  |
| Zobia | After many days the first one died? After the delivery of baby? |  |
| Noori | Baby was 7 days old |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | So she died |  |
| Zobia | So the baby was fine? |  |
| Noori | His first wife |  |
| Zobia | The first wife |  |
| Noori | Is that boy young |  |
| Zobia | Is the boy young… the baby survived and he married again? |  |
| Noori | Yes… and she also died at the time of delivery |  |
| Zobia | So baby also died? |  |
| Noori | Baby also died! They both are from the first wife |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Zobia | No I want to ask this thing but from whom would I ask… should I ask it from your husband or your mother in law? |  |
| Noori | What would you do after asking this question? |  |
| Zobia | Because a lot of women die in our country |  |
| Noori | Okay |  |
| Zobia | 1600 women die per year. During delivery of baby. That’s why we are gathering this information. |  |
| Noori | Hmmm |  |
| Zobia | Why do they die? Is it off yesterday?? |  |
| Noori | I am telling you that during delivery my in laws … I had 4 to 5 miscarriages |  |
| Zobia | Okay? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | You had 4 to 5 miscarriages? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | You didn’t inform me about this; how it happened? |  |
| Noori | I had four daughters and the girl who died in the womb…. its easy to deliver. |  |
| Zobia | Hmmm… so it was delivered completely |  |
| Noori | She was delivered at home…. She was fine and also moves |  |
| Afshan | That girl was born at home? |  |
| Noori | Yes she was born at home… actually Nurses told me that your case would be handled at home. For this reason I didn’t go to the hospital. When I had labor pains that baby was moving in my womb. I fell ill at night my elder daughter was so small at that time. |  |
| Zobia | Hmmm |  |
| Noori | When my husband came back home I didn’t tell him that I was ill. Because my stomach and back was aching at that time… so I didn’t tell him that I am ill |  |
| Zobia | Okay so you knew this thing the baby had died ? |  |
| Noori | She used to move I the womb |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | So when labor pain started my blood pressure shot up… got it |  |
| Zobia | What is she saying when pain started… |  |
| Afshan | Blood pressure shot up |  |
| Zobia | Okay blood pressure… |  |
| Noori | Actually it shot up that’s the problem |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | So she died? |  |
| Zobia | So what happened? When the pain started you didn’t tell this to anybody? |  |
| Noori | I called these women of village |  |
| Zobia | Were you at home? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Where was your husband? |  |
| Noori | He was also at home |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | I asked him to call the woman who lives next to us she is from Kashmir. I asked him to call her. I told him that there is pain in my abdomen. |  |
| Zobia | Okay ! on whose turn |  |
| Noori | I said why I would make noise. Then I called her and told her that there is pain in my abdomen. She also did massage. Actually I am little acquainted with these people of Naraah |  |
| Zobia | Who |  |
| Afshan | Who |  |
| Noori | I don’t know her name…. she is from Kashmir but I don’t know her name |  |
| Afshan | Riffat? |  |
| Noori | Yes riffat |  |
| Zobia | Riffat from Kashmir? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | She is kashmiri |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Actually her relative are with me in Narrah.. in mughlan |  |
| Afshan | Okay |  |
| Noori | She was our neighbor |  |
| Afshan | Okay |  |
| Noori | I called her she asked talib to call her |  |
| Zobia | Hmmm |  |
| Noori | We called her then she asked us to call my mother in law. Then I told her that there is no need of calling mother in law if she had to die then it would… I said leave it… I said they would talk at back leave it |  |
| Zobia | What do you mean by this that they would talk at back? |  |
| Noori | They’ll make a plan. Because they are not in good terms |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | They’ll talk rubbish. So he went there to call her. She said there should be a family member. Because it may went wrong. I told them that there is no need of calling her. If I die she would thank God. She’ll say, what a relief she died. As she came in I was lying down then she said look she is not ill its useless to call me. Then I said to Fazilat that look I told you this before. Because they had to make plans. And my brother in law was saying that nothing would happen my brother is making alibi. |  |
| Zobia | There wasn’t any baby? Shocking |  |
| Afshan | No baby is not coming out |  |
| Noori | No there isn’t any at all |  |
| Afshan | Okay there wasn’t any baby ? (astonished) |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | Yes there isn’t any baby he is just telling a lie… I was in ninth month and I was wearing loose clothes and covered my belly with a *duppata*. And it’s my habit that I cover it *duppata* whether I am pregnant or not. They didn’t know that I was pregnant. Actually they were living here and we were living on the other side. |  |
| Zobia | At which number this kid was? |  |
| Afshan | Second… you are talking about your second daughter? |  |
| Zobia | You had still birth |  |
| Afshan | The baby who died? |  |
| Noori | I had still birth at my second baby |  |
| Zobia | Okay second baby |  |
| Afshan | Yes second baby |  |
| Noori | Yes second… she is not going to have any baby she is just lying down meaninglessly. I said that I am suffering from this pain I know this; should I jump? then will you say that she is ill. (Laughing) its right. When my daughter was delivered then they finally trusted us. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | My mother in law would say that she is just showing off she is not pregnant. I said i would jump and then only then you will accept this. I have pain. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | I was fine. She was saying that Riffat is saying to give her milk with ghee. So the baby will be delivered easily. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Noori | She started giving it to me after that i had a fever and i puked. my blood pressure shot up. |  |
| Zobia | How do you know this that your blood pressure was high? |  |
| Noori | My blood pressure gets high. but most of the time it remains low and she eats my brain. |  |
| Zobia | So your blood pressure remains low |  |
| Noori | Yes very low |  |
| Zobia | But how do you know this that your blood pressure shoots up at that time? |  |
| Noori | Actually i was not feeling well. they gave up |  |
| Zobia | Who? |  |
| Noori | She was sitting with me and she was about to die. she was saying that she will not survive. then it came into my mind that *hamaray* *ghar peeron ki mohar pdi hui thi.* At our home… then I asked Fazilat to tell Talib …. Whole night passed like this |  |
| Zobia | Were you feeling pain? |  |
| Noori | I was feeling pain as the baby was not coming down. And the baby was not showing any movement then I told them that baby gets lazy due to pain. But when the baby delivered it was dead. |  |
| Zobia | After how many hours it came out? |  |
| Noori | After so many hours… I had labor pains at the time of sunset and it was around 12 and 1; with our *peer’s mohar .* she was asking me to lie down to take off Shalwar etc etc. I told her that it was not my first baby I already delivered before. I told her that I’ll take off the time. Don’t eat my brain. When I was in pain I asked fazilat to put hand on my liver (kalaijay) I had a pain…. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | I was thinking that this vomiting and fever is for the time being |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | I was continuously puking; moreover she was irritating by telling me to sit to do this and that… I was feeling sad |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | I told her that I’ll do it myself leave it…I told her that its not my first baby I can do it its my second baby. After that when I took *mehar …*I asked her to call Talib and tell him to bring *Mehrain* from the bowl. They gave me and after five minutes… |  |
| Zobia | Baby came out |  |
| Noori | Look whole night spent in pain and water came out |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Noori | When water started coming I asked her should I take off my shalwar she said as you wish. I told her now it’s the time and should I keep wearing it. |  |
| W2 | Laughing |  |
| Noori | Laughing… then she said okay take off and sit on those bricks when you feel pain. I said okay. Then I said I am feeling pain again she said go and sit on bricks. I went there and the baby started coming out within 5 minutes. After that I felt a severe pain and the baby came out. Then she told me to stand up if baby came out. I said how can I stand baby is half inside. Then Riffat was saying baby came out so early. I said wait in first stage of labor pain I got up, In second I went on to the bricks and in third the baby came out. |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Noori | I said now see was I telling a lie? Then she asked my sister in law to keep things on their place then I said leave it I’ll do it myself. I said don’t tell her to do this because she can separate placenta to kill me I can’t trust her. And my daughters are so innocent where they would go then. I don’t have anyone I said if I die… I don’t have any relatives here. I asked her to leave I’ll do it I have that much courage then I hold that bed with my hands. |  |
| Zobia | Placenta came out at that time? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Okay it came out at the same time |  |
| Noori | Not it came out later |  |
| Zobia | After how many minutes |  |
| Noori | After two hours |  |
| Zobia | After two hours? (Astonished) so baby was separated? |  |
| Noori | No |  |
| Zobia | Baby was not separate? |  |
| Noori | No |  |
| Zobia | Baby was on the floor? |  |
| Noori | Yes… there wasn’t any place to cut it. I was holding the corner of bed. I was sitting on the bricks |  |
| Zobia | You were sitting on the floor so the baby was born on the floor |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | So who hold they baby? |  |
| Noori | Who was going to hold it because placenta came out and the baby was dead. |  |
| Zobia | So you knew that the baby was dead |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Not one tried to save her life? |  |
| Noori | How could we try because the baby was dead. She was not even breathing… and if the baby is weak then if you smack him from the back then he can breathe. That’s something else. But she was dead then how can she breathe |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Afshan | How did you know that she was dead? |  |
| Noori | When someone is dead then can’t you see (laughing) baby breaths and moves if it’s a live. |  |
| Afshan | Hmm |  |
| Zobia | Okay so no one tried to hold the baby? |  |
| Noori | No it was on the floor as placenta was not coming so they were worried about that. They already saw that the baby was dead. |  |
| Zobia | Hmm okay |  |
| Noori | Yes I have seen that it was in front of my face… the baby |  |
| Zobia | So you came to know that the baby is dead? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | So when did it stop moving? |  |
| Noori | it was dead when it came out of the womb. |  |
| Zobia | Yes… but you already knew that it was dead? |  |
| Noori | Yes because it was not moving in the womb. |  |
| Zobia | For how many days it didn’t show any movement |  |
| Noori | At that day baby didn’t move at all |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Yes… while baby used to move before. After that when I fell ill it wasn’t moving… in womb |  |
| Zobia | Otherwise baby was fine? |  |
| Noori | Yes she was fine |  |
| Zobia | No |  |
| Noori | She used to move in the womb |  |
| Zobia | But it looked my … but was there any other problem? |  |
| Noori | No nothing at all baby was fine |  |
| Zobia | What was its colour |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | What was her color? Blue |  |
| Noori | No God knows its been a long time |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Yes how was she |  |
| Zobia | Okay so placenta didn’t come out in 2 hours? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | So what happened |  |
| Noori | After that… nothing just pushing the belly |  |
| Zobia | So you came up on the bed or you were sitting there? |  |
| Noori | No here |  |
| Zobia | For two hours? (astonished) |  |
| Noori | Yes on bricks… I was sitting on the bricks. Then they gave me *Chanda* |  |
| Zobia | What is Chanda? |  |
| Noori | That moves the abdomen. |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Noori | Its shakes (*chandt ti*) and comes out. It goes in to the body. |  |
| Zobia | What do you mean by ( *chandtna* )? |  |
| W2 | Like this (*Thap thap* sound) |  |
| Noori | Okay |  |
| W2 | Okay |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Okay so the placenta came out |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | So what did you do with the baby? |  |
| Noori | Then we buried her |  |
| Zobia | So what do you do with placenta when the baby is born normal |  |
| Noori | Nurses have different procedure as they cut the placenta at that time |  |
| Zobia | Yes right |  |
| Noori | They cut the nerve and they pinch |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | After that their scissor and other equipments… |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | Its their own way |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | And the villagers have their own experience |  |
| Zobia | What does the villager do? |  |
| Noori | Villagers also do that… but that baby was dead so they… |  |
| W2 | What do they do? No if they deliver then what do the attach as you told about the doctors |  |
| Noori | No they don’t do anything the villagers. Anyhow now people don’t deliver at home. Everyone goes to hospital. While in past when they deliver |  |
| W2 | Hmm |  |
| Noori | Yes at that time when they get that *nais* |  |
| W2 | Hmm |  |
| Noori | So they used to tie with thread |  |
| W2 | Okay |  |
| Noori | Yes…so that blood does not come out |  |
| W2 | Okay |  |
| Noori | As she puts (*chutki*) |  |
| W2 | Hmm |  |
| Noori | Now she ties it with thread and fastens a knot. Tightly |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Okay so third daughter was born normally |  |
| Noori | This condition was in all the other three deliveries (laughing) |  |
| Zobia | Here in hospital |  |
| Noori | I feel pain throughout nine months because my babies usually remain in *nalo (lower part)* they do not remain in womb. so I feel pain on this side |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | And in last days of pregnancy I even cant stand or sit properly |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Noori | No there is some hindrance (laughing) |  |
| Zobia | Don’t you use anything? |  |
| Noori | We don’t use any thing… from the very beginning |  |
| Zobia | You have used injections |  |
| Noori | Yes I have ruined it by injections now I’ll never use such kind of things |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Yes… thanks to arif that he gave medicines due to which I am settle. And he said God will give spirit as well after that I had a baby girl. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | So your husband doesn’t say that he wants a boy? |  |
| Noori | No why would he say.It is given by the God what can he do (laughing) |  |
| Zobia | Okay so he is nice |  |
| Noori | He doesn’t say anything I told him that we are not having any baby so we’ll get one from orphanage |  |
| Zobia | Hmm (laughing) |  |
| Noori | Now my brother is in Lahore he called then my brother in law said that may be my sister is doing this… after that he asked to call brother. Then Talib came home and I asked him to call. They said that they’ll bring if there will be any… then I inquired this in Lahore but their madam says that… |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | That we never give any child. Because most of the kids have their fathers and they usually come to see them .That’s why we never gave any child. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | But they give here in Jehlum somewhere across… then I asked my cousin to inquire then he said that they give child to the person who pays them 1 and half lac Rs or any land in her/his name… |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Or 1 lac Rs in account is save for her |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | And we don’t have that much money… leave it… now they brought the daughter of Chaudry here from jehlum. Her father had died and there is land for 1 lac on her name. That girl has brought here and the mother talks about it then she says who are you? It’s all mine |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Yes (laughing) |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Noori | He says baji leave these things |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | I said okay |  |
| Zobia | That’s a big thing I have seen that people do not give their children to other |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Yes they don’t |  |
| Afshan | But they were your husband’s children |  |
| Noori | Yes but someone else’s child is not yours. When he stays at home then no one would see at the door actually he works with masons…. Get it? He earns and spends outside. I talked to them about the houses constructed across… |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Mughlay… they had to give our money they gave us 25 while 75 is remaining balance… get it? |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Noori | I had spent almost lac on the roof and meter. While the people who live next to that house ; they are known as Bengalis |  |
| Zobia | That Ashi… next to their home. |  |
| Noori | You can see Mughals houses from their home |  |
| Zobia | Then your own home |  |
| Noori | I constructed 4 but 75000 Rs left |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | Then we left that home and came to Naraah |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | But this boy never said this that my father is earning alone I should help him I am young. But he doesn’t care about it. We had spent 20,000 on him and they didn’t give him back any. Get it? |  |
| Zobia | Your son? |  |
| Afshan | No |  |
| Noori | People who had to give house back |  |
| Afshan | People who had taken back from them |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | They had spent 20000 . we had spent 1 lac and they gave 20,000 out of 1 lac |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Its been 5 months since we came here. And he is not thinking about it that our money is going into waste. That three of us are earning he is not realizing |  |
| Zobia | Then |  |
| Noori | He is earning silently and spends all of his money on three packs of cigarettes and balance cards. Last night sister was sitting here I talked to her and said think about it… and his father as well I said Talib think I’ll get that house back at any cost and transfer it into name of my daughters then don’t say that my son has nothing at all. His sister was sitting with him I said make him understand and don’t say anything to me in future. People of Bradari told me this when one is transmitted to other then he says something. |  |
| Zobia | Yes right |  |
| Noori | I told this to his sister that if anybody from Bradari talked about this … that father is sitting idly. His father and brother were also there; I said if your aunts talked about this then think I’ll (*daang dungi upper se nikaalungi)* I have informed you. And if someone tried to mess with me then I’ll finish it. I have been listening to them and I am tolerating this. My husband doesn’t say anything. People do whatever they want. He doesn’t say anything to them. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Anyhow when I get angry he doesn’t say anything to me… he knows this thing that they irritate me that’s why I get angry. His aunts’ uncles and even sister does a lot of bad things. They tied taweez at our home. His sister gave taweez to him. So that he accepts the proposal and gets married here. It was out of the limits and he leaves the son and stays at Naraah. |  |
| Zobia | At grandfather’s place? |  |
| Noori | Yes at grandfather’s place. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | He stayed at their home but didn’t accept the proposal. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Yes he doesn’t and they even went to police. There is a policeman in our neighbors. |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | He informed my brother in law that he send the proposal and keep that boy in his place. They also have a shop I have been to their shop. Then I told Talib he was taking bath that Ahrar had called you. I didn’t tell him that he talked about this. I said he should listen this from him. He went there and said Sameer is here and he is saying that he’ll send the proposal and keeps the boy with him. He said keep this in mind that its been so long since marriage and my siblings never came to my place. He discussed all this with my daughter and he didn’t discuss this with me and my wife. And we asked about the sizes of dresses and ring from my daughter directly. |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | Her parents were not at her home! Its our tradition. To talk with our children. Not discussing with father. My brother discusses with my son about the proposal but they never discussed it with me. He told this directly. For this boy I went to my parent’s place for three years only because of him… then I came back and made home he is still here. Our fights for hours. |  |
| Afshan | Hmm |  |
| Noori | He stayed at her father’s sister’s place at our back… aunt and sister both at their place |  |
| W2 | Okay after this all you still want to adopt a child. Even you know that they do like this. Then why do you think of adopting a child. |  |
| Noori | No I was just sharing that they may not create any problem. |  |
| W2 | Hmm |  |
| Noori | My nephews brought girls from Mansehra… pathans of Mansehra. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Both are sister in laws (*daiwarani jhaithanai)* |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | If you look at their children they look like foreigners |  |
| W2 | Hmm |  |
| Noori | They are very cute my cousin came here to harvest wheat. my daughter was saying mom do you want to buy that small child for 20 Rs. (laughing) |  |
| W2 | Look… laughing |  |
| Afshan | Laughing |  |
| Noori | Meanwhile his mother came over. She said what is the price of this kaka? He is 6 months old. Then she replied I’ll give him for free then she said okay take 200 I guess he is for 200. I said he is healthy. (laughing) |  |
| Afshan | Laughing |  |
| W2 | Laughing |  |
| Noori | I said he is healthy the she said no its for 200. So give me for 200. My cousin said if you can bring him up then take him. |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | He is my cousin’s son. Take him if you can take care of him. Secondly he drinks milk. He is so cute and smiles so beautifully. We said we’ll take care of him. There was a pathan in our neighbor she also had a baby and my daughters didn’t give her back. Now she has gone to Karachi. Now he has grown up he was so small when she used to bring at our place. |  |
| Afshan | They came to harvest wheat ; whose yours? |  |
| Noori | No my parents had called him |  |
| Afshan | Okay |  |
| Noori | From Adhiyal |  |
| Afshan | Okay |  |
| Noori | They are our relatives. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | So those two brothers are married to outsiders. |  |
| Zobia | Okay listen why did they marry outsiders? |  |
| Noori | Just like that |  |
| Zobia | There will be something… there wasn’t any girl in family? |  |
| Noori | Now no one sees the caste now there are very few who do intermarriages. |  |
| Zobia | What is the reason? |  |
| Noori | Actually bradries are not in good terms with each other so they do it outside |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | They don’t make any relation due to it |  |
| Zobia | Okay so you buy Phatans? For how much? |  |
| Noori | Whoever they find |  |
| Zobia | And they give their girls? |  |
| Noori | Yes they give… those phatans who wear *garara* |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | No those pathans who wear dresses like ours |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | They sell girls |  |
| Zobia | People can buy? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | For how much? |  |
| Noori | Almost for 40,000. My husband’s son… pathans were living here… |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | Here was a man from our Bradari he said… |  |
| Zobia | To ask these pathans? |  |
| Noori | Yes to get this boy engaged…. I said why we would ask them; there aren’t girls in our Bradari! They should marry within the Bradari. And in future if we couldn’t find any one then where would we send our daughters he makes decision with his aunt then its useless… when we know this thing; that he is not going to listen us. Then its useless for us to do this. I was talking to his father last night |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | I said that you did three marriages but people accepted you because they knew about you. But now who will accept him after seeing such environment. |  |
| Zobia | How |  |
| Afshan | Talking about his son |  |
| Noori | My husband’s son |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Noori | I said no body is going to give him. Even my two nieces are young. |  |
| Afshan | Hmm |  |
| Noori | We are not talking to them due to her engagement. They irritated me. Just because of this boy. My brother has thrown my sisters. My younger sister is there. She is sent to Deer while other one is married to someone in Jehlum. I don’t know who he is. |  |
| Afshan | Hmm |  |
| Noori | Both of his daughters got married. My brother said to my sister that you broke my heart. He said get them engaged as there is no space at our place both of our sons are small. Anyways he is your stepson but still you both sisters will live together. So giver to baji but my sister didn’t listen to him. |  |
| Afshan | Hmmm |  |
| Noori | My brother and mother are annoyed by my sister.but they should think that they had left their son here they are so shameless. |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Noori | But they still their… |  |
| Afshan | But they accepted that proposal so would your son marry there. |  |
| Noori | That’s what they were saying. |  |
| Afshan | So he was ready to marry there |  |
| Noori | Yes he was ready for it and another proposal was send to Kalas she was my uncle’s daughter but they refused to give their daughter. |  |
| Zobia | Why didn’t she give? |  |
| Afshan | What was the reason? |  |
| Noori | His behavior was not good |  |
| Afshan | That boy’s behavior was not good? |  |
| Noori | Yes… if he was good then why would I waste my mind… he did everything according to his own will. He didn’t listen to his family. And his dad said its alright |  |
| Afshan | Hmm… that’s right |  |
| Noori | Now he cant beat his son with a stick |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | He can advise him but he is not listening to his advice then there is no other cure for it. |  |
| Afshan | Yes right |  |
| Zobia | Lets go |  |
| Noori | Like this |  |
| Afshan | You had to cook food with it?? |  |
| Noori | No Sajid is there |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Afshan | He may not get angry on you |  |
| Noori | Laughing… they will say where I have been lost and I didn’t inform them |  |
| Afshan | They may not say that where have you gone leaving all the work at your back and you may have to give food to the kids |  |
| Noori | Laughing |  |
| Zobia | Yes… okay… you come here daily |  |
| Noori | Yes I come daily |  |
| Zobia | So when do you go back? |  |
| Noori | We don’t have any exact time. Sometimes at 1 or at 2,3 ,4 |  |
| Zobia | Do come here |  |
| Noori | When those teachers get free |  |
| Afshan | You just work in the school or take care of these plants |  |
| Noori | No, only school. Nothing else. There are other women who are working at homes but when I came here I said that I can only work in school because my husband is so strict. Sadia knows how my husband is |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | I said that my husband is so strict. And I came here forcibly. I asked him to let me go may be I get better by going there |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | I said let me go and I don’t do anything at home so I am sitting I like a dog, |  |
| Zobia | What do you mean you don’t have any work to do |  |
| Noori | No I was not feeling well |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Noori | If I start it I do it continuously but when I lie down I get fever and I feel pain. And if I walk my body gets warm |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Noori | So I just walk like this. When I sit my body gets cold. So I feel a pain |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | I feel like… |  |
| Zobia | You are right… |  |
| Noori | I was working all day long. After that I went home and gathered all clothes. Then I came back at the time of sunset |  |
| Zobia | Why did you go there? |  |
| Afshan | I washed clothes there |  |
| Zobia | For washing clothes |  |
| Noori | So my all day passes like this. Yesterday that dish was filled with flour I made that. Yesterday there was meat with chappatis. We came back at 1 from there. I didn’t take rest after that I took all of the clothes. He was at home I told him that I am going to kassi to wash clothes. He came with me I washed clothes |  |
| Zobia | Okay so you go to Kassi to wash clothes? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Isn’t it far |  |
| Noori | Its near to us not that far. |  |
| Zobia | So is there enough water at kassi to wash clothes |  |
| Afshan | Don’t know |  |
| Zobia | That kassi is dry |  |
| Noori | Which kassi |  |
| Zobia | At the back of your house |  |
| Noori | No kassi on this side |  |
| Afshan | There is water in ponds |  |
| Noori | Water has come due to rain otherwise there wasn’t any water. Now there is water |  |
| Zobia | Where is it |  |
| Afshan | This one |  |
| Noori | I went there and washed whole *ghadadi* |  |
| Zobia | Yes that’s right a man remains fit if he works |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Hmm lets go |  |
| Noori | If I lie down then I would feel pain here and there. My head aches. (*demagh ki taraf ghubaar chadhay*) |  |
| Zobia | Hmm okay listen when shall we come to your place? You may come here. |  |
| Noori | Okay |  |
| Zobia | So shall we go to your place with you at night |  |
| Noori | Okay |  |
| Zobia | Okay… when you go towards your home then pick us from here |  |
| Afshan | Yes |  |
| Zobia | To meet you husband? |  |
| Noori | Okay |  |
| Zobia | Okay… you want to drink water? Drink it now |  |
| Noori | It’ll be hot |  |
| W2 | Put some ice in it |  |
| Noori | Leave it |  |
| Zobia | No she wants to drink warm water. I am also thirsty whats the time |  |
| Afshan | 11 |  |
| Zobia | Its 11 |  |
| Noori | He will say that I am sitting here for plotting aplan |  |
| Zobia | Who will say this |  |
| Noori | My husband |  |
| Zobia | What kind of planning? |  |
| Noori | This… as you have asked me that how the previous wife died |  |
| Afshan | Yes |  |
| Noori | He just hate this thing if I talk about this |  |
| Zobia | Okay then we shouldn’t ask? |  |
| Afshan | Okay we will not ask this |  |
| Noori | Laughing |  |
| Zobia | Okay we will not ask him but from whom would we ask? |  |
| Noori | we had a fight once and I went out |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | I was annoyed. That jamil of Khanka… there was a poultry farm. So I met him on the way. I was crying at that time. He asked me why you are crying what happen… I said nothing we just had a fight. I am going to my parent’s place. After that he met my husband and told him that your wife was crying and going from that way. He asked him why you did that. He said its our own problem mind your own business (laughing) |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Noori | After that he never talked to my husband. This whole area,… |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | He never say salam |  |
| Zobia | Okay (astonishingly) |  |
| Noori | I said he is moody |  |
| Zobia | Why doesn’t he say salam? |  |
| Noori | God knows.. even I fight with him he doesn’t go to any funeral; even for reciting Fateha… he doesn’t go anywhere. I said if there would be funeral at our home then who would come. My dad was like him. My mother used to go everywhere but my dad didn’t. When my brother died; we brought his dead body from the hospital. My father was in Kalas my cousin was living there. Meanwhile our car came and informed that the boy is dead. |  |
| Zobia | Oh okay |  |
| Noori | My brother |  |
| Zobia | Was he young? |  |
| Noori | Yes he was 12 and half years old |  |
| Zobia | Oh |  |
| Noori | Then car came and we parked it at Kalas stop. Then we went to my cousin’s place. We called him. My father got into the car and said I have never been to anyone’s place then who will come today at my place. My mother said you didn’t go anywhere but I went there. They’ll come for me. When we reached at Chandi mord. Car horned. The entire village was on road we made our way by car horn. People were gathered near our home. My mother said look there isn’t place for the car even its night. Dead body was brought at night. Look people are around us; after that my father went to each and every funeral and did all of the work. |  |
| Noori | Now they know if he is not at home I ask my brother to go to the graveyard. They already got an advice. |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | I said yes anyone is missing then one can realize |  |
| Afshan | Yes he feels more |  |
| Noori | Yes… my mother said that you were saying that who will come. Now look there are a lot of people and there is no space for our car even. |  |
| Afshan | Hmm |  |
| Noori | Due to sound of horn they thought its an ambulance and Manzar had died. He was so much social. |  |
| Zobia | He was 12 years old then how did he die? |  |
| Noori | He was studying in school |  |
| Zobia | Yes he was a 12 years old kid |  |
| Noori | He was studying and it was *badh jhaids* season. You know kids are so naughty. So a cow died in our neighbors and they threw it on a side. |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | That’s a hard area. So there were some kids who went there at 1o in the morning to see that cow. So there was something that ran way so he also followed that thing; after that those things entered into him. Half muslim and half hindu both teams joined. He used to do each and everything. He used to do all women chores for instance doing dishes, milking cow, washing clothes. (laughing) if he had a holiday he used to do all these chores. There wasn’t anything weird but he didn’t let us sleep at night. at night he used to say this , those men are standing up. So there was a lady in our neighbors she gave taweez but he could wear it in neck and finally it burnt out. My cousin had a son in Kalas |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Noori | He came to pick my other sister she was here. |  |
| Afshan | Hmm |  |
| Noori | He said bring sister. That ring was here so those things came here. After that he didn’t come home for 3 days. He was so sick. He was saying that he’ll come back at night. but he didn’t come. Third day my cousin and her father in law were bringing that boy here. But he was getting fits time and again. He was in this condition for few days. We brought taweez and even medicines… but he was not getting better. When he used to go out of the home he usually played with the women of Mohala. They used to play ladu. Then he used to say this Khala I’ll show you something exciting. They say that there wasn’t anything. So it was season of orange pulses so we went there to harvest our crops. He was sitting next to it under the tree he was playing. We came there he said that I’ll show you something exciting he took off his shirt and it was suddenly in fire. So we blew out the fire. |  |
| Afshan | Hmmm |  |
| Noori | Someone has burnt like this later |  |
| Zobia | Hmm |  |
| Noori | At the time of Zohr he asked younger brother to bring a bottle. That little boy also asked for it so he threw it. He suddenly jumped to catch it and people were harvesting crops a little ahead. |  |
| Afshan | Okay |  |
| Noori | He was running and fire was ignited behind him. |  |
| W2 | What did he say? |  |
| Afshan | Fire pop in itself? |  |
| Noori | Yes… these things ignited. Things that are with him. Then we carried him away from here . Even younger sister was also running while my mother and other people were also there. They say that when he was running and flare of fire was coming out of him. They don’t know how. Even there wasn’t any kerosene oil or match stick that will make fire. They already blew out fire outside. They were playing lodu outside so he said I’ll show you something. He threw his shirt and suddenly they saw that it was on fire. We said what you did. Then Fazlan was saying that he didn’t do anything he just threw his shirt and it caught fire. After that for 12 days he… |  |
| Afshan | He was burnt? |  |
| Noori | He was burnt..There were two different things. One was Muslim and they were trying to save him they said that we’ll put ghat on Hindus so that they would never find him again. They used to smoke cigarette, they ask cigarette from me. Where people hide something he can easily find it. He asked for cigarettes in hospital they had beaten me with stone. His head was swollen. He was admitted in Chakwal first. Now they renovated it while it was not that good. When we used to go there doctors usually come to attend patient after 3 hours. When we went there he started yelling hey doctor come here…. Come here doctor. Don’t know what they thought about him. When he came to give him injection he said I’ll see you later. They couldn’t give him injection. We stayed there for few days then doctor came to know about his problem therefore they didn’t say anything to him. They said that there is an evil shadow on him. They said that there are few things on him that had come from outside. He called doctor for injection when he was in mood. And at that moment they can easily give injection within 5 minutes but if he didn’t want injection then it was really impossible to give him. May God save us from these things. |  |
| Zobia | Okay… listen we’ll come to your house for your interview. Was anyone given blood here? |  |
| Noori | Blood? |  |
| Zobia | Do people need blood? Did you ever get any blood? |  |
| Noori | Blood is written on rates while I don’t know about others. |  |
| Zobia | You were given blood? |  |
| Noori | No |  |
| Zobia | During delivery? |  |
| Noori | No |  |
| Zobia | Did your sisters in law get blood? |  |
| Noori | Nobody |  |
| Zobia | Nobody ever needed blood? |  |
| Noori | No |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | No one |  |
| Zobia | No body’s child |  |
| Noori | No |  |
| Zobia | Okay… okay you were telling us that you had miscarriages |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | How it happened |  |
| Noori | God knows don’t know how it happened |  |
| Zobia | You have miscarriage between these kids? |  |
| Noori | Yes I conceived and after a month I had a miscarriage |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Okay it wasn’t for long time |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Means I had miscarriage after a month or in 3rd month |  |
| Zobia | So what did you do? |  |
| Noori | Nothing I used to do work like this and I bleed. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | This girl in the middle |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | My daughter was ill so I went to Chandi. We went to her for medicine. She is from tapti. My sister said that her niece is ill so check her. So I went to home I was perfectly fine. My daughter was seven months old. When I went to hospital she said leave her first look at your baji . She has come from her father in law’s place if something terrible occur then they’ll say that she did this thing. |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Yes… so first look at her. So they both started looking at me. Then they gave medicine and injection. She asked are you feeling better little girl. My sister asked are you feeling any difference due to these medicines. So we’ll take in the morning. They asked her to go in and urinate. Then she checked it and said oh look blood is coming out. Then she said it’s not possible that they baby is fine. But we’ll try our best. They asked that girl to give two spoons of syrup and then give her medicine. After that she said if she continued bleeding then clean it. She said I can’t because she is my sister and I feel shy. |  |
| Zobia | You sister is doing this work? |  |
| Noori | Yes |  |
| Zobia | Where |  |
| Noori | Here at Afia’s the one from Maliyal |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Noori | In dhongay hospital with her |  |
| Zobia | Yes |  |
| Afshan | Now she has left this work? |  |
| Noori | No she doesn’t… now she is living at her home |  |
| Zobia | Is she doing work at her home? |  |
| Noori | No… when Afia was delivering her twins. She called her at dhongay. So she handled case there. She also handled case of a woman who lives here she had a boy….at that time Afia charged 2500…. When she handled her case. Then she went there and she asked so she gave her discount of 500 |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | She asked, where have you come from? She said from Naraah Mughlan. Then she asked about my sister she said they live in our neighbors. Then she said she is with us. Therefore she charged 2000 and gave 500 discount |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | When she came back she said that your sister has handled my case. Afia charges 2500 and your sister took 2000 from me and gave discount of 500. She told me that your sister was also there with Afia then I told her yes she also handles the case there. I also call her here… okay go and see they would be making noise |  |
| Zobia | Yes they may have. let’s go |  |
| Noori | They called her that’s why she went… |  |
| Zobia | Okay thank you so much you may go home. And kindly inform us as you move towards your home. We’ll go with you. |  |
| Afshan | Okay |  |
| Zobia | Okay |  |
| Noori | Khuda Hafiz |  |
| Zobia | Khuda hafiz |  |
| Afshan | Laughing |  |
| W2 | Laughing… you know. |  |