**031110 Yaseen Mistari’s House**

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| **Persons** | **Discussion** | **Comments/Codes** |
| W1 | We have heard that they are available in shops. |  |
| Afshan | Yes. |  |
| W1 | So, I am thinking to bring that. |  |
| Afshan | Yes, you should use that because fan is not good for him. He would suffer from sore throat, when cold air goes inside throat… |  |
| W1 | He sleeps under the fan and after that I cover him with this cloth. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | You know mosquitoes buzz in his ears. |  |
| Afshan | Yes, this is a big issue. Actually, your cattle are also inside here that is why there are many mosquitoes. |  |
| W1 | But we have to do this *zamindari* work. |  |
| Afshan | You are right. |  |
| W1 | Everything is scattered here and there. We have to manage/clean it yet. |  |
| Afshan | (laughing) |  |
| Afshan | It’s ok…actually your work is like this so there is always scaterdness in your home. (smiling and saying in light mode) |  |
| Afshan | Who is Yaseen to you? |  |
| W1 | He is my son. |  |
| Afshan | Ok, he is your son. He told me….actually he did not talk to me, he talked to him. |  |
| W1 | At that time my elder son was sick, he was suffering from high fever. |  |
| Afshan | We had been taking him to Ishtiaq in Muliyal for four or five times. We took medicines from other places as well but no vain. He was very sick on that evening so we thought to go to you for some medicine or… |  |
| Afshan | Yes…but she did not inside to tell me. Anyways, I don’t have medicines also. Actually, I don’t give medicine to anyone. You know that every work is of its kind, I am not allowed to give/prescribe medicines. But I could have seen him…or taken him to some doctor. At least I could do that. |  |
| W1 | Ok. |  |
| Afshan | I have car, I could have taken him to some doctor in that. |  |
| W1 | Actually, my son was very sick on that evening….we thought that there is no doctor in the village and there is no place to go in Muliyal also. |  |
| Afshan | Hm |  |
|  | (baby’s sound) |  |
| W1 | (could not properly understand, 1:46) |  |
| Afshan | How old is he now? How many months old? |  |
| W1 | His fifth month has started now. |  |
| Afshan | (Talking and playing with the baby) |  |
| W1 | He is such a baby that he wakes up immediately. |  |
|  | (Afshan talking and playing with baby) |  |
| Afshan | Actually, he did not tell me at that time. If he had told me, I could have come and see him. |  |
| W1 | No, it’s ok. We carried him to Ishtiaq in Muliyal the next day. He gave him treatment and with Allah’s will his fever cured. |  |
| Afshan | Was he also suffering from sore throat? |  |
| W1 | No, he was not suffering from sore throat. Actually he was suffering from the other fever….you know the big/great fever…. |  |
| Afshan | Yes. |  |
| W1 | That affects people for a long time…. So, he was suffering from that. |  |
| Afshan | Ok… typhoid. |  |
| W1 | It started from Ramdan and then it had been almost two months….yes, he was suffering from typhoid. |  |
| Afshan | Hm. |  |
| W1 | Now we are taking medicines from him and with Allah’s will he is fine now. |  |
| Afshan | Ok, thanks to Allah. |  |
| W1 | Actually, he was very sick on that day. We did not have medicine at home and he was suffering from high fever. |  |
| Afshan | Oh…he should have told me. But he did not tell me. |  |
| W1 | We were so much worried and thought to tell you…maybe you could give the medicine if you had. |  |
| Afshan | Oh…I could have given him medicine for fever at least. But he did not tell me. I could know only if he had told me inside. But he did not tell me at that time. He told me at night…and then I said “Manzar, what to do with you…that boy is so much sick and you should tell me at that time”. He should have told me that Yaseen came, I could have seen him and given some medicine for fever. I have kept medicines for fever at home with me. |  |
| W1 | We took him to Ishtiaq next day. |  |
| Afshan | To Ishtiaq? |  |
| W1 | Yes. |  |
| Afshan | Ok…thanks God, he is better now. |  |
| W1 | What can we do, he (Ishtiaq) is nearest from here. |  |
| Afshan | No, he is a nice doctor. Ishtiaq is a good doctor. |  |
| W1 | Yes. |  |
| Afshan | He is a good doctor. |  |
| W1 | Would you like to have some tea? |  |
| Afshan | No, we shall not take tea or even cold drinks. We just had our breakfast. Actually, we wake up a bit late….we are not like you who wake up early in the morning. (laughing) |  |
| W1 | We wakeup very early in the morning before sun rise because we have to do many chores in morning. |  |
| Afshan | Yes, of course. |  |
| W1 | Otherwise, our works don’t end. Even now, the dishes are still there…I have to wash them. The broom is still there in the lawn. |  |
| Afshan | Yes. (laughing) |  |
| W1 | I hardly managed to clean house. |  |
| Afshan | Hm. |  |
| W1 | Actually, I have this little baby…if he cries sometimes I come and hold him and sometimes she comes and look after him. That’s why we do household chores slowly. |  |
| Afshan | Yes. Is your daughter-in-law your relative also? |  |
| W1 | No, she is out-of-family. |  |
| Afshan | Ok, she is out-of-family (*bahir ki*). |  |
| W1 | We brought two sisters from the same home (by marrying them to my sons). |  |
| Afshan | Ok… so, where is your other daughter-in-law? |  |
| W1 | My other daughter-in-law and son had a fight here then they carried all their things and moved to Muliyal. |  |
| Afshan | Oh…they had a fight with you? Ok… (smiling) |  |
| W1 | A sister has left her sister (after fighting with her). |  |
| Afshan | Yes. |  |
| W1 | So, what can we do? |  |
| Afshan | You had brought two sisters so that they live together. |  |
| W1 | Yes, I thought that they would live together…two sisters and two brothers would peacefully live together. But she did not stay with her. |  |
| Afshan | Hm… |  |
| W1 | Both sisters got pregnant at the same time. |  |
| Afshan | Did they conceive at the same time? |  |
| W1 | Yes…but her baby was aborted. |  |
| Afshan | Oh… (sadly) |  |
| W1 | May Allah give long life to her baby, her pregnancy was successfully completed. So, the other one started fighting based on this and…. |  |
| Afshan | Oh… (sadly) |  |
| W1 | It is jealousy… I told her that it is in Allah’s control, she could get pregnant again but…. |  |
| Afshan | Hm. |  |
| W1 | Now, I am worried about my son also. |  |
| Afshan | What happened to him? |  |
| W1 | He does not meet us. |  |
| Afshan | Oh, ok… |  |
| W1 | His wife is like that. |  |
| Afshan | This is wrong. He should meet/see his mother at least. |  |
| W1 | It is like this. |  |
|  | (Afshan playing with baby and asking him why he is looking at her so keenly) |  |
| W1 | Would you like to take tea, I can make now. |  |
| Afshan | No, no…. I told you that we just had our breakfast. I just left the cup of tea and thought to come here. |  |
| W1 | His name is Haseeb Ahmed. |  |
| Afshan | Ok, Haseeb Ahmed…it is a nice name *mashallah*. |  |
| Nighat | Look at him, how he is seeing you. (smiling) |  |
| Afshan | (smiling) |  |
| W1 | He even laughs and talk also. |  |
|  | (playing with baby) |  |
| Afshan | Where was he born? |  |
| W1 | He was born in Sohawa. |  |
| Afshan | At Nighat’s place in Sohawa? |  |
| W1 | Yes. |  |
| Afshan | Ok... But Nighat charges a lot of money. |  |
| W1 | No, she did not charge a lot. |  |
| Afshan | Ahan (surprsid)! How much did she charge? |  |
| W1 | We spent almost 3000 rupees. Her fee and then we had bought medicines from outside…and then you know other little expenditures the bed and bedding rent, cleaning and everything….it all made up almost three or four thousand rupees. |  |
| Afshan | Hm. |  |
| W1 | We paid fifteen or sixteen hundred rupees for hiring the car also. |  |
| Afshan | Hm… |  |
| W1 | It was her first baby…her labor pain started at 9 o’ clock in morning and then I took her there. |  |
| Afshan | Hm. |  |
| W1 | That boy must be standing outside. |  |
| Afshan | No, no…he must have gone. He does not stand outside like this. |  |
| W1 | Azam! If the boy is outside then open the door of drawing room (*bhaitak*) and ask him to sit there. |  |
|  | (silence for a while) |  |
|  | (sound of some cattle moving in background) |  |
| W1 | Yaseen was at home yesterday, so he visited us. |  |
| Afshan | Yes, he had been sitting here. |  |
| W1 | Yes |  |
| Afshan | But why had you taken her to Nighat? You could have taken her to Kalas. |  |
| W1 | Kalas…if I tell you the truth, I took her one or two times to Kalas as well for checkup. Why should one tell a lie? |  |
| Afshan | Hm… |  |
| W1 | They wrote that she would need operation….minor (episiotomy) |  |
| Nighat | Ok. |  |
| Afshan | Ok… |  |
| W1 | I said that I would not go for the operation. |  |
| Afshan | Minor operation (episiotomy)? |  |
| W1 | Yes. |  |
| Afshan | But they never give in writing that woman would need a *chota/*minor operation (episiotomy). |  |
| W1 | They told that she would need a minor/*chota* operation. But I said that I would not go for operation… first there was a daughter and then this son. After that, Allah knows there will be two or four children but she will develop a scar there. *(midda ban jai ga).* |  |
| Afshan | Hm. |  |
| W1 | Then I took her to Nigaht in Sohawa. She stayed there for whole day. They gave her two bottles of glucose infusion and then gave her injections for strength. Then the baby was born in evening. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. Had you carried her there in morning? At this time? |  |
| W1 | Yes, she went there around 10 o’ clock. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
|  | (baby’s sound) |  |
| Afshan | Do you give him just your breast milk? |  |
| W2 | Yes. |  |
| W1 | She gives him just her milk but he cries a lot. I think maybe he feels hungry. He does not get full with just breast milk. |  |
| Afshan | May be… |  |
| W1 | So, I gave him two biscuits dipped in tea today. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | He ate (feeling happy). |  |
| Afshan | Is he five months old? |  |
| W1 | His fifth month is just started. |  |
| Afshan | Ok…then you should not give him biscuits but… |  |
| W1 | There is another thing that is available… |  |
| Afshan | The Cerelac, but no need to give that also. Take some *suji* and fry it a little then add some water in it and cook and then add some milk and cook again…. |  |
| W1 | Ok. |  |
| Afshan | You can add some sugar and some cardamom also for aroma. You should give this to him. |  |
| W1 | OK. |  |
| Afshan | Other than that….you can put some potatoes, peas or any other vegetable in water and then add a little rice and cook. You should add plenty of water and cook it for long. When it is well cooked and everything is soft and mixed well…it should be bit thin in consistency but everything is soft and mixed well. You should give that also. |  |
| W1 | Ok. |  |
| Afshan | You should give that to him because kids don’t get strength by eating Cerelac and such things. The real diet is different. |  |
| W1 | Yesterday, I asked from someone about it. Do you know Alwiya, I asked her. I told that the baby was quite well…he was drinking milk day and night and was playing whole day and was also sleeping well. There was no problem. But it is almost third or fourth day that he is crying again and again… |  |
| Afshan | Hm. |  |
| W1 | Maybe there is some problem with his stomach or maybe he is hungry. Then she checked her and told me that he is hungry. |  |
| Afshan | I also think the same because he does not have any stomach problem. Let me see him. |  |
| W1 | It is because of hunger. |  |
|  | (Afshan is holding the baby and doing some sort of physical examination maybe) |  |
| Afshan | No, no, there is nothing wrong with his tummy. |  |
| W1 | He is fine otherwise. |  |
|  | (Afshan talking with the baby) |  |
| W1 | It is just the hunger. |  |
| Afshan | Yes. |  |
| W1 | The dish of *suji* that you are telling…is not it *baadi*? |  |
| Afshan | No, it is not *baadi* at all. Do you know about the porridge that we grind in homes? |  |
| W1 | Yes. |  |
| Afshan | You can make that for him but with a thin consistency. |  |
| W1 | Ok. |  |
| Afshan | First you should strain it from a cloth and then…. Do you know the porridge that we make after roasting the seeds? |  |
| W1 | Yes, I have fed this girl almost 10 kg of those grains. |  |
| Afshan | (laughing) |  |
| W1 | By making *halwa.*(smiling) |  |
| Afshan | You have been cooking *halwa* for her? |  |
| W1 | Yes. |  |
| Afshan | Hm…So, give this type of diet to the baby. It is better than Cerelac. |  |
| W2 | Ok. |  |
| Afshan | The Cerelac is just…it’s just popular. Otherwise the strength that is gained by eating real diet/food…is not available in any other thing. |  |
| W1 | So, we should cook something with *suji* and then add milk in it? |  |
| Afshan | Yes…but in a thin consistency. |  |
| W1 | I have brought a small pack of wheat porridge that is available in market. I put used some milk and sugar and made a thin porridge for him and fed him. |  |
| Afshan | That is also fine. You know that babies get fat by eating cerelac but actually it does not contain anything (nutrient). The kid should be strong and muscular with strength. The food that is made home is more nutritious. You can even add a piece of chicken in the thing that I told you to make with potato, peas and rice…just a little piece of chicken. |  |
| W1 | Hm. |  |
| Afshan | He will get stronger *inshallah* if you will feed him like that. He won’t be hungry anymore. |  |
| W1 | Give him to me and bring other trouser for him. |  |
| W1 | *Bismillah*…*bismillah*… (while holding the baby happily) |  |
| Afshan | He is wearing a nice ring also (laughing). Has *dadi* given this ring or *nani*? |  |
| W1 | I have given him. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | (talking to the baby) See, what is *khala* saying that Haseeb Ahmed is very hungry and we should give you enough food (happily playing with the baby) |  |
| Afshan | (smiling) |  |
|  | (W1 happily playing with the baby and asking if he wants to eat) |  |
| W1 | He got one ring from *nani* and one from me…I gave this one. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | Turn off the fan. |  |
| Afshan | Turn off the fan, its cold. |  |
| W1 | She does not feel cold. |  |
| Afshan | (laughing) |  |
| W1 | By God, it’s so much cold air…that my legs ache. So, I say that… |  |
| Afshan | …he does not get ill. |  |
| W2 | He does not sleep without fan even at night. |  |
| Afshan | Or gets pain. |  |
| W1 | They lay him inside at night to sleep and he keeps on looking at the fan so that they turn it on. |  |
| Afshan | …that fan is off? (smiling) |  |
| W1 | Yes. |  |
|  | (W2 playing with the baby now) |  |
| W1 | These innocents are the real charm in a house. |  |
| Afshan | Yes, children are the actual charm of a house. |  |
| W1 | My children are adult now, may Allah give them long life. |  |
| Afshan | But these children are more dear than one’s own children…is not it? (smiling) |  |
| W1 | I love him so much by God. I don’t live even a second without him. (with love) |  |
| Afshan | Hm… |  |
| W1 | His grandfather goes in morning, then his *taya* then his *chacha…*they kiss him a lot before leaving from house. They again kiss him a lot after coming back home. |  |
| Afshan | Ok… |  |
| W1 | My youngest son holds him in his hands and then takes him up like this…. |  |
| Afshan | He is looking at me continuously. (laughing) |  |
| W1 | He is trying to say that he has seen this lady earlier also. |  |
| Afshan | (laughing) |  |
|  | (Afshan talking with the child) |  |
| W1 | How should I serve you now? |  |
| Afshan | No, nothing. |  |
| Nighat | Thank you very much. |  |
| Afshan | You are talking so nicely with us, this is the biggest thing. |  |
| W1 | It is one’s right on others that they talk nicely to him/her. |  |
| Afshan | If a human being talks nicely, it is the greatest thing. There is no problem of food. One eats what is in his/her fate wherever s/he goes. |  |
| W1 | At least tea. |  |
| Afshan | No, no…I told you that we just had our breakfast. |  |
| Nighat | We just took tea. |  |
| Afshan | Yes….and you know that one cannot eat anything more immediately (after breakfast). Usually I don’t eat boiled egg but today I ate. So, I am full till here. (laughing) |  |
| W1 | Then how do you eat, after frying? |  |
| Afshan | Yes, I mostly eat omelet. But today I ate boiled egg and I am full till here.  See, he is looking at me continuously. (laughing) |  |
| W1 | If his tummy is full, he plays so nicely. |  |
| Afshan | Hm. |  |
| W1 | He has been crying whole day yesterday. I was so much worried….that what is wrong with him. I was so much worried. Previously, when he fell ill two or three times…we took him to Muliyal and with Allah’s grace he did not fall sick again. But it is second or third day today that he was crying. |  |
| Afshan | Hm… |  |
| W1 | So, I cooked porridge yesterday and fed him. I asked Alwiya before giving him porridge. I was worried what if it would not suit him. |  |
| Afshan | Hm… |  |
| W1 | But she told that he is hungry and we should give him whatever he eats. I extracted egg yolk from egg and then put a few drops of tea…. |  |
| Afshan | You should not give tea to him. |  |
| W1 | I mix it with tea because it is dried. |  |
| Afshan | No, but you can half boil the egg. |  |
| W1 | What if it is not good for him? |  |
| Afshan | No, nothing will happen. You should give him half cooked egg yolk. Or you can cut apple into very small pieces and then put those pieces in a cloth and squeeze it. |  |
| W2 | One can make juice instead. |  |
| Afshan | But you make milk shake. |  |
| W1 | No need to put milk. One can put a little water and blend it. |  |
| Afshan | Yes, you can give that to him. |  |
| W2 | We can give that juice to him. |  |
| Afshan | Yes. You know what….these things contain nutrition and strength for children. But other things like tea etc. are not good for children. You should use milk instead of tea. |  |
| W1 | If we put milk in his mouth, he spits it out. He is such a clever baby. (smiling) |  |
| Afshan | That’s why I asked you to use cardamom in milk. If you make porridge or any other thing then put a piece of cardamom in milk. So that its odor change. We don’t understand but children can feel the taste. Baby gets taste of everything in mother’s milk. |  |
| W1 | The mother’s milk has so much strength. |  |
| Afshan | Yes. Have you not used any other milk? |  |
| W2 | No, no. |  |
| Afshan | That is very nice. |  |
| W2 | I did not give him even a single drop of other milk. |  |
| Afshan | That’s why baby is healthy *mashallah* and does not have any ailment. |  |
| W1 | Let me tell you about taking bath…he wants to take bath every day. |  |
| Afshan | There is nothing wrong in it, you can give him bath every day. |  |
| W1 | He does not feel comfortable unless I give him bath in day. |  |
| Afshan | It is quite sunny outside at this time, weather is warm. You can give him bath. |  |
| W1 | It is almost third or fourth day since we gave bath to him. Actually, I give him bath every other day because it is a bit cold. |  |
| Afshan | Yes, it is cold. |  |
| W1 | But he wants to take bath around 10 or 11 o’ clock. He feels so happy if I take out his clothes. He thinks that I am going to give him bath. |  |
|  | (baby’s sound) |  |
| W1 | He gets attracted to everyone who wears glasses. |  |
|  | (playing and talking with baby) |  |
| W1 | My daughter is studying in Rawalpindi. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | Her eye sight is weak. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | Six points or I don’t know what they say… So, she wears glasses. She is doing *Aalma’s* course. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | Do you know about Eid Gah Sharif? |  |
| Afshan | Yes. |  |
| W1 | She is doing course there with our *Peer*s. There is a *darss,* she is studying there. |  |
| Afshan | Ok, she is doing *Aalma’s* course there. |  |
| W1 | Yes. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | When she comes here, she cuddles with and kisses him a lot….because she misses him. She does not leave him even for a second. |  |
| Afshan | Hm. |  |
|  | (baby’s sound) |  |
| W1 | Haseeb Ahmed! |  |
| Afshan | Look, where are you putting him. (scolding) |  |
| W1 | Haseeb Ahmed! Khala is holding you. |  |
|  | (W1 talking and playing with baby with love) |  |
| Afshan | Did you go to Nighat again? |  |
| W2 | No. |  |
| Afshan | Ok, you did not visit her again. |  |
| W1 | No, she did not go again. What would she do by going there? She recovered healthily from her *chilla* (first forty postpartum days) as well. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | When she will get pregnant, we shall go there again. (laughing) |  |
| Afshan | Five months have passed just like this? Or are you planning for some birth control method? |  |
| W1 | May Allah give a break (birth spacing) of one or one and a half year! |  |
| Afshan | It is important to have a gap of two years at least. It is essential. |  |
| W1 | It is not that this child is not grown up and the other one also comes. |  |
| Afshan | But one has to use some method for that. |  |
| W1 | It’s ok…Allah is the lord. |  |
| Afshan | What if another baby also comes? Then? |  |
| W1 | It can’t happen. They both (husband and wife) have not slept together till today. |  |
| Afshan | (laughing) |  |
| W1 | Believe me. My son says that when his son would get a little big then he would… |  |
| Afshan | It is nice. |  |
| W1 | Yes. Because usually men don’t live like this these days. |  |
| Afshan | Yes, *toba.* |  |
| W1 | You can ask her, he has not asked her anything. |  |
|  | (silence for a while) |  |
| W1 | Haseeb Ahmed! (talking with the baby) |  |
| Afshan | So, Nighat had not given any stitches…she just handled the delivery case? |  |
| W1 | No, she did not give stitches. With Allah’s grace, baby was born healthy without any problem and then placenta was also delivered easily. Everything was handled nicely, neat and clean. But believe me…I, my daughter and son (her husband) went there with her at the time of delivery. I kept my fingers crossed and had been praying when she went into labor. I asked Allah, she does not have any mother or sister here…so please keep are safe, no matter it would be a boy or a girl. I had been praying during all that time and Allah blessed with the baby at the time of evening prayer. We thanked Allah. |  |
| Afshan | Is her mother alive? |  |
| W1 | Her father, mother, brothers, sisters…everyone is there and alive. |  |
| Afshan | So, did you not tell anyone? (smiling) |  |
| W1 | No, we did not tell anyone. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | When her labor started, there was no one at home here. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | Her husband had gone to shop at that time. |  |
| Nighat | Oh he has peed in his trousers. |  |
| W1 | Oh… |  |
| Afshan | It’s ok… (laughing), babies do like this. See, he wants to go with you because he is missing his *phupho* (and you wear glasses like her). |  |
| W1 | (talking to the baby) You want to go to Tabinda! |  |
| Afshan | See, he wants to go to her. |  |
| W1 | (talking to the baby) Tabinda was holding you? *Phupho* was holding you? O my dear… (kissing the baby). |  |
| Afshan | (laughing) |  |
| Afshan | She wears glasses so he thinks she is her *phupho.* |  |
| W1 | Now that *khala* is remaining, we are looking at her (smiling). |  |
| Afshan | Oh…come here, come here… (talking to the baby) |  |
|  | (baby is crying) |  |
|  | (Afshan talking with the baby and holding him) |  |
| W1 | Are you unmarried or do you have children? |  |
| Afshan | I am unmarried. |  |
| W1 | Sorry? |  |
| Afshan | I am not yet married. |  |
| W1 | Is it true? |  |
| Afshan | Yes. |  |
|  | (Afshan talking with the baby) |  |
|  | (W1 and W2 feeling happy and smiling) |  |
| Afshan | He does not talk (make sounds) much? |  |
| W1 | No, no…he cries and plays so nicely. |  |
|  | (Playing with baby and talking with him…baby is making sounds and playing) |  |
| M1 | What about tea? |  |
| W1 | I asked about tea but they are saying that they just had their breakfast. |  |
|  | (Afshan playing with the baby) |  |
| W1 | He is behaving as if he knows you since long. (smiling) |  |
| Afshan | Yes, we are old acquaintances….he has seen me through the ultrasound machine. (laughing) |  |
|  | (Afshan talking and playing with the baby and asking him if he had seen her there in the ultrasound) |  |
| W1 | He was lying straight there in uterus also (when we saw him in ultrasound) |  |
| Afshan | Yes, he was straight. Ayesha Bibi guessed that it would be a boy. (laughing) |  |
| W1 | Is it? |  |
| Afshan | She is very clever. She could guess. (laughing) |  |
| W1 | But when I asked them, they told that they could not know/tell by that time. |  |
| Afshan | No, I am not talking about doctor. Doctors don’t tell, they cannot tell. Doctors working in Kalas or other such places can’t tell that, they are not allowed. |  |
| W1 | Ok. |  |
| Afshan | They are not allowed to tell the sex of baby. Do you know Ayesha Bibi….the Bangali woman…? |  |
| W1 | Yes. |  |
| Afshan | She was seeing him (during the ultrasound) and she said that it would be a boy. I asked her to be quiet. (laughing)  I asked her how she could know that. She said, she can know and tell. |  |
| W1 | The one who was sitting at the front? |  |
| Afshan | No, no... I am talking about the *Bangalan* of your village… Ayeshan? |  |
| W1 | Ok, that one. |  |
| Afshan | She was also there inside. |  |
| W1 | Yes, she had brought her daughter-in-law there. |  |
| Afshan | Yes. Yes got to know about her daughter-in-law’s baby as well that it would be boy. |  |
| W1 | Anyways…. Look at him, he is so fond of (or used to) this ring. We have used *gani* and then fixed this ring on his finger*.* |  |
| Afshan | Hm… |  |
| W1 | He was in his *first forty* *days’ period*, when I saved mony little by little and bought this ring for him in Rs. 7000. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | I put this ring in his finger at that time. But now, if we remove it from his finger…he starts crying badly. |  |
| Afshan | (Laughing) |  |
| W1 | I am thinking it is such a bad habit…maybe he will ask for wearing ring even when he grows up. (smiling) |  |
| Afshan | (laughing) |  |
| Afshan | His nails are not cut…you should cut his nails also. |  |
| W1 | We cut, but they grow again every day. |  |
| Afshan | It’s ok…you can cut daily. You know otherwise dirt accumulate there. Babies usually put their hands in mouth…you should wash his hands often, almost 5 or 6 times a day. Because children put their hands in mouth and then get sick. |  |
|  | (baby’s sounds) |  |
|  | (playing and talking with baby) |  |
| W1 | Do you have your parents? |  |
| Afshan | Oh, he has peed. |  |
| W1 | See, I told you that he would pee. |  |
|  | (W1 and Afshan talking with the baby) |  |
| W1 | Do you offer prayers? |  |
| Afshan | (laughing) It’s ok…there is no problem with children. I will change my dress. |  |
|  | (Afshan is talking with the baby with love) |  |
| W1 | He puts everything in his mouth these days…if there is some toy or cloth or whatever, he puts in mouth. |  |
| Afshan | He is five months old, he will do these things. |  |
| W1 | I think his first teeth will grow on the lower gums, it’s swollen. |  |
| Afshan | The place is made on his upper jaw…I think tooth will grow there first. |  |
| W1 | Upper jaw? |  |
| Afshan | But babies’ gums keep on swelling. |  |
| W1 | If a child’s upper teeth are grown first…they say that they are hard (troublesome) for baby’s maternal grandparents’ family. |  |
| Afshan | Is it? (surprised) |  |
| W1 | Yes. |  |
| Afshan | I don’t know. |  |
| W1 | If baby’s teething starts from upper jaw, it indicates troublesome time for baby’s maternal grandparents’ family. |  |
| Afshan | Maybe his teething would start from lower jaw. One cannot tell like this. He is very young for now…but he has started feeling the restlessness of teething. |  |
| W1 | Yes, that’s why he puts everything that he sees in his mouth. |  |
| Afshan | Yes, actually his age is like that. Babies do like this from fifth to seven months of their age. After that the teething starts. In some babies, teething starts when they are six months’ old. |  |
|  | (Afshan is talking with the baby) |  |
| W1 | If he pees in his trousers, he starts crying badly unless we change his clothes. |  |
| Afshan | …and he has peed a lot on me (smiling). |  |
|  | (everybody is laughing) |  |
| W1 | I am very regular in praying… I have never missed any prayer. But whenever I carry him, he urinates on me. |  |
| Afshan | (laughing) |  |
| W1 | I feel so bad at that time. Then I have to change either *shalwar* or shirt before offering prayers. |  |
| Afshan | Yes… Do you have some agricultural land? |  |
| W1 | No. |  |
| Afshan | Ok…then from where you bring fodder for your cattle? |  |
| W1 | We have bought just recently for Rs. 4000….and six persons are working in the meadow (*Mera*) right now. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | We could not finish it on time because our family members were sick. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
|  | (silence for a while) |  |
| Afshan | What is your caste? |  |
| W1 | We are Siyal Rajput…… and our occupation is *lohar.*we do this work (laughing). |  |
| Afshan | Do you still do that work of *Lohar*? |  |
| W1 | Yes, we do that. We have two shops. One shop is here and the other one is in Parri. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | We have this occupation. We make things from iron, like sieves and colanders (*channany* and *chahj*). |  |
| Afshan | Ok…do you make that? |  |
| W1 | Yes. Do you need? |  |
| Afshan | (laughing) |  |
|  | (W1 playing with the baby) |  |
| W1 | Let us make some juice for you. |  |
| Afshan | No, no… please don’t make anything. |  |
| W1 | Why? You have come here for the first time and saying no, no again and again. |  |
| Nighat | We shall drink on our next visit. |  |
| Afshan | Ok then…you can make lemonade for us but don’t add sugar. Just add salt. |  |
| W1 | What should she add then? |  |
| Afshan | Just a little salt, no sugar. |  |
|  | (W1 is talking and playing with the baby happily) |  |
| Afshan | So, you are *mureed* of the *peer* of Eid Gah Sharif? |  |
| W1 | Yes, we are their firm/sincere *mureed.* |  |
| Afshan | Has *peer sahib* ever come here? |  |
| W1 | Yes, he comes. He came here last year, we have some program… |  |
| Afshan | The current peer? |  |
| W1 | Peer Mujeeb ur Rehman! (I could not understand the proper name) |  |
| Afshan | Yes. |  |
| W1 | We are prepared for his visit again. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | We shall arrange a *mehfil.* |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | We invite him at home and many people come then. Almost 8 or 10 *daigs* of meat are cooked… |  |
| Afshan | Then how do you arrange money for it? |  |
| W1 | Allah almighty helps us…and his prayers. |  |
|  | (silence for a while) |  |
| W1 | We arrange *mehfil* every year. Our *Peer* comes, Mr. Tayyab sahib. This is their photo, there on the wall. He is the person who is in the middle. His son also comes here, Tariq sahib. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | They come here every year. But Mujeeb ur Rehman sahib did not come last year. He will come this year. |  |
| Afshan | So, he will come this year? |  |
| W1 | Yes. |  |
| W1 | (talking to the baby) Who is she to you? (smiling) |  |
| Afshan | (Laughing) |  |
|  | (W1 talking to the baby) |  |
| Afshan | He is looking at us continuously. |  |
| W1 | Tell me the truth, are you really unmarried? |  |
| Afshan | Yes. |  |
| W1 | …and she as well? |  |
| Nighat | Yes. |  |
| W1 | Do you live alone here? |  |
| Afshan | We are three. He also stays with us. |  |
| W1 | Is he your relative? |  |
| Afshan | Yes. |  |
| W1 | Are you (appointed for) doing some job here? |  |
| Nighat | Yes. |  |
| Afshan | I told you that we are collecting information about… women who are pregnant or who have given birth to babies during last five years…where was that baby born? What kind of issues and problems they had to face? Or what kinds of problems were faced by newborns? What kind of issues and ailments women face during pregnancy and delivery. We are collecting information about all such issues. You know that government has different organizations….and we have to write books for those who are studying medicine. We have to tell them such things. For example, you talk about *pachawan…* |  |
| W1 | Yes. |  |
| Afshan | But doctors don’t understand. |  |
| W1 | No, they don’t. |  |
| Afshan | If you talk to a doctor, they say what is *pachawan…*it is nothing. They say like that. But you believe in *pachawan*. |  |
| W1 | Yes, we believe. We do believe in it….my daughter-in-law had so much breast milk. She could feed him 0.25 kg from one side and 0.25 kg from the other side. I swear…I asked her that day to cover herself during breast feeding him if someone out-of family (*begana*) is there or even if someone from family is there. So that no one sees.... |  |
| Afshan | Hm. |  |
| W1 | One woman came to our house. By God, it is not something about arrogance… She is a breast feeding mother. |  |
| Afshan | Ok… |  |
| W1 | I think that she is affected by her (*pachawan*). It affected my daughter-in-law’ breast milk. |  |
| Afshan | Hm. |  |
| W1 | There are some traditional (*jaatki*) medicines. I told her that I would bring for her and she should use two packs of them and then with Allah’s grace her milk would be enough again. |  |
| Afshan | Hm… |  |
| W1 | So, *pachawan* exists. |  |
|  | (baby is crying) |  |
| Afshan | One can also get affected with *pachawan* during pregnancy? |  |
| W1 | Yes, at that time also. |  |
| Afshan | Can everybody inflict *pachawan*? |  |
| W1 | No, a woman whose baby was aborted…she has not told anybody. If a breast feeding mother comes across her and she talks to her then she gets affected by her *pachawan*. |  |
|  | (baby is crying) |  |
| W1 | Oh son of a pig… |  |
| Afshan | Actually, when he feels like urinating…he starts crying. |  |
| W1 | Yes, he cries. |  |
| Afshan | Yes, he cried earlier also. |  |
|  | (baby is crying) |  |
| W1 | Yasmeen! (Calling the baby’s mother) |  |
| W1 | He urinates a lot…. So often. |  |
| Afshan | (laughing) |  |
|  | (baby is crying) |  |
| W1 | Be quiet (angrily) |  |
|  | (W1 is trying to calm down the baby) |  |
| W1 | He has not slept today. |  |
|  | (baby is crying and W1 is calling him bad names) |  |
| Afshan | (laughing) |  |
| W1 | I feel so disgusting about it…I just wait when I would change my clothes. |  |
|  | (baby is continuously crying, W1 trying to calm him down) |  |
| W2 | What happened? |  |
| W1 | He has urinated again and made me *paleed.* |  |
| Afshan | (laughing) |  |
| W1 | I swear, I wear washed dress every morning and offer my prayer. |  |
|  | (baby is crying) |  |
|  | (W1 trying to calm him down) |  |
| W1 | He has not slept since morning. |  |
|  | (baby is crying) |  |
| W1 | You know what… we put him in the swing inside and turn on the TV and fan. He keeps on playing there peacefully because he hears sounds of people talking. |  |
| Afshan | Ahan (laughing). |  |
| W1 | He thinks that it is some person. When we turn off the TV, he starts crying. |  |
| Afshan | (laughing) |  |
| W1 | We say that he is such a small baby but…. |  |
|  | (silence for a while) |  |
| W1 | It is very difficult to bring up babies. |  |
| Afshan | True. |  |
| W1 | I had brought my children up so difficultly...believe me. I have four sons and I can’t tell you how hard it was to bring up my two elder sons. After that, there were siblings to take care of each other. |  |
| Nighat | Hm. |  |
| W1 | When I was bringing up my elder two sons, I had to carry them with me even when I was going to fetch water….i was carrying them with me even when I used to go to throw garbage. |  |
| Afshan | Why? Was there no one else at home? |  |
| W1 | There was no one. Not even mother-in-law or sister-in-law. I have two sisters-in-law (*nand*) but they got married before my marriage. |  |
|  | (baby started crying again) |  |
| W1 | Oh what? (Talking to baby with love) |  |
| Afshan | It is because you were scolding him. |  |
|  | (W1 trying to calm baby with love while he is crying) |  |
| Afshan | He is feeling sleepy. |  |
|  | (W1 trying to calm baby with love while he is crying) |  |
| Nighat | What is time? |  |
| W1 | It must be around 10 or 11 o’ clock. |  |
|  | (W1 trying to calm baby with love while he is crying) |  |
| W1 | Dear, do send the juice there as well. |  |
| Nighat | Is it 11 o’ clock? |  |
| Afshan | It is 10:00 a.m. Why? |  |
| Nighat | Nothing, I am just asking. It is so much sunshine; one feels it is already noon. |  |
| W1 | Yes, days are very short now. |  |
|  | (W1 trying to calm the baby and make him sleep) |  |
| W1 | He has not slept since morning today. |  |
| Afshan | He is feeling sleepy that’s why. |  |
|  | (W1 trying to calm the baby and make him sleep) |  |
| W1 | Do you go somewhere else also for duty…or are you working just here? |  |
| Afshan | I mostly work here but also go to other nearby places. Why? |  |
| W1 | I am just asking…to know if you work here only or you need to go outside as well. |  |
| Afshan | Sometimes, I have to go outside as well. Actually, I have to collect information from all those women who have given births during last five years. Information like….where was her baby born? How did the delivery take place? What had been the whole process…where they had been going and doing different things? Like you went to Nighat particularly. |  |
| W1 | No…I went here as well and I asked the senior (*baddi*) nurse…she gave in writing that her baby would be born on 31st of July…and that it would be born with *chota operation* (episiotomy). But I said, no… I won’t go for operation. |  |
| Afshan | Did you ask yourself about *chota operation* (episiotomy) or she told herself? |  |
| W1 | She told herself. She told that…… oh no, it was me…I had asked her if baby would be born naturally or it would need some operation. She told that it would need operation. Let me tell you the truth, I took her to Sohawa out of fear. I thought that it is her first baby and we start cutting her… |  |
|  | (W1 is patting the baby and trying to make him sleep) |  |
| W1 | Of course, it takes time…baby does not come out immediately. |  |
| Afshan | Yes, true. It is a difficult thing. |  |
| W1 | A woman has to bear 360 pains and then baby is delivered. (some proverb) |  |
|  | (W1 is patting the baby and trying to make him sleep) |  |
| W1 | Please come inside *baji* (sister). |  |
| Afshan | Asalam o alaikum. |  |
| W3 | How are you? Are you fine? |  |
| Nighat | Yes, fine. |  |
| W3 | Where are your sons? |  |
| W1 | My sons…may Allah give them long life. They all have gone for their work. |  |
| W3 | None of them is at home? |  |
| W1 | No. Why? Do you want to ask them for something/work? |  |
| W3 | Not as such…I have to just show them refrigerator. |  |
| W1 | What? |  |
| W3 | There is some problem with refrigerator; I had to show them that. |  |
| W1 | Who is she? |  |
| W3 | She lives here in *mohalla.* |  |
| W2 | Is he asleep? |  |
| Nighat | It would be nice if he sleeps. |  |
| W1 | Farooqan! Please shut the door…otherwise my hens would go out. But don’t lock the door from outside. |  |
| Afshan | (laughing) |  |
|  | (W1 is patting the baby and trying to make him sleep) |  |
| Afshan | Actually, he is sleepy. He is closing his eyes. |  |
| W1 | Yes. |  |
| Afshan | He is sleeping. Leave it, don’t change his dress now…he would wake up. |  |
|  | (W1 is patting the baby and trying to make him sleep) |  |
| Afshan | Why have you kept these? |  |
| W2 | What? |  |
| Afshan | These, down there on the floor. |  |
| W1 | These are fodder for cattle. |  |
| Afshan | (Smiling) |  |
| W1 | I just thought to learn the method of making *chokor* (smiling). |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | But I don’t find time… the household chores never end. |  |
| Afshan | Hm… have you never made earlier? |  |
| W1 | No, I just thought now…to try to make *chokor* of fodder (*pathay*). Few days go someone came to sell then I bought 4 or 5 *chokors.* One day my son brought this silage and I asked him to keep here…I would learn the technique. |  |
| Afshan | Yes… that’s why I asked because this is mostly used to make *chokers*. |  |
| W1 | What can we do sister…we have worked hard throughout life. My husband used to get *Saip* and we brought up our children using that *saip.* We used to have just wheat…and lentils. We had fuel (firewood) from home. We educated our children nicely…they all have studied till matriculation level. |  |
| Afshan | Just on *Saip*? |  |
| W1 | Yes. |  |
| Afshan | Was it not difficult to educate them if you had just *Saip*? |  |
| W1 | It was difficult but every house used to give us a *paai* (32kg) wheat. Some people used to give 12 *chawa* and some 10 *chawa* (1 *chawa* =2kg). So, we used to collect all those wheat grains and then sell out the extra ones. At that time, wheat was quite cheap….30 or 40 rupees for one *mon* (40 kg). |  |
| Afshan | Hm. |  |
| W1 | And now…it is for 2000 rupees. |  |
| Afshan | So, your all children have studied till matriculation? |  |
| W1 | Yes, till matriculation. |  |
| Afshan | All of them? |  |
| W1 | Yes, all. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | My eldest son in *Hafiz e Quran.* Your man has seen him. |  |
| Afshan | Hm. |  |
| W1 | I sent him to Eid Gah Sharif for four years to learn the Quran. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | He has learnt the Quran by heart. There were many difficulties in…. |  |
| Afshan | How did you manage to send your kids to Eid Gah Sharif? |  |
| W1 | Because they are our *peer* since beginning. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | When he studied till 8th grade, he told me that he could not walk. Actually, he is slightly crippled. Then I sent him there and he got admission there. he completed his matriculation there with *peer*s. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | Then he learnt the Quran. |  |
| Afshan | Did *peers* taught him for two more grades? |  |
| W1 | Yes. Then he learnt the Quran there…he learnt it by heart. He reads the Quran properly with *Qirrat*. If you would listen him, you would just wonder. He reads the Quran so nicely. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | His father used to visit him after a whole week. At that time, the weekly holiday was on Sunday. He used to go there after a week or 10 days. Sometimes, he used to give him 20 rupees and sometimes 50 rupees and sometimes 15 rupees. So, this is how he was managing there. May Allah give him long life, my son is very intelligent…he had never bought anything there even for one rupee. He had been saving all that money…he did not tell us. He did not even tell his father that he had money. He was saving all the money and then bought the photographs of *peers.* |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | They sell these there. After that he made a stall there. |  |
| Afshan | Ok… |  |
| W1 | My son is very smart. He participated in the *Urrss.* He made such a big stall…it was fifty or sixty thousand rupees’ stall. He made his living there. (I am not sure if it is the correct meaning of this sentence, W1 is saying *uss ne apni roti udhar banai*). |  |
| Afshan | Nice. |  |
| W1 | He is such a smart and nice guy. Then we brought him back home when he had learnt the Quran. Then we brought him back home. He came, his *peers* also came and we celebrated that. The *peers* put a green *pagg* on his head. So, we gave a special protocol and welcome to him at home. Then we asked and they said that he could go anywhere and manage the mosque. He had been working in mosque and then he built his shop as well. He is such a hard working man. |  |
| Afshan | So, he works on his shop now? |  |
| W1 | Yes, he manages his shop now. He has left the mosque. |  |
| Afshan | What kind of shop is that? |  |
| W1 | It is related to our own occupation…he has *chajj* and other such things there. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | I educated my other son also till matriculation….with so many difficulties. We managed to educate him till matriculation and then did his wedding. He stayed with us for five or six months after wedding and then he went away with his wife. |  |
| Afshan | What does he do? |  |
| W1 | He does mason work. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. Did you not think of sending him for some job after his education? |  |
| W1 | We asked him to go for job…his domicile and other documents were ready. But it was not in his fate. |  |
| Afshan | Did he not get the job or he….? |  |
| W1 | He could not find any job. Then he learnt mason work and now he is working in Muliyal. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | My third son also did his matriculation and then started his shop. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | …and the youngest one, he also studied like others and then learnt mason work. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | He also does the mason work. |  |
| Afshan | Why did you ask the youngest one to learn mason/*mistri*’s work? |  |
| W1 | It’s just…the elder one has already learnt and he taught his younger brother as well. |  |
| Afshan | They had done their matriculation. Did you not think of sending them in army or…? |  |
| W1 | I thought a lot about it but it is one’s own fate. |  |
| Afshan | Is it a problem of fate or luck….or it is the problem of getting jobs? |  |
| W1 | They could not find the job and we did not insist much. They were brought up with so much love, they are *laadlay.* So, we asked them to do the labor work (*mazduri*). |  |
| Afshan | Is labor work not difficult? |  |
| W1 | Then what else we should do? |  |
| Afshan | So, they go every day for work? |  |
| W1 | Yes, everyday. |  |
| Afshan | Is it not like this that there is no work for some days? |  |
| W1 | Of course, sometimes there is no work and they have to sit idle for whole month. It is not necessary that they get labor work every day. It can be like this that they get work for 10 days in a month and have nothing to do for 20 days. |  |
| Afshan | Yes… |  |
| W1 | Hm…but they are managing their living. My daughter has studied till 9th grade and then she said that she would not continue her studies because male teachers teach them. I asked her what is wrong if there are male teachers, everyone’s daughters study there. But she told me that she would not study because there were male teachers. So, she left her studies. So it is almost 1.5 years, she is living in Rawalpindi. There are so many expenses that one can’t imagine. We go to her after every 8 or 10 days. We give her surf and bathing soap from home….then other edibles like chips etc….then new clothes and shoes also. There are so many expenses, what can we do? |  |
| Afshan | Have you done her engagement or…? |  |
| W1 | No, nothing. |  |
| Afshan | Ok…is there no proposal for her yet? |  |
| W1 | No. |  |
| W1 | She is just an innocent child, why should we do her wedding now. We have to wed my eldest son yet, *hafiz.* |  |
| Afshan | Ok, so *hafiz* is not yet married. Is he the eldest one? |  |
| W1 | Yes, he is the eldest one but not yet married. The younger two are married. |  |
| Afshan | Have you not gone anywhere for his marriage? |  |
| W1 | We are going and asking about it…but we can marry him when we will find someone. |  |
| Afshan | So, people don’t give (their daughters)? |  |
| W1 | We are unable to find anyone yet. |  |
| Afshan | Or you need some special type of girl? |  |
| W1 | There must be some nice lady so that he lives nicely. Someone who can cook for him…who can manage his house, who can do and maintain cleaning. Actually, Hafiz is a very neat and clean man. He washes his hands at least 20 times a day. |  |
| Afshan | (smiling) |  |
| W1 | He washes his hands even before taking tea or drinking water. He is all the time in a state of *wudu* and reciting *darood sharif.* So, he also asks me look for some nice girl who can cook and live neat and cleanly. |  |
| Afshan | Hm… do you have your relatives here in the village? |  |
| W1 | No, we don’t have any relatives in the village. They are there in my parents’ place in *Chaitay.* |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | Earlier, they were living in Dewal. Then my parents moved to Chaitay from Dewal. They built their homes there. They have a big *haweli*, almost 4 or 5 *kanal* big. I have five brothers but my mother and father both have died. My mother dies when my youngest brother was born. She died during delivery on the bricks. |  |
| Afshan | Oh…. (sadly) |  |
| W1 | Now women go to hospitals for delivery purposes and they lie on bed to give birth. But at that time, poor women used to give birth while sitting on bricks. The moment my brother was born, she died. She was very young at that time. |  |
| Afshan | Oh… (sadly) |  |
| Afshan | How long ago? |  |
| W1 | It has been almost 25 or 26 years. May Allah give long life to my brother, he is a young man now…he lives in Karachi. He is such a big, broad and strong man….equal to three men. We ask him, o man with bad luck…you came in this world and sent away our mother. He says that he did not know at that time otherwise he could have not come in the world. |  |
| Afshan | (laughing) Of course, no one wants that. |  |
| W1 | Yes. May Allah give long life to my brothers… three of them live there is Chaitay. The elder two live here. One is working in army. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | While the other brother lives near Gujarkhan with his in-laws. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | While the youngest one is unmarried. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. So, what about your in-laws’? |  |
| W1 | These are my in-laws. |  |
| Afshan | No, I mean…does your husband not have any siblings? |  |
| W1 | He has siblings… he has two brothers and two sisters. |  |
| Afshan | Where do they live? |  |
| W1 | The elder brother lives in Wah. He does not have any children. While the younger brother lives in Rawalpindi. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. What do they do? |  |
| W1 | The elder one was working in a factory but has retired now and getting pension at home. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W1 | I think the younger one fixes/installs tiles in Rawalpindi. |  |
| Afshan | Ok…. So, *chacha* (uncles) were also doing the mason work? |  |
| W1 | Yes. |  |
| Afshan | Has your sons learnt from him or…? |  |
| W1 | No, no…they learnt themselves. There was a man in Muliyal, he was a nice man…he was from our *biradari.* He taught my sons. |  |
| Afshan | So, with Allah’s help they are earning their living now. |  |
| W1 | Yes. |  |
| W1 | Yasmeen! My dear please clean the lawn and collect all the garbage. |  |
| Afshan | Do you have the *saip* system now? |  |
| W1 | No… (unhappy) |  |
| Afshan | Is it finished now? |  |
| W1 | There are no more *Saip*s now. It is an era of money now. If one pays money…(smiling) |  |
| Afshan | Then others work for him. |  |
| W1 | Yes. Now there are no more those *Saip*s. There are no such time and such kind of people. |  |
| Afshan | Yes, true. |  |
| W1 | Everything is available, you pay money and buy it. |  |
| Afshan | Yes. |  |
|  | (silence for a while) |  |
| W1 | From where are you? |  |
| Afshan | I live in Islamabad. |  |
| W1 | Is your home there? |  |
| Afshan | Yes. |  |
| W1 | Are you both sisters? |  |
| Afshan | No, we just work together. |  |
| Nighat | We work together. |  |
| Afshan | I told you that we just work together. So, people who live together…they are like siblings then. |  |
| W1 | No, I mean…where do you live? |  |
| Afshan | Islamabad. |  |
| W1 | Are your parents alive? |  |
| Afshan | Yes, *mashallah*. |  |
| W1 | …and brothers and sisters? |  |
| Afshan | Yes. |  |
| W1 | One has to work…even if it is far. |  |
| Afshan | Yes, one has to work. One cannot survive without that. |  |
| W1. | Every alive human being has to work. |  |
| Afshan | Obviously. |  |
| Afshan | If one has studied then one should not waste his/her education. |  |
| W1 | (calling her daughter-in-law) Have you given water there? |  |
| Afshan | She must have sent there. |  |
| Afshan | He is sleeping now. Shall we go? |  |
| W1 | Where is his pillow? |  |
| Nighat | Maybe this one? |  |
| W1 | We removed pillow covers yesterday to wash… |  |
|  | (W1 putting the baby on his swing to sleep with love and care) |  |
|  | (sound of swing) |  |
| W1 | (asking someone outside) Why it is making noise? |  |
| W2 | What? |  |
| W1 | The fan. |  |
| W2 | What? |  |
| Afshan | His swing. |  |
| W1 | I have removed the cover of this pillow. |  |
|  | (W2 is outside the room while W1 is talking to her from room) |  |
| W2 | Ok. |  |
| W1 | He is very dear to us… if he cries a lot, we put him in that walker and take him outside…and also put him in swing (smiling) |  |
| Afshan | (smiling) |  |
| W1 | What can we do? |  |
| Afshan | It’s ok… it keeps you busy. (laughing) |  |
| W1 | Yes (smiling). |  |
| Afshan | Babies keep one busy. |  |
| W1 | He keeps us busy but believe me….we had grown *jawar* on six *bigga* land. We bought the seed with money and now people’s donkeys and other cattle are eating that. |  |
| Afshan | Oh… |  |
| W1 | If there is someone at home, one can go there and harvest that. We have never left our daughter-in-law alone at home. We are so much worried. |  |
| Afshan | Why don’t you leave her alone at home? |  |
| W1 | We don’t leave her alone…actually her parents’ (*maika*) is a bit angry. They took the elder one with them. |  |
| Afshan | Hm. |  |
| W1 | They took their son-in-law as well. |  |
| Afshan | Hm. |  |
| W1 | They took back their elder daughter and her husband and have not even talked to her, poor she… it has been a year now. |  |
| Afshan | Why? |  |
| Afshan | She is also their daughter. |  |
| W1 | Because she gave birth to her son. Actually, they both got pregnant at the same time. Her baby got aborted. But she gave birth to baby with Allah’s grace. So, her sister got so much jealous…. She is envious that Yasmeen has got a child while her baby was aborted. |  |
| Afshan | But it is in Allah’s hands. |  |
| W1 | I tried to counsel her a lot but… I told her that one can have abortion and then get pregnant again… |  |
| Afshan | Shall we go? |  |
| Afshan | Why was her baby aborted? |  |
| W1 | Her baby got aborted…it was three or four months old (fetus). She was three or four months pregnant and then someone came to sell almonds. She bought 1kg almonds or maybe 2kg. How much? |  |
| W2 | One kilo. |  |
| W1 | Yes, everyone bought 1 kg almonds. I, she and that daughter-in-law as well. She ate all those almonds in a day and night. Then she started bleeding. |  |
| Afshan | Oh… (sadly) |  |
| W1 | Because of *garmi.* |  |
| Afshan | Hm, then….? Did she go to the doctor then? |  |
| W1 | What then… we took her to Kalas when the bleeding started. They gave her medicines…big strips of tablets. They told that bleeding would stop after using those medicines. But she did not use medicines after coming home. |  |
| Afshan | (smiling) |  |
| W1 | So, what can I do? |  |
| Afshan | Why did she not use those medicines? |  |
| W1 | It’s just that she did not use….she said that she would not take medicines. The baby had to abort and some flesh passed out of her body. Then she moved to Muliyal from here. Now, she is pregnant again. It is almost 8th or 9th month of her pregnancy. |  |
| Afshan | Ok, she is about to deliver her baby. So, why is she envious now…she is going to have a baby? |  |
| W1 | Now she wants that me, my husband and her sister go to her and request her…beg her holding her feet and ask her to come back home. (Why should we do that? So that…) she urinates in our mouths? (angrily)  First she left this house and now she wants us to beg her. |  |
| Afshan | Hm. |  |
| W1 | Now she asks me what if her brother comes and takes her away. So, I never left her alone at home. |  |
| Afshan | Hm… |  |
| W1 | I told her that they would not do so. (smiling) |  |
| Afshan | Hm… |  |
| W1 | So, now my issue with them is this….that they send my son back at my home and then they can take their daughter to their home. We are also missing our son. |  |
| Afshan | Hm… |  |
| W1 | It has been a year now. |  |
| Afshan | They did not come here when this baby was born…baby’s *nannihal*? |  |
| W1 | No, just his maternal grandmother (*nani*) came. She brought few dresses and a ring. His other aunts and uncles (*khala* and *mamoo*) did not come. |  |
| Afshan | Did they not come? |  |
| W1 | No. |  |
| Afshan | From where have you married them? |  |
| W1 | There is a village ahead of Gujarkhan. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. How come you married them from there…from a *gair* family? |  |
| W1 | It’s just…wherever one’s fate takes one. |  |
| Afshan | So, are you from the same caste? |  |
| W1 | Yes, they are *Lohar*…we are also *Lohar*. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. So, you married you sons within the same caste? |  |
| W1 | Yes. |  |
| W1 | We both families are *Lohar* but we are not blood relatives. |  |
| Afshan | But your caste is same. |  |
|  | (silence for a while) |  |
| Afshan | So, they want to ruin their other daughter’s home as well? They are such stupid people. |  |
| W1 | It is their way of thinking. |  |
| Afshan | People want their daughters to be set in their home and they are saying that they want to take her back. O my goodness! |  |
| W1 | Her mother came and said that she wants to take back her daughter to her home. She said that their daughter would divorce my son and then they would strangle their grandson to death. I told her that I would not give this baby to them…but if she wants to take her daughter along, she can. (I asked her that…) she can ask her daughter to divorce eighteen times not just once… Of course she is their daughter. I asked her to take her daughter back but I would not give this baby to them. I would bring him up myself. |  |
| Afshan | Hm. |  |
| W1 | I said that he is son of my son. Has she brought him from her parents’ home? Why should I disgrace her by saying that she has brought this baby from somewhere else (conceived from someone else). He is my son’s son. |  |
| Afshan | Hm |  |
| W1 | I told her that I would not give the baby. However, she could take her daughter. |  |
| Afshan | Hm… |  |
| W1 | So, this is the issue. Her father said to me that he would shoot everyone in my home. He said that he would kill his daughter and me as well. I told him that I am not a coward…if my death is written; I am alone during day and also at night…he can come and kill me. |  |
| Afshan | Why are they so annoyed? |  |
| W1 | I told you …and you are again asking. |  |
| Afshan | That’s what I am asking… it was not something to make a big issue and dispute. |  |
| W1 | Yes. |  |
| Afshan | This is not something sensible. |  |
| W1 | Allah does not give children to many people…poor people many men and women are just like this. My *mamoo* does not have any children. It is his third wedding now. First he married his cousin (*massair*). He did not get any child, so he left her after five years of marriage. Then he married to daughter to his other *khala,* she gave birth to his daughter but the baby died...and now he did his third marriage out-of-family but he does not have any child till now. It is just in Allah’s hands. |  |
| Afshan | Yes, it is in Allah’s hands. |  |
| W1 | No matter how many medicines a person uses, if Allah is not willing then nothing can happen. |  |
| Afshan | Yes, true. |  |
| W1 | If you look at my husband, may Allah keeps him healthy. He is an old man. But I am also very fine till now, although I work a lot. I remain busy in doing different things whole day. |  |
|  | (baby’s sound) |  |
| W1 | What happened? |  |
| Afshan | A fly is disturbing him, that’s why. Cover him with some cloth. |  |
| W1 | He does let us put the cloth on his face. |  |
| Afshan | You can cover his face in a way that cloth does not touch him. |  |
| W1 | Let me turn on the fan. |  |
|  | (sound of baby’s swing) |  |
| W1 | I was only 17 years old when I got married. But my husband was 30 or 35 years old. |  |
| Afshan | Ok…was it his first marriage? |  |
| W1 | Yes, first. He was older than me. But I look old while he is fine. |  |
| Afshan | Hm… |  |
| W1 | It depends on individual’s body. |  |
| Afshan | Otherwise also, a woman gives birth to babies and… |  |
| W1 | My all teeth have shed away and all hair are white. |  |
| Afshan | Women get weaker by giving birth to children also. You must have given birth to children one after another (without any gap)… |  |
| W1 | May Allah give long life to my children….when my eldest son was one and a quarter years old, I got pregnant with the next baby. When he was one and a half years old, I got pregnant with the third baby. |  |
| Afshan | Hm. |  |
| W1 | I must have fed him for 1.75 years on my breast milk and then I conceived again. May Allah give long life to him…I have been feeding him on breast milk for 3.5 years. Then my daughter…she was quite grown up when I had stop breast feeding her, though she was not ready. |  |
|  | (sound of baby’s swing) |  |
| W1 | I don’t know why it is making noise. |  |
| Afshan | Noise is coming from its upper part where it is… |  |
| W1 | Yes. |  |
| Afshan | Is it broken from that side…where that rubber is tied? |  |
| W1 | Yes, there was a rod here…down here. It was like a hook, it broke and then we tied a rubber there. We bought it for 1700 or 1800 and it has been only three or four months. |  |
| Afshan | Its covering is still intact but it… (laughing) |  |
| W1 | Actually, he sleeps well in this. If he cries or wakes up…we move his swing again. |  |
| Afshan | (smiling) |  |
| W1 | But flies and mosquitoes disturb him a lot. |  |
| Afshan | Actually, there are so many of them here. |  |
| W1 | See, so many people are dying because of the mosquitoes. |  |
| Afshan | Yes, it is a big issue. |  |
| W1 | We listen about it in the news every night. Mosquitoes are so big these days. |  |
| Afshan | Yes. |  |
| W1 | They are just tiny creatures and can kill human beings. |  |
| Afshan | Hm…(smiling) |  |
| Afshan | So, let’s go. Ok then…. |  |
| W1 | We could not serve you… you did not even take tea. |  |
| Afshan | You talked with us so nicely, it is the main thing. |  |
| W1 | We could have made tea and served some biscuits to you. |  |
| Afshan | (smiling) |  |
|  | (sound of walking) |  |
|  | (sounds of cattle) |  |
| W1 | This is the problem in doing this *zamindari* work. We have hardly cleaned the compound so far. We will be able to finish household chores only if he keeps on sleeping. |  |
| Afshan | (laughing) |  |
|  | (sound of walking) |  |
| W1 | Ok then… |  |
| Afshan | Ok then, Allah Hafiz. |  |
|  | (sound of walking) |  |
|  | (W1 opening the door) |  |
|  | (Afshan talking to Nighat in very low voice that is not clearly audible) |  |
|  | (sound of cattle) |  |
| Afshan | Ok then Allah Hafiz. |  |
| W1 | Allah Hafiz. |  |
|  | (sounds of walking) |  |
| Afshan | Let’s go… move… that baby has peed on me (smiling) |  |
|  | (sound of walking for a minute) |  |
|  | (sound of knocking the door) |  |
|  | (sounds of men coming from a bit far) |  |
|  | (sound of opening the door) |  |
| M2 | Asalam o Alaikum! |  |
| Afshan | Asalam o Alaikum! Is your wife at home? |  |
| M3 | (Answering Afshan’s question but his voice is too low to listen in the recording. He saying that his wife is not at home) |  |
| Afshan | Ok then, we shall talk to her later. |  |
|  | (sound of walking) |  |
|  | (knocking another door) |  |
| Afshan | Is your mother at home? Is your mother home? |  |
| Nighat | Where is she? |  |
| Afshan | Is she not at home? Where has she gone? Don’t you know? |  |
| Boy | She has gone outside. |  |
| Afshan | Where? |  |
| Boy | She has gone outside to distribute medicines in village. |  |
| Afshan | Ok, she has gone to distribute medicines. When will she be back? |  |
| Boy | She will be back by 11 or 12 o’ clock. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
|  | (sound of walking) |  |
| Afshan | Asalam o Alaikum! |  |
| W4 | Please sit there. She has gone to distribute pills. |  |
| W5 | For family planning. |  |
| Afshan | Which pills? |  |
| LHWw4 | Not for family planning (laughing). We are giving tablets to kids. |  |
| Afshan | To kids? Is it for intestinal worms? |  |
| W4 | Yes |  |
| Afshan | Yes, they have started this. |  |
| W4 | They are giving in all houses and have to write ID Card numbers also. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W4 | Anyone can come for checking so work should be completed. |  |
| Afshan | Ok… is everything fine? How are you? |  |
| W5 | We are fine. |  |
| Afshan | How are you doing? |  |
| W4 | It’s just… please come inside. |  |
| Afshan | Ok… (laughing) |  |
|  | (Sound of walking) |  |
| Afshan | So, how is everything? |  |
| W4 | Fine…. Look at the *bajra* (millets) crops, it is scattered everywhere here. |  |
|  | (few women are there who are telling Afshan that they have not yet managed all millet crop. They have just brought it from the fields and put in home and have not found time to separate it and clean it) |  |
|  | (sound of walking) |  |
|  | (W4 is asking about Amma Je from Afshan) |  |
|  | (Sound of walking) |  |
|  | (sounds of people talking in the background) |  |
| Afshan | Do write the details I will ask from her. |  |
| Nighat | Yes, I will. |  |
| W4 | Shall I turn on the fan? |  |
| Afshan | No, there is no need of fan these days. Weather has changed. If one turns on fans, it causes sore throat. |  |
| W4 | Yes. |  |
| W4 | Nazia, Shazia make tea. |  |
| Afshan | No, I won’t take tea. |  |
| W4 | Why? |  |
| Afshan | Actually, I don’t take sugar and even milk. |  |
| W4 | Ok. |  |
| W4 | O Slama, come here. Open the door of that room so that you can see her. My daughter-in-law is there, suffering from high fever. She is married since seven years but does not have any child. |  |
| Afshan | Oh? |  |
| W4 | She has recently got married, two months ago. |  |
| W4’s DIL | Asalam o Alakikum! |  |
| Afshan | Asalam o Alaikum! How are you? Are you fine? |  |
| W4’s DIL | How are you? |  |
| Afshan | We are fine. |  |
| W4 | How should we serve you now? |  |
| Afshan | No, no need for anything. Actually I just had our breakfast. |  |
| W4 | Ok. |  |
| Afshan | You know we will sit here for long now (laughing). |  |
| W4 | No problem. |  |
| Afshan | We have just eaten our breakfast. |  |
| W4 | I asked my daughter-in-law that I would take her to you and then you would take her somewhere (for checkup). But she is such a stubborn lady, she does not go. It has been six years since she got married and she does not have any child. |  |
| Afshan | Has she not gone anywhere for checkup? |  |
| W4 | She had been living with her husband on his duty stations. Her husband is in Army and has got posted in Hyderabad now. He has applied again for a residential apartment and his application got accepted. But she is saying that she would not go. She had been living in Gujranwala for almost two years earlier. |  |
| Afshan | Had she not gone to hospitals there for checkup? |  |
| W4 | She had been going there for checkup. She also got operated for something, there was something inside her. She is suffering from fever since last night. So, sleeping inside there. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W4 | Yes. |  |
| Afshan | Why did they operate her? |  |
| W4 | There was some tumor. |  |
| Afshan | Ok, tumor. |  |
| W4 | Now, Allah knows…maybe this is the reason that she is not having children. Or maybe it is Allah’s will. |  |
| Afshan | Hm… |  |
| W4 | Yes. |  |
| Afshan | Those who have recently got married… I think it has been only a month? |  |
| W4 | Yes, it has been a month now. |  |
| Afshan | Yes. |  |
| W4 | We married him to a girl from Sargodha. She is my sister’s daughter. The other one is also my other sister’s daughter. |  |
| Afshan | Ok… |  |
| W4 | They have their personal *murrabaa*s there. My maternal grandfather had got some *murrabbas*. So they all are living there. |  |
| Afshan | Was your *nana* (maternal grandfather) working in army? |  |
| W4 | Yes, he was serving in army long time ago. He was a brave man there. So, he got *murrabbay* (big land). My husband’s father was his brother, he also got the land. So he bought from here. He bought 100 *kuman* land from here. He had not taken the *murrabba*. He had only one son and then he got two grandsons. So, he had bought land here while my *nana* accepted those *murrabba.* |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W4 | They grow so many things on that *murrabba.* They have fruit gardens…they grow oranges, sugarcanes and so many other things as well. We bring many things from there, many sacks full. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W4 | So, I married my sons there. (smiling) |  |
| Afshan | (smiling) |  |
| W4 | Now, she is asking to work in PODA. She has studied till matriculation. |  |
| Afshan | Ok…. |  |
| W4 | She has done other courses as well. I told her that I would talk to Aarif about it….and if her husband agrees then she can join that. |  |
| Afshan | What do you want to do? |  |
| W4’s DIL | I will do whatever work I will get. |  |
| W4 | She can do all types of works. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. (smiling) |  |
| W4 | Yes, the other one also can do everything. She is such a nice, intelligent girl. |  |
| Afshan | Can you do embroidery and stitching? |  |
| W4’s DIL | Yes. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W4’s DIL | I have done a course there. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W4 | She has been teaching there for some days but here… I am thinking to get some work for her. |  |
| Afshan | You should talk to Mr. Aarif about it. |  |
| W4 | I have not talked to him yet. Actually, it has been only a month since she came here. I will talk to him. |  |
| W4’s DIL | Now I have to go back home for Eid. |  |
| Afshan | Ok, you will celebrate your Eid there. (laughing) |  |
| W4 | When she will comeback after Eid, then I shall talk to Aarif. |  |
| Afshan | (laughing) You are missing your parents now? |  |
| W4’s DIL | My father is not alive but my mother is… |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W4’s DIL | I have other siblings there. |  |
| W4 | Her brother has come from abroad and has to go back now. He also got married recently. He will go back to America now….no, to Saudi Arabia. |  |
| W4’s DIL | Dubai. |  |
| W4 | Ok, to Dubai. She is going to celebrate her Eid there and also to meet her brother. |  |
| Afshan | Yes, it is her first EId after marriage. |  |
| W4 | Yes, first. My other daughter-in-law is also asking to go to her parents’ place. I said fine. So, I will be here alone on Eid. |  |
| Afshan | (laughing) But your parents’ place is also there. |  |
| W4 | No, my parents live on the other side near Fateh Pur. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W4 | Their *nanihal* is also in Fatehpur. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
|  | (silence for few seconds) |  |
| W4 | Has she opened the door? Please knock her door. |  |
| Afshan | Why is she suffering from fever? |  |
| W4 | Allah knows…actually, she went to pack and stitch clothes for wedding of Ruqqeya’s daughter. She had been sitting there for long. She has got operated, so… |  |
| Afshan | When did she get operated? |  |
| W4 | It has been almost two years. |  |
| Afshan | Ok…it has been quite long now. |  |
| Afshan | What do your sons do? |  |
| W4 | My one son is working in the army. May Allah give him long life! He is her husband, the one who is sleeping there in the room. |  |
| Afshan | What about her husband, this younger one? |  |
| W4 | We had sent her husband abroad. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W4 | We shall send him again. He is ready. My nephew (sister’s son), her brother will take him.  She has woken up now.  We had sent him abroad and then he did some arrangements and went to Bahrain. He stayed there for almost three months and sent us money for two times. But then they sent these 20 or 22 persons back to Pakistan. We had spent almost 2.5 lac rupees to send him there. We are trying again for him. His cousin would take him along. He says that he will work abroad…if he won’t be able to go abroad, he won’t work. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W4 | Otherwise, we have so much land here….but who would manage it. I told you that my father-in-law had bought 100 *kuman* of land here and he had also got land in inheritance from his grandparents. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W4 | So in this way…. Can they do the *zamindari*? It’s only me who is doing it. Or some other person from home can do it. But they (her daughters-in-law) cannot do it. They won’t be able to do it…they have never done it before also. They have *mazaray* to work on their *murrabba*…they water the fields and do all other things. They have never done it themselves. |  |
| Afahan | Hm… |  |
| W4 | While father of my other DIL is doing job. So, they had been living outside their village and have never done this agriculture. Her husband is in army. While the eldest one, he was working in army earlier. He got retired and has built so nice home. He is working in WAPDA now. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W4 | Yes, my eldest son. |  |
| Afshan | Does he have children? |  |
| W4 | Yes. Did you see a girl here? |  |
| Afshan | Yes, she was walking there. |  |
| W4 | She is his daughter. He got twins and one daughter lives here with me. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W4 | He has four daughters and three sons…a total of seven children. May Allah give long life to them…. they all are studying. They go to school via van. His eldest daughter and son are adult now. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W4 | While others are young. Two of them go to PODA here. |  |
| Afshan | Ok… |  |
| W4 | But they have not got child yet. Allah will give them… |  |
| Afshan | Yes. |  |
|  | (silence for a while) |  |
| W4 | Where has she gone? Outside or where? |  |
| Afshan | She went to bathroom. |  |
| W4 | Ok. |  |
| Afshan | Is it the bedroom of the new bride? |  |
| W4 | Yes, it is her room. While her all other things are kept in the big trunks (*paiti*). To be honest, I cannot manage/look after all that. |  |
| Afshan | Hm… |  |
| W4 | So, the other daughter-in-law’s things are also there in the trunks. They have put some main things here. I asked them to put these few things here because our house is not yet fully ready.  Yes? Come here…..has your father come? (talking politely with love) |  |
|  | (silence for few seconds) |  |
| W4 | Although our house is big…it is not well constructed. We have newly constructed this bath room and store room there. It has been only a few days….. we built it before the wedding of my son. |  |
| Afshan | Ok… |  |
| W4 | You know that it is very difficult to go so far also… we had paid 12000 rupees for each vehicle to go there. we took five vehicles there. |  |
| Afshan | Had *Amma Je* not come here on the wedding? |  |
| W4 | Ruqqeya? |  |
| Afshan | Yes. |  |
| W4 | She did not come on that day to go there but she came later. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W4 | She got divorced from there…so that old man also lives there, my *jaith.* |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W4 | Actually he lives there…so she thought not to go there…at a place where they both would be together. Her son could have come, we had invited him. He asked his mother to give whatever she wants and then he would come and manage himself. He could not get leave. |  |
| Afshan | Hm… why had she got divorced? |  |
| W4 | It’s just… my eldest daughter was married to her eldest son. Now, she is married in Dewal. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W4 | So, they could not develop understanding maybe…actually they did not have any children also. My daughter did not have any child even after eight or nine years of her marriage. So, her husband divorced her. As a reaction, Ruqeyya’s husband got angry and divorced her. He divorced his wife in old age. |  |
| Afshan | Hm… |  |
| W4 | So, poor she… actually there was no big issue (but she got divorced). Then I arranged wedding of my nephew (brother’s son) again with my niece (brother’s daughter). I said that the nephew (brother’s son) earns a good living so he should (get married again)….. I insisted brother and *bhabhi* and arranged the wedding. I arranged that wedding myself. Now my niece (brother’s daughter) is in her home now. |  |
| Afshan | Hm… |  |
| W4 | All people would talk bad and curse me…that he had divorced my daughter and I am arranging his wedding again. But I said, no….he is earning a lot and is going waste. So he got married. My daughter also got married on that day. And then Allah gave him two sons. |  |
| Nighat | Ok… |  |
| Afshan | But was it not difficult? Did you not think about your daughter? |  |
| W4 | No, I thought about him…. I thought, poor he…he is earning so well and….. Everyone is cursing me, even in my family… my *jaith* who has left Ruqeyya, he does not talk to me till now. |  |
| Afshan | Hm… |  |
| W4 | But I just thought about him. I and Ruqeyya both went to talk about the wedding there….then we went again to fix the date. So, I fully participated and arranged his marriage. |  |
| Afshan | But one needs a big heart for doing this. |  |
| W4 | I just thought about him, maybe Allah would give him children. My daughter does not have any child even now. She is very comfortable there…they have a nicely built house, motors are fixed there. |  |
| Afshan | Asalam o Alaikum! How are you? |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | Fine. |  |
| Afshan | Are you well? |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | Yes, fine. So how are you? |  |
| Afshan | Thanks to Allah. |  |
| W4 | She does not have children. It has been seven years since she has got married. |  |
| Afshan | (smiling) |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | Allah will give. |  |
| Afshan | Have you not gone for any treatment? |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | No, I went for many treatments. At first, my husband was not willing to go for test. But then he agreed and his reports are not clear. |  |
| Afshan | Hm. |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | Now, they asked him to go for treatment. |  |
| Afshan | Ok, what do doctors say about you? |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | They said that there is no problem with me, I am fine. |  |
| Afshan | Then who should go for treatment? Your husband? |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | Yes, they asked him to go for treatment. His tests were not clear. |  |
| Afshan | Ok, his reports were not clear. |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | Yes, it is just 20%. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | His reports are kept there. |  |
| Afshan | Ok….. it’s ok, he would go for treatment and you would get child. There is no problem in it. |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | Yes. |  |
| W4 | If Allah is willing to give…. |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | Doctors told me that there is no problem with me…may be I would need to go for tube tests to see if there is some problem there. But they asked me to first ask my husband for tests. So, he went for tests but his reports are not clear. |  |
| Afshan | Hm… |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | He went for tests two times and both times it was 20%. It is very low… it should be at least 40% or 50%. |  |
| Afshan | Hm… |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | If it is at least 50% then there are some chances of having baby. But he has only 20%. |  |
| Afshan | Is he going for treatment now? |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | Not yet. He has newly moved to Hyderabad… he says that he would go for treatment after a month after getting settled there for a while. |  |
| W4 | He is quite slim and says that his flesh has transferred to her. (laughing) |  |
|  | (everybody is laughing) |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | If one of the partners…husband or wife is fat…then they say like this. |  |
| Afshan | Yes, true… (smiling) |  |
| W4 | He is such a slim…very thin. |  |
| Afshan | He should not ignore that. He should go for treatment. |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | Yes. |  |
| Afshan | It has been so long since you got married. |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | It has been seven years…..it is not a short duration. |  |
| W4 | She could have made a cup of tea till now. |  |
| Afshan | No, no…. I am telling you the truth that I just had my breakfast. I took my breakfast and went there for a while. I had drinks there and now if I take tea again…then imagine what would be my condition. |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | Don’t you take tea? |  |
| Afshan | Actually, I don’t take tea. |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | Is it? |  |
| Afshan | I don’t take sweet at all. |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | Do you provide treatments? |  |
| Afshan | Sorry? |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | Do you provide treatment? |  |
| Afshan | No, I don’t. |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | She takes for treatment. |  |
| Afshan | I mostly collect information about women’s health. I do research. |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | Ok. |  |
| Afshan | But if someone is in pain…then I say it’s ok, I take them to doctor…or give them advice. |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | Do you take them to Islamabad? |  |
| Afshan | Sorry? |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | Do you take them to Islamabad? |  |
| Afshan | I have not taken anyone to Islamabad till now because there has been no such case. Most of the cases were like this…that I took them to Kalas or to Sohawa. |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | Ok, for delivery cases. |  |
| Afshan | Yes, mostly the pregnant women. |  |
| W4 | She mostly deals with them. |  |
| Afshan | So, you have not conceived even once? |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | No. |  |
| Afshan | There has been no miscarriage or….? |  |
| W4 | No. |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | No, nothing. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W4 | Her younger sister has two daughters, may Allah give them long life. She got married after her marriage. |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | She got married after one and a half years of my marriage, and has two daughters now. She is again pregnant with Allah’s grace. It’s just me…. |  |
| W4 | It’s ok, Allah…. |  |
| Afshan | Allah is the one who shows kindness. If He wants to give, there is no limit in His treasures. We don’t understand but He knows well what is better for us and what is not. |  |
| W4 | Yes, only Allah knows that…human beings don’t. My son has applied for apartment/quarter there. He would get it after Eid but she is saying that she would not go. So, Allah knows what she will do now. I am worried about it… my other daughter-in-law, the eldest one…she has always lived with her husband. Her all children were born there, some in Rawalpindi, some were born in Sialkot, then in Pano Aqil also…wherever he was getting transferred. He has kept his wife with him always. He was transferred to Pano Aqil and there is another place also…his brother had also gone there with him. I went to their house during birth of all children, I lived with them during that times. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. | . |
|  | (silence for a while) |  |
| W4 | I asked her, I asked Nazia to go to your place at night. But then some guests came. Our guests are still coming, some who are left. Then it was quite late, so we did not go to your place. |  |
| Afshan | You could have come…we don’t go out at night when it is dark. I mean, these days it gets dark around 5:30 or 5:45 p.m. |  |
| W4 | Hm…true. |  |
| Afshan | We go back home by *maghrib.* |  |
| W4 | Days are very short now. |  |
| Afshan | Yes, very small. |  |
| Afshan | Ok then…shall we go? |  |
| Nighat | Yes. |  |
| Afshan | I just thought to see your house. I shall visit again. |  |
| W4 | Ok…you came to see (smiling). |  |
| W4 | See, the daughter is standing there. |  |
|  | (a man is talking in background) |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | Please sit, I have not yet up. (smiling) |  |
| Afshan | (laughing) |  |
| W4 | Please sit. |  |
| Afshan | It’s ok…she told me that you are not feeling well. |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | I am not feeling well. Actually I went to stitch and pack clothes for the wedding and had been sitting there for long on foot…that’s why I have pain in tummy and in back also. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | Actually, my muscles got pulled and it is painful…I developed fever also. Please sit. |  |
| Afshan | No, we have to go back. Actually, I have to go somewhere. I am in hurry now. I shall visit you again *inshallah*. |  |
| W4’s DIL 2 | You did not take tea or even some drink. |  |
| Afshan | Thank you so much (smiling). Actually we take our breakfast quite late. |  |
| W4 | See, we have a pile of millet stems (*sitta*) in our compound. |  |
| Afshan | Yes. |  |
| W4 | (Smiling) it is like this for *zamindar’s*. would you like to eat these grains? |  |
| Afshan | What? |  |
| W4 | Shall I give you some grains/seeds? |  |
| Afshan | No, we shall eat its flour…what shall we do by eating just grains? (laughing) |  |
| W4 | We shall give you when we get it ground. Ok? |  |
| Afshan | Yes, what to do with the grains. (smiling) |  |
| W4 | This *haweli* is also our own, outside here. We have grown millet seeds there as well and have kept our cattle there. |  |
| Afshan | Ok…it’s nice. |  |
|  | (sound of walking) |  |
| W4 | We have house outside here as well. |  |
| Afshan | Ok. |  |
|  | (sound of walking) |  |
| W4’s DIL | You did not even take tea? |  |
| Afshan | We shall come again also, *inshallah*. Please do visit our place also. |  |
| W4 | Ok, we shall. |  |
| Afshan | Ok |  |
| W4’s DIL | Do you live alone or your children also live with you? |  |
| Afshan | No, we are alone… (laughing) |  |
| W4 | We shall give you milk as well when our cow would give birth. (smiling)  Oh you have been standing outside here… |  |
| Manzar | It’s ok. |  |
| W4 | Because of *purdha.* |  |
| Afshan | (Laughing) ok then Allah Hafiz. |  |
| W4 | Ok… |  |
|  | (sound of walking) |  |
|  | (they are talking and laughing while on way back, sounds are not very clear in recording due to sound of walking) |  |
|  | (also planning to buy some vegetables for cooking) |  |