# Meeting with Irshad 060610\_1

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| **Name** | **Discussion/Point** | **Codes** |
| Irshad | I had gone to Gojra for making that paper. I went to Mandi too, so I went to two places so that they can put that number. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Which number? |  |
| Irshad | They asked us to bring papers from the areas where we had lands. They put number on the paper and called us again. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | You were trying to get a domicile? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, a domicile! |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok. Is it done now? |  |
| Irshad | It’s done now. My younger granddaughter (daughter’s daughter) was with me. She said that it was a long journey and we did not have anything to eat with us. We left from here and then we had water all the way (so far) at Subedar’s home. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ayesha, bring some water for her. She has come from such a long journey and we have started chatting with her. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes, I totally forgot that she is coming back from such a long journey. (*Laughter*) |  |
| Irshad | No, It’s ok. Actually we got so much tired on way back and the young girl was very thirsty. She asked me that she wanted to drink water. So I said that we could go to Abida’s place to drink water. You need to have money to eat and drink something from there and we had no money. I kept walking for a long time but could not find some place to get water. But I had to go all the way. And what is the point of going anywhere if you don’t get your work done? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | You are right. |  |
| Irshad | Then drank water from Abida’s place, chatted with her daughters and went back home. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Whose daughter is recently born in that area; someone delivered a baby? |  |
| Irshad | Oh yes, a girl was born. A baby was born at the place across the road from where we had come that day. That was at least 18 or 19 days ago. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok, eighteen to twenty days ago. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Who are you talking about? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | I don’t know, Ansa told me. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | The baby was born in Dhoke Rajyan. Right? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. No, not at Dhoke Rajayan. The baby was born in this very Dhoke. Her husband got the baby registered there but actually they belong to this area, since they live here. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | At barber’s (nai caste) home? |  |
| Irshad | No, at the shoe miller’s (mochi caste) home. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Girl was born at mochi’s home? |  |
| Irshad | No, they are from Raja Caste. Their home is close to where the *mochi* lives. Shafqat is his name. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | They belong to the Raja caste? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | How are your daughters? |  |
| Irshad | They are fine. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | How many of your daughters are at home right now? |  |
| Irshad | At the moment, three of them are at home. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | One has come back? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Two are unmarried? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | All of them work at the kiln (Bhatta)? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, as I have told you we cannot get any other labor. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | (Sighs sadly.) |  |
| Irshad | My son is such a nice boy. He is trying very hard to get a job but couldn’t get one. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | He will get a job in army. I am quite hopeful for that. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Which job is he applying for in army? What will he be recruited for? In which department has he submitted application? |  |
| Irshad | Whatever kind of job he gets. One cannot know beforehand about that. When they get recruited, then they are told what tasks they will be assigned. They tell themselves. It is success that is important. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | He is a very nice boy. He will get it. |  |
| Irshad | That day I was having discussion with my son. There was another *baji* too, as we do keep on talking all the time (laughter). Now we came so far all this way on foot. If car would have been available, you must have picked us. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | (Laughing.) |  |
| Irshad | I told to my kids that *khala* was not at home that day*.* I told that you had to come from Islamabad. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Is it hot outside now? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, it is. It is dark & cloudy too. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | It’s not really so hot this time. When the temperature is high for three or four days, it rains the next day. That’s what is happening this time around. |  |
| Irshad | No, *baji*. It does not really rain. The weather is cloudy but then wind blows and that’s it. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, it is raining around this area but not here exactly. |  |
| Irshad | Exactly. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | It rains a lot in Islamabad. |  |
| Irshad | Yes, it rains over there. But it is not the same here at the kiln. It does not rain and gets very dry. That is why we are fully exhausted (bezar) of the situation. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | What do you mean by that? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | She means she is tired of working at the kiln. |  |
| Irshad | We are fed up of working. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | One has to do job. That is inevitable. |  |
| Irshad | It’s different for you. For us it is a compulsion. We keep on doing it continuously and it makes us tired. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | I agree with that. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | When is this work season going to end at kiln? |  |
| Irshad | I don’t know; may be in the month of Aarh. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | The month of Jaith is about to end. Month of Aarh will also pass. |  |
| Irshad | Yes, 20th of Aarh. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | But you are off one day in a week…on Fridays. |  |
| Irshad | Yes, the purpose of that holiday is that (we don’t make bricks on that day)…they give the leave of that day because they want the girls to spread (for drying) the bricks that were made on Thursday. The girls either do this or soak the soil for the bricks that are to be made the next day because they have the motor running that day as well. The girls’ clothes are all soaked when they return home in the evening. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So it is not a holiday in real sense. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So the girls don’t get any holiday. |  |
| Dr. Zbia Mumtaz | The girls don’t have any day off then. |  |
| Irshad | No, there are no holidays for girls. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | What do boys do? |  |
| Irshad | They dig the soil for brick-making. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | You have to do that as well?! So on Fridays the boys dig soil? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, they arrange for *ganiyan*. And they arrange for soaking the mud with water and other such things. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Oh. How is that a holiday then? |  |
| Irshad | There is no holiday. It is only that there is no brick-making on Fridays. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | It is not brick-making, but just the preparation of it. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | (*Sadly*) That will definitely make a person tired; working for seven days a week, from dawn till dusk. |  |
| Irshad | Exactly till night. When one day I came here, it was very windy, cloudy and dark. My granddaughter was ill, so I did not take her. I came alone. I was feeling very uncomfortable. When I reached here, the people here told me that you had gone to Islamabad and then the other one told that you had gone to Rawalpindi. I said ok, and today I came here because I came to know that you have come back. So your work is going fine? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes, it’s fine. Tell me, does your husband like to work here at the kiln? He disapproved of your attitude when you were saying something against this work the other day. |  |
| Irshad | My husband is very arrogant. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Why? |  |
| Irshad | Those poor kids were playing with the mud. They are innocent kids after all. They said they will play a match (cricket) with it. He said that he won’t work if the kids play match and that he will keep sleeping. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Old people do that. |  |
| Ayesha | Why is he rude towards kids? |  |
| Irshad | Kids are not rude. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | No, she is asking, why is your husband rude to the kids. |  |
| Irshad | Actually because he is an outsider. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | What do you mean? |  |
| Irshad | Because he is an outsider, if he was from my family he would be more considerate. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Even if he is not from your family still he is the father of children. |  |
| Irshad | He is the father of the kids but some fathers are sensitive other aren’t. He is not. He does not care about children. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | He is careless. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Why were you married out of family? |  |
| Irshad | My mother-in-law had died and my father-in-law was still living (at that time). My mother was a very dignified and respectful woman and he wanted my hand for his son. He very humbly asked for my hand. My brother-in-law (dewar) had brought him there to my mother. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Your mother was a widow? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | I could not get what she said. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | No, we didn’t get it; which girls’ mother had died? |  |
| Irshad | My granddaughters’. The one who is elder than Bushra,  she was married into her paternal aunt’s (*phuppi’s*) home. She came to our home at the time of delivery and then the baby died. She lived for one more month and died later. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok. |  |
| Irshad | He is my uncle, my father’s brother. My mother went to his house. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | What (confused)? |  |
| Irshad | My husband’s sister (kid’s phupho) is married to my uncle (chachu). |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok. |  |
| Irshad | So now you understand? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, so? |  |
| Irshad | They were relative to them; they are *kaliyay.* |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | How did you get married to him? |  |
| Irshad | My father and my mother went there at my uncle’s home (chacha). He (uncle) got married to my sister-in-law (nand) and they wedded me to my husband. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Why didn’t they marry you in their own family? |  |
| Irshad | It is something for the parents to think over. My daughter who died, I had given her to my husband’s sister. And my second daughter I gave to my own sister, but now she is back to my house. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So what was the benefit in that? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, this is the hard reality that relatives and not like relatives now. When she got married there, they did not settle/keep her there. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Why did they not keep her? |  |
| Irshad | They did not keep her there because it was because of clothes. She asked her mother-in-law for clothes so they could be washed and put away. Her mother-in-law asked her to pick the dirty clothes from the basket and she did that. Later she said to her son that Bushra does not let me wash clothes. So they sent her back to my home. My sister was not happy with her from the beginning. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | That is not a sound reason. |  |
| Irshad | Yes, but he is remarried now and we did not even know about that. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Have they divorced her as well? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | And he has remarried? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | And this was your sister’s family! |  |
| Irshad | She is my younger, real sister. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Didn’t you ask her about it? |  |
| Irshad | No. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Why? |  |
| Irshad | My children said that they did not ask us before his second marriage and divorced her (legally) on papers so why should we go to them now? They said that if my sister was so considerate she would not have let such a deed be committed. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | You are paying a heavy cost for your ego. |  |
| Irshad | Won’t you be hurt (by this rudeness)? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | No, but that is still a heavy price to pay for your ego. You should have at least gone and talked to them. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, you should at least have asked them that why they did this? |  |
| Irshad | I do not want my daughter to be like this forever; to be at my home for the rest of her life. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Haven’t you ever thought of getting her remarried? |  |
| Irshad | She has a young daughter. When all this had happened I told her to leave her daughter at that house. They were not even willing to keep that baby. They gave away the child. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | They are very clever people; they would have thought why they should raise a daughter. What if it was a boy? |  |
| Irshad | That would not have made any difference to them; they had not kept with them the son even. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | They would have given the child to you in both cases. |  |
| Irshad | Actually the little that I understand is that the commodities that we gave them as dowry, they haven’t returned it. They told us to take the child and leave those things. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So they did not give back the things and gave you the child instead! |  |
| Irshad | Yes, they have sold their daughter. My daughter was their honor (izzat) too… and it is not problematic for men, it is problematic for women only…… so it is sad for me because it is my daughter’s daughter now. |  |
| Irshad | Now they have no trouble as they sent her daughter with her and sent papers (of divorce) afterwards. My sons say that why should we go to them (and demean ourselves)? They say that we can meet if some death occurs in our family or theirs, but till then we will not meet.  When I think about all this, it comes to my mind that I was married away from my whole family (*biradri*) and I was away from my village and everyone. But she (my sister) is still close to everyone in the family. That is why she did all this. Now my sister will not even come to the village that I am residing in. My brother’s home is next to mine. And my father’s brother as well as my husband’ side of the family is here. Our father’s sister is also with us. My sister has been left alone. She was my sister. She was also married in outsiders. (And with the ties severed from this side of the family) won’t things be difficult for her now? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes they will be. |  |
| Irshad | My sons say that why should we plead with them when they have done such a mean thing to us? They have degraded us and ruined my daughter’s respect. They say that no matter what, we will not go there. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | If I were in your position and she was my daughter I would have gone. |  |
| Irshad | You would have gone?! You can go now (laughing). |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | She is not my daughter, why would it matter to me now. But if she were my daughter I would have taken them to task as to why they did this? |  |
| Irshad | You are a different person, you can do it. You can deal with these matters on your own. You enjoy a strong backing. If we went to her, she would turn the tables on us. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | How is she stronger than you; is she elder or richer? |  |
| Irshad | No, she is younger but that village is different. They are Wahabis. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Wahabbi? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, they are Wahabi. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | What does that matter? |  |
| Irshad | They don’t take insults lightly. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | What do you mean by Wahabi? |  |
| Irshad | They recite the kalma, but don’t approve of “Khatam” (distributing food on behalf of the dead ones). |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Don’t they recite kalma? (surprised) |  |
| Irshad | They do. They also offer prayers, and fast, but their (religious) atmosphere is different. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | How is that? |  |
| Irshad | They do not have *khattam* for the dead ones and neither do they do the muslamani that we recite. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | What Musalmani? |  |
| Ayesha | What do you mean by Mussalmani? |  |
| Irshad | It means the discussions of religious problems. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Explain that to me. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | They are Wahabis. they do not discuss the issues of religion like we do, such as religious gatherings etc. |  |
| Ayesha | They won’t pray for someone after his death. They do not approve of going to shrines and praying from them. They also do not pray on the Thursdays after the death of their family. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | They do not pray for dead ones at all after him and say that it would do them no good. They say how can praying for him, after he is dead, help him at all. We hold a different concept and there is a saying in our language, ‘*mar gaya mardood, na fateha na durood’*.(It means that if someone has not recited fateha for a passed away soul, s/he must have been evil.) |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | What was that? |  |
| Irshad | The things you say!! (Laughter) |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | It means that the person after whom recitations are not done must have been an evil person, that’s why he did not deserve Quranic recitations. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So the Wahabis have gone against all the rest. |  |
| Irshad | It has been 2-3 years now that my daughter has died. We still arrange *Khatam* for her so that she may reside in paradise and so she may have sweet fruits there. We pray that may she live in peace in the afterworld and have everything in abundance. I will always be arranging *khatam* for her. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Why did you marry your daughter there? |  |
| Irshad | I did that thinking that she is my younger sister. He was my nephew. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | How many siblings do you have? |  |
| Irshad | Two sisters and one brother. My mother has died. I married my daughter thinking that the relation between us two sisters will be stronger. Instead now we are farther than before. I keep thinking about it and get tense. Me and my daughter get angry and argue and she fights but I keep silent. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Why does she flare up? |  |
| Irshad | She says that it was your sister who did this to me. She says her daughter had no place to go now; they did not keep her daughter. We are raising her now but what will happen when she (my daughter) grows up. She says that life is not certain and if she is not there tomorrow, who would take care of her daughter. Someone should be there with her to take care of her daughter. You tell me *baji*, isn’t she right? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | You are right in that. |  |
| Irshad | I keep on pondering silently. Only Allah knows why it happened in their lives. No one can know the deep secrets of someone. I am telling you all about the sorrows of my life and then I’ll leave; what else can I do? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | No, I understand. At least you feel your burden lightened. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | But whatever happened is really sorrowful. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, it is really tragic. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | What does his husband say about this? Your nephew does not have any opinion on this? Did he not use his mind? |  |
| Irshad | He is of the same profession as ours. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Brick-making? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Really? Where is his kiln? |  |
| Irshad | Before he was working in our kiln. But now have moved to the other kiln a little far from here. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | He was of the same profession? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Where was the baby girl born? At their place? |  |
| Irshad | No, over here. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | She was born at your home? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Really? She has here been since then? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | She (the child) is around 4-5 years. |  |
| Afhsan Bhatti | Yes, she is almost 5 or 6 years old. |  |
| Irshad | It has been 5-6 years since their wedding. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | It means she was there for a short while only. |  |
| Irshad | Very little. First she lived there for two months and then for three months. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | What had happened after two months? Why did she come? Had she left the home in anger then as well? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, over the issue of clothes. She had fought with her over the same issue and told her to leave the home. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Then she went back there? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Why did she go back? Did they come to take her? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, her father-in-law came so, I sent her. She stayed there for 2-4 months. Then they had a fight again. And he said that he won’t keep her. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | What did they fight over this time? |  |
| Irshad | Again on the same issue of clothes. That why she took dupata from his mother. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Poverty forces you to fight over such petty issues. |  |
| Irshad | The issue was of clothes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | But the life of that girl is ruined now. |  |
| Irshad | Yes, I agree that her life has been ruined. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | What will she do now? Will she look to her brothers for survival? And what when her brothers get married and have children? |  |
| Irshad | She will have to face tough circumstances for life. She was getting insulted at her in-laws’ place and she will get the same treatment here. They did not accept her although they were our own. She got divorced and came here. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | No other proposal came for her? |  |
| Irshad | Not as yet. Now we are looking for some job for my son. My son says that we should think of starting our own work/business now. But their father gets angry. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Why does he get angry? What for? For leaving brick-making? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes, I noticed it. He wants you all to keep on doing this job. |  |
| Irshad | Yes, he wants that we keep on working here. When my son says that he’ll search for a job, he discourages saying that you have never done any job before so how will he do now. How will you find job, you aren’t capable enough. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | It is so inappropriate, how could he talk like this. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | (Humphs in agreement.) |  |
| Irshad | They had hardly studied till 6 or 7 grade. Then my daughter died and we couldn’t arrange for matric. |  |
| Irshad | They could not go to school for one month. Then teachers discouraged and sent them home. They (poor/*becharay*) didn’t go again to school and started this brick making. My husband never tried wholeheartedly to do anything and made lame excuses. He got kids involved in it and took rest for himself. We didn’t educate out daughters much. And my boys, they cannot work so much. He doesn’t work much that’s why he emphasizes so much upon doing a job. It’s just the ups and downs of life. Hard time will last for one year or two or a little more but after all things will get fine. If he gets job then things will be fine. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | How things will be fine with job? He will have to work there too. |  |
| Irshad | Yes! He has to work. When he will get army job, no matter for 20, 21 or 22 years, then he will leave this work, will get married. He will get pension and will be able to cater for medicines for kids and routine family expenditures. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | It would be real fortune, if he gets a job in army. |  |
| Irshad | He is trying hard for that. He is very nice. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Her kids are clever. (*slight mumbling*) |  |
| Irshad | Bushra came along with me. We were eating food, we washed face and hands and she served food to me. Then Munawar came and I asked him to call you. As I wanted to talk. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | You did right. |  |
| Irshad | I had a heavy heart. I thought that I would leave after taking food to see you. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Why were you heavy hearted? |  |
| Irshad | I was heavy hearted for you (laughter). Then I thought of coming to you. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | It is good, you came here. |  |
| Irshad | Yesterday Abida was praising you that you are nice, you have been living there. I agree to them, you have been giving me water and I have been drinking, and it is everyone’s own atmosphere, and yours’ is to keep on moving/ wandering. It is your job. I said what you had been doing by just sitting at that place. I said you did not come to see the house (laughter/joking). He must be trying to take hold of me that I came to you, wondering if I might stay. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | It’s not because of baby’s villa that we came. This house is pretty good. I like it. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | It’s satisfactory over here. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | It’s cool. |  |
| Irshad | Yes, I like it myself too. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So are you working at baby’s place nowadays or not? |  |
| Irshad | No, she has gone to England. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | She has locked the house? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | She usually locks up when leaves? And do she leaves the key |  |
| Irshad | Yes, but they have the keys. That day when I had come to your place, then I went there too. Washed the toilets, did mopping outside but she wasn’t there. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | She had come to attend wedding? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, for wedding, stayed for 2-3 days, then went back. She will be away for 2-3 months now. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Weather of Europe is very pleasant. |  |
| Irshad | Today is real good weather. Slightly chilly. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | There aren’t any long summers. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Is that good? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | No, not according to Europeans. They say there aren’t any sunny days this year. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | No they would consider it a tough time upon them, but we say that it’s terribly hot over here. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Agrees. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Probably it wasn’t very chilly last winters, that’s why these summers haven’t been very harsh either. The temperature was high just for a few days or so, almost up to 42 or 43ºC. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Overall the weather is fine. It’s not that hot. It’s better again today. The morning was hotter, I thought that summers have returned once again but the evening has become pleasant. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | When I went outside my eyes itched because of heat, that’s why I was sleeping, but it sure is better now. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Come in Ayesha. |  |
|  | Ayesha comes in. |  |
| Ayesha | We are going outside, it’s better there. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Let the door remain opened. It was refreshing as the door opened. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes weather is far more pleasant now. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Is your tea ready? |  |
| Interviewer 3 | Yes it is but I have made with the thin milk (not of good consistency). |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Initially she said that there is no milk, so tea can’t be made. It almost made my heart sink (laughter). |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | We can’t get properly alert. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Actually, let me tell you that everybody has a true fear in life. For me it is that there will be no availability of tea. Either tea bags will finish or milk. (Laughter) I am really very concerned about this matter. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Tealeaves shall not finish even if the world is ending. Oh my God! |  |
|  | General discussion among interviewers about tea up to 38:27. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Irshad what are the names of your last two daughters. |  |
| Irshad | One is Anser and other is Muqaddas. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Both of them aren’t married? Have you looked for any matches? |  |
| Irshad | None as yet. |  |
| Irshad | I have decided it for Anser. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | How old is she? |  |
| Irshad | At her paternal aunt’s home. Her *phupho’s* place. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | How old is she? |  |
| Irshad | Around 15 years. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Is she younger than the boy? |  |
| Irshad | No she is elder than him. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | It is not a good match then. |  |
| Irshad | No, boys get mature (*jawan*) quickly. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Then you are going to marry her at her paternal aunt’s (phupho’s) home? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Is she a good person? |  |
| Irshad | Yes she is. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | She has to get married yet, then the reality will disclose whether the aunt is good or not? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Haven’t you already given a daughter at aunt’s home or is she the other aunt? |  |
| Irshad | That one has never come here. Her son and daughter also live in Gujrat with her. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | She has never come here? |  |
| Irshad | No, she does come to visit us for a night or two, accompanied by her husband. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | She is well-settled at her home? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, she is. She has a daughter and a son. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | What does her husband do? |  |
| Irshad | He works at a lady’s home. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | What does he do? |  |
| Irshad | The lady belongs to Lahore and is landowner. Her *dewrani* and *Jithani* live in Lahore. He cooks for them for 5000 rupees per month. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Does she (his wife) work? |  |
| Irshad | No, she takes care of children and household. She serves food to her son and daughter. Even her husband takes food at his workplace. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | (Offering tea to Irshad.) |  |
| Irshad | I have just had a cold drink and now you are offering me tea. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Doesn’t matter, that is exactly what you do with us. |  |
| Irshad | (Laughing) |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | You offer us drink first and then tea and keep on offering more and more. |  |
| Irshad | As if you eat a lot (Smiling, complaining). |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | You keep on insisting till we eat. |  |
| Irshad | But whenever you come to my place, you don’t even take the drink properly. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | You had brought so much of sprite (cold drink), how much can a person have? |  |
| Irshad | My son was saying that when aunties come and we offer them drinks,they don’t take much and they were saying that they would not come to Irshad’s home because she offer us drinks every time. |  |
|  | (Laughter.) |  |
| Irshad | I then told my son not to keep on insisting to you for drinks. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | That single bottle costs 80 rupees. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Agreed. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | If you keep on spending that much, we shall discontinue to come. |  |
|  | Interviewers simultaneously forbidding Irshad to make such unnecessary expenses. |  |
| Irshad | You come to us with so much concern and difficulty; don’t we hold enough respect for you. Therefore we offer you drink. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | But you spend so much money, it is wrong. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Love and respect are not demonstrated by such offerings. Try to understand Irshad that you earn your livelihood with such hardships so you should not spend your money like this. |  |
| Irshad | At least cold drink is a must serving to guests. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Next time we will carry along our food and drink. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Look, you earn with so much of hard work and difficulties and then spend it over us. |  |
| Irshad | It is just that our work is a hard task. |  |
| Afshan | That’s why we are concerned. |  |
| Irshad | Now you call me sister, how can I be so discourteous not even to serve water? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | But relationships are not based on food or water. |  |
| Ayesha | Irshad have some biscuits. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So, is Anser’s aunt, her sister-in-law nice? |  |
| Irshad | She is. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | What does her fiancé do? |  |
| Irshad | Her *Phupho* works at Bhatta. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Oh my God! (*hai Allah!!*) |  |
| Irshad | What else we can do *Baji*, there is no other option. |  |
| Ayesha | What did you give in dowry to the daughter (2nd one) who has came back home?? |  |
| Irshad | One trunk, 3-4 beds, 2-3 beddings, crockery, and a lot of things. |  |
| Ayesha | Did you take that money too from the people at *Bhatta*? |  |
| Irshad | We shared half expenses and they contributed half. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | You didn’t borrow from *munshi (people at bhatta)*? |  |
| Irshad | No. |  |
| Ayesha | Then who gave the money? |  |
| Irshad | They gave the money. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Who they? The boy’s family? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, they contributed half and we contributed the other half. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok, so you did not take money from Bhatta? |  |
| Irshad | No. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | If your son joins army, will the *munshi* be bothered about it? |  |
| Irshad | Even if he does, it won’t matter. It is us who have to work at kiln, not him. We are ourselves praying that he might go and get some work. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | This labor is pretty difficult. |  |
| Irshad | Agrees in grunt. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | The boy to whom Anser will be married also works at kiln.  (Repeats). It is “generational poverty”. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Hm. |  |
| Ayesha | The daughter who has returned to your home, her ex-husband also worked at kiln? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Nighat | Ask about her village. To which village do they belong?  (General discussion about cycle of poverty, and difficulties among interviewers) |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | What did your father do? |  |
| Irshad | He is a farmer, ploughs land. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Does he still do it? |  |
| Irshad | No, he is an old man now and weak too. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | What does your brother do? |  |
| Irshad | I have only one brother and he also is a labor at kiln in Gujrat. My father lives with him. He is aged. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Is your mother alive? |  |
| Irshad | She has passed away. |  |
| Ayesha | They are only two sisters and one brother, how come they have such a little family?  You are two sisters and one brother? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Ayesha | How come you have such a small family? You yourself have so many kids, how come your own family is so small? |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Have your other siblings passed away? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Why haven’t you got more of family members? You had no other siblings? |  |
| Irshad | No. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Why? |  |
| Irshad | Somebody cast an evil spell (Jadu) upon my mother. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Oh ok. |  |
| Irshad | My mother had come to visit me. When she was leaving from home. You know these drivers in wagons, they drive so rashly and she slipped from wagon and her one foot was down and other was in wagon. She fell and had a bad injury. She was bedridden for a year at my home. I looked after her. After almost a year when we were at our workplace and the paternal aunt (*phupho*), whom we had have given one of our daughters, was with her. She came in to tell me that my mother had slight headache. I went to call in for doctor to give her injection. By the time I reached home with him, and the doctor checked, she had died. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | She had passed away? |  |
| Irshad | Yes |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | You were married when she passed away? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, of course. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So she could not have more children. |  |
| Irshad | She was in sound health when she came to me. She passed away a year after my daughter died. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | What was the reason of your daughter’s death? |  |
| Irshad | A son was born to her, at Gujar Khan. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Was her pregnancy smooth? |  |
| Irshad | Very much fine, she had delivered her daughters at home before. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Did she go to hospital for regular checkups during her pregnancy? |  |
| Irshad | No. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | You never took her. |  |
| Irshad | No. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | You took her to hospital at the very last moment. |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Why had you taken her to hospital at that time then? |  |
| Irshad | When we took her to Aafia, she told that the baby is breach (downside up). |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | She had started having labor pains? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, pains had started. She said that she could not deliver the baby, as it was in breach position. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Now listen to me carefully, the first two girls were delivered at home? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, at home. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | What made you take her to hospital? She was having labor pains? And the baby wasn’t getting delivered? |  |
| Irshad | Yes the pains had begun, and baby wasn’t coming out. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So, you were trying for that in home? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, even two midwives came in. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok, then what did they say? |  |
| Irshad | One dai was from Paree Village and the other from Nara. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Who was the *dai* from Narra? |  |
| Irshad | No, not exactly Nara, the one along the school, from where we used to pass, we went there. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok, the one who is with the OGDC? The one dai of nai’s. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Was it the *dai*, employed by the company? |  |
| Irshad | You took that *dai* with you to your home? |  |
| Irshad | She came and told us that the passage for delivering the baby was not formed by that time. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | What did she tell you to do? |  |
| Irshad | We took her to Malyal? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | The midwife told you to take her to Malyal? |  |
| Irshad | No, they said that they could not manage that delivery because the baby was in invert position. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So, you take her to hospital? |  |
| Irshad | Yes they told us that we should better take her there. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | You took her to Aafia? |  |
| Irshad | The *munshi* arranged for that. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok, tell me that for how long did you made the attempt at home after the pains had initiated? |  |
| Irshad | From morning to evening. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | You tried from morning to evening to get the baby delivered at home? And did they (dais) give any of their own medications? |  |
| Irshad | No, nothing. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | One of midwives was from *nai*’s, where was the other one from? |  |
| Irshad | She was from Paree. She was pretty capable and experienced (*sayani*). |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Then what was her opinion? |  |
| Irshad | She also said the same thing that the case was not simple and she could not manage that delivery. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Then what did you do? |  |
| Irshad | We called for the *thekedar* and took her to Gujjar Khan. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | But firstly you went to Afiya? |  |
| Irshad | Yes we went to Afiya first but she also said that she could not do it. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | What did she say than about where to take her? |  |
| Irshad | She said that we should take her to Gujar Khan. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | You went there? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, to Gujar Khan. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Where in Gujar Khan? |  |
| Irshad | There is a road along *PIR PALAHI.* Then comes a rock, and from there the road goes upwards and then it goes downwards again. If you continue on that, there comes a big hospital on the road. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | You took her to Kallas or Gujar Khan? |  |
| Irshad | Gujar Khan. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok, Gujar Khan. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Then what did they do? |  |
| Irshad | It was a very big hospital there. They gave it their best shot. There were doctors there. They gave her many injections to deliver baby because her husband persisted that he would not opt for operation. He insisted that there have been no operations in our generations. We don’t even let nurses touch; the previous babies were all delivered at home. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Who said that? |  |
| Nighat | Her husband. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Why did her husband say so? |  |
| Irshad | He was saying that if baby could be delivered through injections and drips, then it is fine. But the doctor warned us that the baby was in inverted position. This baby would be delivered through cesarean and not normally. It was a baby boy. They took ultrasound twice or thrice and confirmed that baby is in invert position. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Then what did her husband say? Did he agree to operation then? |  |
| Irshad | Yes he did. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | What was the time by then? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | At what time was the operation performed? Did you take her to Gujar Khan the next day? Or in evening of the same day? |  |
| Irshad | We took her to hospital early in morning next day. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | At what time was the operation carried out? |  |
| Irshad | Around 8.00 am -9.00 am. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Was the baby dead? |  |
| Irshad | No, the baby was alive, nice and healthy. He was in sound health for two days. Sweets were distributed in the paternal family. Everyone wished them congratulations. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Did they put the baby in incubator? |  |
| Irshad | No, he was in open the way they usually keep in hospitals. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Then? |  |
| Irshad | He was fine for two days and had been drinking milk properly. Third day I told Rasheeda to feed him. She fed him and put him to sleep. I asked her that he has been sleeping a lot since long, so she should wake him up to go for some fresh air. He was sleeping the way it is in hospitals like there is bedding and blankets, the baby was not moving. He had already died. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | How did you come to know that the baby has expired? |  |
| Irshad | We called the doctors and they checked baby with stethoscope and confirmed the death. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Didn’t you ask what had happened? Didn’t they tell you anything? |  |
| Irshad | No they didn’t. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Was the baby’s face covered with blanket? Was the baby under blanket? |  |
| Irshad | Yes my daughter had it spread over herself. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | And the baby was with her? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | The death was due to strangulation. It is something very common. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Baby’s face was covered and he could not breathe. |  |
| Irshad | No. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Then what happened? |  |
| Irshad | What we understand is that those ladies whose kids get aborted after six months or less, if pregnant ladies go near them (the ladies who had abortion) they get affected. There was a woman in our relatives who had her baby aborted in a few months of age, we thought that she had come with pleasure to see the child. But when her voice fell upon the kid’s ears, it was a bad influence. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | What do you call it? This bad omen….*Pachawan*? |  |
| Irshad | *Pachawan* or *balara.* (evil shadow) |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | That baby had a *balara.* |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | She is saying that if a lady who has had an abortion, comes close to a newly born child and the child listens to her voice then it has a bad influence and baby dies. Means that *Pachawan* not only affects pregnant lady but also the child. |  |
| Irshad | Yes it does. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Then you must have faced a tough time. |  |
| Irshad | We brought our daughter home. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | To your home. |  |
| Irshad | Yes to my home. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | How much was spent in all these affairs? |  |
| Irshad | Munshi had given it all, the *thekedar*. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Do you know how much was spent? |  |
| Irshad | 18,000 rupees. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Eighteen thousand rupees (surprised). Was that a government hospital or a private one? The big hospital? Eighteen thousand rupees is a very big amount. |  |
| Irshad | It was a big hospital. When you go from here onto main road and follow it, farther down the road, there you will see the hospital. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | The road enters Gujar Khan, and you follow it deep straight into the city then the hospital comes? |  |
| Irshad | Yes there. When you go there straight on the road then a street comes and there is a very big hospital. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Do you know the name of that hospital? |  |
| Irshad | No. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | How do you know that eighteen thousand rupees were spent? |  |
| Irshad | Munshi had told me and the *thekedar*. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok. Eighteen thousand rupees (emphasizing). |  |
| Irshad | He has shown me the records (notebook) that the total cost over my daughter and grandson was 18,000 rupees. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Now that the baby had expired, did you take the corpse home? |  |
| Irshad | Yes we brought the child here and then took him back to our home and buried there. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Where did you bury him? |  |
| Irshad | Back in the village. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | You took him all the way back to village, so who paid for it? |  |
| Irshad | Some was contributed by baby’s paternal relatives and half we shared. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | From where did you get money to share in this amount? Did Munshi give it to you? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, Munshi. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Now that they also spent money, what is her husband’s name? |  |
| Irshad | Bala. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | He also is a laborer at kiln? |  |
| Irshad | Yes he is. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So when the expenses over your daughter were made in hospital; did Bala’s kiln paid for it or was it your kiln’s munshi who paid? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Whose *Munshi* paid? Yours or his?  (question repeated by Dr. Zubia Mumtaz) |  |
| Irshad | It’s the same person for both of us. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | You work at the same place? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | To whose share has he been adding these expenses to? Yours or theirs? |  |
| Irshad | In Bala’s share. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok then he has not deducted that amount from your account? |  |
| Irshad | No. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | When you took the baby back to village, did *munshi* pay for it all? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, all of it and we arranged all the food and other things for family that comes for condolence. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | How much did it all cost? |  |
| Irshad | Maybe 2000 or 3000 rupees. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | How many times was the food arrangement made? |  |
| Irshad | Twice. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Why did you take him all the way back? |  |
| Irshad | They said that we won’t bury him in an unknown land (*pardes*) here; we will bury him back in our own village. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | How far is your village? How much do they charge for transport? |  |
| Irshad | The transport belongs to the *thekedar*. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So the *thekedar* did all the expenses. Now tell me one thing that if it were a daughter would you still have bothered to take her all the way back to village for burial? |  |
| Irshad | Yes still. We have never buried any baby anywhere else. If somebody falls ill or something happens we take them back home. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Why is that so? |  |
| Irshad | We just don’t bury our people here. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Is it because you don’t want to bury here or because you don’t have any graveyard here? |  |
| Irshad | It’s the same thing. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | You don’t have any of your own space here. |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Why don’t you have space here for you? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Can’t *munshi* arrange a place for your burial here? |  |
| Irshad | No. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | They won’t do it? |  |
| Irshad | No. They don’t arrange a place but would rather arrange for a transport to take the body back. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So doesn’t everybody have a place in graveyard? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Graveyards are not like this. You have to pay for your piece of land. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | In every village? I did know about Islamabad. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Everywhere, or as it happens in villages the land of graveyard is common to all. That land is property of village (*Shamlaat*), Government’s land. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ok then, why aren’t you allowed for burial here in graveyard, as it is *shamlaat* land? |  |
| Irshad | We don’t have space here. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Because they are not part of the community. |  |
| Irshad | Because we don’t have space here. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | No, it’s just that you don’t have space in here. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | So when you take the body back to village, do you buy your space? |  |
| Irshad | No, the one who buries, who is the owner, who recites the funeral prayer, he has got a lot of space. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Does he charge you for the funeral services? |  |
| Irshad | No. They are *mochi,* who bury child and dig a grave. They take hundred or one hundred and fifty rupees. And then we arrange *khattam* for dead ones, and for food that is served at death. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | It is actually because they belong to that community and are a part of it. So when you are part of a community you are accepted there. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Being part of a community you have your rights. So that’s why they maintain such contacts (twice). |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | But nowadays as the land is getting expensive even this is becoming an issue in villages. I came to know that day when I saw transfer papers of graveyard land of our village. I asked my father about it, he told that this was becoming an issue so we transferred our share of land along the graveyard to community. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | It is probably because of paved graves, it’s improper. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | It’s a common practice nowadays. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes, but it should not be like this. That way graveyards will keep on expanding. |  |
| Irshad | The *phupho* of my daughter did say to make her grave paved but I disagreed. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Why didn’t you? |  |
| Irshad | No we have kept it like that. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Why? |  |
| Irshad | It’s just a small space. Every Thursday we burn perfumed sticks there, put a little more mud, water it and pray. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | It is good that they don’t do it. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | No, they have not done it because it is a good thing. Let me understand. |  |
| Irshad | We have just cleared the space to its right and left and we sprinkle water on it now. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Are all the graves, that of your mother, grandfather, father all unpaved? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | But they are still there? |  |
| Irshad | Yes they are. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | (Addresses other interviewers) So the actual purpose is not served, that you were pointing out. |  |
| Irshad | We go there in Moharram, clean them, put mud over it, and water them and clean them. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Just like new. Why were they saying that they want to have a paved grave for your daughter? |  |
| Irshad | They say that after we are gone, no signs will remain. Now we go there and afterwards our kids will. Otherwise there would be no marks. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Then why did you tell them that there was no point of making a paved grave. Why did you say that? |  |
| Irshad | They say that it’s a burden on the dead body. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Is it only that or because of finances required for the purpose? |  |
| Irshad | No, that is not the issue. It would cost 100-300 rupees. We could arrange for that by our daily wages. But there is no use of paved grave. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | The gravestone costs 250-300 and the labor. The total expense is far more. |  |
| Irshad | May be it is 500 rupees. The gravestones (paryan) are already available there, so the making cost of labor is three hundred or so. But our *moulvi*, he says that greater the weight on the grave greater will be the pain for soul in it. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So that’s why you don’t get it paved? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Then you had brought back your daughter to your home? |  |
| Irshad | At my home. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | What happened then? |  |
| Irshad | She had started experiencing pain in legs. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | After how many days? |  |
| Irshad | The 42nd day. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Second day, after the initial forty days’ rest. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Where was the pain? |  |
| Nighat | In leg. |  |
| Irshad | She was sitting under the tree beside bush in our front yard after taking bath and we went out. When we came back, she asked us to help her get up. We said let us get freshen up first. Tired person gets agitated unnecessarily. Both sisters tried to help her but she said that it was difficult for her to get up. She said her knees were hurting. Then both sisters tried to help her get up by holding her arms, they were laughing. She was unable to get up, her knees were painful. Her husband took her to clinic on scooter. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Bala? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Her husband took her? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. When they returned he said that they asked him to go back to the place where her operation took place. They gave her injections saying that knee pain is not a positive sign. The pain worsened as time passed. We took her there twice. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Where? |  |
| Irshad | Gujar Khan. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Then? |  |
| Irshad | They took blood tests and told us that there was no problem. There was no problem in the knee even. But the condition didn’t improve. They gave her drip in evening and when they removed it in morning she was still screaming with pain. We thought to take her home. But the senior doctor came and said that we should take her to Pindi, she would be treated there and be fine. We thought her last time has come, how she would get better afterwards. What was actually in our mind was that she had been admitted there, got her baby delivered there, and we had paid 18,000 rupees to them. And if we would take her somewhere else, they would keep her there and then she would die. We won’t have enough money for the arrangements. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | But you did pay for the two day stay here too. |  |
| Irshad | Yes we did. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Who gave that money? *munshi*? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Then you didn’t allow the girl to be taken ahead to Pindi? |  |
| Irshad | No, we didn’t. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Why? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | You brought her back to home while she was alive? |  |
| Irshad | Yes she was. We brought her back to home. And the moment she arrived, she was in trouble again. Then she died. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | She died there? |  |
| Irshad | At home. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Ok. (Addresses Dr. Zubia Mumtaz) Now you may ask. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | No, I don’t get what has happened? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | I’ll explain. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | She had pain in knee? Had she pain in abdomen too, was she out of breath, had she turned a bit yellow? |  |
| Irshad | No. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Was she bleeding? |  |
| Irshad | No. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | She had her bath after 40 days? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | She told that. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Was she feverish? |  |
| Irshad | No, nothing. She was well. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Was she on bed rest during forty days or was she moving too? |  |
| Irshad | She did move a bit. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Did she do her chores herself? |  |
| Irshad | No, she didn’t. She was with us. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | She did move around though? |  |
| Irshad | Little bit. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Do you have a toilet inside your home or you go out for that? |  |
| Irshad | It’s inside. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Did she used to go for urination there by herself? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, she did. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Did she used to go by herself or did she need support? |  |
| Irshad. | Before when she had not taken bath of the 40th day, her sisters used to assist her. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | So you used to help her by holding her arms for support? |  |
| Irshad | We didn’t let her out in open at all. We kept her in home. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes for those forty days, you don’t let ladies go outside. Was she pale? |  |
| Irshad | No, she was rather glowing pinkish. She took bath and had put on eye pencil (*surma*). She was hale and hearty. Something happened to her the third day. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | She had pain on the third day after maternity rest of forty days. |  |
| Irshad | Second day. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | She had pain in knee, so they took her to hospital and doctor asked them to take her to Pindi. But they didn’t do it and brought her back home. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Why didn’t you take her to Pindi when the doctor had suggested? |  |
| Irshad | Because if a person expires there, they ask for money before giving the corpse. You lose your beloved and have to pay for it too. That is not fair at all. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Didn’t you realize her condition then? Did you think that she was in serious condition when the doctor recommended you to take her to Pindi? Did she look very ill? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | How exactly was she looking? |  |
| Irshad | She was closing her eyes again and again. |  |
| Nighat | They were sure then that she was going to die even if they would take her to Pindi, so they didn’t. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | You knew that she was about to pass away? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. I had told the *munshi* that I would not take my daughter to Rawalpindi. So we brought her back. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Was that because of finances? Did you worry about money? |  |
| Irshad | Yes money was a concern but we were not so much worried about it. When it is evident that a person is about to die then why go for treatment, why not bring him back? We had realized it at hospital. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Had she fainted? Were her eyes closed? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, then why would we take her there to Pindi? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | But you said that she closed her eyes after you brought her back to home. |  |
| Irshad | Yes at home. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | She was not in that bad condition; she closed her eyes at home then never opened again. |  |
| Irshad | Then Bala came in crying, I myself came with her, laid her on bed over a clean sheet and nice pillow and gave a sheet (*chadar*) to cover her. After that we asked Rasheeda talk to your siblings, your sisters-in-law (*dewranis*) and daughters but she didn’t respond.  Baji we have to see our situation; there in Pindi they charge for the dead body. If one expires there nobody can bring him if they have not got sufficient amount. Otherwise they will keep the body there. We have to carry our patient from the third floor. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | How do you know all that? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Have you ever been to Pindi? |  |
| Irshad | No I haven’t. But the people who have gone there have told us. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Name one person who has told you that. |  |
| Irshad | It’s the potter (*kumhar*). They once took a person there, that man was so handsome, a full youth, they took him for treatment. He kept on updating about his condition all the time, sometimes he was getting better and sometimes worse. Then he told that the patient was taken to the third floor from the second floor. There was another man there; he told them that your patient cannot be saved. They had taken him to the third floor. He told him to arrange for sixteen thousand rupees and only then they could handover the body. Then they arranged transport and paid sixteen thousand there to take the body. He was a nice handsome boy just like my own son. If we think about that, we get anxious. They were rich people, landlords and took him to Pindi. He had two sons; one was about two to three months old and the other one four years old. (Sad) They called from hospital that they were not handing over the dead body and asking to pay money. So they arranged all that… they are *kumhar* the one who make pots. They took twenty thousand instead of fifteen thousand because they had to bring back the dead body of their son. And now my daughter, if we took her…we are not landlords… |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Where have you buried Rasheeda? |  |
| Irshad | Back in village. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | How much did it cost you? |  |
| Irshad | As I told you, we had to take her by special transport arranged for that (*apni garri kara ke*), then for funeral, then the food and arrangements, we had returned after 40 days of her death. Again now we had arranged for *khatam* for her after forty days. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | How many times was the food arranged? |  |
| Irshad | It was among all the relatives turn by turn. Like I would cook one day and someone else will cook next day and so on… |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | You did it for forty days (surprised)? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Isn’t it a tough task? Arranging food for forty days? |  |
| Irshad | We arranged the 40th day *khatam* and then returned home. Many people from our Dhok and kiln went there too. The day when my daughter died, they went with us. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | They all went? |  |
| Irshad | Yes they did. They gave 200, 300, or 500 rupees, all of them. Then after the 40th day *khatam,* we came back here. Again all of them came to me for condolence. Of course people come for condolence. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, true. |  |
| Irshad | I have been here (in this Dhok) for quite a long time. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes you have been. You are with them all the time. |  |
| Irshad | Ms. Baby could not come at that time, she was in Pindi. She was told after she came back that Irshad’s daughter passed away. She came in afterwards and gave 5000 rupees to her daughters. My two granddaughters live at my place. The eldest one lives with her paternal grandmother. We had to spend money at two olaces and we take care of these girls. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Did Bala remarry? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, he did. He has a son too, two months of age. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Where is he? Over here? At your kiln place? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Why didn’t you marry your other daughter to Bala?  (Afshan Bhatti repeats) |  |
| Irshad | We had no clue even that he remarried. He didn’t tell us, he could not wait for long and married again very soon. |  |
| Nighat | After how long did he get married?  (Dr. Zubia Mumtaz repeats) |  |
| Irshad | After third month, he married again. We had no hint about that. That’s why we have kept our granddaughters with us. |  |
| Nighat | Doesn’t he give any money for her daughters? |  |
| Irshad | No. |  |
| Nighat | Doesn’t he come to meet them? |  |
| Irshad | He lives just besides us. We work at the same kiln. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Does he see them often? |  |
| Irshad | Yes. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Does he pay for their expenditures? |  |
| Irshad | No, we manage all expenses ourselves. We have never asked them for money. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Where is their paternal grandmother? |  |
| Irshad | She is near there. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | She looks after one of them. |  |
| Irshad | Yes, but the girls don’t stay there. They have no mother and they think of me as their mother now. When their *dadi* comes, they don’t like it. They won’t be staying with me forever. The eldest one is there. She does household work there. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Her grandmother has kept her for working. |  |
| Irshad | Yes, her *dadi* has kept her for household chores. The younger two are happy. They will prefer to be with us rather than them. If we eat *roti* with just some chillies and there is nothing else to eat, my granddaughters will eat that with us. They will not like to eat meat from their father’s home. Why should we ask them to go there to eat; we don’t. We think that whatever we will eat, they can also eat. Once Bala was outside, one of the daughters was playing. I had sent her clean but she got dirty as she was playing with mud. Bala slapped her that why she was so messy? My son went ahead and argued with him that we are responsible to take care of them, to feed them and you have no right to hit them. He said if their mother is not alive does it give you a free hand to hit them? We don’t treat them like this no matter what. We don’t beat girls, never. My son held his arm. My son talks like an educated person that it’s our right to decide for them. He never let us even touch (beat) them. They are young girls, they don’t have their mother. Baji it’s a long story, how can I tell you all. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, it is like this. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Where did Bala get married? |  |
| Irshad | Sargodha; they are also our relatives. He had seen her a few times during funeral and afterwards and married her. We were at kiln site and didn’t know about his marriage. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Did Bala’s mother know? |  |
| Irshad | Yes she knows all. Actually she had arranged for it. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes mother would have been part of it. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | She didn’t want your other daughter? |  |
| Irshad | She had never talked about that with us and arranged his marriage. Mother and son together arranged for that. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Don’t worry, have faith; Allah is there. Someone else will come suely. |  |
| Irshad | One has to bear it all. We have heavy burden of responsibilities. Daughters and granddaughters.  It has been so hot here since we came. My granddaughter has been asking me whole way that she needed water. She was thirsty. I told her that I am going to your place and then I would get back. So I walked so far and came to see you. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | But it is not so far. |  |
| Irshad | Yes, but she is just a young kid. How can she walk? When we reached here outside the door, that man told us that you had gone. So we were disappointed, then I said I would come again. We came to drink water. She is young and cannot walk, and she gets tired. She says that your home is so far. Actually she is just a kid. But for me, it was not a problem. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Have you decided about your sons’ wedding as yet? |  |
| Irshad | No, they are too young. It has just been a year since they have started to work. They get tired soon. They are younger than my daughters. They have been studying. My son says it’s a hard task. He was at tuition when you came that day. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Agreed. |  |
| Irshad | It’s his time to return. That’s why I am asking you to drop me on road. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Ayesha lets go and drop her. |  |
| Ayesha | Ok. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | The weather is fine; we will have a little exercise too. |  |
| Irshad | (Smiling) Yes you get bored if you keep on sitting at one place. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | True. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Yes, you have been sitting here since morning. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Yes. |  |
| Irshad | That is why I asked my son to call you, to know if you are at home or not. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | You did well. Nighat close this. |  |
| Afshan | I got a call from home last evening as well. I don’t know what has happened there. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Its Shabana’s home; you can go in the evening as well. It was really good that you came (irshad); you should visit more often. | Irshad |
| Irshad | Really? I do visit homes; I go to Ms. Baby’s place even if she returns at night. I just sit there and chat with her. My daughters are at home and take care of home and I stay there till late. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Well, she is about to return. |  |
| Irshad | She will be back after two or three months. |  |
| Dr. Zubia Mumtaz | Two weeks or two months? |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | I have been told that she will be back after three weeks, or a month. |  |
| Irshad | I started going there after y Chahcha died. I go there after long intervals of time but I do the cooking and cleaning of the home. |  |
| Afshan Bhatti | Your paternal ncle (chacha) had dies there (back home)? |  |
| Irshad | Yes, he had died there but we used to do the *durrod and khattam* around here. |  |

Transcribed by Maria