CASE STUDIES OF MUSLIM WOMEN

Gender discrimination existed for centuries. Excess female mortality and increasing sex ratio are the evidence of gender discrimination. Evidence has been provided in many studies that gender inequality exists at various stages of life. Male mortality exceeds female mortality among the infants, but that is reversed from the early childhood period (1–4 years) and it continues until the age 30 (Subramanian et al, 2006; Krishnaji and James, 2002; Das Gupta, 1995).

Several efforts have been under taken to reduce gender discrimination among Muslims. However, a large portion of Muslim women in India has remained outside the school. A significant number of these women are compelled to work and contribute to the family income because of poverty. In order to facilitate their development, adequate information on the situation under which the Muslim women are living is required. Information was gathered from 212 respondents from Mashhad and 210 respondents from Bangalore. Some of the cases are very pathetic and interesting. Such cases have been highlighted in this section as case studies. The case studies are presented in profiles. Each profile gives age, educational status of the women’s family size and economic condition, its social characteristics, the nature of work and earnings of the women, past experience of the women and other significant information.
Case Studies of Bangalore City

Case-1

Munawara khatoon aged 49 years was born in a reputed business family of Bangalore. Father and grand father were rich business-men dealing in consumer products and tobacco. Father had studied at Aligarh Muslim University and also practised music and sports activities. In view of his rich and affluent background father got married at 21. The mother was 15 and she had studied up to 7th standard only as she hailed from an orthodox family and was not permitted to continue her studies i.e., after she attained puberty. They are 9 sisters and 3 brothers. Munawara khatoon is the 5th child in the family.

Munawara khatoon states: “I studied up to PUC. I wanted to study up to my degree. But my parents did not permit me because I had developed an infatuation with one of my far relatives. When my family members learnt about it I was not permitted to continue my studies. Further I was made to stay at home and engaged in household activities. I was not very beautiful in my family. My two younger sisters got married before me and my parents agreed for these alliances because the boys were very rich families and I was very much dejected. At one time I even refused to marry and wanted to lead the life as a spinster. In the mean while my younger sister also got proposal for marriage. Then all my family members forced and persuaded me to agree for marriage. When I was 26 years old I agreed to marry. My marriage was arranged with a transport operator. Though he is a graduate by name Afroze, because of his transport business his behavior and treatment is not cordial and he behaves in a very rude manner.

At times he used to come fully drunk and started quarrelling and beating me. Since ours was a joint family where my husband and his 3 brothers were staying with my parents-in-laws whenever there was quarrel and fight between us my father-in-law protected me and mother-in-law supported him.
My mother-in-law is chain smoker. So her relatives never liked and she was adamant and used to say it is a habit of rich ladies. As my parental family was large and my younger sisters were still to be married I tolerated all his excesses following the advice of my elders. I have two sons and two daughters. The eldest daughter is also falling in love with a boy. She wanted to marry him but I persuaded and explained to her about the consequences of marrying a playboy and she agreed. We married her to an Engineer and they are living happily.

After marriage of my eldest daughter my husband totally changed. He went to Haj pilgrimage, gave up drinking, gambling and also left his mistress. Having became a Hajee he started living a very pious life. He is sending my other children including my second daughter to school for education. Earlier he was not strict about pardah but now he insists for the same. Till the marriage of our eldest daughter he was not spending money on the family though he was earning well. I had to ask my father-in-law for any money I required as my husband was spending all his income in gambling, womanizing, drinking etc. Of course, my father-in-law handled the regular family expenses. With regard to my personal expenses my brother used to send me the required amounts. At one time we were in a very bad financial situation when my husband started betting on race of horses. He had even taken away all my jewellery and sold them for betting on horses and when I resisted I was beaten up mercilessly.

Of course now he is a religious and a pious person after performing of “Haj” at Mecca (Makkah). (It is the largest annual pilgrimage in the world, and is the fifth pillar of Islam, an obligation that must be carried out at least once in their lifetime by every able-bodied Muslim who can afford to do so.).

At my parents’ house, observing pardah was compulsory. But after my marriage I was not asked to observe pardah and moved about freely. But my
husband did not like my mingling with my cousin brothers and others. This was on account of suspicion rather than religions notion.

Important decisions in my husband’s family were taken by my husband and also my father-in-law, which, every one was bound to agree. Though I was holding professional certificates and would have earned for my personal expenses but in view of the status in the society, I was not encouraged by either my parents or my in laws so I had to stay at home as a house wife. Right from date of marriage my health was very good and very rarely I used to complaint about any ailments. Whenever I fell ill I was taken care of by my in-laws or my parents whenever I visited them. My husband did not encourage me to use pregnancy preventive medicines or methods till the 4th child was born. Thereafter I was permitted to undergo Tubectomy operation. As is the practice in India my first child was born at my parents place at their cost and the other 3 deliveries at my husband’s place.

Today my husband and I are living a happy married life. As far as inheritance is concerned the in-laws gave my husband’s share to us and we are in possession and enjoyment of the same and I am yet to get my share in my parent’s property”.

Case-2

Dr.Sunitha (Hindu) now aged 36 years was born in a business Maratha family who are very moderate and open-minded people. They are 3 brothers and 2 sisters. She is the youngest in the family. Her eldest brother took care of the entire family as her parents died when she was very young. During the course of her Dental studies she met a Muslim Boy by the name ‘Haris’ from Hyderabad. Initially they were friends, later became very close friends and ultimately they fell in love with each other.
Dr. Sunitha says, “After completion of his Dental studies he left to his native place Hyderabad. As I was from Bangalore and I stayed back. However my interest and affection towards Haris increased and it became next to impossible for me to live without him. I told my elder brother and sister about my desire to go to Hyderabad and stay with Haris and get married to him. My brothers resisted and said that they are not acquainted either with the boy or his family and they will not give their permission or consent to me to go and stay at Hyderabad and marry Haris. However, my sister Kusuma supported me as she was very close and affectionate towards me. My brothers’ only opposition was because of not knowing about the character and background of Haris and his family. Ultimately I left for Hyderabad and stayed at a working women’s hostel. I contacted Hari, but to my shock and surprise Haris was a changed person and he was not that much attached to me as he was in Bangalore. However I point blank told him that life without him is of no meaning for me. His reluctance was due to opposition from his parents who were not willing for a non-Muslim girl to be married to their son.

He already had offers from his relatives who were prepared to give huge amount of dowry apart from they being Muslims. However, Haris gave in to my demand and agreed to marry me even at the cost of deserting his parents in view of my mad love towards him. Sensing reality we got married without intervention of his parents. They also agreed for the marriage but with a pre-condition that someone should represent me from my side during the marriage. Fortunately, I had another classmate by name Dr. Zahir with whose parents I had very good relationship. I contacted him and his parents who readily agreed to adopt me as their daughter. They came to Hyderabad and they agreed to act as my parents and to represent me in my marriage. However, prior to this, they went and spoke and took permission from my brothers. My family members at Bangalore readily permitted Zahir’s parents to act as my parents in the marriage with Dr. Haris and my marriage was performed at Hyderabad as per the Islamic rites.”
By the grace of God though I was from another state I got a job at Hyderabad and was posted at Warangle as a Dental Assistant in the Government Hospital. Though my parents were rich and had left enough for my marriage, because of my marriage outside the religion, I was not given anything at the time of my marriage because of opposition of my in-laws were opposed. However, the said negative things became positive when I got the Government job and my husband Haris started his dental clinic and practice.

The price that I pay for not bringing dowry is that my father-in-law takes away my total salary and I am not left with anything. However, I am very happy and have no complaints against him. I am happy as I got a very loving husband who cares for me. We are in a happy financial position and have a daughter aged 4 years. I use tablet and we do not have any plan for another child.

Though my in-laws are very strict about pardah but I am fortunate enough that they never enforced pardah on me in view of my professional work as a doctor. While we go to functions within the family I do not wear pardah nor my husband insists. I have a younger sister-in-law and she married recently. My father-in-law is the eldest in the family who takes all decisions. His decisions are binding on all of us. We do not like some decisions but in view of family discipline we follow it. After the birth of my daughter my brother welcomed me and my husband Haris to our house at Bangalore. For the first time we were welcomed in a traditional manner as per Hindu rites and customs and my husband did not object for the same.

My brothers have also realized that my decision to marry Haris was right as thereafter we are living a very happy married life. We are enjoying status of a son-in-law and daughter-in-law in our respective houses. After birth
of my daughter there are no regrets and no complaints whatsoever and my
dughter is the only child. We have set an example for our community though
we are Muslims and have only a daughter we are very happy and contented
with the same.

**Case-3**

Dilnaz stated during the interview, “My name is Dilnaz. I am aged 40
years. My father was businessman having 6 daughters and 3 sons. He expired
when we were all very young. Only my eldest sister was married. Others were
all young and school going children. In view of the difficulties in the family,
my eldest brother started earning at a very young age by doing various odd
jobs, to support the family. Some of my sisters completed matriculation and
started working in reputed ladies textile shops. While working in one of the
shops I met a person by name Anjum. Though his father had huge properties he
had to work the textile shop for his day-to-day expenses as his father was not
paying pocket-money.

We became close friends and decided to get married. Meanwhile Anjum
left the job when his father permitted him to start his own business in one of his
properties. He became a very successful businessman. Even after starting his
business he was courting me and we were going out for dinners. Once he
became a successful businessman he ditched me and told me that his parents
are unwilling to marry a girl who hails from lower status (money wise). I was
living a jolted life for some time and I started moving with another boy. My ex-
boy friend married a girl from a rich family and a boy and girl.

There were regular quarrels between them and ultimately the marriage
ended in a divorce. Anjum paid Rs.2 lakhs to his estranged wife and took
permanent custody of his two children. After divorce Anjum again started
contacting me. But I was unwilling to again be only a friend. Finally he
seriously proposed to marry me, and I told him it has to be decided by my
elders. He approached my brother-in-law along with his brother-in-law and
gave the proposal. Though I was reluctant, but because of his assurance and promises to be a dutiful and loving husband and the fact that there were 3 more sisters to be married, one being elder to me and two younger, I agreed for the marriage on the advise of my family members. Our marriage was celebrated when Anjum was 30 years and I was 24 years old. It was a great responsibility, as I had to take care of not only my husband but also his two children through his first wife. The first was a daughter of 3 years and second a son of 1 year. I brought up the children as my own. At the beginning it was a joint family but after marriage of my brother-in-law we started residing in another portion of the same house with a separate kitchen as it was meant for 3 families.

Unfortunately my husband Anjum on one pretext or the other was evading having a child through me because he had inner fear that if I get a child I may neglect his two children born through his first wife. It was never in my mind. Both children are so happy with me that when they came to the age to understand they refused to accept me as step mother and loved me as their own mother. It is almost 14 years that I am married. So far I have not given birth to my own child because of the non co-operative attitude of my husband even though we have non-protected sex. I could not conceive because of harassment and ill-treatment. It psychologically upsets me. Doctors have told me that I should be stress free if at all I have to conceive. Several times I requested my husband who behaves in a polite manner with me. Any amount of advice given to him lasts only for a few days. Soon he again becomes the same as he was, indulging in abusing me, ill-treating me. A number of times he told me that there is no meeting of mind between him and me because of my lower class background. He takes advantage of the fact that there is no one responsible to take care of the situation. He knows that I cannot leave him or divorce him. He is fully aware of my financial condition, my sickness etc. I was advised to bear with my husband in view of these facts.
The main reason for his divorce with his first wife was that he was a psychopath and he compels me to bring my friends who are married for his company. He is keen to meet my friends one among them was a very young and beautiful widow. He was interested to go with her and there was a big fight over it and he has assaulted me number of times. My health is ruined because of his behavior and I have become a diabetic patient. In this state of health doctors have told me that I cannot conceive. Additionally he tries to fondle my maid-servant before me. At times I have even assaulted him over these acts. I cannot permanently stay with my parents because of my sickness and financial position. That apart the two children are so attached to me they also come and stay with me deserting their own father.

As a true and obedient wife and mother I have never made my children stay away from me. Neither do I want my children to leave their father. So I was compelled to join my husband Anjum. After marriage I was not permitted to work and in view of my present sickness all expenses are born by my husband of course with lot of abuses. The only security in my life after marriage is my husband has been good enough to settle independent property in my favor which is worth about 2 crores. However, the property documents are in his custody. I am not permitted to have my say in any of the matters in the family and he is a person who takes all decisions himself and I am living a life of a prisoner who is under house arrest with the only support from my step children”.

Case-4

During the interview respondent Samira narrated her life-story as follows; “My name is Samira. Both my parents are doctors. I am aged 26 years. Although I am from Bangalore my parents are residing in Melbourne in Australia. They are devoted Muslims. My father has done his M.D. in Psychiatric Medicine and is a very famous Psychiatric consultant in Australia. Our roots are still in Bangalore. He sent both of us, myself and my younger
brother to Bangalore for studies. I stayed with my maternal aunts and have
done my education up to PUC at Bangalore. My parents took me to Australia
for higher studies we were financially very well off as my parents are the
reputed doctors having lucrative private practice. Besides they have huge
properties at Bangalore. I had my higher education at Melbourne and Sydney.
My parents were keen that I should marry a boy from Bangalore and not from
Australia.

They had instructed my maternal aunt to search for a prospective boy,
from Bangalore and the surroundings for marriage with me, who should either
be prepared to send me to Australia or be prepared to settle in Australia and my
father will sponsor him. Accordingly my maternal aunt settled a boy from
Bangalore namely Masroor for my marriage who was son of a rich
entrepreneur and educationist having number of educational institutions and
occupying High Government and political post. After alliance was fixed and
discussion with elders of both families, my engagement ceremony was fixed at
a five star Hotel at Bangalore. I came from Australia for the engagement
ceremony, which was for immediate family members on both sides. There were
about 800 guests for the engagement in a five-star hotel. Engagement rings
were exchanged. My father gave a branded watch worth Rs.1 lakh and a
diamond ring to him. I went back to Australia. My would be husband used to
call me every day from India and we used to have long discussions some times
stretching up to 5 am in the morning. During the course of discussion he used
to make all sorts of promises with accolades about my beauty and charm. He
has gone to the extent of bringing moon from sky to my palm. I believed
everything as he was blessed with good health, wealth and status.

After six months my marriage was fixed at Bangalore and Nikah
ceremony was performed in a mosque at Bangalore. A grand reception was
held at the Bangalore palace. It was attended by about 8,000 guests and lasted
till midnight and dinner was served in buffet style. As the guests were purely from orthodox society no separate arrangement was made for ladies.

After marriage we went to United Kingdom and Switzerland for honeymoon. After marriage I used to come to dinning room only for food. Rest of the time I was confined to bedroom or drawing room. We were free to watch either family TV or personal TV or other electronic gadgets at respective bedrooms. Though I was educated, I was not permitted to go for an independent job by my in-laws. They felt that it is not proper for the daughter-in-law of a reputed family and wife of a reputed husband to go out for a job except assist my husband in his business. He was engaged in outsourcing agencies and having call-centers and branches of medical centers, etc. My husband used to take me out for dinner and sometimes to Disco joints and hang outs and resorts. While I was enjoying at resorts or hang outs or in discos my husband use to escape on the pretext of having some important business work.

Initially I believed everything he told me. This practice was followed on every outing. But one day, when I had the car key, I followed him only to find him going with another girl in another car which was being driven by one of his drivers. He went to a nearby hotel room and on enquiry at the reception I was told that he has a room permanently booked. I waited at the reception and he came out with the girl in a compromising manner fully drunk and got furious on seeing me. He started assaulting and abusing me in front of all the persons in the hotel lobby. Immediately I left the hotel and came back to our residence in my car and I telephoned to my in-laws who were out of country at that time.

They advised me to wait till their return. When my husband also came to the house and we did not spoke and slept separately. I slept in our bedroom and he slept in the guest-room. This continued for 3 more days till the arrival of my in-laws. Immediately on their arrival a reconciliation meeting was held
between us and my husband was advised to behave properly and respectfully with me. He agreed. Our relations were cordial for a few months. As usual I use to get to Disco joints and hang over and return back. After 4 months he started same behavior and he told me that I am already aware of his extra marital affairs and better accept him as he is, otherwise I am at liberty to seek divorce.

I contacted my parents and informed them about the situation. They advised me to take independent decision either to continue to live with him or seek divorce. I tried my best to persuade him to give up all his extra marital affairs. But he was adamant in his attitude and was not ready to change.

Ultimately I left my husband’s home and went to Australia. Immediately after my arrival there I fell ill and had some gynecologists problems. At first I ignored these as I was taking contraceptive pills at the instruction of my husband. When the problem persisted I consulted a gynecologists and skin specialist.

It was diagnosed that I was suffering from some internal disease contacted from my husband. I had to take treatment for two years at huge cost that was solely borne by my parents. While I was in Australia my husband also came. Although he stayed in the house of my parents, we slept separately. I also told him the reason for doing so but he was adamant and said that when I came from India I was in the company of strangers.

However he denied that he was suffering from any sexually transmitted disease. After 4 weeks my husband left. After it became clear that I wanted dissolution of my marriage my maternal uncle started negotiations for divorce with my husband and his parents. Ultimately the divorce has taken place through an advocate and he returned all my belongings including jewellery and other items and costly clothes. I was totally shattered and became sick mentally. I consulted a psychiatrist and took treatment in Australia for a whole
year. My father then permitted me to choose a boy for my remarriage. As I started my education at Australia I met a Muslim boy from Sri Lanka who also had come for higher education. He passed all my tests to be an obedient and loving and caring husband and married him. He hails from a middle class family Sri Lanka and I am happily living with him in Australia. My rich ex-husband and my in-laws never gave me anything except the amount which I received in the form of few grams of gold at the time of my marriage”.

Case-5

During the interview respondent Shaheen said, “I am Shaheen, aged about 45 years. I have two children from my first marriage and three from the second. My father was a transport contractor and owned lorries. My mother was housewife.

I have 7 brothers but no sister. Every loved me a lot. My parents loved me more than their sons. My brothers are not jealous of it. I attained puberty at 13. While in matriculation I fell in love with a handsome neighborhood boy by name Rahim. All the family members objected to our love affair and I was stopped from going to school. Their objection was baseless as Rahim was a very handsome man with good character. He was a very successful businessman and a B.Com graduate. So, I was adamant in my decision to marry him in spite of the stiff opposition from my family members. They were opposing our marriage because all the previous marriages in our family members were arranged ones. But ultimately, though reluctantly, my parents agreed to our love marriage.

My father gave costly presents to Rahim but did not pay dowry in cash, and he too did not demand. My marital life was so successful that it became a talk of the town and all my cousins wanted to have husbands like Rahim. We had a son after two years. Both of us had no preference for a particular sex and so were happy. As is customary delivery expenses for the first child were borne
by my parents, although my husband was ready to bear it. We practiced F.P. method for 3 years. Then we went for a second child. A daughter was born. All these years we were living in a joint family. After the birth of second child we decided to move to an independent house.

We purchased a site in a posh locality in South Bangalore from our savings and my share of inheritance after my father’s death. We constructed a very posh house. Just 6 months after we stayed independently in that house, my husband had a fatal accident and died after a week. I was shattered, and became a widow at 21 with two children to be looked after. My brothers were all unmarried. So at the suggestion of my father-in-law I called all my brothers and my mother to stay with me at my house. They reluctantly agreed. Though I had all round support of my family members and my in-laws, I was still feeling lonely as the pillar of my support was lost forever.

I became very sick suffering from mental and neurological disorders and took treatment for two years. I slowly recovered. The motor vehicles Accident Insurance claim filed on the death of my husband was awarded to me and my father-in-law and minor children by the court. That amount helped me to some extent in my day-to-day life and my brothers were also helping in my two children’s education.

In the meantime my third brother brought a proposal for alliance. He offered to marry a girl much older than him, and employed as a teacher in government school, provided her brother marries me. No dowry to be given by any sides. Both the parties accepted this proposal. My second marriage was performed with one Basheer who has SSLC failed and was working as a bus driver. It was very much difficult for me to adjust life with him. Though he is of good character but in contrast to my previous husband was wanting in culture, manner and approach. They were poles apart in every aspect of life.
He is very orthodox, keen about Hejab and putting on veil/burqa. He is the sole decision-maker. Though he accepted my two children from my earlier marriage they are not burden on him as the Insurance award amount takes care of them. Basheer has mother and sisters but they are not dependent on him and we are living separately. From this marriage I have three children, twin sons and a daughter. Basheer takes care of their expenses. Although he is a good and caring husband, he is not agreeing for tubectomy. He has received his share from his father’s estate. At present he is staying in a house purchased by me from the estate of my late first husband and my savings after selling the earlier house”.

Case-6

During the interview at Bangalore Shameen said, “My name is Shameen. I am married and have three grown up children. I am 40 years old. I was born in poor family. My mother was working as a maidservant and my father was a fruit vendor and cart puller. We are two sisters and one stepbrother. None are educated, as we were not sent to school. I am a maid servant, since the age of seven years. Whatever I earned was taken away by my parents. My childhood was very troublesome. I never enjoyed my childhood. As I am ugly looking and have dark complexion my parents use to discriminate against me. I attained puberty at 12 and married at 14 by my parents. It was an arranged marriage. Very little dowry was given to my husband. He also did not demand anything. He was very fair and a loving husband. He never allowed me to work as a maidservant. We lived happily for two years.

Unfortunately he fell seriously ill and died without any issue. After the death of my husband I was shattered. Even though I was only 16 when I became a widow, but I never thought of second marriage, although my
family members were suggesting. As my late husband had left no property I had to start working again as maidservant to eke my living.

One day a proposal to marry me came from a person, who claimed to be a widower. My parents and neighbors persuaded me to agree as it is not good to remain unmarried. I agreed and my second marriage was performed with the said person by name Ameer. My mehar was Rs.500/-.

I became pregnant after this marriage. But my second husband who is a masoner (construction worker) never stopped me from going to work as maid servant, but did not ask any money from my income, which I used to spend on my day to day household expense. In the 8th month of my pregnancy my husband left me. I was very much worried. Ultimately my parents along with our neighbors traced him to another locality. He had married a new girl telling that his wife is dead and, I was his third wife. Since then I am firmly controlling him keeping all his earnings myself and giving him only a little money for his pocket expenses. I am the sole decision-maker now.

From this wedlock I have a son and two daughters. All are educated. My son is going to evening college and works during the day for his higher educational expenses. After third child I under went tubectomy. It was our joint decision. Till then we did not practice any F.P methods. All expenses towards the delivery of my 3 children were borne from our savings. I do not practice *Hejab*, as *Hejab* should come from heart and not by wearing *burqa*. There is no trouble now in our family. By the grace of God, we are living very happily. My eldest daughter has married recently”.
**Case-7**

During the interview Nausheen said, “My name is Nausheen. I am aged 45 years. I have studied up to SSLC as higher education i.e., college education is not permitted in our family. I attained puberty at 13 years. I have seven sisters and only the youngest has become a graduate due to support of my eldest brother. At 16 years my parents performed my marriage with a person named Hafeez who is a B.Sc working in Saudi Arabia. There was a huge age gap between him and me. By appearance he looks like my father. Often I am confused as his daughter, due to his appearance, looks and personality. I am very slim and charming and he was very hefty and tall, like a white Negro.

Giving and taking of dowry is not practiced in our family. So no dowry was given in our marriage. After marriage I was staying in my brother-in-law’s house, as my husband had no house of his own. My marriage with him was performed on the assurance that shortly after marriage he will take me to Saudi Arabia where he is employed. But even 6 months after marriage he used to come on vacation and stayed with me at my parent’s house.

My other married sisters were making fun of me and my husband for not taking me to Saudi Arabia or at least taking a separate rented house. Within 2 ½ years of my marriage two girls were born. He used to send money from Saudi Arabia, for my expenses, but was never serious about taking me there. He used to make only empty promises. The main reason for not calling me to Saudi Arabia, which I came to know after my divorce, was that he was under the clutches and controls of his elder sister-in-law. After 8 years of this arrangement, on one of his vacation visits, my husband took a rented house and decided to settle down at Bangalore. He sold his property at his native place and started a cement agency that lasted for one year. Then
he closed his business and again left for Kuwait. I had no savings I had great
difficulty in maintaining myself and my who were going to school. I had to
manage the house hold expenses and was the sole decision maker. When I
told this, my husband was not at all serious. After two children, much
against the wishes of my husband, I adopted F.P. methods as my husband
was interested to have a male child. Of late he was not regularly sending
money from Kuwait except house rent. It was very difficult to manage
household expenditure. My well wishers and family friends started
suggesting me to take divorce.

My husband was coming to know all these but he was not bothered. I
was very much mentally disturbed. In the mean he called us to Kuwait. I and
my children went. But conditions were no different from what it was in
Bangalore. I opted for divorce and came back to India. After some time my
children and my husband came to Bangalore. He left his two daughters at the
houses of his two sisters. After I returned to Bangalore I married my friend
Ehstesham secretly as both parents would never have agreed for this
marriage. Again it was a difficult period. I was forced to stay in one of my
friend’s house, as my father-in-law had not permitted me to stay in his
house. In the meantime I got pregnant. My two daughters came and joined
with me. I had a house site given by my previous husband, which I sold and
took a house on rent. My present husband Ehteshan joined me here. I got a
son from this wedlock and entire expenses were borne by present husband.

After birth of my son Ehteshan was force by his father and sisters
wanted him to divorce and leave me. When my brothers came to know it
they felt pity on me and went to Ehtesham’s house and warned him and his
family members of dire consequences, both socially and legally for his
irresponsible acts. Ultimately the matter was amicably settled. My in-laws
accepted me. My present husband had wanted a son and by the grace of God
he got it. He does not want more children. But he has not permitted me to go for tubectomy. We are practicing F.P methods. My two daughters from previous marriage are married from the funds provided by my father from the share of my inheritance. Ehtesham does not insist on Burqa/hijab but does not permit me to go alone for shopping etc., Some times he beat me. He may be a little psychic but very possessive of me provided his sister does not brain wash him”.

Case-8

Akhtari who is residing at Sivajinagar in Bangalore city said, “My name is Akhtari. I married thrice. I have four children and three step children and presently employed as a helper in a hotel. My age is 45 years. My parents were poor. They had 5 daughters and three sons. My parents always use to discriminate between daughters and sons. All the family members were involved as domestic workers in the homes of the rich. I have not gone to school. My father was doing repair of utensils and was a drunkard. He was taking the whole family income. I was very erratic and trouble some.

My parents arranged my marriage with Sadiq. The Mehar was fixed at Rs.750/-. After marriage I went to his house which is 60 km from our town. It was a very large joint family. My husband was the fourth child to his parents. Life was very hard there. From this marriage I got a daughter. My husband did not spend single paise for her delivery or any pre delivery expenses. In fact he used to demand money from my parents, as dowry has not been paid. He told me that he was a night watch man in a factory and mostly never used to be with me at night. Whenever he came in daytime he used to be fully drunk and used to beat me a lot. One-day police came to the house in search of him and on inquiry I was told that he is a professional robber/thief and is wanted by them in a theft case. I left the house along with my small daughter immediately and after some time took divorce.
I again started to work as a maidservant and eking out livelihood for my self and my daughter. During this period another person offered to marry me pretending that his wife has deserted him along with three small children and that he is working as a carpenter in Hunsur near Mysore. I also fell in love with him and we got married without informing my parents. They learnt about our marriage after one month and they did not object. I joined my second husband and we started living in Malvalli town. My husband used to earn well from his work. Soon we had our son.

One day I learnt that the police have arrested him for assault on another person. I went to police station and arranged for his release on bail through court. There I learnt that he is not a carpenter but a notorious rowdy and a smuggler of forest produce but I am helpless. I had no other alternative but continued to live with him though he used to beat me black and blue. He never liked family planning and whenever I suggested he used to suspect my character. As a result two more children were born with span of three years.

Ultimately he was convicted in a case and was jailed for 5 years and shifted to Bangalore Jail. I had to again start working as a maidservant to manage our large family. Whatever saving I had was already spent. I had no money. After his release from jail he started living a decent life and started working in a timber workshop. With our joint income we were managing the house some of our children were going to Government school, others were at home.

One day an old enemy of Sadiq came with his gang and attacked him while he was returning home and killed him. I became a widow again with a large family. My health was not permitting me to work more to earn. Ten months after the death of Sadiq another person Muneer proposed to me. I
was still in Malvalli. I readily accepted the offer as he had promised me to take care of all my children well. But it was a false promise only made with malefic motives to steal the little gold jewellery that I had. He was not earning any thing. On the contrary he was demanding money for his drinks. Initially I did not object but soon it became a regular feature and if I refused he assaulted me. I complained to the police and he was arrested. In the police station I learnt that he is also a habitual thief. I divorced him. Now I am working in a hotel as a helper in kitchen with a reasonable salary. All my children are under the care of my mother. I never practice Hijab. I have taken all decisions myself in my family. See destiny of life”.

**Case -9**

Hassina’s case is a little different from the others. She says, “My name is Hassina. I am 27 years old. My father had big real estate in Alipoor. My mother is a Molla in Alipoor. She is famous lady for speech and (bayan) in every religious program she gives speech for ladies. I have two brothers and my relationship with them is good. My eldest brother is the richest man in Alipoor. He is a stone businessman. I grew up in rich and religious family. My family did not permit me to go out without Hejab after I became 9 years old. I did not have any problem at home. Everything was available in my childhood.

At 12 my periods started and my family decided for my marriage. I was engaged with my cousin. Before being engaged he came to our home and I spoke with him sometimes. But he was not allowed to come anymore. We did not speak even once after engagement. I studied in Madrasa till I was engaged my husband family permitted me to going to school (madrasa). I was just married. I did not know anything about marriage and I was scared. When my father asked me are you satisfied with the present alliance, I told
yes but without understanding. I agreed with them. I did not know anything about sexual relationship.

My husband’s family was very well in Alipoor and it was not proper that we speak to each other before marriage (Nakah). I went to religious programme with my mother and learnt a lot of verses of Koran from her. At 16 I got married and we had very big wedding party in Alipoor. His family bought lots of gold ornaments for me as gift and I didn’t have dowry. My mehr was Rs. 500/-. My husband was 21 years. He lost his mother when he was 9 years old and his stepmother took care of him. That was why he had a peculiar personality and most of the time he remembered his mother and could not forget her death.

After marriage he worked in his father’s office. He had a big showroom in Alipoor. After 6 months he decided to move to Bangalore. It was very difficult for me as I was only 16 and have not lived separately from my family. I begged him to change his decision but he did not agree. We moved to Bangalore and he opened a showroom here. We started living in Bangalore. Everything was strange to me. In Alipoor more than 90% are Muslim. But in Bangalore I saw lots of people of different religion and behavior. We rented a house where I delivered my daughter 14 months after marriage.

I delivered my child in hospital and my husband sent me to my mother’s home because his stepmother could not take care of me. He stayed in Bangalore for 6 months. At that time I understood he had married a girl temporarily for 4 months as I was bleeding after delivery and was in Alipoor. It was painful for me but my mother told me it is a legal marriage. He is a man and needs a lady and as you cannot fulfil his needs it is necessary for him. Although my agreement was not important I agreed. After 6 months he told me that he had decided to move to Bankok for stone business. He told me that he
would go first and after the business is established I can follow. I stayed in my father’s home and he went to Thailand (Bangkok). There also he kept girls as temporary wives. But I asked him to change his practise, as I was afraid. He worked hard I joined him and after a year. We lived in Bangkok and I became pregnant again.

When I delivered boy my husband became very happy. He believed gender of the first child is not important but one girl and a boy are enough. It is the opinion of most of people of Alipoor. I am very glad because I could bring a son for my husband and his family. I have good memory from Bangkok.

Although I had problems with hejab and my dress code was different from other people, I am strict about my hejab. If I do not use hejab god will not forgive me and my husband will beat me. It is his right and I have to obey him as god. We lived in Bangkok I had Indian friends and my husband had very good trade. He was very successful in his business. But we decided to come back to India my daughter reached 9 years and hejab became compulsory. We did not want her to grow up there as religious basis is very important for her father and me. If we stayed there I could not teach her well. But here she will learn everything from Islam. We came to Bangalore as my husband thought business is better there though I wanted to go back to Alipoor.

Now we live in a rented house. We have managed for buying a big house in Richmond Road and we will soon move to that house. My husband gives me money as much as I need. I wish I could go to a majles (religious program) for speech. I know this job. I do not like to go out for working and I don’t need job because I have to meet men and it is improper. But I love to be a speechmaker in majles. I go to slimming programs because I am little fat and my husband does not like it. Twice a month we go to Alipoor for visiting our family and I go to cemetery for reading the Quran to the dead.
My relationship with my husband is good. He is a kind man. Only thrice he has slapped me. Most of the time we have only arguments with each other. As he is a man and my husband I have to carryout his orders. I do not go to gynaecologist. Just I go for changing IUD and when I was pregnant I went monthly for check ups. But my husband took me and I go to a lady doctor. I enrolled my daughter into a school for girls. If I can find a college for girls, I will permit her to continue her study not otherwise. It is contrary to our religion. She has to meet men and we don’t like it. My husband brings everything we need. I wish we find a suitable boy for her she should get marriage”.

**Case-10**

While interviewing Hadis was also found to be a special case. She narrated her life as follows; “My name is Hadis. I am 26 years old. My father is a civil engineer and my mother a housewife. She had studied upto class five. I have 3 sisters and four brothers. I am the eldest. My father has high academic background and works in a big company. When I was 3 years old we went to Iran. It was the best time of my life.

My father sent us to international school in Iran and I could find lot friends from other cities. I remember this time was fantastic because all were Muslim. We were very comfortable and all had hejab and believed in Islam. When I was 13 we returned back to India. We went to our native Alipoor. It was a very small village compared to Tehran. There were no facilities but we lived with our family. We enjoyed living together. I continued my study in Alipoor till 10th. In Alipoor girls marry early and they do not continue their study. I was the first girl that my father decided to send me to Bangalore for getting degree. The whole family blamed him. My uncle fought a lot with him saying that if I go to Bangalore I will forget my religion. He said Bangalore is dangerous for me. My father believes that girls also have a right to education. My mother was worried about my hejab and made me swear not to remove it if
I go to college. My father sent me with my brother to Bangalore. I started my study in a good college and to get a degree in commerce. I was the first lady in Alipoor who went to college. My father rented a house for us and I had done all the work at home.

After I completed PUC my father spoke about my cousin and informed me that they want to come for proposing marriage and asked me about my views? I was agreed although I did not recognise him well. After we grow up we do not have right speak with men. I did not have contact with men at all. I was afraid of men very much and did not have any relationship with my male classmates in college. I am very strict about my religion. I did not remove hejab in the college at all. Many Muslim girls take off their pardah in college. But I hate do like this. Most of the classmates asked and joked about my hejab. I suffered but I insisted. It was my belief. My father told them that I have completed B.Com and they accepted. My grandmother insisted on this marriage very much. I did not have any feeling about him. My marriage was completely arranged. We had a gap of 5 years. My husband is educated and has MBA degree.

After engagement he asked my mother to come and take care of me in Bangalore. My mother accepted and my family moved to Bangalore. My younger sister (Fatima ) completed 10th and she started study in college in Bangalore. My husband decided to take me to his home. He took a rented house in Bangalore and after wedding party in Alipoor I moved to his home.

He was working in Honda showroom and his income was good. Immediately after moving to his home I became pregnant, but could not keep the foetus. I had a miscarriage after 4 months. I had lots of bleeding. He took me to a hospital and I was there for 4 days then I came to my mother’s house and she took care of me. I could not pass my final exams and it was the worst time for me.
After this incident, we decided on prevention (FP). I used tablets for one year. After completion of my degree I stopped these and became pregnant immediately. I delivered a girl and her name is Mobina. My mother took care of me for 3 months in her home. I did not search for a job as I believe my first responsibility is taking care of my family. My husband also does not agree that I work for money. When my daughter was 1 year old my husband decided to go to Bangkok for trade in jewellery with his brother-in-law. I did not agree as it was very difficult for me to leave my family. He insisted and we moved to Bangkok. I became pregnant again and delivered a boy.

My husband does not tell anything about the sex of my children. But I am sure all men in Alipoor like boys more than girls. He was very successful in his job and he could send lots of money for his brother and after 3 years they opened a big jewellery shop in Bangalore and we came back to Bangalore. He bought an apartment in Richmond road and he started working in his store. We decided to go for preventive methods. Again I put IUD and till now I use it. My husband believes we should prepare anything that our kids need and 2 children are enough. We send our kids to the best school, but I believe my daughter should go to school for girls. We sent her to Bishopcoton School and I am very satisfied that the school is Christian but boys and girls are separate. I do not have anything for my own as I do not need it. My husband takes care of me and he gives money as much as I need.

I am a member of Karnataka wakht council and I go to the monthly meetings. First, I was a little scared because I would have contact with a lot of men in these meetings. But my husband encouraged me to participate, he believes if I follow hejab completely, I can go everywhere. Now, I am very satisfied and I think it is enough for me. I can use of my education, salary is not important for me. I work voluntarily in this NGO. Most of the times we decide with each other but for important matter he decides and I do not interfere. He is
very kind man and takes care of us well. He did not beat me even once. We have arguments with each other and when he is angry I keep quiet. I think it is the best way for solving our problem”.

Case-11

Sameena is an educated and her life is a typical one. She narrates as follows:”My name is Sameena. I am 28 years old, presently employed as a Software Engineer, I am married two year back and my husband is also working as a Software Engineer in the same office where I am working. My father was a Telecommunication Engineer in Bangalore. First he was employed as an Engineer in a Government owned factory. He resigned and started his own industry manufacturing telecommunication equipment, both for public and private use. We are four sisters. My eldest sister is an ENT Surgeon presently employed in Scotland. My second sister is a lecturer in a private college. My other sister elder to me is a practicing chartered accountant and I am a Software Engineer. I have two brothers both are engineers and having their own separate small-scale industries. They are married and their wives also are highly educated and are employed.

My family is highly educated and cultured. Though we are Muslims my father never insisted that we wear Hijab/Burqa. He never discriminated between sons and daughters. In fact our parents used to encourage us more than the sons. My eldest sister who is a medical professional presently employed in Scotland / United Kingdom, is not yet married as she is of the view that the person whom she will marry must have same habits and traits and must be compatible to her.

My second sister is married and her husband was employed in the Gulf at the time of marriage. Now he has returned to Bangalore and is doing some private jobs. Her husband did not take any dowry. The in-laws of my second sister are also educated but are very orthodox in approach and ideas. Wearing
of burqa is a must in their house. My second sister also started wearing burqa after marriage. They have a daughter of about 11 years.

My sister is permitted to work as a lecturer but cannot spend her income on her own. She must give her salary to her husband who takes care of all her needs and spends towards family expenses. She is not permitted to drive. All the sisters were permitted to drive our own vehicle by our parents. At the insistence of my sister her husband has agreed for practicing preventive methods of family planning.

My third sister is a practicing chartered accountant. She is also not married and is presently taking care of my mother after the death of our father. Though she was engaged to an advocate, as it is an inter religious engagement marriage has not materialized. My mother has given her a free hand to marry any person of choice and religion is no bar. She is very keen to marry a person from Hindu community.

After completing my education I was employed at Bangalore working as a software engineer in a private company. There I met my husband. He proposed to marry me. I contacted my elders who agreed and the elders of both of us arranged the marriage. No dowry was given. After marriage also we are working together and as such we have a planned life. We do not want to have children for another five years. I want to quit the job after the first is born and devote my time towards my family. We do not have big problems in our life. Some times we argue. But I try to stop it most of the time. He has not beaten or hit me till now. It is around 1 year that we got married. I save my salary hope to buy a flat in Bangalore. Now I don’t have any property of my own. I should work hard because after birth of a child my husband will not permit me to work. It is the condition that he put before marriage and I accepted. We use FP method and I have got IUD inserted for prevention. As a bachelor he enjoyed a lot and spent most of his time in bars and discos. But after marriage, he quit
that habit. I am happy and hope he leaves those behaviors forever. I believe in Allah (God). I pray daily although I do not have *hejab*”.

**Case-12**

Nageena residing at Malleswaram in Bangalore narrates her life as follows: “My name is Nageena. I am 30 years old and am married with five children. My husband is a pushcart vendor. Both of us are illiterate. We hail from a lower income group family. We do not have any house of our own. As my husband was unable to pay the rent for our hut we vacated the same and we are living in our father’s house. My husband is the son of my father’s sister. At the time of marriage he was working at an agarbathi factory as a packer. Ours is a love marriage. Though every one was advising my husband not to increase the family and practice family planning only after the birth of our 5th child did my husband allow me to go for tubectomy.

My two children are going to nursery school run by the government as we cannot pay the fee of in a private school. My father deals with scrap materials as a hawker. We are four sisters and two brothers. None of us are educated as my father used to work as maidservants and my brothers as helpers in automobile mechanic workshops from an early age. At 20 I was married to my cousin.

The family where I am working for 15 years and other persons from our community paid our marriage expenses. We all four sisters were working as household maidservants but recently they have joined as helpers in a garment factory. My father is a chronic asthma patient and is presently bedridden. My mother also suffers from T.B. The government had allotted a free site to them wherein they have put up a hut and we all residing there.

My husband very rarely goes for work and depends on my earning. In marriage functions I work as utensils cleaner and earn money. My husband is
very irresponsible and careless. He treats me as an animal for his lust; at times he tortures me also. My other sisters are yet to be married. The parents are asking us to leave their house and go to our own house. I am in a very difficult position. Any financial help to my husband to start businesses is of no use, as he is not hard working. I am only waiting for good times to come to lead a normal and peaceful life and praying to god for the same. At least now I want my children to study and not to go for menial jobs”.

Case-13

Shazia Azeem residing at Shivajinagar in Bangalore narrates her life as follows: “My name is Shazia Azeem and my age is 37 years. I am married but have no children. My parents were middle class income people. My father lost all his money on drinks and gambling. We are two sisters. My mother brought us up and gave education with the help of her relatives who funded for our education and other needs. I have completed SSLC. My first marriage was celebrated when I was 19 year, with one Aman who was a tailor though hailing from good family but they were under difficult financial circumstances. He had studied up to 4th standard, in an English Convent. He was sick at the time of our marriage and I had no compatibility with him. So, I took divorce after 1 year by kulla i.e., at my instance. It was very terrible time for me as my parents and my relations never liked my decision to divorce but I was adamant. To make my living I started working as a helper in various estate agency offices. In one of these I met my present husband Azeem who was doing law and also earning by working as clerk. He encouraged me to continue studies and I took cleared PUC and joined degree. The owner of the said estate agency office was a thorough gentleman who helped me a lot.

During my college days I joined student union and was elected as college representative. It is here that my carrier as a student leader started which ultimately led me into politics. Soon, I became a known figure in my
locality and people started approaching me for their official works in Government offices and with political leaders.

After my degree I joined law degree course and during this period I became an active member of a political party, which was in power and ruling the state. After completing my law course I got married to my friend Azeem. It was my second marriage and Azeem also knew it. He not only encouraged my studies but also my political activity. He was a practicing advocate but did not ask me to join the legal profession but advised me to concentrate on politics.

I contested municipal elections from my locality as I was enjoying good will among the electorates. I won the election with highest majority. For two years I was chairman of health and town planning committees respectively and ultimately elected as deputy chairman of the municipal council. I owe my success to my present husband Azeem, who guided me all along in my political life without compelling me for a family life.

Today I am in various government children welfare boards and women welfare councils, as director or member etc., I am doing social work for the upliftment of the poor people in the community and locality. Ours is an example of well adjusted family life. I have purchased a residential property from the income of both of us. I have two kids one daughter and one son. I wish, try and hope to give them for both high education.”

Case-14

Shameem residing at Malleswaram in Bangalore city narrates her life as follows: “My name is Shameem, I am aged about 46 years, and my husband is Riyazuddin, aged 52 years. We were married when I was 20 and had just passed my graduation. My husband was a mechanical drafts man working in a defense establishment at Bangalore. At that time he was drawing a salary of
Rs. 7, 000/- per month. Though staff quarter facility was available he did not take it as he was staying in a joint family with his mother and elder brother, at their own house. Although no dowry in the form of cash was given at the time of our marriage, my mother gave a portion of residential property, inherited from her father to me.

Our family was educated. My other sister and brothers are also graduates, so are my parents. My mother was a housewife. My father retired as an Assistant Commissioner in Food and Civil supply department. They are no more now having died 7 and 10 years ago respectively. My family was highly religious and wearing of Burqa was a must. I have continued to wear it till date. My husband is also keen about the Burqa system.

After the marriage I did my Masters degree in Arts through Correspondence course from Mysore University. But my husband never permitted me to go for a job. He is a very orthodox person with rigid frame of mind. Often he beats me and curses my family. I cannot complain because then he beats my children. Thus he tortures me. Once after a sharp argument he locked my daughter of 4 years in a bathroom for 5 hours. As the bathroom was dark and she was afraid of darkness, when I opened the door I found my daughter had fainted. He was harassing till my sons grew up. Now his behavior is little better than before.

I have two sons and two daughters. All are educated. My eldest son has done his dental course and is a practicing dentist. My second son is studying engineering and my daughters are also doing their graduation courses in science and bio-technology. My children are educated solely with my encouragement and efforts and of course with their brilliant academic performance, which enabled them to get scholarships. My husband was not keen about giving our children Higher Education but wanted his sons to go for
some technical courses and only a basic education for daughters, which I resisted. With my individual efforts and insistence my children educated.

My husband was against family planning till the birth of fourth child, and it is only thereafter that he permitted me to go for preventive family planning methods. Now I use pill for prevention. He is very fond of sons whereas I am fond of both my daughters and sons and they equally respect their parents. We are keen about our daughters observing Burqa and we don’t allow them to go outside without it. I am prepared to celebrate marriages of my daughters with educated boys by meeting their reasonable demands towards dowry. But I do not want take any dowry for the marriage of my sons from their in laws. Now, we are leading a happy middle class family but have certainly faced the difficulties of life both monetary and personal peculiar to middle class families”.

**Case-15**

Suriya is residing at Malleswaram in Bangalore city and narrated the problems she faced in her life as follows: “My name is Suriya, I am aged about 40 years, and I am married having three children i.e., two daughters and one son. My husband Ameer works as a construction worker and I am working as a housemaid. We are living in a small site of land, near Lalbagh in Bangalore city, allotted by the Government to the poor people. We have put up a modest room with asbestos sheet roof. Earlier we were living in a rented hut in a slum. Our present house is also situated in a slum. I am working as a maidservant, since the age of 7 years as my parents were also from the poor section of the society. I was not sent to any school for studies. At fifteen my first marriage was celebrated to a person who was working as a painter. But within one year of our marriage he died due to illness, he was of very good character. I did not want to marry again and remained a widow so till I was twenty years old. But my parents and neighbors forced me to agree for a marriage with my present husband Ameer and I had no other option but to agree to their advise. After a
year of our marriage, when I became pregnant, Ameer tried to desert me and wanted to go for another marriage.

All my neighbors thrashed him and prevented him from going for another marriage. Later we learnt that marriage with me was his third. It was his practice to marry a woman makes her pregnant, then desert her and contact another marriage. By god’s grace he could not continue his bad habit after marrying me due to my firm hold on him and also my elders and neighbors involvement. I have also welcomed children from his previous wives and they often visit us. His second wife is very close to me. Ameer still work as a construction worker. A sum of Rs.2, 000/- was given to him as dowry during our marriage.

My eldest child is a son who has done PUC in commerce and he is continuing his education in commerce degree in evening college, with the help of well-wishers, He earns his expenses by working as a part time clerk in an estate agency office. We do not encourage higher education for girls and my daughters are only educated up to Middle school. My daughters observe 'Burqa at my insistence whenever they go outside alone. But I have never worn Burqa till this date. My husband never interferes in these matters. I underwent tubectomy after the birth of my third child, since my husband does not observe preventive methods nor can I afford to go for other methods at regular intervals. Birth control preventive tablets supplied by the government health agency did not suit health. I intend to celebrate marriage of eldest daughter shortly, but I have to arrange for funds as we have no savings. Whatever we earn is sufficient for our daily needs.

After keeping some amount for his personal expenses my husband gives his weekly earning to me. From that I have to give a share to the children of my husband’s other wives for their living. I am never dishonest in his sharing. My efforts are towards ensuring that my daughters lead a comfortable life by
marrying them to respectable persons though they may not be rich but self sufficient. I am against early marriage of my daughters. My husband has no say in the matter. Of course I take the views of my elder son who is perusing his higher studies on his own and also earning while learning”.
Case Studies of Mashhad

Case-1

Maryam is 40 years old. Her father was a carpenter and had a small working place. She has 3 sisters and 3 brothers. Her mother was house wife and they had just 2 rooms for living, but she feels her parents were kind with them and they took care of them. Before she attained puberty one of his father’s friend showed interest in her and marriage took place after attaining puberty. When she started living with her in-laws they troubled her for petty matters and sometimes complained to her husband, in turn the husband started beating her.

Her husband was working in a factory as a labor he didn’t have good education but completed 4th standard whereas Maryam completed 7th standard. In course of time she understood that her husband has extra marital relationship with their neighbor. Her husband also had extra marital relationship with lots of girls and women. But Maryam says she couldn’t do any thing and her husband beat her without any reason and most of the time her body was swollen. After one year she went back to her parent’s home and explained about her husband’s behavior but her parents did not listen. After some times her first husband divorced Maryam. She was just 16 years old. As she had financial problems she got a job in one of the Doctor’s Clinic as secretary. Her father died when she was 14 year old.

When she was living in her parent’s house after her husband divorced and her financial situation become worse one man came and contacted her. He was married and had two children. He had a small bakery. He had completed PUC education. He asked Maryam to marry him as second wife. Maryam agreed but put two conditions. First is buying a house for her and second is getting married with her legally and permanently. He accepted the conditions and kept her in a small rented house but he did not legally marry. After some
times Maryam understood that he doesn’t have any problem with his first wife and just cheated Maryam.

Maryam was working before her second marriage but her second husband didn’t permit her to continue the job. As she was working before second marriage took place she had little savings. A portion of her savings was for her brothers and sisters especially for their education. Since the second husband had two children and he did not want any more. However, Maryam wanted children but he didn’t agree. So her husband used condom for prevention but he did not permit her to use any methods because he scare she may cheat him. He warned her if she became pregnant will have to abort the foetus. He also warned that she will have to go to the doctor alone and he will not take any responsibility of the baby. Some times he comes to her house and brings food and money for her. Two years ago, he moved with his first wife and children to another city and most of the time he spends his time with them.

Once he did not come for 6 months so Maryam searched every where and enquired about him but couldn’t find him. After that she decided to work. First she went to a beauty saloon and she started working. Her husband noticed she goes out for job and threatened that if she continues her job he won’t pay the rent and he will divorce her. She quit that job. Now she cleans vegetables at home and sells in schools and beauty Saloons. Her income is very low, but she can manage her life. Some times he comes and brings little money but now she doesn’t have any news of him for three months. She is sorry, she believes, if she did not marry again and continued with her job she would have been in a better condition than now.

She doesn’t have a child. She narrates “I am 40 years old but don’t have a child as my husband doesn’t agree. I think if I had a child he or she would support me when I become old. Now I am sure after sometimes my husband may quit me and I can not do anything because just I am a singe (temporary
marriage) and he doesn’t have any responsibility. I like child and I wish have boy because I think girls in my society do not have any future. I cannot oppose my husband, because he pays my rent and sometimes gives money. I don’t put pardua just scarf and long blouse. I don’t believe in and my husband also doesn’t object. He has not beaten on me till now. When he is very angry, he curses me and tells you are a prostitute. I am very sensitive about these words and when he wants to annoyed me he tells like this. As I don’t have any skill and education I have to tolerate it. There is no any other way for me.

Case-2

Zynab is 39 years old and with 3 brothers and 2 sisters. She is the fifth child. When she was 6 years old her mother got divorced and married to a man who was her father’s friend. She lived with stepfather. Her brothers lived with her father and her sisters and she lived with her mother. When Zynab was 14, she got married with a mechanic, who was 18 years old and just completed primary school. Zynab had her puberty after one year. He was stranger and she did not know him at all. But her step father pushed her to marry although she didn’t know anything about marriage.

One year after marriage Zynab went to his house. She lived with mother-in-law. Her husband beat because she did not have any support from her family. Her husband beat Zynab because she couldn’t cook well and her mother in-law complained about her cooking. When she was 16 years old she got pregnant and didn’t know about prevention. After she delivered a son, her husband was arrested because of drug trade and he was condemned to prison for life. That is why court accepted with divorce when she was 17 years and she became a divorcee.

Neither the family of zynab’s husband nor her step father accepted the child. The step father was tailor and his income was reasonable. He told her that she can live with them; they will take care of Zynab but not her son. Zynab
didn’t have any money and also didn’t have any experience for working. She had to put her son in orphanage. Court permitted her to meet him once a week but she didn’t go to meet him for 10 years, she is ashamed that she could not take care of him. Zynab lived with her mother for two years and got familiar with one man who was a divorcee. He had two daughters and age gap was 30 years. She just wanted to escape from her mother’s home. She tried to continue school in her step father’s home, after divorce but was not successful and just passed fifth standard.

Zynab narrates “I got married again. To a teacher with good income. But the biggest problem was his children. I was too young. I had just 7 years old gap with his elder daughter. We always quarreled with each other and he tormented me because of them. But after their marriage our problems ended. I have 3 children from him. Two sons and one daughter. I like sons but my husband believes daughter is more kind and compassionate to parents”. She had twins and after delivery his husband went for vasectomy. Before that she used pill for prevention.

The husband has a degree and his salary is not bad. He is working as an assistant in the school. She knows about his income through his salary slip, but she doesn’t know how he spends it.

Around 10 years ago she has completed a course of hair dressing and hair treatment and now has a beauty saloon. Her first saloon was in their home and she doesn’t give her income to him. She buys ornament and improved her saloon. To start with she decorated one room and worked at home but had less customers. So she decided to change her work place. Her husband was not happy but she got loan from trade union and opened a saloon two years ago. Her husband became retired 6 month ago and she suggested him to finding a new job. But he is not interested.
Before she started working as a hairdresser he gave money for her personal needs but afterwards, he does not give money but he brings food, stuffs and furniture for home. Most of the time they have problem with children expenses. He doesn’t give money for kids. After lots of quarrels they agreed that he pays money for the sons but she spends for all other things (medicine, dress, school fees) for her daughter. She has got loan twice and bought some stuff for her saloon.

Zynab doesn’t have any property but she plan buy a small shop. He doesn’t permit her to visit her family at home. They can meet zynab in saloon. After last delivery she got female disease and she had to go to gynecologist every six month. Her husband takes her to doctor but doesn’t pay money for expenses. He doesn’t consult her at all. He considers her a child and thinks she can not decide correctly. Even for choosing the children’s name he didn’t consult her and when she was in hospital he got their identity certificate. He beat her only once because of her daughter other wise just they have quarrel.

She doesn’t like to put “parda” (the veil) as she doesn’t believe in it. But her husband is interested and some times he tell to put parda but she doesn’t obey. She does “namaz”( the name given to the formal prayer of Islam) properly and she also she goes for fast every year in “ramazan”( It is the Islamic month of fasting, in which participating Muslims do not eat or drink anything from true dawn until sunset). She believes in god and Islam and covers her hair from men. She tells “I am independent but I obey my husband. I wish my children finish their school and get degree. Especially my daughter I don’t want her to experience what I did.

Case-3

Zahra is 45 years old and has 3 brothers and 2 sisters. She is the eldest child and she has completed 5th standard. Her father was very strict and at that time teachers in school were male he believed it’s wrong that her daughter meets strange men. Her parents sent her to learn dress making and then she
worked at home as a tailor. Her parents forced her to marry a man who was 13 years elder to her. He was their neighbor, had one small grocery shop and educated up to 7th standard. She is satisfied with his behavior. He doesn’t beat her but some time they have hot argument. He believes if a man hits his wife god will punish him. She became pregnant after 1 year and delivered a female child. Husband was happy but his family prayed for son in future. She worked at home as tailor. But her husband didn’t permit her to work after 2 years. He believes taking care of children and husband is the first responsibility for ladies. She became pregnant again after one year.

Her husband likes children and dose not permits her to use FP methods, although Zahra just liked two children. After 2 years she delivered 3rd child and asked him for prevention he accepted and used condom but after 5 years she became pregnant again. Now they have 3 daughters and one son. After deliveries her mother in-law took care of her.

Most of the times she is at home and manages house works. Her husband changed his job and now he has a taxi. He works very hard because they are 6 people and he has to manage the expenditures. Sometimes she asks him to permit her to work but he refuses. He believe it’s his responsibility he tells women don’t have right to contact men out side. She tells “I put “parda” (the veil) I like it because Islam command us and my husband also asks me to put parda my daughters also put parda it is compulsory for them because they are Muslim and also there is no safety for girls in the society”. Her elder daughter completed PUC and she is at home and tries for getting admission to a government University because they don’t have much money for private university and also her father doesn’t permit her to go to other cities. She wishes her daughter gets married fast. She believes girls should marry soon otherwise men in the society will deceive them.
She has good relation with her in-laws although she is blamed for 3 daughter. But her husband did not tell her about their sex any time. She tried IUD but because of the bleeding she removed it and now her husband uses condom. She doesn’t have any asset. They have a small house with 2 bedrooms and a taxi and all is for her husband. She had gold but sold to buy a house. Now sometimes her husband gives her money and she can some gold. She took loan twice from a private bank, her husband paid the credits but they spend all for buying furniture. She had an operation two years ago. Her husband paid the hospital bill and the daughters took care of her. She tells “I am satisfied; I have my kids I should think about them. It is the most responsibility in my life now”.

Case-4

Narges is 34 years old. She has 5 brothers and 1 sister. She lived in Zabol in childhood (A city in south of Iran). They migrated to Mashhad when she was 7 years old. Her father was a cement layer and her mother worked in a food factory as a labour. She was the elder child and her parents did not permit her to continue study beyond 4th standard. She managed every thing at home (cooking, cleaning etc). Her father believed, girls belong to another family and they live in his home temporarily. That is why he preferred his sons to daughters. Her sister also did not continue her school. She doesn’t have any good memories of her childhood. Brothers were younger but most of the time they beat her. She worked in their home as a servant but her parents believed she will get more experience and it will useful in future.

When she was 15 years old, they put her in a tailoring establishment as a labour. She worked hard. Narges had good talent and after 3 years she found private customers and worked at home. She got one labour to help, her family was happy and she had to give all the income to them. She opened a small tailoring shop near to their home. Her family was worrying about her marriage specially her father. Finally, she got married to handicapped when she was
24 years old. Her husband worked in film theatre as a ticket seller. He was 25 and his mother was Narges’ customer.

Narges married with him because of her mother’s insistence. He had completed PUC and tried going to a University but because of financial problems he changed his decision. She doesn’t like him though he is kind, but she believes she deserved better. When they started living with each other his income was very low. She had to work hard to maintain their house. She asked him to search for another job, but he was not interested and Narges threatened him if he doesn’t try hard she will divorce him. He searched for another job. He went to one office as a security guard but because of his defect they fired him after 1 year.

She has one son she wants more children but her husband didn’t agree. He believes they don’t have much money for another child that’s why he uses condom because he cannot trust her for prevention. She had one miscarriage; her husband was upset although he does not like children. Both of them prefer boy and she is glad that her child is not girl. Narges believes girls don’t have safety in society and every body annoys them. She gives her income to her husband and he manages it. Sometimes she decides to save her income but it is not possible. She has a gold chain (Rs. 20,000) and it’s her only saving after 10 years of working.

They live in a rented house. They tried to buying a small house but they have not succeeded till now. Narges believes they should save money for their son and if they buy a house it will be for his future. She got loan from bank and gave to her husband for their expenses she doesn’t go to doctor alone. He comes with her and take her to doctor. When she was pregnant he took her to a male gynecologist, her husband believes the male doctors have more ability than females. She went to hospital with him for monthly checkup, when she was pregnant. But after that she didn’t go to hospital for regularly check up.
Her husband didn’t betray her anytime and he believes in Allah very much. He does “namaz” (the name given to the formal prayer of Islam) daily. They have financial problem. They have hotly argued and he beat her but after wards he apologized. She wishes to stop her job and become house wife but they need her income.

Her husband decides for important things like getting loan or changing the home but her opinion is important also. She says: “I am very worry for my son I don’t like experience adversities like me in his child hood. We try to prepare every thing that he may need as far as we can. I believe it’s better after PUC he try for a good business. But my husband hopes him go to University to get a degree”.

Case-5

Fatheme is 35 years old. She was born in a poor family. She has 3 brothers and 4 sisters and they lived on the outskirts of city. Her father worked in a factory as a labor and her mother is servant. They can not manage the expenses, on the meager income. She is the eldest daughter and father was in a hurry to her marriage. When she was 9 years she was engage and when she was 12 years she moved to her husband’s home.

She became pregnant at 13 and had a baby. Her husband was 13 years older. He was not educated and worked as a Foot bag in the carpenter. She lived with mother-in-law, sister in-law and also husband’s brother. Her husband didn’t permit her to continue study, because he believed school’s environment is a not suitable for girls and she should learn cooking and household work from his mother. That’s why she stayed at home and did just house work. He was too much suspicious. Even she spoke with her brother-in-law her husband accused her of having relation, with him. He didn’t permit her to going out. She visited her family every four months.
When fatemeh was of 17 years she delivered her 3rd child. She has two daughters and one son. When she was 18, her husband lost his job and he didn’t have money and skill for working outside. She started to work and went to kinder garden as a maidservant. She started to study and pass the exams without her husband being awareness. She completed secondary school and maintains her family. Because her husband didn’t have a job for 5 years she also did sewing at home for customers although she worked outside. She had very sympathetic uncle who worked in a hospital through his efforts she was employed as a nurse’s aid and could find a permanent job. She worked two shifts in the hospital. With this money her husband bought a second hand car and worked with it. But he didn’t pay to the family.

She enrolled for getting a small apartment through the hospital by taking loan from her salary. Her husband suspected her several times and she felt freedom after going out for work. That’s why she gave a request for divorce to court and in the court they told, he will not pay one rupee to her and also he won’t return back “Maher” (is a gift, mandatory in Islam, which is given by the groom to the bride upon marriage. in contrast to other cultures' bride price, which is paid to the bride's father. It is considered to be a form of appreciation, as well as providing certain guarantees for the woman). But she insisted on divorce. Fatemeh says” I hated him .I didn’t have any dependence on him. He made problems for me and my children”. She requested for divorce therefore the judge didn’t give her any thing even the stuff that she bought with her money. Her first daughter decided to live with his father’s family. Fatemeh became a divorced woman with 2 kids, when she was just 25 years old. She got familiar with a man 3 years after divorce. He was working in the hospital as a technician. He was very kind with her, they had contact with each other for one year and he shows interest to marry with her. Fatemeh was 7 years elder to him. But she fell in love for the first time to a man in her life. Therefore Fatemeh accepted his proposal and got married.
She had an apartment near to her work place and the second husband move to her apartment. At the beginning he had good manners with her and her children but after 6 months she understood that he is addict. She tolerated him because she loved him. Because of his addiction he changed his habit slowly. Sometimes he beat her son and most of the time he cursed her daughter. He did not come home for 3 month and she searched him. Ultimately his colleague informed her he was arrested by police. She found him in prison. He cried and promised to quit addiction. So Fatheme paid the cost of treatment. But it was not useful and after 6 months he returned back to drug. She had to continue because it was second marriage if she wanted to get divorce again her reputation would be ruin.

He began beating and hitting her children. Fatheme tells “I do not depend on him. He lost his job. I had to pay money for his drug. He used drug at home in front of my son .It was horrible but I had to tolerate because I was afraid of my reputation”. She finally divorced him also. She narrates:” now I live alone with my children I didn’t have any good memory from my living. My first husband didn’t beat me but the second husband beat me very much. Me and my kids didn’t have any security. Now I thank god because I have job, good income and one house for living .Although I work two shifts every day even holidays! But my children have good position and I can take good care them of. My son is 19. Although he is nervous and for every thing he becomes angry but I think he has a right. He experienced a violent environment but now he tries for going to college and I encourage him. My daughter also studies in 8th standard. Now my home is calm. But I liked to have man that protects me. I am just 35 but have experience is of a lady of 60 years. I go for check-up twice a year and my work place pays the expenditures. Before divorce also I didn’t give my money to my husband. I decided about spending my money although I supported them. for first one I paid money for his job and second one for his drugs. But I didn’t bring my whole salary directly home. I arranged to spend it alone. I sorry for the second marriage .For the first one I didn’t have any
choice. But about the second I can not forgive myself. I cannot forgive my father also who decided about my marriage. I did not have good childhood.

Although my second husband annoyed me very much but I loved him. I hope my kids have a good marriage. Especially I worry for my daughters and their marriage. Education is very important for my daughters and sons. Unfortunately my elder daughter quit me and she lives with her father’s family. She went to school just till 6th and now she works in one shop as a seller but I prepare everything for my daughter and son to continue their study’’.

Case-6

Hakime is 46 years old and she was born in a village near to Mashhad. She had 3 brothers and didn’t have any sister. Her father was farmer. He had land and the family was working in their own land. He was very kind and loved his children. They had to work as carpet maker in their village. But her father sent his son to Mashhad for studying. Hakime can not read and write as her father did not send her to the school village. Generally, girls just helped their parents at home or they sent them for carpet weaving. She was with her mother and helps her at home.

When she attained puberty she was 13 years old. At that time 2 cousins showed their interest to marriage with Hakime and she had to choose. She selected on of them. She didn’t have any information about him. But relatives believed he is too much aggressive. She preferred him any way. She got married to him when she was 15 years old. Hakime was happy because her brother lived in Mashhad. Her brothers gone to university and they chose their wives by themselves. She thought she is not alone in Mashhad and they will take care of her. She moved to Mashhad and lives with his family. Her husband had one brother and one sister and his father expired 10 years ago. They lived with each other and there were 10 persons in one house. Her mother in-law died after one year. She was very kind and Hakime lost the best protector.
Husband was very aggressive and for small things beat her. He and his brother worked together. They were material seller for buildings. Their income was good and sufficient but his elder brother did not give enough money to him. Therefore they always had financial problem.

She delivered a daughter after a year, but she died after two month. After 6 months she became pregnant again and she delivered a male child but died after 6 days because of tetanus. The delivery was at home and midwife helped her. The scissors was dirty so he died. Her husband became too much upset and angry because he could not believe that he lost a boy. She became pregnant again and delivered a daughter.

Husband disputed with his brother and they wanted to separate their business. Hakime shifted to separate house. After one year she delivered another daughter. Her husband quit the home. He did not see even her daughter. He was sulking and blamed her for not bringing a son. His family advised him and he returned back after 2 months. In the meanwhile he went to Haj. Every body told him it’s because of your daughter and it a good omen. After one year she delivered a boy they celebrated and invited 300 people for his birthday. She was very happy and wished husband noticed her more than before. After 6 months of son’s birthday her father died but he didn’t let her to go to native for his funeral because of their son. He believed the journey to be dangerous for his son. He didn’t permit Hakime to see her father after marriage now she even couldn’t see his body.

Her husband was too suspicious and she couldn’t go out without him. If her “Pardah “went back and her hair became visible he beat her and telling she wants to show her hair to stranger men. He annoyed her very much. She became very weak as she become pregnant every year and doctors recognized she had mental problem.
Hakime took a medicine for nervous. Doctor advised that she use preventive method (FP). But husband did not permit it. She again delivered a girl. Hakime had a very bad delivery but he didn’t permit for going to hospital. He believed as the doctors are male and it is wrong that they see his wife’s body. She went to doctor secretly and doctor gave her pill she used four years. But one-day husband noticed and beat her and threw the tablets. She became pregnant again. She delivered a son. When her son was born he didn’t cry. After sometimes doctors realized he is retarded. Because he was boy, husband spent lot of money, but his condition could not be corrected. He had epilepsy also. Her husband blames her and he said again and again: “I don’t know which sin you commit that god punish us and he became sick, it’s just your fault”. After this happened he became careless to his family and always went out. She was alone with children. When she complained he shouted: “I prepare everything for you; you don’t have a right to complaint”. He beat her many times even in front of the family but they didn’t have any reaction. They believed if they interfere in her life, he will annoy her more. But it was strange after beating he became sorry and apologized.

She delivered 7 children and yet he didn’t permit her to use preventive methods. She became pregnant again but went to one midwife for miscarriage. She did it but Hakime had lot of bleeding. Her husband didn’t permit her to go to a hospital. She called her brother because bleeding didn’t stop. He came and after a big quarrel he took Hakime to hospital.

She has diabetes and due to this disease she goes to doctor a monthly for checkup. She narrates: “I hate him but I can not think about divorce, I had 7 kids. Time is over. I am almost old. Now he is better. But it is too late; I can not forgive him. Now I live with him just because of my children. As my children have grown up I think I have more authority than before. I have saving and gold in my bank account from my inheritance but my husband does not know. After I became 50 years old I can go out alone! I buy everything for
daily needs. I cannot interfere in my children’s marriage. Just my husband takes a decision about their marriage. If somebody informs me your husband has another wife I will not get angry at all. I don’t have any feelings about him. Now I rely on my children more than him. All of them are educated and they have job. They support me”.

She believes if she had lesser children situation in life and health condition would have been better than now. But he didn’t permit her to use preventive methods. Her eldest daughter is lecturer in university. But she has not married till now. Hakime does not want her to marry with some body like his father. She should find a good groom. Otherwise she does not marry is better. But the 3rd daughter had a love marriage and they have lots problems. Now they are going for divorce. She has 5 daughters all are educated and they have job. Her son works with his father and he has completed PUC. The big problem in her life is her son now. She can not send him to sanatorium and control in home also is very difficult.

Case-7

Nasrin is 27 years old and has two sisters and a step brother. She is the oldest child in the family. Her father had two marriages and her mother was second wife. He works in a government factory as a labor and her mother was servant. Nasrin had to manage everything at home and they live in very small room and she had to cook outside the room. She had to take care of two children. Nasrin didn’t go to school and can not read and write. Her parents didn’t send her to school because nobody was there to take care of her younger sister and brother. Some body was interested to marry her but the mother didn’t agree. She needed Nasrin as a servant at home. When she was 19 years, her father brought a man home, who was older by around 20 years. Her father forced her to marry him. They got married and she moved to father-in-law’s home. Husband had another wife and from her he had two children. He works in a factory and his salary was manageable.
When his wife was pregnant for third child her father-in-law beat her and crushed her head with stone and she died. Nasrin had to take care of 2 children. They live in separate room but share a common kitchen. She cooked for them and every day mother-in-law complains about her to her husband. He got angry and beat Nasrin. After one year she became pregnant but she didn’t know anything about FP. She had a very bad pica (depraved appetite). But mother-in-law and his family annoyed her. She tolerated a lot because it was obvious her family will not support her. She delivered a girl at home with midwife. The daughter brought hopefulness for Nasrin and she was very glad. Twelve days after delivery her husband quit Nasrin and she has not met him till now. She doesn’t know where he gone. She stayed to their home for 6 months but they sent her out. She didn’t have any right as they did not have legal marriage just they red the “nikah” (is the contract between a bride and groom and part of an Islamic marriage). The dissolution of such marriage is very simple and she returned back to her mother. She could not work because of her daughter. Her sisters work in a food factory and mother also works as a servant. She was at home taking care of her daughter and manages the housework. They didn’t give her money when she needed. They annoyed her and some times the step brother beat her hard. Her daughter was 8 month old when she started to searched a job.

She went to a very small working place where the foreman permitted her to bring child. She started working at that place and stitched the bottom. Her salary was very low but most of the time her mother asked her for money. She could collect little money and hide it. She had one friend in neighborhood by the name Shakila. She spoke about a family that had returned to Mashhad from USA. She told they are very rich and the lady is very sympathetic and they are searching for a servant.
Shakila was a servant in the neighborhood. Nasrin agreed although she didn’t know how to take care of her daughter. Her friend introduced her and explained about her. The lady was very kind and permitted her to work as servant. They bought new dresses for her. She sent her daughter to nursery. They paid the school fees and she started to work in their home. Her living changed, she worked 5 years in that house and owner helped her daughter and her study picked up very fast. She lived with her mother and sister. Her cousin showed his interest to marry. She agreed to this marriage and as had became tired of her life. But he had another wife and two children she consulted with her owner. She was told if you marry him you will have more children and one day like your ex-husband he will quit you.

Nasrin refused him, although they became very angry and beat her, she insisted and didn’t agree with them. Her child has grown and Nasrin was very satisfied from her job and this family protects her as a sister. They also pay the school fees for her daughter. She decided to separate 9 months ago. She found a very small room near the owner’s house and they helped her to buy little stuff. Her family has not agreed but she insisted.

Her mother with her cousin brother came to her home 2 months ago locked the door and beat her. They claimed she does not have right to live alone it spoils their reputation. Nasrin tells: “I know they want my money and they are jealous of my situation.

Case-8

Farzane is 36 years old. She was born in middle class family. Her father was working in the railways and her mother was housewife. Her mother did not go to school. Her father also just completed 6th standard. She has 3 sisters and 1 brother. They were facing financial problem. Father had low salary but they were 7 people at home. She was the youngest child and her mother liked her very much. Her sisters also took care of her.
They did not have their own house and had to shift every year. Her father was very rude and strict and the children were afraid of him. Her mother encouraged them to study. Eldest sister is 13 years elder to Farzane. She passed the exams and went to teacher’s college at 18. Second sister got married with her teacher when she was 16 and she shifted to Esfehan (one city in Iran). She couldn’t take any stuff for trousseau. But her husband accepted her. The third sister went to university for studying B.A. in literature. They tried a lot to change their condition. Unfortunately her brother didn’t go to university and only completed high school. The eldest sister is Farzane’s model. She is very intelligent. She guides her for everything. She did not marry till 36. Farzane thinks that she was worry for the younger sisters. She is a teacher and everybody thinks that she comes from a very good and high-class family because of her behavior. Farzane also obeys her. As her parents did not have a good education and they could not guide children well. Farzane could pass the government university exams and was enrolled in economics department. Some classmates were interested to marry with her but she could not accept them because she did not have any income for preparing the trousseau.

Farzane was first class in the collage and she was studying very hard. Her mother was ill, because of her osteological problems, she had pain in her leg; her third sister went to Esfehan for study and she alone was with her elder sister. They had to work at home because the mother could not walk easily. But their financial condition got better after her sister started to work. She fulfilled her requirements and Farzane could put good dress and make relationship with high-class people as a friend. She completed BA at 22 and started searching for work. An insurance company appointed her and she started working. At that time she became close with a person, who was five years elder to her. He was an employee in the computer section of the same company. They had relation for 6 months.
She had to prepare the trousseau and he also had to rent a house and arrange money for wedding celebration. That is why they decided to postpone their marriage for one year. Her elder sister knew about this relationship. They tried hard to gather the amount. They had to take heavy loans and only after one year they got married. They started living together. He was very calm and every body told that she is lucky. But just one friend warned farzane that her husband has nervous diseases. She didn’t take her warning seriously. After 2 months she became pregnant. She wanted to abort but the husband did not permit. He is very religious. After marriage he forced her to wear parda. She delivered a female baby in good hospital. He was very calm but some times without any reason shouted and broke things. She consulted with a doctor. Doctor recognized her husband has nervous diseases. Farzane asked him to go doctor but he refused. They have one common friend. She spoke with him and after a lot of struggle he went to doctor. Doctor recognized he has nervous disease due to his participation in war. He took medicine and after 3 month his problems become better.

They returned the loan after 2 years and they could get a fresh loan for buying a house. They bought a small apartment (75 meter) and divided it in two. They had agreed that anything bought will be divided equally in two. She had a big problem with his family especially her sister-in-law, who always interfered in their life and her husband was very obedient to her. They asked for money and some times he gave. Farzane did not agree. She felt that they are not rich to help somebody else. But she could not tell anything, because it created a harsh quarrel between them. For his sister’s wedding party they charged them 3 gold coins and forced her husband to give it as a gift.

Farzane opposed and called his mother directly and presented her opposition paying a lot of money for her sister-in-law. She had a big quarrel with his family and also with her husband. She cut her relationship with husband’s family and it was first reason for their deep disputes. He didn’t
permit Farzane to take their daughter to her mother’s home. She went alone. Most of the time he insulted her family. Their problem was just about their family. One day after a big quarrel she went out and quit the home with her daughter when the daughter was of four years. She stayed in her mother’s home. She felt very bad at that time. After 3 months her husband sent their common friend, he spoke and advised her to return back. Her family also supported the advice and Farzane returned home. Her husband used his medicine and he recovered. They promised not to insult each other’s family.

Farzane doesn’t like him and She believes that most of the reasons for her feeling about the husband are related to their sexual relation. Her mother advised her to become pregnant again but her husband wanted a son and told her to try to bring a boy. She also agreed. She believed if she delivers a boy her status in husband’s family will increase and she can find a supporter. So she went to a gynaecologist and he promised her if she obeys his commands on diet and medicine, 90% percent she wills delivery a boy.

Farzane became pregnant after 4 week she got blood examined. But in that examination her foetus was found to be a girl. Her husband fought with her. He said “I want a boy. I cannot maintain another girl”. On the other hand Farzane was also not happy. She wanted only two children and she also was crazy for boy. Thus when she was for 3 months pregnant she decided on abortion. She had very strong bleeding at home. Husband was not at home. Farzane was alone and she called her sister. In Iran abortion is illegal. If she went to a doctor she had to pay a lot. So she used injection. They transferred her to a hospital and after abortion the doctor told that she had a boy.

She had very bad time she felt she is a killer and God will not forgive her. She cannot forgive her husband. Her daughter was 6 and their quarrels influenced her behavior too much. Farzane decided to divorce him many times but her daughter was very attached to the father. She believes they do not have
any big problem. They have big fights for very small reasons. They bought a bigger house with loan and divided it also into 2 parts. After some times they bought a car and but it is for her husband.

The husband got a M.A degree in management but she didn’t try for higher degree. She thinks she earns enough. Farzane says “I put her (daughter) in the best school in our city. She plays piano very well and I want everything for her that I wanted in my childhood but could not get.” She says “I have a good job, good salary and am satisfied with my life. I think I could find better match (husband). I am not satisfied with him. I wanted a sympathetic and romantic man but he cannot understand me. I go for check-ups for my problems especially after the miscarriage. Now I am 6 month pregnant. I go for monthly check ups. But my husband does not come with me. I even take him to his doctor because he is very lazy about it”.

Case-9

Zahra is 40 years old. Her father was a big land-owner in the city and hers was a rich family. She was the youngest child. She has a brother and he is the eldest. He has BC in electronic from USA. Zahra has also two elder sisters. They completed high school and when they were around 18 and got married. Her father and mother loved each other very much. Although they were from earlier generation they had love marriage. Her mother was very beautiful and was famous for it. But she had congenital heart disease. She could not work much and had two servants and a cook at home. Her mother died when Zahra was just 10 years. After that they lived with the father.

The elder sister got married two years before the death of her mother. Her brother was in USA. Her father took care of them. The servants worked at home and her grandmother managed the house-work. Many people advised her father for a second marriage. But he did not agree. Zahra was very lonely. Her sister had secret relationship with a boy she loved him but didn’t dare to realize
it. After 4 years one day their aunt came and explained to her father that he needed a wife because she can arrange everything better than servants and can also take better care of girls. Zahra cried and told that she cannot see another lady in place of the mother at home. But the father married a lady. She was 40 and had not been previously married. Her sister also married that boy against the wishes of their father. Zahra became alone with step mother and he father. The step mother became pregnant. She was not bad but after pregnancy just thought about herself and her baby. Even the father did not care for Zahra as before. When she was 12, she had first period. But nobody became aware about it. She, however, told her sister about it.

There was a cloth shop near the house and when Zahra went to school and came back a boy just slowly followed her with his eyes. She also looked at him. One day he gave a paper to her. It was a love letter. At that time step-mother has just delivered a boy and every body at home, even her father was busy only with him. She was in 9th standard and she planed to have relations with that boy. Nobody knew of this relation. If her father had guessed about it he would have been very angry because the boy was from very low class and there was a huge gap between their families. But to Zahra it was not important. They maintained their relation secretly and Zahra even went to his home.

Zahra passed high school and tried to go to college. She went to the best University of Iran in Tehran (Capital City). They continued the relationship for 4 years. He also went to Esfehan (near to Tehran) to study engineering. Her family members came to know of this relationship. Zahra’s father scolded her and refused to permit her to marry him. He explained that they are different and such a marriage will spoil his reputation. But she opposed the argument. When she still insisted on marrying him Zahra’s Father beat her with his belt. She can never forget that day, as it was the first time that her father beat her. The elder brother also advised Zahra to break this relationship but she didn’t accept.
Finally father made an agreement that no ‘nikah’ (the contract between bride and bridegroom and part of an Islamic marriage will be held.

For the groom’s family this marriage was a big chance, as they knew their son’s future would then be assured. Zahra was still in Tehran and he also went to Esfehan for studying. In the mean while she felt his treat with Zahra little by little became change. He asked her to wear Parda and when she spoke about any guys he angered and fought with her.

When Zahra ask him why you do like this he regretted and excused that I love you and because of this I am joules of every body. One they when they had guest and family gathered to each other for dinner. She made a joke with husband’s sister he was very bigger than Zahra and she felt he is elder brother. After this party when we were become alone, he pushed her and Zahra fell down and he caught her throat and told: you are whore you have relationship with your husband’s sister. She knew him for 6 years and this manner was very strange. He went out and didn’t call for two week. She was confused but didn’t dare to tell to anybody. Because it was her decision,

After 2 weeks he called for apology. He claimed to love her very much therefore he cannot see, Zahra speak with anybody even close family. She tried to forget his behavior. Her brother has very important job in city and he is very influential. One day when he spoke with fiancé, asked about his progress in the university he noticed her fiancé has problem in, he searched about his condition in his University. After one month her brother awarded Zahra about him. He fired from university because he could not pass the credits for 2 semesters. He explained: I was nervous because of you that is why I couldn’t study.

Brother helped her to take a correct decision. It was very difficult for Zahra. She moved to her brother’s house, she tried to forget him. After 6 months Zahra completed BC. Her brother encouraged her to continue the study.
She was admitted in MS in Mashhad. After one year, when Zahra completed first year of M.S. her colleague’s brother showed interest to marry her. She had married him and her father is very happy and gave her a big house and a car. It was very difficult for Zahra to accept the new boy. But she did not have any choice. He is a very handsome and a good man. So she accepted. At that time she was 25 years old her husband shifted to her home. She delivered a girl after one year. After two years she delivered second daughter and Zahra underwent tubectomy. Her father made a factory for food processing. Zahra and her husband work in this factory. They manage it as joint owners. In this factory she has $\frac{1}{4}$ of the shares in factory now. Generally, they took decision each other at home.

Case-10

Farnaz is 42 years old. She was born in an educated family. Her father is a professor and she has a sister and a brother. They are also educated. She has a very good memory about childhood. They had good facility in their house. They had separate rooms for everybody and mother took good care of them well. She was a teacher in a kinder garden but quit her job for the children. Farnaz is the eldest child and her father has special attachment with her. She was a bright student and after clearing PUC she went to Medicine College immediately. She passed all the courses and started to work as a doctor. Many guys were interested to marry her as she had good background and family. But no one fulfilled her dreams (wishes). She was 26 and family became worry about her marriage. In the mean while she became familiar with a man. His father was a dressmaker he had 6 brothers and 2 sisters. Farnaz did not dare tell her family about him, as she knew that her family would not accept him. She was 27 at that time and knew that she has to decide fast. After sometime another college friend became interested to marry her. She accepted although she didn’t have any desire to marry him. But there was no choice. Every body in the family was advising her to marry and she finally she accepted.
He belonged to a very good family. His father was a judge and they were very well known in city. He had 2 apartments and a car. His father opened an office for him and her family was very pleased. Farnaz studied gynaecology as a special course. Husband also works in his clinic but he didn’t try for higher degree. She has a good position now. She works in a big hospital and in her private clinic. They did not have baby for a long time (10 years) as she was very busy. Her family sometimes complains and some people think she cannot conceive. But her husband’s family did not.

Her husband is a little fastidious. They decide everything jointly. But for a car he always decides alone. She can not interfere in his decision. They have problem about accommodation. He has an upstairs apartment in the home of his father and insists to live there. But she does not like to live near to them. They are kind people but very religious and she believes it influences her life. Farnaz does not like their interference in the upbringing of her son and it is now her biggest problem. When they have a problem her husband stops talking to Farnaz, some times for more than a month.

He goes to down stairs for food and rest. His parents know his habit and criticise him. But Farnaz thinks it is because of their training that he is spoiled and they shelter him. Farnaz narrates “I have a son and I love him. Although I wanted a girl more than a boy I now feel there is no difference between them. My husband likes son more. After 10 years my son will have a very high status in my family and also my husband’s family. I am very successful in my job. I have a lot of customers and everybody respects me in the hospital. I think I can change his decision about our residence. I have bank account and spend my income independently. I used a special loan for buying the private office and I pay the instalments my self. I have a big office with all equipment now. I am a doctor that is why I am very strict about check-ups. I didn’t become pregnant for 10 years and my husband used condoms”.
Case-11

Marzie is 30 years old and has 2 elder sisters and 2 younger brothers. Her mother encouraged her to study. She did not permit them to work at home. She was not educated but did not sleep whole the nights during children’s examinations. She watched the TV and listen to the radio so that she can understand the children better. She played an important role in her life. Her father is a rich man. He has a big dealer in iron. Marzie has BA in Management. She got friendly with a colleague in office around 8 years ago. They wanted to marry. But her family opposed, as he was still a student in university and did not have permanent job and her elder sister was still not married. Although there were a lot resistance but they had to agree when she threatened to commit suicide if they do not permit them to marry. They got married after two years.

Marzie works in an office as an accountant. Husband also studied in the university. But after 6 months Marzie came to know that he has cancer. The treatment is expensive. He has to go to Tehran once in three months for iodine therapy. Her family helps them financially because his family is poor and they cannot support them. When he returns from Tehran he has to be quarantined for 3 weeks. The dresses and dishes used by him have to be burnt. It caused difficulty. But she did not permit others to understand this condition. She worked hard. As he became too weak he could not complete his study and quit. She worked two shifts but as the expenses were large, they had financial problems. Doctor recommended them not to go for pregnancy because of his iodine therapy. But both families forced them for her pregnancy.

She was not in agreement but became pregnant due to his family’s insistence. But after examination the gynecologist advised abortion. His disease became acute and every year he had one operation. The husband used condom but she wanted a child. He was very kind and sensitive. After he became ill, he
was taking more care of Marzie’s health and monthly check-ups. Most of their income was spent on medicine and doctors.

Marzie went to cooking classes, as she did not know cooking. Their financial situation became better and soon they were not hard pressed for money. They jointly decided about household purchase, journey and savings. Her husband was accountant in 2 factories. She noticed he works in one office also. He was depressed due to his disease although he was recovering. Sometimes he refrained from taking his medicines. But Marzie insisted on going to a doctor. One day he told his colleague. Who introduced a girl and suggested him to marry her. When he told Marzie about it, she thought it is just a joke. But soon she felt some change in his behavior. And he started telling lies. He went out till midnight and claimed he was in office.

One day Marzie called him and he said he was going to a dentist. But when she called the secretary of the dentist she understood that he did not have any appointment that day. When he replied the SMS at midnight Marzie checked his cell phone and understood he is having relationship with a girl, who is secretary in his office. She fought with him and asked to quit that girl. But he refused. He insisted on divorce without any reason. He just said “I am sick and you will not have any future with me”. He just insisted on divorce. He got an lawyer and that lady called her at father’s home for starting divorce process. Marzie did not tell her parents about this problem as they were aged and she was worried about their health. But they understood as after the call, Marzie went to his workplace and begged him not to think about divorce, as it is intolerable for her family and will be a calamity for them. But he didn’t agree. She asked her Mahr, which were 700 gold coins. But he promised to return it. She felt there is no used in continuing with the marriage. She was unable to sleep and therefore consulted a psychiatrist and took medicine. Her family got a lawyer for her and they tried for getting the Mahr.
Marzie says “I loved him. In spite of his behavior I stayed in his home for 6 months. But we didn’t have any relationship with each other. Never did he beat me or do any physical violence. He just didn’t talk to me and in these 6 months we had separate rooms. He just insisted on divorce and justified to people that he just wants to divorce her because he is sick and will die soon. He does not like to become a widow. He was maintaining contacts with that girl all the time. My relatives didn’t know about our problems. I felt that if they become aware of it my parents will die”. Their agreement for rent ended and he asked Marzie to move to her father’s home. She had to gather her stuff and trousseau. She narrates further “I came back to my father’s home. My mother just cried. I went to my previous room and set my stuff around. Now I remembered the past. I fought with my family for him but he forgot everything. I went to court. The judge decided that he must give me a gold coin every month. The lawyer argued one lakh for ‘nafaghe’ (money which groom pays to bride after divorce) is less and appealed. It was enhanced to 2 lakhs. He told that he did not have much money and can not pay. I asked it to be paid by installments. My lawyer prepared a list from his work places and proved that he can pay the Mahr and 2 lakhs also. Now I am waiting for the court’s ruling. I have lost my health, future and job. I still can not forgive him”.

Case-12

Azar is 44 years old. She belongs to a good family. Her father had lots of property and everybody knew him. She did not like to study although her family was not opposed to her studying. She quit school when she was in 8th standard. Her father had two wives and he was very aggressive especially with his daughters. Azar had 2 sisters and 4 brothers. She got married at 25 years old to a medical doctor. Azar was the second wife and he had divorced his first wife 2 years earlier. They went to a village after marriage, as he must spend 4 years in a village before he could start a doctor’s office in big city. As her farther was very famous and rich her husband was interested to marry her. She
went to that village for a year but came back to father’s home because living in
village was intolerable for Azar. During vacation husband visited her at her
father’s home. After marriage he asked Azar to continue study. She completed
PUC when she was in father’s home.

His had specialized in gynecology. So he came back to Mashhad. In the
meantime Azar became pregnant and delivered a son in the best private
hospital. He was very glad and believed they are lucky because first child is
son. He bought a valuable necklace for her. She was lucky he had good income
and they lived in a big house with 2 servants. He had completed his special
course and joined hands with other doctors in a private hospital.

After 10 years Azar became pregnant again. In between her husband had
inserted IUD for her. After 10 years he wanted one daughter. So Azar got
pregnant again after 10 years. He was very fastidious but she is used to this
behavior and they lived with each other without big problems. Azar gathered
little money and bought gold and jewellery. Her father also sometime gave her
money and she saved it. Azar had Heart disease and twice she went to
Switzerland for surgery because her brother lived there. The first time her
husband came with her and paid for the medical expenditures. But he did not
give her much money for her personal needs. He bought all things for daily
requirement and children’s expenditure. But for gold or new dress Azar had to
save money secretly.

After Islamic resolution (1979) his behavior changed very much. He quit
alcohol. He made contacts with government agents and became too religious.
He did not permit Azar to go out of the house often and even visit relatives. He
made her to put ‘chador’ (*a sort of pardah in Iran*) when strange men come
home. She lived alone at home with children and it was very bad times for her.
When they quarrelled he insulted her family. When he came home to pray and
read the Quran, he fought. She couldn’t do anything and just tolerated this
behavior. Doctors advised her for surgery again. In the mean while she lost her father and inherited little property, although father lost most of it in gambling. Second time she went to Switzerland without husband and he did not support her. Azar paid the cost of surgery her brother paid the fees.

When she came back to Iran her family informed that her husband has married again. He told her not to come back home and Azar went to sister’s house. Azar had a very difficult surgery and doctors advised her for peace and rest. But this news aggravated her problem and her sister took her to hospital. After two weeks he told Azar to go to his mother’s home for discussing. She had to obey him as she wanted to see the children and did not have any financial support. Azar had spend all her saving on surgery and she did not have any job. He asked her to go back home and take care of kids. She accepted and continued living with him for 2 years. When he married again her son was 16 and daughter was 6 years old. Their son had gone to the war.

When he came back his father informed him about the marriage. He cried a lot and has not forgiven the yet. He comes home thrice every week but does not speak with Azar and turns his back to her. After two years one day he came home and asked Azar to share the house with the second wife. He told her to go downstairs with the kids and she will come to Azar’s place. As she refused to agree he caught her by the neck and hit her against a wall. Azar got divorce with mutual agreement as per the law. She could not claim any right because she wanted divorce.

Azar has a very gloomy memory from the day she gathered her stuff and shifted to sister’s house. The daughter was 8 years old. She just cried and begged Azar to take her also. But his second wife pushed her inside and closed the door. She lived with her sister’s family for six months looking for a job. Her father’s friend helped her and she got job in private school as a bookkeeper. She had less salary but could manage. She rented a small house
and lived alone. But when her daughter grew up husband asked her to shift to an apartment because her daughter lived with her most of the time.

She shifted to an apartment for her daughter. Azar told, “My ex-husband asked me to marry again for kids’ future. But I could not accept. Don’t I have any feelings? I think now he is sorry because he helps me more than before. My daughter completed her medicine course and now she is a doctor. She married 6 months ago and she is very lucky. My son has a law degree but he keeps changing his job. I think our family problem influenced his personality more than that of my daughter. I had very bad destiny but now I am glad because of my children.”

Case-13

Ziba is 43 years old. Her father was a pediatrician and her mother a housewife. She has 1 sister and 2 brothers. All of them are educated. One her brother is Ph.D. in IT and another has a Ph.D. in children’s heart disease. Her younger sister lives in U K and is a pharmacologist. She has very good memories of her childhood. When she was 7 years old they went to UK for father’s study and lived in UK for 4 years. When they came back to Iran her father decided to live in Tehran. But after two years they shifted to Mashhad on her mother’s insistence. She was a native of Mashhad and wanted to take care of them and live with her family. Ziba’s father agreed and they shifted to Mashhad and till now she lives there.

The father was rich and they had a big house. Children had one private room and they had servant at home. As Ziba was eldest her father loved her more than his sons. She completed PUC and tried going to college. She could got admission to a government university for BC degree in electronic major in “Baluchistan” (one province in Iran). The family agreed to her going to Baluchistan although this state was not very safe. But father insisted to send her for study. She went to a hostel and started to study when she was 18 years old. Hostel was difficult for a person who was used to have a private room in a big
house with servants. She shared a room with 3 girls. When Ziba completed 2 semesters, she became familiar with a person who studying computers. He was from Tehran. She didn’t tell any thing to her family and continued her relation secretly. He was a good boy but he did not have any plans for marriage. Ziba loved him and hoped that he will show his interest for marriage. But he kept on telling that he is not in a condition to marry and does not even think about it any time. He rented a house in city and she they met there. One day he suddenly broke the relationship without any reason. Ziba got depressed and returned to Mashhad. She could not go to university for one semester to study although nobody could realise the cause. She was very depressed, and felt sinful, because she had relation with a boy friend although she was virgin.

Ziba was 23 years when she completed BC degree. The family wanted her to marry and forget the past. She searched for a job and started to work in a factory. Her reputation was good and she worked hard in that factory. In the meanwhile her father built an apartment for all the children and she let it. Ziba tried for MS exam and she was accepted for MS in electronic when she was 25. She could not manage time for both work and study, therefore quit job and she focused on study.

In the meanwhile a heart specialist showed his interested to marry. He was 9 years elder to Ziba. His family lived in a small town near Mashhad. His father had retired from the army and he belonged to middle class. But he was successful as a heart specialist and it was very important for her father. She accepted his proposal for marriage and her Maher was 750 gold coins. He also promised to buy an apartment for her after 3 years.

Ziba married with him and father invited 500 people to a big hotel and also gave a car as a gift in their wedding party. She still suffers from her past. She says, “I cannot forget my boyfriend ever. But sometimes, I suffer because
of my past. I think I am not honest with my husband. Most of the time I worry. I am afraid one day he understands about my past.”

Ziba delivered a son after 2 years when she was 27 years old. After 2 years she became pregnant again and delivered a daughter. Then he went for vasectomy. They did not have any financial problem and her husband felt Ziba should take care of children. She agreed with him as she could work only in factories and shift in factories is more than 8 hours. With two small children it was not possible. When children started going to school Ziba also wanted to find a job. But her husband did not agree. He felt as they do not have any financial problems it’s not necessary for her to go out for work. They had big quarrels on this issue. After a long gap Ziba decided to go out for work. She went office but only part-time. Her salary is not high. But she is satisfied as she can use of her knowledge and she can leave home for sometime.

After Ziba started going out for work her husband stopped giving her money for personal expenses. He believes that as now she has her income and can manage her requirements including expenses for treatments and check ups. Ziba tells, “Big problem between us is my job. He wants me to stay at home and manage the housework. He also believes my workplace is not good for women, as I have to contact labour every day. It is strange. He is educated but he wants I should work in places where only women work. He doesn’t beat me. Sometimes we quarrel. He is elder to me and feels he knows every thing better. For important matters he decides but if I buy things for the house he does not oppose. Now my children are growing up. I send them to best school in Mashhad and hope they can go to good university after finishing PUC. My husband loves my daughter more but I think my attention to them is equally good. My father died 1 year ago because of cancer. My elder brother divided the property according to the inheritance law. And I inherited land and cash. I put all cash in my account.”
Case-14

Shahrano is 41 years old and was born in a very poor family. Her father passed away when she was 10 years old. She has 2 sisters and she is second one. They lived in small village near Mashhad. Her father went to Mashhad as a construction worker and her mother was a labour in a food factory. She could not go to school and she had to manage everything at home. When she was 10, her father fell down from a building under construction and died. Her mother took care of them. It was very difficult period. Some days they did not have anything to eat. When she was 12, her mother married the driver of their factory. He already had a wife. Some times he came home and brought little things. But her mother had to manage all the expenses. As she was 12, her periods started and her mother decided that it was time to look for her marriage. The eldest sister was married to an Afghan national at 13. Her mother got $500 and they took her to Afghanistan.

Shahrbanoo and her sister were at home. As Shahrbanoo was 5 years elder she had to take care of her. One-day the stepfather came with a man of around 40 years. They spoke for sometime and when they left, Shahrbanoo’s mother told her she should marry him. He was rich and had two buses. Her mother told that she would have a comfortable married life with him and her future is guaranteed. At 13 years she got married. He paid $700 to mother and Shahrbanoo went to his home.

He was almost like her father and had two children elder to her. His son worked in Tehran and a daughter married in another city. His wife expired two years ago. He had a small house in Mashhad he was not too rich. He did not have any but he worked as a driver. She didn’t complain about these lies. She was too young and her mother also did not do any thing after knowing. She was alone at home most of the time. He worked on Tehran-Mashhad road and most of the nights did not come back. He was suspicious about Shahrbanoo and
often beat her. He told that she does not put hejab properly and have relations with somebody else.

Shahrbanoo became pregnant after 2 years and delivered a girl. He gave her a small gold chain and told that had she brought a son this chain would have been thicker. The delivery was at home. After delivery no body took care of her. One neighbor some times took care of her. Mother didn’t come after her delivery to her house. They have not used any FP methods. Most of the times he was out of station and he did not permit her to go out alone. She just goes out for making purchases from nearby shops. After a year she became pregnant again and delivered a boy. She went to a hospital and doctors suggested they use FP methods. They spoke with her husband and he agreed that she would use pill. He was very happy and came home more before after the birth of the boy. He was not stingy and for daily needs Shahrbanoo did not have any problem.

Shahrbanoo tells, “I didn’t like him. He was too much elder to me and for every thing I had to get permission. I do not any thing for myself. He gave money just for food and essential needs and I could not save one Rial. I sent my children to school and tried hard for their education. He thought that learning a skill is more important than education. But I tried sending them to school.

After 15 years of our marriage I found that he got married to a lady in Tehran. I could not believe that he is 55 years old but he married with a girl of 20. Most of the time he was in Tehran and we were alone. My children had grown up and they needed more attention. But their father just came weekly for paying the money. He gives us less money after his marriage. One day he told me that he wanted to sell this house and will get a rent home us. I cried a lot and begged him to change his decision but he pushed me off and just told me to
take our stuff. After 1 week we moved to another home. My son was 13 and he quit school.

I did not agree at all and asked him to continue his study. But he did not listen and went to garage for work. But my daughter studied very hard. I encourage her for going to university but secretly. I was sure that if my husband came to know would not have permitted her going to university. He believed girls should marry soon. My daughter completed PUC and she appeared in entrance exam. She passed the exam and they accepted her for BA, Management. It was very difficult. I could not tell my husband. He was very strict and I was sure he would have opposed her going to university. But I had to tell him and I did not have any choice. One day I told him. He became angry and he told me not to think about it. If she goes to university she will meet lots of men and it is not good for women. She should think about marriage. My daughter became very upset. She had tried a lot.

My husband had a very close friend. I spoke to him and asked him to speak with my husband. I tried a lot and finally he accepted but put lots of conditions. He asked her to put *hejab* properly. Now she is 25 years old. She completed her BA and she works in one office. I am proud of her. She has not married yet. But I sure she can find good mach for marriage. I don’t have any skill, I had very bad destiny. My husband was old. He betrayed me and I could not tell any thing. But I wish my children experience a better life than me.

**Case-15**

Maryam is 38 years old. She was born in a middle class family. She has 2 brothers and one sister. Her mother passed away when she was 10 and, after six months her father got married with a lady who had one daughter from first marriage. They moved to Maryam’s house and lived with each other. Father was an accountant in a factory, his income was reasonable but they were 7 people and he had to work hard for maintain his family. Step-mother preferred
her baby and her father did not have any objection with her behavior. Maryam
married a cousin of her step-mother at 18 year. Maryam agreed to marry him
though she did not like him, as it was a good opportunity for survival. They had
a small wedding party. He was 30 years old, short and ugly. Maryam tried to
accept him as husband. He was Engineer and worked in national Iranian Oil
Company.

Maryam had gone to his home. They started living in a rented house and
they were happy. She became pregnant after a year and delivered a boy. The
husband took her to hospital and his family took care of her after delivery. Her
sister-in-law stayed in her home for two weeks and helped her. Her husband
behaved well with Maryam and did not either beat or annoy her. Maraym was
satisfied with their life.

When her son was 2 years old his husband died in an accident. She
became a widow at 22 years old. She moved to her father-in-law’s house. He
was stingy. Some times her father sent little money but never enough. After
two years she sent her son to kinder garden. She searched for a job and finally
started to work in an office as a secretary. Her salary was low but enough for
daily needs. She lived with in-laws but for daily needs she was independent.

Maryam was young and beautiful therefore some men were interested
for making relationship with her. But all were married and she did not accept
them. After some times she got familiar with a man who worked in boutique
near to her work place. He was four years younger than Maryam. They had
relation with each other secretly because Maryam knew if father-in-law came
to know about this relation he would throw them out of his house. He showed
his interest to marry Maryam. Her father-in-law did not have any objection and
her father also accepted him as son in-law.

Maryam and her son moved to his rented house. It was very small and
old but she was very happy and they started living with each other. Maryam
became pregnant after six months. Her husband belonged to a poor family with nobody to support him. He took Maryam to a hospital and she delivered a girl. He took care of her after delivery. She lost her job and that office caught fire after her delivery. He worked hard but his salary was not enough. Meanwhile her father passed away and she inherited a little money. They bought a small car and his husband worked with that car as telephone taxi.

Maryam has not been able to save one rupee till now and she has an old car from her inheritance. But she loves her husband. They do not have any problem with each other. His behavior with Maryam’s son is good and they take every decision together. They do not want more children and she uses pill. Her son is 18 years old, and studies in the university. Maryam hopes he will find a good job. She wishes a good match for her daughter. They do not have any big problem. Now she is a housewife and husband handles all responsibility. They live in rented house but Maryam feels they will soon buy a small house.
**Focus group discussion (Mashhad)**

**Introduction:** To get the view of more people recourse was taken of ‘Focus Group Discussion.’ In this technique a group of persons, preferably of the same age group and similar social background are invited and discussion is initiated on a particular topic. Instead of getting information from only one informant, it is possible to find out the views of a number of participants within a short time. Further as the persons get involved in an open discussion there is less possibility that information will be gathered that is not factual.

Focus Group Discussions were arranged in Mashhad. The issues that were discussed were regarding necessity of women’s education; whether parents should give equal attention for the education of girls and boys; how can education influence the status of women; reasons for deprivation of girls’ education; the necessity of health care for women; whether they are aware of various methods of family planning. Discussion was also guided as to the need for employment of women and the problems that employed women face and about violence that affects the status of women and put them in a subordinate position.
Group -1

In this focus discussion 10-12 men between 30 to 45 years participated. Of them two were lawyers, two assistant professors; three working as managers in reputed companies and remaining were doctors. After mutual introduction they were informed the purpose of the discussion which lasted about an hour. Answers from each of participants were recorded.

Attempts were first made to find out their ideas regarding women’s education by asking about their opinion on whether education for women was necessary or not? If it is necessary the age at which women should be given education? And also what are the benefits of providing good or higher education to women. During discussion all respondents agreed that education is necessary for women. There appears to be no significant differences in needs and priorities between women and men regarding education.

An assistant professor said that women’s education in Iran plays a very important role in the overall development of the country because it not only helps in the development of the human resources, but can also improve the quality of life at home and outside. One manager also felt: “We all have the same needs in general and I wouldn’t have thought there are any major differences between male and female about necessity of education”.

A lawyer said, “Educated women not only to promote education of their daughters, but also can provide better guidance to all their children”. Another felt, “Education is a must for women because it can elevate them from their lower status in Muslim society”.

One lawyer said, “I am very pleased because after revolution government maintains separate schools for boys and girls from the elementary through the secondary levels and the girls can continue their study safely in separate schools”. Another lawyer felt, “Unfortunately some people in my society and in other parts of the world, where Islam is practiced feel that
women do not need education. I believe even bigger changes are possible if girls' education becomes the cultural norm in my society”.

Another question was whether parents should give equal attention and spend equal amount of money for girls the education of girls and boys? They were asked, “In your opinion why some parents don’t pay attention to girls’ education as well as boys”? All respondents agreed that girls should have equal right for education and there should not be any difference between boy and girls in education facilities. One manager said, “All people, regardless of age or gender deserve a good public education. We can see for the third year in a row in Iran, more women have gone to university and colleges than men”.

A question was asked, “How can education influence the status of women in your community? Respondents believe that education is the most important factor, which enable women to enhance their status in their community. An assistant professor said, “Education enables women to acquire knowledge and necessary skills. These further enable them to compete for and acquire better occupational status or higher social status in their life”.

A manager feels, “The status of women in our country has changed for better in some spheres. But if they want to enhance their status in all spheres they should struggle more and the best way is education. If they acquire more education they can demand better occupation and higher economic status.” A doctor said, “Why are we so worried about status of women? We search for a lot of ways to enhance their position but unfortunately we forget that in Islam all women have high position as wife and a mother, which is of great importance, honor and distinction. As a wife, they are queen in their home and they can take decisions. We should not forget regarding Islam’s role. We have to respect our mother and wife. I think all these problems are created when we try to find their status through western criteria. We forget their situation in our
religion. I agree that education can improve their status but they already have a high status in Islam.”

A manager said, “It is not enough to make education more widely available. We cannot claim that just with increased rate of literacy we can enhance the women status in our country. They will increase their status through education if they rise to top professional positions that were previously dominated by men like the head of an office or a bank and in positions where they can give orders to their subordinates, who are mostly men.”

The respondents were asked reasons for deprivation of girls from schools. They were asked which factors, they think, deprive the girls of education. In their opinion poverty is the main reason for deprivation of girls from higher levels of education in Iran. A manager said; “We should not forget that we live in the third world and unfortunately poverty is one of the main causes of deprivation of girls from education. Girls from poor families dropout because they have to work at home or go out for earning money. Economic difficulties are a major constraint to educational opportunity for girls.

Patriarchal social structure has also operated as a significant barrier in depriving girls from education in Iran. We are fortunate because government gives a lot of facility for primary education even in rural areas and even girls can go to school. But we know that education plays an important role to improve women’s status. It is not enough to make education more widely available; its quality also needs to be good. I believe girls are deprived from higher level education accrues we should focus on this problem. Most of the people, even illiterates, know the necessity of education for both their girls and boys. But the main problem is about the level of education for girls in our community”. A lawyer said, “Despite the huge spread of educational opportunities during the last thirty years, women in most developing countries still receive less schooling than men. When women are deprived of education,
individuals, families, and children, as well as the societies in which they live, suffer. When women are adequately educated everyone benefits. Society should explore the costs and benefits, both public and private that determine how many families invest in educating their daughters and sons. I am sure even high-class families invest more in educating their sons than their daughters, although nowadays the approach to women’s education has changed”.

Next question was on health as it is an important criterion for measurement of the status of a woman in the family as well as society. The necessity of health care for women was first explained. The necessity of health care for women was discussed. It was explained that primary health care deals with several aspects of women’s health like antenatal care etc. Problems of new-born children, problems during pregnancy and family planning were also explained. They were then told to expound their opinion about health of women. They were asked what they did when their wives were pregnant and whether they were aware of possible complications during pregnancy.

They were asked about the necessity for women health care and how their health can be improved. Another question was asked about family planning and the necessity of using contraceptives for controlling the size of family. All respondents agreed about necessity of health care for women. They specially emphasized on health care during pregnancy. An assistant professor said, “Education is the first factor to improve the health care of women in a developing country like ours. Educated women generally want smaller families and make better use of reproductive health and family planning information and services in achieving their desired family size. Women with more education tend to have healthier families. Women with less education are less likely to receive antenatal care. It is also related to their husband. It is obvious that educated people are more worried about their wives during the pregnancy. They know women need more attention and cheek in that period is very necessary for their health.”
A teacher says, “While policies and programs have enabled women to lead healthier lives with limited access to education and employment, high illiteracy rates and poverty make improvements for healthier life for women difficult. Nourishing food is the most important factor for women before and after pregnancy. Women who are undernourished during pregnancy risk having poor foetal growth and deliver children with low birth weight. We must take care of our wives at that time. We should emphasis on antenatal check-up because it is necessary for mother as well as baby.”

A doctor believed, “It is obvious we must take care of women before and after pregnancy and take care of their mental health. As they play a fundamental role regarding education in the family we should offer basic mental health service to her and improve the mental health. We should support them during pregnancy and after delivery. Depression is a good example. It occurs during the reproductive years because of social factors like poverty, lack of proper nutrition and education, stressful life and domestic violence, Depression is a prevalent mental disease among women in Iran, but often husbands do not notice it. They do not support their wives during pregnancy and its influence remains on the mother even after reproductive years”.

Next question was about contraceptive methods. They were asked whether they are aware of various methods of family planning and, who in their opinion should be using family planning and how using family planning method can enhance their health status? A doctor said, “Unfortunately Iranian men have shunned away from taking responsibility for birth control and most of the time women use contraceptive methods. I am sure using of male methods depend on female and male literacy”. An assistant professor said, “It is obvious most Iranian men knew some methods of birth control like condom and vasectomy. Vasectomy is used very little in Iran. It is necessary that partners agree to use a method that causes no harm to mother”.
A lawyer told, “We know all methods are available in private sector and markets even they are accessible in governmental centers in urban areas. Most men and women know about contraceptive methods and I read in a newspaper that more than 80% married women are participating in family planning. A doctor said, “We find most urban couples using withdrawal as their main method of birth control. They resort to abortion in case of failure”.

Another factor that affects the status of women is employment. They were asked about the need for their employment and the problems that employed women face? All agree that women should participate in earning but they also feel that women should consider some conditions when they want go out of home to work. An assistant professor said, “Employers of women should provide solutions at their work place for child care. There is some idea in my mind to solve barriers like sharing house hold work with family, part-time employment, periodic paid and unpaid work interruptions for child care. Employers of women need to pay more attention to equal employment opportunity guidelines. They should not work in bad conditions and society should promote and educate women about these. Then women can pursue opportunities for education and go these better paying jobs. I do not agree that job is necessary for women in any situation. They can go out for work if work place suits them. We should promote their education and with higher education they can find good jobs”. A manager said, “Unfortunately, at least in my work place, managers look differently at non-educated women. But for educated women salary is same. Employers should know about the pay gap that exists between men and women doing comparable work. Managers, at all levels, who control salaries and budgets, should have a commitment to pay people, regardless of gender, the same amount of money for comparable work”.

An assistant professor told, “Iranian women have made gains in education and employment. They now make up more than 60% of college
undergraduates in Iran. They have entered the workplace as business owners, doctors, and cab drivers and have become involved in politics. But you can feel some barrier remains. Unemployment rate in Iran is high for men as well as women. Another reason is a cultural bias against women in the workplace. I see the fathers of many students objecting to the fact that she will be working with men. They can not go to work with men.”

It was explained to participants that it is known when women are supported and empowered, all of society benefits. They were asked, “In your opinion how women can achieve more empowerment in their family and society?” Then it was explained that decisions making and earning by women are two main factors to measure their empowerment. They had different ideas and attempts were made to guide them to answer with these questions properly.

They were asked, “who should decide how the money women earn should be used: mainly women, mainly husband, or wife and husband jointly?” to measure women’s relative control over decision making. They were asked who should make decisions about important items and their attitudes regarding a wife’s participation in household decision-making. Men were asked who should have the greater say on each of the following issues: the husband, the wife, or both equally? The issues were: making major household purchases, making purchases for daily household needs, visiting wife’s family or relatives, what to do with the money the wife earns from her work, and how many children to have. The answers were ‘mainly wife, mainly husband, wife and husband jointly, or someone else’?

A lawyer said, “We should know good decision making begins with clear roles and accountabilities in family as well as society. Couple should know who is responsible for which decision. It must be pre-determined as otherwise they may interfere in their roles and may lead to contradiction. Women should spend their money freely, because they are not breadwinner.
Both wife and husband should make decisions in consultation with each other about all items at home for small things as well as big.”

A manager said, “I see in my work that most of the time men do not want to give power to women. It is obvious because when women do not have enough power at home, it is difficult to get them power in the work place. Men should first understand equality at home and then they can try to involve women in public area. Women who earn money are free to spend it. But if the family needs their money they should discuss with their husband as it may enhance their social class. Women should be able to make decisions at home and husbands should make decisions about things that women are not aware of like purchasing house and car or changing the accommodation.”

A doctor said, “My wife is a nurse and works in a famous hospital. She is a supervisor and her reputation is good there. When our kids were small there were difficulties. But she managed household duties as well as workplace responsibility very well. I was often very busy and she made all decisions alone. She is a good manager. I think if we give opportunity to women to make decisions they can manage things better than us. I feel a couple should consult each other about every thing but for household items women have better idea.”

A manager told, “First, for every decision each member of a couple needs to know their roles. I feel for big decisions men have more comprehension. They can consult their wives but for big items, men should have greater say. Women can decide about things like home decoration and daily needs. I do not interfere in these. My wife can decide.

A manager said, “Women can achieve more empowerment in their family and society if they enhance their level of education and work outside with reasonable salary. If they want to have more power in family they should spend their salary for the family. When they spend money they can decide more than a housewife does who do not have any salary. For daily household
needs women should decide because these are their responsibility. For major household expenses like treatment of children it will depend on their time and their knowledge to take decisions about these items. For major purchases different members in families should be consulted. If wife has more income and education and so has more power at home she can make decision well.

Next question was about violence that affects the status of women and put them in a subordinate position. Why most women face violence? Both men and women were asked whether, in their opinion, a husband was justified in hitting or beating his wife in the following six situations: if she goes out without telling him, if she neglects the house or children, if she argues with him, if she refuses to have sex with him, if she does not cook food properly, if he suspects her of being unfaithful, and if she shows disrespect for her in-laws.

A lawyer said, “It is obvious. There is no justification for hitting a woman. Moral deviations, economic problems, lack of congeniality and cultural gaps are chiefly responsible for violent behavior. Traditional and cultural beliefs permit them to abuse their wife. Often men claim Islam justifies the husband beating their wife. I believe they are not correct and are misusing Islam. A manager said, “In my opinion there is no justification for violence against women even if husband feels she is unfaithful. They can divorce. I believe unemployed men and men with low profile jobs abuse their wives physically. Those women and men who use drugs and have less education use physical abuse. I think mostly women are punished are for showing disrespect and cursing; then for neglecting their household duties. Husbands beat their wives in such cases.”

A manager said, “Islam gave women rights to engage in commerce, earn income, and own property. They also have the right to divorce if physically, mentally, or emotionally abused. They can even divorce husbands who cannot fulfill their sexual needs. Islam prohibited abuse restoring women's honor and
place in humanity. But some men have regressed to pre-Islamic times. They think because they are Muslims they can beat and abuse their wives. But Islam is not the reason of such mistreatment. Cultural practices and overly patriarchal societies - which vary from one country to another - are what dictate a woman's place. If there is any crime that women commit there is court and law. The man should not punish her. It is not his responsibility even if she commits treason.”

Group-2

In the second focus group discussion about 9-11 women, aged between 30 to 40 years were present. Three of them were teachers, two assistant professors, three nurses and the rest engineers. After mutual introduction, they were informed the purpose of the discussion. They were asked their opinion whether women’s education was necessary and if so at what age it should be started and its benefits.

The participants agreed that education is necessary for women. Although their opinions about reasons for education were different all agreed that women should fight for education. An assistant professor said, “I find the growing number of educated women in Iran, quite rewarding. That more and more women are getting educated is a phenomenon that has already brought substantial change to the country's traditionally male-dominated society. The presence of educated women will play a significant role in shaping Iran's future.”

An engineer felt, “If government and society focus on female education the condition of women will improve; increasing their participation in the socio-economic affairs of the society and family. They will have higher level of participation in social, cultural and economic affairs while maintaining the values of the family and the character of the Muslim women.” A nurse said, “It is necessary to understand all women can enhance their status with education. Unfortunately some people in Iran and other parts of the world where Islam is
practiced feel that women do not need education like boys. This is contrary to Islamic beliefs and what the Prophet has written and said. Islam specifically says that women should be treated equally.”

Another question asked was about their opinion that parents should give equal attention and spend equal money for the education of girls as they spend for boys. An assistant professor said, “In the poor countries, traditional beliefs and practices are often at the root of gender gap. Girls are kept at home to supplement family welfare by working and caring for the household. So no attention is given to their education. But we must remember that in these countries economic problems affect boys also. Sometimes boys are pulled out of school and sent to work to boost family income I believe gender discrimination in is related to family income.”

A teacher told, “I believe gender discrimination exist in education in Iran. But I feel that we should teach our daughters to try and catch up on education because if women increase their knowledge they will want more freedom, more jobs and more voluntary organizations dealing with their issues and finally more status in their society. Above all, they will want to be treated as human beings from the society.” Another assistant professor believed, “All human being are born free and are equal in dignity and rights. There is no difference regarding gender. I believe education can help women by making them critical of their situations.”

A teacher said, “I do not believe in more education for boys than girls. But as a teacher I see discrimination in education between boys and girls in my community. It is because of socio-cultural factors like, large family, early marriage, poverty, opportunity, cost of education etc. I know girls who dropout from school because of poverty and we cannot do any thing for them.”
They were asked how, they think, education can influence the status of women in your community. A teacher thinks, “Woman has an important place in society and she plays a significant role in human progress and prosperity. Unlike what is assumed by certain narrow-minded people, woman is in no way inferior to man. She is his counterpart and is equally important and capable of sharing the responsibilities. Now-a-days, women are working in every field. They are serving the nation in the same way as men. They are flying the airplanes, are doctors, are engineers and mothers. They are not behind in any field because of their education in this century.

An engineer said, “Conservative peoples are of the opinion that women should not be educated. This view-point is retrogressive and hence unacceptable in the modern scientific age. They must be educated and trained to share the responsibilities of their society. Enlightened women can understand the nature of their function and perform their duties better. I am sure modern age will find the real status of women in our community where all girls are educated and very keen about their situation.” An assistant professor said, “Though women nowadays are fighting for their rights and for equal treatment, it is still not seen in many parts of the world, especially in Islamic countries. However, huge strides have been made in this direction ever since women began to demand equality. Their ancestors did not do like this as they were not aware of their status. They had to tolerate sub-ordinate status.” A nurse thinks, “Education is a weapon of women empowerment that will enable them to respond to the challenges to change their traditional role and change their status with high education to realize their real identity and their status in all spheres. I believe education is an basic factor for change in the status of women.”

When asked the reasons for deprivation of girls from schools it was found that for many families education for girl was limited because men are patently nervous to give freedom to women to leave home even with hejab.
They believe as Muslims they have to obey religion although one of the most positive aspects of Islamic law is the freedom it gives to Muslim women to get education regardless of their race, nationality or socioeconomic status. According to Islam education is necessary. It is not important that they take up jobs after education. Many Muslim women stay at home with higher degrees to devote more time to their children and families. People should be taught that education can help their children and there is no doubt that girls have a better future after education.

Another point of discussion was health as a important criterion for measuring the status of women in the family as well as society. After explaining the necessity of health care for women including primary health care, antenatal care of children ever born, health problems during pregnancy and family planning; they were asked to expound their opinion about women’s health and how their health status can be improved. Discussion was focused on family planning and necessity of using contraceptives.

A nurse said, “I observe women who want abortion come to hospitals but doctors refuse in view of the legal complications. Government should make couples more aware about family planning. The mother suffers from abortion and it is risky when abortion is done illegally. An assistant professor said, “Women's ability to choose the number children and the timing of their births is key to empowering them as individuals, mothers, and citizens. But their rights go beyond these. Women should be able to fulfill their aspirations outside the home, to benefit themselves, their families, and their country. The change can be felt in family structures. Now the families are smaller, girls get married later, and girls with higher education have higher social demands.

Good reproductive health and care of their reproductive rights can help ensure that every infant is wanted. Maternal and infant mortality are closely linked. If a mother dies in childbirth, her infant often dies as well. Mothers are
the primary guardians of health, education and nutrition of children. Spacing of birth significantly reduces infant mortality. Unwanted children, in general, are more vulnerable than others to illness and premature death. Moreover where pregnancy is defined as a "women's issue", the participation of men in the decisions and responsibilities it entails may be limited. Yet helping men and communities appreciate the risks of pregnancy can improve a woman's chance of obtaining life-saving care. Educated fathers worry about safer childbirth and they discourage unsafe home deliveries”.

Next question was about contraceptive methods. A teacher told, “Enabling couples to determine whether, when, and how often to have children is vital to safe motherhood and healthy families. Voluntary family planning has profound health, economic, and social benefits for families and communities.” An assistant professor said, “I think cultural and religious opposition to family planning make it difficult. Participation in family planning is related to cultural and social factors. It is a good example of social barrier. Iranian men do not prefer vasectomy, they feel their manliness will be lost. If women can control the size of their family they are more empowered. Most of the time men belonging to poor family tend to want larger families than their wives do.”

A nurse said, “With advertising and other programs society should make people aware about the importance of men participating in family planning. Men do not play key roles in family planning in Iran and most of the reproductive health and contraceptive methods focus on women.”

Another factor that affects the women’s status is employment. Respondents were asked the necessity of women being employed and the barriers that they face. An assistant professor said, “In the early years of revolution, working women were laid off. Now, instead of those female office workers and secretaries, women are returning as factory engineers and specialists, So in fact, Iran's labor market is facing an influx of female
specialists who can replace men, and in the very male-oriented structure of Iranian society, this is a big change. There is now a labor force of women specialists that never existed in Iran. Many Iranian women are rising to top professional positions previously dominated by men.

An engineer told, “We know, all university graduates, men and women are facing the problem of high unemployment, as Iran's young population floods the job market. There are no jobs for university graduates, they have no income. it is not even possible for them to earn the bare minimum they need to live. Iranian society, which once saw few girls attending school, now sees too many young women leave university with little chance of finding a job.” A teacher said, “Why women should study if they are not going to work. Why we should give the seats in universities to women who when they finish their education must go home and take care of children.”

A manager answered her question, “It is obvious. If we have one educated mother without a job she will be effective in the society because of the children she will educate. Women are not taking jobs away from men. Main reason for more unemployment in Iran is that, a large portion of women are enrolled in fields such as humanities and social sciences that have low market reward and men do not prefer to work in these. Even in the softer fields where women predominate, the assumption that women are taking jobs away from men is hard to justify given the low employment prospects in these fields.”

A teacher said, “Household roles in Iran are divided on a rational basis. Men are heads of households, responsible for the maintenance of family and women. They are assigned nurturing roles and household chores naturally are handled by her. Although, their contribution to the formal sector and private sector of the economy is important we cannot ignore their role in the family. Women are first responsible to the family then the workplace. We should not forget that we are mothers first. Women must bear more pressure than men because of joint responsibility”. A nurse said, “To get an education or go to
work women need the right of mobility. Now parents agree for their education but there is not much freedom for working. Patriarchy and authority of fathers and husbands limit their job market.”

The participants were asked whether in their opinion women can achieve more empowerment in their family and society and how. It was explained that decision making and authority on spending their earnings are two main factors to measure women’s empowerment. They had different ideas and attempts were made to guide them with these questions viz. ‘Who should decide how the money earned by women will be spent- mainly by women, mainly by husband, or by wife and husband jointly?’ To measure their relative control over decision making respondents were asked who usually makes decision about purchase of important items. They were asked about their attitudes regarding a wife’s participation in household decision-making. Men were specifically asked who should have the greater say in making the following decisions: the husband, the wife, or both equally?’ The decisions asked about were: making major purchases, making purchases for daily household needs, visiting wife’s family or relatives, what to do with the money the wife earns from her work, and how many children to have.

A nurse said, “Women are often blind to their own situation and accept it often without question. Women easily bow to authority. They do not wish to take any responsibility. Some women perform shopping and take daily decisions daily. They may take up power in the domestic and private sphere but in public they are powerless”. An assistant professor said, “Women are limited in their ability to control and manage household decisions because of their low economic and social status and because of the power that men have over women in all areas.”

Another question was about violence that affects the status of women and puts them in secondary position. Why most women face violence? Both
men and women were asked whether, in their opinion, a husband was justified in hitting or beating his wife. An assistant professor (sociologist) said, “It happens in private life and a legal complaint can destroy the life of a woman. In Iran, I think this is one of the main points. The culture makes some forms of violence legal. Women think that that their husbands’ jealous reactions that turn violent are signs of love and attention. They keep the violence as a secret and do not like anybody to know about it.” She further said, “In the very traditional and religious setting in which many in Iran live, their understanding of religion has told them that a man can beat his wife. They say it is a religious command and the commentators who have portrayed Islam as a violent religion, also contribute to the growth of this culture.”

An assistant professor said, “There is no justification for hitting a wife. Beating is not the only violence against women nowadays. Other ways that men use to dominate women are taking away passports, forcing them to care for their extended family, tapping the phone lines or taking the phone away altogether. Women faced with these situations often do not have the financial strength to fight for independence. If a woman wants to leave an abusive relationship, the husband ensures that it becomes difficult. Thus he may re-marry, while still keeping his first wife. He may threaten not to give her child custody.

Statistics show that 66% of Iranian women, at least at the beginning of the marriage, have been physically abused. Physical abuse may include: hitting, bondage, imprisonment in their own home, scratching, pulling of hair and even starving. Higher levels of education do not affect the way the system runs. Thus there are never clear, formal statistics conducted to assess the degree of violence. Any statistics that exist are not published for the general public to view, but only for journalists, researchers, and scholars. Since Iran does not welcome free speech, those who are able to view statistical files are limited and what they are allowed to publish, or post online are also limited. On the other
hand, under the civil code, a woman has the duty to submit to her husband and this is called ‘tamkin’. It includes submitting to his sexual demands so effectively that marital rape is not an offence in Iran.”

A teacher said, “Few women even try to escape a violent home because they are economically dependent on their husbands. According to Iranian law, men can divorce at will, but for women it often requires a long legal battle. Men also have the right of custody of children after divorce.” A nurse said, “The most effective violence against women is the threat to take children away. It is very effective because to endure being away from their children is the worst punishment and violence for women. Mostly they give in.” Another teacher said, “I think men should change their views about women. I welcome spread of education and think it is a turning point. Men and women should find out together where their shortcomings are. Until these are recognized there will not be any progress. Social and economic equality of women and men in the society is progress. If they reach equality violence will vanish.”

**Group -3**

In this focus group discussion about 9 -10 male members between 35 to 50 years participated. Of these 5 work in food factory, 3 are tailors and 2 are working in schools. After mutual introduction and explaining the goals of this meeting the discussion was started.

Most of them agreed that the women should have education. Some of them, however, believed there should be some restrictions. A labor said, “I have sent my daughter to school and I agree that girls should study like boys. But if I want to send them to university I can pay just for my son, but not for my daughter. I do not have money to spend for both.” A waiter said, “I have a daughter who was married very early and has three children. She finished her BC in her husband’s house and has gone back to university and is now looking at completing a Masters degree. I am proud of her and I am sure she will be great mother for her children especially daughter. Education is obviously
changing their nature. I forced my daughter to marry early but am sure she will not ask her daughter to do so. We are different now”.

A Tailor said, “Earlier parents did not permit their daughters to go to school. My sister and my wife did not. Our parents did not allow their daughters to go to school. They would say, it's wrong, it's irreligious – girls should stay at home. But we know Islam encourages education for females as well as males. Islam specifically says that women should be treated equally”.

A labour said, “If girls and women getting education from men is forbidden in Islam, arrangement should be made for female teachers to teach female students. Now in all school female teachers teach the girls and we can send our daughters to without any problem.” A labour said, “As Muslims we should not lose sight of the basic duty of Muslim women. She is a mother first. If education and work come in the way she should is continue it and then her education as well as her job.”

Another question was whether parents should give equal attention to the education of girls and boys. They were asked the reasons why some parents do not pay as much attention for girls’ education as for boys. A labour told, “Girls also should go to school to study but there is some restrictions. Thus I have two boys and one girl. I am simply not willing to let my daughter travel the long distance needed to attend school. I object to girls being taught by male teachers. There are obviously some differences between girls and boys.” A tailor told, “I don’t agree with these statements. All schools are separate in our country and girls can study safely. We should encourage them to study. They have the same right to education as boys”. A labour felt, “I could not attend school properly. I just finished 3rd. Now I hope my daughter will finish school and attend university. I do not have much money but I will spend for my children’s education, for my daughter as well as my son”.

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Another question asked how education can influence the status of women in your community? A labor told, “I sent my daughter to school and I want her to go to university. My wife is not educated enough and I torment her. She does not complain. I do not want my daughter to experience such secondary status in her life. I regret that although my wife is a good woman I did not permit her to do any thing. After 20 years of marriage I asked her to go for adult education.”

A tailor thinks, “Education is necessary for everybody and not just for women. If I had good education I would not be labour in a factory but a manager of that place!! Poor people have low status. It is a reality for women as well as men. I think education can enhance the status of men even more than of women because men have to get jobs and they need more opportunity for progress.”

The respondents were asked reasons for deprivation of girls from school. They were asked, “Which factors do you think are responsible for the deprivation of girls from education?” A waiter said, “The most important responsibility of married women is to take care of children. Nowadays girls marry very late and so often can not find a good match. We should worry about their marriage as well as education.” A labour thinks, “For basic education there is no discrimination. For higher education sometimes parents invest more for boys than girls. I believe it is because boys have more responsibility and they should earn to run the family.” A waiter told, “I work in girls school and feel they have better ability to study. My work place is in poor area and I often see parents deprive their girls after primary classes. Some fathers are very orthodox and they do not want their daughters to go out after puberty. They may send them to work to earn. But their number is very low and most of them invest in their daughter’s education even if they are poor”.

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Next was health - an important criterion for measuring the status of women in the family as well as society. Necessity of health care for women was explained first. They were asked to expound their opinion about the health of women and how it can improve. Questions on family planning and the necessity of using contraceptives were next posed. A tailor said, “Size of family is very important. I have 3 children and I have to maintain 5 people. It would have been better if my family was smaller. My wife started using pill after the third delivery. Her mother took her for antenatal check ups earlier but for the third child she went with our neighbor. I know all men should take care of their wives when they are pregnant. I tried to feed her strengthening food. I respect my wife who takes good care of my children. When she is sick I ask her to go to doctor I pay the expenses. As I am very busy most of the time she goes to doctor alone.”

A labour said, “I have 5 children born in 7 years. I did not use FP methods then. But after the 5th child my wife got tubectomy operation done. The doctor told me to permit it and I agreed. Big family is good if parents can maintain it. I might have wanted more than 5 children if I was rich! But now with financial problems to maintain the family is very difficult. I took her to hospital for delivery just for first child. I knew about FP methods. But did not use these till my wife did tubectomy operation”. A waiter said, “I got married 2 years ago. I think men should take care of their wives during pregnancy. My wife delivered our son 2 months ago in a hospital. I took her every month for check-ups and paid all costs. After delivery also she goes to doctor. For prevention she is on pill and we plan for second child after some time.”

Another factor that affects status of women is employment. Majority thought that the first duty of women was to take care of children. If they want to get a job the workplace should be safe. But they said the women may go to
work if the family needed their income. A waiter said, “I think we must consider some conditions for the employment of women. They should not work everywhere. Some places are not safe for women like factories and at secretarial jobs. I do not have much money but I do not allow my wife to work in such places. A labor said, “It is obvious that women stay at home and take care of the children and men maintain the households. But now due to high inflation rate women also should take jobs, otherwise we cannot maintain our families. My wife works hard in a small factory. I do not like her to work but there is no other way.

A tailor told, “I am agree with the employment of women. They should participate in earning, and have right to save money for themselves. But I agree that women should choose suitable jobs, like in educational sectors. I think in secretarial jobs men misuse them and they cannot protect themselves there. Another tailor said, “I accept women working outside but they should maintain their household duties perfectly. Their first task is to cook and take care of children. My wife is a housewife. She wanted me to take her as my helper in our shop. After one week she found that she could not manage household chores. I asked her to stay at home and she agreed. Now she is happy as she has more time for work and rest at home”.

A waiter said, “Women face violence in our community in poor families. I know lot of men who beat their wives and daughters for no reason. Women cannot tell anything as they are not aware of their rights. They are not literate enough. Without our help they cannot enhance their status. Men are more empowered because they have responsibility. But they should not misuse this power against their family, especially their wives. For big items men should decide as they know but for small things like daily needs men do not have time to make decisions and women should manage”.

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Another question was about violence that affects the status of women and put them in subordinate position. Both men and women were asked whether, in their opinion, a husband is justified in beating his wife. A waiter said, “For minor reasons like bad food we should not punish our wives. But some insults and unfaithfulness are not forgivable.” A labour said, “When I was young for every single reason and even without any reason I used to beat my wife. I am 58 years old and after 25 years I regret it. I believe we should respect them. They take care of our children and manage the home. Now it is late but I think young men should trust to their wives. When I was young for small reasons I suspected my wife and beat her. Now I think if my wife was treacherous how I could live with her for 25 years. We should clean our minds”. Another waiter said, “Sometimes women do not treat your parents well or do not feel like making food properly. If it happens rarely, you can ignore but if they it repeatedly you should react. Men must control their family. Otherwise it is spoiled. I believe first we should scold but if they ignore they may be punished.”

Group 4

In this focus group discussion about 10-11 women between 25 to 40 years participated. Of these 5 were housewives and have completed schooling, 3 were tailors and 2 vendors. After mutual introductions the purpose of this meeting was explained. The discussions were started with questions to know their idea regarding women’s education.

One tailor said, “When we were young we got married. We did not have any opportunity to study after that. The new generation is very smart. They are using university studies as an excuse to leave home, postpone marriage, and enjoy greater freedom”. One housewife said, “Education is necessary for women. But why should women study if they are not going to work? Why we should give the seats in universities to women who, when they finish their
education, must go home and take care of children like us.” She said though education is good for women but higher education is of no use when women can not find jobs.

A vendor told; “My orthodox parents did not let me even go to school for fear they would be dishonored. But after revolution parents have no trouble letting their daughters go anywhere like offices and university. Women have a better condition for study now.” One housewife said, “I was not even literate 8 years ago when I joined adult education programs. I know that if I keep up with my education, my daughter will have someone to help her with her homework. That is why I studied till 6th and I hope my daughter can go to university.”

They were asked their opinion on the issue that parents giving equal attention and spending equal money for the education of girls and boys. A housewife said, “I believe girls have equal right to education as boys. But we should not forget that girls have to learn how take care of children and we should teach them home economics. But nowadays parents bother about their education but after marriage they can not manage their home”.

A tailor thinks, ”Before the revolution, orthodox parents would not let their girls even go to school for fear they would be dishonored. Now they have no trouble letting girls go anywhere. I do not agree with this. We should consider some roles for our girls, just wearing hejab does not give them immunity. We should take care of them and not push them into bad situations. It is obvious that boys have more freedom than girls and it affects their education. They can go anywhere for study and there is no restriction for them. But girls should not go every where even for study”. A housewife said, “I have a girl and a boy. I want my daughter to study more than my son. My husband is little stingy and for small things I have to beg him. He does not give money
easily. I am at home and I do not have any earnings. I hope my daughter can complete her study and find a good job with high salary.”

The next question was how education can influence the status of women. A housewife said, “The status of Iranian women changed not because of the support of men. I do not believe that any man wants her wife getting power at home. If women acquire more education they can achieve high status at home. My husband is very orthodox and I can not go out without his permission. Now I am 35 years old but can not participate in any social group outside my family. I do not have any information about socio-economics events. Only TV and radio help me to be aware of news. My husband is rich. But wealth did not influence his behavior. I worry about my daughter. I will not like my daughter to experience my life. My husband has full authority at home and he will decide about her future. I am sure if she continues her studies, she will acquire better status than me.”

A tailor said, “I believe education is not the only reason for changing the status of women. Property and wealth are important factors for enhancing the status of women. I know many women with high education who do not have much power at home and society. They could not use their degree, as their husbands did not permit them to get jobs. They suffer from subordinate status. I think men’s opinion regarding the status of women must change. Our cultural beliefs should change.”

Next topic was health. It is an important criterion for measuring the status of women in the family. They were asked to expound their opinion about women’s health. They were asked to explain how health status of women in the society be improved. A housewife said, “I have 3 children, 2 girls and a boy – the youngest just one year old. My husband wants one more boy and he wants me to be pregnant again. He is rich and believes there is no problem in having more children. He can take care of them. I had miscarriages also and actually I
was pregnant 5 times. I told my husband there should be at least 2 years gap between pregnancies. He has accepted and now he uses withdrawal method for prevention. I delivered my children in hospitals and I think monthly check-up is necessary. I went to hospital every month for all deliveries with my mother and I think it is the responsibility of the husband to bear the medical costs. My husband paid all the costs for check-up and delivery”. A labor said, “When I was 13 I became pregnant but because of my age I miscarried. At 15 I became pregnant again and had a very bad delivery in a government hospital with only a midwife. Doctor did not come. My mother-in-law took care of me. After only 2 weeks I went for work but was very weak because of bleeding. After one year I again became pregnant but could not keep my child. I had feminine diseases and doctor advised my husband to use prevention. He accepted and I used pill for 3 years. After that I became pregnant again and delivered a boy. I am very weak and have diabetes. Doctor does not permit me to be pregnant again. I am going to a doctor for antenatal check up. I use pill and I hope my husband will not want more children. I think, if my husband had more education, and did not want a big family I could manage my family better than now. I wanted 2 children because I think two children are enough”.

Another factor that affects the status of women is employment. Informants were asked the necessity of their employment and the problems they face. A tailor said, “I had a difficult time when I opened my tailoring shop 30 years ago. My husband was not happy and he did not speak with me for several months. He thought I would not take care of my children and family and I would ignore them. But eventually I proved that I can be a successful woman. I have a big shop with many customers. I think women should work out of home then they can achieve more power at home as well as in society.”

A housewife told, “I think more women are interested in jobs now than before. Although obstacles are there, women in Iran are more motivated to work. In our generation fathers and husbands did not permit us to be educated.
In a society where more women are educated it is expected that women search for jobs and rush to work. I never did because my husband is rich. When I was young I got married but I wish that my daughter gets a good job with a high salary. It makes her independent from her husband”. A labor said, “I work in a food factory. I go out at 5 am and return around 6 pm. My work place is very far. I have 3 children and my mother takes care of them. My salary is not so bad but compared with college educated men it is less. They can stay more comfortably and have better contact with the head workman. I do not like to work outside home but I must. My husband does not earn enough and my mother lives with me. I have to work hard. I believe working for women is not necessary if husband can bear the household expenditures.”

Another question was about violence that affects the status of women and put them in subordinate position. Both men and women were asked whether, in their opinion, a husband is justified in or beating his wife. A housewife said, “Once my husband beat me so badly that for one week I unable to leave house. There were bruises all over my face and I had pain all over. I could not go out. But I believe violence is not only physical. Some forms of behavior and comments cause more pain than physical beating. He beat me just because I permitted my young daughter go out with her friend. When he came to know he beat me like an animal”. A tailor said, “Women should sacrifice themselves and tolerate. That is how many if not most women deal with domestic violence”. That tailor, who experienced domestic violence herself for many years, says after her divorce her husband took custody of their child and prevented her from seeing her child. “My husband didn't even let my daughter go to school for some time so that I was not able to go there and meet her. When he was forced to send the child to school he dropped her off and picked her up himself. He also told the principal not to let me see the child. During our life together, I would have allowed him to beat me . if I knew it would stop him from torturing the child. Being away from my child was the worst torture for me”.
Focus group discussion (Bangalore)

Group 1

Vimochana, meaning liberation that was initiated in 1979 by women and men from within the CIEDS Collective, in Bangalore. Its a forum for women's rights. Activities include: Angala (a women's courtyard), Streelekha (a feminist bookplace), AWHRC (network of women's and human rights groups), and Women in Black for peace, marital violence and vocational training.

Focus group was conducted in this NGO. There is a special group that focus just of Muslim community and this group support Muslim women who have problem with dowry, education and health. Tanzeem was a lady who works about dowry cases for Muslim women. She organized these group and interview conducted in that place. All member both men and women had special responsibly and were active about at least one activity. Time of discussion was about 2 hour and we recorded answer from each of participants.

Attempts were first made to find out their ideas regarding women’s education by asking about their opinion on whether education for women was necessary or not? If it is necessary the age at which women should be given education? And also what are the benefits of providing good or higher education to women.

A respondent told: Muslims are the largest minority community in India constituting 13.4% of the population with the poor human development index – widespread illiteracy, low income, irregular employment- implying thereby a high incidence of poverty and marginalization. We should improve Muslim situation in India especially Muslim women which suffer multiple marginalization both within the community and outside. It will be possible with promote their education.
Farzane who works as a counselor in this NGO gave some interesting data about Muslim women: can you believe Less than 17 per cent of Muslim women (enrolled in schools) completed eight years of schooling; less than 10 per cent completed higher secondary schooling. It is sad and we should think more about its subordinate situation red these statistic in a report of The Muslim Women's Survey (MWS) was carried out in 12 states, spread over 40 districts in India. Convened by Zoya Hasan and Ritu Menon, it surveyed 9,541 Muslim and Hindu women respondents -The proportion of Muslim women in higher education is only 3.56 per cent. That's lower even than that of scheduled castes, which is 4.25 per cent. How women in our community can improve their status when even they can not leave the house easily.

A respondent told: I feel the need for Muslim women to speak out, not just against problems within the community and personal laws, but also against growing discrimination, against Muslims being treated as second-class citizens. In this I feel Muslim women in country doesn’t have equal situation for education as well as job opportunity. Muslim community should try to build the special center for women to safe study.

Zynab who were active in health sector in vimochana states: I am not agree with this statements This discrimination in Indian is not based on religious prejudices, Indian Muslim women do not enjoy the same amount of freedom like the majority Indian women. Moreover education is not particular just for Hindu community they can join but the barrier in their community push them back.

Another lady told: I am Muslim and I am a teacher in a child labour school. when I wanted to start for study my mother didn’t have any objection she was very encouraging but my father was not keen at all he did not want I leave home for study. I would not start study if it was not for my mother. I went for tuition because I started study when I was 11. After my father
accepted he ask my brother drop me wait and pick me up but I finished my study I felt I should leave home to build my future it is truth for all the girls . a lot of people in my community think it is unsafe girls for women to step out but I believe women should learn how they protect themselves otherwise without going out of home how they can improve their status.

Another question was whether parents should give equal attention and spend equal amount of money for girls the education of girls and boys? They were asked, “In your opinion why some parents don’t pay attention to girls’ education as well as boys’

One of them believed that Muslim girls has less opportunity for continue their education I think poverty is the main reason and also general devaluation of continuing education for girls is linked to the desirability of early marriage, as indicated by the mean age of first marriage, which is low. Early marriage was cited as an important reason for dropping out of school. Its obvious parents should give equal opportunity for girls as well as boys but some restrictions in Muslim community give more advances to boys for education.

A lawyer mentioned: nowadays parents have generally positive association with female education in urban. I believe pardah is a main thing as an obstacle that Muslim girls practice, although it is not only reason for discontinue the education .

Another participant told: we should not forget the Language problems in Bangalore. Most of the Muslims speak urdu and till secondary they go to urdu school, girls doesn’t have chance like boys for step out of house therefore they have more problem when they go for continue their study after secondary in another school. Parents are worry about security, they think society is not so safe for their girls. There is not many Islamic school and they believe in mix education there is not safety for their daughter .co- education is the main reason that parents pulled their daughter out of schools.
Siraj, a counselor in education, believed that poverty makes the cost of books, uniforms, and transportation too much for poor families, making it more likely for girls to stay at home to care for siblings or work in family enterprises. If a family has to choose between educating a son or a daughter due to financial restrictions, typically the son will be chosen. Parents often view educating sons as an investment because the sons will be responsible for caring for their aging parents.

A teacher said: A daughter with a higher level of education will likely have higher dowry expenses as they will want a comparably educated husband. Therefore, parents are not interested in educating girls.

A question was asked: “How can education influence the status of women in your community?”

One of the respondents said: Girls are less likely to access school, remain in school, or achieve in education. Education helps men and women claim their rights and realize their potential in economic, political, and social arenas. Everybody has the right to education. The right to free and compulsory primary education, without discrimination. Education plays an important role in enabling girls and women to secure other rights in their life.

A respondent said: Cultural and traditional values stand between girls and their prospects for education. By improving educational opportunities for girls and women, it helps them to develop skills that allow them to make decisions and influence community change in key areas. Basic education provides girls and women with a better understanding of basic health, nutrition, and family planning, giving them the choices and power to decide over their own lives and bodies.

Next question was on health as it is an important criterion for measuring the status of a woman in the family as well as society. The
necessity of health care for women was first explained. The necessity of health care and using family planning for women was discussed.

A teacher believed: there are some reason for lower contraceptive use and higher fertility among Muslim women in India it can be related to socioeconomic factors like poverty, lack of education, and marginalization. Muslim women have more fertility and it influence in their health sourly. High fertility is due to their differential marriage pattern and it can be increase the fertility in this community. The other hand they feel they are minority and community should be increase with more fertility. Most of the Muslim women likely to use temporary methods because most of the ulama agree that surgical methods like sterilization to permanently end fertility are forbidden but in India most of the programs are primarily and based on sterilization.

A lady said: I am a women and I am a Muslim I believe family planning has noting to do with our religion directly or indirectly but it is definitely associated with the health of a women who gives birth to child.

Another factor that affects the status of women is employment. They were asked about the need for their employment and the problems that employed women face?

On of respondent mentioned, Most Muslim women remain "invisible" workers in the informal economy. The Muslim share in public employment is less than 3 per cent. Lack of education, cultural stereotypes is the main reason for keeping them at home.some traditional ulema are of the view that Muslim women must not work outside their homes. They even argue that women can step out of their homes only under extreme necessity. Otherwise, they insist, they must remain within the four walls of their homes. It can be important that men don’t let them to work outside and ask them to do just house chore.

A teacher believed: I see no harm in women taking up employment out of their homes, provided, of course, their respect and honor are protected and
their work does not cause their children and husband to suffer or be neglected. In some situations, in fact, it may even be a dire necessity, rather than a matter of choice, for women to seek employment out of their homes. Such, for instance, may be the case for divorced or widowed women with no source of sustenance or for a woman whose husband does not earn enough to properly maintain the family. From earliest times onwards, many Muslim women, particularly from poor families, have been working outside their homes, mostly because this was an economic compulsion.

Next question was about violence that affects the status of women and put them in a subordinate position. Why most women face violence? Both men and women were asked whether, in their opinion, a husband was justified in hitting or beating his wife in the following six situations: if she goes out without telling him, if she neglects the house or children, if she argues with him, if she refuses to have sex with him, if she does not cook food properly, if he suspects her of being unfaithful, and if she shows disrespect for her in-laws.

One of them said: Domestic violence the problem stems from a cultural bias against women who challenge their husband's right to control their behavior. Women who do this---even by asking for household money or stepping out of the house without their permission--are seen as punishable. This process leads men to believe their notion of masculinity and manhood is reflected to the degree to which they control their wives. As a woman I am fully opposed with violence against women even physiologic abuse. There is not any excuse for abuse and beating a person, generally, husband's dominance's in the family structure, the more likely wife and child abuse become. In the most abusive homes, the father believes and socializes his wife and children to believe that whatever he wants the family to do is the same as what Allah wants them to do. He, in effect, makes himself into something of a god. And it justified him to abuse the family if they disobey.
A lawyer told: In most cases we see after an episode of violence, the abuser says he is sorry, may ask for forgiveness, and promises not to repeat the behavior. Women may stay because they hope for change, still love the person, or are afraid of losing their children; they often leave only when they perceive imminent danger to their children. She believed Muslim women need to improve their knowledge of their own faith, and then reclaim their right to define themselves in the light of the Qur'an and the Sunnah, instead of by customary practices, traditions, extremist viewpoints, or those who believe Muslim women need to be saved from themselves.

Extended families is a big problem, beyond the husband in-laws also have right to abuse the women when they disobey moreover it must stop covering up abuse, violence, and incest in the name of "preserving the family honor. There are lots of abusing and domestic violence which is hidden and women have to keep it in their memorize.

An active about dowry abuse said: Domestic Violence Awareness should be teaching in Muslim community. Activists, lawyers, and counselors should meet Muslim women wherever possible, shelters and Muslim family service agencies should be put into place. We try to conduct this progress in our NGO although we need to improve and suppuration.

You ask just abut beating but there is more sort of violence that you ignore .The most common form of abuse is emotional and mental abuse. In Muslim homes, this includes verbal threats to divorce the wife, to remarry, or to take the kids away if she does not do exactly as she is told; intimidation and threats of harm; degradation, humiliation, insults, ridicule, name-calling, and criticism; false accusations and blaming her for everything; ignoring, dismissing, or ridiculing her needs; neglect and the silent treatment; spying on her; telling her she is a failure and will go to hell; twisting Islamic teachings to make her feel worthless because she is a woman; restricting her access to transportation, health care, food, clothing, money, friends, or social services;
physical and social isolation; extreme jealousy and possessiveness; lying, breaking promises, destroying trust; etc. Emotional abuse can take place in public or at home. These forms of abuse are hidden how we can protect women against them?

Tragically, some Muslim men actually use Islam to "justify" their abusive behavior. Focusing on rituals, considering themselves to be Islamically knowledgeable, and disregarding the spirit of Islam, they wrongly use the Qur’an verse that says men are the protectors and maintainers of women to go on power trips, demand total obedience, and order their wives around. Then, if their wives dare to speak up or question their orders, these men misinterpret a Qur’an verse that talks about how to treat a disobedient wife and use it as a license for abuse.

**Group 2**

This focus group was conducted with 5 respondents that all were men all had Islamic studies. Two of them were in Iran for Islamic education and had degree from *houza (Islamic school)*. Time for Discussion was 1 hour and they presented their idea about Muslim women in their community as religious men.

Asking about their opinion on whether education for women was necessary or not? If it is necessary the age at which women should be given education? And also what are the benefits of providing good or higher education to women and a question was asked, “How can education influence the status of women in your community?

All respondent were agreed that education is necessary for girls and parents should provide good situation for their girls.

A1 -Not just Muslim even non Muslim is expected to be domestic roles, as wives and mothers, and as having no public role for women. It is a deep belief that education for women is simply a means to get a ‘good’, wealthy
husband. In fact, many Muslim women continue to be conditioned to believe
that being subjugated by their husbands is their fate that faithfully serving their
husbands, no matter how they are treated. We should change the roots of our
belief and it can not be possible except providing a good situation for girls’
education.

A2-I don’t know why the traditional scholars continue to oppose for
girls education, even though at the time of the Prophet, women, including the
Prophet’s wives and, played important social roles and were very active in
imparting religious education to Muslim children. I believe objection about
women education and wholly public roll for them has root in patriarchy and
tradition otherwise prophet didn’t put any difference between women or men in
education.

A3-Increasingly, nowadays Muslims are marching ahead in the race for
modern education. Instead, listen to tradition beliefs are entering universities. I
hope that augurs well for the future and those modern-educated Muslim
scholars would be in a better position to interpret Islamic teachings, including
about women, in a proper manner.

A4- the Quran has given women equal rights and equal dignity. Therefore we are as much God's followers as men are. Education also is not accepted and it is equal between men and women the problem arises not from the Quran but from distorted, patriarchal interpretations of the Quran and other texts by some sections of the ulema. This is something that we have to fight against. Islam is a religion of justice. So, how, if it is interpreted properly, can it discriminate against women?

A5- The tendency to locate the sources of Muslim women's marginalization solely within the community itself -- blaming just Muslim men or the ulema and their patriarchal understandings of religion -- is patently unfair. How can you expect Muslim women to be empowered and able to
resist male domination if they are not educationally and economically empowered? A major responsibility in this regard is that of the state, which continues to marginalize and neglect Muslims, including Muslim women. For example how can you expect divorced Muslim women to be paid a decent sum as maintenance if the vast majority of Muslim men continue to wallow in poverty?

A6-sombody believes that burqa isolated women and this Islamic roll is a barrier for education but it is unfair.we have several members who wear the burkha or hijab, some of who work outside their homes. It does not restrict their mobility. Some of these Muslim women are among our most vocal and outspoken activists. That said, to wear or not to wear the burqa is a woman's personal choice, and nobody should force her against her will. Iran, after the Islamic revolution, has mobilized women in large numbers, of course within hijab, to put them to use in media, education, research and social work. Why we just bring these excuse for women subordinate situation we should notice to our society we are minority and it is the main problem.

Another question was whether parents should give equal attention and spend equal amount of money for girls the education of girls and boys? They were asked, “In your opinion why some parents don’t pay attention to girls’ education as well as boys’

A1- Communication between man and woman or boys and girls is an extremely sensitive issue. The west has neglected this issue and I believe they are suffering. One of the reasons for western suffering is their carelessness in this matter. Islam takes a very careful approach about it. While communicating between the two genders, the maximum care should be taken at the vulnerable age. It should be minimum at that age. The vulnerable age before marriage or teens or school life or college life is the period when communication has to be very careful. I would suggest that the communication whether it is direct or through telephone or through present day mobile phones, should be minimum
in this vulnerable age. In our country co-education make barrier for children education. It is real that education between girls and boys should be equal but we don’t have enough special school for girls and especially in high education they don’t have equal situation.

A2- I am really agree with these point but I feel, there is no problem in co-education till the age of ten or twelve, what we call primary level up to grade five. And this is happening in our country for a long time and of course in the west also. Thereafter, in the high school or college level, that is, up to grade ten or grade twelve, I feel this is the vulnerable period of the life of boys and girls. So it is much better to have separate educations - colleges and schools. As regards universities, we find today in some Muslim countries, they have separate campuses. For example in Saudi Arabia women have separate campuses in their University education and female students are now equal to men even in Saudi Arabia. But main problem is our situation in india we are a minority and it is the main problem.

A3- I believe that it is the woman's right, just as it is the man's right, to get the highest levels of education. This is mentioned in the Holy Quran: "and say: O my Lord! Increase me in knowledge" (Taha: 114).we should not consider any discrimination between girls and boys about their education. Everything depends on how she develops herself with knowledge, education, and thinking.

Next question was on health as it is an important criterion for measurement of the status of a woman in the family as well as society. The necessity of health care for women was first explained. The necessity of health care and using family planning for women was discussed.

Another factor that affects the status of women is employment. They were asked about the need for their employment and the problems that employed women face?
A1-First of all, most jobs are open to all. We cannot say it is *Haram* (not permissible) I feel, some heavy jobs should not be taken by women, for example heavy duty truck driving or very tough work in mining industry below the pits. Actually, this is not an issue of competition really, that I have to compete in everything. We men should compete in everything with women or women should compete in everything with men, it should not be like that. It is the issue of suitability, it is the issue of need and it is the issue of harm that may cause to any gender.

Now there are women who are in public life, let us say in politics, in private sector jobs, in public sector jobs, in the university jobs, etc. This is one kind. The other kind is those women who are living in houses; they are doing great work of managing the family, managing the children, educating them and may be some other social work. So keeping these two I would say those who are in family they should mostly concentrate on their relations or their neighbors. If they join in any Islamic group, they should work through them.

Those who are involved in public life they should work among their colleagues whether men or women. Of course the general limitations of men and women relationship should be kept in view. There are some limits which should be followed.

A2- I would like to say, I have encouraged the woman to work to develop her mind my daughter has BC I ask her to find job. women can improve their situation when they can step out.

A3- Believe that motherhood is the greatest role in the making of a human being, developing him, and preparing him, so that he could be an effective and productive one. Even her education would be a great benefit to her children, for she would raise them according to a methodological approach. The woman, as a mother, plays an integral role in developing her children and making them effective members in their society. Furthermore, motherhood is
not the woman's prison. She should concentrate in this job. It’s strange for me why we prefer women work as labor for some body else and ignore their family. There is not any safety for women in work place they suffer from lots of discrimination.

A4- Many women need, or wish, to work for various reasons. For example, they may possess a needed skill, such as a teacher or a doctor. While Islam does not prohibit women working outside the home, but outside employment should not come before, or seriously interfere with her responsibilities as wife and mother. Her appearance, manner and tone of speech and overall behavior should follow Islamic guidelines. These include: restraining her glances in relation to any men near the work place, wearing correct Islamic dress, avoiding men, not walking in a provocative manner, and not using make-up or perfume in public.

A5- I am fully agree with him A woman should try to seek employment in positions which require a woman’s special skills, or which relate to the needs of women and children, such as teaching, nursing other women, midwifery, medicine with specialization’s like pediatric or obstetrics-gynecology.

Next question was about violence that affects the status of women and put them in a subordinate position. Why most women face violence? Both men and women were asked whether, in their opinion, a husband was justified in hitting or beating his wife in the following six situations: if she goes out without telling him, if she neglects the house or children, if she argues with him, if she refuses to have sex with him, if she does not cook food properly, if he suspects her of being unfaithful, and if she shows disrespect for her in-laws.

A1- there is not any justification for beating the women about that Islam condemns all forms of violence against women. Even if husband suspects it should be clear and if it was right Islam has punishment laws for her. In pre-
Islamic Arabia violence against women began at birth in the form of female infanticide. Islam prohibited the practice of female infanticide.

A2-Islam requires that husbands treat their wives with respect and it prohibits any form of physical or emotional abuse. The Quran requires that spouses treat each other with love and mercy. (Quran 30:21). Moreover, the Quran repeatedly warns against the use of injurious statements by a husband against his wife. (Quran 58:2-4). Our Prophet Muhammad instructed Muslims regarding women, "I command you to be kind to women." He said also, "The best of you is the best to his family (wife). The Qur'an urges husbands to be kind and considerate to their wives, even if a wife falls out of favor with her husband or disinclination for her arises within him.

A3-I sure Violence against women is not an Islamic tradition. I do think that domestic violence is less common among Muslims than among non-Muslims, primarily because of the absence of alcohol and drugs as catalysts. However, there's no doubt that it does happen Wife abuse has hurt many Muslim women, destroyed many Muslim families, and weakened the entire Muslim community.

**Group3**

The respondent belonged to uneducated group. All were men and they were between 23 to 45. They finished at most 7th standard and worked as a seller and tailor in small shops. All were Muslim and married. They lived in shivajinagar and their work place also was there. They were 6 people. Time was 1 hour and it started with these questions. How ever in this group we spent more time for convey the meaning (concept) of questions. They didn’t mention direct points and ideas; most of them expressed their experience.

Attempts were first made to find out their ideas regarding women’s education by asking about their opinion on whether education for women was necessary or not? If it is necessary the age at which women should be given
education? And also what are the benefits of providing good or higher education to women. Another question was whether parents should give equal attention and spend equal amount of money for girls the education of girls and boys? They were asked, ‘In your opinion why some parents don’t pay attention to girls’ education as well as boys’. A question was asked, ‘How can education influence the status of women in your community?’

A seller who had 23 years old told: I have 4 sister they could not go to school, same me I finished 4th in madrasa. I have 3 brothers also, two 0f them working as a mechanic and one of them goes to school. My family could not afford the education expenses for boys as well as girls but education for us was more important if I had high education I had better job and more money but my sisters should stay home and take care the family after marriage, it’s their job. Why parents should spend money for them as well as boys.

A tailor told: I got married 15 years back, I finished 5th and started to work in my father’s shop we have a small shop and our income is not much. My father is old he cannot work and I have to maintain my parents. I have 2 sons and one daughter my wife doesn’t have much literacy but I ask her to keen about my daughters’ education, she is 14 now. She should finish her higher education she should go to collage and get degree. There is not any contradiction between pardah and study I believe she will promote in her education. She wears pardah and she believes Islamic laws.

Another respondent believes education in Bangalore is not safe for girls after they finish the primary they reach to puberty in that time co-education is a sin because boy and girls contact with each other and it is forbidden in Islam. There is not enough school just for girls. He told: I totally oppose with people who send their daughter to mix schools. Education is necessary for girls as well as boy but we should not forget Allah.
A business man believed that we should give equal right for girls as well as boy but according to our prophet, marriage is the first duty for girls if parents find a good mach for their daughter they should ask her to marry.

Seller believed that education is necessary for both, girls as well as boys he explained about his family with 5 brother and sister father had 2 wife and passed away 4 years back he have to maintain the family, his elder sister also work in small shop as a seller. She can not marry because they don’t have much money to give as a dowry they don’t have literacy and he believes nowadays education even is more important for girls than boys if her sister had education she may had better situation. Now she suffers in her workplace because of her owner but she can not do any thing.

Next question was on health as it is an important criterion for measurement of the status of a woman in the family as well as society. The necessity of health care for women was first explained. The necessity of health care and using family planning for women was discussed.

A respondent told: we are not rich the expenses of medical treatment is expensive it is truth for our women also my wife goes to hospital when she is pregnant but monthly there is not necessary to go to hospital when she doesn’t have any problem I should spend lots money without any reason. I have 4 children two of them were delivered in house and 2 in hospital .thank god they don’t have problem and my wife also is okay. Family size should be control because nowadays people can not maintain their family easily.

A tailor told: people who belong to high cast with high income can bring a dozen children they are lucky, but people like us should be careful about the number of children I have 6 sibling we are big family, but I ask my wife to use FP methods after my third child .it is enough for us.

Another respondent told: the medical expenses is high but I send my wife to doctor when she is not well. We have 1 child she gave birth our son in
hospital before that also she call on a doctor for check up with her mother. It is necessary for mother and baby.

One seller told: I can tell most of the people in my community know about contraceptive methods but they don’t use. Some of them believe it is forbidden by Islam and another want more children. People who don’t have any awareness about FP methods are very less. Most of the time women take these methods and men refuse.

Another factor that affects the status of women is employment. They were asked about the need for their employment and the problems that employed women face?

A respondent told: if family was well-off and man could maintain the family there is not any necessity for women’s work they should take care of their children. If they go out who can manage the housework. Usually their salary also is less and it can be not help the family. I know a family who wife goes out as a teacher her salary is very less mother in-law should take care of 3 children she is also old and most of the time children are sick. Husband is not agreed but wife refuse to obey him. They have argument and I sure after sometimes he will divorce his wife.

Another man told: when men can not maintain the family women have to get a job. But I can not find any reason for their work when family is well-off why women should burden lots of problem out of house when they don’t have financial problem. I am full agree with women’s education even they should get high degrees but work for them is not necessary, specially after marriage when they have double duties as a mother and wife.

A respondent was not agreeing with these statements. He explained about her sister who husband quit her and she didn’t have any suppuration. She had 2 children and had to marry as a second wife with an old man now the second man also refuse her and after 10 years she became alone. She doesn’t
have any skill for getting a job. She wanted to start work but family didn’t agree. Finally they had to because they could not support 3 people. Now she is working as a maid with a less salary. He believes if she had education or skill now she had a better situation. He told: women should have save money for themselves some times they need it. In our community men can divorce their wife easily who can take care of them?

Next question was about violence that affects the status of women and put them in a subordinate position. Why most women face violence? Both men and women were asked whether, in their opinion, a husband was justified in hitting or beating his wife in the following six situations: if she goes out without telling him, if she neglects the house or children, if she argues with him, if she refuses to have sex with him, if she does not cook food properly, if he suspects her of being unfaithful, and if she shows disrespect for her in-laws.

First all were not agree to beating the wife but interestingly after sometimes when I asked about that six situation it was released that they are agree in some reason men can beat their wives even they told some stories that when and because of which reasons they beat their wives.

A tailor told: bating is not acceptable and our prophet also asks Muslims to treat well with their wife, but it is obvious not only in our community but also every where when a woman is being unfaithful men can not tolerate but it should be proved and just suspicion is not enough.

One of the respondents told: I think beating is not suit for punishment. You should ask her to do her responsibilities well. For example every body knows women should respect her in-laws it is very important because children also learn how should treat with old people. They should respect them. If women refuse to respect in-laws men can punish them. My wife belongs to higher family she is also the only girl in her family. We live with my parents. At the first I asked her that she should respect them properly my mother is the
boss in house and my wife should obey her. It was not so easy for her. We had bad arguments and some times even I slapped her but now she knows how she should treat with them.

Another respondent believed sometimes women don’t obey we should warn them and explain that their behavior is not correct but if they didn’t listen to you there is not any way. They should learn to how treat with their husband. For some reason like cooking you can connive at her behavior but about some reason like unfaithfully who can tolerate??

A seller told: I got married 1 year back I like my wife I can not imagine one day beat her. But I am very particular about her *hejab*. She knows and wears her *burqa* properly. We don’t have child and we live with my parents she treat with them politely. I think we can content our wife to obey us without beating. I am not agree with violence in any cases that you red.

**Group 4**

This focus group discussion conducted between 9 women who belong to lower middle class. They were between 25 and 40 years old. All were house maker and their husbands work in market. They lived in shivajinagar. They didn’t have much education just 2 of them finished 10th standard. Time of discussion was about 1 hour and we recorded answer from each of participants. Discussion started by education topic with fallowing questions.

Attempts were first made to find out their ideas regarding women’s education by asking about their opinion on whether education for women was necessary or not? How can education influence the status of women in your community?

All were agreed that education is very necessary for their daughter and they believed if they had education they had better situation than now.
A lady told: I am not educated just I can write and read, but I am very good in reading the Quran. My husband is a business man we were in Bangkok for 4 years and his income was good. I have 1 son and 1 daughter when my daughter became 9 years old we came back to India because she became mature and we did not like put her in mix schools. Now she is in a good school in Bangalore. My husband abandoned good job for her education. We should treat equally between our children.

Another respondent explained about her childhood that her family sent her brothers to school. they have literacy and finished secondary but they believed education for girls are not necessary that is why she can not even read the Quran .she told my husband also is the same I have two daughter both just finished 5th and he didn’t permit them to continue. One of them is 17 but till now we could not find good mach for her. They are at home and help me in house works.

One of them told: when I was child we lived is small village my family was poor. I had 6 sibling 4 brother and 2 sisters they didn’t send us to school. I got married when I was 14 my cousin is my husband. We migrate to Bangalore and he started to work with his uncle .in my village on that time even boys didn’t have opportunity for education. Now after 20 years people changed and they think different .I have 3 children 2 of them are girls they finished their puc. One of them is married and my son works with his father. Education is necessary boys and girls; we should keen about their study.

Next question was on health as it is an important criterion for measurement of the status of a woman in the family as well as society. The necessity of health care for women was first explained. The necessity of health care and using family planning for women was discussed.

One of them told: I have 3 children for all I went to hospital but governmental hospital didn’t have good service. After 3 children my husband
permitted me to use contraceptives method now I use pill. I am happy that my husband let me to use pill and he doesn’t want more child. About women health it is obvious that women should take care of themselves especially when they are pregnant. In my community women have several deliveries and they are not keen about their health. If their family live with them or stay in Bangalore, can help them otherwise they should take care of another children and family and they can not rest enough after delivery.

A respondent told: I have 5 children 1 boy and 4 daughters. We were not in Bangalore when first child was born. We lived in small town and maid wife came for delivery. But for another we were in Bangalore and I went to hospital. On that time we didn’t know about check up before delivery but nowadays women are more aware and they go to hospital regularly. My husband didn’t permit me to use pill for prevention because he wanted more son, but I had a surgery 1 year back and doctors pull my womb out.

A young lady told: when I was 15 I became pregnant. I had hard delivery in hospital and my baby died. Doctor believed baby didn’t have good position. I didn’t have check up before delivery. my husband didn’t take me to doctor .his family believed I don’t have problem and there is not any necessity to take me for check up, but baby had problem and I should deliver by suzerain. afterwards I could not pregnant for 3 years unfortunately I have problem, my in-laws blame me I go to doctor although medical expenses is very high and my husband can not afford .

A respondent told: women are not keen about their health they work hard at home but they don’t eat properly just they are worry for their children or husband. Most of the women which I know them have four or five children or even more they don’t want this much but their husbands don’t permit them to using the prevention methods. Men can not maintain the family well but they want more children. We seem old if you ask about our age I sure you will
surprised Muslim women get married early and have several deliveries how we can remain young and healthy.

Another factor that affects the status of women is employment. They were asked about the need for their employment and the problems that employed women face?

One respondent believed all women should keep money for they even their husband is rich and can afford the family expenses. She told sometimes family need money and women can help her family member on that time.

Another participant told: most of the women are dependent to their husband in my community and they don’t have any ownership or even less saving they should obey their husband even he get another wife or beat them. I have a daughter she is just 10 years old I wish for her high degree and good job. After 15 years I don’t have any saving my husband sold little gold that I brought from my fathers house. He is a driver and we are 5 people. I asked to go for work by he is not agreeing.

One lady who worked at home as a tailor told: I am working at home. My customers come home and they are very satisfied of my job. I live with my in-laws my mother in-law take care of children and even she cooks when I am really busy. My husband is working with his brother in small shop I help family. We are 6 and my husband can not afford if I quit my job. We have 3 children; every thing is expensive in Bangalore. I don’t save any money because it is not possible for me but women should save little money for themselves if they have job.

Another respondent told: I don’t want work out of home. How a lady can manage housework and the sometime doing her job out of house. Moreover there is not any security in the society. Most of the women who are from poor family have to work but they can not use or save their salary they should spend for family and husbands get their money.
One of them believed if women can get good job with high salary they should work out of house. She told if you have higher education then you will take a good job with high salary but small job is not suit for women. She believed women can choose special job like tailor and hairdresser they will have contact just with women and if doing their job well they can get good money.

Why most women face violence? We asked whether, in their opinion, a husband was justified in hitting or beating his wife in the following six situations: if she goes out without telling him, if she neglects the house or children, if she argues with him, if she refuses to have sex with him, if she does not cook food properly, if he suspects her of being unfaithful, and if she shows disrespect for her in-laws.

One respondent told: most of the women face to violence any body in this group can not deny it. I want to tell truthfully my husband is a good man he is worry about his family, but if I don’t obey him or postpone his orders he punishes me .he sometimes slapping me. I believe it happens for all women but we feel shy to express.

A young lady told: I got married 4 years ago my mother advised me to obey my husband .I am a good wife for him I believe he doesn’t have right to beat me. But it is real that most women some times were slapped, kicked or beaten by their husband but we can not tell even to close relative. It keeps in our heart. Somebody also use to this habit and they beat their wives without any reason they think they can show their power and masculinity. But for some reason that you read it think men have right to punish their wives how you can justify the unfaithfully or do you like you sister in-law shows her disrespect for your parents this options doesn’t have any justification.

Another respondent replied: I am fully agree with you that we should respect our in-laws or we should be faithful but there is not any reason for beating. They can convince their wives or just ask them to obey why women should be
tolerate slapping or beating by their husbands or in-laws? But we think they have right to beat us because they are man. We accept their bad behavior because they have power and money.

Another participate explained about her daughter who got married 2 years ago. They filled a case for divorce in family court because her husband beat and torture although she were pregnant and she just had 16 years. Her husband had relation with another girl and when she complained about this connection he beat her and put her in a room and locked the door. She didn’t tell any thing to us because she knew we could not do any thing for her I have 2 daughter and 1 son and we should take care of them also. Moreover the husband’s family demanded jewelry and 100,000/-Rs in dowry and we already gave them, but one day when husband was away, parents, in-laws and his sisters demanded that Rs. 50,000/- more and a gold chain they beat her and sent to our house. Now we put a case for dowry harassment.