

Fertility Experience in Kami Community:

A Study of Hokse -Bazar VDC in Kabrepalanchok

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1.1: Background

The people of Nepal are socially segmented along with the lines of their cultural practices that are mostly revealed in caste, sub-caste and ethnic as well as sub-ethnic groups. The members of such groups sometimes are hardly detected with distinction. Main reason for such difficulty is the cultural overlapping and sometimes ambiguity in the definition employed. The 1991 census recorded more than 60 such ethnic groups and 20 major languages in Nepal. However, after 10 years the 2001 Census had observed a total of 103 ethnic categories¹. The National Ethnic (Aadivaasi/Janjaati) Group Development Committee identified 61 such groups and the National Language Policy Advocacy Commission listed 60 living languages (HDR, 1998: 56). The national census 1991 observed that Dalits communities represented 15.57 percent of the total population. However, the groups of Dalits activists in Nepal believe that they were under enumerated in the censuses for several reasons. Some have estimated the Dalits as around 20 percent of the total population of the country, i.e. the present population is 4.8 million (Gurung, 2001: 51).

Defining the Dalits is also equally complicated. Approaches are adopted that these castes of people are categorized as untouchables in society. They live both in the Tarai and in the Hill areas. The major Dalits caste groups in the Tarai are Musahar, Chamar, Khatwe, Tatma, Dom, Dusadh etc, while Kami, Damai, Sarki, Badi and Gaine are found inhabiting in the Hill area. Kathmandu valley consists of the major Dalits castes groups as Pode and Chyame within the broad arena of Newar community.

¹ For Details, see Dahal, Dilli Ram, 2003, Social Composition of the Population: Caste/Ethnicity and Religion in Nepal in Population Monograph of Nepal, Vol 1, (Kathmandu: Central Bureau of Statistics) pp 87-135.

In Nepal three major occupational castes, the Sarki, Kami, and Damai are traditionally the artisans. These three castes have their specific caste-work in the village. Damais are the tailors; they sew and mend the clothes of the village people. Sarkis are the leather worker they make and repair the shoes. Lastly the Kamis are the blacksmiths and goldsmiths of the villages. The blacksmiths forge and repair all kinds of farm implants and household utensils. Of all the untouchables' castes the Sarkis have the higher hierarchy; however, the Kamis occupy the socio-economic well-off position compared to others. The Kami and Damai, for example, regard bodily contact with each others as polluting. The same is true of marital relationships as well as physical contact. Generally, if they follow the traditional values a Kami does not allow a Damai to enter into the house and would not accept 'Bhat' (rice) or 'Pani' (water) from them (Hofer, 1976:110).

Since the Dalits produce the services and high caste people purchase their skills, the Dalits people have been residing together with other caste people in Nepal and have scattered through out the country. Kamis are the member of the occupational and untouchable caste group locally called by different surname such as Bishwakarma, Sunar, Lohar, Sob, Snehi, Baraili, Dhanuki, Sunchyuri, Ghatale, Katwal, Tiruwa, Lamgaje etc². Kami people generally write their surname as Bishwakarma (BK). They are considered to be in lower strata in caste hierarchy in Nepalese social structure i.e. '*Pani Nachalne Chhoi Chhito Halnu Parne*' or those from whom the drinking water would not be accepted and after any physical contact or even a touch the non-Dalits person needs a bath for purification (Parajuli, 2000: 34).

They perform various ascribed occupations like blacksmithing and gold smithing etc. Due to invasion of ready made materials into the village level economy these people have started searching new areas of employment in carpentry and labour of any kind today. According to them these occupations and surnames are adopted as being the descendents of God Bishwakarma (one of the incarnations of God Bishnu, who was responsible for the construction of heaven). However, descendants of God have the hard occupation and low level of standard of life among the Sanatana (continued from the ancient and historic period) Aryan people. Similarly, they worship

² In the field area of Kabhrepalanchok these are some terms used to denote Kami or Bishwakarma people. In other areas of Nepal there are other terms that are locally used to indicate this ethnic group of people.

Hindus God and Goddess. However, controversy is that, the almost busy and laborious group of people have the life full of tragedies and difficulties; and don't have any specific types of ceremonies as well as diversity of cultural occasions, rites and festivals at all. They simply follow the social rituals whatever is performed by the so called high caste people.

1.1.1 Caste System Overview

Nepalese caste system is also the subset of total Himalayan social stratification that is popular in the Hindu societies of Nepal and India. The society is inseparably segmented in a social and vertical hierarchy position. The caste is an inseparable aspect of Hindu society; caste is closely related with the life philosophy, religion, custom, tradition, marriage and family, morals and manners, food and dress habits, and occupations and hobbies. Caste determines the behaviour and behaviour leads the economic, social and political activities.

The deep roots of caste culture are believed to have divine sanctions that follow a long lasting social institution and guide the individual as well as group behaviour. However, Rao mentions, caste and classes are the two main forms of social stratification and the range of one's social contracts is almost fixed by one's status in society. The caste system is the basis of stratification in this Himalayan range that constitutes the basis of the stratification system in the western society. The caste system is Indian origin in the 'Chaturvarna' system. According to 'Chaturverna' doctrine, the Hindu society is divided into four main segments namely, the Brahmins, the Kshetriyas, the Vaishyas and the Shudras. The 'Varna' system, which was prevalent during the Vedic period, was mainly based on the division of labour and occupation. The caste system owes its origin to the Varna system the present caste system can be said to be the degenerated form of the original Varna system. Varnas are explained as four in number and caste are found in hundreds; so one Varna consists of many castes and cultural practices (DFID, 2006).

1.1.2: Untouchability

Having stigma attached to the surname, social behaviour and the economic activities they perform is related to Dalits. Despite the fact that the term Dalits is used extensively in different studies deliberations and day-to-day dialogues differ as to its definition. The literal meaning of Dalits in the Nepali

dictionary is "the person who is suppressed." In the context of South Asia, Dalits is a common term used to address culturally, economically and socially marginalized individual or community.

Indeed, caste system has a strong by-product translated into a hard and more dangerous social behaviour as untouchability. It has serious problems of discriminating individuals in a community by which the whole Hindu society has been gradually sinking down. This system has invited for the need of social reforms and has attained the legal status that no persons will be discriminated by the state. However, the social practices in the settlements are the different stories and their living standards have not improved significantly.

Most of the societies have had their class of people in the bottom strata type of their socio-economic life. The Roman and 'Plebians', the British and Villians, the Americans and the Negroes and the Hindus and the Dalits have analogous socio-economic interplays. Nepali society has experienced that slavery and serfdom are vanished, but untouchability still exists. Nepal is a class as well as caste ridden society. Hence, lower caste member suffer form economic as well as non-economic oppressions in all social, religious and educational sectors.

There are different opinions regarding the origin of untouchability. Sage Manu, who elucidated the role of different people in society, practice of Pratiloma marriage (a bride from high caste) was the cause for the origin of untouchability. Children born of such marriages were called 'Chandalas'. The Chandalas is the progeny of the union of Brahmin female with a Shudra male and the vice-versa.

Thus the Dalits are the product of undesired social behaviour in the beginning of civilisation and they are now facing socio-economic as well as political problems to identify them, to acquire the opportunities for them and to enjoy the rightful life for them. Many of the studies have revealed that these Dalits have poor demographic as well as socioeconomic indicators. However, the magnitude of such difference must be identified and addressed for the policy implications.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In 2001, Dalits comprised 12.9 percent of the total population of Nepal (2.9 million). Kami constituted the largest group with nearly 30 percent of the total Dalits, while the Halkhor were the smallest with 0.12 percent of total Dalits (CBS, 2003: 87). The Brahmin/Chhetri group as a whole and Newars had higher health indicators than other groups and had the longest life expectancy in 2001. On an average Brahmans and Newars lived 11 to 12 years longer than Dalits and Muslims (UNDP, 2001: 53). The Brahmin/Chhetri group and Newars also had the lowest infant mortality rate 52.5/51.8 and 56 respectively compared to the national average of 79 per thousand live births. Dalits children are twice as likely to die in their first year as either Newars or Brahman children. Under-five mortality is also much lower for Brahmans and Newars (69 and 75 respectively) than for Dalits 171, Muslim 158 and Tamang 141 per thousand live births. Early age at marriage domestic labour, unhygienic environment high fertility, high mortality, high incident of illiteracy is rampant (Reference ?) .

The Dalits are the victims of an absolute political system that has left them voiceless and has made choiceless. Even at the beginning of the twenty first century derogatory words as 'Bada' and 'Chhota' continue in common usage. They are removed form the Civil Code of 1963, but are still in practice in communities. Over and above the prevailing discriminatory vocabulary, the Dalits are largely excluded from Nepal's Army, Administrative Diplomatic and Political Structures. They are forced to live on the fridges of the so-called upper caste neighbourhoods or in slums, the unsanitary living conditions of Dalits have not only undermined their health, but also encouraged carelessness about their own hygiene and dietary habits. A cycle of discrimination thus begin with cultural and religious taboos and culminate in their reinforcement, perpetuating and deepening both Dalits poverty and the inherited stigma of inferiority. Therefore following researchable questions are arising in order to guide this research:

-) What is their socio-economic background?
-) What is the singulate mean age at marriage among them?
-) What is their fertility behaviour?
-) What is their mortality level?
-) Is there sufficient resource to maintain their livelihood?
-) What are the health facilities available and affordable to them?

) What are the existing problems among them?

These questions guide this research work in furthering the subsequent sections.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study is to analyze the fertility experience in the context of Kami in Hokse VDC.

The specific objectives for this study are as follows:

-) To assess the age at marriage and its relation to fertility of Kami community.
-) To examine the knowledge and use of contraceptive and their effect on fertility?
-) To assess the access to abortion for unwanted pregnancy among Kami community.
-) To examine the effect of social and economic variable on proximate determinants and hence on fertility.

1.4 Significant of the Study

This study attempts to trace out some aspects of fertility behaviour among Kami people. Problems of Kamis as Dalits are also reflected when they have interactions and exchanges with non-Dalits. Discrimination and social exclusion have become part of Dalits life in Nepal that have the reflections on their fertility behaviour. The exclusion and discrimination equally exist even within Dalits- Dalits, and Non-Dalits -Non-Dalits modes of social interaction. Therefore, these all variables or problems have two-dimensional approach. First, there exists discrimination against Dalits by Non-Dalits groups. Second, discrimination within Dalits is equally problematic. This reflects as low wage in informal sector; high fertility and infant and child mortality that results in use of higher proportion of household income, hence is affected the livelihood situation of Dalits.

This study deals with fertility experience of Kami community as well as their socio-economic status, and vulnerability of extinction of their traditional occupation. The context of this study may be, thus, used as reference to the

government as well as local authorities in formulation of policies and operation programmes to strengthen the livelihood of people. This study would also be helpful for local governance authorities, NGOs, INGOs, policy makers, interested personnel and future researchers in this field.

1.5 Limitations of the Study

The purposes of study, time and cost, selected sample as well as the variables and methods of analyses are all in limited scales. This study focused on the Kami people of only Hokse VDC in, Kabhrepalanchok District, Bagmati Zone; however, Kamis are found in various districts in Nepal. Whatever maybe true in this VDC regarding the fertility of Kamis that may not be true in other VDC of even the same district.

Similarly, the only demographic measure, the fertility, is selected for the purpose of this study to be examined with the cross tabulation with other some selected variables. These variables might not give the impact of these correlates to fertility. The study has focused on age at marriage, child loss, use of contraception, knowledge of safe abortion that examined fertility behavior. A large set of social, economic and participatory variables would be better explaining the fertility and the methods would have been better adopted both quantitative and qualitative. Therefore, there are a number of limitations to this study that are basically the results of time frame and requirement of this study as a partial fulfilment of the degree of Master of Arts. In this manner this is a guided research, and such limitations of such research are not unnatural.

1.6 Organization of the Study

This study is organized into seven chapters in order to present it in specific, precise and impressive manner. Chapter I is an introductory section, which provides general introduction, statement of problem, objective, significance and limitations of the study. Chapter II describes some selected theoretical as well as empirical orientations towards the subject matter so far, and presents conceptual framework to shed the light on some variables of fertility determines among Kami community of Hokse VDC. Chapter III includes methodology that deals with the research setting, method of data collection and analysis. Chapter IV deals with introduction of study population and

focuses on socio-economic characteristics of respondents. It includes age-sex structure, pyramid, educational and occupational status of study population. Chapter V presents the fertility behaviour of Kami community, which includes the child-women ratio, mean age at marriage, and mean children ever born. Chapter VI tests the formulated hypotheses with the help of statistical analysis. And, finally, Chapter VII includes the summary of the findings, conclusion, and recommendations.

CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This Chapter deals with some of the selected literature related to the objectives of the study. Some basic issues raised by pertinent literatures that have of theoretical and empirical evidences on the issue. Review of literature very often gives insight into the selected subject matter and provides a pragmatic dimension to carry out the study successfully. Research questions or the hypotheses emerge from the researchers own intuition and personal experiences sometimes, but most often, the study of existing literature becomes the main source of research questions, which ultimately lead to the statement of the problem. Hence review of literature is the entry point for most scholarly works. The following sections present the review of literature related to Dalits and fertility.

2.1 Theoretical Literature Related to Study

Hofer (1976: 53) has studied about the Nepalese Civil Code of 1854, in which caste hierarchy system was imposed by the then Prime-minister Janga Bahadur Rana, who had established familial rule in Nepal that lasted for more than a century. He institutionalized the social practices and customs in strict sense by dividing some people as untouchables (the present day term as Dalits) and some as the higher caste. The practice was so extreme that even untouchable people's shadow remained polluted and impure so that upper caste people lived far from body and shadow contact with Dalits people. Among the untouchable castes, from the historic period Kami remained prosperous and dominating to other Dalits. Thus a hierarchy system existed even among untouchable groups. The practice was so social and personal that the sexual intercourse and marriage with the individuals of others Dalits groups were forbidden. Similarly, eating food together with ofhter Dalits letting other Dalits enter into the home of Kami are also prohibited. This indicated isolation of Dalits caste from non-Dalits and other Dalits too.

Bhattachan et al. (2003, i-ii) presented seven key issues debated in Dalits movement that are practice versus non-practice of cast based untouchability; incrementalist reform versus movement or 'revolution;

cooperation versus confrontation; homogeneous or single; Dalit-based versus heterogeneous or Dalits caste-based; central or policy level versus grassroots level; core issues versus peripheral issues; and direct versus third party linkages with donors. The interplays of these variables are found to have been affecting the behavioural changes among Dalits that lead towards a shift in demographic phenomena including fertility attainments.

Dahal et al. (2002: I, exs), observed serious problems in understanding the context of Dalits' in Nepal for two reasons: (i) the term Dalits itself is a politically coined word, meaning "the poor and oppressed persons." This meaning is less sensitive than the term "Harijan" or "Achhoot" or so called untouchables, and (ii) the term Dalits is understood as untouchables or Achhoot or the term connotes in the sense of old legal code of 1854, "Pani Nachalne Chhoi Chito Halnu Parne Jat" (caste from whom water is not accepted and whose touch requires sprinkling of holy water). It seems that the first term is used by Dalits for their convenience whereas, in practice, the meaning is loaded with the second in addressing the problems of Dalits in Nepali society.

In a study in 2006 The WB and DFID stated that the priestly Brahmans were at the top of the caste hierarchy with the Kshatriyas (rulers and warriors) just beneath, them; next came the Vaishyaa (Marchants) and the Shoodras (Peasnats and Labourers) at the last. These Shoodras involved in occupational or vocational type of utility services were considered as 'impure' and 'untouchable' or 'Achhuts'. Later, they are called as the Dalits. In the hill the top two ranks (Priest and Warrior) and the last (Untouchable) rank were filled by the in-migrating Hindus of Caucasoid stock who spoke an Indo-Aryan language on which Modern Nepali is based (2006: 14). The men and boys are the dominants and women and girls are to subordinate them in family, societal and community level activities. Similarly the group of tagadhari or high caste Caucasoid people have domination to other Dalits as well as Janjati people. An analysis of these groups and classification illustrates that there is further domination of Nepali language over the others as well as Hindu people are overwhelmed on Non-Hindus so as the Parbatiya group on the Madhesi (Figure 1). However, this approach needs to be ratified by various micro level studies, because the domination existing in

different ways and somewhere other way round where the Dominant people as shown in the Table are in minority.

Figure 1: Dimension of Exclusion in Nepal

Social category status	Gender	Caste	Ethnicity/ race	Language	Religion	Geo-political
Dominant	Men/ boys	Tagadhari-Brahman, Chhetri	Caucasoid	Nepali	Hindu	Parbatiya (Hill dwellers)
Sub-ordinate	Women/ girls	Dalit	Janajati/ Mongoloid	Other	Non-Hindu	Madhesi (Plains dweller)

Source: WB and DFID, 2006 (NLSS-II, Pp. 21).

The crux of the discussion is again related to the demographic phenomena that the people in sub-ordination are found with lower age at marriage and high fertility resulted in high infant and child mortality along with low level of knowledge and choices. Therefore the literatures suggest that Dalits indicate poorer stratum and follow high fertility courses.

Gurung (2006: 12) referred Dalits as artisan or occupational castes among the Hindus. The term Dalits (oppressed) is used as an alternative to traditional ones with pejorative connotation for the lowest caste hierarchy considered as untouchable (Achhut). That they are socially ostracized, economically deprived and politically excluded is the making of caste discrimination.

Nepal Living Standard Survey (CBS, 2003: 21) estimated that 31 percent of Nepalese were living below the poverty line. Hill Dalits comprised 48 percent, Tarai Dalits comprised 46 percent respectively. The average per capita consumption for Brahman/Chhetri household was NRs. 19,105 whereas the same for Dalits was NRs. 10,207. The lower standard of living and higher incidence of poverty of certain caste groups is very often attributed to the large family size or a higher proportion of dependent children that are the results of high fertility. Consequently these underprivileged groups of people are compelled to live in disadvantaged and remote areas.

Studies have found that contemporary socio-economic condition in Nepal is directly based on the caste orthodox. Dalits including Kami have been excluded from access to different institution of government as well as private organizations. The inventory and information on the caste and ethnic groups including Dalits such as Kami, Damai, Badi etc suggested that their living

standard have reflected the deprivation of facilities and with higher number of children ever born (Neupane, 2001: 56).

2.2 Dalits as Excluded Groups in Nepal

Authenticity of the origin of the caste system in Nepal can not easily be traced. Dahal et al observed that the difficulty arises because of two interrelated factors: (i) the history of Nepal itself, and (ii) the heavy reliance on fragmentary and legendary sources to trace the origin and to define the present legacy of the caste system in Nepal. They stated that the influence of specific beliefs and contemporary caste behaviour in Nepal can not be simply assessed from those sources (Dahal et al, 2002, 5).

This context drags to early historic period to Hindu-tradition-based literature such as Vadas, Mahabharata, Purans and Manusmriti. Instance of mentioning of Dalits as untouchable groups of different occupational categories such as Chamar (Cobbler) Chandal (who cremated the dead body), Rajaka (washer-man) and others are found in the scriptures like Rigveda, Mahabharata and the Manusmriti. This suffices the ground that the lower stratum of society suffered most in the history have poor demographic indicators (Dahal et al.2002: 5).

The genesis of caste system can be traced more accurately from the reign of King Jayasthiti Malla in the context of Kathmandu valley. Later, with the introduction of the Old Legal Code of 1854 the caste system was institutionalised in Nepal. Now certain groups of people are treated as Dalits or untouchables that are the part of large Hindu system. Also, some high caste Hindu groups became Dalits over the years because of the tradition of caste expulsion when found practising immoral behaviour and not-acceptable norms and values until 1963. In addition discarded Hindus as results of the illegitimate sexual relations between high caste groups and Dalits were also considered to be Dalits. In ancient time sexual relations between the member of high caste and Dalits was strictly prohibited. Thus, Dahal et al (2002) present the argument that the contemporary Dalits population of Nepal could be the mixture a. group of people who originally and in the form of Dalits itself came to Nepal from India along with other Hindu caste members, and b. the 'made' Dalits group from the illegitimate sexual relations. Conclusively, Dalits or untouchability is more complex in

reality than has been discussed in the literature. Obviously, it demands more serious thinking and in-depth research.

King Jayasthiti Malla (1380-1394) classified the population of Kathmandu valley into 64 caste groups. Each of them were given different functional and occupational jobs as they were categorised. There was little change in this traditional caste structure until 1854 at the time the Old Legal Code of Nepal (Purano Muluki Ain) was introduced. This code gave precise definition to the grounds of hierarchy and dictated the norms and behaviours of caste groups in Nepal (See Appendix A). This code organized Nepali caste and ethnic groups into the following categories:

-) Tagadhari (castes wearing sacred thread);
-) Matwali (liquor consuming castes);
-) Pani Nachalne Choi Chito Halnu Naparne (from whom the water not accepted but the groups are not untouchables)
-) Pani Nachalne Choi Chito Halnu Parne (castes from whom water is not accepted and who were also considered as untouchables).

The political and social structures of Nepal become more rigid and orthodox in Panchayat System that was introduced in 1962. Panchayat system banned the other political parties and there was no place for organized political activity and opposition within the system that confined the reforms under the veil of traditionalism and status quo state. However, one of the most radical dramatic changes that took place was the introduction of the New Legal Code (Naya Muluki Ain) in 1963, which conferred equality to all irrespective of race, caste and creed. (Dahal et al. 2002).

The Dalits Vikas Samiti (B.S. 2054/1997 AD) included 23 ethnic/cultural group in the list of Dalits of Nepal. They were Lohar, Sunar, Kami, Damai, Sarki, Badi, Gaine, Kasai, Kusule, Kuche, Chyame, Pode, Chamar, Dhobi, Paswan, Tatma, Dom, Batar, Khatwe, Musahar, Santhal, Satar and Halkhor (Bhattachan et al. 2002: 5-7). The government further classified 28 caste groups as Dalits in 2002 that included Sunar, Kami, Damai, Sarki, Gaine, Kuche, Chyame, Pode, Chamar, Paswan, Dussadh, Tatma, Dom, Batar, Khatway, Musahar, Halkhor, Badi, Badimar, Kasai, Kusle, Kadara, Chunara,

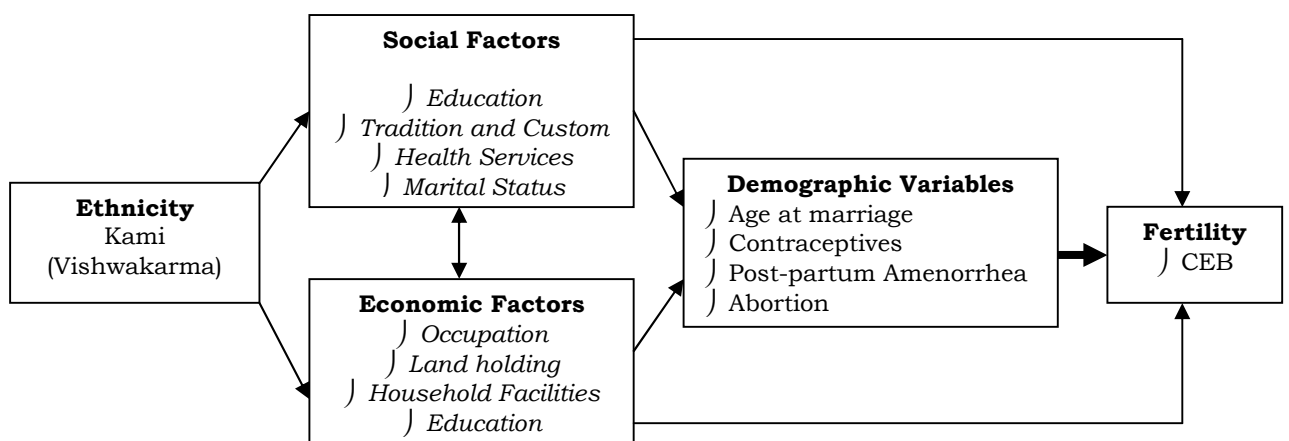
Parki, Gothi, Dhaier, Jhangar. This listing of Dalits again created some problems of duplication and in identification of origin (Dahal et al. 2002: 8).

These evidences suffice the ground to believe that there exists severe discrimination negatively to Dalits in Nepal. These discrimination further results in their deprivation of opportunities to boost their social and economic status compared to other groups of people. Subsequently, several evidences have shown that the Dalits people have poor demographic and health status due to their belongingness in the bottom stratum.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

The root cause of discrimination and social exclusion is no-doubt the religious fundamentalism and religion-based legal provision made in different times in the history of Nepal. By and large cultural and religious variables traditionally determined the level of discrimination and exclusion. Such exclusion and discrimination prevented Dalits from conglomerated effect of these variables determined the poor social out-reach of Dalits in two ways. First, the discriminatory behaviour of other group of population in consecutive form one after another generation psychologically suppressed Dalits and gave a notion of superiority to non-Dalits groups. Centrally, the Dalits themselves developed an inferiority syndrome that subsequently affected even their, educational, economic status.

Figure 2: Conceptual Mode of Fertility Experience of Kami Community



Bongaarts (1978) and Bongaarts and Potter (1983) identified that reproductive change can be accounted for in terms of seven determinants that directly affect fertility. If focus on quantitative evidences concerning only to four proximate determinants is given the age at marriage, post-partum

amenorrhoea, contraception and induced abortion are to be taken into account to examine the fertility of Dalits.

There are social variables that affect the demographic ones, and also the economic correlates have similar interplays with those variables. However, the developmental variables and unavailability of the services largely affect either contraception or the state of utilising abortion. Therefore, there are proximate determinants of fertility; however, the variables considered for this study to analyse the fertility are largely the social and economic. On the basis of the above conceptual framework the study is furthered with a social and economic thrust.

2.4 Formulation of Hypotheses

On the basis of above conceptual framework following working hypotheses are formulated to lead the research work.

-) Higher the age at marriage higher will be the number of children ever born
-) Child woman ratio is high in the Dalits (Kami) community
-) Improved education and occupation lead towards lower number of children ever born
-) Use of contraceptive lowers the fertility
-) Higher the socio-economic status of women lower would be the fertility

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses about the methodology employed in this research to obtain relevant information.

3.1 Selection of Study Area

The present study is on fertility experience of Kami community in Hokse VDC of Kabhrepalanchok district of Nepal.

Hokse VDC has heterogeneous composition of ethnic/caste groups that comprises of various other ethnic/castes and a large settlement of Dalits, specially of Kami people. There also exists the traditional patron-client relationship as a typical feature of Nepalese cast-culture. Demographic features of Kami community would be of interest for policy makers, in the background of multicultural i.e. Brahmin, Kami, Tamang, Newar, Damai, Sarki etc communities within the same area. Therefore, Hokse was selected as the study area.

The researcher being knowledgeable about the study area as her own native place and the information could be collected much precisely and correctly was another reason for the selection of the study area. Besides, the study area belongs to one of the hill districts but is accessible to reach and conduct the survey.

3.2 Identification of Kami as Study Community

Kami is the occupational caste in traditional Hindu system. They are blacksmiths and goldsmiths of the village. Blacksmiths forge and repair all kinds of farm implants and household utensils. These are one of the key actors of the society, because their service is closely associated with agriculture and household activities. However, this group of people of less studied in Nepal. The demographic aspect of the Kamis in Kabhrepalanchok is hardly the subject matter of research in higher education. Therefore, to identify their fertility behaviour, they were selected as the study community.

3.3 Data Sources

The main source of data is the field survey. Besides this primary source some secondary information from the Village Profile prepared by VDC is also utilised in this study.

3.4 Sample Size

This study considered the 100 households of Kami community inhabited in different wards of Hokse VDC.

3.5 Data Collection

Two types of questionnaires were used in the sample survey. The first type of questionnaire was administered to the head of households or a responsible/knowledgeable family member of the selected household and the second individual level questionnaire was administered to currently married women aged 15-49 years who were present at the selected household during the survey period.

3.5.1 Household Questionnaire

The household questionnaire was designed to cover two aspects. The first aspect was to generate a list of family members and other persons residing in the household at the time of survey to identify the member of eligible women for individual interview. For each listed person, his/her age, sex, marital status, educational status and occupational characteristics were recorded. The second aspect of the questionnaire was to record household level characteristics such as land holding, accessibility of toilet, telephone, electricity for family utilization (See Appendix B).

3.5.2 Individual Questionnaire

A separate individual questionnaire was devoted a currently married woman of age 15-49 years who was available at the time of survey at the visited household. Even in the case of unavailability of eligible woman, a revisit was paid to catch her. The main objective of the individual questionnaire was to obtain information on fertility, infant and child loss, family planning behaviour etc. Besides, the questionnaire also collected background characteristics of woman as age, education, age at marriage, age at menstruation etc. (Appendix B).

All questions were pre-coded; completed questionnaires were manually checked before entering into computer.

3.6 Data Processing

The data were entered in microcomputer using software SPSS and tables were generated.

3.7 Method of Data Analysis

Using data of (100) hundred households and 84 currently married women age 15-49 years, obtained from Hokse VDC census sampling April 2007, the study presents data through the simple statistical measures like frequency tables, cross tables and mean tables. Graphs are also presented whenever found desirable.

CHAPTER IV: INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY AREA AND BASIC CHARACTERISTIC OF STUDY POPULATION

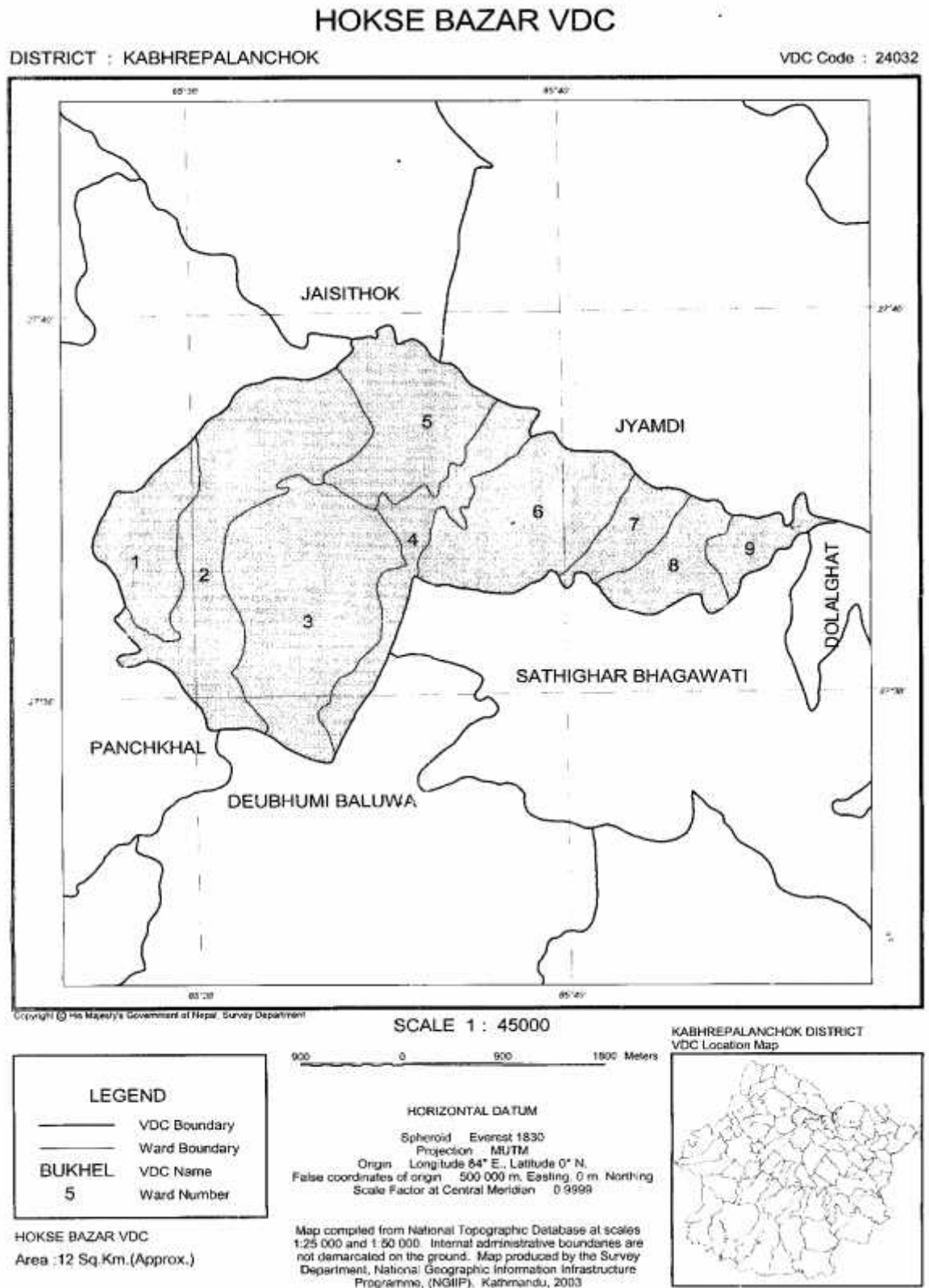
4.1 Location and Physiography

Household and individual interviews were conducted in an agrarian society of Hokse Village Development Committee (VDC) which is in 44 kilometres east from the capital city Kathmandu of Nepal. The population size of Hokse in 2006 was observed as 4925. Among the total there were 2557 female and 2368 were males. Hokse covers the 12.5 square kilometre area of land. The village of Hokse is in the central boarder of the district and its VDC boundary is with Dholalghat and Sathighar Bagabatisthan VDCs in the east, Panchkhal VDC in the west, Jyamdi and Jaisithok VDCs in the north and Devabhumi Baluwa VDC in the south.

The village is characterized by three distinct geographical features. The VDC is generally segregated into three special areas as Chisapani, Hoksebazar and Shikharpur from east to west respectively. Altitude of the village area ranges from 1000 to 2500 meters from sea level. Chisapani consists of wards 7, 8 and 9. Within the area of Chisapani the villages as Sundarpani, Thapatol, Khorantol, Manedada, Amlatari are the settlements, in which Tamang and Chhetris have the majority. Wards 4, 5 and 6 are in the central part of Hokse that includes Bhanjyang, Dhunganatol, Thumka, Sakine, Bhangeri, Mathillo Hokse, Koirale, Baunna-kilo and Dandakharka, where the major inhabitants are Brahmin, Chhetri, Tamang, Kami, and Newar majority.

Shikharpur is in the west part of the VDC that has wards 1, 2 and 3 with major settlements Shree-rampati and Kafletol. The major ethnic groups are Brahmins, Chhetris, Tamang, Mijar, Kami and Danuwar.

4.1.1: Map of Hoksebazar VDC



4.1.2: Ward-wise Distribution of Household

There were total 950 households in the VDC. A total of 171 households were in Ward 3 that constituted the highest number in VDC. Similarly, 149, 135, and 103 households were in the wards 1, 5 and 4 respectively. The smallest number of household found in ward number 7 with only 37 households [Table 1].

Table 1: Distribution of Household according to Wards Hokse VDC, Kabhrepalanchok, Nepal, 2007

Wards	Household	Kami Household
1	149	10
2	75	1
3	171	20
4	103	14
5	135	11
6	134	14
7	37	7
8	83	15
9	63	8
Total	950	100

Source: Hokse- Bazar Village Profile, 2006.

4.1.3: Distribution of Female Headed Household

Out of total households in VDC only 62 households were found as female headed household. Out of them, they were 14 from Ward 7; 10 from Ward 1, 8 from Ward 5, 7 from Ward 6 and 6 each from Wards 2 and 4, 5 from Ward 3 4 from Ward 9 and finally only 2 from the Ward 8 [Table 2].

Table 2: Distribution of Female Headed Household according to Wards Hokse VDC, Kabhrepalanchok, Nepal, 2007

Wards	Household
1	10
2	6
3	5
4	6
5	8
6	7
7	14
8	2
9	4
Total	62

Source: Hokse- Bazar Village Profile, 2006.

4.1.4: Climates and Precipitation

During the summer and late spring season temperature of this area reaches to its maximum level and in winter it falls to its minimum level. The climate of this region found as sub-tropical region.

4.1.5: The Economy

The economy of Hokse is completely agro-based. More than 93 percent of the households head had agricultural occupation in 2006. A few people were engaged in non-agricultural sector like government service, teaching and labour are also partially engaged in agricultural activities.

In an agrarian society peoples' economic condition, more or less depends upon the size of land. Rainfall is the major factor in determining crop pattern and productivity of cereals in Hokse. With the beginning of rain around May-June summer crops (Barkhe Bali) are cultivated. The major summer crops of the village include rice, maize and pulses. The winter crops (Hiude Bali) are namely tomato and wheat.

Agricultural system is extensively supported by animal husbandry. In the village, livestock have been a source of power to cultivate fields, to supply milk and meat to meet additional income of households. People who are landless or have a marginal size of land depend on their muscle labour to be paid in terms of cash or kind. A system of labour exchange known as 'parma' is in practice in the village.

4.1.6: Health

The status of public health as well as maternal and child health (MCH) is observed based on the knowledge of women on anti-natal and post-natal care of their children. One Sub-health Post and Gaurishankar Samudayik Ekai Chisapani are providing health facilities in the VDC. Besides, there are Village Health Workers and Female Community Health Volunteers in each ward to render health services to the needy people.

4.1.7: Education

There are altogether 3 primary schools, 1 secondary and 1 private school in the Hokse Village Development Committee. These schools are aimed to increase the overall enrolment rate of the school going aged children and increase overall literacy rate in the village.

4.2: Age-Sex Structure

The age composition has functional significance for analyses in social, economic and demographic issues. Data on age are most commonly tabulated and published in 5 years age group. This detail sufficiently provides an indication of the form of age distribution and serves most analytical purposes (Shryock and Siegel, 1976). Almost 30.3 percent population is concentrated within the child dependency ages of 0 to 14. Similarly the age from 15-59 accounts for 64.8 percent and the age group 60 over consists of 4.9 percent of people. An indication of improved age composition is observed in Horse, because the national data is observed as almost 39 percent for the young age dependency. However the proportion in old age is smaller indicating low life expectancy of the people (Table 3).

Table 3: Age Distribution by Conventional 5 Years Age Group, Kami Population, Hokse VDC, Kabhrepalanchok, Nepal, 2007

Age group	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
0-4	8	3.8	21	8.6	29	6.4
5-9	25	12.0	24	9.9	49	10.8
10-14	19	9.1	40	16.5	59	13.1
15-19	35	16.7	24	9.9	59	13.1
20-24	26	12.4	27	11.1	53	11.7
25-29	15	7.0	20	8.2	35	7.7
30-34	15	7.2	16	6.6	31	6.9
35-39	15	7.2	17	7.0	32	7.1
40-44	13	6.2	12	4.9	25	5.5
45-49	17	3.3	6	2.5	13	2.9
50-54	13	6.2	13	5.3	26	5.8
55-59	8	3.8	11	4.5	19	4.2
60-64	4	1.9	6	2.5	10	2.2
65+	6	2.9	8	2.5	14	2.7
Total	209	100.0	243	100.0	454	100.0

Source: Field survey, 2007.

4.2.1 Sex Ratio

Age group-wise sex ratio of Kami population seems to have been fluctuated which might have the reason of small size of population. On the other hand the low sex ration in working age group especially from 20 to 39 suffice the ground to speculate high out migration and / or emigration of Kami males from Hokse. There is a fluctuated sex ratio for total population which was 86.0 for the study area.

Sex composition of study area as reflected in the sex ratio (men per 100 women) is one of most important indicators of women in society. It reflects

overall survival of women in relation to men as also differential rates of male / female immigration and out migration. If a society discriminates against female population severely in relation to men in fulfillment of their basic physical needs or even has high preferences for male child, there will be more surviving men than women at a particular period of time. By nature there should be more women than men, because female of the species have greater survival chances. In Nepal sex-ratio was changing in favour of women in the eighties, including women's improving access to services and survival chances. It has slightly increased during the nineties.

The decline of child mortality seems to have increased survival chances for the female babies up to age four than for male babies. The sex ratio for 0-4 years shows 38.1 male per 100 female, which seems unbelievable, but for 5-9 years age group 104 male per 100 female. There is greater fluctuation in the sex ratio (Table 4).

Table 4: Sex Ratio, Kami Population, Hokse VDC, Kabhrepalanchok, Nepal, 2007

Age-group	Percentage of Population		Sex ratio
	Male	Female	
0-4	1.8	4.6	38.1
5-9	5.5	5.3	104.2
10-14	4.2	8.8	47.5
15-19	7.7	5.3	145.8
20-24	5.8	6.0	96.3
25-29	3.3	4.4	75.0
30-34	3.3	3.5	93.8
35-39	3.3	3.8	88.2
40-44	2.9	2.7	108.3
45-49	1.5	2.3	116.7
50-54	2.9	2.9	100.0
55-59	1.8	2.4	72.7
60-64	0.9	1.3	66.7
65+	1.3	1.3	100.0
Total	46.2	53.8	86.0

Source: Field survey, 2007.

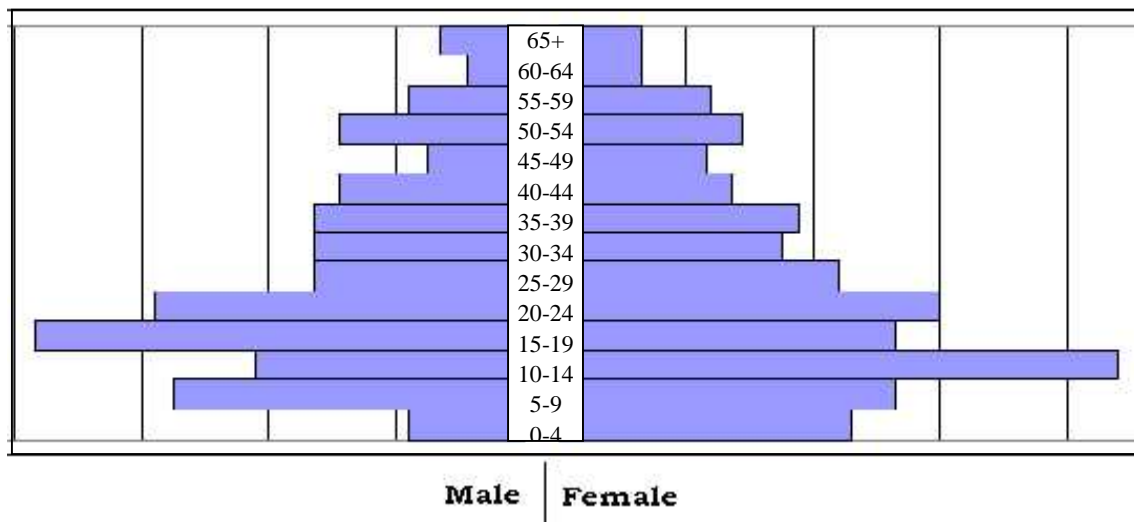
The number of men per 100 women is low in the 20-39 years age group of population. This is almost the peak of the reproductive age; and when even some of the deaths are due to MMR, that might have also helped to have decreased the number women. The data indicate opposite trend, that reflects the excess of women over men. A reason of male out-migration for employment or job could be speculated. Proportion of men in the population

has started to increase only after 40-54 years age group by which the migrants may be expected to return and settled down at their homes. In 55-64 age groups there were only 72 men per 100 women. This indicates the continuing higher mortality for male in this age, which could be attributed to various socio-economic factors. For population of 65 and above the sex-ratio seem equal and a balanced sex ratio (Table 4).

4.3 Population Pyramid

A population pyramid is a very effective and quite widely used method of graphically depicting the age-sex composition of a population (Shryock and Siegel, 1976). Highly broad based pyramid is the reflector of the high fertility. The population pyramid of Kami population of Hokse VDC shows more people among males in 15-19 age groups and among females in 10-14 age groups. Because of the small population the pyramid of Kami population might have been distributed unevenly.

Figure 3: Population Pyramid of Kami Population, Hokse VDC, Kabhrepalanchok, Nepal, 2007



Source: Table 4

On constructing this type of pyramid, the population distribution is distributed such that the child dependency ratio is so far high rather than working population and old dependency is very low compared to working population then it becomes the broad base pyramid as high fertility rate, high young children population, highly influenced by out migration, low socio-economic development, smaller proportion of early age population.

However, the pyramid of Kami population in Hokse indicated improved demographic and socioeconomic indicators compared to other communities and average Nepal.

4.4 Cultural and Spatial Distribution

The Hokse sample (2007) consists of hundred households. In total, the sample includes Kami population (Kami) ethnic groups and two religious groups. About 98 percent of the households follow Hindu religion. There are only 2 percent household from Christian religion of the sample population.

In terms of ward-wise distribution of Kami community ward number 3 deserve top position by accounting about 20 percent of the households. However both 3 and 6 wards had the interviews of equal number of eligible women (16.7%). Ward number 8 had 15 households in which 13 eligible women were interviewed. The other wards following were Ward 4 (14 hh and 11 e.w) and Ward 1 (hh 10; e.w 9). The least proportion of same was 1 household with only 1 eligible woman in Ward 2 (Table 5).

Table 5: Ward-wise Distribution of Enumerated Households and Eligible Women, Kami Population, Hokse VDC, Kabhrepalanchok, Nepal, 2007

Wards	Enumerated HH	Eligible women	Percent of Eligible Women Interviewed
1	10	9	10.7
2	1	1	1.2
3	20	14	16.7
4	14	11	13.1
5	11	8	9.5
6	14	14	16.7
7	7	6	7.1
8	15	13	15.5
9	8	8	9.5
Total	100	84	100.0

Source: Field survey, 2007.

4.5 Economic Characteristics

Differential economic characteristics of hundred households and 84 currently married women aged 15-49 years interviewed successfully. Economic characteristics are measured by size of landholdings having electricity, Gobar Gas, radio, television, telephone toilet. The details of economic characteristics are presented below.

4.5.1 Household facilities

Out of total enumerated households, there are 65 households reported that they have electricity facility and 35 households do not have electricity facility. Most of the population of study area based on agriculture system, but the use of Gobar Gas is very-very low. Only 4 percent household used the Gobar Gas system and 96 percent household do not uses such system. Similarly, there is equal number/percent of household, they have and do not have radio, 50 percent reported that they have radio and 50 percent reported that they do not have radio. Likewise, 39 percent household has television, 6 percent household said that they have telephone and 68 percent household used toilet in their own house (Table 6).

Table 6: Household Facilities of Hokse VDC, Kabhrepalanchok, Nepal, 2007

Facilities	Yes	No
Electricity	65	35
Gobar Gas	4	96
Radio	50	50
Television	39	61
Telephone	6	92
Toilet	68	32

Source: Field survey, 2007.

4.5.2 Land holding household

Information on size of landholding was collected on paisa, aana, and eventually converted into standard measure ropani. There are two households, they don't have any land from the total hundred households, 13 households have less than one ropani land.

Table 7: Land in Ropani, Kami Population, Hokse VDC, Kabhrepalanchok, Nepal, 2007

Category of Land Holding	Frequency
Not having land	10
Less than 1 ropani	13
1 ropani	12
2-4 ropani	23
5-7 ropani	19
9-11 ropani	12
12-14 ropani	8
15-20 ropani	5
Total	100

Source: Field Survey 2007

They used to rent the land from the so-called high caste groups population. Majority of households are clustered in the size of holding 2-4 ropani land. About 23 households have 2-4 ropani land. Similarly, there are 19, 12, 8 households they have 5-7, 9-11, 12-14 ropani land respectively. Only 5 households have 15-20 ropani land in the village (Table 7).

4.6 Educational Characteristics

The survey included a number of educational variables at the individual level. The literacy variable indicates the respondent's ability to both read and write. The completed education indicates the highest grade completed by the individual under a formal educational institution. The primary category indicates completed grades from 1 to 5, similarly, secondary category depicts grade 6 to 10. There was only one case of 10 + 2 grade passed. This information was taken for aged 5 years and above. There were total 412 population above 5 years. Among the total population 192 were males and 220 were females.

In the sample about 37.5 percent males and 50.9 percent female were illiterate. There was a high degree of gender biases in education, indicating a gender gap of 13 percentage points between male and female. Overall 44.7 percent people were illiterate in the study area. Total 33.5 percent population had completed primary level education, from which male occupied 34.4 and female occupied 32.7 percent respectively. There was also wide variation in the completion of secondary education. Though 21.8 percent in total population had completed secondary education that was only 16.4 for the females, and 28.1 for the males indicating higher gender gap existed in higher level of education (Table 8).

Table 8: Educational Status, Kami Population, Aged 5 and Above, Hokse VDC, Kabhrepalanchok, Nepal, 2007

S.N.	Description	Male Number	Percent	Female Number	Percent	Total Number	Percent
1	Illiterate	72	37.5	112	50.9	184	44.7
2	Primary	66	34.4	72	32.7	138	33.5
3	Secondary	54	28.1	36	16.4	90	21.8
4	Total	192	100.0	220	100.0	412	100.0

Source: Field survey, 2007.

4.7 Occupational Characteristics

The survey examined occupational variables at the individual level. Information on occupation was collected from the people of age 10 years and above. The occupational variables were Aaran-manufacturing (forge), Aaran-renovating (making household utensil such as Gagri, Khadkulo, daily wages in agriculture, daily wage in non-agriculture, engaging in agriculture and household chores. Similarly, the students, and disabled were also segregated in different categories, and 'others' included beggar and a few drivers. A total of 373 people comprised of ages 10 and above.

There were large proportions of dependants, 23.6 percent population above age 10 years were in school. There was a shift in the traditional occupation they were engaged in the previous times. Altogether 12.1 percent of the total population continued their traditional works in Aaran either for manufacturing new items or renovating the old ones. Migration from rural to urban is the major factor responsible to change their occupation. Due to the mobilization, people of Kami community also engaged in different sectors such as tailoring, making ornaments, driving, sweeper, and watchman. Out-migration is significant in the study area [Table 9].

Table 9: Occupational Distribution, Kami Population, Hokse VDC, Kabhrepalanchok, Nepal, 2007

Occupation	Frequency	Percent
Aaran-manufacturing	41	11.0
Aaran-renovating	4	1.1
Daily wage agriculture	22	5.9
Daily wage-non-agriculture	43	11.5
Agriculture	73	19.6
Household	74	19.8
Student	88	23.6
Disabled	6	1.6
Others	22	5.9
Total	373	100.0

Source: Field survey, 2007.

CHAPTER V: FERTILITY BEHAVIOUR OF KAMI COMMUNITY

This chapter deals with the fertility behaviour of respondents in agreement with the set objectives of the study.

5.1 Marital Status

Information on marital status of the sample population aged 10 years and above observed that the child marriage in the age of below 14 is nil in this community. Also the universality of marriage was ratified. There was none remained unmarried by the age of 35. Majority of Kami population was found to have been married between the age of 20 and 29 years.

Currently married population was not observed in the age group 10-14. There were total 199 currently married people among the 365 total population. In the age of 25-29 there was one case of widowed. Naturally, highest numbers of population were widowed in the age of 65 and above. There were total 23 widowed people. The separated case is defined as couple not living together due to the depression with spouse, remarriage of husband or having co-wives. These case were mostly found in the between 25-49 years and not found in the age of 10-24 and 50 years and above [Table 10].

Table 10: Distribution of Population Aged Ten Years and Above by 5 Years Age-Grouped Kami Population, Hokse VDC, Kabhrepalanchok, Nepal, 2007

Age-group	Unmarried	Currently Married	Widowed	Separated	Total
10-14	50	0	0	0	50
15-19	56	3	0	0	59
20-24	27	26	0	0	53
25-29	3	30	1	1	35
30-34	1	29	0	1	31
35-39	0	28	3	1	32
40-44	0	20	3	2	25
45-49	0	12	0	1	13
50-54	0	23	3	0	26
55-59	0	14	5	0	19
60-64	0	9	1	0	10
65+	0	5	7	0	12
Total	137	199	23	6	365

Source: Field survey, 2007.

5.2 Fertility Measures

5.2.1 Child-Women Ratio

Child-women ratio is generally measured by the ratio of children less than five years of age to women in childbearing ages 15-49 years. This measure is also known as 'general fertility ratio' or the 'ratio of children to women'. It is computed by dividing the number of children less than five years old in the population by the number of women 15-49 years old.

The child woman ration in the Kami community in Hokse was found as 0.0973.

Children aged 0-4	= 29
Total number of women aged 15-49	= 298
CWR	= 0.0973

This ratio indicated a relatively low fertility among the Kami population in Hokse of Kabhrepalanchowk.

5.2.2 Mean Age at Marriage

The reported mean age at marriage for the 84 currently married women was found 16.25. The mean age at marriage was found consistently higher to the younger women compared to the older ones. The higher mean age at marriage to the younger women may signify increasing trend of female age at marriage in the recent years. The mean age at marriage 17.71 to the women 15-19 years was found to be higher by about 2 years than 14.92 to the women aged 40-44 years women (Table 11).

Table 11: Reported Mean Age at Marriage, Kami Population, Hokse VDC, Kabhrepalanchok, Nepal, 2007

Age group	Number	Mean
15-19	21	17.71
20-24	15	16.93
25-29	15	16.93
30-34	17	14.88
35-39	12	14.92
40-44	5	17.8
Total	84	16.25

Source: Field survey, 2007.

5.2.3 Mean Number of Children Ever Born

There is linear relationship between age of mother and CEB. Lower the age lowers the CEB, higher the age higher the CEB are evident from the information. The age group 45-49 had the highest CEB as 4.6 followed by

35-39 (3.65), 40-44 (3.57), and 30-34 (3.20). The CEB of 45 to 49 is theoretically approximate to the TFR and hence it can be speculated that the Kamis of Hokse had about 4.6 Children per woman (Table 12) .

Table 12: Mean Child Ever Born by Respondents Age, Kami Population, Hokse VDC, Kabhrepalanchok, Nepal, 2007

Age Group	Children Ever Born	Cases
15-19	0.00	1
20-24	1.14	7
25-29	1.87	16
30-34	3.20	15
35-39	3.65	17
40-44	3.57	14
45-49	4.60	5
Total	2.95	75

*** Inapplicable Cases are omitted*

Source: Field survey, 2007.

5.2.4 Mean Child Ever Born by Education and Occupation

The mean children ever born had negative association with education. Illiterate women had more CEB (2.82) but literate women had small CEB. Among the literates those with grade 7 had the CEB as 1.33. It indicated that at least 7 years of schooling would contribute to reduce almost 1.5 CEB even among Dalits community as in Kamis of Hokse (Table 13).

Table 13: Mean Children Ever Born by Education and Occupation, Kami Population, Hokse VDC, Kabhrepalanchok, Nepal, 2007

Education	Children Ever Born		Child Loss Experience		N
	Average	St Dev	Average	St Dev	
Illiterate	2.82	2.020	0.35	0.840	72
Grade 1	1.67	0.580	0.00	0.000	3
Grade 2	1.67	0.580	0.33	0.580	3
Grade 3	1.33	1.150	0.00	0.000	3
Grade 7	1.33	0.580	0.00	0.000	3
Total	2.63	1.940	0.31	0.790	84

Occupation	Children Ever Born	Child Loss Experience	N
	Average	St Dev	
1 Aaran - Manufacturing	2.78	2.280	9
3 Daily Wages - Agriculture	4.00	2.610	6
4 Daily Wages - Non- agri	1.50	1.220	6
5 Agriculture	2.59	1.880	32
6 Household	2.56	1.650	27
8 Disabled	5.00	0.00	1
9 Others	2.00	3.460	3
Total	2.63	1.940	84

Source: Field survey, 2007.

Similarly, occupation wise CEB indicated that women involved in Wages in non-agricultural sector had lowest CEB (1.50) compared to Wages- in agriculture (4.0) and others that ranged from 2.00 for others to 2.78 for Aaran- Manufacturing, except 1 case for disabled. This clearly indicated that involvement in non-agricultural sector encouraged Kami women to have fewer children (Table 13).

5.3 Fertility Behaviour of the Respondents

The study included

a number of variables related to the current fertility behaviour of the successful interviewed women. Such information confirms us the actual number of cases to deal in the study. These include number of women at least give on live birth, use a non-use of contraceptives, pregnancy losses, place of delivery.

Table 14: Distribution of the Eligible Women Aged 15-49 Years Selected Fertility Behaviour Kami Population, Hokse VDC, Kabhrepalanchok, Nepal, 2007

Variable name	Number	Percent
1. At least one live birth		
Yes	82	97.6
No	2	2.4
2. Ever use of FP method		
Yes	34	40.5
No	50	59.5
3. Current use of FP method		
Yes	54	64.2
No	30	35.7
4. Pregnancy loss		
Yes	27	32.1
No	57	67.9
5. Place of delivery		
Hospital	3	3.6
Home	81	96.4

Source: Field survey, 2007.

From total married women age 15-49 years, which are also known as eligible women, 82 or 97.6 percent have given live birth to at least one child. The reported pregnancy loss among the total eligible women is found 32.1 percent. Everyone in three women experienced the pregnancy loss, which encouraged women to high pregnancy. This result may be due to early age at marriage, early pregnancy, low birth spacing, poor nutrition, heavy work load, lack of care during delivery etc. In terms of spacing and stopping behaviour of fertility, the number of ever users of any family planning method is accounted for 40.5 percent. Including all methods, permanent and

temporary the number of current users found about 64.2 percent population under the study population. Due to lack of knowledge and lack of facilities there is still above 95 percent pregnancies delivered at home.

Those women who experience loss of first few children are expected to bear more children compared to women whose first few children have survived. Therefore, mean number of child ever born (MCEB) to those women with the experience of child loss is expected to be higher than the women without of such experience.

The dependent variable used in this study is the cumulative fertility i.e., CEB. On which information is collected from all currently married women in the reproductive age between is to 49 years. The study excludes women aged above 49 years in order to have reliable information by avoiding the recall laps errors associated with aged mothers. The mean CEB is the sum of the number of sons/daughters alive at the date of survey and number of sons/daughter died before the date of survey.

5.3.1 Mean Age by Children Ever Born

It is a normal phenomenon that the higher the age of mother greater the number of children ever born. Even if there is a positive association between the age of mother and level of cumulative fertility there persists of a consistent variation in the completed fertility of women by age in the experience of child death.

Table 15: Mean Age by CEB, Kami Population, Hokse VDC, Kabhrepalanchok, Nepal, 2007

CEB	Mean age
0	19.0
1	19.2
2	20.6
3	21.4
4	24.2
5	29.1
6+	37.2

Source: Field survey, 2007.

From the information, 84 eligible enumerated women, the child ever born was zero, when the medium age of women was 19.0 years. The CEB (child

even born) is at the age of 19.2 years of women. Similarly the CEB were 2, 3, 4, 5 for a women with their age of 20.6, 21.4, 24.1 years respectively. It was also proved that higher the age of women higher the CEB. Data shows that the CEB was more than 6 for the women 37.2 years e.g. age (Table 15).

5.4 Effect of Child Death on Contraceptive Practice

The use and non-use of contraception on the experience of child mortality was recognized as the non-biological paths to influence the level of fertility. A decision to have another birth or to have that birth sooner involves deciding whether or not to use a method to control fertility. Therefore, it is important to analyze the use of contraception or family planning methods which may be affected by child mortality.

To study the effect of child mortality on the fertility control behaviour, ever use and current use of contraception was taken as the dependent variable and the experience of infant/child mortality as the independent variable in the first stage of analysis. A second stage of analysis examines the difference in level of users by dichotomizing into with or without experience of at least one child loss.

Table 16: Distribution of Family Planning Users by the Experience of Child Death Kami Population, Hokse VDC, Kabhrepalanchok, Nepal, 2007

Description	Ever users		Current users	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
With child death	9	36.3	29	45.4
Without child death	16	63.7	35	54.6
Total	25	100.0	64	100.0

Source: Field survey, 2007.

Currently married women who said that they did not want any more children or that they want to wait two or more years before having another child, but are not using contraceptive are considered unmet need for family planning. In the study area, family planning was only used by women. There were not any cases that male family planning method. Female sterilization, Deepo or injectable and Norplant are the most dominant method among the users of family planning method. The women with child death experience mostly used laparoscopy. Fewer women used temporary types of method for the purpose of birth spacing. It seems that family planning means birth control.

Only after having five or six children with son they started for method if any one forced them..

5.5 Marriage Duration of Mother

There is a positive association between marriage duration of mother and cumulative fertility. However consistent variation in the number of CEB is expected to be observed across all duration groups by the life time experience of child death.

Across all duration groups beginning from 0-4 and ending to 20 years and above the cumulative fertility to the women with child death experience was found invariably higher than the woman without child death.

Table 17: Mean CEB by Duration of Marriage for the Currently Married Women Aged 15-49 Years Kami Population, Hokse VDC, Kabhrepalanchok, Nepal, 2007

Duration of marriage	CEB
0-4	2.1
5-9	3.2
10-14	3.9
15-19	5.2
20+	6+

Source: Field survey, 2007.

CEB was less for 0-4 year's marriage duration group. But it was considerable. Early child birth is universal in such caste group. Between five years marriage duration interval the CEB can seen as 2.1, which can resulted form low status of women low level of education and unpaid family work. Similarly, the CEB is 6+ for 20 + marriage duration group women.

5.6 Pregnancy Loss by Marriage Duration Group

Pregnancy is usually considered a healthy state and a cause for joy in a family. The majority of pregnancies proceed without difficulties and many women do not even realize that pregnancy can be a potential risk to their health. However, forty percent of pregnant women experience form of pregnancy related complication, and 15 percent of all pregnant women

develop a life threatening complication(s) requiring obstetric case (WHO, 1998).

Table 18: Marriage Duration Groups and Pregnancy Loss for Married Women Aged 15-49 Years Kami Population, Hokse VDC, Kabhrepalanchok, Nepal, 2007

Marriage duration group	Pregnancy loss		Total
	Yes	No	
0-4	3	7	10
5-9	2	10	12
10-14	7	13	20
15-19	11	14	25
20+	12	5	17
Total	35	49	84

Source: Field survey, 2007.

Pregnancy loss was more common in Kami community of study area. Out of eighty four eligible women 35 women reported that they have pregnancy loss experience. Such experience is highest in 20+ marriage duration group women. Out of 17 women in such marriage duration group women 12 women reported that lost their pregnancy because of early age at marriage, low birth interval between pregnancy, home delivery, lack of nutrition, and hygiene, not using antenatal care, work load etc.

5.7. CEB by Different Background Variables

Mean CEB for background variable like use of contraceptive seemed higher (3.1) than non-use of contraceptive (2.6). The CEB was also affected place of delivery. It was used as home and hospital .Birth delivered at home had 3.3 mean CEB and 1.7 mean CEB for hospital.

Lower the child loss experience fewer the mean CEB. If there were not child loss experience the CEB was 2.6 similarly the CEB was 6.0 for 3 and above children dead. Higher the desire numbers of children larger the family size. Mean CEB was 2.9 for desire of two children.

However it was 5.7 for desire of four children. Similarly mean CEB was greater for not had spousal communication for use of contraceptive, not

having Radio ,Gobar Gyas, Television , Telephone, Toilet (3.2, 3.7, 3.0, 3.0, 3.0 and 3.5) respectively (Table 19).

Table 19: CEB by Different Background Variables Kami Population, Hokse VDC, Kabhrepalanchok Nepal 2007

Background Variables	Categories	Mean CEB	Cases
Use Of Contraceptives	1 Yes	3.1	44
	2 No	2.6	14
Place Of Last (1) Delivery	1 Home	3.3	66
	2 Hospital	1.7	3
Child Loss Experience	0	2.6	59
	1	3.8	10
	2	5.0	4
	3	6.0	1
	5	6.0	1
Desired Children - Total	2	2.9	54
	3	3.6	14
	4	5.7	3
Spousal Communication	1 Yes	2.9	27
	2 No	3.2	12
Media For Knowledge	Yes	2.9	57
	No	3.7	11
Radio	Yes	2.3	23
	No	2.2	4
Gobar Gyas	1 Yes	2.0	3
	2 No	3.0	71
Television	1 Yes	2.9	32
	2 No	3.0	42
Telephone	1 Yes	2.7	6
	2 No	3.0	67
Type Of Toilet	1	2.0	2
	2	3.1	30
	3	3.5	17
Total		2.9	75

*Note: *** Differential cases in different background variables result in unequal total numbers*

5.8: A Case Study: Paralysed after Kitchen Table Abortion Attempted

The use of induced abortion is not quite common, because of its availability and privacy matters of the mother and whole family. Therefore, many families and women and their well wishers have a tendency of performing abortion in confidential state without taking care about the safety of the mother's health. There was an incidence recorded during the survey in Kami Community of Ward 6, Hoksebazar VDC.

It's a story of some few years back. A woman, Kanchhi BK did not want to give birth to the child she was pregnant with. She did counsel with her close relatives and decided to go for an abortion. She went to health-post, but the then legal provisions of Nepal were not so favourable for the abortion. Obviously she did not obtained supports from the health post personnel.

She had no alternatives. One of her friends suggested meeting with a man who was supposed to have been champion of abortion through his local medicines and tricks. So, she went to meet that local man to terminate her pregnancy. When she was at his disposal, he gave her to drink couple of tumblers of some medicine. In fact that so called medicine-tumbler of water was blended with dust-made pieces of glass, bottle or mirror. But, it failed to abort her foetus and left her troublesome life afterwards. Months completed and she gave birth to her son. She had already become weak due to all sorts of prowess performed by the local crook or healer. After the 10 days of delivery, she was unable to move her body. Her family found that she was become paralysed.

She was one of the supporters to manufacture metal utensils in that village. When she was paralysed, her family spent a lot of resources on her, but useless. The family now after 10 years has arrived at the threshold of starvation and is almost broke.

CHAPTER VI: STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

This chapter is devoted to the statistical analysis of hypotheses formulated earlier. This study has applied the method of total enumeration of Kami households in selected cluster (Hokse). These statistics were tested on the basis of eligible and currently married women aged 15-49 years. There were total 100 households and 84 eligible women enumerated successfully in this study.

Carl Pearson's correlation coefficients are calculated to obtain the directions and degree of relationship. The independent variables as age at marriage, contraception, level of education, numbers of child death, total pregnancy loss, mean length of breast feeding are considered in Correlation examination of hypotheses.

Table 20: Karl Pearson's Correlation Coefficient of Selected Variables with CEB, Kami Population, Hokse VDC, Kabhrepalanchok Nepal 2007

Selected Variables	Association with CEB Pearson's Coefficient	Significance Level	Included Cases
Child Loss Experience	0.443	0.000 ***	75
Age	0.536	0.000 ***	75
Marital Status	0.233	0.440 *	75
Education	-0.295	0.010 **	75
Electricity	0.044	0.708	74
Gobar Gas	0.107	0.364	74
Radio	0.123	0.296	74
Television	-0.034	0.773	74
Telephone	-0.050	0.671	73
Toilet	0.097	0.408	75
Son Died	-0.330	0.004 **	75
Daughter Died	-0.310	0.007 **	75
Pregnancy Loss	0.023	0.850	70
Total Pregnancies	0.842	0.000 ***	72
Months of Breast Feeding - 1 Recent	-0.083	0.496	69
Place Of Last (1) Delivery	-0.199	0.101 *	69

*** Correlation is significant at the 0.00 level (2-tailed).

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

There is positive relationship found between respondent's age and number of child death. Correlation coefficient's values vary between -1 to +1. The value is 0.304, which indicates that with increasing the age of mother there would

also be increasing child death. The level of education and respondent age has linear relationship higher the level of education higher the age at marriage. The total pregnancy loss and respondent's age have statistically proved positive association between them with the coefficient of 0.453. It is significant with the value of 0.01.

There is negative relationship between education and total number of children ever born. Coefficient 0.295 is however a modest but confirmed the sea-saw relationship between education and CEB with 90 percent significance (Table 20).

Higher death of children is ultimately found espoused with higher CEB. There were positive association between child loss experience and CEB ($r=$. The CEB was 0.443 with high significance level. The relationship was linear between age and children ever born with maximum significance level. There was negative association in the level of education and CEB. The relation was -0.295 with 90 percent significance level. Similarly, the relationship was positive in the having electricity, Gobar Gas, Radio and Toilet with children ever born, but not with valid significance. There exists inverse relationship between losing sons ($r=-0.33$; sig 0.004) and daughters ($r=-0.310$; sig 0.007) with CEB.

CHAPTER VII: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Summary of Findings

Recognized positive relationship between child mortality and fertility is the summary of this study. The relationship operates through biological and behaviour and various socio-economic mechanisms. Since the emergence of the demographic transition theory (1945), it is widely believed that mortality reduction would lead to a fertility reduction.

7.1.1 Basic Findings

The total population of Kamis (Kami population) in Hokse village was 454 in March 2007, among them there were 209 males and 245 females. However, the sex ratio in different age groups were fluctuating, but total population had a sex ratio of 86.0. Average size of household was 4.5 and greater population was in young ages.

In the study area more than 90 percent household head were males; only 9 percent head of household were females. The highest number of respondents were from ward number 3 and 5, which accounted 14 each from both. The lowest number was from Ward 2, which had only 1 respondent. There were altogether 84 eligible women who were married aged 15-49 years. The majority of respondents were Hindu, 98 percent households were reported as they were Hindu, but the remaining were Christian.

Majority of respondents were poor. In the total 100 households, 10 household did not have any land with them. Thirteen households had less than one Ropani of land (Area: 74x74 square feet); two households occupied highest land 20 Ropanies. Among the total households 65 percent had electricity, 4 percent household had Gobar gas, 50 percent had radios, 39 percent had television, 6 percent had phone facility and 68 percent had toilet.

Altogether 44.7 percent persons aged 5 years and above were illiterate. There was huge gap between the sexes in education, 37.5 percent male and 50.9 percent female were illiterate. In total 33.5 percent population had completed primary level education and 21.8 percent had completed secondary education which included from grade 6-10. Only one woman had completed intermediate level education.

There were no single (unmarried) male and female remained by the age-group 35-39. More than 90 percent individuals were found to have been married before the age of 24. The state of mean age at marriage was associated with current age. The mean age at marriage was 16.25 for females. It showed that higher age of mother was closely associated with higher number of children ever born. Women at the age of 19.2 gave birth at least to 1 child; and similarly by the age of 37.2 years they had more than 6 children in an average. Illiterate women had highest CEB than their counterparts. The mean children ever born for illiterate were 2.82 whereas the 7th grader had only 1.33.

From the total number of eligible women 97.6 percent had at least one child. Similarly, 40.5 percent reported that they had ever used of family planning method, 64.2 percent were observed currently using family planning methods, and 32.1 percent had pregnancy loss and 96.4 percent births were delivered in house.

7.2 Conclusions

The fluctuating sex ratio could have been the result of unemployment in rural area and possibility of males going outside the village or abroad for job. Sex ration lower than hundred suggested the family burden upon the women.

Hindu religion is in majority; however the signs of changing the religion are also evident.

Most of the families had smaller plots of land that are insufficient to produce cereals and vegetables to feed their family through out the year. A small group of families had amenities as electricity, gohar (bio) gas, TV, radio and toilets. Kami population had less access to the facilities is obvious.

Illiteracy is wide spread still in 21st century. Individual respondents had completed some primary level of education, but there are no more women to have higher level of education.

Age at marriage was found lower resulting in early age at first birth, hence disrupting the maternal and child health care. Child bearing is universal and contraception is a rare case among the Kamis of Hokse.

7.3 Recommendations

7.3.1: Recommendation for Policy Implication

-) To relieve women from the burden of household responsibility men must be given employment in local level.
-) Change in religion was also not so helpful to improve household economy. Government policies for making better lives to both group of people changing and not changing the religion must be adopted.
-) Kami families in Hokse must be given sufficient area of agricultural land so that they would be able to feed the family through out the year.
-) The household facilities as electricity, gohar (bio) gas, TV, radio and toilets in Kami population must be provided with special operational programme.
-) An operational programme must be launched to make all women in Kami community literate and educated up to High School Level with suitable scholarships and subsidies for stationery.
-) A campaign through GOs and NGOs must be launched to increase the age at marriage at least to 20 or over among Kami women in Hokse.
-) The health facilities for the survival of children in Dalits, specially among Kamis of Hokse must be made available in local level. Maternal and child health care programme must be implemented with higher efficiency.
-) Use of contraceptions must be improved through its distribution and constant monitoring by NGOs and GOs.
-) Awareness on the abortion and child care, antenatal as well as post natal care must be enhanced in Hokse, with special focus on Kamis.
-) Disables must be given allowances for survival and their family members should be institutionally supported to run the household smoothly.

7.3.2 Recommendation for further research

This study is based on Kami (Kami population) community. Similar studies can be conducted on different minorities. However, the studies on these ethnic minorities do not represent the total phenomenon of region or nation but the essence of demographic study on different group of people is not neglected.

This study did not examine the role of traditional contraceptive in influencing the level of fertility. Therefore, studies can be conducted to examine the role of both modern as well as traditional contraceptive in influencing the levels of fertility among the oppressed groups of people in Nepal.

The study is based on the fertility experience on 'Kami' community in Hokse VDC. It ignores the other Tarai and hill Dalits as well as non-Dalits. In this context a separate study can be operationalized with in-depth methods and a number of other variables.

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Appedix-A:

Ethnic /Caste Groups with Their Hierarchical Structure, Legal Code of Nepal, 1854

Caste/ethnic Groups	Ethnic Affiliation
I. Tagadhari (Wearers of Sacred Thread)	
Upadhyay Brahmin (Bahun)	P
Thakuri (The Royal Caste)	P
Kshetriya (Chhetri)	P
Rajopadhyay Brahmin (Deva Bhaju)	N
Indian Brahman	Other
Sanyasi (Ascetics)	P
Lower Jaisi Brahmin	P
Certain High Shrestha group (e.g. Joshi)	P
II. Matwali (liquor consuming castes)	
II.1 Na Masine Matwali (non-enslavable alcohol drinkers)	
Non-thread wearing Shrestha	N
Vajracarya/Shakya/Ury-Tuladhr et al.	N
Moharjan	N
Various Newar service castes	N
Hill Tribes (e.g. Magar, Gurung)	N
	Others
II.2 Masine Matwali (Enslavable alcohol drinkers)	
Tibatian (including Tamang) some Hill tribes; Tharu	Others
III. Pani Nachalne Choi Chito Halnu Naparne (Impure but touchable castes)	
Khadgi (Butchers Milk sellers)	N
Kapali (Death specialists, musician)	N
Rajaka (Washer man)	N
Carmakr (Drum-makers)	N
Muslims (Bangle sellers)	Others
Westerner (Mlech)	Others
IV. Pani Nachalne, Choi chito Halnu Parne Untouchagble castes)	
Various parbatiya caste (Kami, Damai, Sarki, others)	P
Dyahla	N
Chamkhalah	N

Source: Hofer (1979) P. 45 and 137.

Note: P = Parbatiya or Hill group

N = Newar

Appendix-B

Fertility Experience in Kami Community (A Study of Hokse VDC Kabhrepalanchok)

These answers will be treated as confidential matter. These are to be used only for academic purpose, not others.

Household (HH) questionnaire

Household Number:

Date of interview:

Name of household head:

District: Kabhre

Respondent's name:

VDC: Hokse

Sex: Male Female

Ward Number:

S.N.	Name of the person who usually live in your HH	Relation to the head of household	Sex	Age	Marital status	Education	Occupation
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							
10							
11							

..

Code	Relation to the head of household	Code	Education
01	Head of HH	00	Illiterate
02	Husband or wife	01	Under grade 1
03	Son or daughter	02	Grade 1
04	Son-in-law or daughter-in-law	03	Grade 2
05	Grand children	04	Grade 3
06	Sister or brother	05	Grade 4
07	Sister-in-law	06	Grade 5
08	Nephew or niece	07	Grade 8
09	Not related	08	Grade 9
10	Other	09	Grade 10
98	Don't know	10	SLC pass
		11	Intermediate pass
		12	Bachelor pass
		13	Master degree pass

.

Code	Marital status	Code	Occupation
01	Single (unmarried)	01	Forge
02	Currently married	02	Making household utensils
03	Widow/widower	03	Daily wage: Agriculture
04	Separated	04	Daily wage: Non-agriculture
05	Married but living separately	05	Farming
06	Don't know	06	Housewife
		07	Student
		08	Physical disable
		09	Other
		98	Don't know

8. How many land does your family have?

Ropani Ana Paisa

9. What is the types of land?

Own land 1 Rented 2

10. Please, named the domesticated animals, which you have:

Cow1 Buffalo2 Goats.....3

Pig.....4 Hens.....5 Others.....6

11. Does your household have:

Yes No

Electricity 1 2

A radio 1 2

A television 1 2

A biogas 1 2

A telephone 1 2

12. Does your family have toilet?

Yes.....1 No.....2

13. What kind of toilet facilities does your household have?

Flush toilet.....1 Traditional pit toilet.....2

Ventilated improved pit latrine3 Others.....4

Appendix-C

Individual Questionnaire 2007, March

To be administered to all women aged (15-49 years) reported as ever married in the household schedule.

Serial Number: VDC: Hokse

Name: HH Number:

Religion: Individual Number:

Ethnicity: Kami Ward Number:

1. In what months and year were you born?

Years Months Don't know 98

2. How old were you at last birth day?

Completed year check Q1 and Q2.

3. Is your husband living with you now?

Living with her1 (skipped Q 7)

Staying elsewhere2

4. If staying elsewhere, reason for living separately.

Has another life1 Is in job abroad.....2

In job with the country.....3 Other (please specify).....

5. How long has he been away without coming back?

If less than one months 00

Months

More than 2 years95

Does not know98

6. Are you first, second, wife?

Rank

7. Have you been married only once, or more than once?

Once1 More than once2

8. How old were you when you (first) got married?

Age.....

9. Have you ever given birth?

Yes.....1 No.....2 (skipped Q 14)

10. How many sons live with you?

11. How many daughter live with you?.....

12. How many sons are alive but do not live with you?.....

If no one.....

Sons elsewhere.....

13. How many daughter alive but not live with you?

If no one.....

Sons elsewhere.....

14. Have you ever had a pregnancy, that did not end in a live birth?

Yes..... 1 No.....2 (Skipped q. 20)

15. Number of children dead:

16. How many pregnancies have you had that did not end in a live birth?

..... pregnancy losses.....

17. In what month and year did this pregnancy end?

Order of pregnancy Months Year

01

02

03

18. Did you or someone else do anything to end this pregnancy? (Starting from last birth)

Order of pregnancy Yes.....1 No2 (skipped Q. 20)

1

2

3

19. Where did you terminate this pregnancy?

..... (respondents answer)

20. Now I would like to record all your pregnancies. (Whether born alive, born dead or lost before birth, start with first pregnancy)

.....

Twins..... (order of pregnancy)

Sex about twins

Male-female1

Male-male2

Female-female3

Others.....4

21. Have you ever heard about family planning?

Yes1 No2 (skipped Q 26]

22. How do you hear? By means of:

Radio1

Television2

Written aids.....3

Friends.....4

Health personnel5

Other6

23. Are you using such device now?

Yes ...1 No.....2 (Skipped 1. 29)

24. Can you name please?... ..

25. Why do you use family planning devices?

Spacing1

Birth control.....2

Safer sex.....3

Other reason4

26. Are these available in your access?

Yes1 No.....2 Don't know98

27. If you are not currently using it, had you used in the past?

Yes1 No2

28. What is your desired number of children?

Son

Daughter.....

Total

29. Where did you deliver your baby?

Order of birth Code

01 Home1

02 Cattle home2

03 Other home3

Health post4

Hospital5

Other6

30. How many months were you breast feed to them?

Order of birth Months

01

02

03

31. After the delivery, how many months later your menstruation recycles occurred?

Order of birth Months

01

02

03