RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STATUS OF WOMEN AND FERTILITY IN NEPAL

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ABSTRACT

The study attempts to examine the relationship between status of women and fertility in Nepal. The main objectives of this study are to describe the socio-economic, demographic and cultural differentials of women in relation to fertility and highlights its impact on fertility. This study uses secondary data from the Nepal Fertility and Health Survey conducted by His Majesty's Government Ministry of the Health FP/MCH Project on May 08,1991.

Women status is measured by selected socio-economic and demographic indicators such as education, occupation, religion, residence, age at first marriage, spousal communication and contraceptive use of the respondents. Altogether 2508 cases are drawn for statistical analysis for this study. All of relevant description of socio- economic, demographic and cultural characteristics of the sample has been explained in descriptive analysis on the basis of residential differences. Majority of 92.8 percent of women are from rural areas. 88.4 percent of respondents are uneducated. 73.2 percent of women are engaged in agricultural activities. The mean age at marriage of respondents found 15.0 years.

About 90.2 percent of the respondents has been married before the legal age of marriage (17 years). Larger desired family size were noted among the respondents. When compared the fertility levels, desired family size of respondents found higher than actual family size. About one thirds of respondents prefer large desired family size. This shows that ignorance and lack of decision making power among women on fertility. Children ever born by respondents found to be exclusively higher, which is more than six children. In this study findings reveals that women were facing low level of education, prevalent agricultural work status, early marriages, larger desired and actual family size and low acceptance of contraception as well as poor spousal communication. Furthermore, women were found having weak decision making status in regards to fertility. Combining all these factors, it can be proved that the status of women have observed low in Nepal. The chi-square statistical tests showed significant association between all variables, all the hypothesis stated which centered on socio-economic, demographic status and fertility levels were accepted. Based on this summary and findings and the conclusions made, and some policy recommendation were drawn. These includes equal opportunities for female children in education, equal opportunities for women to earn income in order to reduce the socio-economic differentials in women's status, greater access to family planning services and legislation and enforcement of early marriage should be strictly implemented. Finally, for detail investigation for women's status primary data should be advisable.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER I

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STATUS OF WOMEN AND FERTILITY IN NEPAL

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Nepal is one of the least developed countries in Asia. Population growth in Nepal is occurring in an impoverished agricultural economy with only a limited capacity to absorb a further increase in numbers. The population of Nepal increased from 11.6 million in 1971 to 19.0 million in 1991. Women consist of 48.5 percent of the total population (CBS, 1991). The increase of population is likely to prove difficult in a setting where two thirds of the country is occupied by icy mountains and rolling hills which are not suitable for cultivation, though more than 90 per cent of the population is engaged in agriculture.

However, the growth rate has declined as a result of a decline in fertility during the latter half of the 1980s. According to recent estimates, Nepal's population is 19.5 million, implying an average growth rate of 2.5 per cent since 1981; and the Total Fertility Rate (TFR) has declined from 6.3 to 5.7. This rate is still far above the growth target of 1.9 percent per year set for the year 1990 by the National Population Strategy (NCP,1991). On average, Nepalese women have six live births by the end of their reproductive period. Contraceptive Prevalence Rate (CPR) went up from 7.0 percent in 1981 to 27.0 percent in 1991 (NCP, 1991).

1.2 PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION

A majority of the women in Nepal are illiterate and are custom bound. Only 20.3 percent of women are literate. Centuries of conditioning have resulted in hesitancy of women themselves in accepting the social roles outside that of being just housewives, because of their illiteracy and lack of skills. Men in the family unit hold all the power and status in society, while women are ascribed the role of a wife, a housekeeper and a child bearer, and are therefore cast into submissive roles. Though female labor force participation is highly influenced by culture and tradition in Nepal, apart from childbearing and domestic work, some women have engaged themselves in petty trading, small scale industries (arts and crafts), weaving, garment work and other economic activities. This may give women greater self-reliance and elevate up their status in society. Due to low female literacy rates only few women (3 percent) are employed in white collar occupations and less than 2 percent in administrative services (NCP Annual Status Report, 1991). The need for labor force may also induce couples to have many children to ensure social and economic support in their old days. But this has an adverse effect on Nepalese women, for they suffer extreme poverty and ill health. This has affected infant mortality as well as maternal mortality rates among Nepalese women. The Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) is 102.0 per 1000 live births and Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR) is 8.5 per 1000 women (CBS,1990). It is therefore important to measure women's status and fertility as well as to understand the relationship between them.

1.3 PROBLEM JUSTIFICATION

Rapid population growth has affected almost every aspect of Nepalese economy. It has led to increased pressure on limited land resources and created a shortage of food, particularly in the mountainous and hilly regions. With the population increasing rapidly, per capita food production has been diminishing. It is also becoming increasingly difficult to meet the growing demands of people for improved access to education, health services, drinking water and other basic needs.

The increasing population has thus become an urgent problem for Nepal. While on one hand there is a need for strengthening family planning services to sustain a decline in fertility rates, on the other hand there is also an equally important need to formulate and implement policies and programs that integrate family planning with other developmental activities. These policies should be based on the Government target to reduce TFR from 6.3 (1990) to 2.5 by the year 2000.

Furthermore, the low status of women in the household and in the family is also a relevant issue which directly or indirectly affects all aspects of population growth and poverty. The socio-cultural and economic situation, to a large extent, impedes raising women's status in the country. The task of regulating fertility among women has been severely strained, threatening the process of poverty alleviation in Nepal.

This study attempts to explore the relationships between the status of women and their fertility preference as well as

use of contraceptives to regulate fertility among women in Nepal.

1.4 OBJECTIVES

1. To describe the socio-cultural differentials of women in relation to fertility.
2. To examine the relationship of women's status on fertility.

1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW

The review consists of two parts. The first part of the review attempts to define the Status of women and some relevant aspects applied in the Nepalese situation affecting fertility. The second part of the review attempts to explain selected status indicators related to women's status in the family planning literature and previous research on its relationship with fertility.

PART I

1.5.1 (A) DEFINITION OF STATUS OF WOMEN

The term "status of women" is defined as the unification of the position a women occupies as a worker, a student, a wife and a mother, the power and prestige attached to these positions, and the rights and duties she is expected to exercise (United Nation 1984). Women's status is a multidimensional phenomenon, which shows that the status of women is conceptualized at two different levels: the micro level, or the status of women within the household and at the macro level, their status in the society. Education and female labor force participation are as measurement of women's status within the household and in the society too. Women's approach on social resources is measured by their level of education

while their material resources can be measured by their level of labor force participation and degree of the economic independence to earn by themselves, which consequently establishes their status in the society. Gaining an education and occupation may enable a woman to be a decision maker and maintain control over social and material resources within the household. These indicators can provide women economic independence which helps to raise their socio-economic status. A woman's status, both in the household and within society, can affect infant mortality rates and reduce fertility through spacing and limiting fertility. Elevated status in the household or society in general means that men and women are likely to adopt contraceptives, which is obviously a key determinant in reducing fertility by spacing or limiting births (Selvaratanum, 1990).

According to Oppong (1983), there are seven different roles and behaviors that women may play. They include: maternal, conjugal, domestic, occupational, kin, community and individual roles. These roles are all related to resource, prestige and power. The premium placed on each of these roles inevitably determines fertility behavior of women. In order to associate women roles with fertility, it is important to view other roles, especially as they relate to the social context of women's lives. In Nepalese society, the maternal role is important than other roles, because mothers often secure higher status than a single woman. When a woman becomes a mother, certain power is bestowed on her and by having more children, she can involve her children in labor force, which helps her elevate her economic status as well as secure

economic support for her retired days.

(B) MALE DOMINANCE OVER FERTILITY

In Nepalese society, extramarital sex, divorce and remarriage is very rare. Nepalese society is male dominated and wives hardly ever become involved in matters outside the home. Moreover,information given by the women volunteers and health workers about family planning is likely to make most wives anxious to talk with their husband about adopting some methods of contraception. Most women, however can not talk openly about these issues unless they obtain their husband's consent (Campbell 1979 cited in Karki,1983). Likewise most women do not want to talk about family planning in the presence of elderly members of the family or in public. Family planning is a very sensitive matter in Nepalese society, particularly among women in rural areas. It is said that when a woman talks openly about family planning, she is morally degraded, and her fidelity to her husband becomes suspected (Karki, 1983). Such response in society is quite responsible for high fertility rate in Nepal.

(C) MOTHER IN-LAW'S INFLUENCE OVER FERTILITY DECISION:

In Nepal, mother-in-law have higher status than newly married women in the family. Especially in the extended family, She dictates and commands every aspects of family matters. A mother always look forward to her son's marriage and hopes to become not only a mother-in-law but also a grandmother. They are always proud of having many grand children. Sometimes a mother-in-law who pesters her son to remarry, if his wife is childless or even sonless in Nepalese society. Sometimes such situation makes force to have many

children. Which is quite responsible for high fertility in Nepal.

(D) SON PREFERENCE

In an orthodox Hindu family, marriage is early so that a male offspring can be borne during a woman's reproductive period. In Nepalese society, a male child is definitely holds higher value than a female child. Nepalese parents prefer sons because of the various roles that a son plays in their family life. It is only one's own son who can perform death and post-death rituals to ensure that the gate to the heaven will be open for parents. In addition, sons continue the family name and provide support in their old age. Even the couple have daughters and reached their desired family size, they still wait for son. This response of couple is quite responsible for high fertility in Nepal.

PART II

1.5.2 SELECTED INDICATORS RELATED WITH WOMEN'S STATUS

The second part of this review attempts to explain the selected indicators related with women's status. In this study altogether seven indicators (education, occupation, residence, religion, age at first marriage, spousal communication and contraceptive use) were selected as the women's status indicators.

(A) EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF WOMEN

Education is one of the key indicator to determine socio-economic status of women. The theory of demographic transition has assigned casual significance to the role of education in the formation of attitude towards small family norms and the practice of contraception (Oni,1985). In most

developed countries where women are literate, fertility rates are lower. Education is the main factor which changes the attitudes and behavior of women in every aspect of life (Caldwell 1982). Caldwell further points out that expansion of education reduces a child's potential for work as children are required to attend school. This increases the cost of having children and consequently decreases the benefits. Where there is no benefit or very little economic gain from children, fertility is expected to decrease.

In the Nepalese context, education is one of the critical issues in women's development and fertility. Out of the 20.3 percent of women are literate. The disparity between the sexes in regards to educational attainment has been still widening in favor of men. Currently though, there has been a slight improvement in the enrollment of girls at all levels of education. However, male/female differences with regard to educational attainment is still pronounced in rural areas (NCP,Annual status Report,1991). The proportion of males far out-number the proportion of females at all levels of education (NFHS,1991). Level of education have significant relationship with fertility behavior (Singh, 1987). Female education implies greater opportunity to participate in society by allowing exposure to command over resources outside the home. This is one of the mechanism where education may effect fertility.

(B) OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF WOMEN

Occupation is another key indicator in determining the socio-economic status of women. Generally women's employment and fertility are inversely related in both developed and

developing countries. Women's employment is considered an important status deciding factors. If women's economic dependence can be reduced by their own monetary income, there will be a great change in the overall status of women. The growth of women's participation in the labor force and the long-term decline in fertility over the last century in industrialized nations has been interpreted by economic historians as logical consequences of the process of economic development (Lloyd, 1990).

In many studies, the desire to have a small family comes from having work incompatibility with child rearing. The more women work outside the home, the more likely they are to practice contraception and have fewer children. In India, contraceptive use increases with increase in income, but virtually no difference exists among working and non-working women in higher income groups, as both groups report frequent use of contraception and lower fertility (Choudhary 1981). The involvement of women in the labor force can also exercise considerable control and influence over the household economy, childbearing and other aspects of life. Differences in the relationships between social as well as economic activities of women can reflect the differing attitudes of being an employee as well as housewives. Women with no education engage in household work as well as small scale labor force to earn their income. Fertility decline in today's developing countries is inevitably accompanied with the exposure of women to opportunities for paid work. By reflecting the correct level of labor force activity and economic contribution to GNP made by women,it helps to point out female labor force,

occupation, and fertility are related in the developing socio-economic status of women
(Anker & Khan, 1988 cited in ILO publication).

Studies on female employment and fertility focus on how maternal responsibilities and activities can integrate with income earning and productive work (Oppong,1983).

The time allocation data shows that rural Nepalese women contribute about two-thirds of the total number of working hours. Women participation in labor inputs in Nepalese rural subsistence economy is slightly higher than that of men. The total daily burden of women is 10.81 hours compared with 7.51 hours of men. In rural areas families are larger and because more supporting hands for agricultural and domestic works are needed (Acharya & Benette, 1981). In Nepal, the proportion of women engaged in any occupation other than agriculture accounts for less than 3% of employed females. Women's labor force participation is seen in the area of cottage and small scale industries such as garment, carpet and handicraft industries (NCP, 1990). In urban and sub-urban areas, women prefer to adopt contraceptive use for regulating their fertility. Generally, women are found in low paid jobs. As the number of women in employment increases, they are more likely to have fewer children for the sake ofjobs. If women move out from the home without their spouses due to their jobs, it may also help to control fertility, because child- bearing, rearing and occupation cannot go together (Standing, 1983).

(C) RESIDENTIAL STATUS OF WOMEN

The social and economic changes brought by industrial-ization and urbanization can contribute to change women's

status and fertility. Urbanization was found to be a contributing factor in increasing the status of women (Mydril & Klien 1956 cited in Ridley 1969). In the context of Nepal, residential differences can also show vital differences in women's status and fertility (NFHS 1991). Most of the educated women reside in urban areas. Education provides women with some of the basic skills and confidence to begin their lives and open them to opportunities outside the home. There are some factors which can motivate men and women to migrate from rural to urban areas. Such as education, occupation and marriage. When a woman move to urban areas, they are more exposed to outside from the house. Which helps to changes their fertility behavior. They are introduced to various methods of contraceptives to regulate their fertility. Residential difference can affect fertility.

(D) RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

Religion is one of the important indicator for this study. Nepal is a predominantly Hindu kingdom where 89.5 percent of the population is Hindus. According to Hindu religious doctrine and ideology, family size should be expected to be larger.

In an orthodox Hindu family, marriage takes place at an early age so that a male offsprings can be borne during a woman's reproductive period. Religious obligation plays a significant role on family size preferences and the decision to practice contraception (Karki,1983).

In Nepalese society, children are as considered as God's Gift and their family size is not desired by the people themselves, it is up to God to determine the number of

children a family may have. Besides Hindus, the largest ethnic minorities settled in the Himalayan regions of the country are Buddhist. Their marriage patterns and fertility behavior are quite similar with Hindu groups. They also preferred larger families (Fricke,1986 cited in Axinn 1992). In Nepal, the family size is more effected by religion. This is quite responsible for high fertility in Nepal.

(E) AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

Age at first marriage is considered an effective determinant of fertility reduction in developing countries. Studies have shown that, increase in age at marriage, or decline in percentage of ever married women in certain age groups, is an important factor in the decline of fertility in developing countries (Caldwell,1963).

In Nepalese society, due to religious and cultural pressures, marriage takes place at an in early age among all ethnic groups. On average, most Nepalese women are married before they reach their 19th birthday (NCP, 1990). The societal process of modernization is proceeding slowly in Nepal. The age at first marriage is strongly influenced by the impact of educational attainment, labor force participation and urbanization. The impact of each of these factors are closely associated with changing marriage patterns. If women are engaged in education or jobs, they prefer to postponed their marriage (Smith, 1980 cited in Thapa 1989). Which can directly affect their fertility.

(F) CONTRACEPTIVE USE

Measurement of fertility of a couple depends upon their family planning behavior. Family planning has a broader

meaning than family limitation, which refers to efforts not to exceed the number of children wanted. Unwanted births are those that occur after the total family size desired by the couples has been reached, by different means of contraception, planning couples determine means of contraception to limit the number of births in their best interest.

Though Nepal's target of achieving a TFR of 2.5 by the year 2000 is an ambitious one, to achieve the UN's target of a TFR of 4.6% is even difficult for Nepal. The level of current use of contraception should need to increase threefold to achieve this target. Efforts have focus on promotion and use of temporary contraceptive methods, and less emphasis on permanent methods to reduce fertility level. Another rationale for putting more emphasis on contraceptive use for birth control is that there may be a significant unmet need for contraception to achieve birth spacing and limiting (Shrestha et.al,1992). The high acceptance of contraception is needed to decline the fertility rate in Nepal.

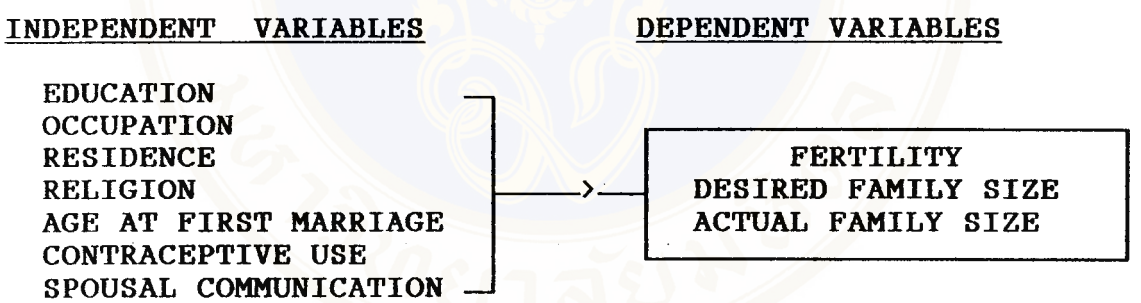
(G) SPOUSAL COMMUNICATION

As mentioned earlier, most Nepalese women feel family planning and contraceptive use are very sensitive issues. Spousal communication regarding contraceptive use is very uncommon among rural and even sub-urban women of Nepal (NFHS, 1991). The extent to which urban wives are reluctant to reveal contraceptive use and the degree of spousal communication is quite considerable. These are the plausible effects of increasing fertility as well as the status of women in Nepal.

1.7 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In this study the status of women is defined and measured by selected socio-economic, demographic indicators and cultural indicators, such as levels of education, occupation, religion, residence, age at first marriage, contraceptive use, and spousal communication. Which are linked with women's status. All of these indicators are independent variables which have a direct effect on the dependent variable. Fertility is the dependent variable for this study, which is measured by desired family size and the actual family size of the respondents. In this framework the independent variables have a direct relationship with the dependent variable.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK



1.7.1 OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF THE VARIABLES

EDUCATIONAL STATUS: Respondents are categorized here as (a) no-education and (b) primary and (c) secondary level of education.

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS: Occupational status is classified in three groups: (a) housewives (b) agriculture and (c) non-agriculture.

RESIDENTIAL STATUS: Respondents are divided into two groups;

(a) rural and (b) urban, on the basis of their residence.

RELIGIOUS STATUS: Religion is divided into two categories Hindus and Non-Hindus.

AGE AT MARRIAGE: The age at marriage is categorized on the basis of (a) below 17 and (b) 17 and above, which is the legal age of marriage of Nepalese women.

CONTRACEPTIVE USE: Respondents are divided into two groups; users and non-users. User's are further divided into permanent and temporary methods of contraception.

SPOUSAL COMMUNICATION: Discussion between the spouses regarding the number of children they would like to have during their reproductive period is divided into two groups, 'Yes' and 'No' among the respondents.

DESIRED FAMILY SIZE: Desired family size is defined as the number of children a respondent would like to have in her whole life. This is measured by a question on ideal number of children and is categorized as (a) want no more children (b) small family size (1-2),(c) large family size (3-4) and (d) 'Up to God'.

ACTUAL FAMILY SIZE: Actual family size is defined here as the number of living children respondents currently have, and is divided into four groups: (a) no children (b) 1-2 children,(c) 3-4 children and (d) more than five children.

1.7.2 HYPOTHESES:

1. Women with high educational status are more likely to have fewer numbers of children than women with lower educational status.
2. Women with high occupational status are more likely to have smaller family size than women with no occupation.
3. Urban women are more likely to have smaller desired family size than their rural counterparts.
4. The orthodox Hindus are more likely to have larger desired family size than other religious groups.
5. Women who married at early age are more likely to have larger family size than those who married later.
6. Women using contraceptives are more likely to have smaller desired family size than those who are non-users.
7. Women who have spousal communication are more likely to have smaller family sizes than women without any spousal communication.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 SOURCE OF DATA

This study uses secondary data from the Nepal Fertility and Health Survey conducted by His Majesty's Government Ministry of the Health FP/MCH Project on May 08,1991 (a joint agreement between UNFPA/Nepal and NIV). The NFHS of 1991 provided data on major demographic, family planning and maternal child health issues at the district, sub-regional and national levels. The survey was designed in such way that within each district, urban and rural samples had overall design probabilities. A multi-stage sampling procedure was used to identify eligible samples. For the rural sample, the specified number of VDCs (Village Development Committees) were selected. In the second stage, clusters were selected with probability proportionate to population size. The measure of the size are the number of households listed in the Voter's list of 1990 prepared for the general election by the National Election Commission. Finally, households with the selected clusters were listed first before the survey and the members were chosen at random start and sampling interval.

Questionnaires were used for both the household and individuals. Data collected in the individual questionnaire provided information on background characteristics, reproductive behavior, contraceptive use, breast feeding, nuptiality, mortality and fertility preferences. It is

important to mention here that the survey was not focused on women's status, since variables related to women's status are limited. The acceptable minimum sample size for analysis covered the whole region of Nepal. From the total sample population, a 10% sample of ever married women aged 15-49 was used for this study.

2.2 DATA PROCESSING AND ANALYSIS

Data processing and analysis were processed by SPSS/PC package. Descriptive and bivariate analyses were used. In the bivariate analyses, different inference testings were utilized for the population including association and relationship between the variables. The analyses were carried on three steps. In first step by showing the relationship between status indicators of independent variable with dependent variable. Secondly it examined the differentials between each of the indicators with fertility. Which is measured by desired family size and actual family size of the respondents. Finally it shows the difference between two dependent variables. Chi-square statistical tests were applied to show the relationship between independent and dependent variable. Altogether, seven hypotheses were tested to determine the relationship between status of women and fertility.

CHAPTER 3

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

3.1 SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SAMPLE

Table 1 describes the socio-cultural and demographic characteristics of the respondents on the basis of residency. A total of 2508 cases of ever married women aged 15-49 years are drawn for the descriptive analysis. Out of the total sample size, 92.8 percent of respondents were from rural area. Approximately 90 percent of the population of the kingdom is economically involved in agriculture (NPC Annual Status Report, 1991). In the population distribution a higher percentage of respondents (40.2 & 36.8) are found aged 35-49 years. The mean age of the respondents reported nearly 32 years for urban and 31 years for rural women. Looking at marriage patterns of the respondents, out of total sample population, 68.1 percent of them are reported married before 17 years and 31.9 percent are married after 17 years. Among rural respondents 68.3 percent of the rural respondent are married before 17 years while the 31.7 percent of them are married after 17 years. While 64.5 percent of urban women are married after 17 years and 35.5 percent of them are married after 17 years. It should be noted that marriage takes place at early ages in Nepalese society. There is a little difference in terms of mean age at marriage between rural and urban, For instance, urban women married a little later than their rural counterparts.

In regards to educational attainment, on the whole, 88.4

percent are found uneducated, 7.4 percent of them are educated till primary and 4.2 percent with secondary level of education. A majority of rural respondents (90.2 percent) are reported having no education. The level of education is found higher among urban respondents, among them, 10.2 percent were educated till primary and 25.6 percent are reported having secondary level of education. It may be due to fact that better schooling facilities are found only in the urban areas of the country besides education, the age patterns of the marriage also influence the education of the respondents, Due to the early marriage in rural areas, these women might miss the opportunities for schooling.

Looking at the occupational level of the respondents, out of total sample population 73.2 percent are engaged on agricultural sectors, 21.6 percent are housewives and 5.3 percent of them are engaged in non-agricultural activities, includes with business, service, daily wage jobs.

About 77.1 of rural women are involved in agricultural activities while urban women are found higher in non-agricultural sectors. Among them 22.1 percent of the urban women are housewives and 16.9 percent of them are engaged in non-agricultural sectors. This is in accordance with the idea that educated urban women are more likely to be employed in non-agricultural sectors. However, literacy rates are low for Nepalese women regardless of residency. Realizing this fact, the government as well as non-governmental organizations are putting more efforts in providing formal and non-formal education to population living in rural regions.

While looking at religion of the respondents, out of

total sample population 87.5 percent are Hindus. Hindus are found higher in rural areas (88.0 percent) while in urban, non-Hindus are shown higher.

Likewise, a total of 67 percent of the respondents are found having no spousal communication. Findings shows that spousal discussion among couples are quite similar in both urban and rural areas.

A low acceptance of contraceptive use is observed among respondents. Out of total sample population, only 22.0 percent of them are found using contraceptives. Among user's 18.5 percent of them are using permanent methods while only 3.5 percent are found to be using temporary methods. 79.3 percent of the rural respondents are not using any contraceptives while 42.8 percent of the urban respondents are found using contraceptives. Permanent method of contraceptives is found to be popular among respondents. These figures are not surprising, due to geographical setting and unplanned settlement of the population in the country. It is very difficult for contraceptive services to reach all rural areas of the country. Findings show that urban populations have a higher percentages of contraceptive use. This may be due to easier access to hospital and clinical facilities in urban parts of the country.

Children ever born by respondents are found to be exclusively higher, with an average of six or more. Nearly 21 percent of women have more than six children among them rural

are reported higher. Son preferences are highly observed in Nepalese society. Due to religion, socio-economic and cultural pressure, there should be at least one son in the family. It is a natural trend for parents to continue having children, even if their desired family size is reached, until a son is born. This may be one of the reasons for children ever borne by the respondents found higher in both rural and urban areas. In whole sum, 5 children are reported as the mean number of children born by the respondents during their reproductive period. These numbers are higher compared to other Southeast Asian countries (NFHS, 1991).

TABLE 1: *Percent distribution of ever married women aged (15-49) years by socio-economic and demographic characteristics.*

CHARACTERISTICS	URBAN (N)	RURAL (N)	TOTAL
	7.2 (181)	92.8 (2327)	100.0 (2508)
AGE OF THE RESPONDENTS:			
15-24	31.1 (56)	27.6 (643)	27.9 (700)
25-34	28.7 (52)	35.6 (828)	35.1 (880)
35-49	40.2 (73)	36.8 (856)	37.0 (929)
TOTAL	100.0 (181)	100.0 (2327)	100.0 (2508)
MEAN AGE	31.6 yrs	31.0 yrs	
AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE:			
Below 17 yrs	64.5 (116)	68.3 (1591)	68.1 (1707)
Above 17 yrs	35.5 (65)	31.7 (737)	31.9 (801)
TOTAL	100.0 (181)	100.0 (2327)	100.0 (2508)
MEAN AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE	15.3 yrs	15.0 yrs	
EDUCATION OF WOMEN:			
No-education	64.2 (116)	90.2 (2100)	88.4 (2216)
primary	10.2 (18)	7.2 (168)	7.4 (186)
Secondary	25.6 (46)	2.5 (59)	4.2 (106)
TOTAL	100.0 (181)	100.0 (2327)	100.0 (2508)
OCCUPATION OF WOMEN:			
Housewives	61.0 (110)	18.6 (433)	21.6 (543)
Agricul:	22.1 (40)	77.1 (1794)	73.2 (1835)
Non-Agricu:	16.9 (31)	4.3 (100)	5.2 (130)
TOTAL	100.0 (181)	100.0 (2327)	100.0 (2508)
RELIGION:			
Hindus	81.5 (147)	88.0 (2049)	87.5 (2196)
Non-Hindus	18.5 (33)	12.0 (279)	12.5 (312)
TOTAL	100.0 (181)	100.0 (2327)	100.0 (2508)
SPOUSAL COMMUNICATION:			
Yes	33.9 (119)	33.0 (1560)	33.0 (829)
No	66.1 (61)	67.0 (768)	67.0 (1679)
TOTAL	100.0 (181)	100.0 (2327)	100.0 (2508)
CONTRACEPTIVE STATUS:			
Not using	57.2 (103)	79.3 (1847)	77.8 (1950)
Permanent	12.8 (60)	87.2 (409)	18.7 (470)
Temporary	19.1 (17)	80.9 (71)	3.5 (88)
TOTAL	100.0 (181)	100.0 (2327)	100.0 (2508)

continuation..

CHARACTERISTICS	URBAN (N)	RURAL (N)	TOTAL
	7.2 (181)	92.8 (2327)	100.0 (2508)
TOTAL NO.OF CHILDREN EVER BORN			
0	7.8 (14)	12.0 (240)	10.1 (254)
1-2	28.3 (51)	28.9 (672)	28.8 (723)
3-5	48.3 (87)	40.1 (933)	40.7 (1020)
6+	15.6 (28)	20.8 (483)	20.4 (511)
TOTAL	100.0 (181)	100.0 (2327)	100.0 (2508)
MEAN NO. OF CHILDREN EVER BORN			
15-49	5.0	5.3	

3.2 BIVARIATE ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Bivariate analysis was used to show the relationships and the statistical test of all independent variables with dependent variables presented in the conceptual framework. In order to understand the relationship among variables, cross tabulations were applied. In the first step of the analysis, the relationship between independent variable with dependent variable were examined. Secondly, the analysis shows the differentials of each selected status indicator with fertility. Finally it shows the differentials between two family size of the respondents, which is measured by desired family size and actual family size.

(A) RELATIONSHIP WITH DESIRED FAMILY SIZE:

In this study, Table 2 presents percent distribution of status indicators by desired family size of respondents. Education, occupation, religion, residence, age at first marriage, spousal communication and contraception are used as selected status indicators for this study. Desired family size of the respondents is used as a dependent

variable. Relationships between these indicators with desired family size were presented in Table 2. The chi-square test shows significant association between independent and dependent variable.

In regards to desired family size of the respondents, about 30.3 percent of the respondents prefer small family sizes (1-2 children) as their desired family size, 37.0 percent of them stated that larger family size (3-4) children is their desired family size, while 29.7 percent claimed that their families were 'up to God.

(1) **Education:** In regards to desired family size, due to the low percentage on educational attainment of the respondents desired family size of couples were found to be large. From Table 2, about 37.1 percent of respondents with no education were found having larger desired family sizes. Nearly 33.0 percent of them believes their desired family size is up to God. But while looking at respondents having primary level of education, 45.2 percent of them prefer 1-2 children as their desired family size which is shown higher among other categories. Likewise, 71.0 percent of the respondents with secondary level of education desired 1-2 children as their desired family size. This shows that as the level of education increases, the number of children have decreases. Which clearly indicates that education and family sizes are correlated each other. Level of education have significant relationship with fertility behavior (Singh,1987). It is clearly shown in the results that about 32.5 percent of the uneducated respondents have reported that their family size is 'up to God, while 10.9 percent from primary level and 3.9

percent from secondary level desire their family size by God. This trend is similar to studies shown in Bangladesh, that higher the women's educational level, the fewer children she bears (East-West Centre,1988). This means to say that women with primary and secondary level of education, can determine their family size themselves while those with no education are still ignorant and have weak decision making power on their fertility behavior. Fertility and the desired family size found to have significant relationship. Chi-square test is statistically significant at $p<.01$ level and there is relationship ($c=.1$) found between education and the desired family size of the respondents.

(2) Occupation: Findings from Table 2 show that women who are engaged in agricultural activities reported desiring larger family size. Among them 38.3 percent, are found desiring 3-4 children and nearly 30.0 percent of them believes their family size on God which is found higher than other level of occupation. But higher percentage of housewives (42.4) prefer 1-2 children. Regarding the women engaged in non-agricultural sectors the higher percentage (34.1) reported desiring small family (1-2) children size. 38.3 percent of women involved in agricultural sectors prefer large family (3-4) children as their desired family size which is found higher in this category. The findings shows that women engaged in agricultural activities prefer larger family size where as women involved in non-agricultural sectors prefer smaller family size. It is obvious that most of respondents are from rural areas, where children are considered as supporting hands for parents in agricultural work, Due to this cause they

prefer large family size. The Similar studies carried out by United Nations (1975), shown that low fertility are found to be characteristics of women in professional and technical employment and women with high opportunity costs of earning. Chi-square test is statistically significant at p<.01 level and there is relationship (c=.1) found between occupation and the desired family size of the respondents.

(3) Residence: Regarding residential differences, findings show that 39.4 percent of urban respondents have smaller desired family sizes compared to 29.6% of the rural respondents. Likewise, 37.2 percent of rural respondents prefer large desired family size compared to 34.2 percent of the urban respondents. Nearly 30 percent of rural respondents is stated that their desired family size is 'up to God', compared to 25.4 percent urban respondents. It indicate that urbanization can also affect changes in family structure, where urbanites are more likely to prefer smaller desired family size than ruralites. Research carried out by NFHS, 1991, argued that, women residing mountainous and hilly regions are recorded slightly higher birth intervals than women from the central part. Chi-square test is statistically significant at p<.01 level and there is relationship (c=.1) found between residence and desired family size of the respondents.

(4) Religion: Findings shows that there is minimum variation noted in the results among Hindus and non-Hindus categories. Still, of the respondents belonging to Hindu domination, 37.2 percent prefer larger desired family size compared to 32.1% of non-Hindus. Nearly 32 percent of non-Hindus prefer small

family size when compared to 30 percent of Hindus. There is minimum variation noted in result among Hindus and non-Hindus. Findings supports the assumption that Hindu orthodox family favors larger families than other religious groups. Chi-square test is found not significant between religion and desired family size of the respondents. Because Nepal is a multi-ethnic, multi-racial, multi-cultural country, where most ethnic tribes and culture favors large family size.In Nepal, the orthodox Hindus believe that children are God's gift, whatever God desires they will get.

(5) Age at first marriage: Findings in Table 2 show that, 36.5 percent of respondents who married before they reached their legal age (before 17 yrs) have larger desired family size. Whereas only 38.5 percent of the respondents who married after their legal age (17 years), they were found to have smaller desired family sizes than 27.3 percent of respondents who married before 17 years. Likewise, it also shows that 32.4 percent of those who married before than 17 years beliefs their family size is up to God, compared to those 23.8 percent of women married after 17 years. It is clearly shown in the result that 32.4 percent of those respondents married before 17 years have larger families than 27.8 percent of those who married after 17 years. This reveals that age at marriage has an effect on family size. The differentials in age at first marriage and desired family size may be due to early sexual exposure, high risk of pregnancy and with little or no practice of contraception. A similar studies carried on Sri Lanka by Retherford and Thapa (1989), argued that desired

family size increases by age at marriage, number of living children and and martial duration. Moreover, those who married earlier tend to desire larger families. Findings supports the assumption that women with early marriage have larger desired family size than women with later marriages. Chi-square test is significant at <.01 level and there is relationship (c=.1) found between age at marriage and desired family size.

(6) Contraceptive use: Looking at Table 2, a higher percentage of the respondents (39.3 percent) who have large desired family size are reported to be using permanent methods as opposed to not using any methods. About 39.3 percent of the respondents who have reached their desired family size have adopted permanent methods, while 43.2 percent among those who have small family sizes are adopting temporary method. Though the difference is small, this supports the assumption of women who have reached their desired family sizes tends to use contraceptive methods. Chi-square test is significant at p<.05 level, there is no relationship found between contraceptive use and desired family size of respondents. This may be due to higher percentage of respondents are from rural areas and with low level of contraceptive acceptance. In fact, the socio-economic and geographical factors and mountainous topography makes difficult to reach the demand for contraception.

(7) Spousal Communication: Findings noted in Table 2 indicates very little differentials between the two categories. About 33.8 percent of respondents who have reached their desired family size have claimed to have spousal communication

compared to 28.6 percent of those who never discussed about family size preferences. About 38.3 percent respondents who have large desired family size were likely to discuss contraception with their husbands, which is higher than 36.4 percent of the respondents who do not communicate with their husband. Those 38.3 percent of the respondents who communicate with their husbands reported have smaller desired family sizes as opposed to 28.6 percent respondents who never discussed family size with their husbands. The differences between the respondents who preferred to leave their family size 'up to God' is negatively higher than those who communicated with their husband. Chi-square test is statistically significant at <.01 level. There is relationship (c=.1) found between desired family size and spousal communication among respondents.

TABLE 2: *Percent distribution of desired family size of ever married women aged 15-49 years by socio-economic and demographic indicators.*

Status Indicators	DESIRED FAMILY SIZE 0(N)	1-2 (N)	3-4 (N)	Up to God	TOTAL
Total	3.1(77)	30.3(759)	37.0(928)	29.7(744)	100.0
EDUCATION *					
No-education	3.3(74)	27.1(600)	37.1(823)	32.5(720)	100.0
Primary	1.5 (3)	45.2 (84)	42.4 (79)	10.9 (20)	100.0
Secondary	0.0 (0)	71.0 (75)	25.1 (27)	3.9 (4)	100.0
OCCUPATION:*					
Housewives	2.9(16)	42.4 (55)	32.3 (42)	24.0 (3)	100.0
Non-agricu:	1.3(17)	34.1(230)	33.4(225)	29.8(201)	100.0
Agricul:	3.2(59)	28.9(529)	38.3(703)	29.6(543)	100.0
RESIDENCE:*					
Urban	1.1(2)	39.4(71)	34.2(62)	25.4(46)	100.0
Rural	3.2(75)	29.6(689)	37.2(866)	30.0(698)	100.0
RELIGION:*					
Hindus	2.9(65)	30.2(663)	37.2(828)	26.2(642)	100.0
Non-Hindus	3.8(12)	31.3 (98)	32.1(100)	32.8(103)	100.0
AGE AT FIRST MARR*					
<17 years	3.7(63)	27.3(467)	36.5(624)	32.4(554)	100.0
>17 years	1.7(13)	38.5(293)	32.8(304)	27.0(191)	100.0
CONTRA: USE:*					
Not using	3.6(69)	29.2(569)	36.6(715)	30.7(598)	100.0
Temporary	1.6(1)	43.2 (38)	32.4 (29)	22.8 (20)	100.0
Permanent	1.3(6)	32.5(153)	39.3(185)	26.9(126)	100.0
SPOUSAL COMM:*					
No	4.1(70)	28.6(480)	36.4(611)	31.0(520)	100.0
Yes	0.9 (7)	33.8(280)	38.3(317)	27.1(224)	100.0

** p <.01 level.*

(B) RELATIONSHIP WITH ACTUAL FAMILY SIZE:

Table 3 presents percent distribution of independent variables by actual family size of respondents. Education, occupation, religion, residence, age at first marriage, spousal communication and contraception are status indicators

of independent variable and fertility is an indicator of the dependent variable, which is measured by actual family size of respondents. The relationship between women's status indicators observed with actual family size of the respondents is shown in Table 3. The chi-square test shows significant association between independent and dependent variables.

Table 3 shows that a 11.7 percent of respondents found having no living children. About 34.3 percent of them are reported having 1-2 living children, Nearly 34 percent of them with 3-4 living children and 20.4 percent of them found more than five living children. The higher percent of them reported 1-2 living children as their actual family size.

(1) **Education:** In regards to actual family size, respondents with no-education category larger numbers of living children when compared to respondents with primary and secondary level of education. In Table 3, about 34.4 percent of the respondents with no education have 3-4 living children as their actual family size which shown higher compared to primary and secondary level of education. It is clearly shown that nearly 57.0 percent of women with secondary level of education have 1-2 living children and nearly 44.0 percent of them with primary level of education have 1-2 living children while only 32.4 percent of uneducated respondents have 1-2 living children. The similar situation exist in Bangladesh, women with education till secondary level have birth an average of 2.4 children compared to the average 4 children among uneducated (East West Centre,1988). This shows the relationship between education and family size. Chi-square test is significant at $p<.01$ level and there is a relationship

(c=.14) between education and the actual family size.

(2) Occupation: Findings from Table 3 shows that nearly 17 percent housewives are reported having no living children which is found higher compared to other level of occupation. Nearly 38.0 percent of the women involved in non-agricultural sectors are found 1-2 living children, which is seems higher compared to other categories. Approximately 22.0 percent of women engaged on agricultural activities reported have more than five living children, which is found higher when compared to 15.9 percent of women from non-agricultural sectors and 17.9 percent of housewives. It is obvious that women who are engaged in agricultural activities wanted more children to support them in their work. Chi-square test is statistically significant but there is weak relationship (c=.1) found between occupation and actual family size of the respondents. This may be due to the fact that most of the respondents are from rural areas with low rates of education and are engaged in agricultural activities, thus favoring more living children for agricultural work.

(3) Residence: Regarding residential differences, findings show that 18.3 percent of urban respondents have more than five living children as their actual family size compared to nearly 21.0 percent of the rural respondents. This shows that rural respondents want more children than urban respondents. Findings clearly indicate that urbanization can also affect family structure. Urban women are more likely to have a fewer children when compared to their rural counterparts.

(4) Religion: Findings from Table 3, indicate that there is

little difference between Hindus and non-Hindus in terms of their actual family size. Still, respondents belonging to Hindu domination, 33.8 percent prefer 3-4 living children as their actual family size when compared to 31.9 percent of non-Hindus. Nearly 37 percent of non-Hindus prefer 1-2 living children as their actual family size compared to 33.9 percent of Hindus. However, there is minimum variation among Hindus and non-Hindus. Still, this supports the assumption that Hindus have more children than other religious groups. (5) **Age at first marriage:** Findings from Table 3, reveals that 34.6 percent of women who married before 17 years are reported have 3-4 living children, while nearly 31.3 percent of of women who married after 17 years have 3-4 living children. Nearly 42 percent of women who married after 17 years reported having 1-2 living children while only 31.0 percent of women who married before 17 years found having 1-1-2 children. Likewise, 24 percent of those respondents married before 17 have more than five children, compared to 13.6 percent of those who married after 17 years. This shows that age at marriage has an effect on family size. Women who married early age tends to have more child than those who married later. There is significant association found between age at marriage and actual family size of women. Chi-square test is significant at <.01 level and there is a relationship (c=.13) found between age at marriage and actual family size of the respondents.

(6) Contraceptive use: From Table 3 3, it shows that a higher percentage (56.6) of respondents, who have 3-4 living children reported to be using permanent methods, while a higher percentage (38.3) of women who have 1-2 living children are adopting temporary methods. Though the difference is small. It shows that women who have more children tends to use permanent method than those who have fewer children. The results supports the assumption that women who have reached their desired family size tend to use contraceptive methods. Chi-square test is significant at p<.01 level. There is relationship (c=.3) found between contraceptive use and actual family size of respondents.

(7) Spousal Communication: Findings noted in Table 3 show that about 23 percent of respondents who never discussed about family size have more than five living children when compared to those 15.5 percent who communicate their husband about family size. Likewise 44.5 percent of women who have spousal communication have 1-2 living children while 29.3 percent of women have 1-2 children who never have spousal communication. These difference shows that respondents who have spousal communication have fewer number of living children as their actual family size than those who do not have spousal communication. Chi-square test is statistically significant at <.01 level. There is a relationship (c=.15) between actual family size and spousal communication among the respondents.

TABLE 3: *Percent distribution of among ever married women aged 15-49 years by socio-economic and demographic indicators.*

Status Indicators	ACTUAL FAMILY SIZE 0(N)	1-2 (N)	3-4(N)	5+(N)	TOTAL
Total	11.7(294)	34.3(860)	33.6(841)	20.4(512)	100.0
EDUCATION:*					
No-education	11.2(248)	32.4(719)	34.4(762)	22.0(488)	100.0
Primary	19.5(36)	43.9 (82)	25.7 (48)	10.9 (20)	100.0
Secondary	9.4(10)	56.5 (60)	30.2 (32)	3.9 (4)	100.0
OCCUPATION:*					
Housewives	16.6 (90)	34.8(189)	30.7(167)	17.9 (97)	100.0
Non-agricu:	9.7 (13)	37.9 (49)	36.6 (48)	15.9 (21)	100.0
Agricul:	10.4(191)	33.9(622)	34.2(627)	21.5(394)	100.0
RESIDENCE:					
Urban	7.8 (14)	35.6 (64)	38.3 (69)	18.3 (33)	100.0
Rural	12.0(280)	34.2(796)	33.2(772)	20.6(479)	100.0
RELIGION:					
Hindus	11.9(261)	33.9(745)	33.8(742)	20.4(448)	100.0
Non-Hindus	10.5 (33)	37.0(116)	31.9 (99)	20.6 (64)	100.0
AGE AT FIRST MARR*					
<17 years	10.8(185)	31.0(528)	34.6(591)	23.6(403)	100.0
>17 years	13.7(109)	41.5(332)	31.3(251)	13.6(109)	100.0
CONTRA: USE:*					
Not using	14.9(291)	38.9(759)	27.8(542)	18.3(357)	100.0
Temporary	2.2 (2)	38.3 (34)	38.1 (34)	21.4 (19)	100.0
Permanent	0.2 (1)	14.3 (67)	56.6(266)	28.9(136)	100.0
SPOUSAL COMM:*					
No	13.3(223)	29.3(491)	34.6(581)	22.9(384)	100.0
Yes	8.6 (71)	44.5(369)	31.4(260)	15.5(128)	100.0

** p <.01 level.*

3.3 DIFFERENTIALS BETWEEN SELECTED STATUS INDICATORS AND FERTILITY

This second step of analysis shows the differentials between each of women's status indicators with fertility. In this study, desired family size and actual family size of the

respondents are taken as a measurement of fertility. Selected status indicators are followed by educational status, occupational status, residential status, religious affiliation, age at first marriage, spousal communication and contraceptive use.

(A) Differentials in educational status and fertility

Education is one of the status indicators for this study. Findings in Table 4 shows the educational status of the respondents by fertility levels. On the whole, 88.4% of the respondents have no education, 7.4 percent of them are educated till primary level and only 4.2 percent of them have secondary level of education. In sum, While looking at the desired family size of the respondents 37.0 percent of respondents desired more than 3-4 children but 33.6 percent are found to have 3-4 living children. The higher percent of respondents (37.0) are desired for 3-4 children but 33.6 percent are found having 3-4 children.

Categorically, looking at respondents with no education from both family size categories, 3.3 percent of the respondents did not desire any children, while 11.2 percent of the respondents actually have no children. Likewise, about 27.1 percent of the respondents desired 1-2 children, while 32.4 percent of the respondents actually have 1-2 living children. Nearly 37.1 percent of the respondents preferred 3-4 children as their desired family size, but 34.4 percent actually had 3-4 living children as their actual family size. Nearly 33 percent of them believe their family size is up to God, While 22.0 percent of the respondents have more than 5 living children. The results shows that respondents have

higher desired family size than their actual family size those who have no education.

Looking at respondents with primary level of education from both family size levels, 1.5 percent of respondents desire no children but 19.5 percent of them have no living children. Likewise, about 45.2 percent of respondents prefer 1-2 children but 43.9 percent of them have 1-2 living children. Nearly 42.4 percent of them desired 3-4 children but 25.7 percent have 3-4 living children as their actual family size. Nearly 10.9 percent of them beliefs their family size up to God, while 10.9 percent have more than 5 living children. The result from this category shows that the higher percent of women (45.2) desired for 1-2 children but actually nearly 44 percent of them are achieved 1-2 children.

Finally, looking at respondents with secondary level of education from both family sizes, None of them desired no children but 9.4 percent of them have no living children. Likewise about 71.0 percent of respondents prefer 1-2 children,while 56.5 percent of them actually have 1-2 living children. Nearly 25.1 percent of respondents desire 3-4 children as their desired family size, while 30.2 percent actually have 3-4 living children as their actual family size. Nearly 3.9 percent of respondents beliefs their family size up to God, but they have more than 5 living children as their actual family size. The findings reveals from this category shows that the higher percent of women (71.0) desired for 1-2 children but actually 57 percent of them achieved 1-2 children. The results indicate that women with secondary level education desired fewer children and actually they are found having 1-2 children as their actual family size.

TABLE 4. *Percent distribution of fertility by educational status of ever married women aged 15-49 years.*

Status Indicators	EDUCATIONAL STATUS LEVEL None (N)	Primary (N)	Secondary (N)	TOTAL
	88.4 (2216)	7.4 (186)	4.2 (106)	100.0
DESIRED FAMILY SIZE:*				
0	3.3 (74)	1.5 (3)	0.0 (0)	3.1 (77)
1-2	27.1 (600)	45.2 (84)	71.0 (75)	30.3 (759)
3-4	37.1 (823)	42.4 (79)	25.1 (27)	37.0 (928)
up to God	32.5 (720)	10.9 (20)	3.9 (4)	29.7 (744)
TOTAL	100.0 (2216)	100.0(186)	100.0(106)	100.0(2508)
ACTUAL FAMILY SIZE:*				
0	11.2 (248)	19.5 (36)	9.4 (10)	11.7 (294)
1-2	32.4 (719)	43.9 (82)	56.5 (60)	34.3 (860)
3-4	34.4 (762)	25.7 (48)	30.2 (32)	33.6 (841)
5+	22.0 (488)	10.9 (20)	3.9 (4)	20.4 (512)
TOTAL	100.0 (2216)	100.0(186)	100.0(106)	100.0(2508)

** p <.01 level.*

(B) Differentials in occupational status and fertility

Ocupation is another status indicator for this study. Table 5 shows differentials between fertility and occupational status. A majority of 73.2 percent of respondents are engaged in agricultural activities, 21.6 percent of them are housewives and 5.2 percent are reported involved in non-agricultural sectors. Non-agricultural works consists of business, service and daily wages work.

Table 5 shows that both categories of family size according to women's occupational status. It is obvious that women engaged in agricultural work activity show higher in levels of both desired and actual family sizes than those from non-agricultural and housewives.

While compared to both family sizes, respondents from housewives category 2.9 percent of them desired no children, but 16.6 percent of the respondents are found having no living

children. Likewise, nearly 32.2 percent of them desired for 1-2 children while nearly 33 percent of women reported having 1-2 living children. Nearly 34 percent of them desired 3-4 children but 31 percent of them actually have 3-4 children. Only 31.2 percent of women believe their family size on God, while 18 percent of them actually have more than five living children. These finding reveal that a higher percent of the respondents (33.7) are desired for larger family size, while 30.7 actually have 3-4 living children. This indicates that actual family size of the housewives are found less than their desired family size.

Looking at the agricultural category from both family size, 3.2 percent of women desired no children, while 10.4 percent actually have no living children. Likewise, nearly 29 percent of respondents prefer 1-2 children but 34 percent of them have 3-4 children. About 38.3 percent of them desire 3-4 children while 31.8 percent of them actually have 3-4 living children. Nearly 30.0 percent of women believe their desired family size on God, while 22 percent of them have more than five children. The results from this category reveals that women involved in agricultural sectors desired for large family size, but their actual family size is found smaller than their desired family size.

While compared to both family sizes, respondents reported from non-agricultural category, 1.3 percent of them desired no children but 9.7 percent of them are found having no living

children. Likewise, nearly 42.4 percent of them desired for 1-2 children while 34.3 percent of them reported having 1-2 living children. About 32.3 percent of them desired for 3-4 children but nearly 34 percent of them found having 3-4 children. About 24.0 percent of them beliefs their family size on God while 20.4 percent of them have more than five living children. The finding reveals from this category indicates that the higher percent of the respondents (42.4) which is found also higher for all level of occupation are desired for small family size but only 34.3 are found having 3-4 living children. This indicates that women involved in non-agricultural activities are more likely to have smaller family size.

TABLE 5. *Percent distribution of fertility by occupational status of ever married women aged 15-49 years.*

Status Indicators	OCCUPATIONAL STATUS LEVEL			
	Housewives (N)	Agri (N)	Non-Agri (N)	TOTAL
	21.6 (543)	73.2 (1835)	5.2 (130)	100.0
DESIRED FAMILY SIZE:*				
0	2.9 (16)	3.2 (59)	1.3 (2)	3.1 (77)
1-2	32.2 (175)	28.9 (529)	42.4 (55)	30.3 (759)
3-4	33.7 (183)	38.3 (703)	32.3 (42)	37.0 (928)
up to God	31.2 (170)	29.6 (543)	24.0 (31)	29.7 (744)
TOTAL	100.0 (543)	100.0 (1835)	100.0 (130)	100.0 (2508)
ACTUAL FAMILY SIZE:*				
0	16.6 (90)	10.4 (191)	9.7 (13)	11.7 (294)
1-2	34.8 (189)	33.9 (622)	37.9 (49)	34.3 (860)
3-4	30.7 (167)	34.2 (627)	36.6 (48)	33.6 (841)
5+	17.9 (97)	21.5 (394)	15.9 (21)	20.4 (512)
TOTAL	100.0 (543)	100.0 (1835)	100.0 (130)	100.0 (2508)

** $p < .01$ level.*

(C) Differentials in residential status and fertility

Residence is also an indicator of status for this study. In Table 6 differentials between fertility and residential status are shown. A majority of (92.8 percent) of the respondents are from rural area while only 7.8 percent are from urban areas.

Regarding urban respondents, 1.1 percent do not desire any children, while 7.8 percent actually have no living children. Likewise, a higher percent (39.4) among urban category desire 1-2 children as their desired family size but actually 35.6 percent of them have 1-2 living children. Furthermore, 34.2 percent of respondents desire 3-4 children while 38.3 percent of them actually have 3-4 living children. About 25.4 percent of urban women desired their family size is up to God, whereas 18.3 percent of them have more than five children. The findings reveal that a higher percent 39.4 percent of urban women prefer small family sizes (1-2 children), but only 35.6 percent of them have 1-2 children.

Looking at rural respondents in Table 6, 3.2 percent do not desire any children but 12.0 percent were found to have no living children. Nearly 30 percent of rural women desired 1-2 children, whereas 34.2 percent reported actually have 1-2 living children. About 37.2 percent of these women desire 3-4 children while 33.2 percent of them were found to have 3-4 children. Furthermore, 30.0 percent believe their desired family size is up to God while nearly 20.6 percent of them

have more than five children.

However, the findings reveal that desired family size of a higher percent (37.2) of rural women desired 3-4 children but actually 33.2 percent of the actually have 3-4 children. On the other hand, a higher percent (39.4) urban women desired for small family but 35.6 percent of them actually have 1-2 children. The results reveals that urban women desired for fewer children than their rural counterparts.

TABLE 6. *Percent distribution of fertility by residential status of ever married women aged 15-49 years.*

Status Indicators	RESIDENTIAL STATUS Urban	(N)	Rural	(N)		
	7.2	(181)			92.8	(2327)
DESIRED FAMILY SIZE:*						
0	1.1	(2)	3.2	(75)	3.1	(77)
1-2	39.4	(71)	29.6	(688)	30.3	(759)
3-4	34.2	(62)	37.2	(866)	37.0	(928)
up to God	25.4	(46)	30.0	(698)	29.7	(744)
TOTAL	100.0	(181)	100.0	(2327)	100.0	(2508)
ACTUAL FAMILY SIZE:						
0	7.8	(14)	12.0	(280)	11.7	(294)
1-2	35.6	(65)	34.2	(796)	34.3	(861)
3-4	38.3	(69)	33.2	(772)	33.6	(841)
5+	18.3	(33)	20.6	(479)	20.4	(512)
TOTAL	100.0	(181)	100.0	(2327)	100.0	(2508)

** p <.01 level.*

(D) Differentials in religious affiliation and fertility

Religion is an indicator of women status for this study. In Table 7, differentials between fertility and religious affiliation among respondents is shown. A majority (87.5 percent) of the respondents are Hindus, while only 12.5

percent reported to be non-Hindus.

Findings indicated that there is little difference noted between both categories of family size in terms of religious affiliation. While looking at family sizes of Hindu respondents, it is observed that very few (2.8 percent) of Hindu women desired no children, but 11.9 percent of them reported actually having no living children. About 37.2 percent of the respondents prefer 3-4 living children as their desired family size whereas 33.8 percent of them have 3-4 children. 26.2 percent of respondents attributed their family size to God, while 20.4 percent of them reported having more than five living children. Findings from the Table 7 observed that among Hindus, desired family size is higher than actual family size.

While looking at non-Hindu category, it shows that 3.8 percent prefer no children as their desired family size but 10.5 of this group actually have no children. The results are similar when looking at desired family size among non-Hindus. A higher percent of non-Hindus (37.0) have 1-2 living children which is higher than their desired family size when compared to Hindus. Hindus are reported desiring prefer large family size than non-Hindus.

TABLE 7. *Percent distribution of fertility by religious affiliation of ever married women aged 15-49 yrs.*

Status Indicators	RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION					
	Hindus (N)		Non-Hindus (N)		TOTAL	
	87.5	(2196)	12.5	(312)		
DESIRED FAMILY SIZE:						
0	2.9	(65)	3.8	(12)	3.1	(77)
1-2	30.2	(662)	31.3	(98)	30.3	(759)
3-4	37.2	(828)	32.1	(100)	37.0	(928)
up to God	26.2	(642)	32.8	(103)	29.7	(744)
TOTAL	100.0	(2196)	100.0	(312)	100.0	(2508)
ACTUAL FAMILY SIZE:						
0	11.9	(261)	10.5	(33)	11.7	(294)
1-2	33.9	(745)	37.0	(116)	34.3	(861)
3-4	33.8	(742)	31.9	(99)	33.6	(841)
5+	20.4	(448)	20.6	(64)	20.4	(512)
TOTAL	100.0	(2196)	100.0	(312)	100.0	(2508)

(E) Differentials in age at first marriage and fertility

Age at first marriage is another status indicator for this study. In Table 8 differentials between age at first marriage and fertility are shown. On the whole, 68.1 percent of the respondents reported married before legal age of marriage which is 17 years.

While looking at the respondents who are married before the legal age at marriage from both family sizes, 3.7 percent of respondents do not desire any children, but 10.8 percent of these respondents were found to be childless. Likewise, about 27.3 percent of the women prefer 1-2 children, but 31.0 percent of them were found having 1-2 living children. Furthermore, nearly 37.0 percent of them claimed 3-4 children as their desired family size, while 34.6 percent actually have 3-4 living children. Nearly 33% of the respondents believe their family size is up to God, but 23.6 percent of

the respondents have more than 5 living children. Findings reveal that desired family size of the respondents who are married before 17 years is higher than actual family size.

While looking at those who married after 17 years, only 1.7 percent of the respondents do not desire any children, while 13.7 percent of them were found to be childless. Among them, a higher percent (38.5) desired 1-2 children, but only 41.5 percent reported having 1-2 living children. Likewise, nearly 33 percent are desired large family sizes (3-4 children) but 31.3 percent were found having 3-4 living children. About 13.6 percent of respondents reported having more than five living children as their actual family size while 27.0 percent still believe their desired family size is up to God. Findings from Table 8, reveal that for respondents who are married after 17 years, actual family size is higher than desired family size.

TABLE 8. *Percent distribution of fertility by age at first marriage of ever married women aged 15-49 yrs.*

Status Indicators	AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE Below 17 years 68.1 (1707)	Above 17 years 31.9 (801)	TOTAL
DESIRED FAMILY SIZE:*			
0	3.7 (63)	1.7 (13)	3.1 (77)
1-2	27.3 (467)	38.5 (293)	30.7 (759)
3-4	36.5 (624)	32.8 (304)	37.0 (928)
up to God	32.4 (554)	27.0 (191)	29.7 (744)
TOTAL	100.0(1707)	100.0 (801)	100.0 (2508)
ACTUAL FAMILY SIZE:*			
0	10.8 (185)	13.7 (109)	11.7 (294)
1-2	31.0 (528)	41.5 (332)	34.3 (861)
3-4	34.6 (591)	31.3 (251)	33.6 (841)
5+	23.6 (403)	13.6 (109)	20.4 (512)
TOTAL	100.0(1707)	100.0 (801)	100.0(2508)

** p <.01 level.*

(F) Differentials in contraception and fertility

Contraceptive use is a status indicator in this study. In Table 9 differentials between fertility and contraceptive use among respondents are shown. On the whole, 77.8 percent of the respondents were not using contraceptives. Among the rest, 18.7 percent adopted permanent while 3.5 percent are using temporary methods.

Looking at both family size categories, the respondents who are not using any contraceptive method, 3.6 percent do not desire any children, while 14.9 percent of them reported being childless. Likewise, 36.6 percent desired for larger families (3-4 children) whereas 28 percent of them actually had 3-4 living children. 30.7 percent of women still believe that family size is up to God, whereas 18.3 percent of them were found having more than five children. It is observed that of the respondents who were not using contraceptives, desired family size was higher than actual family size.

In regards to contraceptive users, a higher percentage of respondents (39.3 percent) who have large desired family sizes and 56.6 percent who have 3-4 living children, reported to be using permanent methods, while 43.2 percent among those who have small desired family size were found using temporary methods, 38.3 percent of them who actually have 1-2 children are adopting temporary method. Findings from Table 9 shows that among contraceptive users, their actual family size higher than desired family size. It is also shown that those with 3-4 living children have a higher percent permanent method of users, while those who are limited with 1-2 children were found to be using temporary methods.

TABLE 9: *Percent distribution of fertility by contraceptive use among ever married women aged 15-49 years.*

Status Indicators	CONTRACEPTIVE USE			
	Not-Using(N)	Perm (N)	Temp (N)	TOTAL
	77.8 (1950)	18.7 (470)	3.5 (88)	
DESIRED FAMILY SIZE:*				
0	3.6 (69)	1.3 (6)	1.6 (1)	3.1 (77)
1-2	29.2 (569)	32.5 (153)	43.2 (38)	30.3 (759)
3-4	36.6 (715)	39.3 (185)	32.4 (29)	37.0 (928)
up to God	30.7 (598)	26.9 (126)	22.8 (20)	29.7 (744)
TOTAL	100.0(1950)	100.0 (470)	100.0 (88)	100.0(2508)
ACTUAL FAMILY SIZE:*				
0	14.9 (292)	0.2 (1)	2.2 (2)	11.7 (294)
1-2	38.9 (759)	14.3 (67)	38.3 (34)	34.3 (860)
3-4	27.8 (542)	56.6 (266)	38.1 (33)	33.6 (841)
5+	18.3 (357)	28.9 (136)	21.4 (19)	20.4 (512)
TOTAL	100.0(1950)	100.0 (470)	100.0 (88)	100.0(2508)

** p <.01 level.*

(G) Differentials in spousal communication and fertility

Spousal communication is another of the women status indicator in this study. In Table 10 shows differentials between fertility and spousal communication among women. On the whole, 33.0% of the respondents claimed to have spousal communication regarding family size preferences.

Findings from Table 10 indicate very little differentials between the two categories. While looking at the both family size categories of respondents who have spousal communication, it is found that less than one percent of them do not desire for any children, but 8.6 percent of these group actually have no living children. Likewise, 38.3 percent of them desire smaller families, whereas nearly 45 percent of them were found having 1-2 living children. 27.1 percent of believe that family size is desired by God, but nearly 16 percent of them were found having more than five children.

From Table 8 it is observed that respondents who communicate with their spouses have higher desired family size than actual family size.

Looking at those respondents who do not have spousal communication, 4.0 percent of them do not desired any children, but 13.3 percent were found actually having no children. In other categories, similar responses were observed among respondents. On the whole, the findings shows that among those respondents who have spousal communication actual family size is less than their desired family size.

TABLE 10. *Percent distribution of fertility by spousal communication among ever married women aged 15-49 years.*

Socio-cultural Indicators	SPOUSAL COMMUNICATION LEVEL					
	YES	(N)	NO	(N)	TOTAL	
	33.0	(829)	67.0	(1679)		
DESIRED FAMILY SIZE:						
0	0.9	(7)	4.1	(70)	3.1	(77)
1-2	33.8	(280)	28.5	(479)	30.3	(759)
3-4	38.3	(317)	36.4	(611)	37.0	(928)
up to God	27.1	(224)	31.0	(520)	29.7	(744)
TOTAL	100.0	(829)	100.0	(1679)	100.0	(2508)
ACTUAL FAMILY SIZE:*						
0	8.6	(71)	13.3	(223)	11.7	(294)
1-2	44.5	(369)	29.3	(491)	34.3	(861)
3-4	31.4	(261)	34.6	(581)	33.6	(841)
5+	15.5	(128)	22.9	(384)	20.4	(512)
TOTAL	100.0	(829)	100.0	(1679)	100.0	(2508)

** p <.01 level.*

3.4 Differentials on desired family size and actual family size of the respondents.

The third step of analysis show the differentials

between two family size of respondents. In Table 11, the differentials between two fertility levels of respondents are shown. Desired family size and actual family size considered as the measurement of fertility in this study.

While looking at two different levels of fertility, Looking at those respondents who reported having no living children, among them 7.3 percent of respondents desired no children. About 16.1 percent of women desire for 1-2 children, 12.1 percent of women desire for 3-4 children and 7.3 percent of them belief their desired family size is up to God.

In regards to those respondents reported actually having 1-2 living children. Among them, 21.1 percent prefer no children. 52.4 percent prefer 1-2 children as their desired family size. About 33 percent of women desire 3-4 children and 19.4 prefer their family size desired by God.

Looking at those respondents who actually have 3-4 living children. Among them 37.8 percent desire for no children. Nearly 20 percent of women desire 1-2 children and 38.3 percent of them desire 3-4 children as their desired family size. About 41.0 percent of them prefer their desired family size by God.

Likewise respondents who have reported actually having more than five living children. Among them 34.0 percent did not prefer any children. 11.2 percent of them desire 1-2 children. 17.1 percent of them desire for 3-4 children and 32.2 percent of them prefer their family size desired by God.

The findings from Table 11 shows that a higher percent of respondents (52.4) desired 1-2 children and actually they reported having 1-2 living children. On whole sum,it reveals that desired family size of the respondents reported higher than their actual family size of the respondents.

TABLE 11. *Percent distribution of actual family size by desired family size among ever married women aged 15-49 years.*

	ACTUAL FAMILY SIZE			
DFS	0 (N)	1-2 (N)	3-4 (N)	5+ (N)
DESIRED FAMILY SIZE:				
0	7.3 (6)	21.1 (16)	37.8 (29)	33.8 (26)
1-2	16.1(122)	52.4(398)	19.9(151)	11.5 (87)
3-4	12.1(112)	32.5(302)	38.3(355)	17.1(159)
up to God	7.3 (54)	19.4(145)	41.1(306)	32.2(240)

** p <.01 level.*

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

This study attempts to examine the relationship between the status of women and fertility in Nepal. Therefore the main objectives of the study are: to describe women's status and to highlight its on fertility. Socio-economic and cultural differentials of women's status are also examined in this study. Women's status is measured by the selected status indicators such as, education, occupation, residence, religion, age at first marriage , contraceptive use and spousal communication of the respondents. The source of data used for this study is from Nepal Fertility, Family planning and Health Survey (NFHS, 1991). The NFHS is the most recent nationally represent demographic sample survey in Nepal. It is important to point out that this survey was not designed to focus the status of Nepalese women. Therefore, the study has been carried out with limited variables related with women's status. The NFHS sample included ever married women aged 15-49 years. Altogether 2508 cases are drawn for statistical analysis for this study.

All of relevant description of socio-economic, demographic and cultural characteristics of the sample has been explained in Table 1 & 2 on the basis of residential differences. A majority 92.8 percent of the respondents are from rural counter areas. Nepal is predominantly an agricultural country, where 90% of the population is economically involved in agriculture (NPC Annual Status Report, 1991). In regards to educational attainment, 88.4

percent are reported uneducated and the rest 7.4 percent are educated till primary levels and 4.6 percent of them have secondary level of education. Urban women are found more educated than their rural counterparts. Education is found influenced by the age patterns of the marriage also, Due to the early marriage they might missed their schooling. In regards to occupational level of respondents, out of total sample population 73.2 percent are engaged on agricultural sectors, 21.6 percent of them are housewives and 5.3 percent are engaged on non-agricultural activities, which is included with business, service, daily wages jobs. 77.1 of rural women are involved in agricultural activities while urban women are found higher in non-agricultural sectors. However, literacy rates are low for Nepalese women regardless residency. Nepalese women are left far behind due to the several factors such as low literacy rate, low level of educational enrollment ratio and just stepping on the track of urbanization and country's poor economy. Realizing this fact, governmental and non-governmental organizations are putting more effort on providing formal and non-formal education in rural areas of Nepal. On the whole, the mean age at marriage of respondents is reported 15 years. About 90.2 % of the respondents has been married before the legal age of marriage (17 years). Due to religious and cultural pressure, marriage takes place at very early ages in the Nepalese society which may cause high fertility.

Furthermore, six children ever born by respondents were found commonly. In fact, son preferences were observed strongly in Nepalese society. This may be one of the plausible

cause for larger family sizes among respondents. At least one male child is preferred for socio-economic and religious reasons. Due to this fact, women prefer larger family size until they have at least one male child. Nepalese women have weak decision making status in their societies and are severely restricted by religious, economic, socio-cultural traditions. For decline in fertility in Nepal it is essential that the empirical interrelations among demographic, social and cultural processes be better understood (Hayes 1993). A low level of contraceptive use status (22.2%) and spousal communication (33.0%) had been observed in this study.

Based on these findings from the background characteristics of respondents, it can be concluded that these all socio-economic and cultural status have a major effect on the status of women and fertility. All of these variables were found to be correlated directly or indirectly on fertility. In regards to educational attainment, it has clearly been shown that education is a vital indicator affecting women's status. Education is the main factor which can change the attitudes and behavior of women in every aspect of life (Caldwell 1982), the spread of compulsory education in developing countries is expected to bring changes in attitude towards small family sizes (Caldwell, 1982; Thongthai, 1986; Freedman, 1988). Occupational status of women also found to have a stronger impact on fertility, Occupation is correlated with fertility. Caldwell further points out, the expansion of education reduces a child's potential for work as children have to attend school. Likewise, women's lower earnings are related to educational differentials as well as work experience, labor

market force and social attitudes (Ware, 1989). The process of change in family size first occurs in urban areas and later in rural areas. Nepal is recently facing a rapid urbanization process. This study indicates that residential differences have a significant impact on fertility, where the majority of the respondents are found from rural area of the country. In sum, study revealed that women facing low level of education, prevalent agricultural work status, early marriages, larger desired and actual family sizes and low acceptance of contraception as well as poor spousal communication among couples. Furthermore, women are faced with weak decision making status with regards to fertility. Combining these factors, which are responsible for high fertility rates among women. Furthermore, it can be proved that the status of women had observed low in Nepal.

In regards to examine the relationships and differentials between status indicators and fertility level, bivariate analysis (cross tabulation) were done to show the relationships and differentials between independent and dependent variables.

The analysis confirmed that each status indicator,such as education occupation, residence, religion, age at marriage, contraception, spousal communication are correlated each other with fertility levels, which is measured by desired family size and actual family size of the respondents. The proportion of educated women from urban areas found higher than their rural counterparts. Regarding educational difference by fertility levels, the results shows that as level of education increases number of children are found decreases. Such as

women with no education desired for larger desired family size. Women with secondary level of education, a higher percent of them desired for small family. Women with more than primary level of education had lower fertility than those with no education (Casterline, 1984; Alam, 1984; Sathar 1984 cited in Women's Status and fertility in Pakistan,1993). Education and family size of the women are found to be correlated.

In regards to occupational status and fertility, women who are engaged in non-agricultural sectors are found having fewer children than those who have involved in agriculture sectors and housewives. A higher percent of women are reported engaged in agriculture and found preferring larger family size. Hindus were found having larger desired family size than non-Hindus. Which supports the assumption of orthodox Hindus favor larger families. It was clearly shown in Table 8, women who were married before 17 were reported having larger desired family size than those who married after 17 years. It shows that age at marriage had an effect on family structure of respondents. This is due to early sexual exposure, risk of pregnancy, and with little or no practice of contraception among women. This shows that women who marry earlier more likely to have larger desired family size. Which confirms that age at first marriage and family sizes are correlated. Respondents those having spousal communication reported having smaller desired family size compared to those who do not communicate with their husband. Likewise 44.5% of the respondents who have spousal communication have 1-2 children as their actual family size, Which showed that spousal

communication and family size of the respondents are correlated. Regarding to contraceptive use and fertility. Respondents who have reached there desired family size have found to be using permanent methods. Respondents who have smaller family size were found to be using temporary methods. Likewise. respondents those actually have more than five children were found to be permanent method users. These results confirmed that women with larger desired family size are more likely to use contraceptives.

While looking at difference between two levels of fertility. On the whole, respondents desired family size is reported to be higher than their actual family size.

Observing all these findings, it is concluded that education, occupation, residential differences, age at marriage have a strong effect on women's status and fertility. Besides these, a strong religious and cultural factors are also influencing the status of women. Several factors are responsible influencing women's status such as majority of the rural respondents with no education, and engaged on agricultural work, larger desired and actual family size, early marriages low acceptance of contraception and poor spousal communication. Furthermore, a weak decision making status on fertility among women have resulted in high fertility and low status of women in this study.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS:

The policy recommendations which may be derived from this study is to improve women's status and decrease fertility rates are as given below:

(1) As education is a vital factor observed for raising women's status. Nepalese parents seems relaxed on sending daughters to the school, they are supposed to look after the household works. Therefore equal opportunity for female children should be awarded in education, especially in rural areas of the country.

(2) Free educational programmes should be launched by the government until secondary level of education, so that every individual can get opportunity for education.

(3) As agriculture is the main source of rural employment, and off-farm work opportunities are very scarce for women, therefore equal opportunity should be offered for women according to their qualification to compete with their male counterparts for higher status jobs.

(4) More knowledge and practice of family planning services is needed in rural areas of the country. Family planning and population education programme should be continued to bridge the gap between the supply and demand for contraception by improving quality and quantity of service, so that family planning clinics should be easily accessible in the rural areas.

(5) The results of this study has shown that mean age

at marriage is 15 years which is affecting the fertility patterns of women. In order to discourage early marriage strict legislation and enforcement should be implemented.

(6) As in the study it was found that women have very weak decision on their fertility behavior, therefore women should be ensured their reproductive rights and control over their own fertility, For instance to have the desired number of children to decide when to get married or not to get married.

(7) As religion and cultural factors are also influencing the women's status, therefore changes must be brought by women themselves on the traditional, cultural values, and customs which favors gender discrimination in society, which helps themselves to boost up their status in society they belonged.

This study was confirmed with limited indicators on women's status. For detailed analysis on women's status, more indicators concerned with socio-economic and cultural indicators related to women's status should be added. Such as son preference, family types, participation in household decision making, income etc. It is recommended that further detailed investigation of the relationship among women's status and fertility, primary data should be applied. Furthermore, to achieve better results for these types of study qualitative analysis should be adopted.

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