# Knowledge and Practices of Breastfeeding among Mothers inMechinagar Rita Koirala<sup>1</sup> Jiban Mani Paudel, PhD\*<sup>2</sup>

# Abstract

Although breastfeeding is a universal practice, it varies across social, economic, cultural, and educational variablesin society. In this context, this paper exploresknowledge and practices of breastfeeding among the mothers (N=132) in two culturally different groups, namely hill-origin and Tarai-origin, who live in Mechinagar, a village of the eastern Tarai of Nepal. This study was carried out based on mixed methods in which data were collected through Individual Survey (IS), Key Informant Interview (KII), and Focus Group Discussion (FGD). The findings of the study show that the knowledge of and behavior of breastfeeding among mothers are influenced and shaped by socio-demographic, cultural, and health-related factors, such as – caste and ethnic backgrounds, occupation, age, the birth interval between children, education, social belief, cultural values, etc. Consequently, the mother is not a homogeneous group, but rather a more diverse group that demandsthe concept of social heterogeneity for a better understanding of breastfeeding knowledge and behaviors in a diverse society. It will help to develop appropriatematernal educational programs to improve breastfeeding practices in society.

Keywords: Breastfeeding, knowledge, practices, mothers, socio-demography

# Introduction

Breastfeeding is a practice in which mothers feed the baby with milk from their breast that benefitsboth mother andbaby (WHO 2008). The early suckling stimulates breast milk production and facilitates the release of oxytocine, which help the contraction of the uterus and reduces post-partum blood loss to the mother (NDHS 2006). Breast milk contains colostrum which is highly nutritious and has anti-bodies protection for the newborn baby from different kinds of diseases (Labbok 2001;

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NDHS 2006; Sattari et al. 2019). It is considered the most cost-effective intervention for reducing childhood mortality and morbidity (WHO 2008; Ulak et al. 2012). Early initiation of breastfeeding also fosters the social bonds between mother and child (NDHS 2006).

The breastfeedingpractice is common in the world including Nepal. It is a subject matter of health sciences and social sciences, including population studies. Demographers are more concerned with the study of population dynamics like migration, fertility, and mortality (Shryock & Siegel 2004; Bhande & Kanikar 2004), and the latter two components are rested on breastfeeding behaviors. Among many other short-term, medium, and long-term benefits of breastfeeding, there is a low chance of pregnancy among mothers who feed their breast milk to their children for a long time (Labbok 2001 & Sattari et al. 2019). In this way, fertility behaviorand breastfeeding practices are interconnected to each other. Therefore, it is one of the important subject matters of populationstudies.

Breastfeeding is a social norm and practiceduniversally. Socio-demographic variables such as age, occupation, caste and ethnicity, and mothers' education have relations with breastfeeding practices that enhance the survival rate of children by reducing morbidity and mortality. Properly breastfed infants grow better and experience less sickness and fewer deaths than other infants who are not breastfed (El-Kariri and Kanoa 2007). Each year, it saves about six million infant lives by preventing diarrhea and acute respiratory infection (John 2005).

Nepal is a multi-caste and ethnic country having diverse cultural practices (Bista1972; Sharma 2008). The cultural values of the society also influence the breastfeeding behavior among mothers (Benett 1976; Paneru1981; Zeitlyn & Rawshan 1997; NDHS 2006; Aryal 2005 & 2007; Daglas & Antoniou 2012; Ulak et al. 2012). Hence, feeding breast milk isalso asociocultural phenomenon rather than nutritious and anti-biotic values for the growth of a childand protection from various diseases (Paneru 1981; Zeitlyn & Rawshan 1997; Paudel 2022). Therefore, different cultural groups in a society have different perceptionsofit (El-Kariri and Kanoa 2007). It is, therefore, not only a subject matter of health or medical sciences but also an

interesting issueforpopulation studies. In this context, this paper explores the knowledge and practices of breastfeeding among the hill-origin and Tarai- origin mothers who live in Mechinagar, a village of the eastern Tarai of Nepal by liking it withcaste and ethnicity, occupation, and educational backgrounds of mothers.

## Methods and Study Area

This study was carried out as a part of a master's degree in population studies in 2011. The study was conducted among breastfeeding mothers in Mechinagar, Jhapa district which was selected purposively.

Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected during the study. Quantitative data were collected from IS from 69 Tarai-origin mothers (Rajbansi, Kisan, &Danuwar) and 63 hill-origin mothers (Brahmin& Chhetri, Magar, and Limbu) (see Table 1). The mothers who had less than 5 years old babies were only included in the study. Before doing the IS, the researcher met the community health workers who provided information about the mothers who had less than 5 years oldof kids. In addition, the recommendation of the mothers also helped the researcher to find the mothers for IS.

Qualitative data were collected through FGDs and KII. Three FGDs were done separately with different groups like mothers, men, and women. Besides it, six KII were done with two mothers, two mothers-in-law, one man, and one community health worker).

Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents	Frequency		
Total	132		
Place of Origin			
Tarai Origin	69		
Hill Origin	63		
Caste and Ethnicity			
Rajbansi	44		
Brahmin/Chhetri	35		
Kisan	22		
Magar	18		
Limbu	10		
Danuwar	3		
Education Status			
Illiterate	51		
Literate	30		
Primary	11		
Lower Secondary.	16		
Secondary	15		
SLC +	15		

Table 1: Socio-demographic	characteristics of the respondent
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Source: Field Survey 2011

Quantitative data were presented in tables and analysis was done by using simple statistical methods whereas qualitative data were presented in words by considering the theme. The data were interpretedlogically.

# Caste and Ethnicity and Knowledge and Practices on First Breastfeeding

First breast milk is considered the most important and valuable object due to the higher amount of colostrum that may help the physical development of children as well as their immune to fight against infectious diseases (WHO 2008). The primary

understandingofthe importance of first breast milk provides insightful knowledgefor the successful practices of first breast milk feeding to their children.

As shown in Table 2, more than two-thirds of mothers have good knowledge of feeding first breast milk to the baby in which caste and ethnicity or place of origin of mothers do not play a significant role in it, although the variation existed.For instance, in the Rajbansi community, however, 13.6% of mothers did not know to feed first breast milk to their babies.

Important	Tarai Origin		Total	Hill Origin			Total	
of first	Rajban	Kisan	Danu		Brahmin	Magar	Limbu	
milk	si		war		/			
					Chhetri			
Yes	72.8	100.0	100.0	82.6	100.0	83.3	70.0	90.5
No	13.6	-	-	8.7	-	-	-	-
Not state	13.6	-	-	8.7	-	16.7	30.0	9.5
Total	44	22	3	69	35	18	10	63

Table 2: Knowledge of First Breast Milk Feeding by Caste/Ethnicity

Source: Field Survey 2011

The findings show that breastfeeding is a common practice among the studied groups, as well as socially and culturally acceptablebehavior. However, it is determined by socioeconomic background, educational level, and cultural values and beliefs (Aryal 2007). As Aryal stated, this study also found the gap between knowledge and behavior regarding the first breast milk feeding among the caste and ethnic backgrounds of the respondents. For instance, avoiding the first breast milk to feed the babywas higher among the Kisan (54.5%), followed by Rajbansi (20.5%), and Magar (16.7%). They believed that the first milk will hurtthe stomach of a baby.It means the knowledge about the anti-biotic values against diseases of the first breast milk is still poor among Kisan, Rajbansi and Magarmother as compared to others.

Feeding	Tarai Origin			Total	Hill Origin			Total
of First	Rajbansi	Kisan Danuwar			Brahmin/	Magar	Limbu	
milk					Chhetri			
Yes	79.5	45.53	100.0	69.6	100.0	83.3	100.0	95.2
No	20.5	54.5	-	30.4	-	16.7	-	4.8
Total	44	22	3	69	35	18	10	63

Table 3: Feeding Practices First Breast-milk by Caste/ethnicity

Sources: Field Survey 2011

To understand the perception of feeding breast milk to infants and young children, the researcher asked key informants as well as mothers, mother-in-laws, and menduring the FGD in the study area. The overall perception among mothers, mother-in-laws, and husbands was not so varied. They considered breastfeeding important due to its high nutritious values that help to make the child strong, active, and healthy. It also contributesto the growthof the baby. In the FGDs with mother groups and three key informants linked with a social bond in it. A mother said,

Breast milk feedingfostersthe social bond between mother and baby and makes it stronger and helps to increase the love and affection for each other. If a child sucks her mother's breast, he/she will not only grow well and becomes healthy, but he/shewill take care of his/her mother in the future. If a mother does not feed her milk, the children also won't express their love and affection towards their mother in her elderly days. (K. Rajbansi, 45 years old woman)

A similar perception was found ina male respondent. He believed that breastfeeding makes mother-child relations very healthy. These statements manifest that breastfeeding is more than nutritional and health value to babies and mothers as claimed by medical sciences or health organizations. Carsten (1995) argues that feeding is a vital component in the long process of becoming a person and

participating fully in social relations. Agreeing with Carsten, the social value of breastfeeding is more to the local people than nutritional onethat bindsmothers and children to each other socially, culturally, and emotionally.

## **Education and Knowledge and Practices of First Breastfeeding**

It is claimed that women who have a higher level of education are slightly more likely to have sound knowledge about first breastfeeding their children than women with lower levels of education (NDHS, 2006). This study also supports the NDHS findings. The school-attended mothers have better knowledge about the feeding of first breast milk than the mothers who did not attend the formal education at all. It does not mean that formal school educationnot attended mothers did not know about it. They gained that knowledge from other sources like kins, neighbors, community health workers, health workers, mass media, and so on. The findings also reveal thatthere is still a gap between knowledge and practices regarding the feeding of first breast milk to babies among the mothers on their educational status. As data shown in Table 3, however, the feeding of first breastmilk is extensively increased as the educational level of the mother is increased. All mothers who attended formal education fed their first milk to their babies whereas it was only 64.3 % and 75% to literate and illiterate mothers correspondingly.

Educational status	Knowledge		Practi	Practices			
	Yes	Not state	Yes	No			
Illiterate	74.5	24.5	64.7	35.3	51		
Literate	87.5	12.5	75.0	25.0	24		
Primary	100.0	-	100.0	-	11		
Lower Secondary	100.0	-	100.0	-	16		
Secondary	100.0	-	100.0	-	15		
SLC	100.0	-	100.0	-	12		
IA and Above	100.0	-	100.0	-	3		
Total	81.8	18.1	81.8	18.1	132		

Table 4: Knowledge and Practices on First Breastfeeding by Mothers' Education

Source: Field Survey 2011

## **Knowledge and Practices on Initiation of Breastfeeding**

Immediate breastfeeding after delivery is considered most important due to the higher amount of colostrum which may help the physical development of children as well as their immune to fight against infectious diseases (WHO 2008). However, the knowledge about the importance of initiation of breastfeeding is equally important to apply it in practical life. There was no variation in knowledge on theinitiation of breastfeeding to the babies by caste and ethnic backgrounds as well as theplace of origin of mothers in the study area, althoughit was varied practice among them. Except for the Danuwar, the majority of the mothers fed their first breast milk to their babies after an hour of delivery.

First	Tarai Origin			Tota	ta Hill Origin			
Breastfeedin	Rajbans	Kisa	Danuwa	1	Brahmin	Maga	Limb	1
g	i	n	r		/	r	u	
					Chhetri			
Within a	40.9	27.3	100.0	39.1	40.0	33.3	70.0	42.9
hour of								
delivery								
After one	45.5	72.7	-	52.2	51.4	66.7	30.0	52.4
hours of								
delivery								
Both	-	_	-	-	8.6	-	-	4.8
Not stated	13.6	-	-	8.7	-	-	-	-
Total	44	22	3	69	35	18	10	63

Table 5: Caste and Ethnic-wise Initiation of Breastfeeding

Source: Field Survey 2011.

## **Knowledge and Practices on Duration and Frequency of Breastfeeding**

World Health Organization also recommend exclusive breastfeeding for about the first 6 months, with continued breastfeeding along with introducing appropriate complementary foods for up to 2 years of age or longer (WHO 2008). Even the health

organizationsrecommended, breastfeeding practices adopted by mothers are still lacking in terms of late initiation of an early starting of complementary feeding among urban-dwelling mothers in Nepal (Subba et al. 2006). The findings show that all mothers know aboutbreastfeeding their babies, although variations in the duration of sucking breast milk existed. The knowledge of the duration of breastfeeding was slightly weak among Tarai-origin mothers than among hill-origin mothers. It also varied within the caste and ethnic backgrounds of the mothers.

Knowledge	Tarai Origin			Total	Hill Origin			Total
of breast	Rajbans	Kisa	Danuwa		Brahmin	Magar	Limb	
milk	i	n	r		/		u	
					Chhetri			
One year	6.8	45.5	-	18.8	-	-	-	-
Two years	-	-	-	-	17.1	19.0	-	14.3
More than	63.7	13.6	-	44.9	74.3	19.0	70.0	57.1
two years								
Not stated	29.5	40.9	100.0	36.2	8.6	62.0	33.3	28.6
Total	44	22	3	69	35	18	10	63

Table 6: Caste/ethnic wise knowledge on the duration of breastfeeding

Source: Field Survey 2011

The findings of the study reveal the multiple responses of mothersaboutthe importance of breastfeeding for up to 2 years and longer to their babies. Among the total respondents, 59.1% of mothers informed that breastmilk had more nutritionalvaluethan other food items for their babies. Similarly, 5.3% of respondents said that it can protect their babies from diseases and make them healthy and stronger. However, slightly more than one-thirdof mothers did not respond to the answer at all. It means these categories of mothersmight not know about it.

Breastfee	Tarai Origin			Total	Total Hill Origin			
ding in	Rajbansi	Kisan	Danuwar		Brahmin/	Magar	Limbu	
year					Chhetri			
Less	18.9	18.2	100.0	21.7	8.6	33.3	70.0	25.4
thanOne								
Less than	13.6	40.9	-	21.7	-	33.3	-	9.5
two								
Upto two	6.8	-	-	4.3	34.3	16.7	-	23.8
More	18.2	40.9	-	24.6	50.0	-	-	26.9
than two								
Multiple	43.2	-	-	27.5	8.6	16.7	30.0	14.3
year								
Total	44	22	3	69	35	18	10	63

Table7: Practices of Breast-Feeding by Caste/Ethnic Background of Mothers

As data presented in Table7, 30.4% of Tarai-originmothersfed their breast milk to their babies for two and more years whereas this figure was 50.8 % among the hill-origin mothers. Similarly, 27.5% of Tarai-origin and only 14.8% of hill-origin mothers gave multiple responses. It means feeding mother milk to a baby up to the age of 2 years is still not fully practiced in the study area as recommended by health organizations. Among the hill-origin people, Brahmin and Chhetri mothers fed longer duration to their offsprings than other ethnic groups like Magar and Limbu. This reflects that knowledge of breastfeeding and its application in practical maternal life is higher amonghill-origin mothers, especially Brahmin and Chhetri than others. In Nepal, insufficient breast milk was the main reason for introducing other foods, especially semi-solid porridge (*lito*), before six months of age (Ulak et al., 2012). Besides insufficient breast milk, the short birth spacebetween the first child and the second child, and the stop of breast milking, to give the continuity of study by mothers were the main reasons behind giving up breastfeeding their babies.

In the study area, knowledge about feeding the first breast milk and feeding the breast milk up to 2 years of the baby was shaped by the access to different agencies and institutions which was not found the same. Educated motherslearnedand internalized the knowledge from formal institutions such as schools, colleges, reading materials, and mass media than informal institutions whereas uneducated motherslearnedit from informal institutions like family members, kins, neighbors, community health workers, mass media, and so on.

Table 8: Mothers' educational status and knowledge on he duration of breastfeeding to babies and its practices

Educational	K	Knowledge (in years)			Practices (in years)				Total
status	≤1	≤2	<2	Not	≤1	≤2	<2	Multiple	
				stated				responses	
Illiterate	15.9	5.9	47.1	31.4	17.6	29.4	29.4	23.5	51
Literate	20.8	12.5	54.2	12.5	-	-	87.5	12.5	24
Primary	-	27.3	54.5	18.2	-	27.3	18.9	54.5	11
Lower	-	-	100.0	-	50	-	-	50	16
Secondary									
Secondary	-	-	100.0	-	20.0	-	20.0	60.0	15
SLC	-	-	100.0	-	-	-	100.0	-	12
IA and	-	-	100.0	-	-	-	100.0	-	3
above									
Total	9.8	6.8	67.4	15.9	15.6	13.6	42.4	28.8	132

Source: Field Survey 2011

This study reveals that the lactation period of the baby was not the same among the mothers. It was shaped by the mother's occupation and the age of the baby. The breastfeeding frequency was more in the lower age of the baby, and it gradually decreased along with the age of the baby going up. Generally, they started to feed solid and non-solid items to their children after performing the rice-feeding ritual which takes place in the 6<sup>th</sup> month and the 5<sup>th</sup> month for son and daughter respectively in Brahmin, Chhetri, and Magar. It was in the 4<sup>th</sup> month for the son among Kisan and in the 3<sup>rd</sup> month for the daughter. However, there is no special month for the rice-

feeding ceremony among Limbu, Rajbansi, and Danuwar. However, it held between five to nine months before growing up of first teeth.

Victor Turner, a symbol anthropologist, claims that ritual is a process of separating a person from one stage to another (1970). Agreeing with Turner, there are various rituals among many cultural groups through which mother-children, in particular relationships are symbolically separated. Among them, a rice-feeding ceremony is one. It is not only a function of introducing solid items to the baby, but it is a symbol of weakening the nursing relationship between mother and children ritually. Bennet (1976) stated that the end of the nursing relationship between mother and son is ritualized when the mother feeds her son with yogurt before he sets off with the marriage party to bring back the bride. Similarly, some ritual activities in the marriage ceremonies like durdai among Newar, a system of payment of one and a half rupees to the girl's mother among Magar, payment of a bottle of local brew, leg of goat and two and a half rupees to the bride's mother in Sunuwar and Jirel (Bista 1972) are the symbol of separating the relationship between milk and body i.e., mothers and son/daughter (Bennett 1976). Moreover, the mother also claims her rights over children by her biological capacity of gestation for 9 months in the womb and feeding of breast milk (Poudel). Hence, breastfeeding is a cultural symbol and a salient way of expressing the power over children by mothers in a patriarchal society. **Breastfeeding Time** 

In the study area, the respondents said that they feed their breast milk to their babies both day and night, however, the daytime feeding was varied according to occupation than class, caste, and ethnic background, as well as the educational status of mothers. Housewife mothers sucked their breast milk when they felt their children hungry whereas working mothers, who were not at home during working hours, sucked their breast milk to their babies in the morning, theevening, and at night (see Box).

R. Rajbansi was the age of 31 and lived in a joint family. In her family, she had a mother-in-law, a husband, and three children (two daughters and a son). Her daughters were seven and four years old and her son was 9 months. Her family depended upon wage labor for livelihood. Both her husband and she worked in the labor market. Her husband was a rickshaw puller, and she was a wage laborerand

worked in a broom-grass seller's factory. Her working place was about 25 minutes away from her home. Her work began at 8 a.m. and closed at 5 p.m. Therefore, she fed her baby at 7.33 am and fed after returning home in the evening.

D. Poudel, (a 29-year-old mother) worked at a government office located at Mechinagar. She had a son. As per the rule, she got a maternal leave for one and a half months after delivery. After over maternal leave, she rejoined the office. Her office was about 35 minutes' walking distance from her home. There was no provision for baby care at her office. She used to leave her baby to her mother. Before leaving the home for an office, she used to feed her breast milk to her baby. In the daytime, her mother fed cow milk to the baby. When she backed home from the office, she again used to feed breast milk to her son.

The cases presented in the box show that working women had a positive attitude but work place and short maternity leaves had a negative impact on breastfeeding. This is common among working women in urban areas (Sivakami 2003; Khassawneh et al. 2006, Al-Ruzaihan et al. 2016; Altamimi et al. 2017).

## **Influencing Factors of Breastfeeding Behaviors**

Birth space, the mother's health, and the willingness of children to suck their mothers' milk were also influenced by the duration of breastfeeding children rather than the sex. A mother shared her experience on how her health problem influenced the duration of breastfeeding for her daughter and son differently.

R Sharma, (35-year-old mother) had two children. The first one was the daughter who was born after two years of marital life. The second one was the son who was born after nine years of the first child. She was healthy and no health problems occurred. Then, she fed her for more than two years. After that, she gave up sucking breasts because she was interested in other solid and non-solid items. However, the health problem occurred duringthe son's period. She checked up at the nearby hospital and the medical report showed stone in her kidney. Then, the doctor advised her for an operation as soon as possible. Then, she had an operation. Therefore, she became

weak and the lactation of breast milk gradually became drier day by day. Consequently, her son sucked breast milk only for six months.

Unlike the findings of various studies (Paneru 1987; Zeitlyn and Rowshan 1997; Daglas and Antoniou 2012), the case presented in the box gives the message that gender does not have an important role to determine the longer period of breastfeeding but the health of the mother, as well as the willingness of children toward mother's milk, also play an important role for determining the longer period of breastfeeding.

In society, people have different social and cultural norms and values that determine the mother's decision about breastfeeding to son and daughter differently. The mother gave more priority to the son for breastfeeding in a patriarchal society (Paneru 1981; Zeitlyn and Rowshan 1997; Daglas and Antoniou 2012). In society, cultures give more value to sons than daughters, and the daughter is restricted in the intake of food including breastfeeding. However, such a belief system is gradually weakening in society nowadays (Khan et al. 2017). This study also shows that there was no variation in mother responses regarding a long time of breastfeeding by sex (see Table 7).

Sex	Frequency	%
Son	39	36.8
Daughter	39	36.8
Both	11	10.4
Not stated	17	16.0
Total	106	100

Table 9: Responses of MothersWho BreastfeedLong Duration bySex<sup>3</sup>

Source: Field survey 2011

In the study area, some of the mothers informed that they were forced fully to give up feeding breast milk to their baby when they reached 2 years and more. S. Magar, a 25-year-old mother, shared her experience like this;

She gave birth to her first child at the age of 22. She continuously fed her breast milk to her baby when he was two years old... Then her

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Mother who had a single child was not included in the figure table.

relatives suggested using a pastemade from bitter objects like mugwort (*Artemisia vulgaris*) and neem (*Azadirachtaindica*) to the nipples. She did it, but the baby did not give up sucking breast milk. Therefore, she pasted the nail polish to the nipples and its rounds. After that, the baby gave up sucking her breast milk and began to eat solid items properly.

The case reveals that mother generally gives up feeding breast milk to their baby at the age of 2 years. It may be the influence of the knowledge dissemination by WHO that has been promoting feeding breast milk up to the age of 2 years to the baby through different agencies like health organizations, community health workers, government and non-government agencies, mass media, and so on. Hence, this reflects that the breastfeeding practice is not isolated from the global health discourse. The global health discourse on the duration of breastfeeding to the baby to protect them from various diseases and local practices of breastfeeding are moving together.

## **Concluding Remarks**

The findings of the study show that the knowledge of and behavior of breastfeeding among mothers are closely intertwined with and influenced by many factors like socio-demographic variables, cultural values of a society, economic life, and the health status of mothers, etc. Therefore, we should equally consider the socio-demographic variables like caste and ethnic backgrounds, occupation, age, birth-spacing between children, education of mothers as well as cultural values of a society that shape the knowledge and guide the behavior of breastfeeding practices.

Breastfeeding is neither a matter of sucking breast milk to babies by mothers for relief from hunger nor a cost-effective mechanism to protect babies from the different kinds of diseases as strongly claimed by medical scientists and health organizations. It also fosters the socialbond between mother and children to each other and strongly supports entry f kinshiprelations socially, culturally, and emotionally. Therefore, breastfeeding should be taken as a vital component and an entry point of being relatives i.e., mother-son/daughter kin.

Women, including mothers, are commonly conceptualized as a homogenous group irrespective of their location, their social class or caste, degrees of education or access to resources, embeddedness in social networks, and so forth (Demetriades and Esplen 2009). However, the findings of the study strongly claim that the knowledge and practices of breastfeeding arevaried and significantly associated with

educational status, caste and ethnicity, cultural beliefs, social bond, and occupations of mothers.Therefore, it is essential to upset down the conventional conception to see the mother in general. It demands the concept of social heterogeneity that focuses on intersectionality and context-specific study that will be helpful for a better understanding of breastfeeding behaviors in a diverse society. Such understanding will be beneficial for the effective intervention of the maternal health program, including breastfeeding in a heterogeneous society.

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