

CHAPTER II

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION AND GROWTH

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1. Introduction

In pre-1951 era, Nepal was divided into several administrative zones, some of them being self-governing states such as Baise, Chaubese Rajyas in mid-and western regions, and Kipats in the eastern region. Many of the administrative zones in the west and east of Kathmandu Valley were called after the numerals such as West no. 1 (Present Nuwakot, Dhading and Rasuwa Districts), West no. 2 (Present Gorkha District), West no. 3 (Present Kaski, Lumjung, Tanahnu and Manang District), West no. 4 (Present Syangja, Parbat Districts) in Western region and East no. 1 (Present Kavre, Sindhupalachok Districts), East no. 2 (Present Ramechhap, Dolakha Districts), East no. 3 (Present Okhaldhunga, Khotang, Solukhumbu Districts) and East no. 4 (Present Bhojpur District).

This system of administrative zones continued until 1951. Thus the census data of 1952/54 were reported on the basis of these zones. The area measurements of these zones were very crude. The areas were estimated by using the records of land area available in different revenue offices of the zones and maps prepared in the scale of 1 inch = 1 mile which suffered from overlapping and missing of certain areas as a result of omission and commission of certain villages while attempting to scale them in maps prepared by geological survey of British India in 1926-27 in the scale of 1 inch = 4 miles.

However, in mid fifties, the concept of administrative unit, such as a "district", was introduced and Nepal was divided into 54 districts first, then into 55 districts and accordingly, the 1961 census report was published on the basis of these districts.

The physical regions which were eight in number during 1952/54 census were reorganised into ten during 1961. In 1962, further reorganisation of the districts was made and the number of districts increased from 55 to 75. For the purpose of local level administration, the concept of Panchayats (now Village Development Committee, V.D.C., since 1987) and Wards was introduced. The population census data of 1971 was reported according to these newly formed districts. Although these 75 districts were retained as administrative units in successive censuses up to the latest census of 1991, they boundaries and areas, however, were changed in 1974 and 1982.

In the light of above discussion, it is clear that problems do exist in the comparison of population distribution, of Nepal at various censuses in terms of various spatial divisions of the country.

Spatial divisions considered for this study are

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|-------------------------|---------------|
| i) Ecological zones | iv) Districts |
| ii) Development Regions | v) VDCs |
| iii) Rural/Urban areas | |

2. Spatial Distribution of Population

2.1 Population Distribution by Ecological Zones

The history of human settlements indicates a predominance of settlements in places where climate, agricultural activities and water were favorable for their livelihood. These factors which depend upon the topography of the land, are still valid for the present day spatial distribution of population.

Topographically, the land of Nepal is divided into three ecological zones: (a) Mountain (b) Hill (c) Terai. These zones are quite divergent in terms of climate, physical feature, landscape and altitude.

(a) Mountain

Land area lying at the altitude of 4877 meters to 8848 meters above sea level is considered the Mountain zone. This zone constitutes 35 per cent of total land area of Nepal. It includes rocky areas of the Himalayan range which are not suitable for human settlements.

(b) Hill

This zone lies at an altitude ranging between 610 meters and 4877 meters above sea level and occupies 42 per cent of total land area of Nepal. In this zone there are many pockets called valleys and river basins which are very favourable for human settlement. Kathmandu valley is one of them.

(c) Terai

Formerly divided as Inner Terai and Terai, this zone is the most fertile land region of Nepal and consists of low land area covering 23 per cent of Nepal's total land area and is situated at an altitude less than or equal to 610 meters above sea level.

Till 1951, Terai region was covered with dense forests and highly infested with Malaria and other contagious diseases. Therefore until 1951, majority of Nepal's population were distributed in different parts of Hill region and only scattered settlements were found in Terai region. However, after the political change in 1951, the situation had changed. Malaria was controlled and much of the forest land was cleared up for new settlements. As a result, the pattern of population distribution by ecological zones has been changing rapidly in the country. Table 1 shows the pattern of distribution of population by ecological zones at different censuses in Nepal.

Table 1: Percentage Distribution of Population by Ecological Zones, Nepal, 1952/54 - 1991

	Mountain	Hill	(1) + (2)	Terai	Total	Population
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)		
1952/54	-	-	64.8	35.2	100.0	8,256,625
1961	-	-	63.6	36.4	100.0	9,412,996
1971	9.9	52.5	62.4	37.6	100.0	11,555,983
1981	8.7	47.7	56.4	43.6	100.0	15,022,839
1991	7.8	45.5	53.3	46.7	100.0	18,491,097

Source: CBS, 1975, Vol. I Table I
CBS, 1984, Vol. II Table 3
CBS, 1995, Vol. IV, Table 2.

Since up to 1961, Hill and Mountain zones were not separated, the population distribution for these zones are shown in Table I as a combined distribution in the 1952-54 and 1961 censuses.

During the period from 1971 to 1991, the proportionate share of the population in Terai has increased by almost 9 percentage points from 37.6 per cent in 1971 to 46.7 per cent in 1991, whereas in Hills, the share dropped by about 7 percentage points from 52.5 per cent in 1971 to 45.5 per cent in 1991. In Mountains, the share dropped from 9.9 per cent in 1971 to 7.8 per cent in 1991.

The flow of people from the Mountains and Hills to the Terai coupled with high natural increase of population in Terai is the leading cause of the increase in proportionate share of total population in the Terai zone.

According to the latest census of 1991, the Mountain zone which covers about 35 per cent of the total land in Nepal is inhabited by only 7.8 per cent of the total population. Similarly, the Hill region with 42 per cent of the total land area is inhabited by 45.5 per cent of the total population and the Terai region with only 23 per cent of the total land is inhabited by 46.7 per cent of the total population.

2.2 Population Distribution by Development Regions

In the preceding sections, it has been shown that the population distribution in Nepal is greatly influenced by ecological considerations. It is to be seen whether the distribution is also affected by administrative and other divisions of land.

In this regard, one important division to be considered is the division of land into development regions. In 1972, the concept of development regions was introduced for the first time in Nepal; the districts of Nepal were grouped into four development regions viz. (1) Eastern (2) Central (3) Western and (4) FarWestern. After a few years, Far-Western region was subdivided into two regions, namely, Mid-Western and Far-Western. Thus, at present Nepal has five development regions.

On account of the fact that prior to 1981, the size and the area of the districts changed greatly from one census year to the other, the population figures of the development regions which were based on the district level data, were not comparable till 1981. Therefore, a comparative picture of population distribution by development regions is shown in Table 2 for 1981 and 1991 only.

Table 2: Percentage Distribution of Population by Development Regions, Nepal, 1981-1991

Development region	1981	1991
Eastern	24.69	24.05
Central	32.68	33.44
Western	20.83	20.39
Mid-Western	13.02	13.04
Far-western	8.78	9.08
Total	100.00	100.00
	(15,022,839)	(18,491,097)

Source: CBS, 1984, Vol. I, Part I
CBS, 1994, Vol. I, Part I

Table 2 shows that the population distribution by development regions had remained more or less the same between 1981 and 1991. It is found that almost one third of Nepal's population were in Central development region whereas less than 10 per cent of the total population were in Far-Western region.

On the other hand, Eastern and Western regions accounted for nearly one-fourth and one-fifth of total population. Mid-Western Region is found to accommodate only 13 per cent of total population.

2.3 Population Distribution by Ecological and Development Regions

Population distribution in ecological and development regions in 1981 and 1991 are shown in Table 3. Only the percentage share of the total population in the 15 regions are shown in Table 3. The actual size of population in these regions, however, are given in Table 4.

Table 3: Percentage Distribution of Total Population in Different Ecological and Development Regions of Nepal, 1981-1991¹

Development region	Year	Mountain	Hill	Terai	Total
Eastern	1981	2.25	8.37	14.06	24.68
	1991	1.94	7.72	14.37	24.04
Central	1981	2.75	14.03	15.89	32.67
	1991	2.54	14.49	16.40	33.44
Western	1981	0.13	14.31	6.37	20.82
	1991	0.11	13.09	7.19	20.39
Mid-Western	1981	1.61	6.93	4.46	13.01
	1991	1.41	6.59	5.03	13.03
Far-western	1981	1.92	4.02	2.84	8.78
	1991	1.80	3.63	3.65	9.08
Total	1981	8.67	47.68	43.64	100.00
	1991	7.80	45.53	46.66	100.00

Source: CBS, 1994, Vol. I.
CBS, 1995, Vol. IV.

¹ Distributions of 1981 are based on unadjusted district populations. Distributions based on 1981 population adjusted to conform to the 1991 district boundaries are not shown here since the differences between the adjusted and the unadjusted distributions at the regional level are trivial.

Table 3 shows that between 1981 and 1991, the percentage share of population in Mountain region decreased by 0.87 percentage points from 8.67 per cent in 1981 to 7.80 per cent in 1991. The share of total population in different sub-regions in Mountains varied from a maximum of 2.54 per cent in Central Mountain to a minimum of 0.11 per cent in Western Mountain in 1991. The corresponding variation in 1981 was from maximum of 2.75 per cent in Central Mountain region to 0.13 per cent in Western Mountain Region. It is also clear from the table that all three mountain regions of the west viz.. Western, Mid-western and Far-western, recorded less than 2 per cent of total population each at both censuses.

In Hills, though the total share of population decreased from 47.68 per cent in 1981 to 45.53 per cent in 1991, Central Hill reported slight increase in its percentage share of population from 14.03 per cent in 1981 to 14.49 per cent in 1991. This is perhaps, due to inclusion in this sub region, of Kathmandu district which has been experiencing continuous growth in its population from one census to the next. All other sub-regions in Hill reported slight decreases in their percentage share of the total population. On the other hand, all regions in Terai experienced growth in their share of the population from 1981 to 1991. The growth is not uniform however. The growth is the least in the Eastern followed by Central part and the growth increases as we move to west, mid west and far west. The explanation for this phenomenon is the shifting of population from Hills and Mountains to Terai region and Kathmandu district.

2.4 Population Distribution by Districts

Although the number of districts remained constant at 75 since 1971, there had been great changes in areas of districts between 1971 and 1981. The boundaries of many districts remained the same from 1981 to 1991. Only in the case of 26 districts, boundary changes took place in 1982. Among these, for 3 districts it was only boundary delineation and not boundary change whereas in the case of 23 districts the boundary changes resulted in changes in their areas. The 1991 census populations and the 1981 census populations adjusted² for the 1991 boundaries are shown for districts and regions in Table 4. The average annual growth rates during the 1981-1991 intercensal period are also shown in the same table.

² For details, see: CEDA, 1994.

Table 4: Distribution of Population by Districts and Population Growth Rates, 1981-1991

Districts	Population 1981	Population 1991	Average Annual Growth Rate (%)
Taplejung	120,780	120,053	-0.06
Sankhuwasabha	129,414	141,903	0.92
Solukhumbu	88,245	97,200	0.97
Eastern Mountain	338,439	359,156	0.59
Panchathar	153,746	175,206	1.31
Ilam	178,356	229,214	2.51
Dhankuta	129,781	146,386	1.20
Terathum	92,454	102,870	1.07
Bhojpur	192,689	198,784	0.31
Okhaldhunga	137,640	139,457	0.13
Khotang	212,571	215,965	0.16
Udayapur	159,805	221,256	3.25
Eastern Hill	1,257,042	1,429,138	1.28
Jhapa	479,743	593,737	2.13
Morang	534,692	674,823	2.33
Sunsari	344,594	463,481	2.96
Saptari	379,055	465,668	2.06
Siraha	375,358	460,746	2.05
Eastern Terai	2,113,442	2,658,455	2.29
Dolakha	150,576 (148,510)	173,236	1.40 (1.54)
Rasuwa	30,241	36,744	1.95
Sindhupalchowk	232,326 (234,919)	261,025	1.16 (1.05)
Central Mountain	413,143 (413,670)	471,005	1.31 (1.30)

Table 4 (contd.)

Districts	Population 1981	Population 1991	Average Annual Growth Rate (%)
Ramechhap	161,445 (163,511)	188,064	1.53 (1.40)
Kavrepalanchowk	307,150 (299,694)	324,329	0.54 (0.79)
Dhading	243,401 (236,647)	278,068	1.33 (1.61)
Nuwakot	202,976 (210,549)	245,260	1.89 (1.53)
Kathmandu	422,237 (426,281)	675,341	4.70 (4.60)
Lalitpur	184,341 (199,688)	257,086	3.32 (2.53)
Bhaktapur	159,767 (144,420)	172,952	0.79 (1.80)
Makawanpur	243,411	314,599	2.56
Sindhuli	183,705	223,900	1.98
Central Hill	2,108,433 (2,107,906)	2,679,599	2.40 (2.40)
Chitawan	259,571	354,488	3.11
Mahottari	361,054 (364,427)	440,146	1.98 (1.89)
Sarlahi	398,766	492,798	2.12
Rautahat	332,526	414,005	2.19
Bara	318,957	415,718	2.64
Parsa	284,338	372,524	2.70
Dhanusha	432,569 (429,196)	543,672	2.28 (2.36)
Central Terai	2,387,781 (2,387,781)	3,033,351	2.39 (2.39)
Mustang	12,930	14,292	1.00
Manang	7,021	5,363	-2.69
Western Mountain	19,951	19,655	-0.15

Table 4 (contd.)

Districts	Population 1981	Population 1991	Average Annual Growth Rate (%)
Gorkha	231,294	252,524	0.80
Lamjung	152,720	153,697	0.06
Tanahun	223,438	268,073	1.82
Syangja	271,824	293,526	0.77
Kaski	221,272	292,945	2.81
Baglung	215,228	232,486	0.77
Myagdi	96,904	100,552	0.37
Parbat	128,400	143,547	1.12
Gulmi	238,113	266,331	1.12
Arghakhanchi	157,304	180,884	1.40
Palpa	214,442	236,313	0.97
Western Hill	2,150,939	2,420,878	1.18
Nawalparasi	308,828	436,217	3.45
Rupandehi	379,096	522,150	3.20
Kapilbastu	270,045	371,778	3.20
Western Terai	957,969	1,330,145	3.28
Jumla	68,797	75,964	0.99
Humla	20,303	34,383	5.27
	(28,721)		(1.80)
Mugu	43,705	36,364	-1.84
	(35,287)		(0.30)
Kalikot	87,638	88,805	0.13
	(79,736)		(1.08)
Dolpa	22,043	25,013	1.26
Mid-western	242,486	260,529	0.71
Mountain	(234,584)		(1.04)

Table 4 (contd.)

Districts	Population 1981	Population 1991	Average Annual Growth Rate (%)
Pyuthan	157,669	175,469	1.07
Rolpa	168,166	179,621	0.66
Rukum	132,432	153,554	1.61
Jajarkot	99,312	113,958	1.38
Dailekh	166,527 (165,612)	187,400	1.18 (1.24)
Salyan	152,063 (160,734)	181,785	1.78 (1.23)
Surkhet	166,196 (167,111)	225,768	3.06 (3.01)
Mid-western Hill	1,042,365 (1,051,036)	1,217,555	1.56 (1.48)
Dang	266,393	354,413	2.85
Bardiya	199,044 (198,544)	290,313	3.77 (3.80)
Banke	205,323 (197,152)	285,604	3.30 (3.71)
Mid-western Terai	670,760 (662,089)	930,330	3.27 (3.40)
Bajura	74,649 (81,801)	92,010	2.00 (1.18)
Bajhang	124,010	139,092	1.15
Darchula	90,218	101,683	1.20
Far-western Mountain	288,877 (296,029)	332,785	1.41 (1.17)
Accham	185,212 (185,962)	198,188	0.68 (0.64)
Doti	153,135 (152,970)	167,168	0.88 (0.89)
Dadeldhura	86,853	104,647	1.86
Baitadi	179,136	200,716	1.14
Far-western Hill	604,336 (604,921)	670,719	1.04 (1.03)

Table 4 (contd.)

Districts	Population 1981	Population 1991	Average Annual Growth Rate (%)
Kailali	257,905 (258,070)	417,891	4.83 (4.82)
Kanchanpur	168,971	257,906	4.23
Far-western Terai	426,876 (427,041)	675,797	4.59 (4.59)

Source: CBS, 1984, Vol. I, II
CBS, 1994, Vol. I, II

- Note: 1. Figures in bracket are the adjusted figures based on CEDA's study "Estimation of Inter censal population Growth Rate of districts during 1981-1991 period by adjustment in boundary changes, 1994 (unpublished), CEDA, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu.
2. Growth rates are exponential growth rates.

In 1981, the 10 districts having the highest population size in order of rank are Morang (534,692), Jhapa (479,793), Dhanusha (432,569), Kathmandu (422,237), Saptari (379,055), Siraha (375,358), Sarlahi (364,427), Mahottari (361,054), Sunsari (344,594) and Rautahat (332,526). Of these, five namely Jhapa, Morang, Sunsari, Saptari and Siraha belong to Eastern Terai Region; four namely Mahottari, Sarlahi, Dhanusha and Rautahat belong to Central Terai Region and the remaining one namely Kathmandu belongs to Central Hill Region.

In 1991 also, most of the above districts retained their positions as large size population districts with slight changes in their ranks, Kathmandu district with the population of 675,341 emerged as No. 1 in population size during 1991.

In 1981, Manang (7,021), Mustang (12,930), Humla (20,303), Dolpa (22,042) and Rasuwa (30,241) were the five least populated districts of Nepal. These districts still remained the least populated ones during 1991 also, though some slight growth in the population sizes are observed in these districts except in Manang whose population size reduced to 5,363 in 1991 from 7,021 in 1981. There was also a reduction in the size of population in Taplejung, but the reduction was trivial.

The average size of the population in a district during 1981 was 200,304 and the average increased to 246,547 in 1991.

2.5 Distribution of Districts by Size of Population

The distribution of the districts by size of population in 1981 and 1991 is shown in table 5.

Table 5: Distribution of Districts According to Population Size, Nepal, Census Years, 1981-1991

Population size of districts	No. of Districts		Population		Per cent			
	1981	1991	1981	1991	Population in size-group		Cumulative (%)	
500,000 or more	1	5	534,692	3,009,723	3.56	16.08	100.00	100.00
400,000-499,999	3	9	1,334,549	4,006,670	8.88	21.67	96.44	83.72
300,000-399,999	10	6	3,505,384	2,092,131	23.33	11.31	87.56	62.05
200,000-299,999	18	20	4,293,871	5,034,279	28.58	27.22	64.23	50.74
100,000-199,999	28	25	4,433,030	3,842,156	29.51	20.78	35.65	23.52
90,000-99,999	4	2	378,888	189,210	2.52	1.02	6.14	2.74
80,000-89,999	3	1	262,736	88,805	1.75	0.48	3.62	1.72
70,000-79,999	1	1	74,649	75,964	0.50	0.41	1.87	1.24
60,000-69,999	1	-	68,797	-	0.46	-	1.37	0.83
50,000-59,999	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.91	0.83
40,000	1	-	43,705	-	0.29	-	0.91	0.83

Table 5 (contd.)

-49,999									
30,000 -39,999	1	3	30,241	107,491	0.20	0.58	0.62	0.83	
20,000 -29,999	2	1	42,346	25,013	0.28	0.14	0.42	0.25	
10,000 -19,999	1	1	12,930	14,292	0.09	0.08	0.14	0.11	
Below 10,000	1	1	7,021	5,363	0.05	0.03	0.05	0.03	
Total	75	75	15,022,839	18,491,097	100.0	100.0			

Source: CBS, 1984, Vol. 1, Part 1, Table 3
CBS, 1994, Vol. 1, Part 1, Table 6.

It may be noted from Table 5 that the districts are shifting to higher population size groups. For instance, during 1981, there was only one district at the group 500,000 or more, but by 1991 the number of districts in the group increased to five. Similarly, the number of districts in the group 400,000 - 499,999 which was three in 1981 increased to nine by 1991.

However, modal population size of the district (the size with the maximum number of districts) in both censuses 1981 and 1991 is found to be the same viz.. 100,000 - 199,999. At lower side of the population size, one district at the lowest level of 10,000 or less, and one district at the second lowest level i.e. 20,000 - 29,999 were found in both the years 1981 and 1991. These districts were Manang and Mustang respectively.

2.6 Distribution of Village Development Committees (VDC) and Municipalities by Size of Population

VDC in rural area and municipality in the urban areas are the smallest administrative units in a district. Each district is divided into a number of VDCs and municipalities. Because of political and other reasons, the number varied from time to time. For example, at the time of 1981 census, the number of smallest administrative units/localities in Nepal were 2,935 of which 2,912 were VDCs and the remaining 23 were municipalities. But at the time of 1991 census, the number increased to 4,048 which included 4,015 VDCs and 33 municipalities. Since there has been a continuous change in the number of such units due to either breaking down of a locality into two or more new localities or combining two or more localities to form a new locality, the study of demographic / social / economic changes by localities over the years is difficult to undertake.

Table 6: Shows the distribution of VDC's and Municipalities by their population size in 1981 and 1991.

Table 6 Distribution of VDC's and Municipalities by Size of Population, Nepal, 1981 and 1991

Size of Population	No. of Localities		Population				Cumulative per cent	
			Number		Per cent			
	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991
1,00,000 or more	1	3	235,160	666,511	1.57	3.60	100.00	100.00
50,000 -99,999	2	8	173,419	517,419	1.16	2.80	98.3	96.4
20,000 -49,999	22	16	666,439	479,590	4.44	2.57	97.27	93.60
10,000 -19,999	101	165	1,250,428	2,115,401	8.32	11.44	92.83	91.03
5,000 -9,999	1016	761	6,604,790	5,070,998	43.97	27.42	84.51	79.59

Table 5 (contd.)

Size of Population	No. of Localities		Population				Cumulative per cent	
			Number		Per cent			
	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991
4,000 -4,999	569	661	2,540,533	2,943,691	16.91	15.92	40.54	52.17
3,000 -3,999	634	1033	2,231,148	3,594,054	14.85	19.44	23.63	36.25
2,000 -2,999	432	964	1,119,768	2,455,590	7.45	13.28	8.78	16.81
1,000 -1,999	105	365	162,808	602,845	1.08	3.26	1.33	3.53
500 -900	44	56	34,773	44,318	0.23	0.24	0.25	0.27
Less than 500	9	16	3,573	5,680	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.03
Total	2,935	4,048	15,022,839	18,491,097	100.00	100.00		

Source: CBS, 1984, Vol. 1, Part 1, Table 3

CBS, 1994, Population Census 1991, Population of Nepal by districts, VDC/Municipalities.

Table 6 shows that the number of localities having 1,00,000 and more population was one in 1981 and the number increased to three in 1991. These localities were all municipalities. The localities having 500 or less population were nine in 1981 and sixteen in 1991. According to 1991 census, the modal value of population size of a locality was 3,711. Data of 1991 shows that out of 4,048 localities, 1,849 localities had the population size above the modal size. District-wise data shows that none of the localities in five Mountain districts namely, Manang, Dolpa, Mustang, Mugu and Humla had population above this average, whereas two districts of Far-Western Terai namely Kanchanpur and Bardiya had all their localities above the average population size.

It may be seen that in 1981, about 40.54 per cent of the localities were below the interval of 4000-4999. But in 1991, 52.15 per cent of the localities were found in this range. This means the average population size of VDC's and municipalities had reduced owing to the increase in number of VDC's and municipalities from 2,935 in 1981 to 4,048 in 1991. In fact during 1981, the average size of the VDC (and municipalities) was found to be 5,118 but in 1991, the average size was found to be 4,568. This means that, although population had grown in spatial units of Nepal during 1981-1991, the average size of population in a VDC (and municipalities) has reduced by about 500 persons, the reason being mainly the fragmentation of former VDC's (and municipalities) to form smaller new VDCs.

2.7 Rural/Urban Distribution of Population

The rural urban classification of spatial units in Nepal is primarily based on specified minimum number of inhabitants. Minimum number of inhabitants of 5000 was taken for the first time in the 1961 census as a criterion for classifying spatial units as urban areas. Before the 1961 census also, there were officially designated urban areas, but the criteria for designating them as urban areas were not specifically mentioned. However, the criteria developed in 1961 did not remain in use for long. In 1962, the criteria was minimum of 10,000 persons and in 1976, it was minimum of 9,000 persons.

It is to be noted that although consideration of population size has been the officially stated basic criterion for recognizing a spatial unit as an urban area, the criterion was not always strictly followed.

As a result, some areas having more than 9,000 Population are still considered as rural areas, whereas some areas having less than 9,000 population are considered as urban areas. In this regard, it is to be noted that in Nepal, urban-rural classification of a place has been influenced more by political and administrative expediency than by the size of the population.

Data on the number of urban centers, population covered by them and population growth rates at various censuses are shown in Table 7.

Table 7 : Number of Urban Centers, Their Population & Growth Rates, Nepal, 1961-1991.

Variables	1961	1971	1981	1991
Number of Urban centers	16	16	23	33
Population	336,222	461,938	956,721	1,701,181
% Population urban	3.6	4.0	6.4	9.2
Average Annual Inter-censal Growth Rate of Population	-	3.18	7.29	5.76

Source: CBS, 1987, p.180
CBS, 1994, Vol. II

Note: Growth rates are exponential rates of growth

Table 7 shows that at the time of 1961 and 1971 censuses, 16 spatial units were considered as urban centers covering 3.6 per cent of the total population in 1961, 4.0 per cent in 1971. Though the number of urban centers was the same in both the censuses, the actual centers were not the same. The 1971 census discarded five old centers namely Kirtipur, Thimi, Banepa, Malangua and Mathihani and designated five new urban centers namely Ilam, Birendranagar, Bharatpur, Butwal and Sidharthanagar. Similarly, the 1981 census included seven new localities as urban centers totaling altogether 23 urban centers in Nepal. The total urban population in 1981 was about 6.4 per cent of the total population. The latest census of 1991 included ten more new localities as urban centers bringing the number of urban centers in Nepal to 33. The urban population in 1991 census was 9.2 per cent of the total population.

It appears that pace of urbanization in Nepal is very slow. The increase in the urban proportion during the 30 years from 1961 to 1991 is only about 6 percentage points, from a little over three per cent to a little over nine per cent.

3. Population Growth Variations

3.1 Population Growth Rates by Development Regions

Population growth analysis shows a wide regional variation. It is found that Eastern Development Region and Western Development Region have lower growth rates than the national average of 2.08 per cent. The Central Development Region, Mid-Western Development Region and Far-Western Development Region have higher growth rates than the national growth rate (Table 8).

Table 8: Population Growth Rates by Ecological and Development Regions, Nepal, 1981-1991

Development Region	Average Annual Rate of Growth of Population: 1981 - 1991			
	Mountain	Hill	Terai	Total
Eastern	0.59	1.28	2.29	1.81
Central	1.31	2.40	2.39	2.31
Western	-0.15	1.18	3.28	1.87
Mid-western	0.71	1.56	3.27	2.09
Far-western	1.41	1.04	4.59	2.41
Total	1.02	1.61	2.75	2.08

Source: Table 4 of the text.

Note: Growth rates are exponential rates of growth

3.2 Population Growth Rates by Ecological Zones

Table 9 presents intercensal population growth rate by ecological zones for the census years from 1961 to 1991. It is observed from the table that the population growth rate is continuously decreasing in Mountains and Hills over the years and their growth rates lie significantly below the national growth rate for all the census periods. In Terai however, population growth is found to lie fairly above the national level and it has increased from 2.39 per cent per annum during the period 1961-1971 to 4.11 per cent per annum during 1971-1981. But it has decreased to 2.75 per cent per annum during 1981-1991. This indicates that the flow of people to the Terai from Hills and Mountains has slowed down during 1981-1991 period. International migration also could have caused a net loss in the Terai population.

Table 9: Annual Population Growth Rates by Ecological Zones, 1961-1991

Periods	Mountain	Hill	Mountain + Hills	Terai	Total
1961 - 1971	-	-	1.85	2.39	2.05
1971 - 1981	1.35	1.65	1.61	4.11	2.62
1981 - 1991	1.02	1.61	1.52	2.75	2.08

Source: CBS, 1987, p. 28
CBS, 1995, Vol. IV, Table 2.

Note: Growth rates are exponential rates of growth

3.3 Population Growth Rates by Ecological and Development Regions

Analysis of population growth rates (Table 8) shows that during 1981-1991, the Eastern Mountain, Western Mountain and Mid-Western Mountain regions, each had less than 1 per cent growth rate and one of them namely Western Mountain had negative rate of growth viz.. -0.15 per cent. The other two regions in Mountains namely, Central and Far-Western Mountains are found to have growth rates above 1 per cent but less than 1.5 per cent.

Only one region, namely, Central Hill region is found to have the rate (2.40%) which is higher than the national average. All other regions of the Hill are found to have growth rates in the range of 1 to 1.6 per cent. The high growth rate observed in Central Hill is attributable to population explosion observed in Kathmandu district which is a part of this region.

In Terai, all the regions are found to have growth rates higher than the national figure. An extremely high rate of growth of 4.59 per cent is found in case of Far-Western Terai. Western Terai and Mid-western Terai regions also reported high growth rates in the order of 3.3 per cent. On the other hand, Eastern and Central Terai regions showed growth rates of 2.29 and 2.39 per cent respectively.

The very high growth rates observed in the Western, Mid-Western and Far-Western regions of Terai are to be explained in terms of their socio-economic and other factors. Apart from the influx of migration from their respective Hill and Mountain regions, in-migration from neighboring Indian territories may also be a reason for such rapid growth in the population of these regions.

3.4 Population Growth Rates by Districts

As may be seen from Table 4, there is a wide variation in the growth rates of population among districts. In general, the mountain districts may be characterized as having the lowest growth rates and the Terai districts the highest growth rates. There are districts in Mountain which had recorded negative growth and there are districts in Hill which had growth rates less than one per cent, whereas all the districts in Terai had growth rates much higher than one per cent.

Variation among districts within each of the ecological zones of Mountain, Hill and Terai, is also different. Not only are the Mountain districts characterized as having low growth rates, the inter-district variation is also small. Leaving the district Manang which exhibited -2.7 per cent growth and which has a very small population of about 5000 in 1991, the lowest growth rate among the Mountain districts is -0.06 per cent in Taplejung and the highest is 1.8 per cent in Humla. The intra-regional variation is even less, ranging from -0.06 to 0.97 in Eastern Mountain, 1.16 to 1.95 in Central Mountain, -2.69 (Manang population 5000 in 1991) to 1.00 in Western Mountain, 0.13 to 1.80 in Mid-Western Mountain and 1.15 to 1.20 in Far-Western Mountain region.

The Hill region exhibited the greatest variation in the district population growth rates. The lowest growth was 0.06 per cent in Lamjung and the highest was 4.7 per cent in Kathmandu. The variation exhibited by the districts in the regions of Hill is: 0.13 to 3.25 per cent in Eastern Hill, 0.5 to 4.7 per cent in Central Hill, 0.06 to 2.81 in Western Hill, 0.66 to 3.06 in Mid-Western Hill and 0.68 to 1.86 per cent in Far-Western Hill.

Although the growth of district populations is generally the highest in the Terai, the inter-district variation is not as much as in Hill districts. The lowest growth in Terai districts is 1.89 per cent in Mahottari and the highest is 4.82 per cent in Kailali. The variation within the regions is: 2.05 to 2.96 per cent in Eastern Terai, 1.98 to 3.11 per cent in Central Terai, 3.20 to 3.45 per cent in Western Terai, 2.85 to 3.77 in Mid-Western Terai and 4.23 to 4.83 per cent in Far-Western Terai.

It is interesting to note, the mountain districts known to be predominantly the sending districts and the Terai districts which are the receiving districts, both exhibited less variation in population growth compared to the Hill districts.

3.5 Growth of Urban Population

During the past three decades, the highest growth rate recorded by the urban population was 7.29 per cent per annum during 1971-1981. This was, among other factors, due to the increase in the number of urban centers. During the period 1981 - 1991, though ten more localities have been added to urban centers, the growth rate has reduced to 5.76 per cent per annum. The growth of urban population from 1961 to 1991 is shown in Table 7.

Apart From the growth of population due to inclusion of new localities as urban centers and the extension of boundaries of some of existing urban centers, the major reason for the high growth rate observed in urban centers of Nepal is the inflow of rural population to urban centers.

4. Spatial Variations in Sex Ratio of Population

Sex ratio defined as the number of males per 100 females is a single index which reflects the net effect of fertility, mortality and migration differentials by sex. The sex ratios of sub-national populations and changes over time are discussed below.

4.1 Sex Ratios by Ecological Zones

Sex ratio by Ecological Zones (Table 10) shows that there has all along been a male predominance in Terai. Comparison of the Mountain and Hills shows that the Mountain zone is in a better position in terms of the balance of sexes with slightly more males than females. This shows that out-migration of people from the Mountain occurs not as sex selective but probably as familial migration. In contrast, out-migration from the Hills is probably sex selective, with more males than females out-migrating thus creating the sex imbalance in the Hills.

Table 10: Sex Ratio of Population by Ecological zones, 1952/54 – 1991

Zone/Year	1952/54	1961	1971	1981	1991
Mountain	-	-	100.79	104.71	98.43
Hill	95.95	94.26	98.02	102.14	95.34
Terai	100.10	102.14	106.39	108.33	103.85
Nepal	96.80	97.05	101.37	105.02	99.47

Source: CBS, 1987, p. 45
CBS, 1995, Vol. IV.

4.2 Sex Ratios by Development Regions

The sex ratio of the population decreased from 1981 to 1991 at the national level itself, which may probably be due to differential emigration by sex, as well as sex-differential in completeness of the two census enumeration. The change from male predominance in 1981 to female predominance in 1991 has been exhibited by all regions except the Central Region (Table 11). This is probably attributable to the greater male-selective migration to this region.

4.3 Sex Ratios by Ecological and Development Regions

In 1981, except the Far-Western Hill region, all others reported sex ratios higher than 100. On the other hand, during 1991, two regions in Mountains namely Eastern Mountain and Far-Western Mountain showed sex ratios of less than 100. In Hill also, during that period, all regions except Central Hills revealed sex ratio of less than 100. However, in Terai, during 1991, the regions retained the position of male preponderance, although there was a drop in the magnitude from 1981.

Sex ratio data by regions do not indicate substantial amount of gender specific internal migration in 1981 whereas in 1991, some regions show the existence of gender specific internal migration. Low sex ratio of 96 in Eastern Mountain; 94 in Far-Western Mountain, 97 in Eastern Hill, 88 in Western Hill; 96 in Mid-Western Hill and 92 in Far-Western Hill are probably indicative of male out migrations from these regions.

Table 11: Sex Ratios of Population by Ecological Zones and Development Regions, 1981-1991

Ecological Zones		Development Regions					Total
		Eastern	Central	Western	Mid-western	Far-western	
Mountain	1981	102	107	108	107	102	105
	1991	96	100	109	103	94	98
Hill	1981	101	106	100	100	92	102
	1991	97	102	88	96	92	95
Terai	1981	108	107	109	107	116	108
	1991	103	106	103	102	101	104
Total	1981	105	107	103	103	105	105
	1991	100	104	93	99	96	99

Source: CBS, 1984, Vol. II
CBS, 1995, Vol. IV.

4.4 Sex Ratios by Districts

The sex ratios by districts for 1981 and 1991 are presented in 'Fable 12. In 1981, out of 75 districts, 15 districts reported sex ratios of less than 100. These districts were Panchthar (99), Tehrathum (98), Okhaldhunga (96), Dolakha (99), Ramechhap (93), Gorkha (98), Lamjung (90), Syangja (91), Baglung (99), Parbat (94), Gulmi (94), Pyuthan (96), Rolpa (96), Achham (94) and Doti (96). But in 1991, 43 districts reported sex ratios less than 100. These districts are essentially from Hill and Mountain zones of Nepal. The low sex ratios observed in these districts are attributed mainly to out migration of males to Terai as well as to other countries.

Table 12: Sex Ratio of Population by Districts, Nepal, 1981-1991

Districts	1981	1991
Eastern Mountain		
Taplejung	101	95
Sankhuwasabha	102	96
Solukhumbu	102	97
Eastern Hill		
Panchathar	99	97
Ilam	107	101
Dhankuta	104	97
Terathum	98	95
Bhojpur	102	93
Okhaldhunga	96	95
Khotang	101	94
Udayapur	105	98
Eastern Terai		
Jhapa	111	102
Morang	108	103
Sunsari	107	102
Saptari	105	103
Siraha	108	105
Central Mountain		
Dolakha	99	96
Rasuwa	108	107
Sindhupalchowk	112	101
Central Hill		
Ramechhap	93	93
Kavrepalanchowk	103	97
Dhading	105	98
Nuwakot	106	99
Kathmandu	117	108
Lalitpur	113	103
Bhaktapur	105	100
Makawanpur	106	103
Sindhuli	103	99

Table 12 (contd.)

Districts	1981	1991
Central Terai		
Chitawan	106	98
Mahottari	107	107
Sarlahi	107	107
Rautahat	108	107
Bara	107	107
Parsa	106	108
Dhanusha	108	107
Western Mountain		
Mustang	112	109
Manang	102	108
Western Hill		
Gorkha	98	92
Lamjung	90	90
Tanahun	103	90
Syangja	91	86
Kaski	102	93
Baglung	99	87
Myagdi	115	90
Parbat	94	86
Gulmi	94	83
Arghakhanchi	122	87
Palpa	103	87
Western Terai		
Nawalparasi	106	99
Rupandehi	108	103
Kapilbastu	113	106
Mid-Western Mountain		
Jumla	109	103
Humla	109	106
Mugu	108	104
Kailash	106	101
Dolpa	108	103
Mid-western Hill		

Districts	1981	1991
Pyuthan	96	87
Rolpa	96	92
Rukum	103	98
Jajarkot	109	101
Dailekh	100	99
Salyan	100	98
Surkhet	101	98
Mid-western Terai		
Dang	104	98
Bardiya	109	102
Banke	109	107
Far-western Mountain		
Bajura	102	96
Bajhang	101	92
Darchula	105	97
Far-western Hill		
Accham	94	89
Doti	96	93
Dadeldhura	106	93
Baitadi	103	92
Far-western Terai		
Kailali	112	101
Kanchanpur	123	102

Source: CBS, 1994, Population of Nepal by Districts and Village Development Committees/ Municipalities, Population Census, 1991

4.5 Sex Ratios by Rural/Urban Residence

Table 13 presents sex ratio of population observed at different censuses since 1961 by rural / urban residence. Table 13 shows that the sex ratio in the rural areas increased from 96.52 in 1961 to 104.30 in 1981, there after, again decreased to 98.61 in 1991. In the case of urban areas though the sex ratio varied inconsistently over various census years, it was always more than 100 in all the censuses implying that urban population always had male predominance. It was as high as 116 in 1971 and 115 in 1981.

Table 12: Sex Ratio of Population by Rural/Urban Residence, Nepal, 1961 – 1991

Year	Rural	Urban	Total
1961	96.52	112.41	97.05
1971	100.78	116.58	101.37
1981	104.30	115.24	105.02
1991	98.61	108.39	99.47

Source: CBS, 1968, Vol. 1, Table 19

CBS, 1975, Vol. V, Table 39

CBS, 1984, Vol. III, Table 3

CBS, 1994, Vol. 1, Table 3 & Vol. II, Table 1

5. Population Density

5.1 Population Density by Ecological Zones

The population density per total land area in the ecological zones, is shown in Table 14. The population density is about 28 persons per sq. km. in Mountain, 137 persons per sq. km. in Hills and 254 persons per sq. km. in Terai. The Terai's density is twice as much as the national level density of 126 persons per sq. km. whereas Hill's density may be said to be almost on par with the national figure. Of course, as expected, the density in Mountains is found to be less than one fourth of the national figure, owing to its topography.

The above figures do not reflect the true picture of the population pressure in ecological belts. Population pressure has to be measured by densities per area of cultivated land.

Table 14: Distribution of Population, Land, Cultivated land and Population Densities vis-à-vis Population pressure in Ecological Zones, 1991

Ecological Zone	Mountain	Hill	Terai	Total
Population	1,442,306 (7.8%)	8,413,449 (45.5%)	8,635,342 (46.7%)	184,910,297 (100.0%)
Land Area in Sq.km	51,817 (35.2%)	61,345 (41.7%)	34,019 (23.1%)	147,181 (100.0%)
Cultivated Land in ha.	163,093 (6.9%)	878,837 (37.4%)	1,311,785 (55.7%)	2,353,715 (100.0%)
% of total land under cultivation	(3.1)	(14.3)	(38.6)	(16.0)
Density per sq. km	27.8	137.1	253.8	125.6
Pressure per cultivated land (in ha.)	8.8	9.6	6.6	7.8

Source: NPC, 1994, pp. 5-8
CEDA, 1994

From Table 14, it is found that only 3.1 per cent of the land in Mountains are cultivated as compared to 38.6 per cent in Terai. The cultivated land is around 14.3 per cent of the total land in Hills.

Population pressure per cultivated land is expected to be low in the region with high proportion of cultivable land and vice versa. In Nepal, Terai has more cultivable land than Hills and Mountains. In Hills and Mountains, most of the cultivable land is already cultivated. It is therefore natural to expect high population pressure per cultivated land in Hills and Mountains than in Terai. Population pressure per cultivated land by ecological zones shown in Table 14 clearly illustrates the above fact. For instance, the Mountain zone where only 3.1 per cent of the land is cultivated, has a population pressure of 8.8 persons per Hectare of cultivated land. The Terai region whose 38.6 per cent of total land is under cultivation, has a pressure of 6.6 persons and the population pressure for Hill region is found to be 9.6 persons.

Also, of the total cultivated land in Nepal 55.7 per cent is in Terai, 37.4 per cent in Hills and the remaining 6.9 per cent in Mountains. High Proportion of cultivated land and comparatively low population pressure in Terai, as found in the above analysis, may well explain the migration phenomenon observed in Nepal from Hills and Mountains to Terai region.

The change in population densities in ecological zones during 1981-1991 inter-censal period was from 25.14 to 27.85 for Mountains; from 116.76 to 137.25 for Hills; and from 192.71 to 253.58 for Terai (Table 15). This means that the population density increased only by 2.7 persons in Mountain. In Hills, the increase was of the magnitude 21.39 persons per sq. km. whereas the highest increment of order 60.88 persons per sq. km, was observed in Terai.

5.2 Population Density by Development Regions

From Table 15, it is seen that population density in the Mid-Western Development Region has been the least, followed by the Far-Western Development Region. On the other hand, Central Development Region has been the most density populated region.

Change in population densities during 1981-1991 inter-censal period is from 46.14 to 56.87 in Mid-western Region; from 67.56 to 85.95 in Far-Western Region; from 106.43 to 128.26 in Western Region; from 179.10 to 225.61 in Central Region and from 130.32 to 156.25 in Eastern Region.

5.3 Population Density by Ecological and Development Regions

In 1991 the least populated region of Nepal in terms of population densities were Western Mountain (3.37) followed by Mid-Western Mountain (12.20). On the other hand, the highest density was observed in Eastern Terai (365.72) followed by central Terai (325.18). From 1981 to 1991 only one region, namely, Western Mountain reported decline in population density from 3.43 in 1981 to 3.37 in 1991. In Mountain Regions, the increments in population density ranged from 1 (in Mid-Western Mountain) to 10 (in Central Mountain). In Hills, the increment ranged from 10 (in Far Western Hill) to 48 (in Central Hill). Terai reported much higher increments in population density in all its region. The range of increment was from 51.49 (in Far-Western Terai) to 75.02 (in Eastern Terai). These variations are obvious reflections of the inter – censal population growth.

Table 15: Population Density by Ecological and Development Regions, Nepal, 1981-1991

Zone/Regions		Eastern	Central	Western	Mid Western	Far-western	Total
Mountain	Area	10,440	6,277	5,819	21,351	7,932	51,819
	1981	32.41	65.82	3.43	11.35	36.42	25.14
	1991	34.40	75.03	3.37	12.20	41.95	27.85
Hill	Area	10,749	11,805	18,319	13,710	6,762	61,345
	1981	116.94	178.60	117.41	76.03	89.37	116.76
	1991	132.95	226.98	132.15	88.95	99.18	137.25
Terai	Area	7,269	9,328	5,260	7,317	4,845	34,024
	1981	290.70	255.97	182.11	91.67	88.23	192.71
	1991	365.72	325.18	252.87	127.14	139.62	253.58
Total	Area	28,458	27,410	29,398	42,378	19,539	147,183
	1981	130.32	179.10	106.43	46.14	67.56	102.01
	1991	156.25	225.61	128.26	56.87	85.95	125.63

Population Density = Population per sq. km.

Source: CBS, 1987, p. 18

CEDA, 1994

NPC, 1994, pp.5-8

5.4 Population Density by Districts

Population densities in districts for 1981 and 1991 are shown in Table 16. The districts with highest population densities in 1981 are Bhaktapur (1213.6), Kathmandu (1079.2) and Lalitpur (578.7). These are all, the three districts of Kathmandu Valley and they retained their position as having the highest population density during 1991 also. A slight change in ranking occurred as a result of the emergence of Kathmandu district as having the highest population density in 1991.

The districts having the lowest densities during 1981 are Manang (3.13), Mustang (3.62), Humla (5.08), Dolpa (2.79). In 1991 also, these districts occupied the lowest ranks in population densities.

Table 16: District Level Population Densities, Nepal, 1981-1991

Districts	Area in sq. km	1981	1991
Eastern Mountain	10,440	32.41	34.40
Taplejung	3,648	33.10	32.91
Sankhuwasabha	3,480	37.18	40.77
Solukhumbu	3,312	26.64	29.35
Eastern Hill	10,749	116.94	132.95
Panchathar	1,241	125.88	141.18
Ilam	1,703	104.73	134.59
Dhankuta	891	145.65	164.29
Terathum	679	136.16	151.50
Bhojpur	1,507	127.99	131.91
Okhaldhunga	1,074	128.15	129.84
Khotang	1,591	133.61	135.74
Udayapur	2,063	77.46	107.25
Eastern Terai	7,269	290.70	365.72
Jhapa	1,606	298.72	369.70
Morang	1,855	288.24	363.79
Sunsari	1,257	274.14	368.72
Saptari	1,363	278.10	341.64
Siraha	1,188	315.95	387.83
Central Mountain	6,277	65.82	75.03
		(65.90)	
Dolakha	2,191	68.72	79.06
		(67.78)	
Rasuwa	1,544	19.58	23.79
Sindhupalchowk	2,542	91.39	102.68
		(92.41)	
Central Hill	11,805	178.60	226.98
		(178.56)	
Ramechhap	1,546	104.43	121.64
		(105.76)	

Table 16 (contd.)

Districts	Area in sq. km	1981	1991
Kavrepalanchowk	1,396	220.02 (214.68)	232.33
Dhading	1,926	126.37 (122.86)	144.37
Nuwakot	1,121	181.06 (187.82)	218.78
Kathmandu	395	1068.95 (1079.19)	1709.72
Lalitpur	385	478.80 (578.67)	669.75
Bhaktapur	119	1342.5 (1213.61)	1453.37
Makawanpur	2,426	100.33	129.67
Sindhuli	2,491	73.74	89.88
Central Terai	9,328	255.98 (255.98)	325.18
Chitawan	2,218	117.03	159.82
Mahottari	1,002	360.33 (363.69)	439.27
Sarlahi	1,259	316.73	291.42
Rautahat	1,126	295.32	367.67
Bara	1,190	268.03	349.34
Parsa	1,353	210.15	275.33
Dhanusha	1,180	366.58 (363.72)	460.73
Western Mountain	5,819	3.43	3.37
Mustang	3,573	3.62	4.00
Manang	2,246	3.13	2.38
Western Hill	18,319	117.41	132.15
Gorkha	3,610	64.07	69.95
Lamjung	1,692	90.26	90.84
Parmanu	1,546	144.52	173.39
Syangja	1,164	233.52	252.17
Kaski	2,017	109.70	145.24
Baglung	1,784	120.64	130.32

Districts	Area in sq. km	1981	1991
Myagdi	2,297	42.19	43.77
Parbat	494	259.91	290.58
Gulmi	1,149	207.23	231.79
Arghakhanchi	1,193	131.85	151.62
Palpa	1,373	156.18	172.11
Western Terai	5,260	182.12	252.87
Nawalparasi	2,162	142.84	281.76
Rupandehi	1,360	278.74	283.93
Kapilbastu	1,738	155.37	213.91
Mid-Western Mountain	21,351	11.36	12.20
		(10.99)	
Jumla	2,531	27.18	30.01
Humla	5,655	3.59	6.08
		(5.08)	
Mugu	3,535	12.36	10.28
		(9.98)	
Kalikot	1,741	50.34	51.00
		(45.80)	
Dolpa	7,889	2.79	3.17
Mid-western Hill	13,710	76.03	88.95
		(76.66)	
Pyuthan	1,309	120.45	134.05
Rolpa	1,879	89.49	95.59
Rukum	2,877	46.03	54.07
Jajarkot	2,230	44.53	57.10
Dailekh	1,502	110.87	124.76
		(110.26)	
Salyan	1,462	104.01	124.33
Table 16 (contd.)		(109.94)	
Surkhet	2,451	67.81	92.11
		(68.18)	
Mid-western Terai	7,317	91.67	127.14

Districts	Area in sq. km	1981	1991
		(90.48)	
Dang	2,955	67.81	119.93
Bardiya	2,025	98.29	143.36
		(98.04)	
Banke	2,337	87.86	122.21
		(84.36)	
Far-western Mountain	7,932	36.42	41.95
		(37.32)	
Bajura	2,188	34.11	42.05
		(37.38)	
Bajhang	3,422	36.24	40.64
Darchula	2,322	38.85	43.79
Far-western Hill	6,762	89.37	99.18
		(89.46)	
Accham	1,680	110.24	117.97
		(110.47)	
Doti	2,025	75.62	82.55
		(75.54)	
Dadeldhura	1,538	56.47	68.04
Baitadi	1,519	117.93	132.14
Far-western Terai	4,845	88.19	139.62
		(88.13)	
Kailali	3,235	79.72	129.18
		(79.77)	
Kanchanpur	1,610	104.95	160.19

Source : CEDA, 1994

NPC, 1994 pp 5-8

Note : Values in parentheses are densities based on adjusted population totals.

6. Conclusion

In population distribution, although varying levels of mortality and fertility among sub-areas of country do play a part, it is the mobility of population from one part of the country to another that is greatly responsible. In Nepal too, the population distribution seems to vary among the Ecological zones, Administrative regions and Districts. The Ecological factor has a pervasive effect on the population distribution. Further, the sex differential in population movement adds yet another dimension to the population distribution in Nepal. These factors have important implications for development planning.

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