

Population Change in Nepal (1971-1981)

-Harka Gurung*

Introduction

The first census-like enumeration of the Nepalese population was recorded in 1911 and carried-out at about an interval of a decade. However, the wide divergences in the various returns make them less reliable.¹ Therefore, the census of 1952/54 is regarded as a benchmark of more scientific census in the country. The three subsequent censuses have tried to make improvements in methodology and statistical techniques including the use of computers.²

According to the provisional data of the 1981 census, the total population of Nepal now exceeds 15 million. Thus, the population of the country increased by 6.7 million since 1952/54 or in other words, there was an increase of 81 percent over the last three decades. The

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1 The earlier populations recorded were

1911	5,638,749
1920	5,573,788
1930	5,532,574
1942	6,283,649

See Statistics Department, *Population of Nepal*, Part I, Section I, Table IV (Kathmandu: Statistics Dept. HMG, 1957,) pp. 16-18

2. Central Bureau of Statistics, *The Analysis of the Population Statistics of Nepal* (Kathmandu: C.B.S. 1977.)

annual rate of population growth which averaged 1.7 percent during 1952/54-1961 and 2.1 percent during 1961-1971, increased to 2.6 percent during the last inter-censal period 1971-1981. An examination of data available for 1981 census provide some indication of population change at district and regional levels.

In comparing the population data of 1971 and 1981, an important factor to be considered is the change in district boundaries³. The 75 districts that existed in 1971 underwent a major change in their boundaries in 1975 although the number of districts remained the same. It involved shifts in village panchayats in at least 58 districts and only 17 districts had no boundary changes. In addition, the old district of Tibrikot was included in Jumla and the new district of Kalikot was carved out of western Jumla. For this study, the district population for 1971 was adjusted according to the shift in population according to the boundary changes affected by the second amendment of the Nepal Constitution in 1975. This exercise therefore provides a valid comparison of 1971 district data with that of 1981 relating to the corresponding area.

With regard to regional division, due recognition has been accorded to the matrix of major river basins and geographical regions. This was necessitated both by frequent changes in census regions and the propensity of development regions to mask regional differentials⁴. Thus, the longitudinal division of the country is based on major river basins and traditional culture areas such as the eastern (Kosi basin), central (Gandaki basin) and western (Karnali basin). The north south division follows the well established geographical zones of the Terai, Inner Terai, the Hills and the Mountains comprising of contiguous districts. Thus, a combination of the three river basins and four geographical zones yield twelve regional divisions (Figure 4). In addition, Kathmandu Valley has been recognised as a district regional entity owing to its urbanised and metropolitan characteristics.

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3. Vidya Bir Singh Kansakar, *Population Changes in Nepal and the Problem of Data Analysis* (Kathmandu: CEDA), 1977.
 4. New ERA, *Study on Inter-Regional Migration in Nepal* (Kathmandu: New ERA 1981), pp. ii and pp. 87-88.

Absolute Change by Districts

The geographic contrast in the country is well reflected by the highly uneven distribution of population. In turn, population change by districts follows pattern of distribution and their magnitude in the immediate past. The 75 districts may therefore be grouped into some convenient categories according to their change in population size during the inter censal period 1971-1981 (Table 1).

The four districts of Rasuwa, Humla, Manang and Mustang that show an absolute decrease in population may be termed as negative or losing districts (Figure 1). They are all in the Mountain region and the losses range from 1,172 for Mustang to 5,851 for Rasuwa. In the previous inter-censal (1961-1971), Mustang showed a decline of 6,656 while the other three districts had slight increases.⁵

The next group is made up of eight districts with a very low increase, not exceeding 10,000 persons. These are Jumla, Dolpa, Solukhumbu and Taplejung in the Mountains and Rolpa, Ramechhap, Terhathum and Panchthar in the Hills. Except Rolpa, they make three discrete blocks: Jumla and Dolpa in western Mountains, Solukhumbu and Ramechhap and the group of Taplejung-Terhathum-Panchthar in the eastern region. In the previous decade, Terhathum and Solukhumbu had negative trend and the other six districts had much larger increases.

A large number of districts (24) have a low increase in population, from 10,000 to 25,000. These include seven Mountain districts, and seventeen Hill districts. A majority of these districts with low population increase lie in the western region.

Then follows a group of 22 districts with moderate increases between 25,000 and 75,000. None of these are Mountain districts and only three are Terai districts (Siraha, Mahotari and Kapilvastu). All the Inner Terai districts except Dang-Deukhuri fall in this category. This category also includes the districts of Lalitpur and Bhaktapur in Kathmandu Valley.

5. Uarka Gurung, "The Population Aspect of Development", in *Population and Development in Nepal*, edited by D. C. Upadhyaya and Jose V. Abueva (Kathmandu 1975.) pp. 22-42. See Table 4 for population change by district during 1961-1971.

There are 15 districts with high population increase, ranging between 75,000 and 150,000 persons. Except Kathmandu district, all are in the Terai. These include all four western Terai districts, two central Terai districts and seven eastern Terai districts.

The contiguous districts of Jhapa and Morang in the extreme south-east corner of the country fall within the category of very high population increase exceeding 150,000 persons. Actually, the increases are 250,425 for Jhapa and 240,762 for Morang during the period 1971 - 1981. In the previous decade also they recorded increases of 129,698 and 148,057 respectively.

In general, absolute increases are much higher in all the Terai districts, the lowest being 65,258 for Kapilvastu. The increase for Kathmandu district exceeded the Terai districts of Siraha, Mahotari and Kapilvastu. None of the fifteen Mountain districts have an increase of more than 25,000 while the population of four districts actually declined. Successive declines during the two inter-censal period left Mustang with 21,201 less people than in 1961.

Percentile Change by Districts

No less interesting is the picture of percentile change in district population during the intercensal period 1971-81. While the overall percentile increase for the country is 29.9 percent, 27 districts have higher increase than the national average (Table 1). In the previous period, 1961-71, the percentile increase of total population was 22.7 percent and 36 districts had higher percentile increases.⁶ During the 1961-71 decade, these districts of high increase were all 18 Terai districts, 8 Hill, 4 Mountain and 3 each of Kathmandu Valley and Inner Terai districts. During the 1971-81, such high increases are recorded in 16 Terai, 5 Inner Terai, 4 Hill and one each of Kathmandu Valley and Mountain districts. Among the Terai and Inner Terai districts, only Siraha, Mahotari and Sindhuli have lesser percentile increases than the national average.

The four Mountain districts of Humla, Rasuwa, Manang and Mustang have percentile decreases ranging from 20.5 to 8.6. Mustang had a decrease of 19.8 percent during 1961-71 (Fig.2).

6. *Ibid*, pp. 37-41.

Figure 2
**PERCENTILE CHANGE
 1971-81**

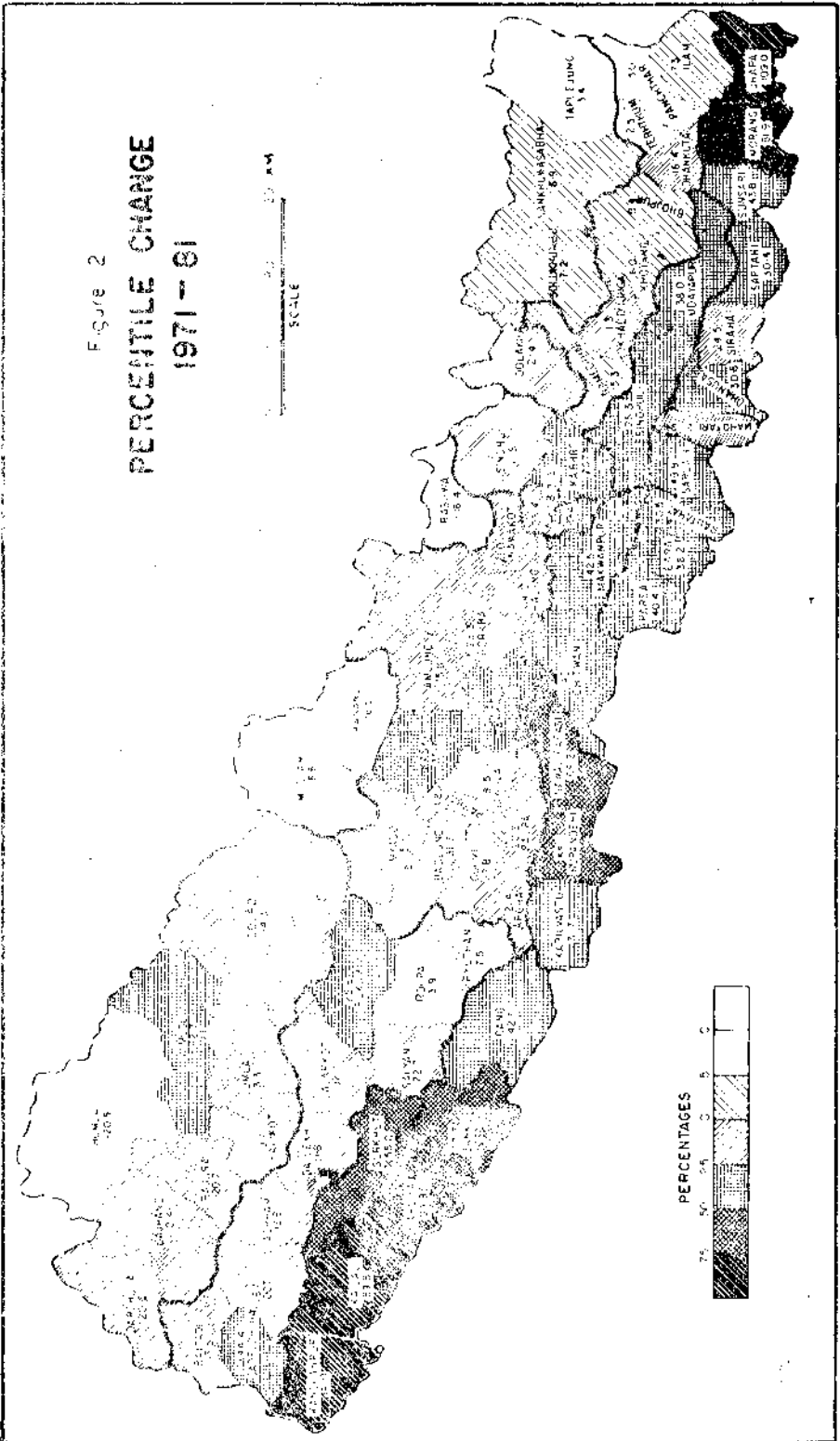
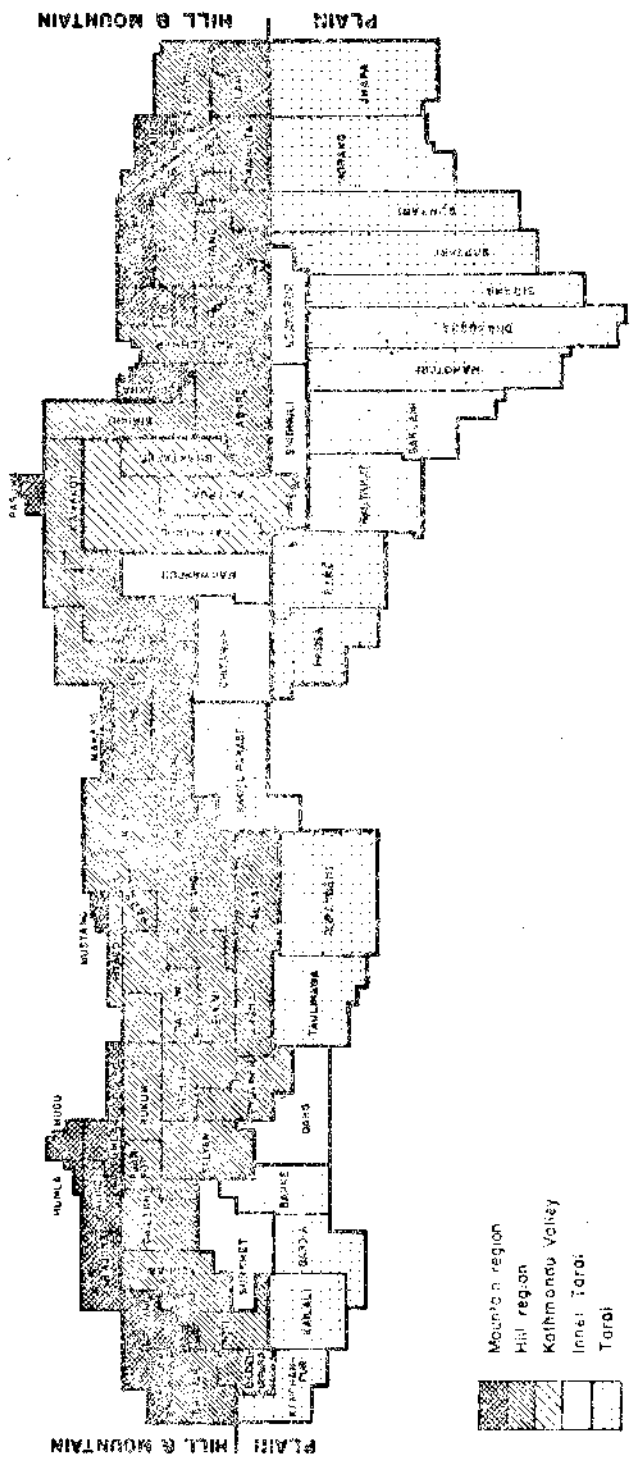


Figure 3
DISTRICTS BY POPULATION SIZE
1981



By: Horke Gurung, 1982

There are four districts with less than 5 percent increase. These include Taplejung, Terhathum, Panchthar and Rukum. Terhathum population had declined by 10.9 percent during 1961-71. Eight districts show an increase of 5 to 10 percent and these include two Mountain districts and six Hill districts. Four of these form a group between Sun Kosi and Tamur river in east Nepal.

A large number of districts (27) fall within the category of moderate percentile increase (10-25%). The category includes only two Terai districts (Siraha and Mohatari) and none from Inner Terai. The rest includes one Kathmandu Valley district, seven Mountain districts and 17 Hill districts. They form a compact block of 12 districts in the western region.

There are 22 districts with percentile increases between 25 and 50 percent. Only one Mountain district (Mugu) falls in this category. This category includes eight Terai, six Hill, five Inner Terai and two Kathmandu Valley districts. Most of these districts are concentrated in eastern Terai and adjoining Inner Terai regions.

Nine districts have more than 57 percent increase in population and all of these except Surkhet are in the Terai. Of these, four had an increase of 55 to 68 percent. Another three had 81 to 95 percent, also all in the Terai. Kanchanpur and Jhapa at the extreme end of the Terai record a very high percentile increase of 141 percent and 109 percent. However compared to the increase during 1961-71 the percentage growth of Jhapa (109.9%) remained the same while that of Kanchanpur (293.5%) decreased nearly by half. The percentile increases for Kailali, Bardiya and Surkhet were much higher than in the previous decade while it declined for Morang from 96.4 percent to 81.9 percent.

In general, percentile increases were very high in the adjoining districts of extreme east and extreme west corners of the Terai. Thus, the population of Jhapa increased nearly by six times and that of Kanchanpur by more than nine times during the period 1952/54-1981. Except Mugu, none of the Mountain districts exceeded 20 percent increase while four recorded a decrease. Percentile increases for Inner Terai districts were fairly high. The resultant size of districts by population

is shown in Figure 3, where the extensive Terai districts make a sharp contrast with the small Mountain districts.

Growth by Town Panchayats

Nepal has not only a low level of urbanisation but the very definition of urban area is based on a certain size of population rather than the functional character of the locality. The 1971 census recognised the then 16 town panchayats as urban areas. In 1975, another seven localities were incorporated as town panchayats and these were based not on population size but according to their administrative character (except Lahan). Thus, the 1981 census includes 23 town Panchayats as urban areas (Table 2).

In 1971, the 16 town panchayats had a total population of 46,938 or four percent of the total population. The 1981 population of the 23 town panchayats came to 958,076 or 6.3 percent of the total population. This means an increase of 129.9 percent during the 1971-81 inter-censal period. However, when the population of seven new town panchayats are excluded, the percentile increase for the original 16 town panchayats comes to 92.9 percent.

Just about half of the town panchayats are located in the Terai (Figure 4) and of these seven are in eastern Terai, Inner Terai and Hills have four each while Kathmandu Valley has three. There are no town panchayats in the Mountain districts and western Hill districts, (Kathmandu maintained its primacy with a population size 2.5 times larger than its nearest rival Biratnagar which in turn replaced Lalitpur as the second largest town. Kathmandu had the highest absolute increase followed by Biratnagar. Other towns with considerable increases in population were Birganj, Pokhara, Dharan, Lalitpur and Janakpur. Hill towns of Tansen and Ilam had only slight increases.

In terms of percentile increase, Birganj led all with over 250 percent. Other towns with over a hundred percent increase were Janakpur, Pokhara, Biratnagar, Rajbiraj and Dharan. The lowest percentile growth was recorded in Bhaktapur, a mere 25 percent. The percentile increase on average was 105.6 for Terai towns, 103.6 for Hills towns and 46.8 for Kathmandu Valley towns.

Although boundary changes and incorporation of rural wards have affected many town panchayats, the Table 3 indicates large in-

creases in town population over the last three decades. Places like Bharatpur, Hetauda and Tribhuvan Nagar (Ghorahi) exemplify the emergence of large towns out of modest Inner Terai hamlets. Similarly, the border towns of Dhangarhi, Siddhartha Nagar (Bhairahawa) and Biratnagar increased significantly. Mahendra Nagar in western Terai did not even exist as a settlement until 1962. Among the Hill towns, Pokhara increased by 12 times while others did not increase greatly. Bhaktapur and Lalitpur had the lowest increases.

Change in Regional Pattern

The emerging regional pattern due to population increase can be examined both from the east-west and north-south perspective. First, by the present development regions. In absolute terms, Central Development Region had an increase of over a million persons during 1971-1981. It was closely followed by the Eastern Development Region with an increase of 906,348 persons. The increases were of decreasing magnitude towards the west whereby the Far Western Development Region recorded only half of the Western Development Region.

However, Far Western Development Region recorded the highest percentile increase of 36.8 during 1971-1981. It was followed by Eastern Development Region with 32.3 percent and Mid-Western Development with 31.2 percent. Western Development Region and Central Development Region had lower increases of 28.1 and 27.1 percent respectively. Thus, the percentage of the total population by development regions comes to 32.7 for central, 24.6 for eastern, 20.8 for western, 13.0 for mid west and only 8.7 for the far west.

The east-west aspect can also be examined on the basis of the three major river basins and their geographical components. Thus, the Eastern Sector corresponding to the Kosi watershed claims 45.9 percent of the total population while the shares for the Central (Gandaki) and Western (Karnali Sector) are 27.3 percent and 21.7 percent respectively. The share of Kathmandu Valley, between the Kosi and Gandaki sectors, is 5.1 percent. In contrast to the decreasing share of total population from east to west, the Karnali Sector has the highest percentile increase of 32.4 during 1971-1981. The increase is 30.7 percent in Kosi Sector and 27.7 percent in Gandaki Sector.

All three sectors indicate a similar pattern of larger increases in the lower elevations. In Kosi Sector, the percentage of Mountain and Hill population declined. While that of the Terai increased to 61 percent (Table 4). In Gandaki sector, the Terai share increased to 23 percent although 63 percent of the population were still residing in the Hills. Largest percentile decrease in Hill population as well as increase in Terai population were recorded in Karnali sector.

In 1961, the Kosi sector had a density of 97 persons per square kilometers.⁷ It increased to 119 persons and 156 persons per square kilometers in 1971 and 1981 respectively. In 1961, the density for Gandaki was 68 and that of Karnali 35 persons per square kilometers. In 1981, these increased to 103 in Gandaki and to 56 in Karnali. The density of Kathmandu Valley increased from 814 to 1,357 persons per square kilometers during 1961-1981 or 543 additional persons on each kilometer during the two decades. There were increases of 59, 40 and 21 persons per square kilometer in the Kosi, Gandaki and Karnali sectors respectively for the same period. Not only was the old pattern of increasing density towards the east maintained but the differential of 2.7 times between the Kosi and Karnali sector remained constant (Table 4).

More revealing are the changes in regional population from north to south. The mountain region that had a share of 8.27 percent of the total population in 1971 was left with 7.0 percent in 1981. The share of the Hill region similarly declined from 43.8 percent in 1971 to 39.2 percent in 1981. In 1961, Mountain and Hill regions together claimed 61.8 percent of the total population.⁸ By 1981, their share had decreased to 46.2 percent. During 1971-1981, the population of western mountain increased by 16.2 percent and that of eastern mountain by 8.2 percent (Table 5). But central mountain had a population decline of 14.6 percent. Compared to the average national increase of 29.9 percent, the mountain region had an increase of only 10.7 percent.

Population increase in the Hill region was 16.7 percent and the average for the mountains and Hill region together was 15.2

7. Harka Gurung, "Demographic aspects of development", *Population and Development* (Kathmandu: CEDA, 1971), pp. 5-16.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

percent. Central Hills recorded a higher increase both in terms of absolute number and in percentage (Figure 4). The percentage increase in other two Hill regions was lower than that of western mountain region.

In contrast to the low increases in the mountain and Hill regions, the Terai and Inner Terai both show large increases, an average of 48.5 percent. Inner Terai had 40.6 percent more people in 1981 than a decade earlier. The six Inner Terai districts had a population of 536,760 during the 1952/54 census.⁹ It increased to 909 160 in 1971 and 1,278,774 in 1981, showing an increase of 2.3 times in less than three decades. There was a higher percentile increase from east to the west. Although central Inner Terai had a larger volume of increase, Western Inner Terai recorded a high percentile increase of 48.2.

The Terai region showed highest increases in population. During 1971-1981, its population increased by two million or 50.3 percent. Its share of total population increased from 34.7 percent in 1971 to 38.2 percent in 1981. The Terai population was 2,389,417 in 1952/54 28.9 percent of total population. This indicates an increase by 2.4 times during the last three decades. In terms of volume, eastern Terai had the highest increase of 1.3 million or over 36 percent of the country's total increase during 1971-1981 (Figure 4). The increases in western and central Terai were also higher than all other geographical regions except the central Hill region. Similar to the pattern in the Inner Terai, percentile increases were higher towards the west. Western Terai recorded an increase of 141 percent and central Terai 51.6 percent.

In 1952/54, Kathmandu Valley claimed 82.4 percent of the urban population and Terai share was 18.7 percent. By 1971, the share of Terai urban population had increased to 38.5 percent while that of Kathmandu Valley declined to 56.4 percent. In 1981, Terai claimed 43.1 percent of the total urban population and Kathmandu's share declined further to 38.2 percent. The share of Inner Terai towns was 9.5 percent and that of the Hill towns only 8.6 percent. However, percentile increases in urban population by regions were 59.8 for Kathmandu Valley, 38.8 for Terai and 8.2 for the Hills.

9. Statistics Department, *op. cit.*, foot Note 1, pp. 16-18.

Natural increase and redistribution of population by migration have significantly affected, regional densities in population (Table 6). In 1971, the density of the Mountain and Hill regions, accounting for 70.9 percent of the total area, was 53 persons per square kilometers. By 1981, the density had increased to 67 or nine additional persons per square kilometers. The lowest density was in the Karnali sector that claimed nearly a third of the country's total area.

The Inner Terai, covering 10.5 percent of total area, was a region of fairly high increase in population density. This increased to 83 persons per square kilometers in 1981 as compared to 60 in 1971 or 34 more person per square kilometers during 1971-1981. The increase was high in Central Inner Terai but increases for Eastern and Westean Inner Terai also exceeded those of all mountain and hill regions. The Inner Terai density, however, remained below the national level of 103 persons per square kilometers.

The highest increase in population density were recorded in the Terai region that covers 17.6 percent of the total area. The increase was from 156 to 223 persons per square kilometers during 1971-1981 or 67 more persons per unit of area. Although density increases showed a pattern of lesser pressure towards the west, all three Terai regions had much higher increases than that of Inner Terai. The highest increase occurred in eastern Terai where the density in 1981 reached twice the national density. The second highest was central Terai. Western Terai, that had only about one third of national density in 1971, also slightly exceeded the national average in 1981.

In conclusion, population increase was most pronounced in the Terai region, particularly in the districts at the eastern and western corners. The second area of population increase includes Inner Terai districts and some Hill districts with extensive low valleys. Most other Hill districts had moderate increases and the Mountain region had only a marginal increase. The pattern indicates a movement of population from higher elevations to lower levels and into areas of transport and urban development. The most significant feature, however, is a major shift of population from the marginal Hills to the Terai that has now become a new frontier of settlement due to malaria eradication, forest clearance and concentration of development activities.*

TABLE 1. POPULATION CHANGE BY DISTRICTS 1971-81

	66	1971*	1981	Absolute change	Percentile change
1. Taplejung	84715	113,022	116,884	3862	3.4
2. Sankhuwa-Sabha	114313	118,964	129,513	10549	8.9
3. Solu-Khumbu	115	81,572	87,444	5872	7.2
4. Dolakha		133,902	150,494	16592	12.4
I. EASTERN MOUNTAIN		447,460	484,335	36875	8.2
5. Rasuwa		35,616	29,765	-5851	-16.4
6. Manang		47,436	6,210	-1226	-16.5
7. Mustang		13,571	12,399	-1172	-8.6
II. CENTRAL MOUNTAIN		56,623	48,374	-8249	-14.6
8. Dolpa		19,110	21,845	2735	14.3
9. Jumla		59,638	67,545	7907	13.3
10. Kalikot		73,132	87,542	14410	19.7
11. Mugu		28,485	40,658	12173	42.7
12. Humla		26,757	21,283	-5474	-20.5
13. Bajura		61,342	74,061	12719	20.7
14. Bajhang		108,623	122,129	13506	12.4
15. Darchula		75,160	90,497	15387	20.5
III. WESTERN MOUNTAIN		452,197	525,560	73363	16.2
A. MOUNTAIN TOTAL		956,280	1,058,269	101989	10.7
16. Paanchthar		145,809	153,142	7333	5.0
17. Ham		165,434	177,442	12008	7.3
18. Terhathum		91,600	93,305	2305	2.5
19. Dhankuta		110,428	128,568	18140	16.4
20. Bhojpur		177,887	192,789	14902	8.4
21. Khotang		200,084	212,108	12024	6.0
22. Okhaldhunga		113,925	137,920	13995	11.3
23. Ramechhap		155,219	163,470	8251	5.3
24. Sindhupalchok		208,597	232,804	24207	11.6
25. Kabhre-Palanchok		242,828	307,604	64776	26.7
IV. EASTERN HILL		1,621,211	1,819,152	197,941	12.20

* The 1971 population by districts have been calculated on the basis of panchayat boundary changes adopted in the second Amendment of the constitution in 1975.

	1971	1981	Absolute change	Percentile change
26. Nuwakot	167,858	203,134	35,276	21.01
27. Dhading	213,081	243,042	29,961	14.06
28. Gorkha	188,221	232,091	43,870	23.30
29. Lamjung	125,489	145,318	19,129	15.80
30. Tanahu	166,857	224,508	57,651	34.55
31. Kaski	164,590	223,486	58,896	35.78
32. Syangja	249,589	271,001	21,412	8.57
33. Parbat	114,489	128,034	13,545	11.83
34. Myagdi	83,942	96,696	12,754	15.19
35. Baglung	164,150	216,212	52,062	31.71
36. Gulmi	220,941	238,234	17,293	7.82
37. Argha-Khanchi	130,212	158,144	27,932	21.45
38. Palpa	178,922	215,924	37,002	20.68
V. CENTRAL HILL	2,168,341	2,595,824	427,483	19.71
39. Pyuthan	146,371	157,863	11,492	7.85
40. Rolpa	162,955	169,379	6,424	3.94
41. Rukum	105,241	132,267	27,026	25.68
42. Salyan	123,527	151,569	28,042	22.70
43. Jajarkot	86,564	97,117	10,553	12.19
44. Dailekh	150,397	168,290	17,893	11.89
45. Achham	163,597	184,239	20,642	12.61
46. Doti	127,499	151,346	23,847	18.72
47. Baitadi	156,654	177,850	21,196	13.53
48. Dadeldhura	60,535	87,426	26,891	44.42
VI. WESTERN HILL	1,283,340	1,477,276	193,936	15.11
B. HILL TOTAL	5,072,892	5,892,252	849,360	16.74
49. Kathmandu	342,406	422,670	80,264	23.44
50. Lalitpur	142,835	183,464	40,629	28.44
51. Bhaktapur	122,320	160,686	38,366	31.36
VII. KATHMANDU VALLEY	607,561	766,820	159,259	26.21

	1971	1981	Absolute change	Percentile change
52. Udayapur	115,361	159,313	43,952	38.0
53. Sindhuli	148,999	188,232	39,233	26.33
VIII. EASTERN INNER				
TARAI	264,360	347,545	83,185	31.46
54. Makwanpur	169,770	241,984	72,214	42.53
55. Chitawan	183,644	257,332	73,688	40.12
IX. CENTRAL INNER				
TARAI	353,414	499,306	145,902	41.28
56. Dang-Deukhuri	186,564	266,247	79,683	42.71
57. Surkhet	104,822	165,666	60,844	58.04
X. WESTERN INNER				
TARAI	291,386	431,913	140,527	48.22
C. INNER TARAI TOTAL				
	909,160	1,278,774	369,614	40.65
58. Jhapa	229,631	480,056	250,425	109.05
59. Morang	293,728	534,490	240,762	81.96
60. Sunsari	238,384	343,007	104,623	43.88
61. Saptari	292,197	381,277	89,080	30.48
62. Siraha	302,304	376,390	74,086	24.50
63. Dhanusa	330,601	432,511	101,910	30.82
64. Mahotari	298,435	363,975	65,539	21.96
65. Sarlahi	265,715	398,397	132,682	49.93
66. Rautahat	256,316	334,524	78,208	30.51
67. Bara	233,401	318,010	84,609	36.25
68. Parsa	202,123	283,809	81,686	40.41
XI. EASTERN TARAI				
	2,942,836	4,246,446	1,303,610	44.29
69. Nawal-Parasi	184,031	309,692	125,661	68.28
70. Rupandehi	243,346	379,031	135,685	55.75
71. Kapilvastu	205,216	270,474	65,258	31.79
XII. CENTRAL TARAI				
	632,593	959,177	326,584	51.62
72. Banke	130,516	205,824	75,308	57.70
73. Bardiya	102,772	200,214	97,442	94.81
74. Kailali	136,023	258,259	122,236	89.86
75. Kanchanpur	68,863	166,006	97,143	141.06
XIII. WESTERN TARAI				
	438,174	830,303	392,129	89.49
TARAI TOTAL				
	4,013,603	5,752,117	1,739,514	43.31
NEPAL				
	11,555,983	15,020,451	3,464,468	29.97

TABLE 2: POPULATION INCREASE IN TOWN PANCHYATS

Town Panchayat (Region)	1971	1981	Absolute Increase	Percentile Increase
1. Kathmandu (KV)	150,402	235,211	84,809	56.38
2. Biratnagar (ET)	45,100	93,889	48,789	108.57
3. Lalitpur (KV)	59,049	80,909	21,860	37.02
4. Bhaktapur (KV)	40,112	50,468	10,356	25.81
5. Pokhara (CH)	20,611	48,456	27,845	135.09
6. Birganj (ET)	12,999	45,880	32,881	252.95
7. Dharan (ET)	20,503	42,696	22,193	108.24
8. Mahendra Nagar (WT)*		41,580		
9. Janakpur (ET)	4,294	35,248	20,954	146.59
10. Nepalganj (WT)	23,523	33,935	10,412	44.26
11. Hetauda (CIT)	16,194	32,104	15,910	98.24
12. Siddhartha Nagar (WT)	17,272	30,084	12,812	74.17
13. Bharatpur (CIT)*		26,675		
14. Dhangarhi (WT)*		26,068		
15. Butwal (CT)	12,815	22,882	10,067	78.55
16. Tribhuvan Nagar (WIT)*		19,271		
17. Rajbiraj (ET)	7,832	16,319	8,487	108.36
18. Bhadrapur (ET)	7,499	14,890	7,391	98.55
19. Birendra Nagar (WIT)*		13,885		
20. Dhankuta (EH)*		13,230		
21. Lahan (ET)*		12,923		
22. Tansen (CH)	6,434	12,119	5,685	88.35
23. Ilam (EH)	7,299	9,354	2,055	28.15
Total:	416,938	958,076	541,138	129.98

*Incorporated in 1975.