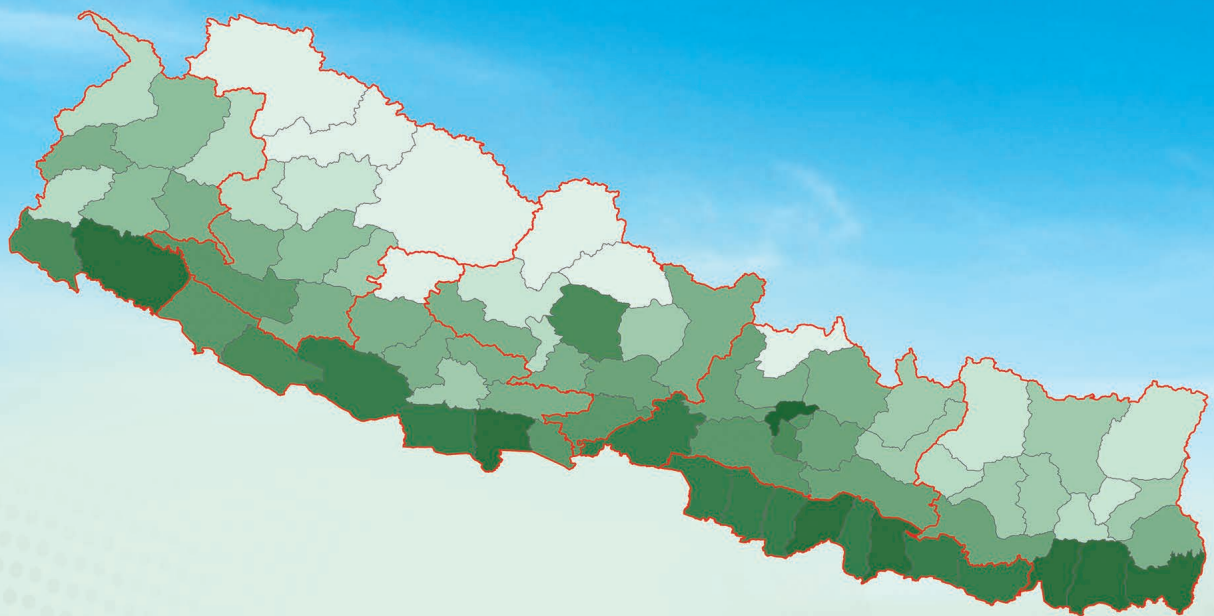
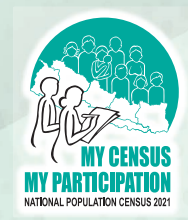


National Population and Housing Census 2021

Nuptiality in Nepal



Government of Nepal
Office of the Prime Minister and Council of Ministers
National Statistics Office
Thapathali, Kathmandu



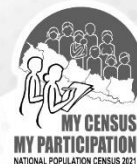
Thematic Report- XII

National Population and Housing Census 2021

Nuptiality in Nepal



Government of Nepal
Office of the Prime Minister and Council of Ministers
National Statistics Office
Thapathali, Kathmandu



National Population and Housing Census 2021

Nuptiality in Nepal

Published by:

National Statistics Office

Thapathali, Kathmandu

Tel: 5365323, 5341801, 5328406, 5345946 (47, 48) Fax No.: 977-1-5327720

E-mail: info@nsonepal.gov.np, Website: www.nsonepal.gov.np

E-mail: popcen@nsonepal.gov.np, Website: www.censusnepal.cbs.gov.np

Published Year: 2025

First Edition: 500 copies

ISBN: 978-9937-9844-8-5

Cover Map: Population distribution by district, NPHC 2021



Government of Nepal
Office of the Prime Minister and Council of Ministers
National Statistics Office

Phone { 5345946
5345947
5345948
5345848
5341801
5328406

Ref. No.



Fax: 977-1-5327720
Post Box No.: 11031
Thapathali, Kathmandu

Foreword

The National Population and Housing Census (NPHC) is the only source that consistently provides demographic and housing data down to the lowest administrative unit, i.e., the Ward. To meet the needs of a broad range of users, we have included brief explanations of the data in our reports. Over the years, the National Statistics Office (NSO) has focused not just on statistical reports but also on valuable analytical ones that cater to a wide audience, both within and outside the country. The production and dissemination of quality statistics are not merely public goods but national resources in the data and information age.

The NSO is committed to serving as the central provider of high-quality official statistics to support informed decision-making. In the past, the former Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) published population monographs following the release of all statistical results. This time, however, 21 thematic reports will be published, each focusing on key sectors of the national development plan.

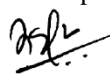
I am pleased to present the long-awaited report *Nuptiality in Nepal*. Nuptiality patterns are shaped by cultural norms, legal frameworks, socio-economic conditions, educational attainment, and demographic shifts. These patterns deeply affect family structures, gender roles, fertility trends, and intergenerational support systems. Understanding nuptiality trends is essential for policymakers to develop informed strategies in areas such as family welfare, gender equality, population planning, and social protection, contributing to a balanced and inclusive society.

I extend my appreciation to all contributors for their dedication in bringing this important analysis to light. I am confident that these findings will guide policymakers and planners in shaping development strategies for a more prosperous and sustainable future.

I would like to specifically commend the Population Section staff for their tireless efforts in generating data, providing support, and reviewing the report. The Head of the Social Statistics Division at NSO played a crucial role in coordinating all activities, and I greatly appreciate his contributions. Special thanks to nuptiality experts Prof. Dr. Keshab Prasad Adhikari and Ms. Laxmi Bashyal for analyzing crucial data and presenting important findings, and to Mr. Uttam Narayan Malla, former Director General of the Central Bureau of Statistics, for reviewing the report from a government perspective. I also acknowledge the technical support provided by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). Additionally, I extend my gratitude to the British Embassy Kathmandu and the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC) for their financial support at various stages of this report's development.

Lastly, I encourage constructive feedback from our users to improve future editions of this report.

April 2025


Maddhu Sudan Burlakoti
Chief Statistician

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

S.N.	Name and Designation	Organization	Role
1.	Mr. Maddhu Sudan Burlakoti, <i>Chief Statistician</i>	National Statistics Office, Thapathali Kathmandu	Overall supervision
2.	Mr. Dhundiraj Lamichhane, <i>Deputy Chief Statistician</i>	National Statistics Office, Thapathali Kathmandu	Quality assurance and data processing/Reviewer
3.	Dr. Hem Raj Regmi, <i>Former Deputy Chief Statistician</i>	National Statistics Office, Thapathali Kathmandu	Reviewer
4.	Dr. Keshab Prasad Adhikari, <i>Professor</i>	Freelance Statistician	Analyst
5.	Ms. Laxmi Bashyal, <i>Lecturer</i>	Population Studies, Bhaktapur Multiple Campus, TU	Analyst
6.	Mr. Uttam Narayan Malla, <i>Former Director General, CBS</i>	Freelance Statistician	Reviewer
7.	Mr. Rajan Silwal, <i>Director</i>	National Statistics Office, Thapathali, Kathmandu	Reviewer
8.	Mr. Binod Sharan Acharya, <i>Director</i>	National Statistics Office, Thapathali, Kathmandu	Reviewer
9.	Mr. Deenanath Lamsal, <i>Statistics Officer</i>	National Statistics Office, Thapathali, Kathmandu	Data management
10.	Mr. Dol Narayan Shreshtha, <i>Computer Officer</i>	National Statistics Office, Thapathali, Kathmandu	Data and statistical table generation
11.	Mr. Kapil Dhital, <i>Statistics Officer</i>	National Statistics Office, Thapathali, Kathmandu	Support
12.	Mr. Ashok Neupane, <i>Statistics Assistant</i>	National Statistics Office, Thapathali, Kathmandu	Support

Additional Support

1.	Mr. Atul Joshi	Map Designer	Map generation
----	----------------	--------------	----------------

कार्यकारी सारांश

नेपालले वि.सं. २००९/११ को जनगणनादेखि निश्चित वर्ष माथिको उमेरका जनसङ्ख्याको वैवाहिक स्थितिका बारेमा तथ्याङ्क सङ्कलन गर्दै आएको छ। मुलुकी देवानी संहिता, २०७४ का अनुसार 'यदि कुनै पुरुष र महिलाले एकअर्कालाई कुनै औपचारिक समारोह तथा कार्यक्रम वा अन्य कुनै अन्य माध्यमबाट एक अर्कालाई पति र पत्नीको रूपमा स्वीकार्छन् भने त्यसलाई विवाहको रूपमा स्वीकार गरेको छ'। उक्त संहिताका अनुसार विवाह, विवाह गर्ने दुवै पक्षको स्व निर्णय र सहमतिमा हुनु पर्ने र दुवैको उमेर बीस वर्ष पुरा भएको हुनुपर्ने र दुवै व्यक्ति हाडनाताभिन्नका नातेदार हुनुहुँदैन भनी किटान गरेको छ।

संयुक्त राष्ट्रसङ्घ (२०२०) ले जनगणना गर्ने प्रयोजनका लागि कम्तीमा पाँच प्रकारका वैवाहिक स्थितिजन्य प्रकारको सिफारिस गरेको छ। ती पाँच प्रकारमा एकल वा कहिल्यै विवाह नगरेको, विवाह भएको, विवाह भएको तर छुट्टिएको, विधुर वा विधवा तर पुनः विवाह नगरेको, र पारपाचुके भएको तर पुनः विवाह नगरेको। यी पाँच किसिमका विवाहलाई नेपालमा वि.सं. २००९/११ को जनगणनादेखि २०७८ सम्म अविच्छिन्न रूपमा सङ्कलन गरिएको छ। कहिल्यै विवाह नगरेको र विधुर वा विधवा भएकाको तथ्याङ्क सबै जनगणनामा करिब उस्तै रहेको छ। वि.सं. २०५८ र २०६८ का जनगणनामा थप शब्दावलीहरू जस्तै एकल विवाह, बहुविवाह र पुनः विवाहसमेत समावेश गरी हालै विवाह भएको जनसङ्ख्याको आकार निर्धारण गर्ने उद्देश्य राखिएको थियो।

यो प्रतिवेदन नेपालको जनसङ्ख्याको वैवाहिक स्थितिमा कालक्रमिक परिवर्तनशीलता, वैवाहिक प्रवृत्ति र भिन्नताहरूलाई विश्लेषण गर्ने दिशामा केन्द्रित छ। त्यसैगरी यसले वि.सं. २०७८ को जनगणनाले उपलब्ध गराएको तथ्याङ्कीय आधारमा जनसङ्ख्याको वैवाहिक स्थितिमा देशको सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक र आवासीय भिन्नताहरूको विश्लेषण गरेको छ। यस प्रतिवेदनलाई ६ ओटा परिच्छेदमा प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ। पहिलो परिच्छेदमा विवाहको राष्ट्रियस्तरको संरचनाका साथसाथै विवाहको सिद्धान्त र नेपालमा वैवाहिक अभ्यास समेटिएको छ। दोस्रो अनुच्छेदमा विश्लेषण विधि, तथ्याङ्कको स्रोत, तथ्याङ्कको गुणस्तर जाँचजस्ता विषय समाविष्ट छन्। तेस्रो अनुच्छेदले वि.सं. २०१८ देखि २०७८ सम्मका वैवाहिक स्थितिजन्य विशेषताहरूलाई र तिनको प्रदेश तहमा विद्यमान अन्तरलाई लेखाजोखा गरेको छ। जनसङ्ख्याको पृष्ठभूमिगत विशेषता पनि यसै खण्डले समेटेको छ। चौथो अनुच्छेदमा विवाह गर्दाको उमेर र बालविवाहलाई विश्लेषण गरिएको छ। पाँचौँ अनुच्छेदमा विवाहको उमेर, वैवाहिक स्थिरता र प्रजननसम्बन्धी विश्लेषण प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ। छैठौँ परिच्छेदमा मुख्य प्राप्ति, निष्कर्ष र सुझाव समाविष्ट छ।

प्रमुख निष्कर्ष र नतिजा

वि.सं. २०७८ को जनगणनामा सङ्कलित विवाहसम्बन्धी तथ्याङ्कको विश्लेषणबाट प्राप्त प्रमुख नतिजाहरूलाई देहायानुसार उल्लेख गरिएको छ :

- विवाहको उमेरमा परिवर्तन भएको छ, फलस्वरूप पुरुष तथा महिलाले परिपक्व उमेरमा विवाह गर्ने गरेको देखिन्छ। यस्तो परिवर्तन बालविवाहको अवस्था, प्रजनन र पहिलो विवाहको उमेरमा पनि विद्यमान रहेको छ।
- वि.सं. २०१८ र २०७८ विचको समयवधिमा, कहिल्यै विवाह नगरेका पुरुष र महिलाहरूको अनुपात क्रमशः १० र १३ प्रतिशत विन्दुले वृद्धि भएको छ (वि.सं. २०१८ को अविवाहित पुरुषको अंस २८ प्रतिशतबाट २०७८ मा ३८ प्रतिशत पुगेको छ भने सो अवधिमा अविवाहित महिलाको अंश १५ प्रतिशतबाट बढेर २८ प्रतिशत पुगेको छ)।
- पछिल्लो ६० वर्षमा विवाहित पुरुष र महिलाको अनुपात क्रमशः करिब छ र पाँच प्रतिशत विन्दुले घटेको छ। विवाहित पुरुष र महिलाको अनुपातमा देखिएको यस्तो गिरावट सोही अवधिमा देखिएको अविवाहित पुरुष तथा महिलाको अनुपातमा भएको वृद्धिसँग समानुपातिक देखिदैन।
- सहरी क्षेत्रको तुलनामा ग्रामीण र अर्धसहरी क्षेत्रमा विवाहित पुरुष तथा महिलाको अनुपात स्पष्टत बढी देखिन्छन् भने अर्कातिर सहरी क्षेत्रमा अविवाहित पुरुष तथा महिलाको अनुपात ग्रामीण र अर्धसहरी क्षेत्रकोमा भन्दा बढी देखिन्छ। ग्रामीण र अर्धसहरी क्षेत्रमा बसोबास गर्ने जनसङ्ख्याको वैवाहिक अवस्थामा त्यस्तो उल्लेखनीय भिन्नता देखिदैन।
- वि.सं. २०१८ मा १०० महिलामा लगभग १४ जना विधवाहरू थिए जुन २०७८ मा ७ मा झरेको जसले सानै उमेरमा विधवा हुने पहिलेको चलन क्रमशः बुढ्यौली उमेरतिर सरेको देखाउँछ। यस्तो गिरावटले पछिल्ला गणनाहरूमा कहिल्यै विवाह नगरेको पुरुष तथा महिलाको जनसङ्ख्यामा तीव्र वृद्धि हुँदाहुँदै पनि प्रौढ उमेरसम्मको विवाहित जनसङ्ख्याको अनुपातमा भएको वृद्धिलाई सामञ्जस्यताका साथ प्रस्तुत गरेको छ। प्रत्येक जनगणनामा विधुरको जनसङ्ख्या विधवाको भन्दा उल्लेखनीय रूपले न्यून रहेको देखिन्छ। यसले विधुरहरूलाई पुनर्विवाह गर्नमा उपलब्ध सहजता, पुरुष र महिलाको जीवनप्रत्याशामा बढ्दो अन्तर र प्रौढावस्थामा पुरुष तथा महिलाको उमेरनिर्दिष्ट मृत्युदर जिम्मेवार रहेको अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ।
- पारपाचुके भएका र छुट्टिएका महिलाहरूको सङ्ख्या वि.सं. २०१८ को ०.३४ प्रतिशतबाट २०७८ मा ०.६५ प्रतिशत रही लगभग दोब्बर भएको छ। पुरुषहरूको लागि सो अवधिमा यो दर करिब उस्तै (०.४% वि.सं. २०१८ र २०७८) नै रहेको छ।
- उमेरअनुसार हेर्ने हो भने १०० पुरुषहरूमा करिब ९५ जनाले ४० वर्षको उमेरमा विवाह गरिसकेका हुन्छन् र ५५ वर्षको उमेरसम्म उनीहरूको वैवाहिक स्थिति अपरिवर्तित रहेको देखिन्छ। त्यस्तै, १०० महिलाहरूमा ९४ जना ३५ वर्षको उमेरभन्दा पहिले नै विवाह गर्छन् र ४५ वर्षको उमेरसम्ममा उनीहरूको वैवाहिक स्थिति परिवर्तन हुन थाल्दछ। यसले जनाउँछ कि ३५ वर्षपछि नेपाली पुरुष र महिलाहरूको लागि विवाह लगभग निश्चित छ। पचपन्न वर्षको उमेरपछि पुरुषहरूको 'विवाहित' भित्र गणना हुने अनुपात घट्न थाल्दछ र महिलाहरूको हकमा यस्तो अनुपातको ओरालो यात्रा ५० वर्षपछि सुरु हुन थाल्छ। उमेरको वृद्धि सँगसँगै विधुर-विधवा महिला र पारपाचुके/छुट्टिएका कारणले व्यक्तिहरूको वैवाहिक

स्थिति परिवर्तन हुने कुरालाई सहजै बुझ्न सकिन्छ । पचास वर्षको उमेरपछि 'विवाहित' मा गणना हुने व्यक्तिको अनुपात घट्ने दर महिलाहरूका लागि पुरुषहरूको तुलनामा तीव्र हुन्छ । यसले जीवनसाथीको मृत्यु वा सम्बन्धविच्छेद र छुट्टिएको कारण महिलाहरू नै बढी विवाह बन्धनबाट अलग हुने जोखिममा पर्ने अवस्थालाई सङ्केत गर्दछ ।

- विवाह गर्ने उमेरमा क्रमिक वृद्धि भएको देखिन्छ किनभने ३५ वर्षभन्दा कम उमेरका कहिल्यै विवाह नगरेका पुरुष र महिलाहरूको अनुपातमा क्रमशः वृद्धि भएको छ । वि.सं. २०१८ मा २०-२४ वर्षका ५ प्रतिशत महिला र २६ प्रतिशत पुरुषहरू कहिल्यै विवाह नगरेका थिए भने २०७८ मा यो अनुपात क्रमशः ३८ र ६९ प्रतिशत पुगेको छ । सामान्यतया, महिला र पुरुष दुवैका लागि ५० वर्षसम्म अविवाहित रहने सम्भावना ४५ वर्षपछि लगभग (२% भन्दा कम) समाप्त हुन्छ ।
- कहिल्यै विवाह नगरेका पुरुष र महिलाहरूको अनुपात सहरी, अर्धसहरी र ग्रामीण क्षेत्रसम्म नै घटेको छ भने यसको विपरीत, विवाहित र विधुर-विधवा व्यक्तिहरूको अनुपात पनि त्यस्तै क्रममा घटेको छ । प्रदेशस्तरमा तुलना गर्दा, उमेर संरचना अनुसार तुलना गर्दा वागमती प्रदेशमा विवाहित पुरुष तथा महिलाको अनुपात सबैभन्दा कम छ भने अविवाहित जनसङ्ख्या सबैभन्दा बढी (पुरुषहरूतर्फ यहीं रहेको देखिन्छ) ।
- जातजातिअनुसार कहिल्यै विवाह नगरेका र विवाह गरेका पुरुष तथा महिलाको अनुपातको आधारमा विवाहको व्यापकता तराई दलित, पहाडी दलित र तराई जनजातिहरूमा टड्कारो छ । अझ महिलाहरूको सन्दर्भमा तराई जातजातिका समुदायमा यो विशेष देखिन्छ ।
- साक्षरताको स्तर र माध्यमिक तह वा सोभन्दा माथिको शिक्षाले विवाहित व्यक्तिहरूको अनुपातसँग विपरीत सम्बन्ध रहेको देखिन्छ भने अविवाहित व्यक्तिहरू खासगरी महिलाको हकमा शिक्षाले सोभो र सकारात्मक सम्बन्ध रहेको देखाउँछ । आधारभूत तहको शिक्षा प्राप्त गरेका २४ प्रतिशत अविवाहित महिलाहरूको अनुपात माध्यमिक तहमा पुग्दा ३० प्रतिशतसम्म बढेको देखिन्छ र सोही शैक्षिक तहलाई आधार मानेर हेर्दा विवाहितको अनुपात ७० प्रतिशतबाट घटेर ६४ प्रतिशतमा सीमित भएको छ । विवाहित र अविवाहितको उमेरनिर्दिष्ट अनुपात निरक्षर जनसङ्ख्याको तुलनामा साक्षर महिला तथा पुरुष दुवैको हकमा तीव्र रूपमा घट्ने र विस्तारै बढ्न थाल्ने देखिएको छ । रोचक तथ्य यो छ कि उच्च शिक्षाप्राप्त महिलाहरूको निश्चित आकारको अनुपात जीवनको पछिल्ला उमेरसम्म पनि अविवाहित रहने गरेका छन् जसले विवाहको व्यापकतालाई शिक्षित महिलाहरूले भिन्न प्रकारले ग्रहण गरेको र अन्य कतिपय कारणले प्रभावित रहेको दर्शाउँछन् ।
- अपाङ्गता भएका पुरुष तथा महिलाहरूमा अविवाहित, विधवा/विधुर र सम्बन्धविच्छेद/छुट्टीभिन्न हुने अनुपात बढ्ने दरमा छ भने विवाहितहरूको अनुपात घट्दो दरमा रहेको छ । जनगणनाको तथ्याङ्कअनुसार कुनै पनि प्रकारको अपाङ्गता भएका ४३ प्रतिशत महिलाहरू र ४६ प्रतिशत पुरुषहरू अविवाहित छन् । कुनै पनि अपाङ्गता नभएका १० वर्ष र सोभन्दा माथिका व्यक्तिहरूमा यो अनुपात क्रमशः २८ (महिला) र ३८ (पुरुष) प्रतिशत मात्र छ । विवाहको उच्चतम उमेर समूह ४५ वर्ष र सोभन्दा माथि पनि अपाङ्गता

भएका व्यक्तिहरूको उमेरविशिष्ट विवाह दर पुरुषहरूका सन्दर्भमा ८४ प्रतिशत र महिलाहरूका सन्दर्भमा ७५ प्रतिशतभन्दा बढी भएको देखिँदैन । अपाङ्गता भएका पुरुष तथा महिला दुवैका हकमा ६० वर्ष र सोभन्दा माथि पनि अविवाहित व्यक्तिहरूको अनुपात उच्च रहेको छ ।

- परिवारहरूको सम्पन्नताको तहअनुसार सबै जातजातिमा विवाहितहरूको घट्दो अनुपात र अविवाहितहरूको बढ्दो अनुपात विद्यमान रहेको देखिन्छ । सम्पन्नताको सबैभन्दा तल्लो श्रेणी अर्थात् अति विपन्न वर्गमा विवाह नगरेका पुरुष र महिलाको अनुपात क्रमशः ३५ र २५ प्रतिशत रहेको छ । यसले सम्पन्नता र वैवाहिक अवस्थाका बिचमा सकारात्मक सम्बन्ध रहेको देखाएको छ । सम्पन्नताको सबैभन्दा माथिल्लो सिँढी अर्थात् अति सम्पन्न वर्गमा ४३ प्रतिशत पुरुष र ३४ प्रतिशत महिला अविवाहित नै रहेको देखिन्छ । अर्कोतिर अति सम्पन्न वर्गका ५५ प्रतिशत पुरुष र ६० प्रतिशत महिलाहरू विवाहित रहँदा अति विपन्न वर्गका ६२ प्रतिशत पुरुष र ६७ प्रतिशत महिलाहरूको विवाह भएको देखिन्छ । तर, सम्पन्नताको स्तरअनुसार विधवा/विधुर तथा सम्बन्धविच्छेद वा छुट्टिएर बसेका व्यक्तिहरूको अनुपातमा निचोड निकाल्न सकिने खालको ठोस भिन्नता रहेको देखिँदैन ।
- हाल २०-२४ वर्ष उमेर समूहका २० जनामध्ये ५ प्रतिशत पुरुष र २२ प्रतिशत महिला १८ वर्षभन्दा अघि नै विवाहित भएका छन् । यो अनुपात वि.सं. २०७८ को जनगणनाअनुसार ५५ वर्ष वा सोभन्दा माथिल्लो उमेर समूहमा पुग्दा पुरुषतर्फ २३ प्रतिशत र महिलातर्फ ५४ प्रतिशतले बढेको छ । पन्ध्र र १८ वर्षभन्दा कम उमेरमा विवाह हुने घटनाहरू अझै पनि विद्यमान देखिन्छन् । दश वर्ष र सोभन्दा माथिको उमेर समूहमा प्रत्येक १० जनामध्ये १ जना पुरुष र ३ जना महिलाको १८ वर्षभन्दा अघि नै विवाह भइसकेको अवस्था छ ।
- पछिल्लो ६० वर्षमा पुरुष तथा महिलाको पहिलो विवाह गर्नुअघिको सरदर उमेर (SMAM) हरेक दशकमा एक वर्षको दरले वृद्धि भएको छ । वि.सं. २०१८ मा क्रमशः १९.५ वर्ष (पुरुष) र १५.४ वर्ष (महिला) रहेको यो औसत २०७८ मा पुरुषका लागि २५.५ वर्ष र महिलाका लागि २१.८ वर्ष पुगेको छ । पुरुष र महिलाको पहिलो विवाह गर्नुअघिको सरदर उमेरको भिन्नता ३.५ देखि ४ वर्षको बिचमा स्थिर रहँदै आएको छ जसले महिलाहरूको कलिलो उमेरमै विवाह गर्ने प्रवृत्ति पछिल्लो १० वर्षमा स्थिर नै रहेको संकेत गर्छ ।
- युवा उमेरको प्रारम्भिक चरणमा हुने विवाहको प्रवृत्ति विशेषतः कर्णाली र मधेस प्रदेशमा देखिन्छ । कर्णाली प्रदेशमा पुरुषको औसतमा २२.६ वर्षमा र महिलाको औसतमा २०.५ वर्षमा विवाह हुने गरेको देखिन्छ । मधेस प्रदेशमा महिलाको औसत २०.५ वर्षमा विवाह हुने गरेको छ जुन प्रदेशहरूमध्ये सबैभन्दा न्यून रहेको छ । बागमती प्रदेशमा पुरुषको २६.९ वर्ष र महिलाको २३.७ वर्षमा विवाह हुने गरेको छ । गाउँपालिकाको तुलनामा नगरपालिकाका पुरुष तथा महिलाले एक वर्ष ढिला विवाह गर्ने प्रवृत्ति देखिएको छ । त्यसैगरी पहाडी क्षेत्रका पुरुष तथा महिलाले तराई र हिमालका तिनका समकक्षीले भन्दा तुलनात्मक रूपले ढिलो विवाह गर्ने गरेको देखिएको छ ।

- भारत, बंगलादेश, अफगानिस्तान जस्ता दक्षिण एसियाली देश र केही हदसम्म म्यान्मारसँग तुलना गर्ने हो भने कलिलो उमेरमा विवाह हुने ढाँचा उस्तै उस्तै देखिन्छ। यी देशहरूमा पुरुषतर्फको पहिलो विवाह २६ वर्षसम्ममा र महिलाहरूको पहिलो विवाह २२ वर्षभित्रमा हुने गरेको देखिन्छ।
- जिल्लागत रूपमा पुरुषका हकमा काठमाडौँ (२८.२ वर्ष) र महिलाका हकमा ललितपुर (२५.१ वर्ष) विवाहको औसत उमेर अधिकतम भएको जिल्ला हुन् भने सबैभन्दा कम उमेरमा विवाह गर्ने जिल्लाहरूमा सल्यान (महिलाका लागि २० वर्ष) र मुगु (पुरुषका लागि २२ वर्ष) पर्दछन्। बिस वर्षभन्दा कम औसत उमेर ६० ओटा स्थानीय तहमा रहेको देखिन्छ। पहिलो विवाह २२ वर्षभन्दा कम हुने पुरुषहरू सबैभन्दा कम SMAM भएका जिल्लाहरू मधेश र कर्णाली प्रदेशमा पर्छन्, जबकि सबैभन्दा बढी SMAM भएका जिल्लाहरू बागमती र गण्डकी प्रदेशमा रहेका छन्।
- महिलाहरूको प्रारम्भिक उमेरमा विवाह गर्ने दर (२१ वर्षभन्दा कम SMAM) तराईका दलित, पहाडी दलित, धार्मिक तथा भाषिक समुदायहरू र तराईका जातजातिमा विद्यमान देखिन्छ।
- अठार वर्षमुनिका कुनै बालक/बालिका वा प्रौढ र बालक/बालिकाको बिचमा कुनै पनि औपचारिक विवाह वा अनौपचारिक सम्बन्ध भयो भने त्यसलाई बालविवाहका रूपमा बुझिन्छ। बालविवाहको विद्यमानता अनुमान गर्दा २०-२४ वर्ष उमेर समूहका व्यक्तिहरूको १५ वर्ष वा १८ वर्षभन्दा पहिले विवाह गर्ने अनुपातद्वारा मापन गरिन्छ, जुन SDG सूचक ५.३.१ को लक्ष्य ५.३ (बाल विवाह, प्रारम्भिक विवाह, तथा जबरजस्ती विवाहको उन्मूलन) अन्तर्गत पर्दछ। नेपालमा पछिल्लो जनगणना २०७८ अनुसार प्रति १०० जनसङ्ख्यामा क्रमशः ३ महिला र १ पुरुषको १५ वर्षभन्दा अगाडि तथा २२ महिला र ५ पुरुषको १८ वर्षभन्दा अगाडि विवाह हुने गरेको देखिन्छ। बालविवाहको घटना तराई क्षेत्रमा पहाड तथा हिमालको तुलनामा धेरै देखिन्छ। ग्रामीण तथा अर्धसहरी क्षेत्रमा यो समस्या सहरी क्षेत्रको तुलनामा बढी छ। साथै, मधेश तथा कर्णाली प्रदेशमा अन्य प्रदेशहरूभन्दा बालविवाहको घटना उच्च रहेको छ।
- काठमाडौँ उपत्यकाका तीन जिल्ला (काठमाडौँ, भक्तपुर, ललितपुर) र गण्डकी प्रदेशका तीन जिल्ला (कास्की, मनाङ र मुस्ताङ) मा बालविवाहको घटना सबैभन्दा कम देखिन्छ। तर, मधेश प्रदेशका सबै आठ जिल्ला तथा कर्णाली प्रदेशका अधिकांश जिल्लाहरूमा १५ वर्ष वा १८ वर्षभन्दा अगाडि विवाह हुने घटनाहरू उच्च देखिन्छन्। महिलातर्फ बालविवाहको उच्चतम विद्यमानतादर धनुषा (३९%) मा र पुरुषतर्फ रुकुम (१२%) रहेको देखिन्छ। मधेश प्रदेशका सबै आठ जिल्ला र कर्णाली प्रदेशका अधिकांश जिल्लामा १५ र १८ वर्ष नपुग्दै हुने बालविवाहको विद्यमानतादर अधिक देखिन्छ।
- घरपरिवारको आर्थिक अवस्था तथा शिक्षाको स्तर उकासिँदै जाँदा बालविवाहको दरमा उल्लेखनीय गिरावट देखिएको छ।
- बालविवाहको समस्या विशेषतः तराई दलित, पहाडी दलित, धार्मिक/भाषिक समूहहरू तथा तराईका जातीय समुदायहरूमा बढी देखिन्छ। यो विडम्बना बालिकाहरूको हकमा भन्ने बढी छ। यसले बालविवाह गरिवी, सीमान्तीकरण, वञ्चितकरण र छोरीहरूमाथि हुने भेदभाव भेदभावलाई प्रतिविम्बित गर्दछ।

गरिवी र सीमान्तीकरणको समस्या दलित समुदायका सन्दर्भमा अधिकतम छ भने तराईका जातीय समूहहरूमा लैंगिक भेदभाव अधिक विद्यमान छ ।

- हालको वैवाहिक स्थितिसम्बन्धी तथ्याङ्कले वैवाहिक स्थायित्व महिलाहरूको प्रजनन वर्षहरूमा र विवाहको सुरुवाती समयमा कायम रहेको देखाएको छ जुन धेरैजस्तो अवस्थामा जीवितै जन्मिएका बालबच्चा जति धेरै हुन्छन् त्यति नै अन्तरसम्बन्धित रहेको देखिएको छ ।
- सारांशमा, वैवाहिक स्थिति, पहिलो विवाह गर्नुअघिको सरदर उमेर र बालविवाहको तथ्याङ्क प्रदेश, भौगोलिक क्षेत्र, सहरीकरणको तहको साथसाथै जातजाति, साक्षरता, शैक्षिक उपलब्धि र परिवारको सम्पन्नताको तहअनुसार विविध रहेको देखिन्छ । प्राप्त नतिजाले एकातिर किशोर तथा युवालिङ्गित शिक्षा, श्रमबजारमैत्री सीप विकास कार्यक्रमको माग गरेको छ भने अर्कोतिर बालविवाह र प्रारम्भिक उमेरमा विवाह हुने गरेका खास खास स्थानमा जीवनस्तर उकास्नेतर्फ केन्द्रित कार्यक्रम सञ्चालन गर्नु उपयुक्त देखिन्छ । यसबाहेक विवाहको लागि तोकिएको न्यूनतम उमेरको पूर्ण परिपालनाका लागि तीनै तहका सरकारहरूको विचमा प्रभावकारी समन्वय हुनु पनि उत्तिकै जरुरी छ ।

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Since 1952/54,¹ censuses in Nepal have collected data on the marital characteristics of the population aged some fixed years and above, in demographic terms known as nuptiality. The National Civil Code, 2017, says that: “If a male and female accepts each other as husband and wife through any function, event, formal or by any other means, this is accepted as married.” The civil code also establishes that marriage must be in independent consensus, that both parties are above the age of 20, and are not close relatives by blood.

The United Nations (2020) recommends at least five categories of marital status to collect data in a census: single or never married; married; married but separated; widowed and not remarried; and divorced and not remarried. Information on these five categories has been continuously collected in Nepal censuses since 1952/54 up until the most recent census in 2021. In addition, information collected for the never married and widowed populations has remained the same across all censuses. The censuses of 2001 and 2011, however, included the additional terms ‘single married’, ‘multiple married’ and ‘remarried’ to determine the size of the currently married population.

This report is an attempt to determine the changing patterns, trends and differentials in the marital status of the Nepali population over the census periods, and to analyze the residential and socio-cultural variations in the marital status of the population based on 2021 Census data.

The report is organized into six chapters. Chapter one establishes the context, national legal framework for marriage, and outlines academic theories on marriage and marriage practices in Nepal. The second chapter outlines analysis methods used, data sources, and data presentation in the report along with data quality checks. The third chapter presents patterns and trends in the nuptiality characteristics of the population from 1961 to 2021 and assesses marital characteristics and variations by sub-national level and background characteristics of the population. The fourth chapter presents an analysis of the singulate mean age at marriage and child marriage, while the fifth chapter looks at completed levels of fertility by marital stability and age at marriage. The sixth chapter outlines the major findings and provides conclusions and policy recommendations.

¹ In the first three censuses, 1952/54, 1961 and 1971, a lower age of five and six years was used to collect data on marital status and from 1981, 10 years was used as a minimum age for marital status.

The major findings of the analysis of marital data collected in the 2021 Census are summarized below:

- There have been changes in the singulate age at marriage, with both males and females marrying at older ages, the incidence of child marriage and the completed fertility levels of women according to their marital status and age at first marriage.
- The proportionate share of never married males and females has increased by over 10 and 13 percentage points (from 28 to 38 percent for males and 15 to 28 percent for females respectively) between 1961 and 2021.
- The proportionate share of married males and females has declined by about six and five percentage points, respectively, over the last 60 years. This decline does not correspond to the proportionate increase in never married males and females.
- A visibly higher proportion of married males and females are observed in peri-urban and rural areas compared to urban areas. On the other, higher proportion of never married is consistently observed in urban areas. There appears no substantial difference in marital status between people living in peri-urban and rural areas.
- Nearly 14 in 100 females were widowed in 1961. This has steadily declined to below 7 in 2021 indicating that the young age pattern of being widowed has gradually shifted towards older ages. This decline corresponds to the increase in the share of the proportion married until older ages in successive censuses, despite sharp increases in the share of never married males and females. In each census, the proportion of widowed males is substantially lower than their female counterparts, which might be due to the fact it is easier for males to remarry, the increasing difference in life expectancy between men and women, and the male-female difference in age specific mortality during adulthood.
- The size of divorced and separated females has nearly doubled from 0.34 percent in 1961 to 0.65 percent in 2021 but has remained nearly the same (0.4% in 1961 and 2021) over the same period for males.
- Almost 95 percent males are married by the age of 40. Their marital status remains unchanged until the age of 55. Similarly, over 94 percent females are married before the age of 35, while their marital status begins to change by the age of 45. This implies marriage is almost universal for Nepali men and women by the age of 35 and above. The proportion of married males starts declining after the age of 55, and for females after the age of 50. This might be explained by the change in marital status to widowed and or divorced/separated as age increases. The rate of decline in the proportion married after the age of 50 is steeper for females than males, implying the death of a spouse or divorce/separation at later ages.
- A gradual upward shift in age at marriage is indicated by the substantial increase in the proportionate share of never married males and females below 35. The five and 26 percent

of never married females and males aged 20 to 24 in 1961, respectively, has increased to 38 and 69 percent respectively in 2021. In general, the chances of remaining unmarried until the age of 50, for both females and males, is nearly eliminated after the age of 45 (below 2 percent).

- The percentage of never married males and females decreases from urban to peri-urban and to rural areas and vice-versa holds true for the proportion married and widowed. The age standardised marital distribution of population by province revealed that, Bagmati has the lowest proportion of married males (56%) and females (60%) against highest proportion of never married males (41.3%) and females (33%). In contrast Madhesh and Karnali have the lowest proportion (below 25% each) of never married females, and Karnali the lowest proportion of never married males (32 percent). Highest percentages of married females are seen in Karnali (68%) and Madhesh (69%) provinces.
- By caste/ethnicity, the universality of marriage in terms of never married and married is evident among Madhesh/Tarai Dalits, Hill Dalits and Tarai Janajatis for both males and females, and among Madhesh/Tarai caste females.
- Literacy and educational levels above secondary have an inverse relationship with the proportion married, and a positive relationship with the proportion never married for females. The 24 percent of never married females with basic levels of education increases to 30 percent as the level of education rises to secondary, with the corresponding rates of married females declining from 70 to 64 percent. The age-specific rates of the never married and married population show a steeper decline and more gradual rise as age increases for literate populations of both sexes than their non-literate counterparts. The proportion of literate males and females who are never married is nearly eliminated at later ages compared to non-literate males and females. Interestingly, a sizeable proportion of females with higher levels of education do not marry until older ages, implying that education is an inhibiting factor on the universality of marriage for this group.
- Among males and females with disabilities, there is a higher proportion of never married, widowed and divorced/separated with a declining proportion married. Data indicates that 43 and 46 percent of females and males respectively with any type of disability never marry, against 28 and 38 percent of people without a disability respectively. The age-specific marriage rates of persons with disabilities never exceed 84 percent for males and 75 percent for females (even at the age of 45 and above), and the proportion never married remains high even after the age of 60 for both sexes.
- The wealth status of households is positively associated with an increasing proportion of never married and a declining proportion of married. The 35 and 25 percent of never married males and females in the bottom quintile, respectively, increases to 43 and 34 percent for

males and females in the highest quintile. This may be due to the positive association between rising wealth levels, increases in educational attainment, and the agency to put careers before marriage. Conversely, the 55 and 60 percent of married males and females in the highest quintile, respectively, increases to 62 and 67 percent for males and females in the bottom quintile. There appears to be no conclusive variation in the rates of widowed and divorced/separated people by wealth level.

- Transition in age at marriage is evident to see from the birth cohort analysis of the population. For instance, five and 22 percent males and females respectively of the aged 20 to 24 years married before the age of 18. The corresponding share increases to 23 and 54 percent, respectively, for males and females aged 55 years and older in 2021. One and three in 10 of males and females, respectively, aged 10 years and older are married before the age of 18.
- The number of years males and females on average remain single before their first marriage – the singulate mean age at marriage (SMAM) – has increased by decadal one year for both males and females over the past six decades. It increased from 19.5 and 15.4 years in 1961 to 25.5 and 21.8 years in 2021 respectively for males and females. The male-female difference ranges from 3.5 to 4 years, implying females marry at younger ages than males, which has remained nearly unchanged over the years.
- Younger age marriage pattern is seen in Karnali for both males (22.6 years) and females (20.5 years) and in Madhesh province for females (20.5 years). In Bagmati province, males (26.9 years) and females (23.7 years) marry at relatively later ages. Both males and females in urban municipalities marry on average one year later than their rural counterparts. Similarly, males and females in hill areas marry at relatively older ages than their counterparts in Tarai and mountain regions.
- In comparison to neighbouring South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and other Asian countries, Nepal has the same young age marriage pattern as India, Bangladesh, Afghanistan and, to some extent, Myanmar, where the age at first marriage for males and females lies below 26 and 22 years, respectively.
- By district, males of Kathmandu (28.2 years) and females of Lalitpur (25.1 years) have the highest singulate mean age at marriage. While Salyan has the lowest for females (20 years) and Mugu for males (22 years). The districts with the lowest singulate mean age at first marriage for females can be found in Madhesh and Karnali, while the highest are in Bagmati and Gandaki provinces. The singulate mean age at marriage less than 20 years for females is found in 60 local levels. Of which 33 and 15 municipalities respectively are in Madhesh and Karnali provinces. Accordingly, singulate mean age at first marriage less than 22 years for

males is observed in 28 local levels, are mostly concentrated in the hills and mountain regions of Karnali, Sudurpashchim and Lumbini provinces.

- A pattern of early age marriage for females (below 21 years) is prevalent among Madhesh/Tarai Dalits, Hill Dalits, religious and linguistic groups, and Madhesh/Tarai caste communities.
- Any formal marriage or informal union between a child under the age of 18 and an adult or another child is referred to as child marriage. It is measured as the proportion of the 20- to 24-year-old population that marries before the age of 15 and before the age of 18 (as per the Sustainable Development Goal indicator 5.3.1 for measuring target 5.3 for eliminating child, early and forced marriage). In Nepal, 3 and 22 percent of females aged 20 to 24 aged were married before the ages 15 and 18, respectively, while, less than 1 percent and 5 percent of males in the same age group were married before those ages. Child marriage for females is high in Tarai region, compared to the hill and mountain, in rural and peri-urban than urban areas, and highest in Madhesh and Karnali than the other provinces.
- Three districts of Kathmandu Valley – Kathmandu, Bhaktapur and Lalitpur – and three districts in Gandaki province –Kaski, Manang and Mustang – have the lowest incidence of child marriage. Child marriage is highest for females in district Dhanusa (39% females of the 20-24 age group married before the age of 18) and for males in district Rukum West (12% males of the 20-24 age group married before the age of 18). All eight districts of Madhesh province, and most districts in Karnali province, have a higher incidence of child marriage, both before the age of 15 and 18.
- Incidences of the 20-24 years males married before the age of 18 is above 12 percent in 30 local level and above 39 percent for females in 34 local levels². Mahottari rural municipality in Mahottari and Mangalsen urban municipality in Accham districts have the highest number of males who are married before the age of 18 at 21 percent, while for females it is Sahidnagar urban municipality in Dhanusa District at 50 percent. Of 34 local levels where rates of female child marriage are above 39 percent, 31 (91%) are in six districts of Madhesh province. Of the 37 local levels where female child marriage before the age of 15 is higher than 7 percent, 36 are in seven districts of Madhesh Province. The incidence of female child marriage before the age of 15 is above 10 percent in three local levels in Madhesh province – namely Sahidnagar urban municipality, and Aurahi rural municipality in Dhanusa and Yamunamai rural municipality in Rautahat.

² Higher than the district highest i.e., 12 percent for males in Rukum West and 39 percent for females in Dhanusha married before the age of 18.

The incidence of child marriage for both males and females decline substantially as the attained educational levels of persons and household wealth levels increase.

Child marriage is high among Madhesh/Tarai Dalits, Hill Dalits, religious/linguistic groups and Madhesh/Tarai caste communities, especially for girls. This implies that child marriage is related with poverty and marginalization and prevalent where social norms and behaviours continue to discriminate against girls.

Data on current marital status and the age at marriage clearly indicate that marriage stability during women's reproductive years, as well as early age at marriage, are associated with increasing numbers of children ever born in most instances.

In conclusion, marital status, singulate age at first marriage and child marriage vary by province, ecological zone, and degree of urbanization as well as caste/ethnicity, literacy, educational attainment, and household wealth levels. The findings have suggested for adolescents and youth targeted education, skill development programme linking to demand of labour market on the one and early age and child marriage prone localities and communities targeted living standard enhancement programme on the other. Further it envisaged for taking practicable action for strict enforcement of legal minimum age of marriage in effective coordination of the three levels of governments.

CONTENTS

कार्यकारी सारांश	i
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	vii
CONTENTS	xiii
LIST OF TABLES	xv
LIST OF FIGURES	xvii
LIST OF MAPS	xx
ANNEXES	xxi
ABBREVIATIONS	xxiii
GLOSSARY	xxiv
CHAPTER 1: MARRIAGE AND NUPTIALITY: CONTEXT	1
1.1 Background and context	1
1.2 Objectives of the study	7
1.3 Legal framework on marriage	8
1.4 Types and systems of marriage in Nepal	10
1.5 Limitations	14
1.6 Organization of the report	14
CHAPTER 2: METHODS AND DATA QUALITY ASSESSMENT	15
2.1 Methods and process of the development of the thematic report	15
2.2. Quality assessment of nuptiality data from the 2021 Census	16
CHAPTER 3: PATTERNS AND TRENDS IN NUPTIALITY CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEPALI POPULATION	22
3.1 Intercensal change in marital status	22
3.2 Change in marital status by residence	27

3.3	Patterns and trends in age-sex composition and marital status	40
3.4	Socio-cultural differentials in marital status	49
CHAPTER 4: AGE AT MARRIAGE AND CHILD MARRIAGE		71
4.1	Changing age patterns of marriage	71
4.2	Singulate mean age at first marriage	74
4.3	Child marriage: Incidence and extent	92
CHAPTER 5: MARITAL STABILITY, AGE AT MARRIAGE AND FERTILITY		111
5.1	Marital status and children ever born	112
5.2	Age at marriage and fertility: Children ever born	114
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS		122
6.1	Discussion on major findings	122
6.2	Conclusions	126
6.3	Policy recommendations	127
REFERENCES		129
ANNEXES		132

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1:	Nuptiality questions administered in censuses 1952/54 to 2021	4
Table 1.2:	Operational definitions of marital status in censuses, Nepal 1981 to 2012	5
Table 2.1:	Analytical structure of the marital status of population aged 10 years and above, NPHC 2021	15
Table 2.2:	Percentage distribution of female and male population aged 15 to 49 years by marital status in the 2021 Census and 2022 Nepal Demographic and Health Survey	20
Table 3.1:	Percentage distribution of the population aged 10 years and above by marital status by sex, Nepal, 1961-2021	25
Table 3.2:	Changing trends and patterns of percentage change in marital status of the population aged 10 years and above by sex, by urban-rural residence, Nepal, 1991-2021 censuses	30
Table 3.3:	UN-Habitat prescribed and NSO 2024 applied criteria to reclassify urban and rural areas by degree of urbanization in Nepal	31
Table 3.4:	Percentage of ever-married and never-married male and female population aged 10 years and above by ecological zones, 2001-2021 censuses	34
Table 3.5:	Sex ratio of currently married population aged 10 years and above, 1961-2021 censuses	39
Table 4.1:	Percentage distribution of married males and females aged 10 years and above by birth cohort, current age and age at marriage, NPHC 2021	72
Table 4.2:	Percentage distribution of ever married males and females by current age and age at marriage, NPHC 2021	73
Table 4.3:	Percentage distribution of ever married males and females aged 10 years and above by age at marriage, by ecological zone, degree of urbanization and province, 2021	74
Table 4.4:	Singulate mean age at marriage for males and females by province and urban-rural UM within provinces, NPHC 2021	80
Table 4.5:	Level and intercensal changes in singulate mean age at marriage for males and females, 2011 and 2021 censuses	82
Table 4.6:	Classification of district from lowest to highest singulate mean age at marriage, by female, NPHC 2021	88

Table 4.7:	Female mean age at marriage less than 20 years and male mean age at marriage less than 22 years by district and local levels, NPHC 2021	89
Table 4.8:	Proportion of the population aged 20 to 24 years married before the age of 15 and before the age of 18 by residential characteristic, NPHC 2021	97
Table 4.9:	Top ten districts with highest percentage of 20-24 population married before age 15 and before age 18, Nepal, NPHC, 2021	98
Table 4.10:	Proportion of the population aged 20 to 24 years married before the age of 15 and 18 by social characteristic, NPHC 2021	103
Table 4.11:	Local levels with greater than district highest proportion of 20-24 years males and females married before age 15, Nepal, NPHC, 2021	105
Table 4.12:	Local levels with highest proportion of 20-24 years males and females married before age 18, NPHC 2021	107
Table 5.1:	Number of children ever born to ever married women by current age and marital status, NPHC 2021	112
Table 5.2:	Number of children ever born to ever married women by ecological zone, current age and marital status, NPHC 2021	114
Table 5.3:	Impacts of marital instability on completed levels of fertility, NPHC 2021	114
Table 5.4:	Children ever born per ever-married women by age at marriage and current age, NPHC 2021	115
Table 5.5:	Children ever born per ever married women aged 15-49 by ecological zone, age at marriage and current age, NPHC 2021	116
Table 5.6:	Children ever born by ever married women by urban-rural area of residence, age at marriage and current age, NPHC 2021	117
Table 5.7:	Completed fertility of ever married women aged 45 to 49 by age at marriage and difference in number of children ever born, per 1,000 ever married women Nepal, NPHC 2021	118
Table 5.8:	Completed fertility per ever married women aged 20 to 34 by age at marriage and difference in number of children ever born, per 1,000 ever married women, NPHC 2021	119
Table 5.9:	An explanation of negative associations between age at marriage and completed fertility, NPHC 2021	121

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1: Systems and types of marriage practice in Nepal	10
Figure 2.1: Net and gross omission rates in coverage of marital characteristics of the population aged 10 years and above in the 2021 Census by urban/rural residence	18
Figure 2.2: Index of inconsistencies in reporting of marital status, NPHC 2021	19
Figure 3.1: Percentage distribution of male and female population aged 10 years and above by marital status, 1961-2021	26
Figure 3.2: Percentage change in proportionate share of male and female population aged 10 and above by marital status, Nepal 1961-2021	27
Figure 3.3: Percentage distribution (age standardized) of urban males and females aged 10 years and above by marital status, 1991-2021 censuses	28
Figure 3.4: Percentage distribution (age standardized) of rural males and females aged 10 years and above by marital status, 1991-2021 censuses	29
Figure 3.5: Age standardized percentage distribution of males and females aged 10 years and above by marital status and degree of urbanization (DEGURBA), NPHC 2021	33
Figure 3.6: Age adjusted percentage distribution of males and females by marital status and ecological zone, NPHC 2021	35
Figure 3.7: Percentage of never married males and females by province, NPHC 2011 and 2021	36
Figure 3.8: Age standardized percentage distribution of males and females aged 10 years and above by marital status, NPHC 2021	37
Figure 3.9: Age-specific gender parity index by marital status, NPHC 2021	40
Figure 3.10: Age-sex pyramid of the population by marital status, NPHC 2021	41
Figure 3.11: Nepal and cross-country comparison of proportion never married and married female population age 20 to 24 years	42
Figure 3.12: Trends in percentage distribution of married males and females by age, Nepal censuses, 1961-2021	43
Figure 3.13: Percentage distribution of never married males and females by age, 1961 – 2021 censuses	45

Figure 3.14: Trends in percentage change in widowed males and females by age, 1961-2021 censuses	46
Figure 3.15: Trends of percentage change in divorced/separated males and females aged 10 years and above by age group, Nepal censuses, 1961-2021	48
Figure 3.16: Percentage of household heads with spouse of another caste/ethnicity, NPHC 2021	50
Figure 3.17: Age standardized percentage distribution of the male and female population aged 10 years and above by marital status and caste/ethnicity, NPHC 2021	52
Figure 3.18: Percentage distribution of males and females aged 10 years and above by marital status and religion, NPHC 2021	54
Figure 3.19: Percentage distribution of the male and female population aged 10 years and above by marital status and type of household and sex of household head, NPHC 2021	56
Figure 3.20: Age standardized percentage distribution of population aged 10 years and above according to marital status by literacy, NPHC 2021	59
Figure 3.21: Age adjusted percentage distribution of male and female population by marital status and attained level of education, NPHC 2021	60
Figure 3.22: Age-specific percentage distribution (age standardized) of non-literate males and females by marital status, NPHC 2021	62
Figure 3.23: Age-specific percentage distribution (age adjusted) of literate males and females by marital status, NPHC 2021	63
Figure 3.24: Age-specific percentage distribution (age adjusted) of males and females with bachelor and above level of education by marital status, NPHC 2021	63
Figure 3.25: Age standardized percentage distribution of male and female population by disability and marital status, NPHC 2021	66
Figure 3.26: Age-specific percentage (age standardized) distribution of males and females with any form of disability by marital status, NPHC 2021	67
Figure 3.27: Percentage distribution (age standardized) of males and females 10 years and above by wealth quintile and marital status, NPHC 2021	69
Figure 3.28: Gender parity index of marital status by wealth quintile, NPHC 2021	70
Figure 4.1: Comparison of SMAM with countries in the region	76
Figure 4.2: Increasing trend in SMAM by sex, 1961-2021 Censuses	77

Figure 4.3:	Trends and variations in SMAM by urban-rural residence of population by sex, 2001-2021 censuses	78
Figure 4.4:	Trends and variations in SMAM by ecological residence of population aged 10 years and above by sex, 2001-2021 censuses	78
Figure 4.5:	Singulate mean age at marriage of males and females, Nepal and provinces, NPHC 2021	80
Figure 4.6:	Singulate mean age at marriage for males and females by wealth quintile, caste/ethnicity and attained level of education, NPHC 2021	84
Figure 4.7:	Trends in percentage of 20–24-year age cohort males and females, married before age 15, between 15 and 17 and 18 and 19 years by current age and years the cohort was 20-24 years, NPHC 2021	95
Figure 5.1:	Number of children ever born by ever married women by current marital status and age group, NPHC 2021	113
Figure 5.2:	Children ever born by ever married women by current age and age at marriage, NPHC 2021	116
Figure 5.3:	Completed number of children ever born to ever married women aged 45 to 49 by age at first marriage and province, Nepal, NPHC 2021	119
Figure 5.4:	Completed number of children ever born for ever-married women aged 20 to 34 by age at first marriage and province, NPHC 2021	120

LIST OF MAPS

Map 4.1:	Singulate mean age at first marriage of female by province and district, NPHC 2021	86
Map 4.2:	Singulate mean age at first marriage of male by province and district, NPHC 2021	87
Map 4.3:	Singulate mean age at first marriage of female Local level, NPHC 2021	91
Map 4.4:	Singulate mean age at first marriage of male Local level, NPHC 2021	92
Map 4.5:	Percentage of 20-24 years male population married before the age of 15 by Province and district, NPHC 2021	100
Map 4.6:	Percentage of 20-24 years female population married before the age of 15 by Province and district, NPHC 2021	101
Map 4.7:	Percentage of 20-24 years male population married before the age of 18 by Province and district, NPHC 2021	101
Map 4.8:	Percentage of 20-24 years female population married before the age of 18 by Province and district, NPHC 2021	102
Map 4.9:	Percentage of female population aged 20 to 24 years married before the age of 18 by Local level, NPHC 2021	109
Map 4.10:	Percentage of male population aged 20 to 24 years married before the age of 18 by Local level, NPHC 2021	110

ANNEXES

Annex A3.1:	Percentage of married males and females aged 10 years and above by five-year age group, Nepal Censuses 1961-2021	133
Annex A3.2a:	Percentage distribution of population 10 years and above by marital status, age sex and urban-rural municipalities, NPHC 2021	137
Annex A3.2b:	Percentage distribution of population 10 years and above by marital status, age sex and degree of urbanization, NPHC 2021	138
Annex A3.3:	Percentage distribution of population 10 years and above by marital status, age sex and Ecological Zones, NPHC 2021	140
Annex A3.4a:	Percentage distribution of population according to marital status by sex, and provinces, NPHC 2011 and 2021	142
Annex A3.4b:	Percentage distribution of population by marital status and age-sex by provinces, NPHC 2021	143
Annex A3.5:	Marital status (Observed and standardized) of males and females 10 years and above by Caste/Ethnicity, NPHC 2021	148
Annex A3.6:	Marital status of male and female population 10 years and above by religion, NPHC 2021	149
Annex A3.7a:	Marital status (observed and standardized) of males and females 10 years and above, by literacy and attained level of education, NPHC 2021	150
Annex A3.7b:	Age-specific marital status of male and female by illiteracy and literacy status, NPHC 2021	151
Annex A3.8:	Age sex specific distribution of males and females age 10 years and above by marital status and disability status, NPHC 2021	152
Annex A3.9:	Distribution of male and female population age 10 years and above by marital status and wealth quintile, NPHC 2021	153
Annex A4.1:	Trends in singulate mean age at marriage by sex, NPHC 1981, 2001, 2011 and 2021	154
Annex A4.2:	Singulate mean age at first marriage (SMAM) for males and females by Local levels, NPHC 2021	157

Annex A4.3:	Percentage distribution of 20-24 years males and females married before age 15 and before age 18 by districts, NPHC 2021	177
Annex A4.4:	Percentage distribution of 20-24 years males and females married before age 15 and before age 18 by 753 Local levels, NPHC 2021	179

ABBREVIATIONS

BpfA	Beijing Platform for Action
CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics
CEB	Children Ever Born
CEDAW	The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
DEGURBA	Degree of Urbanisation
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
EA	Enumeration Area
ECD	Early Childhood Development
ICPD	International Conference on Population and Development
MICS	Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey
NDHS	Nepal Demographic and Health Survey
NPC	National Planning Commission
NPHC	Nepal Population and Housing Census
NSO	National Statistics Office
PES	Post Enumeration Survey
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
RM	Rural Municipality
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SMAM	Singulate Mean Age at First Marriage
UM	Urban Municipality
UN	United Nations
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
UNNQAF	United Nations National Quality Assurance Frameworks

GLOSSARY

- Child marriage :*** Persons marrying before attaining age of 18 is taken as child marriage and before age of 15 as early child marriage. UN systems defined child marriage as ‘any formal marriage or informal union between a child under the age of 18 and an adult or another child’ as child marriage’. This report estimates the extent of child marriage as the proportion of women and men aged 20 to 24 years who were married or in a union before the age of 15 and before the age of 18. Both formal (i.e., marriages) and informal unions are covered under this indicator.
- Divorced:*** After marriage, if a husband and wife have legally separated and are living separately at the time of census enumeration, they are divorced.
- Ever married:*** Persons once married irrespective of current marital status except never married. This includes all married, widowed, divorced and separated. Therefore, size of ever married is the difference between the total population 10 years and above and never married population.
- Married:*** Any female or male who have established husband-wife relations and lived together in their lifetime with another party, male or female, based on mutual understanding or social/religious rituals or legal processes. Irrespective of the number of previous marriages or marriage order – single marriage, multiple marriage or remarriage – if any female or male is living as husband and wife at the time of census enumeration.
- Never married:*** If any female or male in her/his lifetime have never lived with another party, male or female, establishing husband or wife relations or have never married in their lifetime.
- Separated:*** If a husband and wife cannot live together and, with mutual agreement or disagreement, are living separately at the time of census enumeration, their marital status is known as separated. Separated marital status remains until it ends legally by divorce. If a husband and wife are living separately due to service, business or occupation and employment reasons, they are married.
- Singulate mean age at marriage – SMAM :*** An indirectly estimated number of years lived by persons before first marriage as an internationally accepted indicator of comparability of age at first marriage. The mean value of first age at marriage for males and females are calculated from the proportion that are single in successive age groups. The basic assumption of calculation is that the change in the proportion of single people from age x to age +1 is a measure of the

proportion of a birth cohort who married at that age. It is the computation of the mean age at marriage of persons marrying before they reach 50 years.

Widowed:

If any married female's husband died prior to the census enumeration and she has not remarried, she is a widow. If any married male's wife died and he has not remarried by the census enumeration, he is a widower. If a widow or widower has remarried and are living as husband and wife at the time of census enumeration they are classified as married.

CHAPTER 1

MARRIAGE AND NUPTIALITY: CONTEXT

1.1 Background and context

Marriage is a legal, social, cultural or ritually accepted union between spouses. The marital status of a population, however, is a single demographic characteristic, which includes biological, social, economic, legal, and, in many cases, religious aspects. Marriage is a legal, social, cultural or ritually accepted union between spouses. The marital status of a population, however, is a single demographic characteristic, which includes biological, social, economic, legal, and, in many cases, religious aspects. Marital characteristics are an important factor in population dynamics, impacting fertility, and have implications for mortality and migration. Other social and economic characteristics associated with the marital status of a population include school attendance and completion level, and labour force participation rates at later adolescent and young adult ages (Shryock et al., 1971).

The marriage or marital status-related characteristics of a population, who are older than the census defined minimum age for collecting marriage data (both females and males), are known as nuptiality. Marriage establishes rights and responsibilities between married individuals; between them and their children; and between them and their in-laws.

Marriage is principally defined as an institution in which interpersonal physical or sexual relationships are acknowledged. In a broader sense, strong cultural and societal norms in Nepal require marriage for the legitimization of sexual relationships between couples.

Marriage in Nepal is governed by various laws and customs, allowing for different types of marriages, such as custom/social marriages and court marriages. According to section 67³ of the National Civil Code, 2017: “If a male and female accepts each other as husband and wife through any function, event, formal or any other means, then this is accepted as married.” (Ministry of Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs, 2074 (BS)). In Nepal, the minimum age at marriage is 20 years and marrying parties should not be close or blood relatives.⁴ The code further states that marriage is ‘a permanent, un-intervenable and holy social and legal bond, which is based on free consent and established to start conjugal and family life.’

³ Chapter 1 (marriage related system) of part 3 (family law) of the National Civil Code 2017.

⁴ Relatives who marry can be punished under the law on incest.

Under the civil code, conditions to form a marriage include:

- Marrying parties, both women and men, freely accept each other as husband and wife.
- Women and men are not relatives punishable by the law of incest.⁵
- For both men and women, their marital status is not currently married.
- Both women and men have attained 20 years of age.

Under the code, marriages can be dissolved if they do not meet the above conditions.

There are certain familial, social and cultural assumptions of marriage in Nepal. These include maintaining family and social norms and conducts; giving continuity to family lineage by reproducing for social stability; and maintaining long-term cohabitation that is legally, socially and religiously accepted. Marriage is an important demographic event after birth and impacts on the fertility level of a population. It also has social, religious and cultural implications.

The United Nations (UN) Principles and Recommendations for a Vital Statistics System defines marriage as:

“An act, ceremony or process by which the legal relationship of husband and wife is constituted. The legality of the union may be established by civil, religious or other means as recognized by the laws of each country” (UN, 2014).

Likewise, the Demographic Yearbook on Vital Statistics defines marriage as: “All legal unions of persons of opposite sex, established by civil, religious, or other means recognized by law.” Hence, marriage is defined as establishing the legality of spousal union through the means of social, cultural, ritual or legal means between two opposite sexed individuals.

The Statistical Commission of the United Nations has recommended the definition of marriage for statistical purposes as:

"The legal union of persons of the opposite sex. The legality of the union may be established by civil, religious, or other means as recognized by the laws of each country; and irrespective of the type of marriage, each should be reported for vital statistical purposes."

The UN prescribed definition is used by the 2021 Nepal Population and Housing Census (NPHC) within the framework of section 67 of the National Civil Code 2017 in Nepal.

The best fit definition on the involvement and functions of marriage is from Peoples and Bailey (2012). It summarizes that: Marriage is: a) a culturally defined relationship between a man and

⁵ The civil code permits the continuation of cross-cousin and nephew/niece marriage in some communities where it is a socio-cultural tradition of family lineage.

a woman from different families, that regulates sexual intercourse and legitimizes children; b) sets out the rights the couple and their families establish over each other, including rights over children born to the woman; c) assigns responsibilities for nurturing and enculturating children of the spouses and/or to one or both sets of relatives; and d) it creates variably important bonds and relationships between the families of the couple that have social, economic, political, and sometimes, ritual dimensions (p. 170).

An additional four functions of marriage are indicated by Peoples & Bailey (2012, pp. 170-171).

Marriage:

- Creates social relationships that provide for the material needs, social support and enculturation of children.
- Normatively or legally reduces (but does not eliminate) potential conflicts over sexual access by defining culturally approved sexual activity and limiting adult sexual access to certain individuals.
- Defines the shared responsibilities of husband and wife and other family members to support one another and defines the household level division of labour.
- Creates new relationships between families and other kinds of kin groups. (In most societies, taboos around incest mean individuals and families must find a bride or groom that is outside of their immediate relatives.)

These conceptual aspects on the involvement and functions of marriage prevail in most of Nepali society.

1.1.2 Conceptual flow

Countries, including Nepal, have adopted different systems for classifying marital status. Generally, the marital status of the population above the census defined minimum age at marriage (in Nepal, from the 1981 Census onwards, marital status data has been collected from the population aged 10 years and above⁶) is classified as never married or single. After a person marries for the first time, the classification changes to the current married or married. Marital status may change to widowed due to the death of a spouse or divorced due to divorce. If someone who is widowed or divorced remarries, their nuptial status again becomes currently married or married.

The United Nations (2020) includes the following categories of marital status:

- a) Single or never married

⁶ It is essential in censuses to collect data on the marital status of the population below the legal minimum age at marriage to determine the prevalence of child marriage.

- b) Married
- c) Married, but separated
- d) Widowed and not remarried
- e) Divorced and not remarried

Different approaches to measuring the trends and variations in marital behaviour can be used involving various degrees of refinement. The crude measure counts all the population irrespective of age. The process of refining this measure involves limiting the denominator (base) to those who are "exposed to a risk" of entering a marital status – only single or never married persons enter first marriage; only married persons can become separated, divorced, or widowed; and only widowed or divorced persons can remarry.

1.1.3 Classification and definitions of marital status

In line with UN recommendations, successive censuses in Nepal from 1952/54 to 2021 have collected and compiled data on marital status. The two classifications of marital status that are common to all censuses in Nepal are never married and widowed. The two censuses of 2001 and 2011 included three categories: married living with a single spouse; married living with multiple spouses; and remarried to determine the size of the currently married population in Nepal. These three options were dropped in the 2021 Census and the 'married' marital status only included 'married'. Divorced and separated marital status was a combined option until the 1981 Census and then separated in the subsequent four censuses of 1991 to 2021 (see Table 1.1).

Table 1.1: Nuptiality questions administered in censuses 1952/54 to 2021

Nuptiality status/census	1952/54	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	2021
Never married	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Married	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√
Married living with a single spouse	X	X	X	X	X	√	√	X
Married living with multiple spouses	X	X	X	X	X	√	√	X
Remarried	X	X	X	X	X	√	√	X
Widowed	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Divorced/separated	√	√	√	√	X	X	X	X
Divorced	X	X	X	X	√	√	√	√
Separated	X	X	X	X	√	√	√	√

Source: Bajracharya and Bhandari, 2014; CBS, 2021 (Enumeration manual).

Note: √= Included, X= not included.

The operational definitions of marital status developed for the 1981 Census were used as guidelines for successive censuses. The terms are defined at Table 1.2. The 2021 NPHC included two questions on the marital status of the population aged 10 years and above. The first question asked about the marital status of a person and recorded answers in one of the five options of marital status as never married, married, widowed, divorced and separated. The second question asked the age at first marriage of a person who was married (married, widowed, divorced and separated).

Table 1.2: Operational definitions of marital status in censuses, Nepal 1981 to 2012

Marital status	Census years		
	2021	2001-2011	1981-1991 (common)
Never married	If any female or male in her/his lifetime have never lived with another party, male or female, establishing husband or wife relations or have never married in their lifetime.	Same as in 1981 Census	A person who is not married in any way (legally, religiously or socially) or who has not lived as husband or wife at the time of census enumeration.
Married	Any female or male who have established husband-wife relations and lived together in their lifetime with another party, male or female, based on mutual understanding or social/religious rituals or legal processes. Irrespective of the number of previous marriages or marriage order – single marriage, multiple marriage or remarriage – if any female or male is living as husband and wife at the time of census enumeration.	---	Whatever the type of marriage, a husband or wife who is living in the community at the time of census enumeration and has continued to do so, is known as a married person, even though living in separate places. This also includes polygamy/polyandry and remarriage.
Widowed	If any married female's husband died prior to the census enumeration and she has not remarried, she is a widow. If any married male's wife died and he has not remarried by the census enumeration, he is a widower. If a	Same as in 1981 Census	If any married female's husband died prior to the census enumeration and she has not remarried, she is a widow. If any married male's wife died and he has not remarried by the census

Marital status	Census years		
	2021	2001-2011	1981-1991 (common)
	widow or widower has remarried and are living as husband and wife at the time of census enumeration they are classified as married.		enumeration, he is a widower. If a widow or widower have remarried and are living as husband and wife at the time of census enumeration they are classified as married.
Divorced	After marriage, if a husband and wife have legally separated and are living separately at the time of census enumeration, they are divorced.	Same as in 1981 Census	If the marital status of a married person is broken legally or by any means, they are known as divorced. If the husband and wife continue to live separately forever, they are considered divorced. If the wife has taken another husband, she becomes married. If the husband has not yet remarried at the time of the census, his status remains as divorced. But once the husband and wife have divorced and lived separately, and after some time both remarry, they are considered married.
Separated	If a husband and wife cannot live together and, with mutual agreement or disagreement, are living separately at the time of census enumeration, their marital status is known as separated. Separated marital status remains until it ends legally by divorce. If a husband and wife are living separately due to service, business	Same as in 1981 Census	A person who has not broken the marital union legally or by any means but is living separately from his/her husband or wife without any relationship to each other is considered separated.

Marital status	Census years		
	2021	2001-2011	1981-1991 (common)
	or occupation and employment reasons, they are married.		
Single married, multiple married, and remarried	Terms dropped in 2021 Census	Three new categories included in 2001 Census and continued in 2011 Census (operational definitions are given in Bajracharya, & Bhandari, 2014).	Not included in the 1991 and prior censuses.

Source: Bajracharya and Bhandari, 2014; CBS, 2021 (enumeration manual).

The enumeration manual of the 2021 Census highlighted the importance of asking for information on the marital status of the population above the age of 10 and the age at first marriage:

- The information on marriage and age at first marriage is directly related to fertility rates and provides insights into reproductive behaviours.
- The information on age at first marriage helps to calculate the average age of marriage of males and females in Nepal.
- Early age at marriage implies increased fertility rates which have a direct impact on population growth rates. Obtaining information on age at marriage supports the design of policies and programmes to address population growth rates.
- Marriage before the age of 20 is illegal in Nepal, so respondents might not report the correct age at marriage of persons who married below the age of 20. The enumeration manual stressed that enumerators were vigilant in recording this information.

1.2 Objectives of the study

The overall objectives of the report are to determine changing patterns, trends and differentials in the marital status of the Nepali population over the census periods.

Specific objectives include:

- To determine the changing patterns, trends and differentials in marital characteristics of the Nepali population over the census year.
- To identify variations in marital characteristics among subnational groups of the population (urban-rural residence, ecological zone and province, and caste/ethnic and cultural group).

- To determine components that explain variations in marital characteristics by residential, social and economic attributes, and levels of fertility.

1.3 Legal framework on marriage

Legal provisions in Nepal to manage marriage behaviours have focused on the minimum age at marriage, prohibited degrees of blood relationships and consent. Prior to the National Civil Code of 2017, all other legal provisions in Nepal set 16 years as the minimum age of marriage for girls and 18 years for boys, with parental or guardian's consent, and 18 and 20 years respectively for girls and boys without parental consent. National and international legal provisions are summarized below:

- The National Civil Code of 1962/63 allowed adults to enter marital union at their will if it was not between the prohibitable degree of close relatives. A girl and boy could marry after the ages of 16 and 18 respectively, with parental/guardian's consent, and at ages 18 and 20 years respectively, without parental consent.
- The Nepal Marriage Law (2010/11) raised the legal minimum age at marriage to 18 years for girls and 20 years for boys, irrespective of parental/guardian consent. Marriage before that age is defined as child marriage, especially for girls.
- The 2015 Constitution of Nepal bans child marriage⁷ and states child marriage is a violation of the rights of the child.
- The National Civil Code, 2017 (2074) sets 20 as the legal minimum age for marriage for both males and females; accepts marriage as an un-intervenable social and legal bond; prohibits marriage in certain degrees of relationship;⁸ gives freedom of marriage to persons who have attained the minimum age of marriage; and includes a clause on dissolving marriages. The civil code currently governs legal marriage provisions in Nepal. According to the civil code, marriage registration and obtaining a marriage certificate is compulsory, either from a court or a ward office of local government.
- The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW, 1979) identifies certain marriage practices as discriminatory against women, including child marriage, and calls for governments to increase the minimum legal age at marriage.
- The International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD 1994) urges governments to enforce laws to ensure that marriage is entered into only with the free

⁷ Persons under the age of 18 according to the constitution, and persons under the age of 20, according to the National Civil Code 2017.

⁸ Sexual relations between prohibited blood relations constitute incest.

and full consent of the intending spouses and to raise the minimum age at marriage (UN, 1995).

- The Beijing Platform for Action (BPfA), adopted by the fourth World Conference on Women, 1995, determines that ending early marriage, including child marriage, is one of the 12 critical areas for women’s empowerment and gender equality.
- Target 3 of Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 5 (Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls) calls for the: ‘Elimination of all harmful practices, such as child, early and forced marriage ...’ by 2030. The adopted indicator to measure the achievement of this target includes the: ‘Proportion of women aged 20 to 24 years who were married or in a union before the age of 15 and the age of 18.’ Therefore, the proportion of the population aged 20 to 24 years married before the ages of 15 and 18 are taken as monitoring indicators for this SDG target.

1.3.1 Plans and policy efforts

The tenth five-year plan (2002-2007) in Nepal, known as the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), adopted targets, policies and programmes to address early marriage, especially in the population management and gender equality sectors.

The 15th five-year development plan (2019/20-2023/24) stated that child marriage was a major problem, among others, faced by children and adolescents in Nepal. It further outlined that eliminating child marriage was one of the major barriers to achieving the plan’s targets. Under the children and adolescent’s related strategies and working policies, the plan aimed to: “Make the lives of children and adolescents secure by ending all forms of violence.” The plan included legal provisions to expand access to accessible and appropriate education for adolescents and youth under the population and migration section of the social sector. (NPC, 2020).

The 16th five-year plan accepts that child marriage is a major issue and barrier to achieving gender equality (NPC, 2024), but the plan does not have policy level targets or policies to address child marriage.

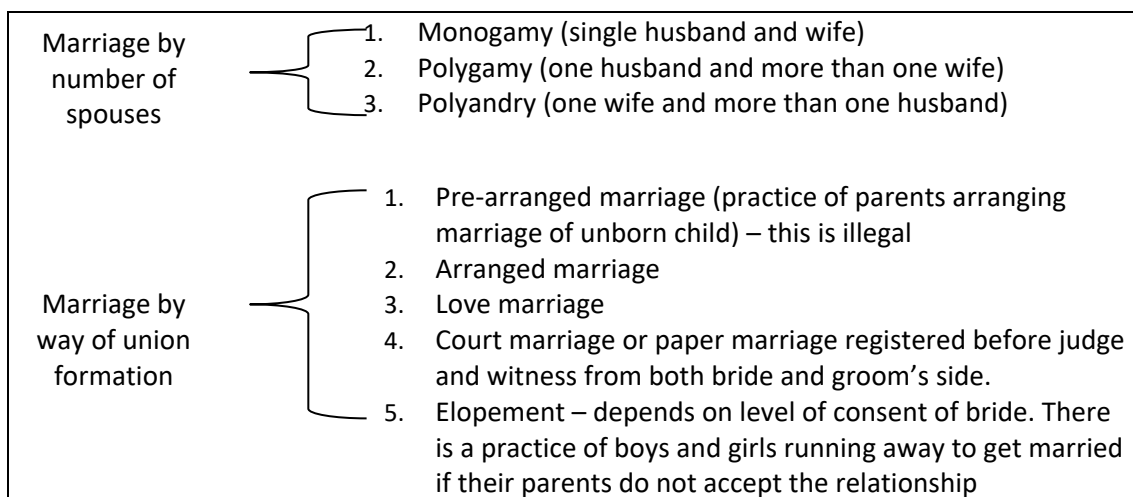
The Nepali legal framework, and current planned efforts to regulate marriage practices, are more focused on enforcing the minimum legal age at marriage and prohibiting marriage between close blood relatives, as instruments to uphold the reproductive health and rights of women and girls. Earlier plans focused on raising the age at marriage of women to achieve fertility reduction targets.

1.4 Types and systems of marriage in Nepal

Marital unions between adult women and men in Nepal are established through social, cultural, religious and legal means. A court marriage is the legal means for eligible women and men to get married by registering a marriage in a court before a judge. The court issues marriage registration papers and the union is known as a "paper marriage". The current National Civil Code makes the registration of all types of marriage compulsory at the ward office of respective local governments; however, they are established, including through socio-cultural or religious events/ceremonies or by personal choice (love marriage).

Evidence suggests that there are three modes of marriage formation⁹ in Nepal, dependent on caste/ethnic and religious background. These are monogamy, polygamy and polyandry. Monogamy (married only to one person at the same time) is the legally permitted marriage system. Polygamy and polyandry (a man has multiple wives, and a woman has multiple husbands) are banned by law but are still in practice.¹⁰ Practices of patrilocal and patrilineal marriage are also universal, but no studies have been undertaken on matrilineal and matrilocal marriage practices. As information on the formation process of marriages is not collected in censuses and surveys, it is not possible to determine the extent of legally prohibited systems and types of marriages or how marriages are formed in Nepal (Figure 1.1).

Figure 1.1: Systems and types of marriage practice in Nepal



⁹ Marriage is determined by a socio-cultural/religious event/ceremony. A love marriage is a personal choice, with or without parental consent, witnessed before a court.

¹⁰ As of the 2021 Census, 0.7% of male household heads and 13 (absolute number) of female household heads had multiple spouses.

6. Compensation or exchange marriage – (traditionally this was called *Sato Pratha*). In the past (until about 50 years ago), families exchanged sons and daughters from each other's family to marry. If families had no daughter to exchange, they had to pay compensation, which was mutually determined. This practice is now illegal.
7. Marriage with widow of elder brother – this practice was prevalent in some Mountain/Hill ethnic communities.
8. Marriage by duet competition: boys and girls participated in a duet competition at local festivals and ceremonies. If the boy defeated the girl, he dragged her to his home. If the girl liked the boy, she pretended to be defeated.
9. Cross-cousin marriage: This type of marriage is a close blood relative marriage under law. Among some Mountain/Hill ethnic and caste communities it is still in practice; the son of a sister marries the daughter of a brother (*Phupu Chela- Mama cheli*). In some societies there is a two-way marriage (both children of brothers and sisters marry).
10. *Gauna or Maitalu*: The practice or ceremony of sending a bride to a groom's house. After a few years' interval, the marriage was formed by a religious ceremony/ritual. This was common in Tarai/Madhesh regions where child marriage was very high.
11. Consensual union – evidence is scanty but there are suggestions this is prevalent in urban areas and is rising.
12. Marriage between persons of the same sex. This is legally accepted but uncommon in Nepal.

Marriage by
postmarital
residence

1. Patrilineal and patrilocal marriage (the bride is taken to the groom's house, and children born to them carry the ancestral lineage of the groom's father such as the family name, inheritance—this is the most common in Nepal).
2. Matrilineal and matrilocal marriage (the groom is taken to the bride's house, and children born to them carry the ancestral lineage of the bride's mother, such as family name and inheritance—there is no established evidence of such marriage in Nepal).

Source: Peoples & Bailey, 2012; Khatri, B.K., 2021.

Arranged marriages are the predominant practice of establishing socially and legally accepted unions between a girl and a boy of two non-relative families who are not known to each other.

In the past, parents of two families used to arrange a marriage date without the prior consent of the marrying parties (*forced arranged*). Most persons over the age of 65 still share experiences of seeing the faces of the bride/groom on the day of the wedding – under the *Mandap* (wedding canopy). Forced forms of arranged marriage have gradually changed, with intended parties allowed to see and talk to each other to decide whether to accept or reject the proposal. A boy, however, has more rights to accept and reject a proposal if he visits a potential bride's house. If the marrying parties are undecided, the decision of the father or kin/relatives of the boy carries more weight. This type of arranged marriage is still widely prevalent in most of Nepali society. Arranged marriages, after a period of courtship to get to know their intended spouse, with parental consent, is also increasing, but both the boy and girl's parents must consent. A boy and girls' ability to choose their own partner is also increasing.

In arranged marriages, families of the intended marrying parties will only accept each other if the "*gotra*" (family lineage) is different. The maintenance of different 'gotra' is taken as a rule to prevent incest. However, while ensuring the different gotra, families will look for a marrying partner within the same social group, such as caste or ethnicity. For instance, a brahman family will search for a bride or groom for their son or daughter from a brahman family of other gotra, clan or family lineage.

A marriage is considered exogamous if it takes place between different castes and ethnic groups –intercaste marriage. The extent of intercaste marriage is increasing in Nepal, but there is limited evidence. In 2009, the government of Nepal offered cash incentives of UMR 100,000 to couples to marry inter-caste as a measure to reduce social and economic pressures faced by inter-caste couples and enhance social harmony.

Pre-fixed marriage practices (fixing the marriage of a foetus in a mother's womb) were prevalent among certain ethnic communities in the Hill region. In this context, respective girls and boys were forced to marry during early childhood. This was a common practice among the Pahari community, Kagate village, Nuwakot district, a few kilometres north of the capital city Kathmandu until 25 years ago. Now it is illegal.

Exchange (*sato*) or compensation marriages were a marital practice whereby sons and daughters were exchanged between two families from a different clan or family lineage. For example, if the boy of a family was marrying a girl from another family, then the family on the boy's side had to offer their daughter at the same time or in future to the boy of the daughter's married family. If the boy's family did not have a daughter to exchange, monetary compensation (*polto* meaning ransom in Nepali) had to be paid.

The payment of a bride price was practiced among certain Mountain and Hill communities and minority groups of Tarai/Madhesh in the past. As different types of dowry payment systems now

exist, this practice may no longer exist. There is still evidence, however, of newly married grooms/husbands offering services to the bride's family among Musahar, Bantar, Tarai/Madhesh and Gurung/Mountain/Hill ethnic groups. Despite legal restrictions and civil rights movements, the deep-rooted practice of paying and claiming *dowry*, especially in Tarai/Madhesh, is spreading to other parts and communities of the country. This practice is believed to replace the traditional system of paying a bride price. It is the wealth or property payment made by the family of a marrying girl (bride) to the groom or his family. The dowry system is believed to foster the prevalence of child marriage – the higher the practice of dowry, the higher the incidence of child marriage (UNFPA & CDPS, 2017).

Monogamy (one spouse per married individual) is the only legally accepted marriage practice in Nepal, although polygamy and polyandry are still thought to exist. Although it is not as widespread across all communities as in the past, polygamy (more than one wife at the same time) was seen as a symbol of manhood, family prestige and the accumulation of household labour resources. Polyandry (one woman married to multiple husbands) is culturally practiced among Mountain ethnic communities, including the Bhotiya, Byansi, Sauka in far western and mid-western mountain regions of the country. However, polygamy has decreased among younger generations, due to attraction to the same age mate. In contemporary Nepali society, polygamy and polyandry are illegal.

Across all communities in Nepal there are patrilocal and patrilineal marriages. Some Mountain/Hill communities and Tarai/Madhesh Dalits communities have traditional practices of taking bride services from the newly wed groom for some years. If the parents of the bride are satisfied with the services, they allow their daughter to live in his house. Children of the couple are given the family name of the husband's ancestral lineage, confirming patrilineality. Matrilocal and matrilineal marriage practices were historically not accepted across communities of Nepal. Most recently, couples who are financially independent have started to establish their own residence (*neolocal*) separate from the house of the husband's and wife's parents, assigning the family name of both family lineages to their children. Evidence to prove its extent, however, is lacking.

Although legal provisions ban marriage between blood or relatives by birth (cross cousin), certain communities continue to see this as a traditional cultural practice. Cross cousin marriage (especially sons of sisters marrying daughter of brothers, i.e., *Fupu Chela-Mama-Cheli*) is accepted among Thakuri, Gurung, Tamang, Muslims and some other caste/ethnic communities

Nepal is a country of caste/ethnic and cultural diversity, with varied socio-cultural and religious systems and practices of marriage. It is easy to summarize the legal aspects of marriage, but in the lack of evidence, it is hard to analyse the socio-cultural and religious aspects of marriage systems and cultures of all communities.

1.5 Limitations

The data analysed in this study is from marriage-related data collected in the 2021 Census. Trends in marriage patterns are assessed through a comparison of similar indicators from past successive censuses from 1961. An in-depth analysis of statistical findings is beyond the scope of this report due to data limitations. Trends in the number of times a person has been married; the number of spouses (polygamy and polyandry); whether spouses are living together or apart; and the extent of exogamous (inter-caste) and endogamous (same caste or different family lineage) marriages are also beyond the scope of this report.

1.6 Organization of the report

The report is divided into six chapters.

- Chapter 1 outlines legal frameworks, objectives, and marriage practices and systems in Nepal.
- Chapter 2 describes methodology, data sources and quality assessment of nuptiality data collected in the 2021 NPHC. Methods include the tabulation and presentation of census information on marital status and their comparison with indicators from previous censuses and other studies. An evaluation of the net undercount, coverage and content errors of marital statistics, based on the results of the 2021 NPHC post enumeration survey, is also presented. The proportion of the population by marital status, standardized to the age composition of the population, is also considered as an important tool for assessing the quality of the census data.
- Chapter 3 presents patterns and trends of change in the nuptiality characteristics of the Nepali population from 1961 to 2021, and differentials and variations in marital characteristics by sub-national level and background characteristics of the population.
- Chapter 4 presents an analysis of age at first marriage and child marriage.
- Chapter 5 outlines the completed level of fertility by marital stability (married, widowed and divorced/separated) and age at marriage.
- Chapter 6 summarizes the major findings, draws conclusions and suggests policy recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

METHODS AND DATA QUALITY ASSESSMENT

This chapter contains two parts. The first part explains the sources and presentation of data. The second part presents a quality assessment of the 2021 Census data on marital status and age at marriage.

2.1 Methods and process of the development of the thematic report

The report is based on both primary data on the marital status of the population aged 10 years and above from the 2021 NPHC and secondary data from published monographs and reports based on previous censuses, as well as comparable data from Nepal Demographic and Health Surveys (NDHSs) and other relevant studies. The results are presented in cross tables (number and percentage distributions), graphs and maps.

As the NPHC 2021 undertook a complete enumeration of all local districts, for the first time, in the country under the new federal structure, an attempt is made to analyse data down to the local level as much as possible. Marital indicators of the population, such as singulate mean age at marriage (SMAM), and the prevalence of child marriage (for the 20 to 24 age group who married before the age of 15 and 18 respectively) are visualized in maps at the district and municipality levels. In most instances, results or indicators are compared with similar indicators from other sources such as NDHSs and data from neighbouring countries. A review of theoretical and empirical literature and policy documents also helped to increase the quality of analysis in this report.

Analytical categories as explaining factors of the marital characteristics of the population of Nepal are outlined at Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Analytical structure of the marital status of population aged 10 years and above, NPHC 2021

Background characteristics	Breakdown by characteristics
Residential characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Municipalities: Urban and rural - Urban-rural areas: Urban, peri-urban and rural areas - Ecological zones: Mountain, Hill and Tarai

Background characteristics	Breakdown by characteristics
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Provinces: Seven provinces – Koshi, Madhesh, Bagmati, Gandaki, Lumbini, Karnali, and Sudurpashchim - Contextually: 77 Districts and 753 local areas
Demographic characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sex: Male and female - Age: Five-year age groups - Sex of household heads: Male or female - Family structure: Nuclear or extended - Disability status - Completed fertility of ever married women aged 15 to 49 years
Social and cultural characteristics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Caste/ethnicity - Religion - Literacy and attained level of education - Work occupation - Wealth quintile

2.2. Quality assessment of nuptiality data from the 2021 Census

There are two ways for assessing the quality of marital status from census data: (i) An analysis of the internal consistency of marital status statistics; and (ii) Matching consistency in reporting of marital status with external sources (Shryock et al., 1971). The UN Operational Guidelines for Post-Enumeration Surveys (PES)(2010) proposed an analytical framework of assessing census data by grouping methods into three criteria: (i) using a single source of data; (ii) using multiple sources of data for matching response variance and bias; and (iii) the type of error to be measured (e.g. coverage and content error). In this context, it is applicable to apply matching and comparison methods using single data sources, an estimation of coverage (gross and net omission rates) and content (index of inconsistency), due to variations and bias in marital status reporting.

An assessment of internal consistency involves matching the responses on marital status from two or more sources for the same person. This is made possible by the results of the 2022 PES. The survey, through the dual system estimation methods, matched the count of identical family members in the 2021 Census and estimated the number of persons omitted in the counting; the number of persons who were counted more than once at different places; and the erroneous

inclusion of people. The marital status of persons aged 10 years and above was collected in the PES, and the gross and net omission rates of persons by marital status was estimated.

External sources to match consistency in the reporting of marital status in the 2021 Census were used, including the distribution of population by marital status obtained from other independent surveys, and cross matching the proportion of never married and married people from past censuses and cross-country comparisons.

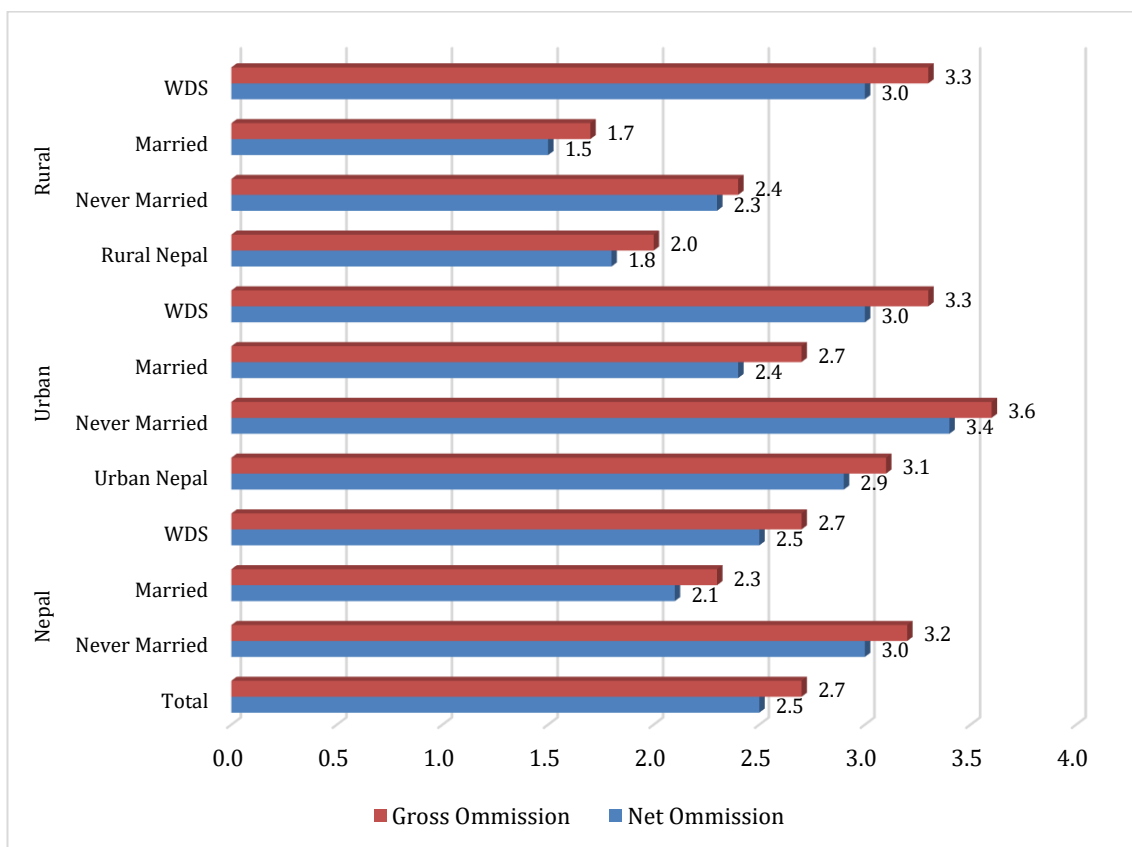
2.2.1 Confirmation of internal consistency in marital status data

The internal consistency in marital status data from the 2021 Census are assessed in two ways – the estimation of coverage errors (gross and net omission rates) and content errors (response variance and response bias). The gross coverage error represents the sum of three components of coverage namely, duplication in counting, erroneous inclusions, and omissions from counting. Net coverage error is the difference between overcounts and undercounts (UN, 2010). Omission rates (both gross and net) refer to people who were captured in the PES but who were omitted from the 2021 Census count. The index of inconsistency refers to the response variance or response bias in reporting marital status between the 2021 Census and PES¹¹ and is used as the content error in the reporting of marital status.

The PES estimated 2.7 and 2.5 percent of the population aged 10 years and above were grossly and netly omitted in the census enumeration, irrespective of their marital status (Figure 2.1). The omission rates (both gross and net) by marital status of the same population are highest for never married persons in the country as a whole and urban areas, and for widowed/divorced and separated persons in rural areas. A higher incidence of omission in counting never married persons is due to their temporary or permanent absence from home and mobility, which created difficulties in capturing them at their usual place of residence. Overall, over 3 percent of widowed/divorced and separated persons from rural areas were estimated to have been omitted in the census count. This might be explained again by their mobile nature.

¹¹ Persons reported married in the census but reported unmarried in the PES, without change in marital status between the time of the census enumeration and PES.

Figure 2.1: Net and gross omission rates in coverage of marital characteristics of the population aged 10 years and above in the 2021 Census by urban/rural residence



Source: Post Enumeration Survey report, (NSO), 2022.

Note: WDS= Widowed/divorced and separated.

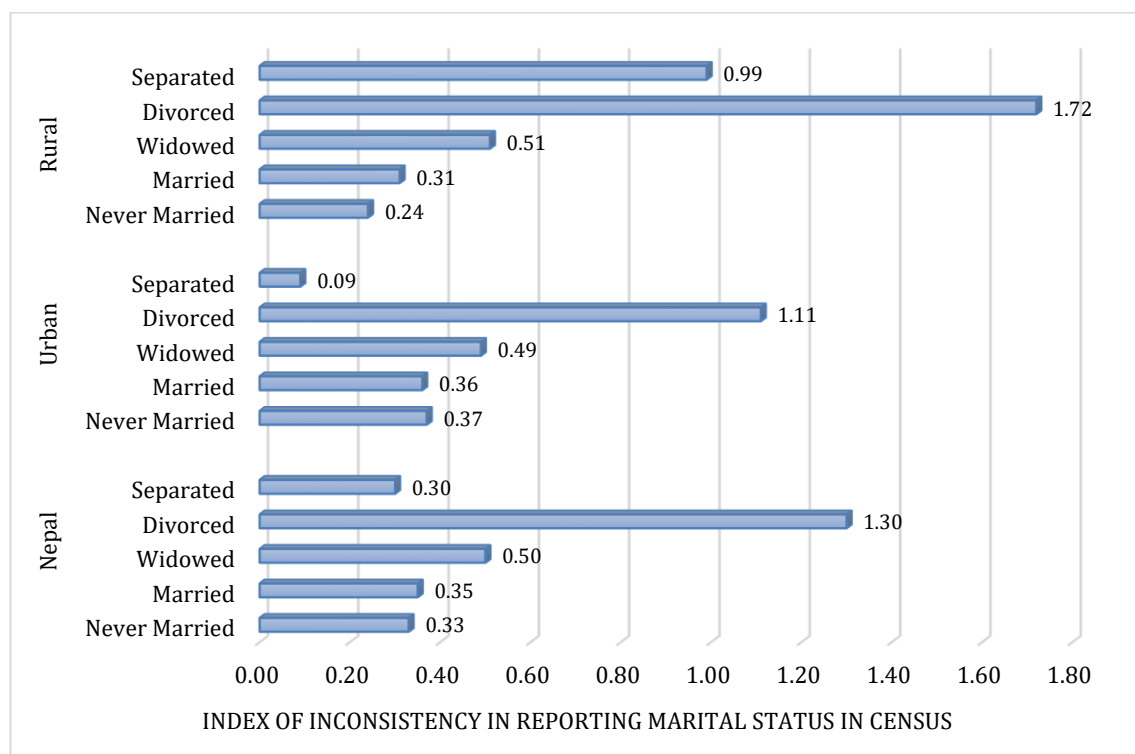
In all instances, both net and gross omission rates are lower for the married population, and, by residence, higher in urban than rural areas for all marital status. In short, the omission is higher for unmarried persons living in urban areas. The values of net and gross omission rates on the marital status of the population obtained applying dual system estimation methods, confirm a satisfactory level of coverage in the 2021 Census enumeration of the population aged 10 years and above according to marital characteristics.

The PES estimated an index of inconsistencies in the reporting of marital status between the census enumeration and the PES for persons whose marital status had not changed between the two points in time.¹² The content error is highest for divorced people in the country, and in

¹² Unmarried may have married and married might be widowed between the census and PES enumeration periods. These cases have been excluded while estimating the index of inconsistencies.

urban and rural areas, followed by separated women in rural areas. Overall, the difference in responses on marital status between the census and PES is well below 0.4 percent for never married and married; around 0.5 percent for widowed people; and 1 percent and above for divorced persons (see Figure 2.2). This indicates that content errors in reporting marital status by the population aged 10 years and above do not affect the conclusions drawn from 2021 Census data.

Figure 2.2: Index of inconsistencies in reporting of marital status, NPHC 2021



Source: Post Enumeration Survey report, (NSO), 2022.

2.2.2 External matching or demographic analysis of census data

The demographic analysis of assessing census data quality involves comparing specific indicators with similar indicators from different sources of data of comparable timeframe, and with successive censuses. Another method involves comparing the age distribution of successive censuses. Here, a comparison is made between the marital status of both female and male populations aged 15 to 49 years between the 2021 Census and the 2022 Nepal DHS (Table 2.2). It is evident from the data in the table that the size of never married at all ages and for both sexes is higher for the 2021 Census population and lower for the ever-married population compared to the NDHS 2022.

For the female population of reproductive age (15 to 49 years), the 2021 Census showed higher proportions of never married women for all ages – 3.75 percent higher than the NDHS 2022. The proportion of married, widowed and divorced/separated females is lower in the 2021 Census by 2.8 percent, and less than 0.5 percent respectively for women who are widowed and divorced/separated. Similarly, the proportion of never married males is higher by over 3 percent in the 2021 Census compared to the NDHS 2022, which is exactly compensated by the excess of ever married males in the 2022 NDHS (Table 2.2).

These findings indicate that 2021 Census data consistently yielded a higher proportion of never married males and females aged 15 to 49 than the 2022 NDHS. On the contrary, the survey yielded higher proportions of ever married males and females in all marital categories. Although the difference is not strikingly large, it raises questions about why the size of the never married population is higher in the 2021 Census, and why the ever-married population for both sexes and all ages is higher in the 2022 NDHS. Similarly, the Nepal Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS) 2019 more or less corroborates the 2022 NDHS against 2021 Census results. The survey conducted by the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) estimated that 22 percent of females and 34 percent of males aged 15 to 49 were never married, and that 77 percent of females and 65 percent of males of the same age were ever married (CBS, 2020). This finding is closer to the corresponding data of the 2022 NDHS than the 2021 Census.

Table 2.2: Percentage distribution of female and male population aged 15 to 49 years by marital status in the 2021 Census and 2022 Nepal Demographic and Health Survey

Age group	2021 Census					2022 NDHS				
	Never married	Married	Widowed	Divorced/separated	Ever married	Never married	Married	Widowed	Divorced/separated	Ever married
Female										
15-19	85.51	14.37	0.06	0.06	14.49	78.40	21.30	0.00	0.30	21.60
20-24	37.88	61.57	0.25	0.31	62.12	31.30	67.60	0.40	0.70	68.70
25-29	12.46	86.41	0.54	0.59	87.54	8.10	90.30	0.50	1.10	91.90
30-34	4.15	93.97	1.10	0.79	95.85	2.40	94.50	1.40	1.60	97.50
35-39	2.22	94.75	2.10	0.94	97.78	1.30	94.10	3.20	1.30	98.60
40-44	1.75	93.40	3.76	1.10	98.25	0.80	93.00	5.20	1.00	99.20
45-49	1.55	91.42	5.89	1.14	98.45	1.40	89.20	6.80	2.60	98.60
Total	25.35	72.48	1.54	0.63	74.65	21.60	75.30	2.00	1.10	78.40
Male										
15-19	96.14	3.80	0.03	0.02	3.86	95.30	4.60	0.00	0.00	4.60
20-24	68.84	30.88	0.10	0.19	31.16	64.70	35.10	0.00	0.20	35.30
25-29	33.04	66.22	0.20	0.54	66.96	27.50	71.70	0.00	0.80	72.50
30-34	11.03	87.89	0.30	0.78	88.97	8.40	91.10	0.10	0.50	91.70

Age group	2021 Census					2022 NDHS				
	Never married	Married	Widowed	Divorced/separated	Ever married	Never married	Married	Widowed	Divorced/separated	Ever married
35-39	3.97	94.76	0.43	0.84	96.03	2.50	95.40	0.30	1.80	97.50
40-44	2.14	96.33	0.71	0.83	97.86	1.00	97.00	1.00	1.10	99.10
45-49	1.62	96.47	1.17	0.74	98.38	0.90	97.80	0.70	0.60	99.10
Total	39.15	60.02	0.34	0.49	60.85	36.00	63.10	0.30	0.60	64.00

Source: National Population and Housing Census, 2021 (National Report, Individual Table 10); Ministry of Health and Population [Nepal], New ERA, and ICF., 2023.

Data on marital status presented at Table 2.2 indicates a large difference in the proportion of people never married and married at younger ages in the 2021 Census and 2022 NDHS¹³ and MICS, which poses a serious question about omissions in capturing the marital status of the population aged below 25 years, and self-reporting as never married. This could be because the legal minimum age at marriage is 20 in Nepal, and enumerators without asking the marital status of a person, might have assumed they were unmarried. In addition, a specific objective of the NDHS and MICS, among others, is to estimate the prevalence of adolescent fertility. Enumerators therefore are trained accordingly and explore the marital status of each person with a series of probing questions. Therefore, higher proportions of never married in the census might have been due to the legal age at marriage and the lack of enumerators' ability to follow up on the question.

¹³ The number of married females aged 15 to 19 and 20 to 24 years is respectively 7 percent and 6 percent lower in the 2021 Census than in the NDHS 2022.

CHAPTER 3

PATTERNS AND TRENDS IN NUPTIALITY CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEPALI POPULATION

The nuptiality characteristics of a population include an analysis of the composition and distribution of the population aged 10 years and above by: never married, married, widow/widower, divorced and separated. This section of the report looks at the patterns and trends of each marital status from 1961 to 2021. Trends and patterns for provincial, urban, peri-urban and rural levels are analysed between the 2011 and 2021 Censuses. Differentials and determinants of marital status by background characteristics are analysed based on 2021 Census data.

In this section, the marital status of the population is taken as a variable dependent by census year, residential status (urban-rural and ecological zone), age and sex of the population. Further characteristics of analysis include caste/ethnicity, education, occupation, and wealth quintile. The objective is to present a percentage distribution of the population by marital status for each census year of observation and by five-year age group of the population. In this context, marital status is regarded as the dependent variable and age, sex and other variables as the independent variables.

3.1 Intercensal change in marital status

Marriage practices are sensitive to changes in socioeconomic status and the enactment of legislative measures to eliminate associated malpractices. Changes in social and economic status, and the enactment of marriage laws on the legal minimum age of marriage from 1962/63 (New Muliki Ain 2020 BS), is believed to have contributed to the increasing age at first marriage, and the proportion never married, in Nepal, along with a decline in the proportion married and the incidence of changing marital status to widow, especially for women. For the first time, the Nepal Civil Code of Conduct 1962/63 determined the legal minimum age at marriage for girls as 16 years and above with parental consent and 18 years and above without and made a provision for minimizing the bride and groom age difference. An increase in educational status, occupational diversification, the process of urbanization, and an overall improvement in living standards of the population, in combination with legal provisions, have played an important role in the steady increase of the proportion never married and a decline in the proportion of married females and males in successive censuses from 1961 (Table 3.1 & Figures 3.1).

The observed and standardized¹⁴ percentage distribution of the population aged 10 years and above for the last 60 years (from 1961 to 2021) by marital status is presented at Table 3.1, which clearly shows a steady increase in the proportion never married and a decline in the population who are married. In demography, it is customary to perform age sex standardization for eliminating extraneous sources of variation in data such as differences in age composition. Such variations may seriously affect the analysis of the data under investigation (Shryock et al., 1971). The four steps of standardization involved are explained by the formula $(\sum r_a P_a / \sum P_a \times 100)$, where $\sum r_a P_a$ refers to the total expected number of standardized populations by marital status; and $\sum P_a$ the total population aged 10 years and above at the time of the 2021 Census. The standardized percentage by marital status is derived by dividing the sum of the age adjusted population by the specific marital status of the total population.

The standardized rates are higher or lower than those observed after the adjustment by marital status of the population for respective censuses, which indicates that if the age composition of the population of comparison years was the same as in 2021, the percentage of the population in the respective marital status would be the same. An assessment of both observed and standardized proportions of never married males and females has increased moderately (above 10 percent) during the 60-year interval. However, the decline in the proportion married does not correspond to the increase in the proportion never married. This may be compensated by the decline in widowed persons and the negligible, but visible, increase in the proportion who are divorced. Overall, from the trend of intercensal change in the marital status of the population it can be concluded that:

- A visible change in the composition of the population by marital status is established, in which, the proportionate share of never married males and females respectively has increased by over 10 and 13 percentage points respectively (from 28 to 38 percent for males and 15 to 28 percent for females) between 1961 and 2021 (Figures 3.1).
- The proportionate share of married males and females has declined by about six and five percentage points respectively, during the 60-year period. This decline does not align with the proportionate increase in never married males and females.
- The number of widowed females has steadily declined from over 14.26 percent in 1961 to below 6.64 percent in 2021 (declining by eight percent points), an accepted phenomenon to compensate for the higher rate of married persons.

¹⁴ The proportion of the population by marital status in previous censuses is adjusted to the age distribution of the current (2021) census population by age.

- The size of divorced and separated females has nearly doubled (0.34 percent in 1961 and 0.65 percent in 2021) but remains nearly the same for males. This might imply that remarriage for males after a divorce or separation is universal but hard for females due to socio-cultural and familial limits and liabilities towards children (if had before divorce).
- In each census, the proportion of widowed males is substantially lower than their female counterparts, which might be explained by social and cultural factors that make it easier for men to remarry while females face multiple barriers.

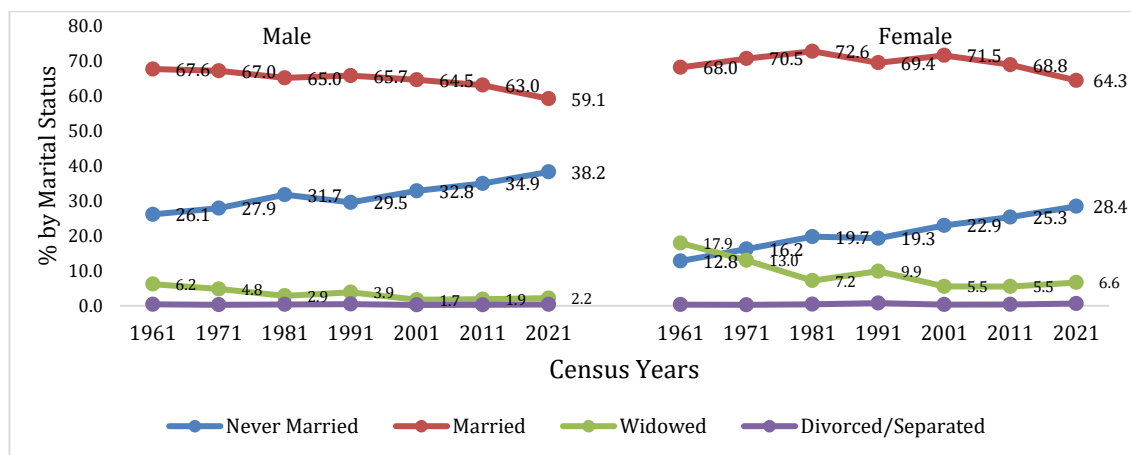
Table 3.1: Percentage distribution of the population aged 10 years and above by marital status by sex, Nepal, 1961-2021

Marital status by sex	1961		1971		1981		1991		2001		2011		2021
	Observed	Stdz.	Observed	Stdz.	Observed	Stdz.	Observed	Stdz.	Observed	Stdz.	Observed	Stdz.	Observed
Male (N)	3,288,362		4,140,804		5,387,614		6,419,483		8,330,576		9,898,908		11,519,621
All status	100.00	100.00	100		100		99.62		99.88		100.01		100.00
Never married	28.47	26.09	31.93	27.86	35.12	31.70	35.65	29.51	39.23	32.79	40.56	34.90	38.20
Married	65.37	67.57	64.13	67.05	62.14	65.05	60.56	65.69	58.52	64.51	57.57	62.96	59.10
Widow/ widower	4.36	6.20	3.66	4.80	2.36	2.86	2.95	3.86	1.34	1.75	1.63	1.87	2.20
Divorced/ separated	0.4	0.40	0.28	0.29	0.38	0.39	0.46	0.49	0.79	0.25	0.25	0.27	0.40
Female (N)	3,431,695		4,037,816		5,130,274		6,558,128		8,439,703		10,822,774		12,439,247
All status	100.00	99.09	100		100		99.31		99.68		100		100
Never married	15.12	12.78	19.35	16.20	23.3	19.74	25.71	19.28	30.26	22.93	31.13	25.29	28.4
Married	69.16	68.04	70.27	70.55	70.84	72.64	65.73	69.37	65.45	71.47	63.91	68.80	64.31
Widow/ widower	14.26	17.92	10.1	12.97	5.54	7.19	7.18	9.87	3.65	5.53	4.61	5.51	6.64
Divorced/ separated	0.34	0.35	0.28	0.29	0.42	0.44	0.69	0.77	0.32	0.35	0.35	0.39	0.65

Source: Bajracharya, G., & D.R. Bhandari, 2014; Chaudhary and Niraula, 2003; 2021 Census.

Stdz. Marital status by respective census years adjusted and standardized to the age composition of the 2021 population aged 10 years and above.

Figure 3.1: Percentage distribution of male and female population aged 10 years and above by marital status, 1961-2021



Note: The rates 1961 to 2011 are standardized to the age composition of 2021 population and the 2021 are observed ones

Source: Table 3.1

One striking feature of the intercensal change in marital status is the rapid decline in widowerhood, especially for females. This might be explained by the ban on the traditional practice of marrying young girls to a much older male after the enactment of the New Civil Code 1962. Conversely, the wider practice of polygamy, which keeps marital status intact for males with multiple wives in case of the death of one, results in the marital status of all wives changing to widowed if he dies. Therefore, the fact that the proportion of widowed females is as high as the proportion of never married in the first two (1961 and 1971) censuses (Figure 3.1) could be due to age mismatch marriages and polygamy. However, historical data which provides evidence is scarce.

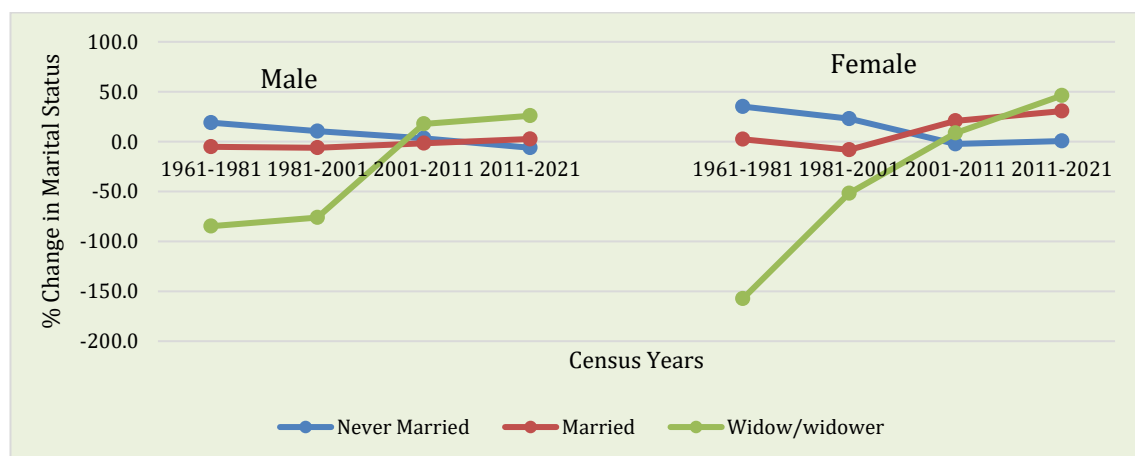
The observed rates of married and never married males and females seems to suggest increased and declined proportions respectively between the 2011 and 2021 censuses. However, the age standardized rates suggest that in the 2021 Census, there is an increasing proportion of never married and a declining proportion of married. Until the 2001 Census, the 16-year legal minimum age of marriage set by the Civil Code of 1962 may have contributed to an increase in the size of the never married population and a corresponding decline in the married. Accordingly, the further increase in the legal minimum age at marriage to 20 in 2017 might have impacted further on increasing the proportion never married, with a corresponding decline in the proportion married in 2021 as seen at Figure 3.1.

An increase in the proportion of never married males and females is highly pronounced until the 2001 Census, thereafter it is an ambivalent trend. A notable decline in the proportion of married

females is observed between the 1981 and 2001 Censuses, there after there is a steady increase as seen at Figure 3.2. The share of the widowed population appears to have sharply declined until the 2001 Census for both males and females, with an increasing trend over the last 20 years (from 2001 to 2021).

Figure 3.2 show a significant increase in widowhood for both males and females until the 2001 Census, probably explained by the death of spouses (husbands) where there were large age differences, polygamous husbands and infectious diseases. Conversely in the last 20 years (2001 to 2021), there has been a substantial increase in the proportionate share of the widowed population for both sexes, which might be explained by an increase in the longevity of the population.

Figure 3.2: Percentage change in proportionate share of male and female population aged 10 and above by marital status, Nepal 1961-2021



Source: Computed from Table 3.1.

3.2 Change in marital status by residence

The changing pattern and trends of marital characteristics of the population by residential attribute analysed here include urban, rural, and ecological residence. There are clearly more established older age marriage patterns in urban compared to rural areas, and early marriage is still an accepted phenomenon in the Tarai region of Nepal.

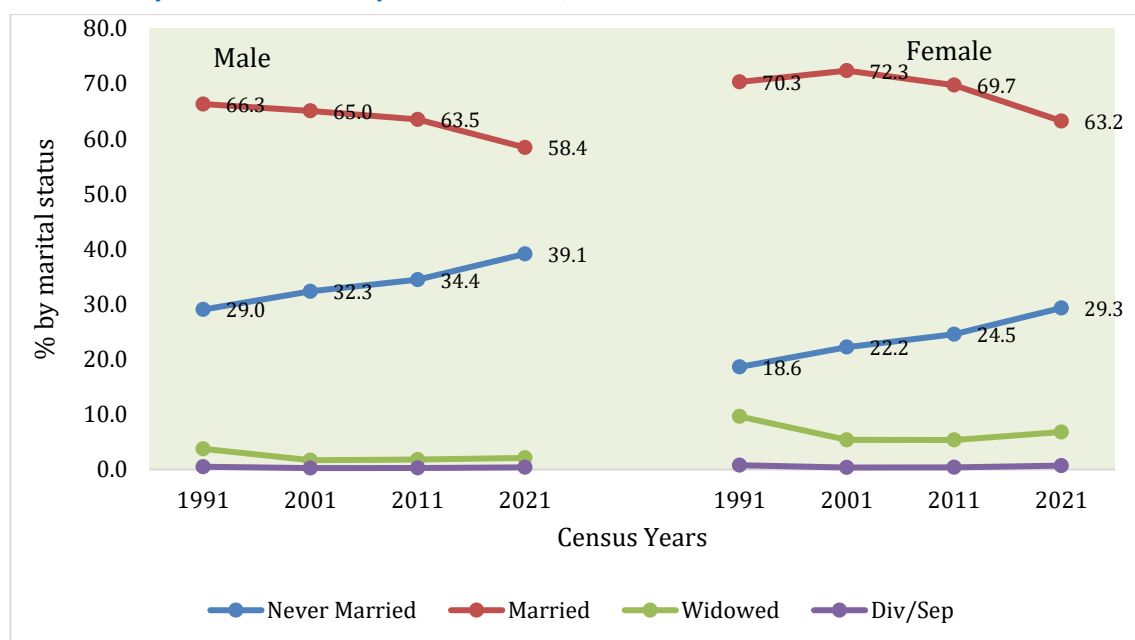
3.2.1 Urban-rural residence

In all census years, there is a higher proportion of never married urban males and females and lower proportions of married than their rural counterparts. On the contrary, there is a higher proportion of married persons across all censuses since 1991 in rural areas. This pattern and

trend hold true for both directly observed and age standardized rates of marital status as seen at Table 3.2.

With some slight changes in the proportionate share by marital status, the rural-urban difference in the proportion of the married population remains almost unchanged over the four census years. This implies that urbanization in Nepal has not impacted the marital status of the population. This is more pronounced in the 2021 Census, which might be explained by the increase in the size of urban municipalities leaving the rural characteristics of the population intact.

Figure 3.3: Percentage distribution (age standardized) of urban males and females aged 10 years and above by marital status, 1991-2021 censuses



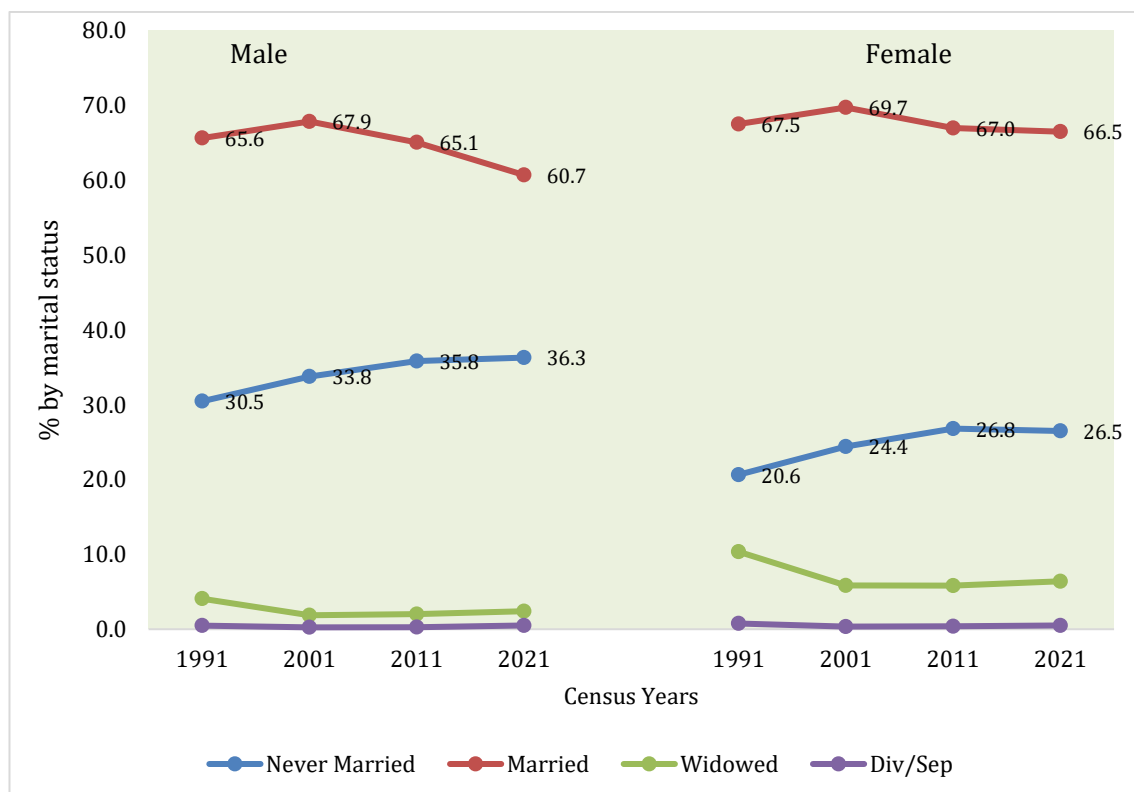
Source: Table 3.2.

The 2011 Census enumerated 58 urban municipalities, which comprised 17 percent of the national population.¹⁵ Including the population of the newly declared 72 municipalities in 2014, the share of the urban population to the total population was 27 percent by May 2014 (Subedi, 2014). In the 2021 Census two-thirds (66.2%) of the national population were residents of urban municipalities and the rest, one-third, were rural (NSO, 2023). The increase in the urban

¹⁵ The government of Nepal declared 72 additional (new) municipalities in May 2014 by reorganizing 283 Village Development Committees (VDCs). These 72 municipalities were part of the VDCs during the undertaking of the 2011 Population and Housing Census.

population has not been accompanied by a change in the marital status of the population (Figures 3.3 & 3.4).

Figure 3.4: Percentage distribution (age standardized) of rural males and females aged 10 years and above by marital status, 1991-2021 censuses



Source: Table 3.2.

It can be observed that due to the interaction of personal and social-economic factors, the share of the never married population tends to be higher, and the married population lower, in urban compared to rural areas. This was true for both males and females until the 2011 Census in Nepal, but this difference has substantially reduced for males and reached near parity for females in urban and rural areas.

Table 3.2: Changing trends and patterns of percentage change in marital status of the population aged 10 years and above by sex, by urban-rural residence, Nepal, 1991-2021 censuses

Marital status by sex	1991				2001				2011				2021			
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural	
	Observed%	Stdz. %	Observed%	Stdz. %	Observed%	Stdz. %	Observed%	Stdz. %	Observed%	Stdz. %	Observed%	Stdz. %	Observed%	Stdz. %	Observed%	Stdz. %
Male																
All status*	100.00		100.00		100.00		100.00		100.00		100.10		100.00		100.00	
Never married	41.90	29.02	34.90	30.48	42.70	32.31	38.60	33.77	43.90	34.43	39.80	35.84	38.70	39.10	37.26	36.30
Married	55.60	66.28	61.10	65.64	55.50	65.05	59.10	67.86	55.00	63.50	58.20	65.07	58.87	58.40	59.62	60.70
Widowed	1.60	3.74	3.10	4.08	0.80	1.69	1.40	1.87	0.90	1.80	1.80	2.02	2.01	2.12	2.63	2.40
Divorced/separated	0.30	0.49	0.50	0.48	0.20	0.25	0.20	0.25	0.20	0.27	0.30	0.27	0.43	0.40	0.49	0.50
Female																
All status*	100.00		100.00		100.10		100.00		100.00		99.90		100.00		100.00	
Never married	31.00	18.60	25.20	20.64	32.60	22.19	29.90	24.41	33.30	24.53	30.70	26.81	28.58	29.30	28.06	26.50
Married	61.30	70.30	66.20	67.51	63.20	72.35	65.80	69.72	61.80	69.71	64.30	66.98	64.15	63.20	64.63	66.50
Widowed	6.20	9.62	7.30	10.36	3.50	5.38	3.70	5.84	4.40	5.36	4.60	5.82	6.57	6.80	6.78	6.40
Divorced/separated	0.70	0.78	0.70	0.76	0.40	0.36	0.30	0.35	0.50	0.40	0.30	0.39	0.71	0.70	0.54	0.50

Note: * Does not add to 100 as there are unknown cases.

The proportion by marital status of the population in respective census years by sex are adjusted by the urban-rural age composition of the population aged 10 years and above by sex at the time of the 2021 Census.

Source: Chaudhary and Niraula, 2003; Bajracharya and Bhandari, 2014; Census, 2021, National Report, Individual Table 21.

3.2.2 Degree of urbanization and marital status

In January 2024, the National Statistics Office (NSO) published the ‘Degree of Urbanization’, reclassifying local level settlements according to the degree of urbanization and population density. Settlements were classified into three: urban, semi/peri urban and rural areas. The degree of urbanization was determined applying the UN-Habitat, European Union, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and World Bank’s (2021) prescribed grid-density classification methodology replacing the criteria, definition and declaration of urban areas under the National Urban Policy (2007) and National Urban Development Strategy (2017).

Urban areas/municipalities were declared by local government units with a population size of 5,000 people or more; a minimum population density of 10 person per hectare (ppHa); and with more than 50 percent or more of the population aged 10 years and above engaged in non-agriculture economic activities. Applying the criteria, the number of 58 urban municipalities at the time of the 2011 Census (until 2013/2014) increased to 293 in 2017/18, with the corresponding share of the population in urban municipalities increasing from 17 to 66 percent respectively between 2011 and 2021 (NSO, 2024b).

The sharp rise in both the number of urban municipalities and the urban population was the result of urban municipalities only applying the criteria of population size of the local government unit (UM) and no other urban functions, such as population density. Many urban municipalities also had a predominantly rural landscape. There was therefore a need to reclassify localities and settlements within the same urban UM as urban, semi-urban and rural by the characteristics at Table 3.3.

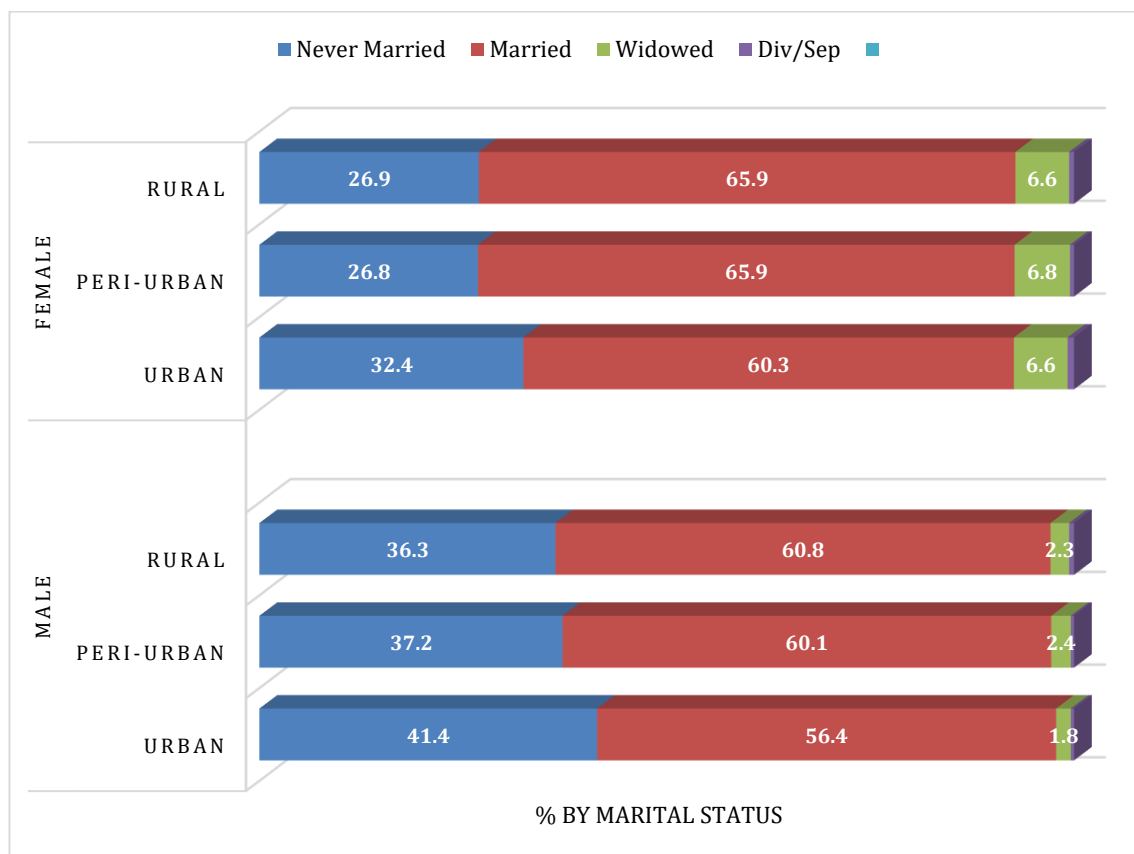
Table 3.3: UN-Habitat prescribed and NSO 2024 applied criteria to reclassify urban and rural areas by degree of urbanization in Nepal

Prescribed criteria of UN-Habitat and others, 2021	DEGURBA applied criteria by NSO, 2024b
Urban centre (high-density cluster): a cluster of contiguous grid cells of 1 km ² (using four-point contiguity, in other words, excluding diagonals) with a population density of at least 1,500 inhabitants per km ² and collectively a minimum population of 50,000 inhabitants.	Urban centre (4-point contiguity): Population density of more than 1,500 persons/sq.km (15 ppHa), and a total population of more than 50,000 people.
Urban cluster (moderate-density cluster): a cluster of contiguous grid cells of 1 km ² (using eight-point contiguity, in other words, including	Urban Cluster (8-point contiguity): 300-1,500 persons/sq.km (3-15 ppHa) with

Prescribed criteria of UN-Habitat and others, 2021	DEGURBA applied criteria by NSO, 2024b
diagonals) with a population density of at least 300 inhabitants per km ² and a minimum population of 5,000 inhabitants.	a population of more than 5,000 people.
Rural grid cells (or mostly low-density cells): grid cells that are not identified as urban centres or as urban clusters.	Rural areas (8-point contiguity): 50-300 persons /sq.km (0.5-3 ppHa) and less than a population of 5,000 people.

The marital status of the population according to the degree of urbanization – urban, peri-urban and rural – is presented at Figure 3.5 for the 2021 Census. The proportion married and never married for males and females is respectively lowest and highest in urban rather than peri-urban or rural areas. However, there is no conclusive variation in the proportion of married and never married population between peri-urban and rural areas. On the contrary, the 39 and 29 percent of never married males and females, respectively, in urban municipalities increases to 41 and above 32 percent, respectively, in urban areas. Accordingly, the 58 and 63 percent married males and females in urban municipalities respectively declines to 56 and 60 percent in urban areas. This suggests that urbanization has impacted on delaying marriage and increasing the proportion of never married. There appears to be no conclusive difference in the proportion never-married and married for both males and females in peri-urban and rural areas. The age and sex specific marital status of the population according to the degree of urbanization is presented at Annex A3.2b.

Figure 3.5: Age standardized percentage distribution of males and females aged 10 years and above by marital status and degree of urbanization (DEGURBA), NPHC 2021



Source: Annex A3.2b.

3.2.3 Intercensal change in marital status by ecological zones

Marriage patterns in Nepal by ecological zone vary in almost all census years. The percentage of the population aged 10 years and above by marital status (never married, married, widowed, divorced and separated) for the three census years, 2001, 2011 and 2021, is presented at Table 3.4. Apart from the 2021 Census, the percentage of ever married females and males is consistently lower in the Hill zone than the Mountain and Tarai zones. In 2021, the proportion of ever married males is nearly identical across all three zones, with the proportion of ever married females in the Hill (71.3%) and Tarai (72%) slightly higher than the Mountain zone (69.5%).

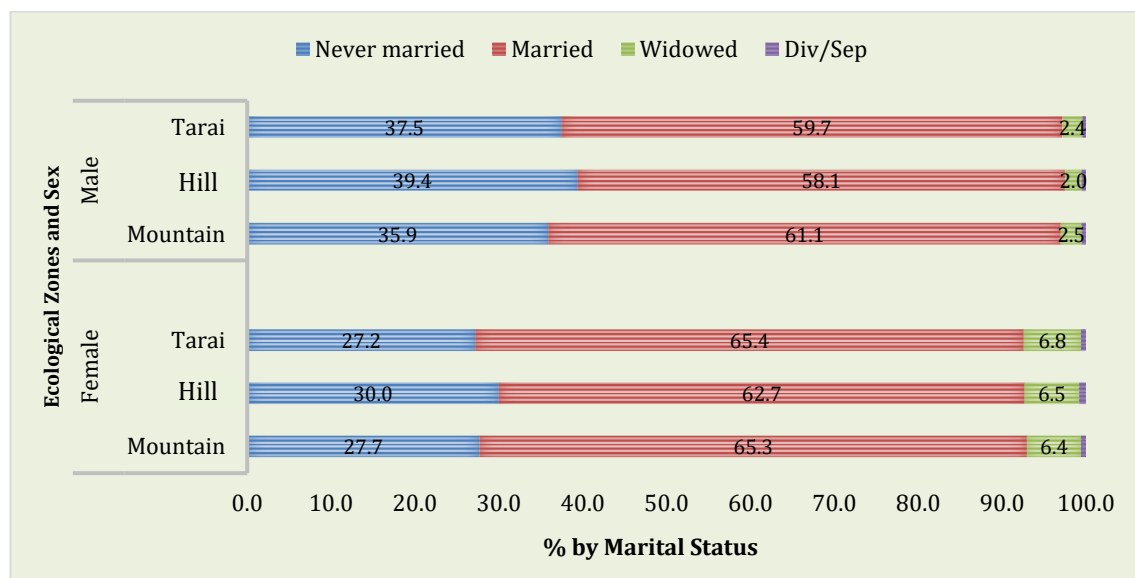
Figure 3.6 highlights that the proportion of never married males and females in general declined notably between the 2021 Census and the 2011 and 2001 censuses. This might be explained by two factors: firstly, the changed age composition of the population by ecological zone, because age composition is an extraneous factor that impacts the marital status of a population. The age adjusted proportion of the population by marital status for the three ecological regions at Figure 3.6 indicates that the age composition of both males and females in the hill region favours never married, slightly lower in the case of females in Tarai. Secondly, the decline in the proportion of never married implies an increasing trend of earlier age at marriage or heavy outmigration of the never married population from the country.

Table 3.4: Percentage of ever-married and never-married male and female population aged 10 years and above by ecological zones, 2001-2021 censuses

Ecological zone & marital status	2001		2011		2021	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Ever married						
Mountain	61.5	68.4	60.9	67.3	63.0	69.5
Hill	58.1	58.9	57.9	63.7	61.9	71.3
Tarai	61.6	72.0	60.5	70.5	61.7	72.0
Never married						
Mountain	38.0	31.3	39.1	32.7	36.9	30.5
Hill	41.3	32.8	42.1	32.7	38.2	28.7
Tarai	37.5	27.6	39.5	29.5	38.4	27.9

Source: Chaudhary and Niraula, 2003; Bajracharya and Bhandari, 2014; Census, 2021, National Report, Individual Table 21.

Figure 3.6: Age adjusted percentage distribution of males and females by marital status and ecological zone, NPHC 2021



Source: Annex A3.3.

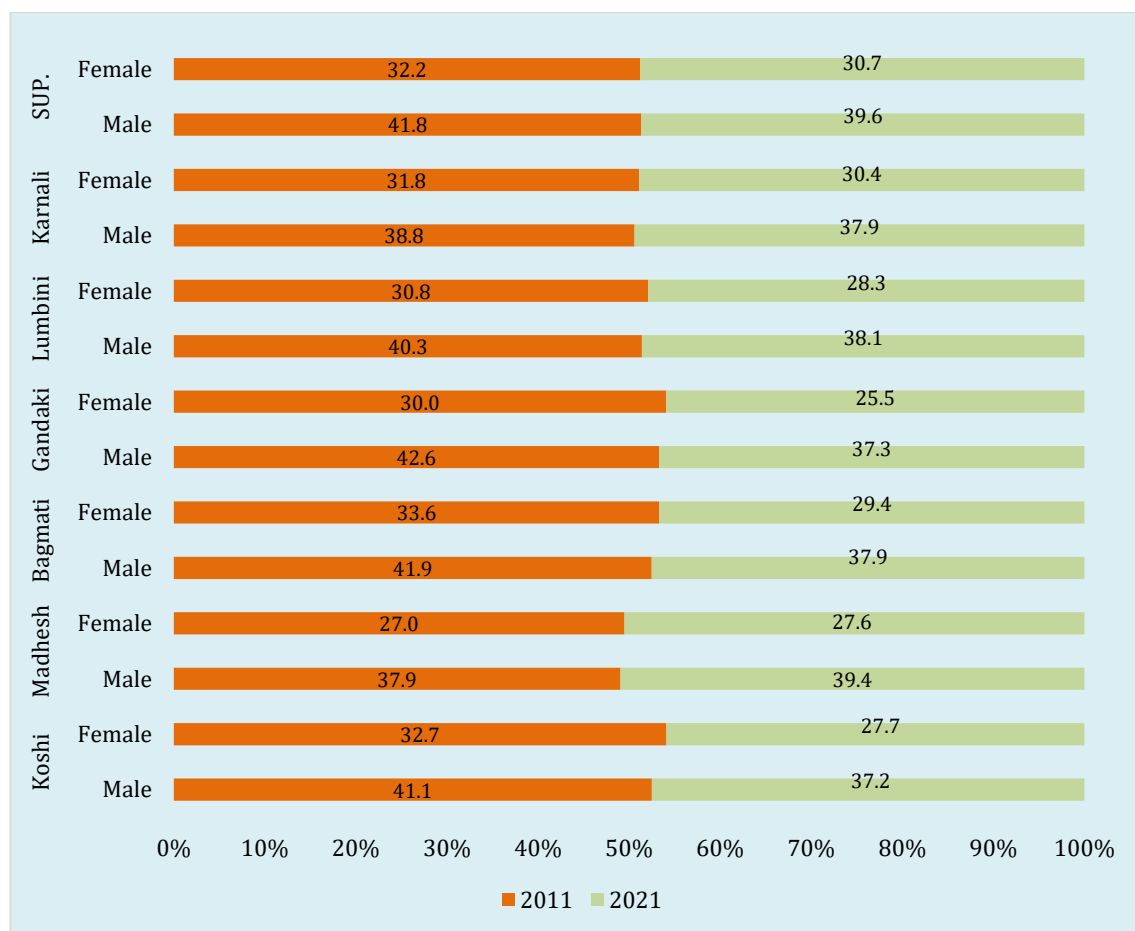
3.2.4 Provincial variation in marital status

The constitution assembly, while promulgating the constitution of Nepal in 2015, divided the country into seven provinces. The basis of provincial demarcation was shared socio-cultural practices, geographic and demographic attributes. Data highlights that there are variations by province in marital status as seen from the age-sex specific data on the marital status of the population presented at Annex A3.4a & A3.4b and Figure 3.7. Madhesh, where the proportion of never married males and females declined in 2021 compared to the 2011 Census, with a corresponding increase in the proportion married, is the exception. The decline in the proportion never married is well above four percent for both males and females in Gandaki, Bagmati and Koshi provinces. The decline in the never married population, however, is not compensated by the percentage increase in the married—a proportion may be attributed to the increase in the widowed. Changes in the age composition of the population, child marriage and outmigration mechanisms may have contributed to this. Possible reasons for the decline in the size of the never married population could be attributed to:

- A sizable decline in the young population (below the age of 15 years for males and 20 years for females) between 2011 and 2021. This population is assumed to have increased the share of the never married population.

- The shifting age composition of the population which has created a large size of intermediate or marriageable age cohorts (25 to 49 years). During the intercensal periods, 29 and 32 percent respectively of the male and female population aged 25 to 49 years in 2011, increased to 32 and 35 percent respectively in 2021. The age specific data on marital status, clearly indicates that the proportion married increases rapidly after the age of 25 for both sexes (Annex A3.4b).

Figure 3.7: Percentage of never married males and females by province, NPHC 2011 and 2021



Note: SUP refers to Sudurpashchim.

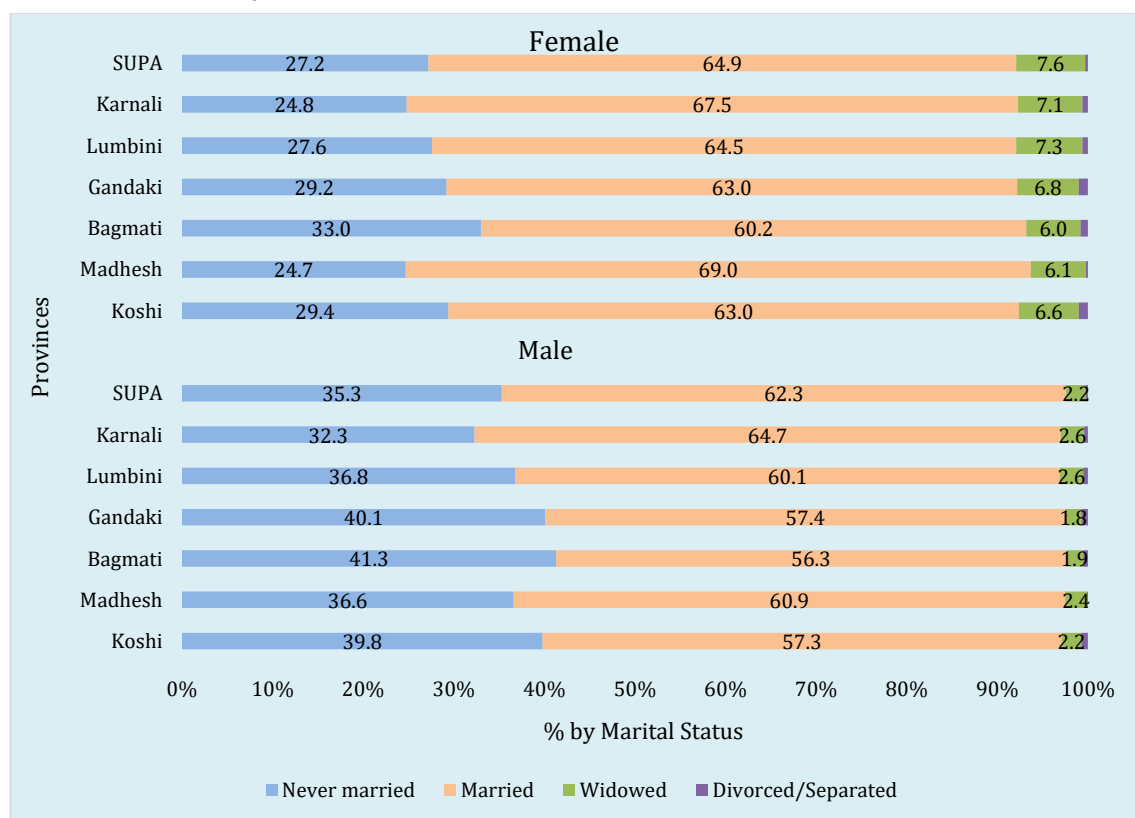
Source: Annex A3.4a.

By province, the proportion of never married females is lowest in Gandaki followed by Madhesh and Koshi, and highest in Karnali and Sudurpashchim provinces. This variation might be explained by the shifting age composition of the population and the prevalence or decline in early/child marriage. Gandaki province has the highest proportion of the population aged 65 years and above of all provinces (above 9%), and the lowest share of the population never

married (10 to 24 years). As the size of the population expected to be never married is smaller, the proportion of never married automatically decreases. On the contrary, the population aged 65 years and above is lowest in Karnali and Madhesh, and both provinces have high rates of child marriage. The higher proportion of never married in Karnali, might be due to the young age composition of the population (lowest share of population aged 65 years and above of all provinces) in the province along with declining trends in younger age marriage patterns.

This finding implies that the observed rates of marital status of the population could be corrected by an age adjustment, as standardized rates correct for extraneous sources of variation (differences in age composition) in marital status data. An adjustment would provide the marital status of the population if the age specific distribution of the marital status of the population of each province followed the same pattern as the national population. The difference in the observed and standardized rates of the never married population can be seen at Figures 3.7 & 3.8.

Figure 3.8: Age standardized percentage distribution of males and females aged 10 years and above by marital status, NPHC 2021



Note: SUPA refers to Sudurpashchim.

Source: Annex A3.4b.

The 27 percent observed share of never married females in Koshi province adjusts to 29.4 percent after standardization of the age composition of never married females in the province with the national age composition of the female population. Similarly, the adjusted rates of never married males and females increases above the observed rates in Bagmati and Gandaki provinces and declines in Madhesh, Lumbini, Karnali and Sudurpashchim provinces. This finding suggests that compared to the age composition of the national population, there is a higher proportion of married males and females in Madhesh, Lumbini, Karnali and Sudurpashchim provinces and a lower proportion of married males and females in Koshi, Bagmati and Gandaki provinces.

3.2.5 Sex and gender parity ratios by marital status

An observed pattern is that at young and old ages, the number of married men and women are usually quite different. The reason is that women tend to marry at younger ages and survive to older ages than men. Generally, the number of married men and women are compared in the same age group, rather than by age of husband and wife. These male-female differences in age at marriage yield relatively low sex ratios of married persons at young adult ages. The sex ratio of married and never married people for different censuses is presented at Table 3.5. This shows a consistent deficit of married males against married females. The level of deficit of married males per 100 married females was nearly nine persons in the 1961 Census and fluctuated between six to 10 persons until the 1991 Census. As of the 2021 Census the deficit of married males per 100 married females stands at 15 persons – it was as high as 18 persons in 2011. This deficit of married males against married females might be explained by multiple phenomena. The first is the excessive number of adult males over females who are abroad (82 percent of about 2.2 million people abroad are men); most leave their spouses behind at home. Secondly, men may have more propensity to postpone marriage to later ages. This may be due to both personal and family reasons.¹⁶ Another plausible reason may be the impact of the past practice of polygamy.¹⁷

¹⁶ Parents do not marry boys until they have finished their education and established themselves in their occupation. There may be more of an impetus to marry girls once they attain marriageable age.

¹⁷ The 2021 Census did not include a question on the number of spouses a person was living with at the time. To get some indication of polygamy/polyandry practices, an indirect calculation was made to determine the number of household heads with multiple spouses. It revealed 0.7 percent (27,714) males and only 13 female household heads had more than one spouse. The 2001 and 2011 censuses included related question in the census schedule and found 5.54 percent and 4.02 percent of males respectively had more than one wife.

Table 3.5: Sex ratio of currently married population aged 10 years and above, 1961-2021 censuses

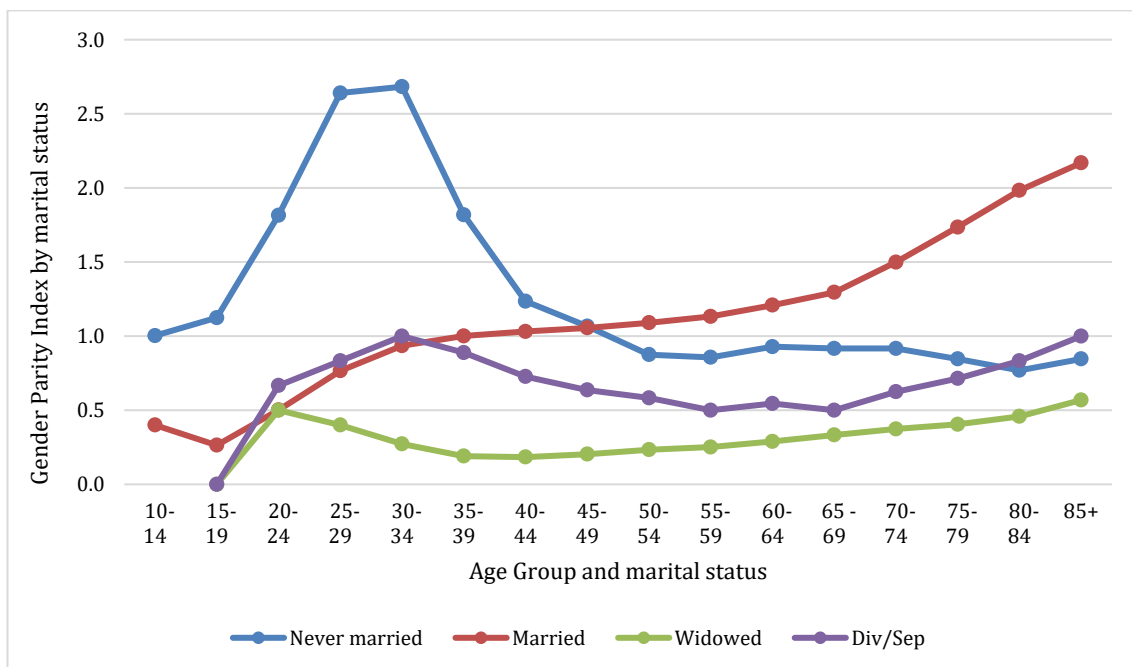
Census year	Married males	Married females	Sex ratio (males per 100 females)	Deficit of males per 100 females
1961	2,149,756	2,373,199	90.58	9
1971	2,655,329	2,837,798	93.57	6
1981	3,347,744	3,634,205	92.12	8
1991	3,887,062	4,309,626	90.19	10
2001	4,874,884	5,523,737	88.25	12
2011	5,698,674	6,917,125	82.39	18
2021	6,810,042	7,999,252	85.13	15

Source: Bajracharya, and Bhandari, 2014 (Table 4.4); National Census Report 2023, individual Table 21.

Gender parity in the marital status of the population refers to the ratio between males and females by marital status. The value of marital gender parity index one refers to an equal number of males and females; greater than one refers to more men than females; and less than one refers to less men than women in a specific marital category. As of the 2021 Census, men are 1.3 times more likely to be never married than their female counterparts. They are also less likely to be married, widowed and divorced/separated respectively by about 8, 67 and 33 percentage points, as indicated by the value of the gender parity index at 1.35, 0.92, 0.33 and 0.67 respectively for never married, married, widowed and divorced/separated.

The age specific gender parity ratio by marital status at Figure 3.9 indicates a clear age pattern for the never married and married status of males and females. The chances of males remaining never married is 2.7 times higher by the age of 40 and reaches parity by age 50, with men more likely to be married above 50. This might be because women who have reached the end of their reproductive years do not marry. Men's chances of marrying after the age of 50 also remain high, including for those who are unmarried and those whose marriage has been dissolved. A reciprocal relation is seen in the case of married males. Among the married population, gender disparity deepens below the age of 40. It reaches parity between the ages of 40 and 54 and thereafter the number of married males reduces compared to the number of married females. Men remaining married compared to their female counterparts steadily increases up to 60 and above. This might be due to women's higher chances of being widowed and divorced/separated and remarrying as well as men's tendencies to marry even at older ages.

Figure 3.9: Age-specific gender parity index by marital status, NPHC 2021



In all age groups women are more likely be widowed or divorced/separated. A general observation from Figure 3.9 is that females marry younger and remain never married if they have not married before the age of 45.

3.3 Patterns and trends in age-sex composition and marital status

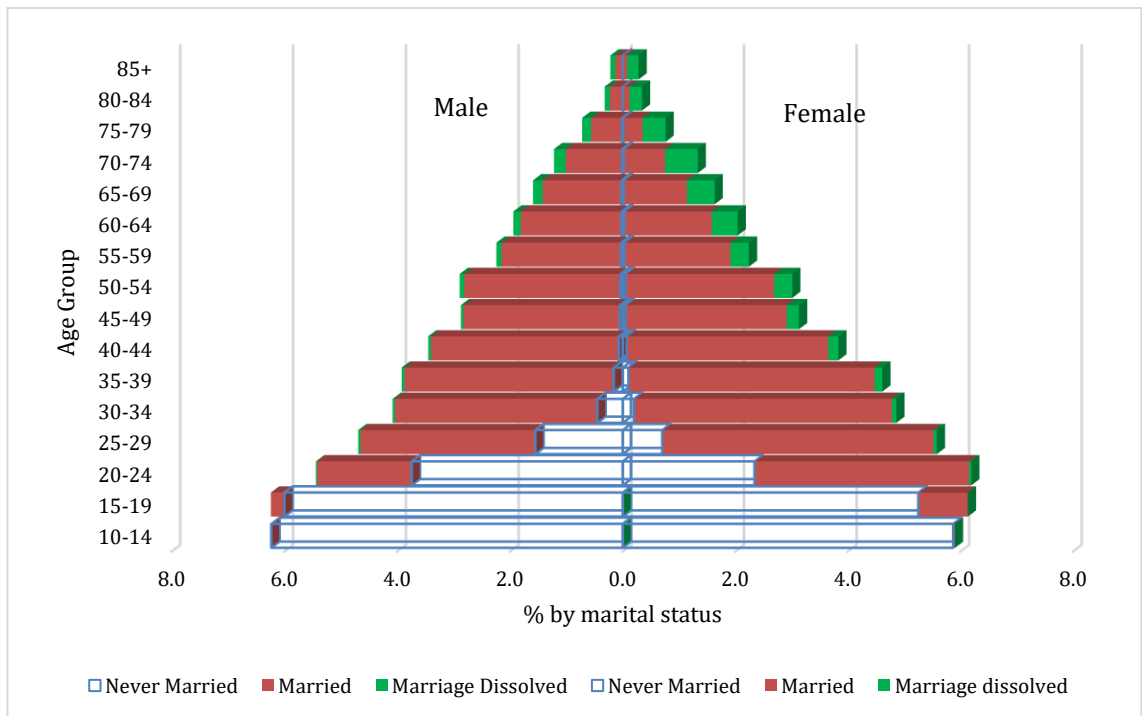
The marital status and characteristics of a population are age dependent and dynamic over time. This section aims to establish trends and patterns in the marital status of the population aged 10 years and above over the last 60 years and its reliability and comparability with corresponding values from SAARC and neighbouring countries in the region.

3.3.1 Age-sex patterns and marital status

In 2021, almost 100 per 100 population who are never married in the age group 10 to 14 years declines to 69 and 38 respectively for males and females in the age group 20 to 24, and further to below two persons for the age group 45 to 40 for both males and females. Around 95 of 100 males and females are married by the ages of 35 to 39 years, reaching saturation point thereafter. The size of the widowed is above 10 in 100 females after the age of 50 and reaches 72 by the age of 85, against 4 and 41 respectively for the same ages for males. The risks of being widowed, divorced and separated increases above the age of 40 for females, and the age of 65 for males, as seen at Figures 3.10 & 3.11.

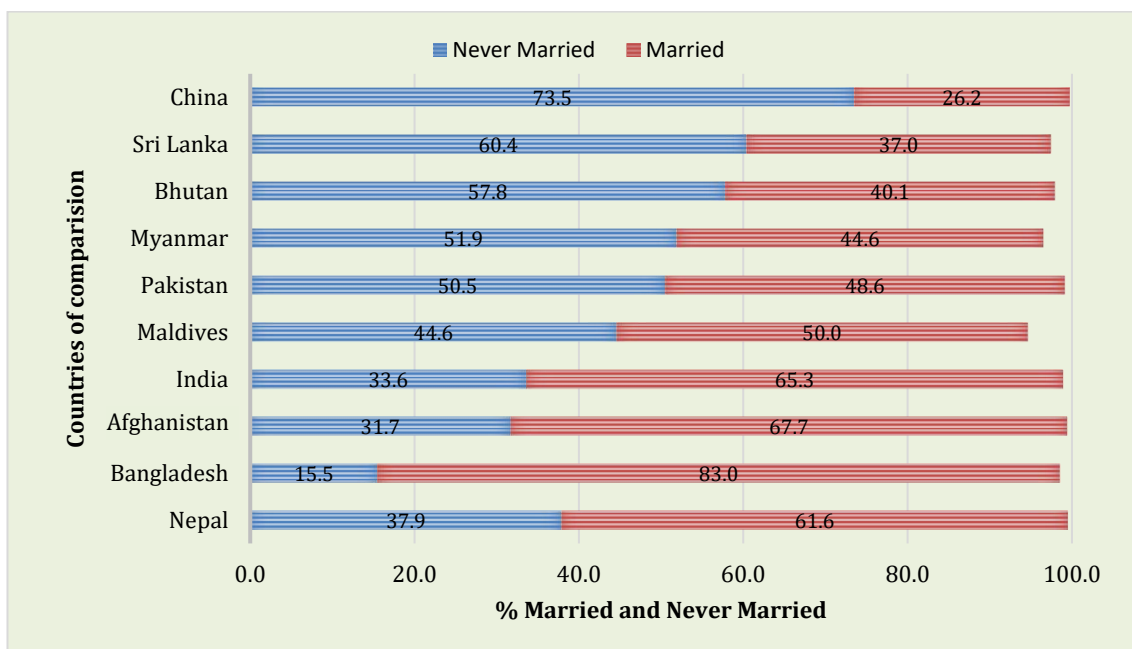
A cross-country comparison of the marital status of the population, using the married and never married female population aged 20 to 24 years in Nepal, reveals a younger age pattern of marriage that is somewhat comparable with India, Bangladesh, Afghanistan and Maldives, where the proportion of never married for the same age group are substantially lower compared to those who are married. In these countries, above 60 percent of females aged 20 to 24 are married and 40 percent never married, increasing the risks of child marriage. A younger age at marriage is more noticeable in Bangladesh, where over 83 percent of 20 to 24-year-old females are already married (Figure 3.10).

Figure 3.10: Age-sex pyramid of the population by marital status, NPHC 2021



Note: Marriage dissolved refers to widowed, divorced and separated.

Figure 3.11: Nepal and cross-country comparison of proportion never married and married female population age 20 to 24 years



Source: UNDESA/PD, 2019; NPHC, 2021.

3.3.2 Married population: Trends and patterns

To determine the size of the currently married population, the 2001 and 2011 Censuses provided three marriage options: single married, multiple married and remarried, which were absent in previous censuses. These options were dropped in the 2021 Census and a person was recorded as married if they were either single married, multiple married or remarried, without any further probing on the issue of multiple spouses and remarriage.

It is evident from the data that the percentage of the currently married population aged 10 years and above for both sexes has declined substantially over the last 60-year period, with some erratic trends observed in recent censuses.

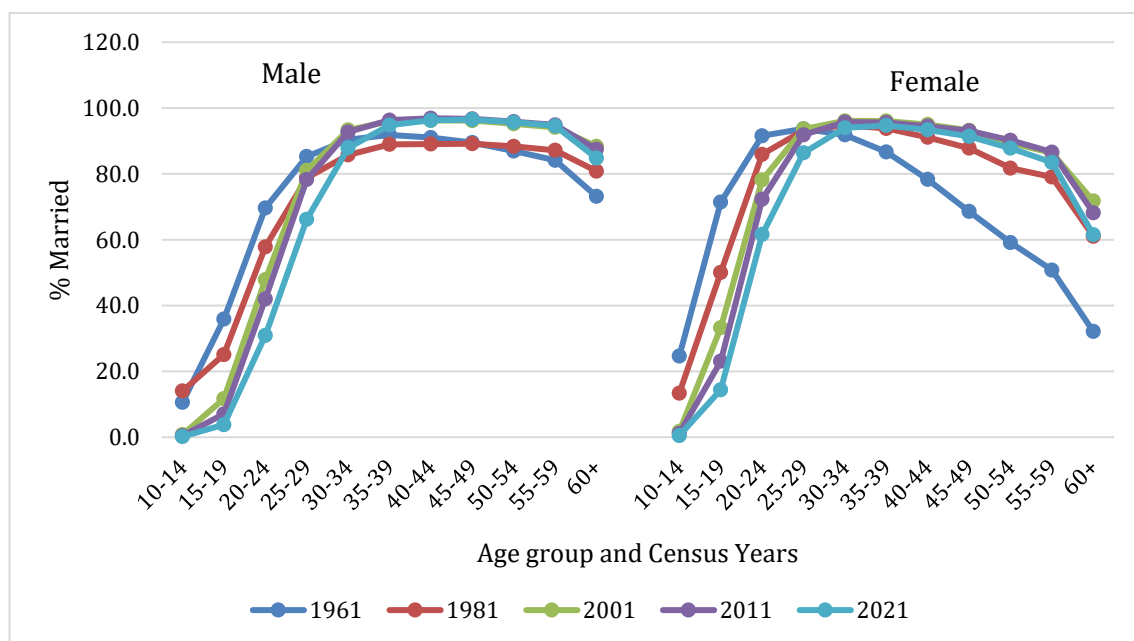
Trends in the age composition of married males for the last four censuses are presented at Figure 3.12.

These show that:

- A young age pattern of marriage existed in the first two censuses, which decreased substantially in subsequent censuses. However, around 4 percent of males married before the age of 20 indicating the prevalence of child marriage.

- Marriage for males is almost universal by the age of 35, which was true before the age of 30 in 1961. The proportion of married males starts to decline after the age of 50 in all instances, which might be explained by the increased incidence of widowerhood or cases of divorce or separation.

Figure 3.12: Trends in percentage distribution of married males and females by age, Nepal censuses, 1961-2021



Source: Annex A3.1.

The age specific trends for married females for the last four censuses are presented at Figure 3.12. Findings can be summarized as:

- Child marriage or marrying at a young age has dramatically decreased, but it is still prevalent across Nepal. One-fourth of females married before the age of 15 in 1961 declining to 13, and then to below 2 and 1 percent respectively in the 1981, 2001 and 2021 Censuses.
- More than seven in ten women aged 15 to 19 years were married in 1961, declining to one-half, one-third and 14 percent in 1981, 2001 and 2021, respectively. This implies that about 15 percent of women were married before attaining the legal minimum age (20 years) of marriage even in 2021.

- The universality of marriage by the age of 20 to 24 in the 1961 and 1981 censuses shifted upwards to 20 to 29 years in the 2001 and 2021 Censuses. The age of marriage dissolution also shifted upwards from 35 to 45 and 55 years in successive censuses.
- The proportion of married females starts to decline from the age of 45 onwards in 2001 and 2021, which was evident from the age of 40 in 1981 and the age of 35 in 1961. The onset of marriage dissolution from an early age in 1961 might be explained by the death of much older husbands and more women being widowed due to the death of polygamous husbands. Until 1981, the presence of young girls as child widows was a widespread reality of Nepali society.

3.3.3 Never married: trends and patterns

The proportion of the never married population aged 10 years and above in the total population shows the patterns and trends of early or late age at marriage. Over time, as increased education and training opportunities have motivated younger generations to be self-reliant, the age at marriage has increased and the proportion of never married has also increased. In Nepal, the percentage of never married males and females presented at Annex A3.1, for the last seven successive censuses from 1961 to 2021, indicates an escalating trend of postponing marriage to 25 years and above for males and 20 years and above for females. For example, the 26 percent of males in the 1961 Census who were never married in the age group 20 to 24 years rose to 69 percent in the 2021 Census. Likewise, the 26 percent never married females in the 15 to 19 age group in the 1961 Census reached 86 percent in the 2021 Census (Figure 3.13).

The percentage age male-female difference for never married clearly indicates an age difference in marriage between males and females. In general, women tend to marry at younger ages, so the proportion never married is smaller than their male counterparts of the same age.

Women who remained celibate was over 1 percent in the 1981 Census and well below 1 percent in all successive censuses. This might pose questions on the reliability of marital status data in the 1981 Census, since in other censuses the size of women who celibate after the age of were 40 was identical. The same pattern of males remaining celibate holds true for the 1981 Census after the age of 40, against an identical number (below 2 percent) for all other censuses, including the 2021 Census (Figure 3.13). This implies universality of marriage for men and women in Nepal is driven by numerous psychosocial, cultural and familial factors.

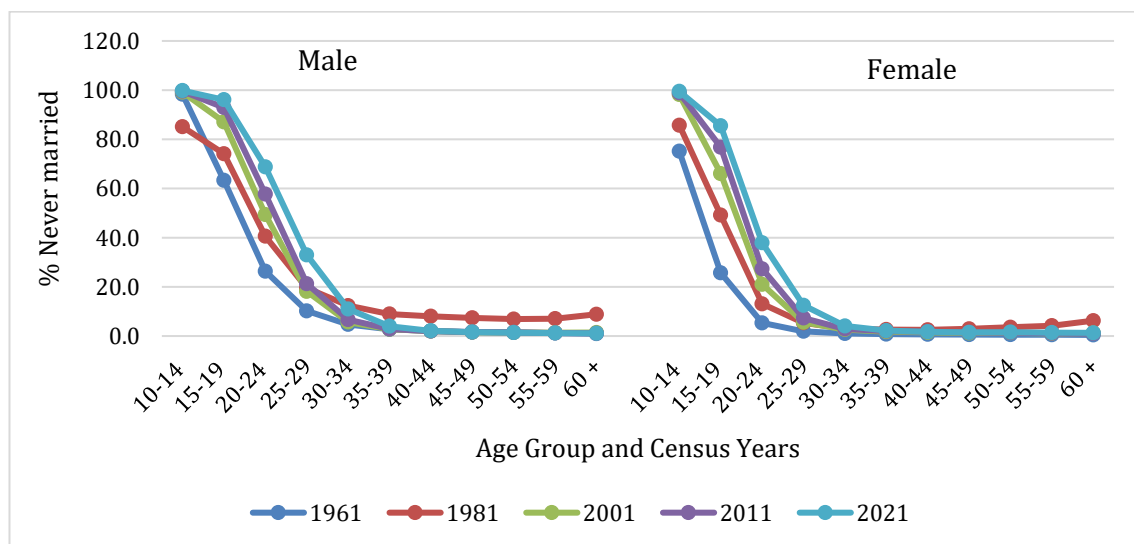
An increase in never married males and females respectively below the age of 30 and below the age of 35 is clearly visible at Figures 3.13. From Figure 3.13 it is evident that:

- An increase in the proportion of never married females is apparent until the age of 30, thereafter the incidence of never married is negligible. The same holds true for males

until the age of 35, and the never married male population after the age of 40 is again negligible.

- There is an increasing trend in the proportion never married for younger populations, for both males and females, in each successive census.
- Trends for the population who remains celibate have not been established.

Figure 3.13: Percentage distribution of never married males and females by age, 1961 – 2021 censuses



Source: Annex A3.1.

3.3.4 State of marriage dissolution

3.3.4.1 Widowerhood

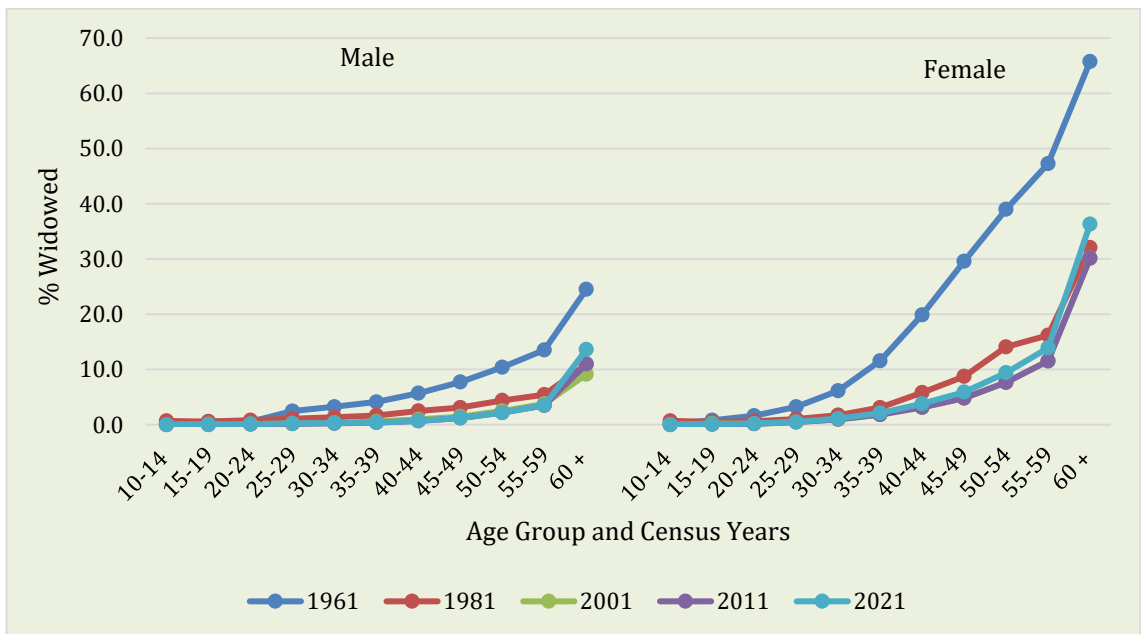
The percentage distribution of widows and widowers by five-year age group for the last seven census years (1961-2021) is presented at Annex A3.1 and trends are summarized at Figure 3.14 for men and women for five censuses. An examination of the data shows some trends and changes in the widowed population over time:

- The proportion of the population widowed from age 20 to 24 years tends to increase with age. The higher incidence of widowed status at later ages is due to the greater risks of mortality at older ages.

The size of the widowed population in of all five censuses was lowest in the 2011 Census for both males and females, indicating that the effects of old age mortality were not yet prominent and that women becoming widowed at early ages had declined.

Across all censuses, the degree of change of marital status to widow/widowerhood is quite high in all age groups for females. The nearly 26 percent of males aged 60 and above who were widowed in 1961 declined to 9 percent in 2001 and again increased to 14 percent in the 2021 Census. The recent increase may be attributed to the higher life expectancy of spouses. However, there is a sex disparity in the proportion of widows over widowers in each successive age groups in all four censuses. This might be explained by the higher chances of remarriage for men than women. The 2021 Census did not include a remarriage related question in the schedule, therefore it not possible to count the number of remarried men and women after the dissolution of their first marriage. The 2011 Census indicated that about 5 percent more males than females aged 60 years and above (8 percent males, 3 percent females) remarried (Bajracharya and Bhandari, 2014).

Figure 3.14: Trends in percentage change in widowed males and females by age, 1961-2021 censuses



Source: Annex A3.1.

Nearly two-thirds of women aged 60 years and above were widowed in 1961, implying a high incidence of the deaths of husbands of young women married to older men; and the deaths of husbands, (especially for Hill and Mountain women), when travelling to market centres in

Tarai/Madhesh to buy household necessities and/or search for work/employment. This was due to waterborne, and vector borne (malaria) diseases¹⁸ and accidents enroute.

As there was a common practice of men marrying younger women if their first wife died, and having multiple wives (polygamy), the death of men changed the marital status of more than one woman of different ages into widows. Therefore, the age specific widowed curve for women in the 1961 Census starts to escalate from the 30 to 34 age group in a steady way for each successive age group (Figure 3.14). This might be explained by the incidence of child and young age widowhood, in combination with multiple women changing marital status to widow after the death of one polygamous husband. The decline in the proportion of widows from 1961 to 1981 by over 50 percent in all successive age groups might be attributed to the decline in the incidence of child/young age widows due to an increase in the life span of older husbands.¹⁹

3.3.4.2 Divorced/separated

It is increasingly observed that people who are divorced or living separately are living a relatively different style of life than that of their mother or grandmother's generation. This implies a decline in stigma from families and communities around divorce and separation. Annually, an increasing number of divorce cases are being filed in the courts. According to the record of the Supreme Court of Nepal, there were 3,510 divorce cases in 2019/20. This represented a 17-percentage increase on the 2,996 cases in 2018/19 year. The reasons behind the increase in divorce are believed to be changing social values, economic independence and an intolerance for adultery, cruelty, and desertion.

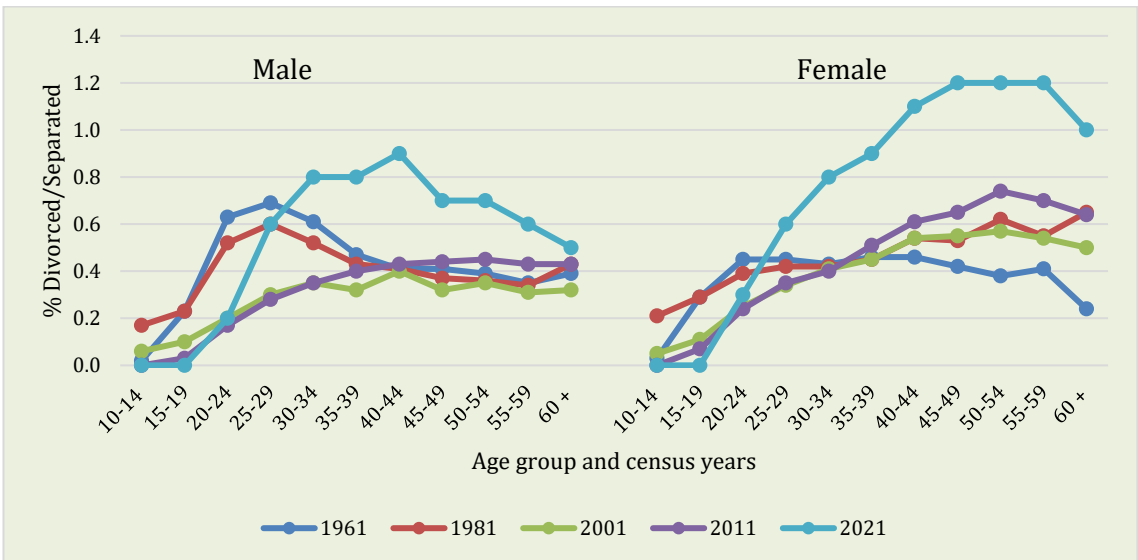
Trends of divorce/separation shown at Figures 3.15 indicate that in 1961 and 1981, this phenomenon was relatively higher at a young age (25 to 29 years) for both males and females. This pattern shifts to females aged 30 to 50 years and males aged 30 to 59 years in the 2021 Census. In none of these instances do male's rates of divorce or separation exceed 1 percent of the population of respective age groups, whereas it goes above 1 percent for females aged 40 years and older in the 2021 Census (Figure 3.15). This trend indicates that divorce is a recent phenomenon in Nepal.

¹⁸ Until the 1970s and early 1980s, in the Hill and Mountain areas, there was a common saying that only items for a funeral and other necessities should be taken when travelling to Tarai/Madhesh markets. People of the Hill/Mountain areas were highly susceptible to contracting malaria, cholera, dysentery and other vector borne diseases and dying. The accompanying persons were responsible for performing funeral rituals.

¹⁹ The introduction of modern health measures increased men's survival chances more than females as indicated by the longer male life expectancy until the beginning of first decade of the 21st century.

- The percentage distribution of divorced/separated males by age group for the last four censuses reveals the following: The proportion of divorced/separated males is highest before the age of 30 in 1961 and 1981, this might be explained by young males living separately,²⁰ because, young men were not living with brides for social-cultural reasons. This young age phenomenon is not explained by modern or legal means of divorce, but by the social/cultural practices of newly married males and females leaving apart for some years and reporting their marital status in censuses as separated.
- Divorce and separation is a personal choice, which is evident for males in the 2021 Census. Its rate escalates after the age of 25, reaching a high at 40 to 44 years. Of the total divorced/separated males, 68 percent are reported as separated and 32 percent as divorced.

Figure 3.15: Trends of percentage change in divorced/separated males and females aged 10 years and above by age group, Nepal censuses, 1961-2021



Source: Annex A3.1.

²⁰ Newlywed brides spent a few days in the marital home and were then sent back to their parental home until they entered puberty. The bride’s parents usually chose an auspicious day to send the bride to her marital home - the practice of *maitalu* in the Hill and *gauna* in Tarai/Madhesh. If there was some delay in sending the bride, the groom’s family might have reported the groom’s marital status as living separately, although their actual cohabitation had not started.

For females, young age divorce/separation is high before the age of 25 for the first two censuses. This might be explained by socio-cultural practices and family and couples' misunderstandings about living separately. Like males, cases of divorce/separation are consistently lower across all age groups in the 2001 Census. After the age of 25, the number of divorced/separated women increases until the age of 60 in the 2021 Census. As of the 2021 Census, the proportion of legally divorced females accounts for less than one fourth (24%) of the combined value of divorced/separated females. Females living separately might be explained by misunderstandings with husbands where the marriage is not legally ended as well as multiple wives of polygamous men living separately without the support of their husband.

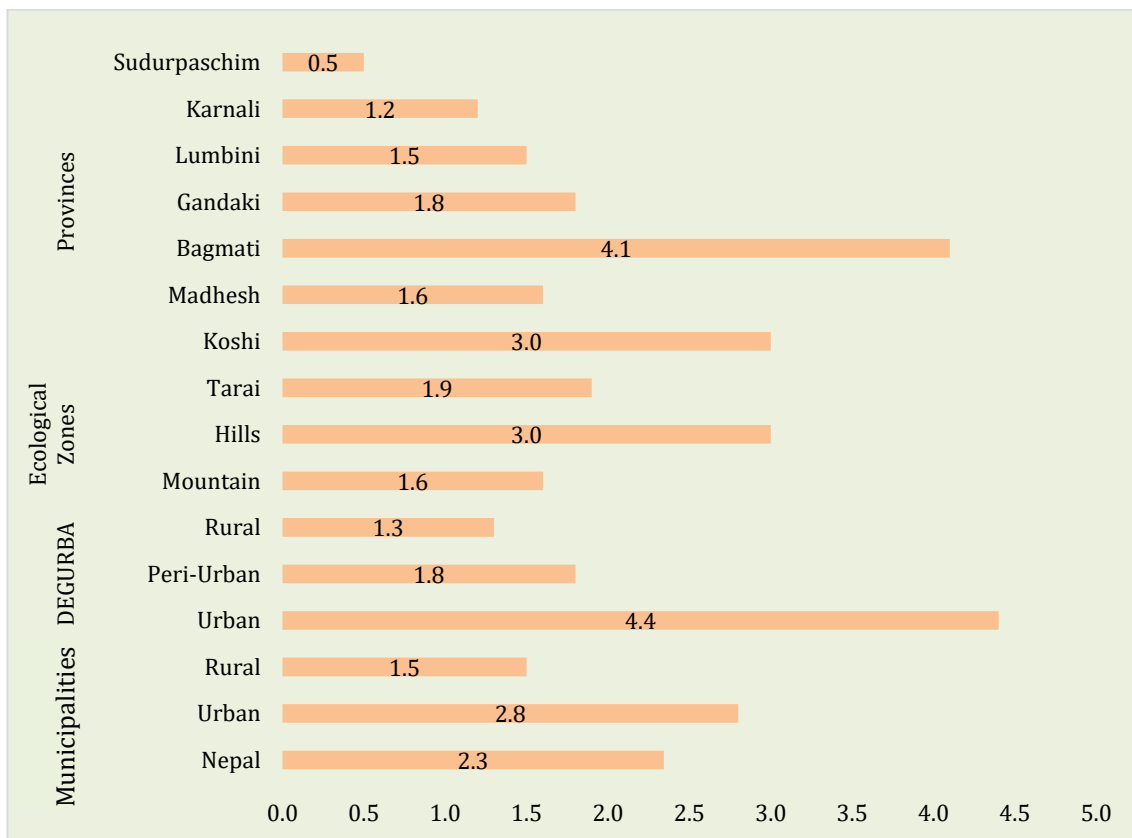
3.4 Socio-cultural differentials in marital status

Caste/ethnicity, the sex of household heads, the nuclear or extended structure of families, literacy and educational attainment, household's wealth levels, and the disability status of persons all impact on marital status.

3.4.1 Caste/ethnicity and marital status

Caste/ethnicity in Nepal is a strong socio-cultural factor for determining marriage patterns. Up to the present day, most caste/ethnic communities in Nepal prefer their children to marry within the socially and culturally established family lineage, according to social norms, values and rituals, and as a matter of family pride. Such marriages are generally endogamous (marrying within the caste and creed lineage as per ancestral tradition). However, there is evidence of exogamous (inter-caste) marriages increasing. In this case, the marriage is a personal selection of women and men with or without parental permission. In time, parents/families gradually start to accept their son or daughter's selection of mate for marriage. This trend is believed to have increased the number of inter-caste/exogamous marriages in Nepal. However, there is no available data and there was no related question in the 2021 Census, so it is not possible to estimate the actual extent of this practice. The difference between caste/ethnicity of household heads and her/his spouse is taken as a proxy as presented at Figure 3.16.

Figure 3.16: Percentage of household heads with spouse of another caste/ethnicity, NPHC 2021



From Figure 3.16 it is evident that at the national level, more than 2 percent of heads of 4,741,706 households are married to a spouse from another caste/ethnicity than her/his own. This is highest in urban areas, according to the degree of urbanization, and in Bagmati province (above 4%). It is also above 3 percent in Hill region and Koshi province and lowest in Sudurpashchim province. This indicates that urbanized areas with mixed settlements are more exposed to the trend of inter-caste marriage. It could be concluded that marriage across caste/ethnic communities in Nepal might be higher if all the married population was assessed. According to caste/ethnicity, the percentage of household heads married to a spouse of another caste/ethnicity is higher among Mountain/Hill Janajatis (3.7%), and more than the national average for religious/linguistic communities.

The marital status of the population by caste/ethnicity and sex is presented at Figure 3.17. The general expectation is that marriage among Hill and Madhesh/Tarai caste groups and Dalits are arranged according to social and family traditions. The male-female ratio in the married and never married population varies to a greater extent than others, however, which is clear to see

at Annex A3.5. Moreover, the proportionate share of the male and female population does not correspond to each other for most caste/ethnic communities. First, the proportionate share of married, widowed and divorced/separated females is substantially higher across all caste/ethnic communities than for males. Second, in communities with higher or lower proportions of married females, males do not necessarily follow the same patterns. The proportion of never married males in Madhesh/Tarai caste communities (37.7%), does not correspond to the share of never married females for observed rates but does correspond to the general pattern after age standardization to the age composition of the national population. After age adjustment, the proportion of never married males and females is lowest in the Dalit communities of the Hill and Madhesh/Tarai and highest among Mountain/Hill Janajatis and Hill castes. The proportion married is relatively lower for males and higher for females in Madhesh/Tarai caste communities, implying a younger age at marriage for females and a relatively delayed age at marriage for males. The same pattern is more or less typical for Hill caste communities. However, there is a proportional pattern of marriage between males and females from Mountain/Hill, Tarai Janajatis and Hill Dalit communities.

Universality of marriage is higher for males and females in Madhesh/Tarai Dalit, Madhesh/Tarai caste groups, Hill Dalits, and religious/linguistic groups (the proportion of married females is above 65 percent). A change of marital status to widowed for females is higher (above 7%) among Hill Dalits, Madhesh/Tarai Dalits and Tarai Janajatis. For other communities, the figure is around 6 to 7 percent. The extent of divorce/separation is relatively high among Hill Dalits and Mountain/Hill Janajatis (nearly 1%).

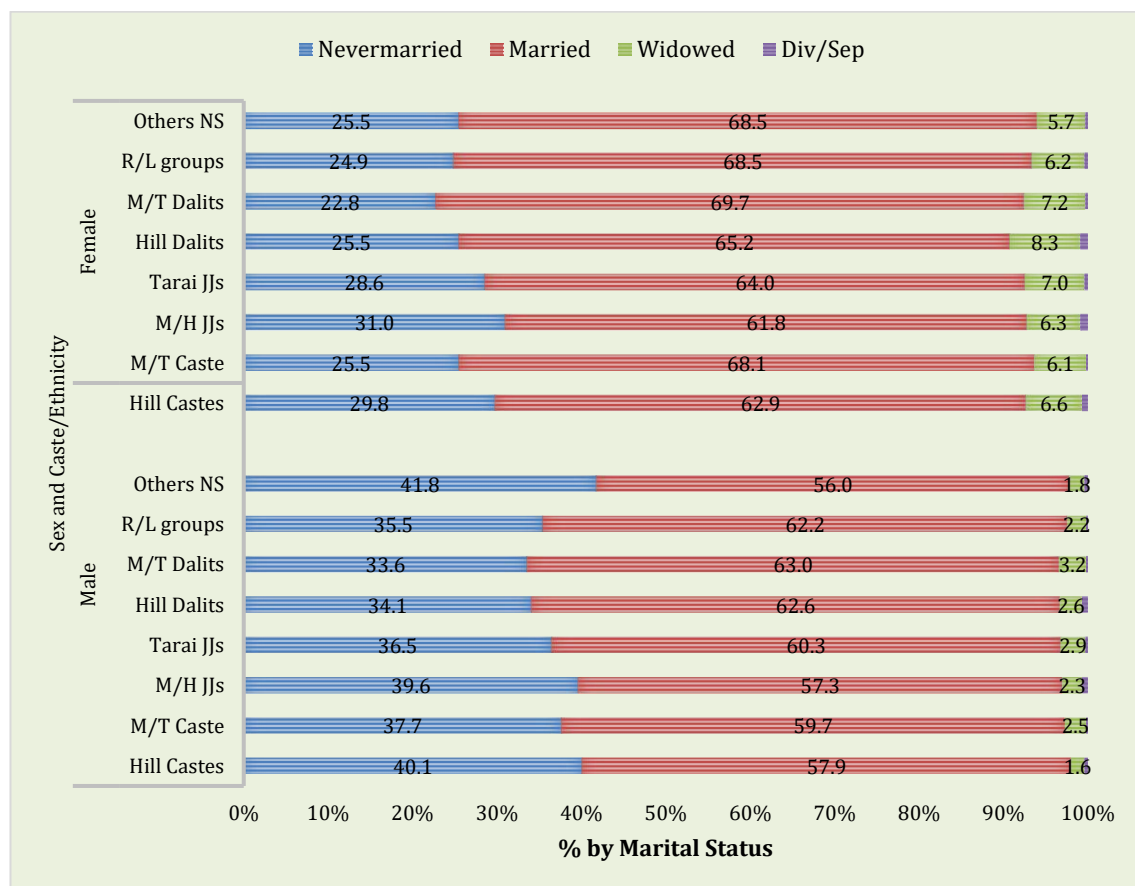
The male-female disparity in the married population is highest for Madhesh/Tarai caste communities where there are lower proportions of married males and higher proportions of married females. This is also revealed by the gender parity index of marital status by caste/ethnicity at Annex A3.5. The value of index one refers to the equal number of males and females in the same marital status; the lower and higher indices respectively refer to smaller or larger numbers of males than females. In all instances, there are more never married males than never married females. However, the gender parity index reveals that there are more never married males in Madhesh/Tarai and Madhesh/Tarai Dalits - 1.46 and 1.36 respectively. There is a more even level of gender parity among never married Hill Dalits, and both Tarai and Mountain/Hill Janajatis (with a gender parity index for never married below 1.2).

The gender parity index for married, widowed and divorced/separated females is less even. The gender parity index for married females ranges from 0.97 for other groups to a low of 0.78 for Hill Dalit communities, implying less than one married male per married female. This might be explained by the age difference of marriage between men and women and higher numbers of married men migrating abroad and leaving their spouses behind at home. There is a substantially

lower value of gender parity for widowed and divorced/separated persons, with some levels of variation, implying that the effects of marriage dissolution through the death of a spouse or by legal and social means are more pronounced for females than males across all caste/ethnic communities. A reason behind this might be the remarriage of males after marriage dissolution and or more polygamous husbands who do not change their marital status.

Marriage for females is relatively universal for Madhesh/Tarai Dalits followed by Tarai Janajatis and Madhesh/Tarai caste groups. The proportion married is lower for Hill Dalit females (62%). The incidence of becoming a widow for females is higher for Hill caste, Hill Dalits and Mountain/Hill Janajatis. It is lowest for religious/linguistic groups and Madhesh/Tarai Caste Groups (5.4%). The extent of divorce/separation is relatively high among Hill Dalits and Mountain/Hill Janajatis (nearly 1 percent).

Figure 3.17: Age standardized percentage distribution of the male and female population aged 10 years and above by marital status and caste/ethnicity, NPHC 2021



Note: M/T=Madhesh/Tarai; M/H JJs = Mountain/Hill Janajatis; JJs= Janajatis; R/L= Religious/Linguistic.
Source: Annex A3.5.

It can be concluded that:

- The proportionate share of never-married males remains substantially higher than females across all caste/ethnic communities. This is most evident, and highest, for Madhesh/Tarai caste communities and lowest for Hill Dalits and Mountain/Hill and Tarai Janajatis, as indicated by the gender parity index of the never married population.
- As highlighted by the proportion of the married population, it is more pronounced for Madhesh/Tarai Dalits, Tarai Janajatis, and Madhesh/Tarai caste communities. The gender parity index for the married population always favours females, indicating that there are more married females than married males across all caste/ethnic communities. The same is true of the widowed and divorced/separated population with a greater degree of gender disparity. This might be due to the remarriage of males, polygamous males and the excess of married male migrants who are living abroad.

3.4.2 Religion and marital status

In most instances, marriage ceremonies are performed according to religious rituals of the marrying parties. In Nepal, even after getting a certificate of marriage from the court, newly-weds, in general, organize some religious/ritual ceremony. Studies have postulated a strong relationship between strong religious beliefs and marital stability (Vaughn, & Heaton, 1997), marital satisfaction and happiness (Sorokowski, et al., 2019) and marital stability. However, censuses do not include indicators on marital satisfaction and stability. Information on the religion of a persons is collected to classify a person to their faith. An attempt is made to classify the marital status of the population by their religion and sex at Figure 3.18.

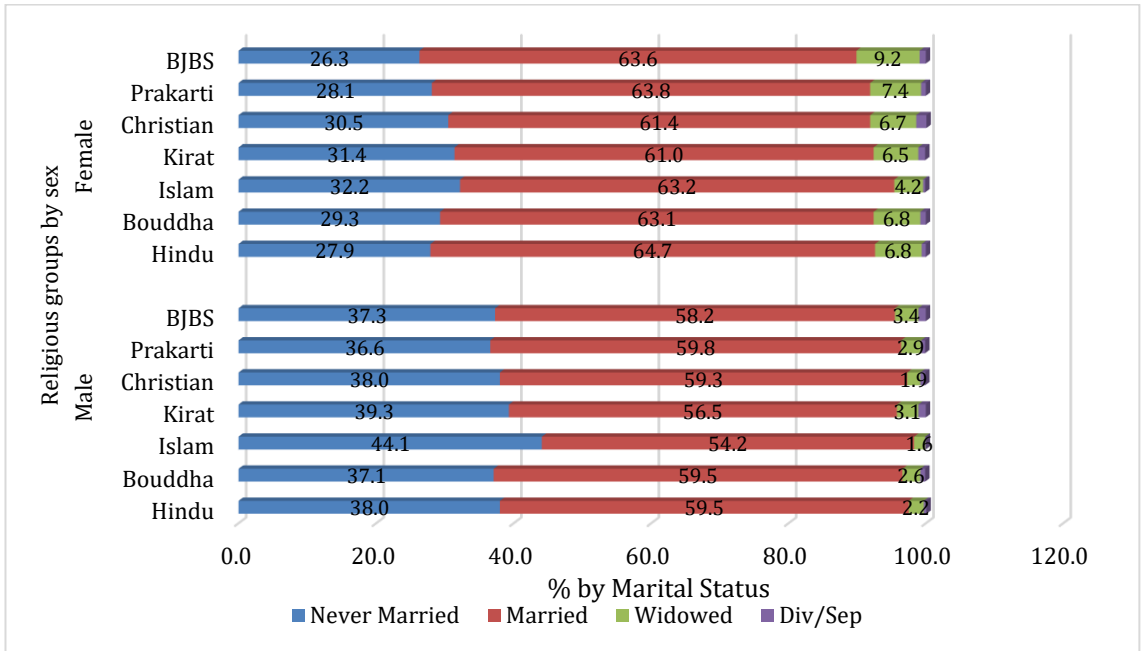
The distribution of the population by marital status by religion holds true for that of caste/ethnicity. It is evident at Figure 3.18 that across all religious communities, the proportion of females married and never married lies well above and below the corresponding proportion of males, respectively. The proportion of widows is 2.5 to 3 times higher than widowers. The highest and lowest proportions of Muslim males respectively never married and married does not correspond to their female counterparts.

From the data presented at Figure 3.18 it can be concluded that:

- Except for a few variations (never married males of Muslin faith, and females of Kirat and Christian faiths) the distribution of population by religion and marital status is the same as the national and sub region patterns (ecological zone and province).
- The number of widows is consistently 2.5 to over 3 times higher across all religious communities. This may be due to the remarriage of males and polygamous males.

- The migration of males abroad across all religious communities is likely to impact the proportion married and never married across all religious communities.

Figure 3.18: Percentage distribution of males and females aged 10 years and above by marital status and religion, NPHC 2021



BJBS= Bon, Jain, Bahai, Shikh.

Source: Annex A3.6.

3.4.3 Household structure, headship and marital status of members

In line with UN definitions and classifications the 2021 Census defined households as:

‘One or more persons living together by making common provision for food or other essentials for living. The person or persons in the group commonly pool their incomes and have a common budget to a greater or lesser extent; they may be related or unrelated persons or a combination of persons both related and unrelated’ (CBS, 2021).

The 2021 Census proposed three types of households: nuclear, extended and others, and classified them based on the number of family members and the relationship, if any, between the family nuclei and other members of the household. The relationship between and among family members could be through blood, adoption or marriage. The three types of households based on the family nuclei are operationally defined and classified as the following:

- Nuclear household: a single-family nucleus that meets the attributes of: i) a married couple with one or more children or without children, ii) a family with a single father or mother with one or more children.
- Extended household: a household consisting of any one of: i) a single family nucleus and other persons related to the nucleus, such as a father with one or more children and other relative(s) or a married couple with other relative(s); ii) two or more family nuclei related to each other without any other persons, for example, two or more married couples with child(ren) only; iii) two or more family nuclei related to each other plus other persons related to at least one of the nuclei, for example, two or more married couples with other relative(s); and iv) two or more persons related to each other, neither of whom constitute a family nucleus.
- Other households: single person households, composite households and households that do not meet the criteria of nuclear and extended households are grouped under 'other types.'

The 2021 Census defined a household head as usually residing in the household and managing daily household related matters and activities, such as daily expenses, and taking decisions on other family activities. For census enumeration purposes, attributes of household heads included:

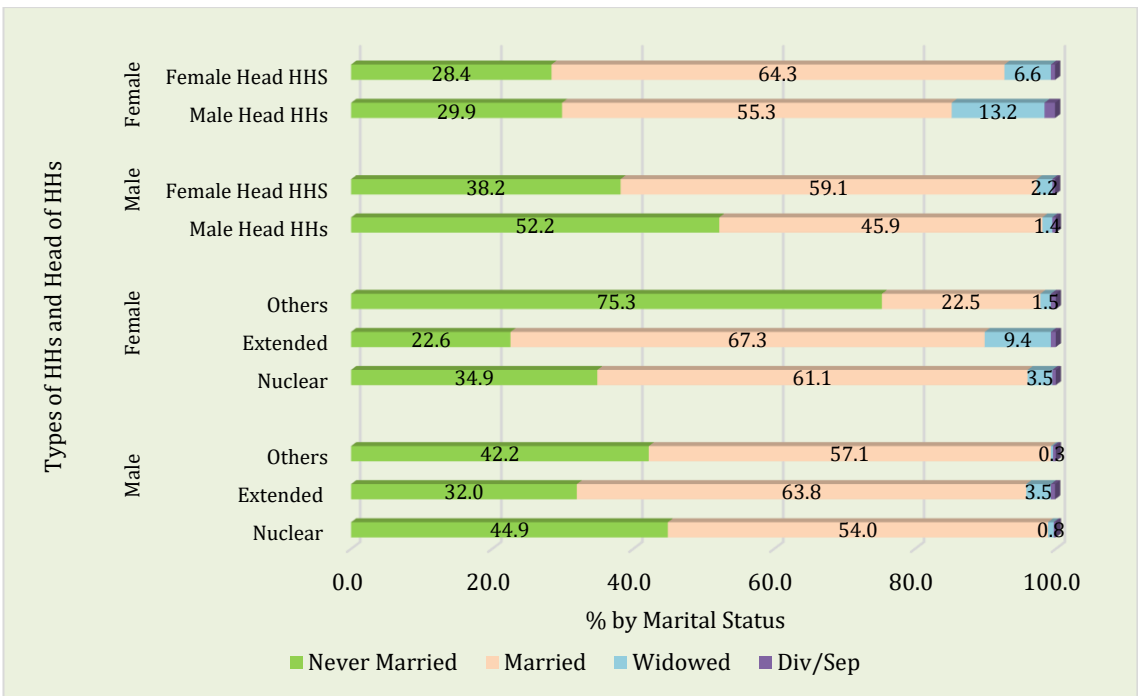
- A person, either male or female, aged 10 years and above who usually resides in the household.
- The main person who takes responsibility for managing daily household related matters, including daily expenses.

Persons under 10 years of age could not be considered as household heads, as they must have an adult guardian, and the census instructed enumerators to consider the guardian as the household head. Census enumerators were also told to focus on determining the actual number of female household heads due to social taboos around this. A woman was considered a household head if:

- She is managing daily household matters, even if she provided the name of her husband or father-in-law or son as household head.
- She is the most senior member of the household/family, and as a matter of respect provides the name of another as household head. In such a case, a person managing the daily matters of the household and making major decisions was recorded as the household head.

The marital composition of the population living in extended families, nuclear and other types of family according to the 2021 Census is presented at Figure 3.19. It is evident that the proportion of married and never married males and females is respectively highest and lowest in extended families compared to nuclear families. This implies that marriage is a more universal phenomenon in extended families. The reason for the relatively higher proportion of never married males and females in nuclear families may be that couples raising young children have not yet reached the age of marriage.

Figure 3.19: Percentage distribution of the male and female population aged 10 years and above by marital status and type of household and sex of household head, NPHC 2021



It is evident that the proportion of married males and females tends to increase substantially for those living in female-headed households. The share of never married males living in female-headed households tends to decline in a proportionate way to the increase in the proportion married. The higher proportion of never married males and females living in male-headed households is compensated by the corresponding lower proportion of the married population. The incidence of widow/widowerhood is a common phenomenon of extended female-headed households as seen at Figure 3.19.

From the marital composition of males and females by type of household and sex of household head, it can be concluded that:

- There appears to be an erratic pattern in the marital composition of both males and females living in extended and female-headed households (the higher proportion of married and lower proportion of never married for both sexes). This implies universality of marriage in extended and female-headed households. This trend and pattern of distribution of the population by marital status is typically different as observed by caste/ethnicity and religion of the population.
- The proportion of widows tends to rise in extended and male-headed households. This is due to couples (with or without children) usually living with a widowed mother, which is an increasing phenomenon in the country.
- The proportion of never married is excessively high, and the proportion married is excessively low, for females living in other types of households. This may be because never married females are usually living alone and apart from their family for study and employment.

3.4.4 Literacy/education and marriage

The effects of education on the timing of marriage have been established in various ways. As the years spent in education or schooling increase, the age at marriage is postponed. Educated men and women accrue labour force skills as per the labour market needs and only form a family after securing a job/occupational stability. Therefore, education delays marriage, allowing both men and women to complete their education, accrue labour force skills, and develop their careers.

The general expectation is that there is a positive association between literacy and educational attainment and age at marriage. The triple mechanisms through which education may positively affect the age at marriage include: (i) longer schooling involuntarily delays the age at first marriage; and (ii) opportunities for work/employment increase with the level of education (Chaudhury & Niraula, 2003; Dixon, R., 1971). Educated boys and girls may join the labour force outside the home, and employment outside the home may foster interests in non-formal activities which may compete with marriage and consequently lead to a postponement of marriage. Educated boys and girls may also consider early age at marriage as an obstacle to achieving social and economic mobility and therefore may postpone marriage until they have a stable career path and a permanent source of income (Smith et al., 2012). This process is expected to delay the age that educated boys and girls enter the marriage market, in Baker's (1973) analysis, through comparing the anticipated gains from the marriage and labour markets. Data obtained from the 2021 Census tends to support the hypothesized relationship between

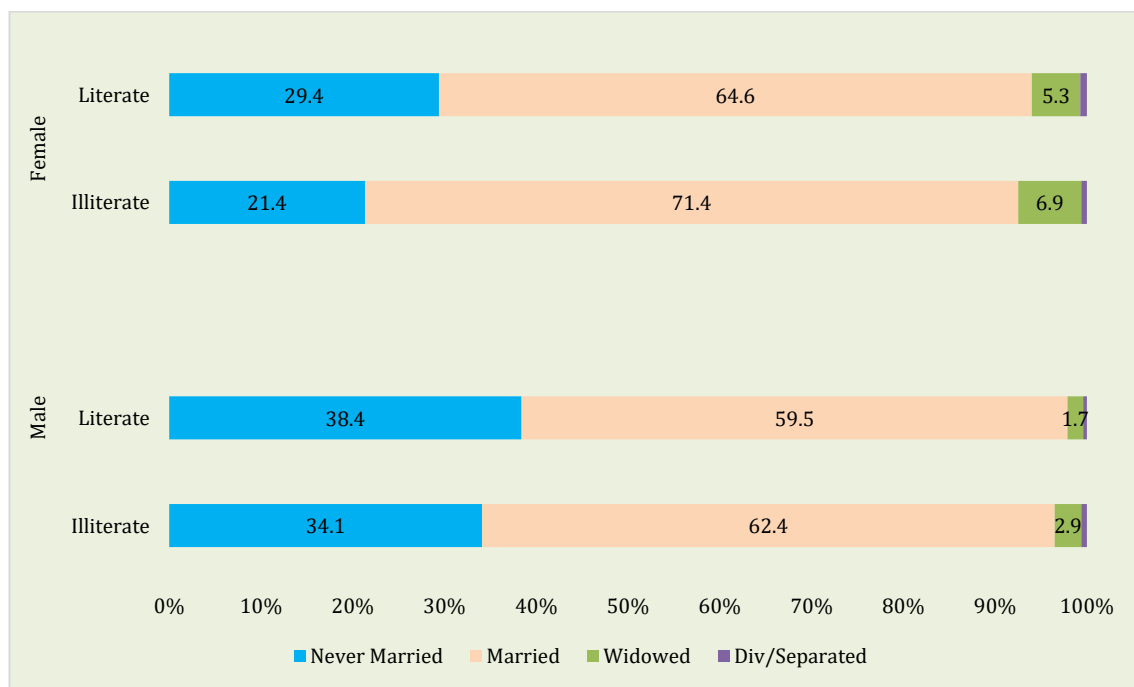
education and nuptiality in Nepal. Educational levels and the marital status of the population is classified into two categories by: i) literacy status (literate, without literacy skills and literacy status not stated); and ii) by completed level of education from early childhood development to formal schooling up to university level according to national standard classifications of education.

The 2021 Census enumeration included literacy and education related questions for all members in the enumeration household aged five years and above to identify literacy status, and the ability to read and write and complete simple arithmetic calculations in any language. The ability was recorded in three categories: i) can read and write; ii) can read only, iii) cannot read or write. A person was considered literate if he/she was able to read and write. Educational attainment was asked for every individual aged five years and above according to ever/current attendance at school, and if attended – the completed level of education. According to this definition, 17 and 33 percent of males and females respectively aged five years and above are unable to read or write. A common assumption is that these people are from older age groups, most already married and in the process of changing marital status due to the death of their spouse. This assumption holds true for the marital status of both literate people and those with no literacy skills as presented at Figure 3.20.

The observed rates of the marital status of the population by literacy status reveals that above 80 and 8 percent respectively of married and widowed males declines to less than 55 and 1 percent as the literacy status shifts from no literacy skills to literate. Likewise, 10 percent of males with no literacy skills who are never married rises to 44 percent for those who are literate. The same pattern also holds true for females. About 4 percent of never married women with no literacy skills increases to 40 percent for literate females; and 78 percent of married women with no literacy skills decreases to 57 percent for literate females. This variation in marital status of literate males and females and those without literacy skills is the shifting age pattern of the latter population towards older ages, and universality in the coverage of education systems in recent years (Annex A3.7a).

The marital status of the population by literacy skills for both males and females yield vastly different rates as it is adjusted to the age composition of the national population. For instance, the 10 and 81 percent of observed rates of respectively never married and married males without literacy skills revises to 34 and 62 percent after age standardization. In the same way the 4 percent observed rate of never married females without literacy skills adjusts to 21 percent after standardization. The above 62 and 3 percent of married and widowed males respectively declines below 60 and 2 percent as the literacy status shifts from those who are non-literate to literate.

Figure 3.20: Age standardized percentage distribution of population aged 10 years and above according to marital status by literacy, NPHC 2021



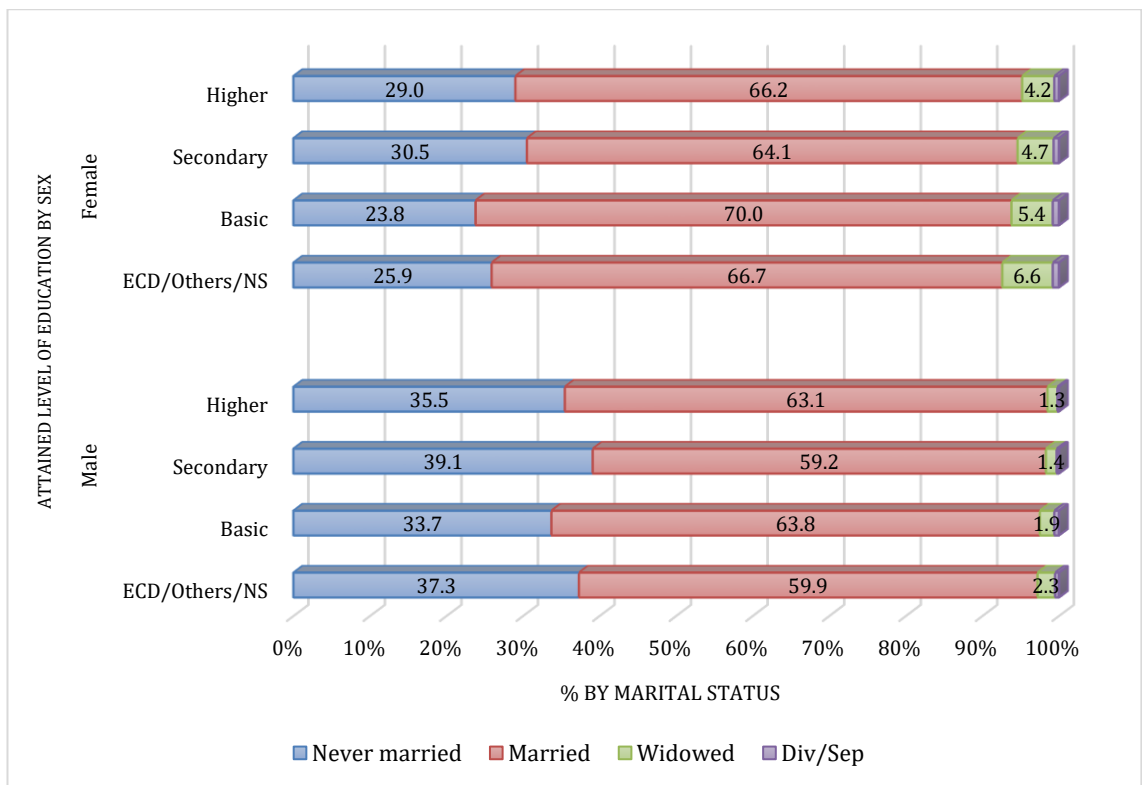
Source: Annex A3.7a.

Likewise, the 32 percent of never married non literate males increases to 38 percent for those who are literate. The same pattern also holds true for females. About 21 percent of never married non-literate females scales up above 38 percent for literate females, and 71 percent of married non-literate females decreases to 65 percent for their literate counterparts (Figure 3.20). This variation in marital status of literate and non-literate males and female is the shifting age pattern of the non-literate population towards older ages and universality in the coverage of education systems for young generations that has increased literacy rates in recent years.

The population by level of educational attainment and marital status are grouped into four: early childhood development, others and not stated (considering the smaller cases of observation in these three categories they are grouped into one); basic (grades 1 to 8); secondary (grades 9 to 12 or intermediate); and higher (bachelor and above). After adjusting the age composition by the attained level of education to the national population, the observed rate of 43 percent for never married females with ECD and basic levels of education adjusts to below 26 percent. The observed rate of 33 percent of never married females with secondary and higher levels of education adjusts to around 30 percent (Figure 3.21).

This might be explained by the age composition of the population, because the lower the level of educational attainment, the younger the age applies. For instance, the 10 to 19 age groups females and males attained basic and lower (ECD and Basic) level of education respectively comprises 45 and 42 percent, against 24 of females and 15 of males with higher level of education. This implies a huge share of populations with ECD and basic level of education have not attained the legal minimum age of marriage, therefore, the observed share of never married tends to be higher (Annex A3.7a). Males and females who attain higher levels of education are expected ultimately to marry. But the chance of celibate tends to increase for females than males as they attain higher level of education (see Figure 3.24). The proportion of married and never married respectively appears to be highest and lowest for those who have completed higher levels of education. This holds typically true for both males and females. On the contrary, the proportion of widowed appears to be higher for those who have only completed early childhood level. This might be explained by the enumerator’s bias for entering older aged persons who could read and write but had not completed any formal level of education.

Figure 3.21: Age adjusted percentage distribution of male and female population by marital status and attained level of education, NPHC 2021



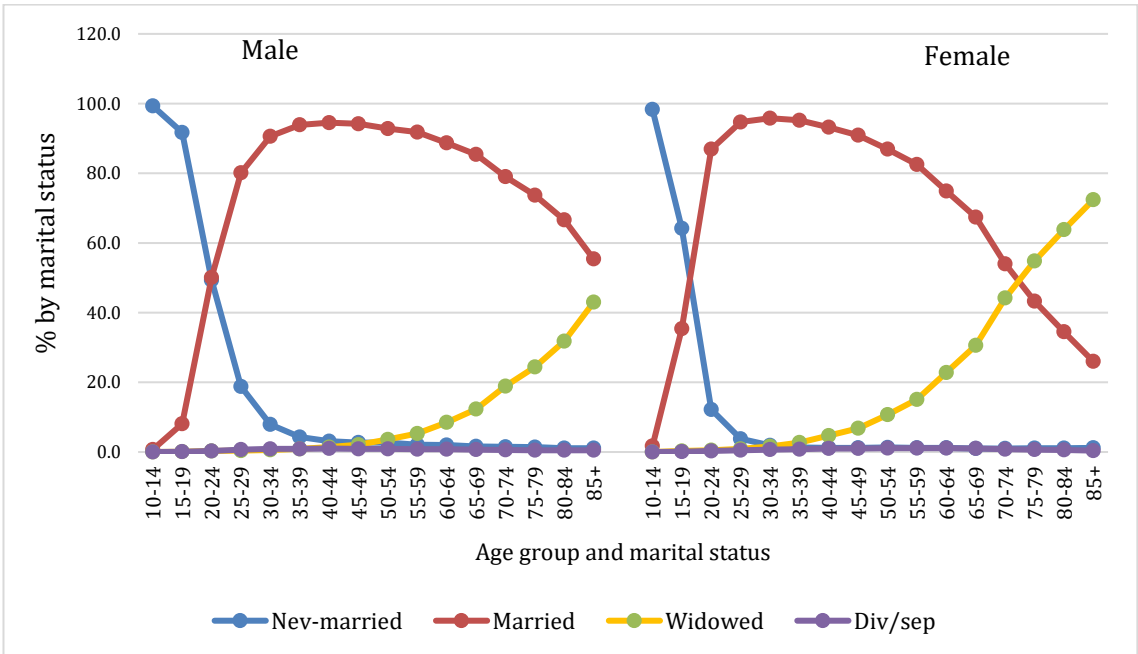
Source: Annex A3.7a.

Figures 3.22, 3.23 and 3.24 show the age specific differences in the marital status of males and females for non-literate, literate and by bachelor level of education and above. There is an unreliably smaller proportion of non-literate females who are never married, and a higher proportion who are married and widowed compared to other attributes.²¹ In addition, the usually observed pattern of marital status has an erratic shape according to marital status and attained level of education as seen at Figure 3.22. This variation might be due to the differential age distribution of non-literate and literate populations. The general expectation is that most non-literate people are concentrated at relatively older ages while younger age groups are more literate. Accordingly, the unreliably low observed rates of non-literate males and females who are never married are corrected by age standardization by eliminating the extraneous effects of age composition.

It is clear to see from Figures 3.22 to 3.24 that as age advances from 10 to 14 years upwards, the rate of being never married declines steeply, reaching saturation point by the age of 30 for non-literate females and 35 for non-literate males. There is also a relatively slower rate of decline in the proportion never married for both literate males and females, while the size of the never married literate population is almost eliminated by the age of 35 for females and 40 for males. In the case of higher education, women's chances of remaining never married is much higher, while the proportion of males never married is negligible by the age of 50. Opposite patterns hold true for the age specific distribution of the proportion married for non-literate and literate males and female and those with higher levels of education. The proportionate share of the married population increases more slowly as age increases for literate males and females and those with higher education.

²¹ Caste/ethnicity, religion and household types

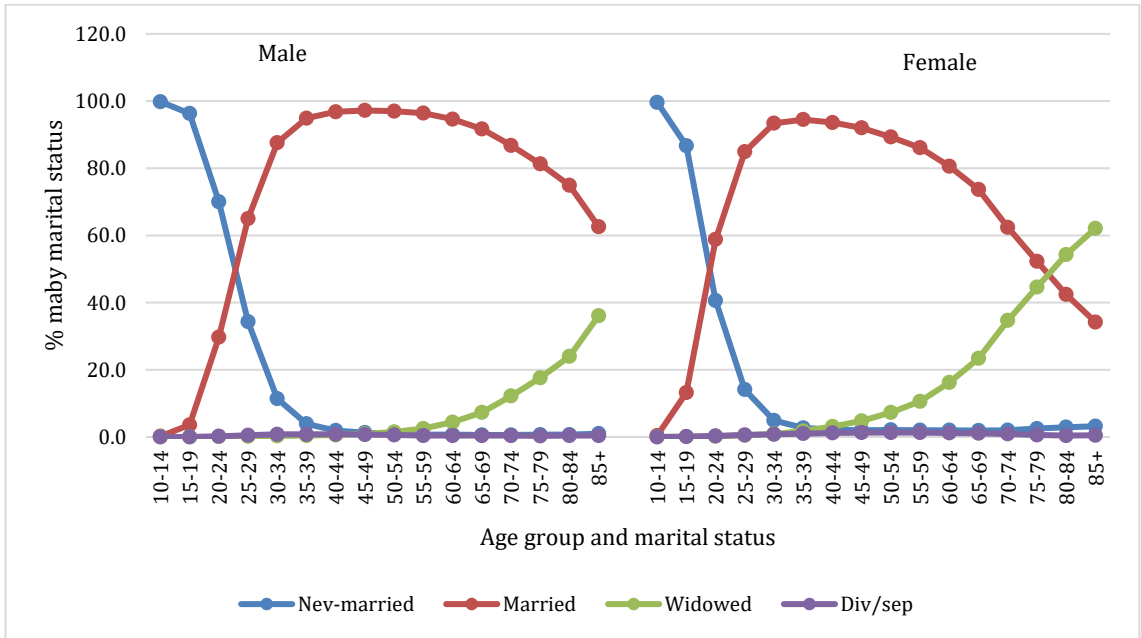
Figure 3.22: Age-specific percentage distribution (age standardized) of non-literate males and females by marital status, NPHC 2021



Source: Annex A3.7b.

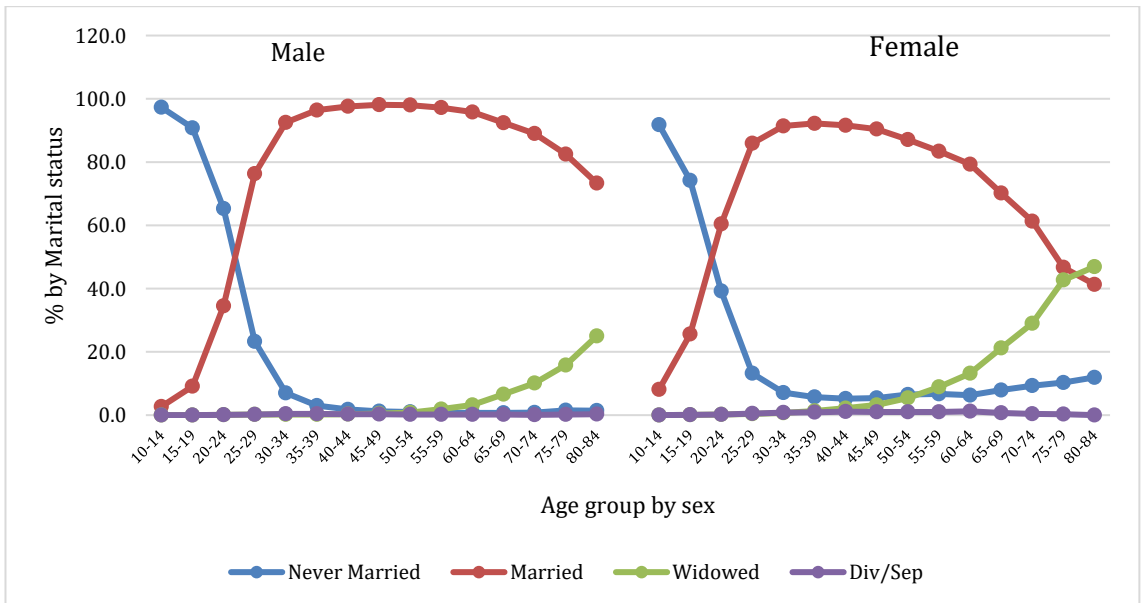
For females attaining a bachelor or above level of education, there is an increased chance of remaining unmarried in each successive year. Education’s impact on postponing age at first marriage is also clear to see for males at Figure 3.24. However, education does not eliminate the chances of marriage even at later ages for males, as seen by the decreased share of the never married by the age of 45. Conversely, female’s chances of remaining never married is consistently above 5 percent as age advances above 40. This might be explained by females prioritizing their career or simply not be able to find an equally qualified and carrier established male mate.

Figure 3.23: Age-specific percentage distribution (age adjusted) of literate males and females by marital status, NPHC 2021



Source: Annex A3.7b.

Figure 3.24: Age-specific percentage distribution (age adjusted) of males and females with bachelor and above level of education by marital status, NPHC 2021



Source: Annex A3.7b

From the review of the marital characteristics of the population by literacy and attained level of education, it can be concluded that:

- There appears to be near universality of marriage for the population without literacy skills for both sexes, which might be explained by the educational attainment levels of the older age population – since expanded access to education has increased the literacy skills of younger populations. The same holds true for the proportion widowed.
- The proportion of the married and never married population respectively increases and declines in a reciprocal relationship as the attained level of education increases. This might be explained by the positive association between age at marriage and the level of education. Marriage tends to be nearly universal after the attainment of higher levels of education. A halting rate of increase and decline in the proportion of married and never married is evident between education from basic to secondary levels.
- The incidence of widows or widowerhood is high for people without literacy skills, and males and females with lower levels (ECD and basic) of education. A reason for this may be the size of the older age population without literacy skills and non-formal education who are concentrated at these age groups.

3.4.5 Disability and marital status

There is very little literature on the marital status of people with disabilities. This might be explained by the fact that this population has been historically overlooked and that people with disabilities are perceived as being less eligible for marriage (Lotta Vikström, et al., 2020), which is truer for females than their male counterparts ((Hosain, et al., 2002; Lotta Vikström, et al., 2020).

The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) 2006, in its general principles assures rights of equality, respect, dignity, individual autonomy, freedom of choice, and independence of persons with disabilities. It further confirms non-discrimination, full and effective participation and inclusion in society, acceptance of persons with disability as part of human diversity and humanity, ensures equality of opportunities and accessibility, equality between men and women, and respect for the evolving capacities of children with disabilities (UN, 2006). The convention assures fundamental rights to persons with disabilities aligning with the fundamental principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Aligning with the major principles of the CRPD, the Nepal government issued an act on the rights of persons with disabilities in 2017 (2074 BS). The act also assures the fundamental rights of persons with disabilities, defines the term disability in the Nepali context, classifies types and levels of disability and makes provision for the issuance of disability identity certificates by level

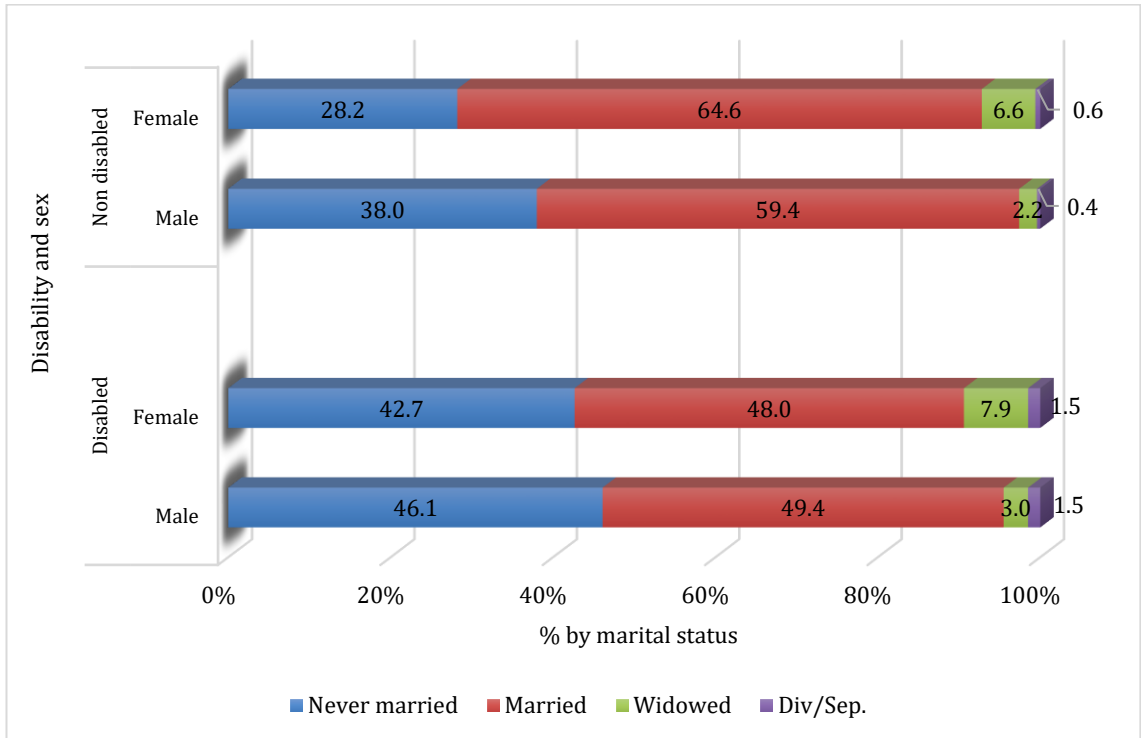
of disability. Accordingly, in the 2021 Census, data was collected on disability for every member of the household enumerated. If any person was living with a disability, his/her type of disability was recorded according to the 10 types of disabilities as classified by the act. In this section, an attempt is made to present the marital composition of the population aged 10 years and above by disability status.

Data is summarized at Figure 3.25, which clearly indicates that there is an excessively higher proportion of never married males and females in the cases of people with intellectual, mental or psychosocial, autism (for male), speech problems and multiple disabilities, signifying a negative association between the marriage prospects of such people. A further reason for the higher proportion of people with disabilities who are never married may be age composition. The government has made efforts to identify and support younger persons with autism, intellectual and psycho/social problems and there is clearly a higher proportion of never married people among this group. For all types of disabilities, the proportion widowed and divorced/separated is excessively high compared to the rates of the general population (Figure 3.26).

In the case of females with disabilities, intellectual, mental or psychosocial, speech problems, multiple disabilities and blindness appear to have negative associations with the prospects of marriage (irrespective of age), as indicated by the excessively higher percentage of never married females compared to their counterparts without a disability. The higher rate of marriage dissolution (widowed or divorced/separated) for women with any type of disability compared to females without a disability indicates that even after marriage, instability is excessively high for females. This might be explained by the marriage of women with disabilities at later ages to relatively older men (those who were widowed) and the spouse dying earlier, or a wife with disabilities being abandoned by her husband and then changing marital status to separated.

Certain types of disabilities are associated with the ageing of the population. At older ages the proportion of married in each category exceeds the proportion married for persons without disabilities. For example, haemophilia, physical disabilities, low vision, hearing problems, and a combination of deafness and blindness are associated with older persons. As age advances, people commonly speak about these problems and therefore such types of disabilities do not impact on marital status.

Figure 3.25: Age standardized percentage distribution of male and female population by disability and marital status, NPHC 2021

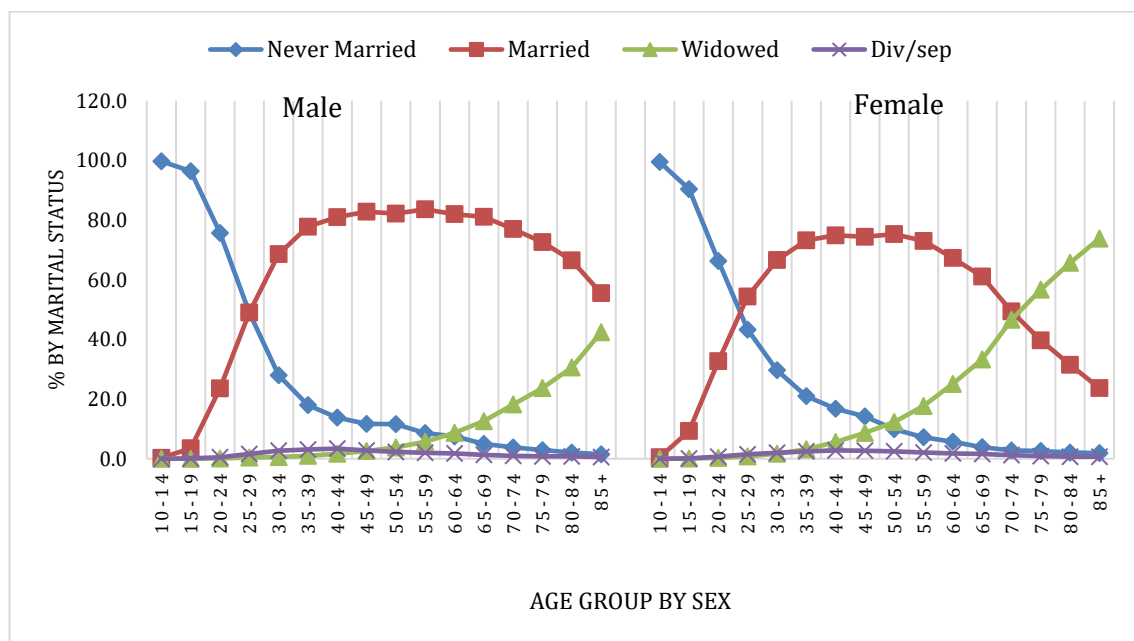


Source: Annex A3.8.

Data presented at Figure 3.25 clearly indicates that the chances of remaining never married for both men and women substantially increases for persons with any form of disability. For instance, the 46 and 43 percent of never married males and females respectively with some type of disability declines to 38 and 28 percent respectively for those without a disability. Similarly, the proportion married for both males and females with a disability remains below 50 percent against 59 and 65 percent respectively for males and females without a disability. Males and females with a disability are more likely to be widowed and divorced/separated. From Figure 3.25 it can be concluded that the chances of marriage for persons with any forms of disability are lower, and the chances of marriage dissolution either by the death of a spouse or by divorce/separation are higher. From this it could be concluded that disability is negatively associated with marriage stability, the extent of which may vary by type of disability, which lies beyond the scope of this report.

The observed rates of remaining unmarried tend to be high for persons with intellectual, mental or psychosocial issues, autism (for males), and speech problems and multiple disabilities (Annex A3.8).

Figure 3.26: Age-specific percentage (age standardized) distribution of males and females with any form of disability by marital status, NPHC 2021



Source: Annex A3.8.

The rates of divorce or separation are high for persons with psychosocial and intellectual problems (mostly living separately) and in the case of widows, among both males and females, with physical, hearing and vision or blindness.

For persons with disabilities, the chance of staying unmarried remains high for both males and females until older ages. The proportion who are married never exceeds 85 and 75 percent respectively for males and females. A change in status to widowhood accelerates from the age of 40. Most striking is that the majority (two-thirds of females and three fourths of males) of people with disabilities remain unmarried until the age 25, with a peak being married by the age of 50 for both sexes (Figure 3.26).

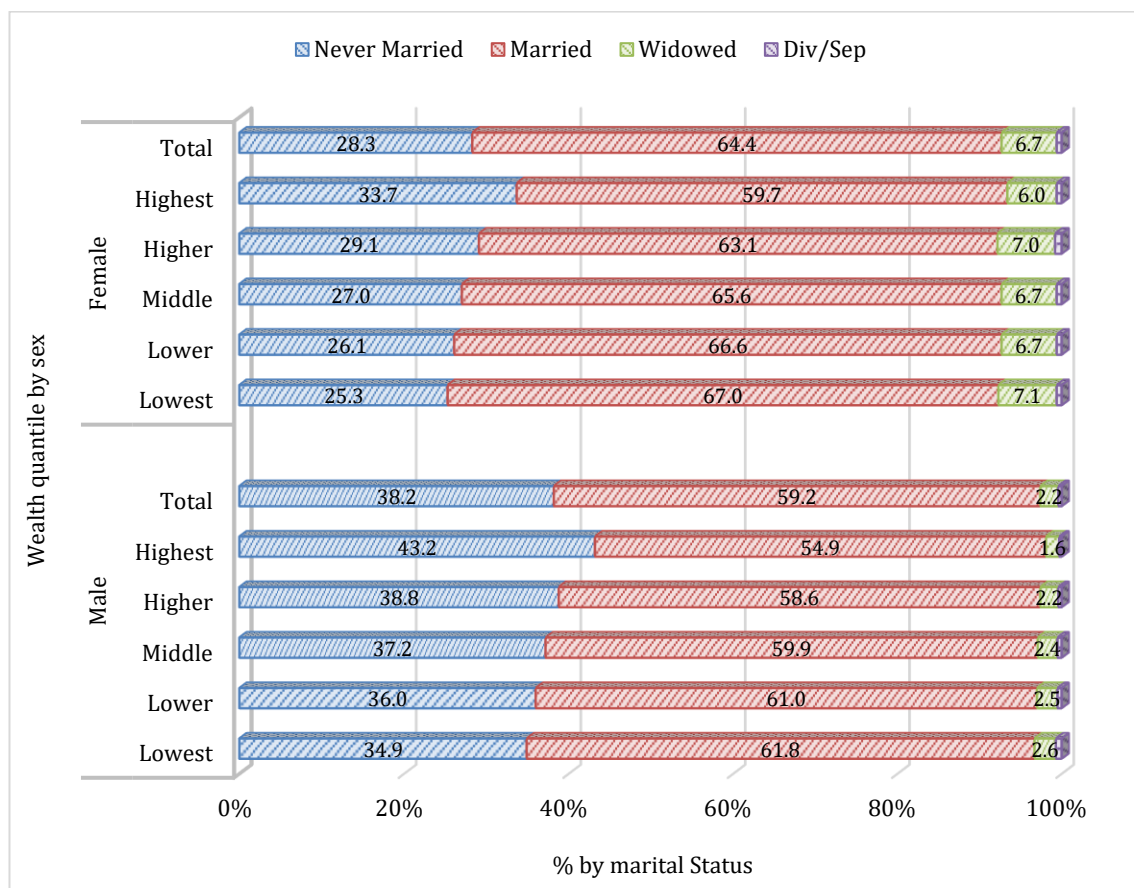
3.4.6 Household wealth level and marital status

Evidence has suggested that wealth plays an important role in the timing of first marriage, and as an important prerequisite for marriage, especially for men. Women's level of wealth is an equally important and valued factor in marriage entry, but not equal to that of men (Schneider, 2011). In addition, while family wealth level is more important for men than women, it is also a positive predictor of first marriage for women. Becker (1973) postulates that the equal importance of wealth, education and other family characteristics are similar under quite different conditions in determining a marriage mate.

In Nepal, most marriages are still arranged by parents; a bride is found from a culture and wealth of a similar status. Parents of brides directly or indirectly evaluate the characteristics of a groom and the wealth status of his family in an equal way before arranging it. Similar practices have been established by studies even in the self-selection of marriage mates in western societies. 'Men and women in the United States generally choose marriage partners whose parents have wealth similar to that of their own parents and are very unlikely to marry persons from very different parental wealth backgrounds.' (Charles et al., 2013). Comparing parental or a person's wealth status in choosing marriage mates is beyond the scope of this report.

Based on the collected information on household characteristics, utilities and amenities, a 17-point indicator composite index of wealth quintiles is constructed, and groups are divided equally into highest, higher, middle, lower and lowest (NSO, 2024). The distribution of the population by marital status and sex is presented against the wealth quintile at Annex A3.9 and Figure 3.27. The age adjusted percentage distribution of population by marital status and wealth quintile clearly shows that as family wealth level advances from lowest to highest, a steady and consistent increase in the proportion never married and a decline in the proportion married for both males and females is apparent. The 35 percent never married males in the lowest quintile increases to 43 percent for in the highest quintile – increasing to 36, 37 and 39 percent respectively for lower, middle and higher quintiles. Similarly, the 25 percent never married females in the lowest quintile consistently increases to 34 percent in the highest quintile. Accordingly, the 62 and 67 percent of married males and females respectively in the lowest quintile consistently declines to 55 and 60 percent, respectively in the highest quintile. Again, the proportion of widowed for both males and females are relatively higher for the lowest and lower quintiles than the others.

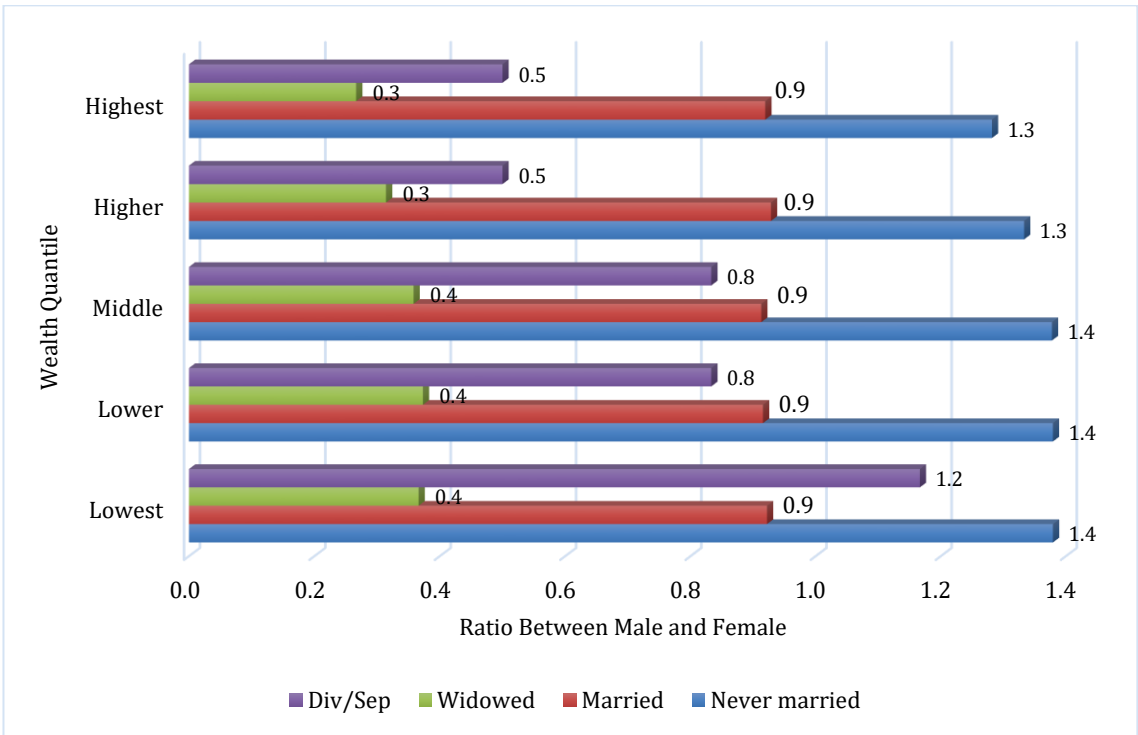
Figure 3.27: Percentage distribution (age standardized) of males and females 10 years and above by wealth quintile and marital status, NPHC 2021



Source: Annex A3.9.

Figure 3.28 shows that across all five wealth quintiles, the RMI level is above one (ranging between 1.3 to 1.4) for never married persons, implying that on average the chances of men remaining never married is 1.3 to 1.4 times higher than females. The value of the index below one for married and widowed persons indicates that more females are in the respective marital status than their male counterparts. The gender parity for divorced and separated persons reveals that men in the lowest quintile are 1.2 times more likely to be in these marital status than their female counterparts. There is a 20 percent decline for men in the lower and middle wealth quintile and a 50 percent decline for the higher and highest quintiles (see Figure 3.28). The higher chances of males to be divorced or separated in the lowest quintile may imply social behaviours and difficulties men at this wealth level face remarrying. The same holds true for females in the top two wealth quintiles. In this context, due to social and family prestige, females tend to remain single after divorce or separation while men may find it easier to remarry.

Figure 3.28: Gender parity index of marital status by wealth quintile, NPHC 2021



Source: Annex A3.9.

In conclusion, the marital status of the population varies according to ecological zone, degree of urbanization, and provincial residence. Likewise, the type of household (nuclear, extended and others) and sex of the heads of households, caste/ethnicity and religion are equally important factors in determining the variations in marital status of the population. This is also true for literacy and educational attainment and wealth quintile, where there is a clear relation in the increasing age at first marriage. The population without literacy skills has a greater chance of being married compared to the population with secondary and higher levels of education.

CHAPTER 4

AGE AT MARRIAGE AND CHILD MARRIAGE

Over the last six decades there has been a visible reversal in marriage patterns among the Nepali population. The trend of young people marrying less, and postponing marriage to later ages is evidenced by the trends in the age specific distribution of the population by marital status. Studies have acknowledged that educational qualifications, occupation at marriage and mother's age at marriage are three factors that have a direct impact in increasing the age at marriage (Kiernan, & Eldridge, 1987). Age at marriage is viewed in relation to the completed levels of education, occupational characteristics, wealth level and residential (degree of urbanization) characteristics. Married women with basic or lower levels of education marry at an earlier age. They may drop out of school for marriage or leave education shortly after marriage.

This chapter presents current patterns of age at marriage of the population by sex through the analysis of the proportion married at different ages. It also analyses the mean age at marriage (reported and singulated as appropriate). Finally, it analyses the extent of child marriage²² by different background characteristics of the population.

The 2021 Census asked two questions about marriage of the population aged 10 years and above. The first question asked the marital status of each family member, and the second question asked about age at first marriage. The analysis of the proportion never married until the age of 50 for both males and females gave an indirect estimation of the SMAM, and an analysis of marriage patterns for the 20 to 24 age cohort before the age of 15 and before the age of 18 provided the prevalence of child marriage. Most findings by background characteristics of the population in this chapter have policy implications.

4.1 Changing age patterns of marriage

The changing age patterns of marriage can be seen by the proportion married before the age of 15; between the ages of 15 and 17; 18 to 19; and age 20 years and above against the current age and year of birth cohorts. Data presented at Table 4.1 indicates that, combining all age groups of the population, about 2 and 8 percent of males and females respectively were married before the age of 15. Likewise, the proportion of males and females married between the ages

²² Proportion of 20 to 24-year-old population married before the age of 15 and before the age of 18, as Sustainable Development Goal target 5.3 monitoring indicator.

of 15 and 17 years respectively constitutes about 8 and 22 percent, and those married between 18 and 19 years, 11 and 17 percent respectively. Overall, about 42 percent of males and 25 percent of females of all ages are married after the age of 20. The data clearly indicate that past practices for males and females marrying at younger ages (below 15 and 18 years), as revealed by age cohorts, have steadily declined over the years, to a greater extent for cohorts younger than 45 years.

Due to changing social and economic conditions, increased access to education and compulsory school enrolment for girls, the absolute number and percentage of persons married before the ages of 15 and 18 has substantially declined for young age cohorts compared to older ones. From Table 4.1 it is evident that the number of males and female marrying before the age of 20 has declined in younger age cohorts, most rapidly for males and females marrying before the age of 15, and more moderately in the 15 to 17 and 18-to-19-year age groups.

Table 4.1: Percentage distribution of married males and females aged 10 years and above by birth cohort, current age and age at marriage, NPHC 2021

Birth cohort	Current age	% Males married by age				% Females married by age			
		< 15Yrs	15-17	18-19	20+ Yrs	< 15	15-17	18-19	20+
Nepal	All ages	1.9	7.6	10.7	41.5	7.7	21.7	16.8	25.3
2001-2011	< 20Yrs	0.2	1.0	0.8	0.0	0.9	4.6	2.2	0.0
1996-2000	20-24	0.5	4.4	9.3	16.9	3.0	18.8	20.7	19.5
1986-1995	25-34	1.1	6.8	11.9	57.3	5.2	23.7	21.7	40.7
1976-1985	35-44	1.7	9.6	15.5	70.0	7.5	29.2	23.4	37.8
1966-1975	45-54	2.4	11.0	16.1	68.9	10.5	30.3	22.3	35.2
1965 & >	55+	6.3	16.3	17.3	58.8	21.7	32.1	17.7	26.7

Note: Detailed data by urban-rural UM, ecological zone and province is presented at Annex A5.1.

Source: NSO, 2023.

The decline in the incidence of early age at marriage for the youngest cohort is clearly visible at Table 4.2. Among the total population who were married before the age of 15, the youngest cohort (below 20 years) constitutes 0.5 percent of males and below 2 percent of females who were married before the age of 15. The corresponding proportion gradually increases with an increase in age up to 55 years and above and reaches nearly 37 percent for males and 36 percent for females in the oldest age group.

Table 4.2: Percentage distribution of ever married males and females by current age and age at marriage, NPHC 2021

Current age	Male: Age at marriage					Female: Age at marriage				
	Total	< 15Yrs	15-17	18-19	20+ Yrs	Total	<15	15-17	18-19	20+
< 20Yrs	0.5	1.7	2.1	1.3	0.0	1.8	1.8	3.5	2.1	0.0
20-24	3.5	1.8	4.0	6.1	2.8	7.4	3.3	7.4	10.6	6.6
25-34	14.1	6.4	10.1	12.5	15.6	18.4	9.8	15.7	18.7	23.2
35-44	14.8	8.4	12.1	13.7	16.0	15.9	11.4	15.6	16.3	17.4
45-54	11.8	9.0	10.8	11.1	12.3	11.6	11.6	11.8	11.3	11.8
55+	17.5	36.6	23.8	17.6	15.4	17.0	35.5	18.2	12.9	12.9

Source: NSO, 2023.

4.1.1 Residential variation in age at marriage

There appears to be a clear variation in the proportion of ever married population by age at marriage by ecological zone, urban-rural and provincial level of residence. Nearly 54 percent of the ever-married females in the Tarai region were married before the legal minimum age at marriage of 20. The age adjusted rates of the proportion married to the age composition of the national population, reveal that about 10 and 26 percent of total females in the Tarai region were married respectively before the age of 15 and between the ages of 15 and 17. Although still high, 48 and 45 percent of ever married women of all ages respectively from the Hill and Mountain regions were married before the age of 20, of whom 7 percent were married before the age of 15 (Table 4.3).

According to the level of degree of urbanization, young age patterns of marriage for females are visibly higher for residents of peri-urban and rural areas. In both cases, one-third of females of all ages were married before the age of 18, against one-fourth for females in urban areas. Overall, above 50 percent of ever married females from peri-urban (55%) and rural (52%) areas are married before attaining the age of 20. The provincial variations reveal that, young age patterns of marriage (before the age of 15) for females are highly prevalent in Madhesh (12%), followed by Sudurpashchim (11%) and Lumbini (9%) provinces. In the case of males marrying before the age of 18, they are highest in Karnali province followed by Sudurpashchim, Madhesh and Lumbini provinces.

The residential/provincial variation in the proportion married at younger ages might be explained by access to education and employment opportunities as well as socio-cultural practices prevailing in respective regions.

Table 4.3: Percentage distribution²³ of ever married males and females aged 10 years and above by age at marriage, by ecological zone, degree of urbanization and province, 2021

Area of residence	% Males married by age				% Females married by age			
	< 15Yrs	15-17 Yrs	18-19 Yrs	20+ Yrs	< 15Yrs	15-17 Yrs	18-19 Yrs	20+ Yrs
Mountain	2.2	8.4	12.7	40.7	7.3	22.0	19.2	29.4
Hill	1.6	6.6	9.7	42.6	6.8	20.9	17.3	30.4
Tarai	2.2	8.3	11.3	40.6	9.7	25.7	18.5	24.5
DEGURBA								
Urban	1.4	5.2	7.6	44.2	6.9	18.8	15.6	31.7
Peri-urban	2.3	8.5	11.7	40.2	9.9	26.1	18.9	24.0
Rural	2.0	8.6	12.4	40.5	7.7	24.5	19.3	27.1
Provinces								
Koshi	1.4	5.4	8.1	45.3	6.2	19.8	17.1	33.0
Madhesh	2.5	9.5	13.2	38.2	11.7	30.9	19.8	18.7
Bagmati	1.7	6.0	8.1	42.9	6.5	17.9	15.1	32.9
Gandaki	1.1	5.2	8.8	44.6	6.5	21.3	18.6	29.7
Lumbini	2.3	9.0	12.2	39.4	8.8	25.2	19.2	24.8
Karnali	2.1	11.1	16.7	37.3	8.0	28.2	21.1	23.5
Sudurpashchim	2.7	9.8	13.1	39.0	11.0	25.0	18.9	23.6

Source: NSO, 2023.

The findings imply that policies and awareness campaigns to increase the age at marriage are needed across all residential areas of the country, with a particular focus in Madhesh, Sudurpashchim, Lumbini and Karnali provinces and peri-urban and rural areas.

4.2 Singulate mean age at first marriage

An analysis of changing trends in the marital status of the population by age composition over the last 60 years, presented in Chapter Three, showed that the reduction in the proportion of married people on the one hand and the rise in the proportion of never married on the other, particularly in younger age groups, has resulted in an increase in the number of years lived in a single state before first marriage. This holds true whether it is a direct measurement for the reported age at first marriage or an indirect estimation from the proportion of the population who are never married between the ages of 15 and 50 years for both sexes. This section presents

²³ Adjusted to the age composition of the national population.

a variation in SMAM by applying an indirect estimation of the number of years a person would stay never married.

4.2.1 Singulate mean age at marriage: An increasing trend

Age at marriage is a variable dependent on social, economic, religious and cultural factors, and the control by a family on children's decision-making, among other factors. Societies with limited access to education skills development, and employment opportunities outside of primary family-based occupations, are characterized by younger age at marriage and child marriage. Age at marriage is taken as an important indicator of measuring female autonomy and often indicative of the extent of child marriage and adolescent fertility in any given society. In Nepal, it is evident that there are still child marriages even though marriage is illegal before the age of 20.

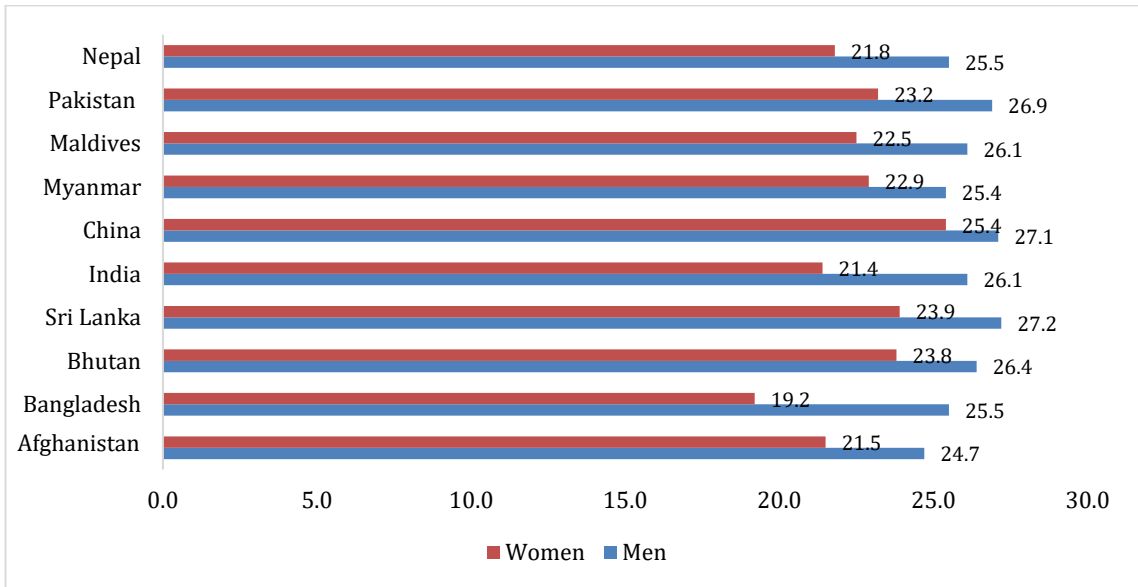
Countries that have experienced rapid economic development and cultural change are seeing a rise in the age at marriage. As the age at marriage is dependent on socio/cultural, economic development and policy factors, it is a strong predictor of fertility levels. Increasing age at marriage, and an increase in the proportion of women never married, drove much of the fertility decline in many developing countries in recent decades. In this section, an attempt is made to review the trends and patterns in SMAM by indirect estimation.

4.2.2 Cross country comparison

Estimates of the singulate mean age at first marriage (SMAM) by indirect method is an accepted indicator of international comparability. SMAM is an approximated mean age at first marriage using an indirect method with data on marital status by age. It is an estimate of the mean number of years lived by a cohort of men and women before their first marriage (Shryock et al., 1971). The mean value of first age at marriage for males and females are calculated from the proportion that are single in successive age groups. The basic assumption of calculation is that the change in the proportion of single people from age x to age $x+1$ is a measure of the proportion of a birth cohort who married at that age.²⁴ It is the computation of the mean age at marriage of persons marrying before they reach 50 years.

²⁴ As of the 2021 census, the proportion of never married women moving from the 20 to 24 to the 25 to 29 age group declined by 20.01 percent from 27.32 to 7.31 percent.

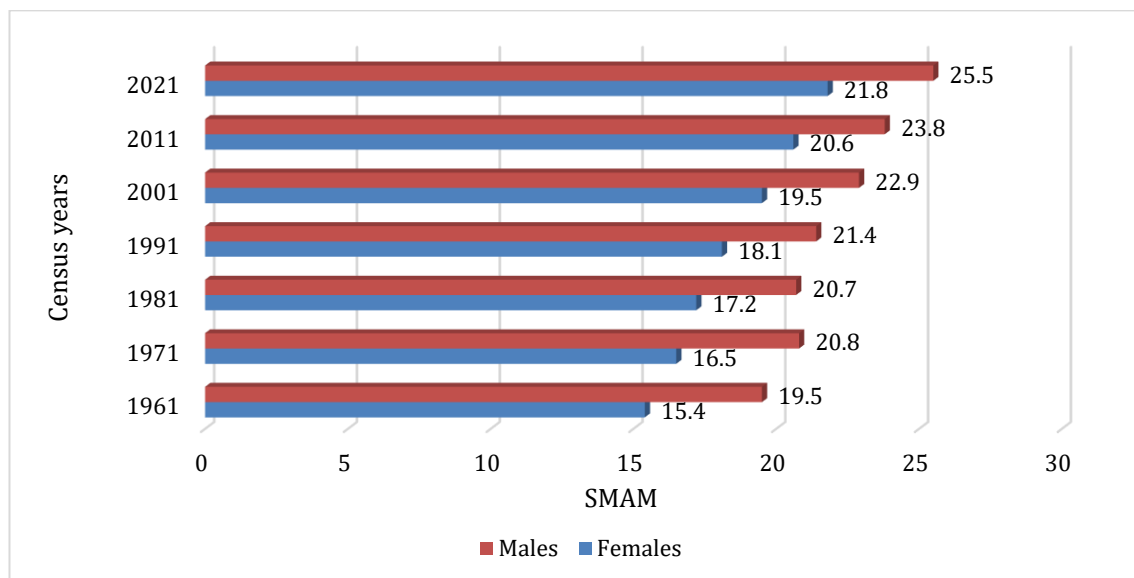
Figure 4.1: Comparison of SMAM with countries in the region



Source: Nepal NPHC, 2021; other countries, UNDESA, Population Division, World Marriage Data 2019.

A comparison of SMAM of the Nepali population by sex is presented at Figure 4.1. It indicates that the reported age at marriage data from the 2021 Census is reliable and can be used to draw comparisons with neighbouring countries, including the SAARC region and countries with similar socio-cultural settings (Myanmar). For males, the SMAM of Nepal aligns with Bangladesh and Myanmar; and is lower by 0.5 to one years than India, Maldives, and Bhutan. Countries with higher levels of socioeconomic status like China and Sri Lanka have the highest SMAM for males. For females, Nepal is comparable with India and Afghanistan and higher than Bangladesh.

The SMAM presented at Figure 4.2 for the past seven censuses (1961 to 2021) shows a decadal increase in age at first marriage by one year for both males and females. The 19.5 years for males and 15.4 years for females in 1961, had increased to 25.5 and 21.8 years respectively in 2021 – a rise of six years. An increase in SMAM for both males and females is consistent and steady in the subsequent census years. This reflects how marriage patterns have evolved over the decades, with most groups experiencing a significant delay in the average age at marriage. The increase in SMAM over the years typically reflects broader social changes, such as higher educational attainment, increased participation of women in the workforce, and changing societal beliefs and norms around marriage.

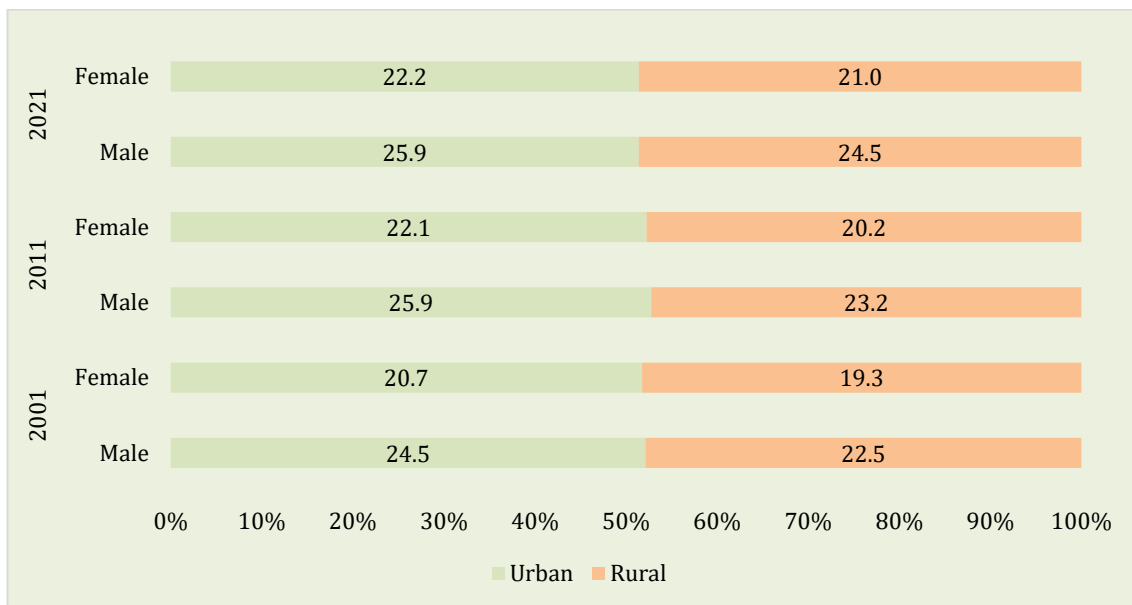
Figure 4.2: Increasing trend in SMAM by sex, 1961-2021 Censuses

Source: Chaudhary & Niraula, 2003; Bajracharya & Bhandari, 2014; Data tables of 2021 Census.

4.2.3 Residential trends in mean age at marriage

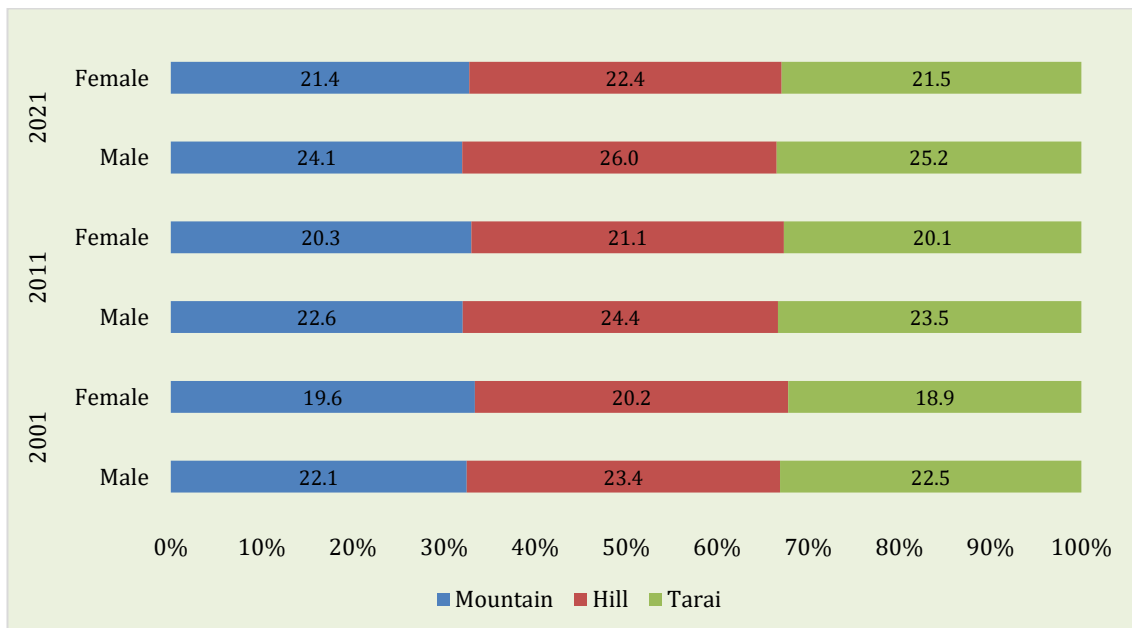
Trends and patterns in SMAM for the population aged 10 years and above by residence in urban-rural municipalities are shown at Figure 4.3 for the census years 2001 to 2021. It is evident that the increase in the value of SMAM for both males and females is more rapid in urban than in rural areas except in 2021. In the two decadal period, the value of SMAM for urban males increased from below 25 years to nearly 26 years in 2021 – an increase of 1.4 years. The corresponding value for urban females increased by 1.5 years from 20.7 to 22.2 years. The intercensal increase in SMAM between 2011 and 2021 is relatively higher for both rural males and females than that of their urban counterparts. This might be explained by expanded access to education and a weakening trend in traditional norms and values related to early age marriage as well as the law banning marriage before the age of 20 (minimum legal age at marriage).

Figure 4.3: Trends and variations in SMAM by urban-rural residence of population by sex, 2001-2021 censuses



Source: Chaudhary and Niraula, 2003; Bajracharya and Bhandari, 2014; Data tables of 2021 Census provided by NSO.

Figure 4.4: Trends and variations in SMAM by ecological residence of population aged 10 years and above by sex, 2001-2021 censuses



Source: Chaudhary and Niraula, 2003; Bajracharya and Bhandari, 2014

As revealed at Figure 4.4, the value of SMAM in all censuses across the three ecological zones remains consistently higher for males than females. Across the three ecological zones, SMAM values for males and females of Hill consistently remain higher over the corresponding values of the Mountain and the Tarai regions. This might be explained by the location of the country's major urban and metropolitan cities in the Hill region. A slightly higher SMAM value is found for females in Mountain compared to Tarai females in the previous two censuses (2001 and 2011). In the 2021 Census this trend reverses, and the difference is only 0.1 decimal point. It can be concluded that female age at marriage started to increase at a faster rate in Tarai compared to the Mountain zone. This trend is clearly visible in Figure 4.4.

4.2.4 Provincial and urban-rural differentials

Table 4.4 presents the estimated SMAM for provinces and urban-rural municipalities within provinces for males and females, and the male-female difference in SMAM as of the 2021 Census. It is evident that in Nepal males marry at around 25.5 years, which is higher by 3.7 years than females (21.8 years), implying younger age marriage pattern of females. The corresponding value for males and females living in urban municipalities is slightly higher than the national average, with the same level of male-female difference, but lower by about one year compared to rural municipalities. Mean age at marriage is lowest (22.6 years) for males in Karnali province and females in Madhesh and Karnali provinces (20.5 years). Males in Sudurpashchim and females in Sudurpashchim and Lumbini marry at a younger age than other provinces. The male-female difference in mean age at marriage is highest in Gandaki followed by Koshi and Madhesh provinces (above four years), and lowest in Karnali and Sudurpashchim (below three years).

For residents in urban municipalities, the mean age at marriage for males is estimated at 26.5 years and above in Bagmati, Gandaki and Koshi provinces. The corresponding figure is below 23 years in Karnali and below 25 years in Sudurpashchim and Madhesh provinces. The estimated mean age at marriage for urban females in Bagmati province (24.1 years) declines to below 21 years (20.6 each) for both Madhesh and Gandaki provinces. The corresponding figure for females living in the urban municipalities of Koshi, Gandaki and Lumbini provinces remains above 22 years with insignificant variations. The male-female difference in mean age at marriage is highest in the urban municipalities of Koshi, Madhesh and Gandaki (4.2 years) and lowest in Karnali (2.3 years) and Sudurpashchim (2.7 years) provinces.

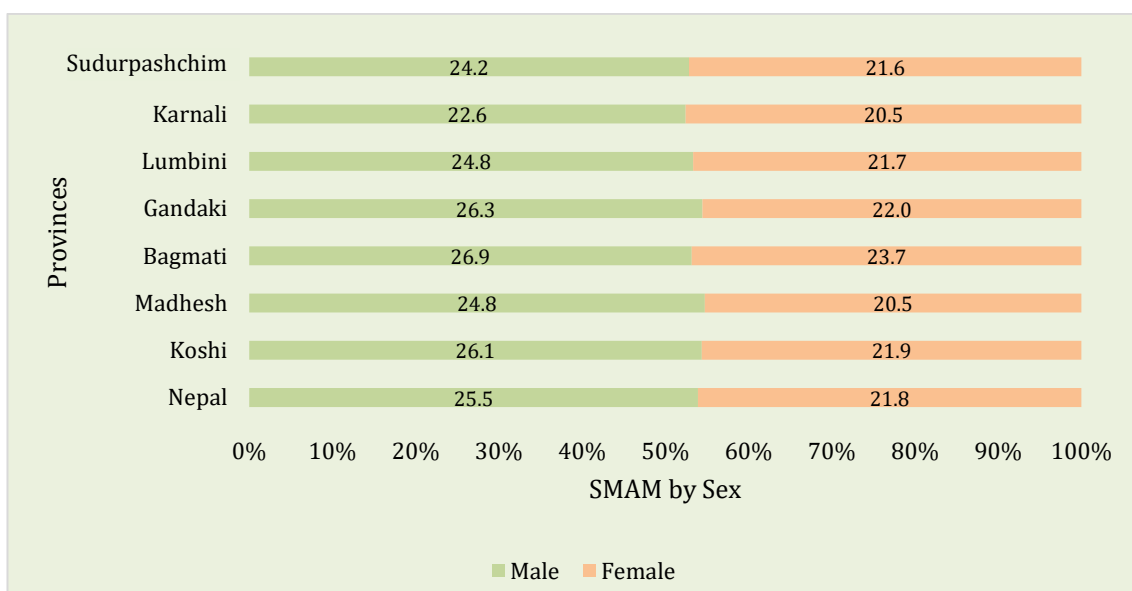
Table 4.4: Singulate mean age at marriage for males and females by province and urban-rural UM within provinces, NPHC 2021

Provinces	Total			Urban municipalities			Rural municipalities		
	Male	Female	M-F	Male	Female	M-F	Male	Female	M-F
Nepal	25.5	21.8	3.7	25.9	22.2	3.7	24.5	21.0	3.5
Koshi	26.1	21.9	4.2	26.5	22.3	4.2	25.6	21.4	4.2
Madhesh	24.8	20.5	4.2	24.9	20.6	4.2	24.6	20.3	4.3
Bagmati	26.9	23.7	3.3	27.4	24.1	3.3	24.7	21.8	2.9
Gandaki	26.3	22.0	4.3	26.6	22.4	4.2	25.7	21.1	4.5
Lumbini	24.8	21.7	3.1	25.3	22.1	3.2	24.1	21.1	3.0
Karnali	22.6	20.5	2.2	22.9	20.6	2.3	22.4	20.3	2.1
Sudurpashchim	24.2	21.6	2.6	24.6	22.0	2.7	23.4	21.0	2.3

Source: NSO, 2023.

The same pattern of variation in mean age at marriage for national and urban municipalities holds true for residents of rural municipalities. However, for rural males, it is highest in Gandaki province (25.7 years) followed by Koshi (25.6 years). In the case of females in rural municipalities, the mean age at marriage ranges from a high of 21.8 years in Bagmati to a low of 20.3 years in Karnali. Again, the male-female difference is highest in Gandaki (4.5 years) followed by Madhesh (4.3 years), and lowest in Karnali (2.1 years).

Figure 4.5: Singulate mean age at marriage of males and females, Nepal and provinces, NPHC 2021



Source: Table 4.4.

The provincial level variation in SMAM for both males and females is visualized at Figure 4.5. It is clear that for both males and females, Bagmati, Gandaki and Koshi have relatively higher ages at first marriage. Age at marriage for both males and females is lower in Karnali, Madhesh and Sudurpashchim provinces. Provincial variations in SMAM are shown in Maps 4.1 and 4.2 for males and females, respectively.

4.2.5 Social differentials in SMAM

The variation in SMAM by literacy and level of education attainment, caste/ethnicity and wealth quintile, as well as intercensal changes between the 2011 and 2012 censuses by sex, is presented at Table 4.5. It is evident that women's literacy/education has had an impact on increasing age at marriage or remaining single for longer than their male counterparts. In both censuses, literate women remain three and above years in a single state against two and half years or less for literate males, compared to their counterparts without literacy skills. The impacts of attained level of education in delaying the age at first marriage becomes more pronounced after secondary level of education for both sexes. Women with a basic level of education remaining in a single state below 20 years, in both census years, increases to above 22 years for women with secondary education and to 24 in 2011 and 25.5 years in 2021, respectively for bachelor and above levels of education.

The same pattern of an increase in the years of persons living in a single state typically holds true for males as levels of education increase. The intercensal change in person years lived in a single state is more pronounced for males than females in all instances, and for literate males than their counterparts without literacy skills. In time, the impact of increased education is prolonging the years people remain in a single state, most noticeable for those with bachelor education or higher, especially for females. Although, attained level of education has a positive role in increasing the level of SMAM, it is not clear to see between early childhood development classes to basic level of education for both males and females. However, the value rises substantially as the level of education goes beyond secondary level for both sexes (Table 4.5 & Figure 4.6).

Table 4.5: Level and intercensal changes in singulate mean age at marriage for males and females, 2011 and 2021 censuses

Literacy/education, caste/ethnicity & wealth	SMAM 2011			SMAM 2021			Change 2011-2021	
	Male	Female	M-F	Male	Female	M-F	Male	Female
Literacy/education								
Literate	24.2	21.2	3.0	25.7	22.1	3.6	1.5	0.9
Non-literate	21.8	18.0	3.8	23.2	18.9	4.3	1.4	1.0
Level of education								
Early childhood	23.7	19.9	3.8	24.8	21.1	3.7	1.0	1.2
Basic level (1 to 8)	22.3	19.7	2.6	23.4	19.8	3.6	1.1	0.1
Secondary (9 to 12 or inter)	25.1	22.0	3.0	26.0	22.3	3.7	1.0	0.3
Bachelor & above	27.7	23.9	3.9	29.1	25.5	3.6	1.4	1.7
Others	22.4	18.6	3.8	24.9	20.7	4.2	2.5	2.1
Caste/ethnicity								
Hill castes	24.8	21.1	3.6	26.4	22.5	3.9	1.6	1.4
Madhesh/Tarai caste	23.3	19.1	4.3	25.3	20.9	4.3	1.9	1.9
Hill dalits	24.3	21.4	2.9	23.5	20.7	2.9	-0.8	-0.7
Madhesh/Tarai dalit	23.2	20.8	2.4	23.4	19.8	3.6	0.1	-1.1
Mountain/Hill Janjatis.	22.1	19.4	2.7	25.9	22.5	3.4	3.8	3.1
Tarai Janajatis	21.7	18.2	3.5	24.8	22.2	2.6	3.1	4.1
Religious/linguistic groups	22.7	18.9	3.7	24.3	20.6	3.7	1.7	1.7
Others, foreigners & NS	25.3	20.9	4.4	25.9	20.1	5.8	0.6	-0.8
Wealth quintile								
Lowest	22.2	19.4	2.8	23.6	20.5	3.2	1.5	1.1
Lower	22.6	19.7	2.9	24.4	20.9	3.5	1.7	1.2
Middle	23.0	20.2	2.8	25.0	21.3	3.6	1.9	1.1
Higher	24.2	20.7	3.5	25.8	22.2	3.6	1.6	1.5
Highest	26.3	22.4	3.9	28.0	24.1	3.9	1.7	1.7

Note: M-F = Male-female difference. Values of social attributes may slightly differ from the geographic estimations due to changes in population attributes.

Source: NSO, 2023.

The value of SMAM for males rises from 23.4 years with basic levels of education to 26 and 29 years respectively as the attained level of education increases to secondary (grade 9 to 12 or intermediate) and higher (bachelor and above). Accordingly, female's SMAM rises from 19.8 years for basic level of education to 22.2 and 25.5 years respectively for those who have attained secondary and higher levels of education. The male-female disparity in SMAM is higher for those

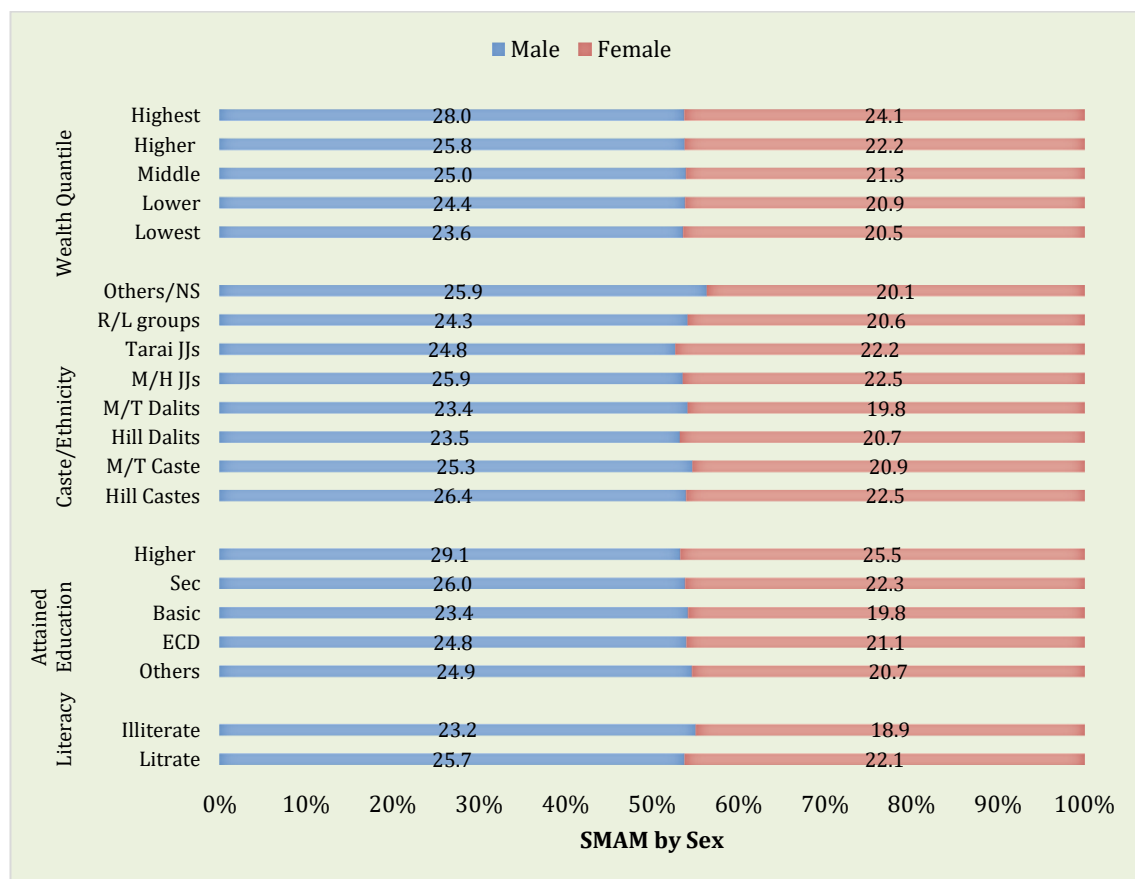
who are non-literate (above 4.0 years) than their literate counterparts (3.6 years). However, the data show no systematic relationship between the level of education and male-female difference in age at marriage. The male-female difference in age at marriage remains between 3.5 to 4.0 years across all levels of education.

The years remained in a single state is highest for Hill caste males followed by Hill Dalits, Madhesh/Tarai caste groups and Madhesh/Tarai Dalits in 2011 (excluding others and foreigners), and Mountain/Hill Janajatis and Madhesh/Tarai caste groups in 2021. In the case of women, the years they remain in a single state before first marriage is highest for Hill Dalits followed by Hill caste groups (over 21 years) in 2011, and for Hill caste and Mountain/Hill Janajatis women (22.5 years each) in 2021. The corresponding years of living in a single state is well below 21 years for women from Madhesh/Tarai Caste groups, Hill Dalits and religious/linguistic groups, including others and foreigners, in 2021 (Table 4.5 & Figure 4.6).

The intercensal change in the number of years lived in a single state is above three years for Janajatis Mountain/Hill and Tarai, for both males and females. It declines slightly below one year for both male and female Hill Dalits and above one year for Madhesh/Tarai Dalit females and others and foreigners. This raises concerns, worthy of further exploration, of the factors behind early marriage in Dalit communities of the Tarai, where child marriage and early marriage is an accepted social norm.

In both censuses, an increase in wealth status is behind the corresponding level of increase in the number of person years lived in a single state. The 19.4 person years lived in a single state by females in the lowest quintile in 2011 increased by three years to 22.4 years for women in the highest quintile. The corresponding figure is over four years for males – 22.2 years for males in the lowest quintile rising to 26.3 years for males in the highest quintile. Accordingly, males and females' years of living in a single state increase respectively by 3.6 and 4.4 years as the wealth status shifts from lowest to highest quintile in the 2021 Census. In all quintile groups, males in 2021 were living in a single state by more than 1.5 years in 2021 compared to males in 2011 – this figure was somewhat lower for females.

Figure 4.6: Singulate mean age at marriage for males and females by wealth quintile, caste/ethnicity and attained level of education, NPHC 2021



Note: M/T= Madhesh/Tarai; M/H=Mountain/Hill; JJs=Janajatis; R/L= Religious/Linguistic groups; ECD= Early Childhood Development, Sec =Secondary.

Source: Table 4.5.

A clear positive relationship between wealth levels and SMAM is seen at Figure 4.6 for both males and females. The propensity to delay age at marriage increases at a steady level from lowest to higher levels and shows an escalated rate between higher to highest quintiles. This holds typically true for both males and female. For instance, the 23.6 years of SMAM for males in the lowest quintile increases to 28 years for those in the highest quintile, increasing to 24.4, 25.0 and 25.8 years respectively for males in the lower, middle and higher quintiles. Likewise, the 20.5 years SMAM for females in the lowest quintile increases to above 24 years for those in the highest quintile – with respective increases of 20.9, 21.3 and 22.2 years for females in the lower, lowest and higher quintiles. The male-female difference in SMAM varies from above 3 years in the lowest quintile to nearly four years in the highest quintile.

The propensity to delay age at first marriage rises at a faster rate and in a consistent manner for males from the lowest to highest quintiles compared to females. This is evident from the 4.4-year difference in SMAM between males in the lowest and highest quintiles compared to 3.6 years for females. This might be explained by the association between household wealth levels and an increased ability to invest in children in terms of schooling and education. However, the census measures the wealth level of a household at the time of census enumeration, not at the time or age when a family member married.

Findings of the intercensal change in years lived in a single state by males and females indicates that traditional marriage practices still prevail in the Dalit communities of both Madhesh/Tarai and Hill origins. This might be corroborated with the findings of wealth levels of families as Dalits continue to be marginalized.

4.2.6 District level variation in mean age at first marriage

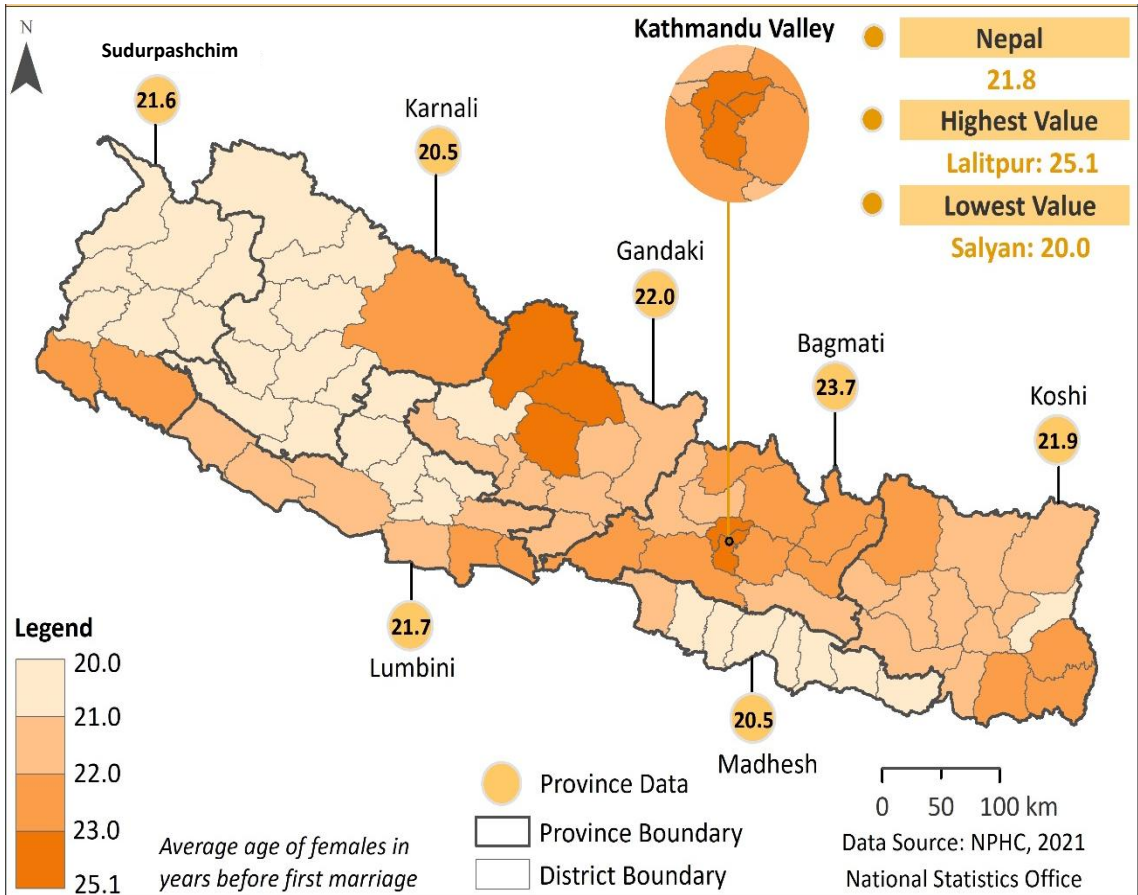
At the time of the promulgation of Nepal's constitution in 2015, the country was restructured into seven provinces and the 75 districts were increased to 77 (by splitting two districts namely Nawalparasi and Rukum into East and West Nawalparasi and Rukum respectively). Based on the levels of female SMAM, the 77 districts have been classified into four groups – aged 20 (below 21 years), 21, 22 and 23 years, and older. Lalitpur has the highest female years lived in a single state with a SMAM of 25.1, while Salyan has the lowest at 20 years. Males in Kathmandu have the highest years lived in a single state at 28.2 years, while at 22 years, Mugu has the lowest.

The trend of an increase in SMAM at the district level reveals that, out of the 75 districts in 1981, only eight districts had a female SMAM greater than 20 years, and 10 districts had a value of less than 15 years. In 2001, the number of districts where the female SMAM was 20 years and above increased to 28, with 11 districts with a corresponding value of less than 18 years. As of the 2021 Census, the female SMAM has increased to 20 years and above in all 77 districts, with 25 districts at 22 years and higher. This implies that the age at marriage is increasing at a commendable level in the country (Annex A4.1 and Maps 4.1 and 4.2).

The classification of districts by female SMAM is presented at Table 4.6. Some 28 districts are in the lowest category (below 21 years of age); 24 districts are in the lower category (with a SMAM of 21 but below 22 years); 19 districts are in the middle category (a SMAM of 22 but less than 23 years) and the remaining six districts (with a SMAM of 23 and more) are in the highest category. It is interesting to note that in seven out of the eight districts of Madhesh province, the female SMAM is in the lowest category. Of the six districts with the highest female SMAM, three are in Kathmandu Valley (Kathmandu, Bhaktapur and Lalitpur) and three in Gandaki Province (Kaski, Manang and Mustang) (Map 4.1).

It is evident from Table 4.6 that the male female gap in SMAM is narrower in the Mountain districts of Gandaki and Karnali provinces and increases in districts in the Tarai Madhesh region.

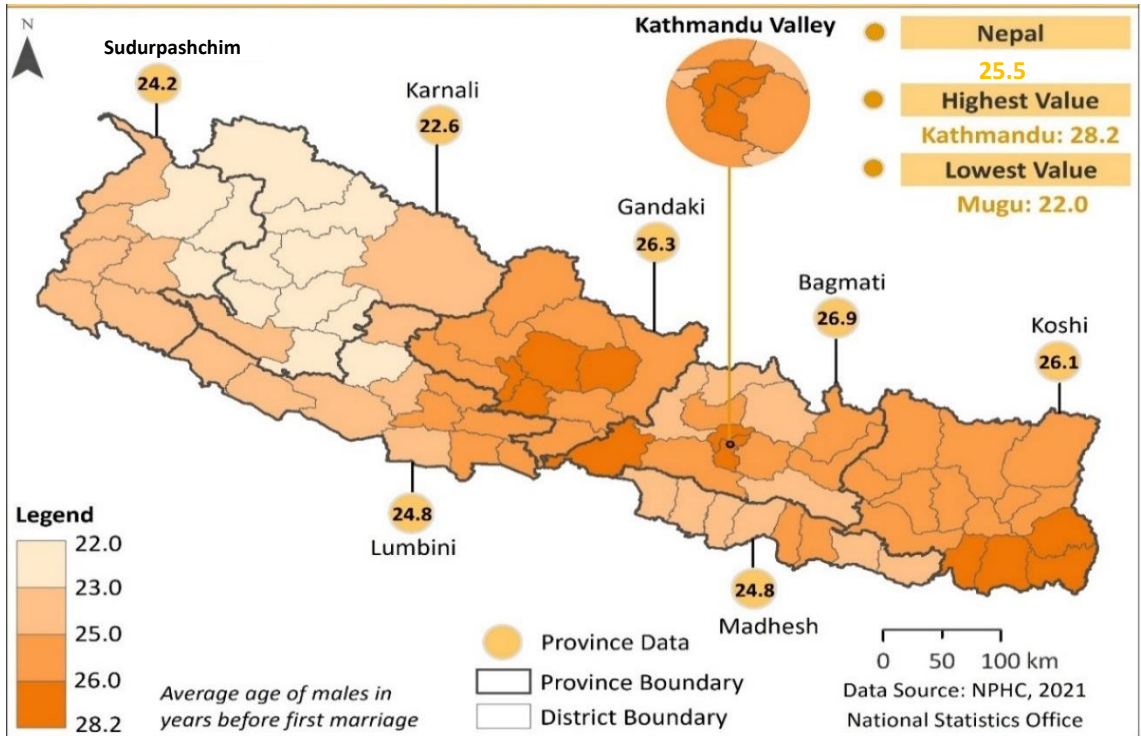
Map 4.1: Singulate mean age at first marriage of female by province and district, NPHC 2021



Source: Table 4.6 & Annex A4.1.

A glaring difference in the male-female variation in SMAM is that districts with a female SMAM below 21 years are distributed over Madhesh and the Hill and Mountain districts of Lumbini, Karnali and Sudurpashchim provinces, with one district in Koshi and Gandaki province. For males, districts where SMAM is in the lowest category (SMAM is 22 but less than 23 Years) are concentrated only in the Hill and Mountain regions of Lumbini, Karnali and Sudurpashchim provinces (Map 4.2). The 12 districts with a male SMAM of above 26 years are distributed as follows: Ilam, Jhapa, Morang and Sunsari in Koshi; Kathmandu, Bhaktapur, Lalitpur and Chitawan in Bagmati; and Kaski, Lamjung, Parbat and Syngja in Gandaki provinces.

Map 4.2: Singulate mean age at first marriage of male by province and district, NPHC 2021



Source: Table 4.6 & Annex A4.1.

Table 4.6: Classification of district from lowest to highest singulate mean age at marriage, by female, NPHC 2021

District	Lowest SMAM 20 yrs			Lower SMAM 21 yrs			Middle SMAM 22 yrs				Highest SMAM 23 + yrs				
	Male	Female	M-F	District	Male	Female	M-F	District	Male	Female	M-F	District	Male	Female	M-F
Salyan	22.3	20.0	2.3												
Dhanusa	25.4	20.1	5.3												
Jajarkot	22.1	20.1	2.0	Panchthar	25.6	21.0	4.6								
Rautahat	23.8	20.2	3.6	Dadeldhura	24.2	21.0	3.2	Okhaldhunga	25.7	22.0	3.7				
Siraha	25.0	20.3	4.7	Sankhuwasabha	25.3	21.2	4.1	Sunsari	26.1	22.0	4.1				
Mugu	22.0	20.3	1.7	Parsa	25.0	21.2	3.8	Nuwakot	25.1	22.0	3.1				
Rukum (W)	22.3	20.3	2.0	Bhojpur	25.4	21.3	4.1	Morang	26.4	22.1	4.3	Mustang	26.0	23.1	2.9
Mahottari	25.2	20.4	4.8	Baglung	25.3	21.3	4.0	Makwanpur	25.2	22.1	3.1	Kaski	27.4	23.3	4.1
Dailekh	22.9	20.4	2.5	Khotang	25.7	21.4	4.3	Kanchanpur	24.9	22.1	2.8	Manang	25.9	24.0	1.9
Rukum (East)	23.2	20.5	2.7	Tehrathum	25.9	21.4	4.5	Sindhupalchok	24.9	22.2	2.7	Bhaktapur	27.6	24.6	3.0
Humla	22.7	20.5	2.2	Parbat	26.4	21.4	5.0	Solukhumbu	26.0	22.3	3.7	Kathmandu	28.2	24.9	3.3
Pyuthan	23.9	20.6	3.3	Dang	24.1	21.4	2.7	Ilam	26.6	22.3	4.3	Lalitpur	28.2	25.1	3.1
Jumla	22.3	20.6	1.7	Gorkha	25.5	21.5	4.0	Ramechhap	25.5	22.3	3.2				
Kalikot	22.4	20.6	1.8	Lamjung	26.2	21.5	4.7	Kailali	24.8	22.3	2.5				
Bara	24.4	20.7	3.7	Tanahu	25.7	21.5	4.2	Jhapa	26.9	22.4	4.5				
Rolpa	22.8	20.7	2.1	Palpa	25.8	21.5	4.3	Nawalparasi (W)	25.5	22.4	3.1				
Arghakhanchi	25.5	20.7	4.8	Bardiya	23.9	21.5	2.4	Rasuwa	25.0	22.5	2.5				
Surkhet	23.2	20.7	2.5	Taplejung	25.7	21.6	4.1	Chitawan	26.2	22.5	3.7				
Bajhang	22.4	20.7	1.7	Udayapur	25.1	21.6	3.5	Rupandehi	25.6	22.5	3.1				
Sarlahi	24.8	20.8	4.0	Dhankuta	25.5	21.7	3.8	Dolpa	23.6	22.5	1.1				
Myagdi	25.4	20.8	4.6	Sindhuli	24.6	21.7	2.9	Dolakha	25.7	22.6	3.1				
Bajura	22.7	20.8	1.9	Nawalparasi (E)	25.4	21.7	3.7	Kavrepalanchok	25.8	22.9	2.9				
Darchula	23.6	20.8	2.8	Banke	24.6	21.7	2.9								
Achham	22.8	20.8	2.0	Syangja	27.2	21.8	5.4								
Saptari	25.0	20.9	4.1	Kapilbastu	24.7	21.8	2.9								
Gulmi	25.9	20.9	5.0	Dhading	25.0	21.9	3.1								
Baitadi	23.8	20.9	2.9												
Dotii	23.9	20.9	3.0												

Source: Grouped from data classified for district SMAM Map, NPHC 2021.

4.2.7 Local Level variation in mean age at marriage

District level values of SMAM for males vary by six years, from a low of 22 years in Mugu to a high of 28.2 years in Kathmandu. Similarly, the lowest female SMAM of 20 years in Salyan increases to a high of 25.1 years in Lalitpur, a difference of five years. No district level values of male and female SMAM go below 22 and 20 years respectively. However, the female level of SMAM goes below 20 years (the district lowest value is in Salyan) in 60 local levels of 20 districts, while the male SMAM goes below 22 years (district level is lowest in Mugu) in 28 local levels in 14 districts. As seen at Map 4.3, the highest SMAM for females is 28.4 years in Chharka Tangsong rural municipality of Dolpa district, while it is lowest at 19 years in Sahidnagar urban municipality of Dhanusa district. For males it is highest (29.3 years) in Kirtipur urban municipality of Kathmandu district and lowest (20.3 years) in Surma rural municipality of Bajhang district. Of the 60 local levels with a low female SMAM, 33 (55 percent) are in six²⁵ districts of Madhesh Province and each five municipalities in Salyan and Surkhet districts of Karnali province. The remaining 17 local levels are scattered across 12 districts of Karnali, Lumbini, Sudurpashchim and Koshi provinces (Table 4.7 and Map 4.3).

Eight local levels in Kathmandu, Lalitpur, Bhaktapur, Mustang and Dolpa districts have higher values for males living in a single state, above the level of the highest district i.e., 28.2 years of Kathmandu. By local levels, the value of SMAM for males, females and the male-female difference is presented at Annex A4.2. The 60 Local levels have a female SMAM below 20 years and 28 local levels have male SMAM below 22 years by respective districts are presented at Table 4.7. This information has policy implications, including for local government, to increase the age at marriage for both males and females.

Table 4.7: Female mean age at marriage less than 20 years and male mean age at marriage less than 22 years by district and local levels, NPHC 2021

Local levels with female SMAM less than 20 years			Local levels with male SMAM less than 22 years		
District	Name of Local Level	SMAM	District	Name of Local Level	SMAM
Bajhang	Surma RM	19.2	Achham	Ramaroshan RM	21.7
Bara	Pacharauta UM	19.6		Dhakari RM	21.9
	Subarna RM	19.6	Bajhang	Surma RM	20.3
	Aadarsha Kotwal RM	19.6		Saipal RM	21.2
	Dailekh	Bhairabi RM		19.7	Bungal UM
Mahabu RM		19.6	Chhabis Pathibhara RM	21.8	
Dang	Bangalachuli RM	19.7	Bajura	Jagannath RM	21.6
Dhanusa	Laxminiya RM	19.7	Dailekh	Mahabu RM	21.9
	Mithila Bihari UM	19.7	Dolpa	Jagadulla RM	21.5
	Aurahi RM	19.6	Humla	Adanchuli RM	21.0
	Janak Nandini RM	19.6		Sarkegad RM	21.9
	Dhanauji RM	19.6		Bheri Malika UM	21.6

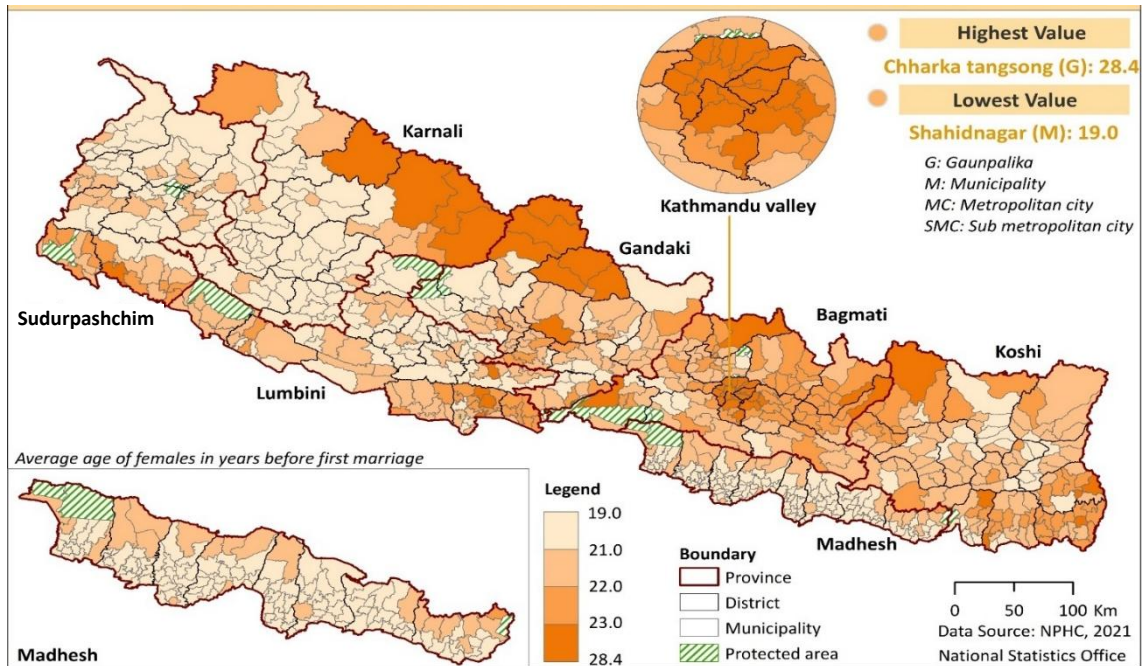
²⁵ Siraha, Dhanusha, Mahottari, Sarlahi, Rautahat and Bara

Local levels with female SMAM less than 20 years			Local levels with male SMAM less than 22 years		
District	Name of Local Level	SMAM	District	Name of Local Level	SMAM
	Dhanusadham UM	19.5	Jajarkot	Junichande RM	21.9
	Kamala UM	19.4		Nalgad UM	21.9
	Hansapur UM	19.3	Jumla	Guthichaur RM	21.2
	Bideha UM	19.3		Patarasi RM	21.5
	Sabaila UM	19.1		Hima RM	21.6
	Shahidnagar UM	19.0		Kanaka Sundari RM	21.9
Humla	Sarkegad RM	19.7	Kalikot	Tila RM	21.9
	Adanchuli RM	19.4		Palata RM	21.9
Jajarkot	Nalgad UM	19.9	Mugu	Naraharinath RM	21.9
	Bheri Malika UM	19.6		Chhayanath Rara UM	21.4
Kailali	Chure RM	19.9	Rolpa	Khatyad RM	21.9
	Mohanyal RM	19.8		Gangadev RM	21.1
Lamjung	Kwhola Sothar RM	19.9	Rukum (w)	Sanibheri RM	21.8
Mahottari	Matihani UM	19.9		Aathabisakot UM	21.9
	Balawa UM	19.9	Salyan	Darma RM	21.7
Mugu	Loharpatti UM	19.5	Surkhet	Barahatal RM	21.9
	Khatyad RM	19.9			
Nawalparasi (E)	Chhayanath Rara UM	19.7			
	Bulingtar RM	19.9			
Panchthar	Tumbewa RM	19.7			
Rautahat	Rajpur UM	19.9			
	Yamunamai RM	19.9			
	Paroha UM	19.9			
	Boudhimai UM	19.8			
	Gadhimai UM	19.8			
	Brindaban UM	19.6			
	Katahariya UM	19.6			
	Madhav Narayan UM	19.6			
	Maulapur UM	19.5			
Dewahi Gonahi UM	19.3				
Rolpa	Gangadev RM	19.4			
Rukum (W)	Chaurjahari UM	19.9			
Salyan	Darma RM	19.9			
	Kumakh RM	19.9			
	Kalimati RM	19.9			
	Tribeni RM	19.7			
	Chhatreshwori RM	19.6			
Sarlahi	Dhanakaul RM	19.8			
Siraha	Naraha RM	19.9			
	Nawarajpur RM	19.9			
	Bishnupur RM	19.8			
	Aurahi RM	19.6			
	KalyaUMur UM	19.4			
Surkhet	Bheriganga UM	19.9			
	Gurbhakot UM	19.9			
	Lekabeshi UM	19.8			
	Simta RM	19.5			
	Barahatal RM	19.5			

Note: RM= Rural Municipality; UM= Urban Municipality; e=East; w= west
 Source: Arranged from data classified for local level from Annex, A4.2, NPHC 2021.

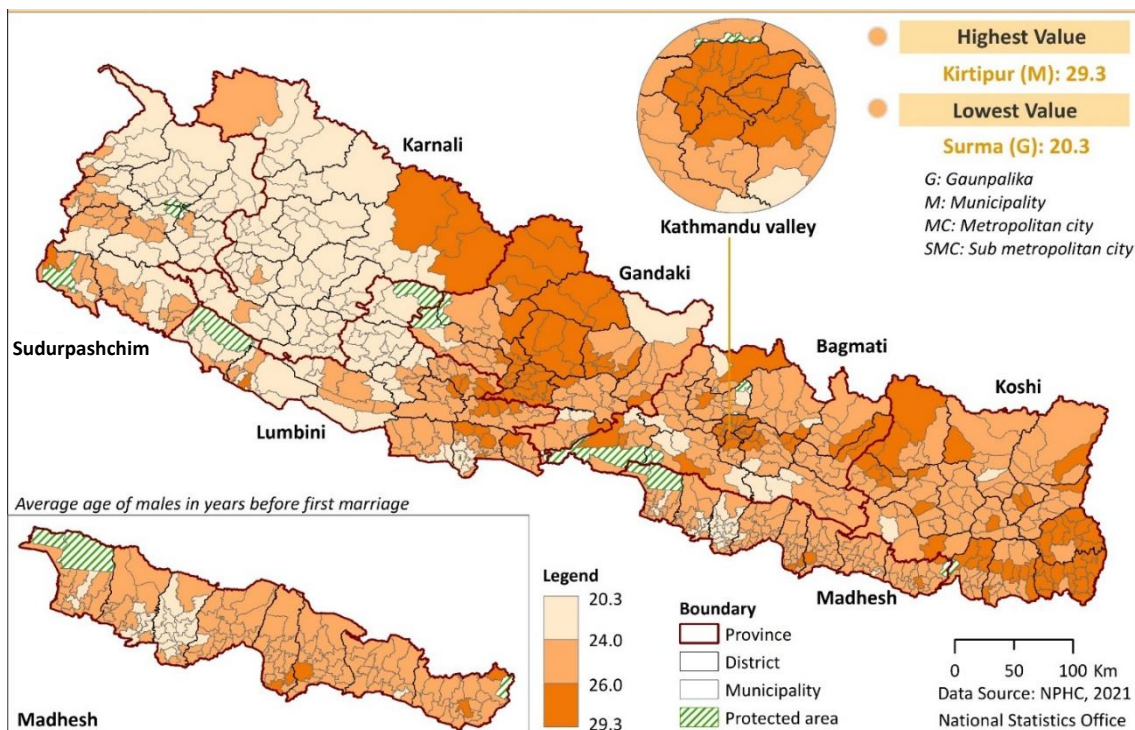
The local level variation in SMAM is clearly observable for females at Map 4.3 and for males at Map 4.4. The concentration of local levels with lower levels of SMAM for females is evident in Madhesh and Hill and Mountain regions of Karnali, Sudurpashchim and Lumbini provinces, and for males in the Hill and Mountain districts of Lumbini, Karnali and Sudurpashchim provinces.

Map 4.3: Singulate mean age at first marriage of female Local level, NPHC 2021



Source: Annex A4.3.

Map 4.4: Singulate mean age at first marriage of male Local level, NPHC 2021



Source: Annex A4.3.

It can be concluded from the data that the residential characteristics of the population – ecological zone, urban-rural UM, and province – play a respective role in the SMAM. People living in Tarai and Mountain regions are likely to marry at relatively early ages compared to the Hill. Residents of rural and peri-urban areas are likely to marry at an earlier age than that of their urban counterparts. Similarly, people in Koshi, Bagmati, Gandaki and Lumbini marry at substantially later ages than people in Madhesh province, and people in Karnali and Sudurpashchim marry even earlier than those in Madhesh. Women tend to marry nearly three years earlier than men. People in all caste/ethnic groups, apart from Mountain/Hill Janajatis, marry at an early age. Each level of education is associated with an increasing age at marriage, while SMAM tends to increase as wealth levels of families increase, and at a rapid rate in between higher and highest quintiles.

4.3 Child marriage: Incidence and extent

From 1963 onwards in Nepal, marriage for girls before the age of 16 and boys before the age of 18 with parental consent, and before age the 18 for girls and 20 for boys without parental consent, was prohibited. The eleventh amendment of the Civil Code, 1963 (2020 BS) increased

the minimum legal age at marriage for girls to 18 (the same as for boys) even with parental consent, and to 20 without parental consent. In 2017, the new civil code of conduct fixed 20 as the legal minimum age of marriage for both girls and boys, with anyone found violating this legal provision liable to up to three years of imprisonment and a 10,000 Nepali rupee cash fine. The National Child Policy (2069 BS) highlighted child marriage as an impediment for a child's development and has adopted strategic policies to end child marriage, working in collaboration with government agencies, development partners, and community organizations. Through the ratification of international human rights instruments against early age and child marriage and safeguarding the fundamental rights of children, the Nepal government is committed to ending child marriage, but progress is lagging.

Early age or child marriage prevents boys and girls from enjoying their fundamental rights. Boys get the premature burden of supporting a family, they drop out of school and are exposed to the hazards of child labour. Girls are forced to drop out of school and may give birth at an earlier age with potentially life-threatening consequences. Child marriage also perpetuates vicious cycles of poverty.

The right to 'free and full' consent to marriage is recognized by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights – with the recognition that consent cannot be 'free and full' when one of the parties involved is not sufficiently mature to make an informed decision about a life partner. The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women mentions the right to protection from child marriage. Article 16, of the convention states: "The betrothal and the marriage of a child shall have no legal effect, and all necessary action, including legislation, shall be taken to specify a minimum age for marriage..." While marriage is not considered directly in the Convention on the Rights of the Child, child marriage is linked to other rights – such as the right to express views freely, the right to protection from all forms of abuse, and the right to be protected from harmful traditional practices – and is frequently addressed by the Committee on the Rights of the Child (UNICEF, 2005).

UN agencies, especially UNICEF and UNFPA defined 'any formal marriage or informal union between a child under the age of 18 and an adult or another child' as child marriage. The lifelong negative consequences of child marriage are denial of a child his/her basic rights to good health, education, nutrition and freedom and has an adverse impact on the physical, emotional and psychological development of children. Most of the evidence indicates that child marriage makes girls more vulnerable to abuse, violence and exploitation compared to boys.

Under the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, target 5.3 calls for the 'elimination of all harmful practices, such as child, early and forced marriage...' and sets an indicator to monitor the extent of child marriage as the proportion of women aged 20 to 24 years who were married

or in a union before the age of 15 and before the age of 18. Both formal (i.e., marriages) and informal unions are covered under this indicator. The method or formula to compute child marriage according to these concepts and definition is:

$$\% \text{ child marriage} = \frac{\text{20 – 24 population married < 15 or < 18}}{\text{Total population 20 – 24}} \times 100$$

For this purpose, the male and female population aged 10 years and above are classified by single years of reported age at first marriage against the current age group.

This section of the report attempts to present the current state of child marriage in Nepal based on the 2021 Census data classified by age at first marriage of the ever-married population aged 20 to 24 and their proportion to the total population (by sex) of the same age group.

4.3.1 Trends of decline in young age marriage

Trends of cohort transition in the incidence of marriage before the age of 15 and before the age of 18 are assessed through the cohort analysis of the 20 to 24-year-old population of different years based on the total of the respective cohorts as of current age and the reported age of first marriage. The total female population in the 20 to 24 age cohort in 2021 is 1,482,042, of whom 44,352, or 3 percent, are married before the age of 15, and 278,164, or 18.8 percent, are married between the ages of 15 and 17. The 748,515 females in the 45 to 49 age group in 2021 are the 20 to 24 age cohort of 1996. Of that cohort, 70,263 or 9.4 percent, and 225,672, or 30.1 percent, were respectively married before the age of 15 and between 15 and 17 years. Accordingly, the years when the current five-year age group were in the 20 to 24 age cohort was determined and the respective rates of those who married before the age of 15, between 15 and 17 (before 18) and 18 and 19 (before the Nepali legal minimum age of marriage) have been calculated going back to the year 1961 (when the current 80 to 84 age group was in the 20 to 24 age cohort). The respective rates for males and females married in these three age groups – before the age of 15, between 15 and 17 and 18 and 19 – shows a steady declining trend for males married in the first two (before 15 and 15 and 17) age ranges from 1961 and for those married between 18 and 19 from 2001 – (Figure 4.7).

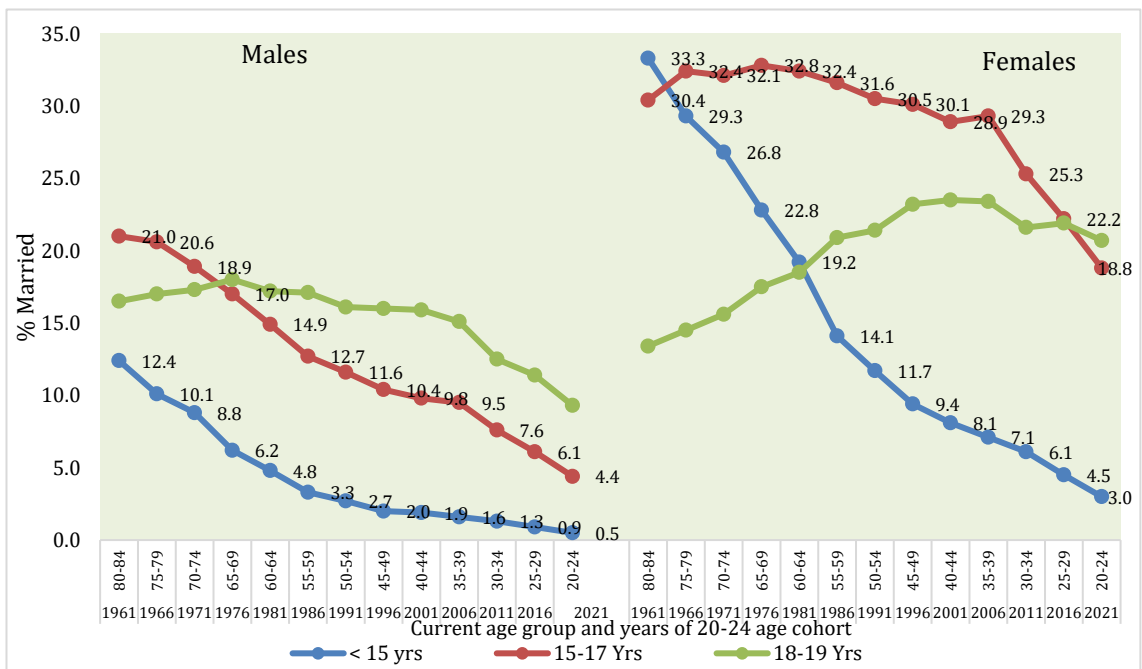
The incidence of females marrying before the age of 15 started to decline at a steeper rate from the early 1960s for each successive year and reached the lowest level in 2021. However, the tendency of marrying between 15 and 17 years increased in earlier years, remained consistently high, above 30 percent, until 2001, and thereafter has more steeply declined until 2021. Females marrying between the age of 18 and 19 has increased to compensate for the declined share of

those marrying before the age of 15 and to some extent before the age of 18 up until when the 35 to 39 age group was in the 20 to 24 age cohort (2006) then there is a decline.

At the beginning of the decline in child marriage (below 15 years) there is an increase (until 1981) which then remains constant for those marrying between the ages of 15 and 17 (before 18). The speed of decline in the proportion in the 20 to 24 age cohort who married before the age of 15 seems to stagnate after the second half of the 1980's (i.e., 1986) for both sexes. A clear trend of decline in the proportion of females in the 20 to 24 age cohort who married between the ages of 15 and 17 is established after the second half of the first decade of the 21st century (i.e., 2006). By then, the proportion of females married between the ages of 18 and 19 years continues to increase and has still not shown a clear indication of the onset of decline (Figure 4.7).

Over one third of females in the 20 to 24 year age cohort in 1961 married before the age of 15 declining to 3 percent over the 60 years to 2021. On the contrary, the 30 percent share of the same cohort married between 15 to 17 years remained around the same level or negligibly increased sometime until 2006 and then started to decline at a steady rate, declining to 19 percent by 2021.

Figure 4.7: Trends in percentage of 20–24-year age cohort males and females, married before age 15, between 15 and 17 and 18 and 19 years by current age and years the cohort was 20-24 years, NPHC 2021



After the second half of the 1960s (1966), the proportion of males married between 15 and 17 starts to decline steeply until 2021. Until 1981, the proportion of males married between 18 and 19 years shows some sign of increase, and then remains nearly constant until 2001, when there is a steady decline until 2021 (Figure 4.6). This implies that the legal minimum age at marriage of 20 years has played some role in the onset of decline in the proportion of marrying after the age of 18, since this was the legal minimum age of marriage until 2017 in the country.

From figure 4.7 it can be concluded that over the last 60 years, the incidence of the 20 to 24 year age cohort marrying before the age of 15, before the age of 18 and before the legal minimum age at marriage (in the current context) declines more consistently for men than women. However, women's incidence of marrying before the age of 15 declines in a commendable trend across the years of observations. This might be attributed to the enactment of the legal minimum age at marriage of 16 (with parental consent and 18 without) from 1963/64, and a gradual increase in educational opportunities and the perceived importance of education for women.

4.3.2 Residencial variation in child marriage

Age-sex specific classification of the population aged 10 years and above reveals that 31 percent of males and 62 percent of females in the 20 to 24 age group were married at the time of census enumeration. In addition, further analysis reveals that three in 100 females and half of 100 males (nearly two per 100 of the total) of this age group were married before the age of 15. In addition, 5 and 22 percent of males and females respectively are married before the age of 18 (Table 4.8). There appears to be a striking variation in the incidence of child marriage by ecological, urban rural and provincial areas of residence. The incidence of child marriage (both before age 15 and 18) is highest in Tarai followed by Mountain and lower in Hill zone. Nearly four and above 24 percent of Tarai women were married before the age of 15 and 18, which is higher by above 5 and 2 percent respectively than Hill and Mountain women married before the age of 18. The same ratio among the three ecological zones holds true in the case of women married before the age of 15. However, nearly an identical proportion of both sexes in Tarai and Mountain region married before the age of 18, which may mean more men in the Mountain region marry in childhood than their Tarai counterparts. There is an obvious link to the high incidence of child marriage and young age at marriage in the Mountain districts of Karnali and Sudurpashchim provinces, because local levels with SMAM lower than the district average (22 years) for males are mostly concentrated in the Mountain districts of the provinces.

The incidence of child marriage in both instances, married before the age of 15 and 18, consistently remains high for both males and females in rural areas compared to urban municipalities. This is obviously an expected trend as the elimination of child marriage and an

increase in age at marriage are urban demographic characteristics. It is evident by the above 5 and 2 percent of rural women and men respectively married before the age of 18, that there is no conclusive rural-urban UM level variation in the case of marriage before the age of 15. The same pattern is true for the degree of urbanization. Incidence of child marriage is substantially higher for females married before the age of 18 in peri-urban and rural areas.

Table 4.8: Proportion of the population aged 20 to 24 years married before the age of 15 and before the age of 18 by residential characteristic, NPHC 2021

Residential area	Population 20-24		% Married <15 Years			% Married < 18 years		
	Total	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Nepal	2,731,339	1,472,122	1.9	0.5	3.0	14.1	5.0	21.9
Ecological zone								
Mountain	158,848	84,777	1.6	0.6	2.5	14.9	6.8	22.0
Hill	1,103,179	590,827	1.3	0.4	2.0	12.2	4.7	18.8
Tarai	1,469,312	796,518	2.3	0.6	3.8	15.4	5.0	24.2
Urban-rural municipalities								
Urban	1,833,363	986,654	1.7	0.5	2.8	12.8	4.3	20.1
Rural	897,976	485,468	2.1	0.6	3.4	16.7	6.3	25.6
Urban-rural area								
Urban	787,694	411,709	1.3	0.4	2.1	9.0	6.8	14.5
Peri-urban	1,070,640	580,573	2.4	0.6	3.9	15.9	4.7	25.0
Rural	873,005	479,840	1.7	0.5	2.7	16.5	5.0	24.4
Province								
Koshi	443,544	239,251	1.6	0.4	2.5	12.8	4.3	20.1
Madhesh	565,790	297,253	3.4	0.9	5.7	19.9	5.7	32.8
Bagmati	590,053	302,615	1.0	0.3	1.7	8.4	3.5	13.2
Gandaki	219,177	119,374	1.2	0.2	2.0	11.9	3.5	18.9
Lumbini	487,286	272,397	1.8	0.5	2.8	14.6	5.5	21.8
Karnali	168,543	92,101	2.0	0.6	3.1	20.1	9.5	29.0
Sudurpashchim	256,946	149,131	1.6	0.5	2.3	13.4	5.5	19.1

Source: NSO, 2023.

To conclude, the incidence of child marriage is a more rural phenomenon. However, above one fifth of females and above four in 100 males aged 20 to 24 married before the age of 18, suggesting child marriage prevails equally even in urban municipalities of the country. According

to the degree of urbanization by residential areas, there appears to be no conclusive difference in the incidence of child marriage between peri-urban and rural areas of residence. The incidence is less by more than five percentage points by urban residence for both females and males married before the age of 18. Conversely, the proportion of married before the age of 15 is glaringly higher for residents of peri-urban areas. This suggests that traditional taboos and socio-cultural practices of early marriage remain strong in peri-urban areas and that residents of sub-urban areas continue more traditional norms and values than their counterparts in urban and rural areas.

At the provincial level, Madhesh and Karnali provinces have the highest incidence of child marriage followed by Lumbini for both married before the age of 15 and before the age of 18 for males and females. Child marriage is lowest in Bagmati followed by Gandaki and Sudurpashchim (Table 4.8 & Maps 4.5 to 4.6). One-third, nearly three in ten and over one-fifth of females aged 20 to 24 years respectively from Madhesh, Karnali and Lumbini provinces were married before the age of 18. Likewise, nearly 10 percent of males in Karnali and 6 percent in Madhesh, Lumbini and Sudurpashchim provinces were married before the age of 18. However, 13 percent of females in Bagmati and 3.5 percent of males in Bagmati and Gandaki provinces are married before the age of 18. Koshi and Gandaki share similar characteristics of child marriage.

For the district level variation in child marriage (below 18 years), three districts in Kathmandu valley –Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur – and Kaski, Manang and Mustang districts in Gandaki province consistently have the lowest rates of child marriage at below 3 percent of males and 10 percent of females. In Solukhumbu and Rasuwa districts, below 16 percent of females aged 20 to 24 years married before the age of 18 (see Annex A4.4). Local governments, with comparatively lower incidence of child marriage, should maintain policies and programmes to consolidate and accelerate the current trend of reduction in the years to come.

Table 4.9: Top ten districts with highest percentage of 20-24 population married before age 15 and before age 18, Nepal, NPHC, 2021

% Married before age 15				% Married before age 18			
Male		Female		Male		Female	
Districts	%	Districts	%	Districts	%	Districts	%
Parsa	0.8	Humla	3.9	Jumla	8.6	Pyuthan	28.6
Makwanpur	0.8	Saptari	4.1	Achham	8.6	Bara	30.2
Kapilbastu	0.8	Banke	4.3	Rautahat	8.9	Sarlahi	31.5
Banke	0.8	Siraha	5.1	Rukum (E)	9.1	Jajarkot	32.4
Rukum (W)	0.8	Parsa	5.2	Bajhang	10.7	Rukum (W)	32.8
Bajhang	0.9	Sarlahi	5.4	Jajarkot	10.9	Siraha	33.7
Manang	1.0	Bara	5.6	Mugu	11.4	Mahottari	34.5

% Married before age 15				% Married before age 18			
Male		Female		Male		Female	
Districts	%	Districts	%	Districts	%	Districts	%
Bajura	1.0	Mahottari	5.8	Rolpa	11.9	Salyan	34.7
Bara	1.2	Rautahat	6.8	Salyan	11.9	Rautahat	37.4
Rautahat	1.4	Dhanusa	7.0	Rukum (W)	12.4	Dhanusa	39.1

Note: (E)=East; (W)=West

Source: Annex A4.3

However, new approaches are urgently needed by local governments in districts with high incidence of child marriage. The top ten districts with the highest incidence of child marriage are seven districts in Madhesh and three districts in Karnali provinces. When measured by the proportion married before the age of 15, all eight districts in Madhesh and one district in Lumbini (Banke) and Karnali (Humla) rank in the top 10 (Table 4.9).

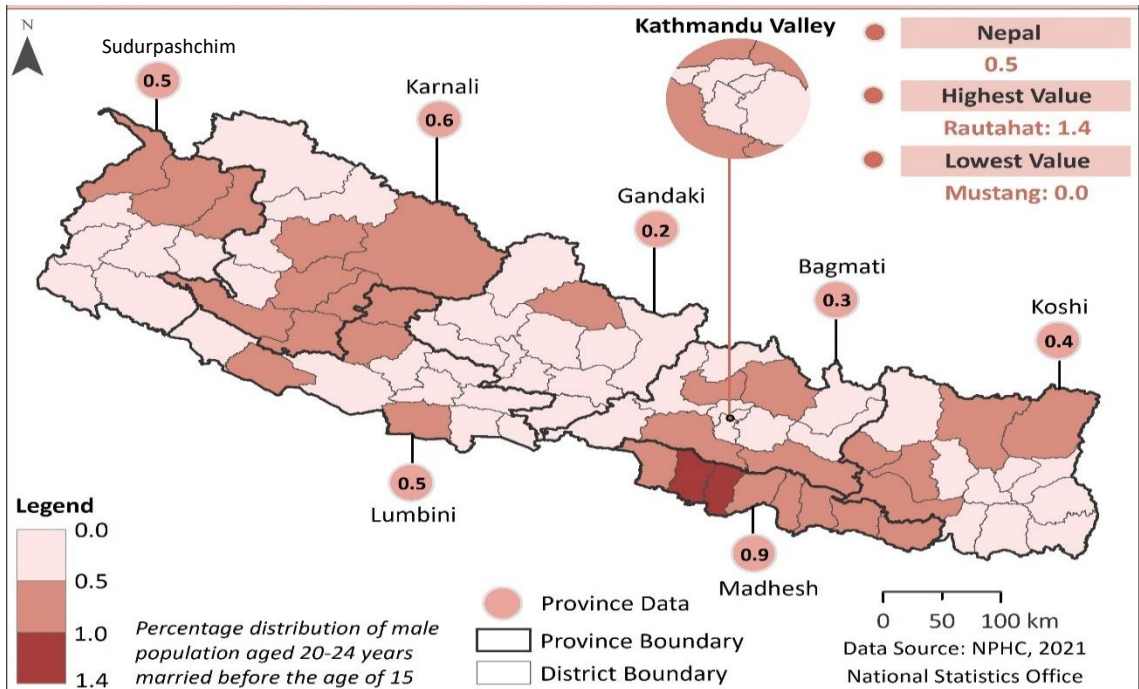
Dhanusa district ranks first with the highest incidence of child marriage for females both before the age of 15 and before the age of 18, followed by Rautahat and Salyan. Rukum West, Salyan and Rolpa rank top as the three districts with the highest incidence of male child marriage before the age of 18. It is evident from Table 4.9 that six of eight districts in Madhesh province have a high incidence of child marriage before the age of 18 and all eight districts have a high incidence of child marriage before the age of 15. Karnali, Sudurpashchim and Lumbini districts have more males who are married before the age of 18.

The highest proportion of the population for both males and females aged 20 to 24 married before the age of 15 can be seen at Annex A4.3 and Maps 4.5 and 4.6. In six districts of Madhesh province, from Siraha to Bara, the proportion married before the age of 15 ranges from 3 to 4 percent. Districts with a higher proportion of males married before the age of 15 are in Karnali and Lumbini provinces, and districts with below 1 percent can be found in Kathmandu valley and the Hill and Mountain regions of Koshi (Solukhumbu), Bagmati and Gandaki provinces.

Map 4.6 shows the proportion of females aged 20 to 24 who were married before the age of 15, which ranges from 4 to 7 percent. Child marriage among females is consistently highest in all eight districts of Madhesh Province and one district of Lumbini (Banke). Districts ranked by lower incidence (3 to 4 percent) mostly fall within Karnali, with one each in Koshi, Bagmati and Lumbini provinces. The lowest incidence of females married before the age of 15 are in the Kathmandu valley, Mountain and hill districts of Koshi, and Bagmati and Gandaki provinces. East Nawalparasi and Kanchanpur are the only two Tarai districts in the lowest category of child marriage – below 15 years.

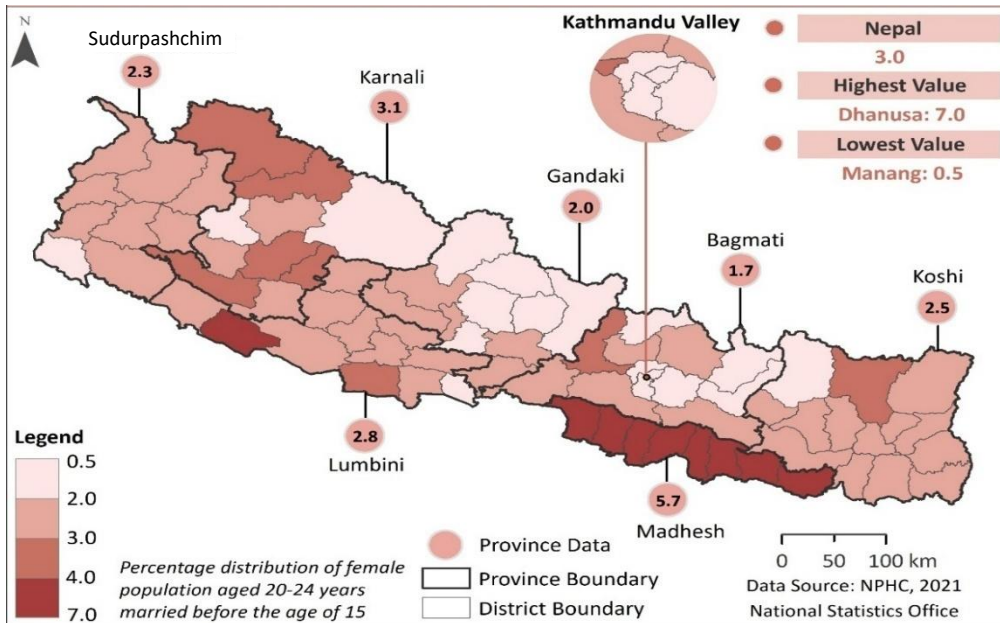
Districts with the highest proportion of 20- to 24-year-olds for both sexes married before the age of 18 (ranging from 20 to 24.3 percent) include four in Madhesh (Siraha, Dhanusa, Mahottari and Rautahat), Rolpa and Pyuthan in Lumbini and Salyan, Rukum-Weast, Jajarkot and Mugu in Karnali province. The lowest incidence (below 10 percent) of child marriage (before the age of 18) for both sexes is again seen in three districts of the Kathmandu Valley, Rasuwa in Bagmati, Solukhumbu in Koshi and Kaski, and Manang and Mustang in Gandaki provinces (Map 4.7).

Map 4.5: Percentage of 20-24 years male population married before the age of 15 by Province and district, NPHC 2021



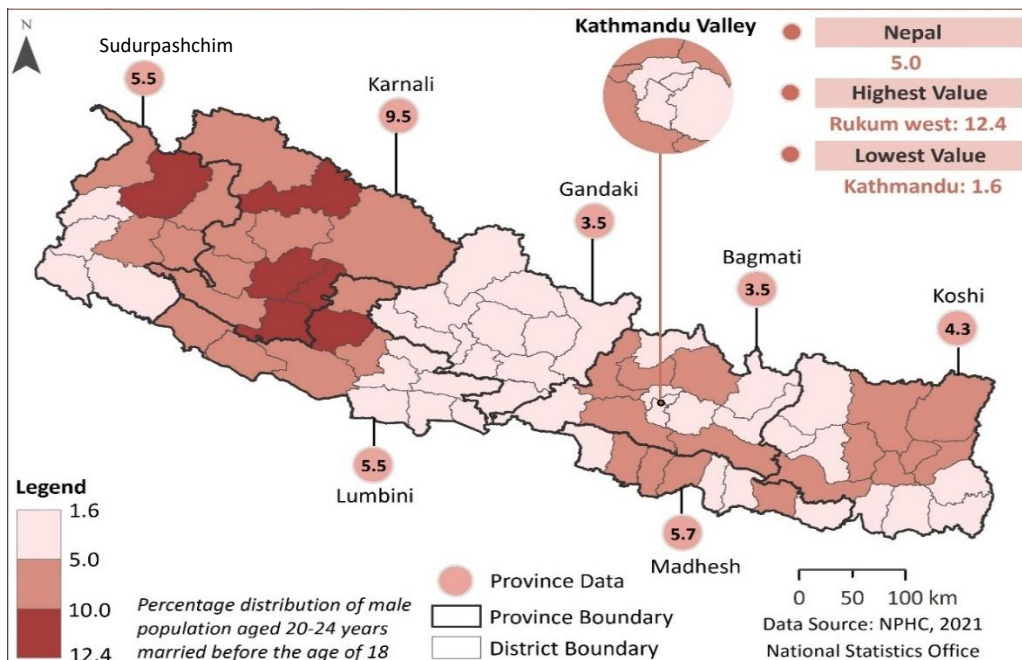
Source: Annex A4.4.

Map 4.6: Percentage of 20-24 years female population married before the age of 15 by Province and district, NPHC 2021



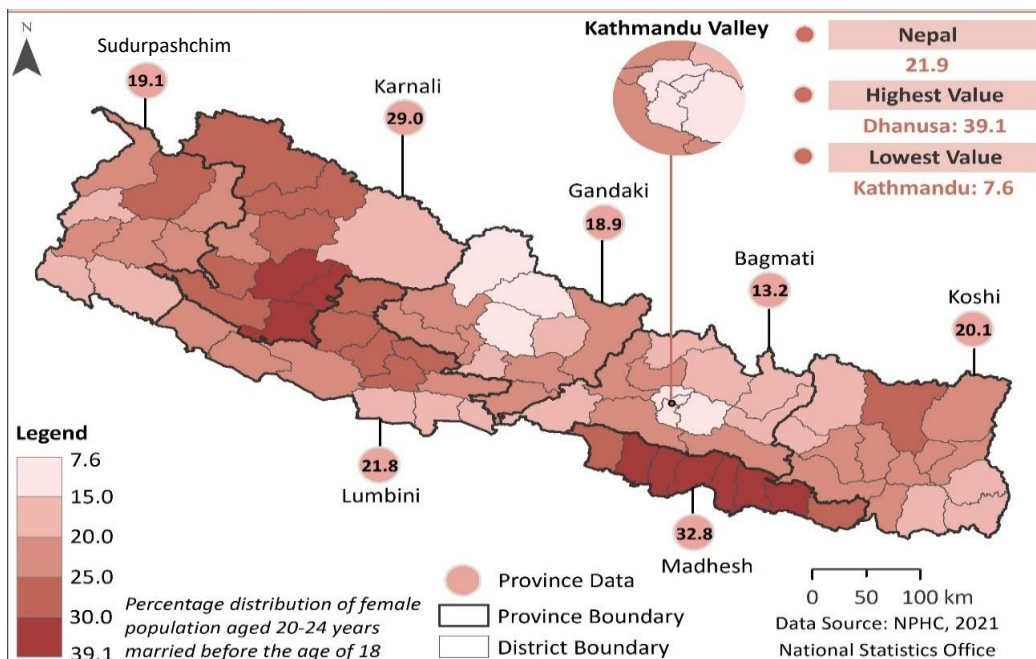
Source: Annex A4.4.

Map 4.7: Percentage of 20-24 years male population married before the age of 18 by Province and district, NPHC 2021



Source: Annex A5.4.

Map 4.8: Percentage of 20-24 years female population married before the age of 18 by Province and district, NPHC 2021



Source: Annex A4.4.

In the case of female child marriage before the age of 18, the pattern follows the same trend – the districts of Madhesh and Karnali provinces are the highest ranked and three districts in Kathmandu Valley and three districts in Gandaki provinces are the lowest as seen at Map 4.8.

4.3.3 Social differences in child marriage

It has been established that marital characteristics of the population vary by family wealth level, literacy and educational attainment of the population and caste/ethnicity. Data presented at Table 4.10 by the percentage of the population aged 20 to 24 years who married before the age of 15 and 18 for both sexes, corroborate these general assumptions. The proportion married in all three instances – total of the 20- to 24-year-old population, males and females married before the age of 15 and age 18 respectively – tend to be higher by over five and four times between the lowest and highest quintile. The proportion of married males and females declines at a consistent and substantial rate as wealth level increases.

Table 4.10: Proportion of the population aged 20 to 24 years married before the age of 15 and 18 by social characteristic, NPHC 2021

Social characteristics	Population 20-24		% Married <15 Years			% Married < 18 years		
	Total population	Female population	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Wealth quintile								
Lowest	486,829	259,440	3.0	0.9	4.8	20.8	8.6	31.6
Lower	566,519	307,657	2.3	0.6	3.7	17.8	6.6	27.3
Middle	569,468	308,633	2.1	0.6	3.4	15.6	5.2	24.4
Higher	574,949	312,946	1.5	0.4	2.4	11.7	3.6	18.6
Highest	533,574	283,446	0.6	0.1	0.9	4.9	1.3	8.1
Literacy status								
No literacy skills	143,639	72,814	6.8	1.9	9.3	33.4	12.0	44.3
Literate	1,328,190	1,186,151	1.4	0.4	2.3	12.4	4.5	19.5
Literacy not stated	293	252	0.7	0.4	1.0	8.1	2.4	13.0
Attained level of education								
ECD (0)	850	519	4.0	1.7	5.4	21.2	5.8	30.6
Basic (1-8)	321,129	304,133	3.6	0.9	6.0	25.6	9.9	40.4
Secondary (9-inter)	869,900	765,712	0.8	0.3	1.2	8.8	2.9	14.0
Higher (bachelor+)	125,253	107,828	0.2	0.1	0.3	1.7	0.7	2.5
Other/not Stated*	11,058	7,959	3.1	0.8	4.8	20.9	7.6	30.4
Caste/Ethnicity								
Hill castes	781,771	428,550	0.9	0.2	1.4	9.5	3.0	14.8
Madhesh/Tarai caste	440,711	223,078	2.7	0.6	4.7	16.8	4.3	28.9
Hill Dalits	243,643	139,442	2.8	0.7	4.3	21.6	8.8	31.1
Madhesh/Tarai Dalit	132,284	69,237	4.6	1.3	7.7	25.1	8.9	39.9
Mountain/Hill JJs**	706,761	381,626	1.3	0.4	2.1	12.5	5.1	18.7
Tarai Janajatis	271,745	148,645	1.6	0.5	2.4	11.8	5.1	17.4
Religious/linguistic	138,696	75,006	3.9	1.1	6.2	20.8	7.0	32.4
Others & not stated	15,728	6,538	3.0	0.7	6.1	15.6	3.9	32.0

Note: * including - No level/level not stated/never attended school/college, ** JJs = Janajatis

Source: NSO, 2023.

For instance, the 32 percent of females married before the age of 18 in the lowest quintile gradually declines to 27, 24, 19 and 8 percent respectively as wealth levels move upward to lower, middle, higher and highest quintiles. This may be attributed to the financial ability of wealthier families to invest more in their child's development and education, who then marry at later ages.

Education has an impact on prolonging age at marriage and provides more opportunities for employment. This is evident from the data presented at Table 4.10, where 44 percent of women aged 20 to 24 without literacy skills were married before the age of 18, declining to below 20 percent for women who are literate. Again, 40 percent of women with basic levels of education are married before the age of 18 declining to 14 and 2.5 percent as the attained level of education advances to secondary (9 to 12 class or intermediate) and higher (bachelor and above) levels. The same pattern of decline holds true in the case of males and the combined total in both instances – married before the age of 15 and 18. This finding implies that expanding access to education is a cornerstone of eliminating child marriage across all sub-groups of the population.

In all six instances of observations (total, male and female married before the ages of 15 and 18), the incidence of child marriage is highest among Madhesh/Tarai Dalits followed by religious/linguistic communities (mostly Muslim), and Madhesh Tarai caste groups. Its extent is lowest among Hill Caste groups followed by Tarai Janajatis (in the case of married before the age of 18) and Mountain/Hill Janajatis. It can be concluded that in caste/ethnic communities with higher levels of literacy and educational attainment, the incidence of child marriage is likely to be reduced.

4.3.4 Local level variation in child marriage

The country's 77 districts are further subdivided into 753 local levels, which function as autonomous bodies of local government. The number of local levels vary by district from four (Bhaktapur, Manang and Mugu districts) to 20 in Sarlahi district. It is therefore important to determine the local levels with the highest incidence of child marriage for informing local government programmes and policies to eliminate the practice. Accordingly, local levels are arranged based on the highest proportion of males and females aged 20 to 24 years married before the age of 15, where this figure is higher than the district highest.

The district with the highest percentage of males married before the age of 15 is Rautahat at 1.4 percent, and for females Dhanusa at 7 percent. The 35 and 37 local levels with the proportion of males and females married before the age of 15 with respective rates higher than the highest district can be found at Table 4.11. Madhesh province followed by Karnali still report high levels of child marriage. In the 37 local levels where female child marriage rates are above 7 percent (above the highest district), 36 are concentrated in seven districts of Madhesh province (all districts except Saptari). Similarly, among the 35 districts where the prevalence of male child marriage before the age of 15 is 1.4 percent or higher, 16 are in Madhesh Province, six are in the districts of Bajhang, Bajura, and Darchula in Sudurpashchim Province, and five are in Banke,

Kapilbastu, and Rupandehi districts of Lumbini Province. The remainder are scattered across other districts and provinces.

The highest (2.4%) proportion of 20–24-year-old males married before the age of 15 can be found in two local levels, Dewahigonahi urban municipality of Rautahat, and Bhotkhola rural municipality in Sankhuwasabha district. For females, above 10 percent of the age groups are married before the age of 15, are in three local levels of Madhesh province – Sahidnagar urban municipality, Aurahi rural municipality and Yamunamai rural municipality. The information is presented at Table 4.11 and has direct policy implications for local levels where policy, programmes and community mobilization is needed around child marriage.

Local levels by the proportion of 20- to 24-year-old males and females married before the ages of 15 and 18 is presented at Annex A4.4. It is clear to see at Annex A4.4 that the concentration of local levels with the highest rates of child marriage (before the age of 15) are in Dhanusa, Rautahat and Mahottari districts of Madhesh province. Local levels that rank second highest are concentrated in Karnali province, and local levels where less than 2 percent of females are married before the age of 15 are mostly concentrated in the Hill and Mountain regions of Koshi, Bagmati, Gandaki, Karnali and Sudurpashchim provinces. To an extent, child marriage for females is slightly lower in Lumbini and Madhesh provinces, but no local levels report less than 1 percent of females aged 20 to 24 years married before the age of 15.

Table 4.11: Local levels with greater than district highest proportion of 20-24 years males and females married before age 15, Nepal, NPHC, 2021

35 local levels with > 1.4 % males married < 15 years			37 local levels with > 7% females married < 15 years		
Districts	Local levels*	% Married	Districts	Local levels*	% Married
Rautahat	Phatuwa Bijayapur UM	1.4	Dhanusa	Janak Nandini RM	7.2
	Ishanath UM	1.4		Nagarain UM	7.3
	Katahariya UM	1.5		Mithila Bihari UM	7.6
	Paroha UM	1.5		Bideha UM	7.6
	Durga Bhagawati RM	1.5		Ganeshman Charnath UM	7.9
	Garuda UM	1.6		Dhanauji RM	8.0
	Rajpur UM	1.6		Laxminiya RM	8.1
	Gadhimai UM	1.7		Sabaila UM	8.4
	Brindaban UM	1.8		Hansapur UM	8.9
	Yamunamai RM	1.9		Shahidnagar UM	10.6
	Dewahi Gonahi UM	2.4		Aurahi RM	10.6

35 local levels with > 1.4 % males married < 15 years			37 local levels with > 7% females married < 15 years			
Districts	Local levels*	% Married	Districts	Local levels*	% Married	
Bara	Parawanipur RM	1.4	Rautahat	Kamala UM	7.4	
	Pacharauta UM	1.4		Ishanath UM	7.3	
	Mahagadhimai UM	1.4		Paroha UM	7.4	
	Baragadhi RM	1.9		Gadhimai UM	7.6	
	Subarna RM	1.9		Garuda UM	7.9	
Banke	Janaki RM	1.4		Brindaban UM	8.1	
	Narainapur RM	1.4		Durga Bhagawati RM	8.1	
Bajhang	Saipal RM	1.5		Katahariya UM	8.2	
	Talkot RM	1.5		Madhav Narayan UM	8.2	
Bajura	Jagannath RM	1.5		Boudhimai UM	8.8	
	Khaptad Chhededaha RM	1.8		Dewahi Gonahi UM	9.1	
	Tribeni UM	1.6		Yamunamai RM	10.4	
Kapilbastu	Bijayanagar RM	1.4		Bara	Mahagadhimai UM	7.0
	Mayadevi RM	2.1			Subarna RM	7.1
Nuwakot	Tarakeshwor RM	1.4			Baragadhi RM	7.2
MakwaUMur	Raksirang RM	1.4	Aadarsha Kotwal RM		7.9	
Darchula	Duhun RM	1.4	Mahottari	Bhangaha UM	7.4	
Okhaldhunga	Molung RM	1.5		Balawa UM	7.4	
Ilam	Mangsebung RM	1.5		Loharpatti UM	7.7	
Rupandehi	Sammarimai RM	1.5	Sarlahi	Chakraghatta UM	8.4	
Rukum (W)	Sanibheri RM	1.5		Kabilashi UM	8.8	
Tanahu	Ghiring RM	1.7		Haripurwa UM	9.4	
Manang	Manang Ngisyang RM	2.0	Siraha	Mirchaiya UM	7.3	
Sankhuwa-sabha	Bhotkhola RM	2.4		Naraha RM	8.1	
			Parsa	Pakaha MaiUMur RM	9.0	
			Banke	Janaki RM	8.8	

* **Note:** RM= Rural municipalities; UM= Urban municipalities

Note: Local levels with higher proportions of married males and females before the age of 18 than the respective value of the district's highest (12% for males in Rukum West and 39.1% for females in Dhanusa) are arranged by district and province, therefore, the value may not appear in ascending or descending order.

Source: Annex A4.4

When ranking the 753 local levels (municipalities/rural municipalities), in 12 rural municipalities, municipalities and metropolitan cities from six districts (Kathmandu, Lalitpur, Bhaktapur, Manang, Mustang and Dolpa) less than 7.6 percent of females aged 20 to 24 years are married before the age of 18 (lower than the lowest district of Kathmandu at 7.6 percent). Conversely in 34 local levels, eight districts have corresponding rates of child marriage higher than the highest district (39.1% for Dhanusa) Of the eight districts, six are in Madhesh and one each in Lumbini (Dang) and Karnali (Jajarkot) provinces. Similarly, of the 30 local levels with a higher proportion of males aged 20 to 24 years married before the age of 18 (12 percent for Rukum West) 12 are in six districts of Madhesh province, three are in districts of Karnali province and the other 15 local levels are scattered in the districts of the five other remaining provinces (Table 4.12).

In the 34 local levels where female child marriage (before the age of 18) is greater than the district high of Dhanusa (39%), 31 (91%) are concentrated in six districts of Madhesh province, mainly in Dhanusa and Rautahat. Sahidnagar municipality in Dhanusa is the local level with the highest proportion (50.3%) of females aged 20 to 24 who were married before the age of 18. For males, the corresponding rate is highest (16.5%) in Parsauni RM in Bara District (Table 4.12). In the 51 local levels where male child marriage (before the age of 18) rates are highest, 27 (or 53%) are in Madhesh and 16 (31 percent) in Karnali province. For males and females, the rate is again highest in Sahidnagar municipality of Dhanusa (32%) followed by Aurahi RM in Dhanusa, Bangalachuli RM in Dang, Surma RM in Bajhang, and Runtigadhi RM in Rolpa (varying between 30 to 31%).

Local level variation in the proportion married by sex before the age of 18 can be seen at Maps 4.9 and 4.10.

Table 4.12: Local levels with highest proportion of 20-24 years males and females married before age 18, NPHC 2021

30 local levels with > 12 % males married < 18 years			34 local levels with > 39 % females married < 18 years		
Districts	Local levels*	% Married	Districts	Local levels*	% Married
Saptari	Tirahut RM	12.3	Siraha	KalyaUMur UM	41.2
	Kanchanrup UM	14.0		Naraha RM	41.2
Siraha	Aurahi RM	12.1	Dhanusa	Nagarain UM	39.8
	Lahan UM	13.1		Ganeshman Charnath UM	40.3
	Bishnupur RM	14.5		Laxminiya RM	41.4
Dhanusa	Nagarain UM	14.6		Kamala UM	42.4
Mahottari	Mahottari RM	21.5		Mithila Bihari UM	42.9
	Bhangaha UM	12.8		Janak Nandini RM	44.5
Rautahat	Rajpur UM	12.3		Dhanauji RM	44.6

30 local levels with > 12 % males married < 18 years			34 local levels with > 39 % females married < 18 years			
Districts	Local levels*	% Married	Districts	Local levels*	% Married	
Bara	Madhav Narayan UM	14.4	Mahottari	Hansapur UM	44.9	
	Karaiyamai RM	13.1		Sabaila UM	45.6	
	Prasauni RM	16.5		Dhanusadham UM	45.8	
Kaski	Pokhara Metropolitan City	12.1		Bideha UM	47.5	
	Lamjung	BensishaharUM		12.1	Aurahi RM	47.5
Arghakhanchi	Malarani RM	12.1		Shahidnagar UM	50.3	
Surkhet	Barahatal RM	12.2		Sarlahi	Matihani UM	39.3
Ilam	Mangsebung RM	12.3			Balawa UM	40.5
Dailekh	Mahabu RM	12.4			Loharpatti UM	45.4
	Bhagawatimai RM	13.8		Ramnagar RM	40.1	
Bhojpur	Ramprasad Rai RM	12.6	Kabilashi UM	Kabilashi UM	40.8	
Parbat	Kushma UM	13.0		Haripurwa UM	41.5	
Kalikot	Tilagupha UM	13.2	Rautahat	Gadhimai UM	39.1	
Gulmi	Chhatrakot RM	13.3		Durga Bhagawati RM	40.8	
Gorkha	Siranchowk RM	13.5		Boudhimai UM	42.3	
Pyuthan	Gaumukhi RM	13.6		Maulapur UM	42.7	
Bajhang	Chhabis Pathibhara RM	14.1		Yamunamai RM	43.9	
Dhading	Galchhi RM	14.5		Madhav Narayan UM	44.1	
Bardiya	Rajapur UM	14.8		Brindaban UM	44.5	
Kavrepalanchok	Panauti UM	15.4		Katahariya UM	45.0	
Achham	Mangalsen UM	21.5		Dewahi Gonahi UM	46.5	
				Bara	Aadarsha Kotwal RM	41.1
			Dang	Bangalachuli RM	39.8	
				Babai RM	39.9	
			Jajarkot	Bheri Malika UM	39.2	

* **Note: RM= Rural municipality; UM= Urban municipality**

Note: Local levels with higher proportions of males and females married before the age of 18 than the respective value of the district highest (12% for males in Rukum West and 39.1% for females in Dhanusa) are arranged by district and province, therefore the value may not appear in ascending or descending order.

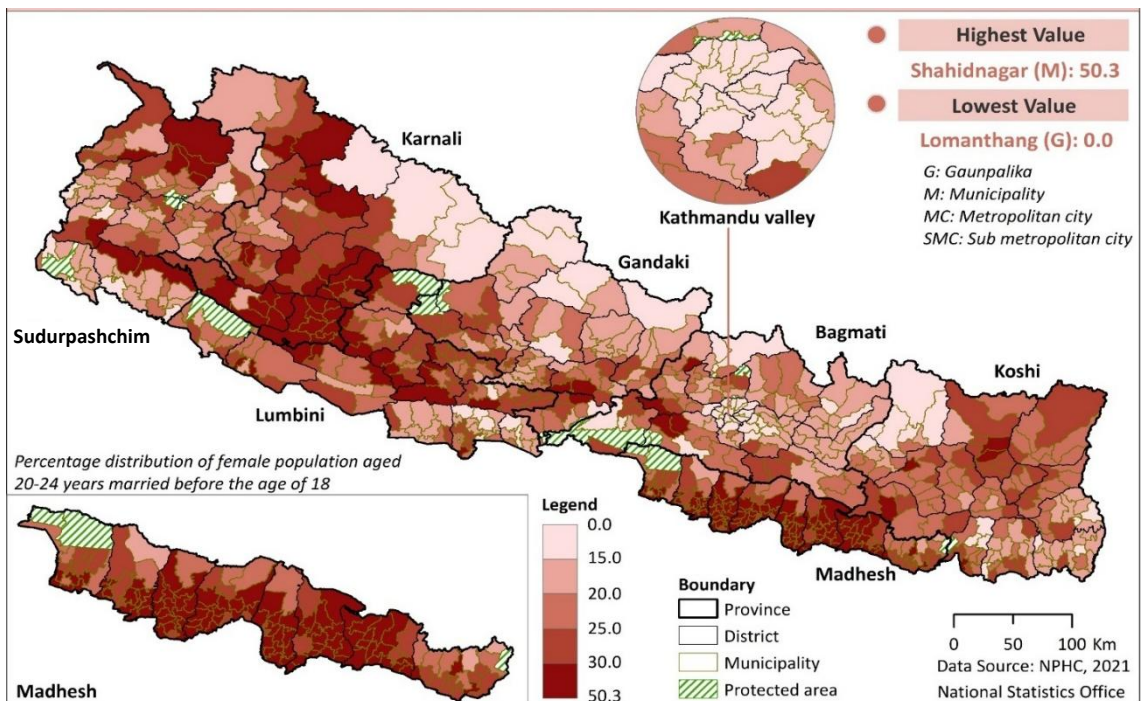
Source: Annex A4.4.

It is evident at Map 4.9 that most local levels with a higher proportion of females married before the age of 18 are concentrated in Madhesh province, Karnali province and scattered across the local areas of Lumbini and Sudurpashchim provinces. Local levels with the lowest levels (below

1%) are mainly concentrated in the Hill and Mountain zones of Bagmati, Gandaki, Koshi and Karnali provinces. No local levels from Madhesh province are visible on the map.

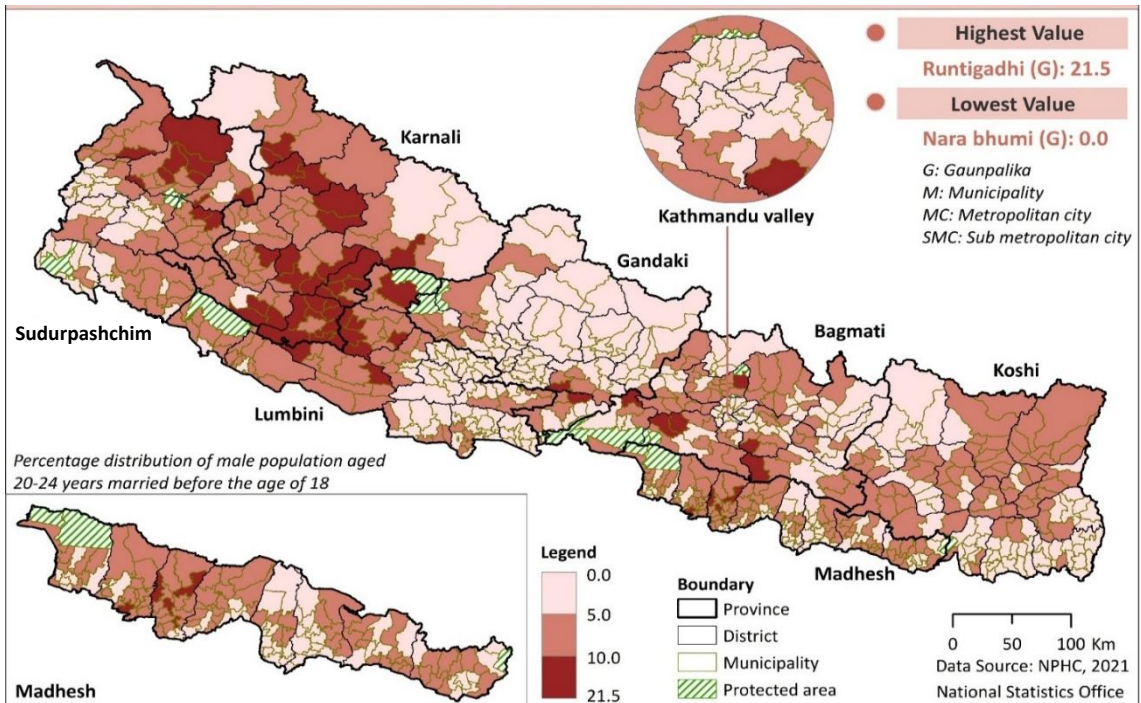
The combined number of males and females married before the age of 18 by local levels can be found at Map 4.10, which clearly shows the density of local levels with high rates of child marriage in Madhesh, followed by Lumbini, Karnali and Sudurpashchim. The lowest rates (below 10%) can be seen in the Hill and Mountain zones of Bagmati (almost all local units of Kathmandu Valley) and Gandaki province. Other local levels are scattered across the three ecological zones of Koshi province, and in some areas of Sudurpashchim province.

Map 4.9: Percentage of female population aged 20 to 24 years married before the age of 18 by Local level, NPHC 2021



Source: Annex A4.4

Map 4.10: Percentage of male population aged 20 to 24 years married before the age of 18 by Local level, NPHC 2021



Source: Annex A4.4

It is evident at Map 4.9 that females aged 20 to 24 years who married before the age of 18 are more concentrated in Local levels in the six districts of Madhesh province (especially Dhanusa, Rautahat and Mahottari). It is interesting to note that the concentration of these local levels lies in the southern border areas. Again, the lowest proportion of females married before the age of 18 is observed in the local level areas of the Hill and Mountain regions of Bagmati (all local levels of Kathmandu Valley), Gandaki, Koshi and Karnali provinces. Accordingly, the highest percentage of males married before the age of 18 is concentrated in local areas of Karnali and Sudurpashchim provinces, especially in the Mountain and Hill zones. Child marriage is close to zero in the local levels of Kathmandu Valley, and mountain regions of Gandaki, Koshi and Bagmati provinces (Map 4.10).

CHAPTER 5

MARITAL STABILITY, AGE AT MARRIAGE AND FERTILITY

Marriage is the social, cultural and legal acceptance of cohabitation, and in Nepali society, a socio and cultural prerequisite for having children. Studies have shown causal relationships between marital stability, age at first marriage and the completed level of fertility (Islam & Rahaman, 2020; Guzzo & Hayford, 2014). The completed level of fertility remains dependent on both the duration of marital stability and age at first marriage. A general presumption is that couples with more marital stability tend to have higher fertility rates. Similarly, evidence has identified age at first marriage as an important factor in explaining fertility levels. This implies that an increasing age at first marriage lowers fertility, because as the age at first marriage increases the duration of married life reduces and leads to a fertility decline (Islam & Rahaman, 2020). The relationship between the timing of the formation and dissolution of a marital union during a woman's reproductive years was conceptualized by Davis and Blake in 1956, since the formation of a marital union and its dissolution govern the exposure and duration of the period for having children.

Factors determining fertility levels include age at first marriage, the proportion of the population never married, and the number of reproductive years spent after or in between unions due to the death of a spouse (husband), or divorce or separation. Similarly, Bongaarts (1978), postulated the age at marriage and the proportion married or single (never married, widowed and divorced/separated) as one of the first important social variables of the eight sets of proximates determining variables of fertility.

It is also important to determine the variations in observed levels of completed fertility of ever married women of reproductive age (aged 15 to 49) by marital status (married, widowed and divorced/separated) and age at first marriage at the sub-national level. The data on marital status and the reported age at marriage of ever married women by current age is derived from the 2021 Census. The first section of this chapter presents data on the effect of marital stability on completed fertility i.e., children ever born for married, widowed, and divorced/separated women. The second section discusses the variation in observed completed fertility according to age at marriage in three categories, i.e., married below the age of 15, married between 15 to 19 years and married after 20 years. Marriage below the age of 15 represents childhood marriages

and fertility for the age group 15 to 19 years refers to the fertility of women who were married before the legal minimum age of 20.

Caution has to be employed when looking at data on the reported number of children ever born to ever-married women of reproductive ages in censuses as there is often gross underreporting. This is due to older women being unable to remember how many children they have had and women not including children who died when asked about children born alive. Reporting of completed fertility might also vary by the different background attributes of women and respondents during the census enumeration. In this analysis, as there is a lack of appropriate measures to estimate the level of underreporting, the data available are used.

5.1 Marital status and children ever born

Children ever born (CEB) to ever married women by current age and marital status (currently married, widowed and divorced/separated) from the 2021 Census is presented at Table 5.1. From the table, the average number of CEB is highest for widowed females, followed by currently married women, while it is lowest for divorced/separated women. This might be explained by the age composition of women in the three statuses. Women who are married are younger, while widowed women are older. It can be assumed that widowed women have nearly completed fertility while currently married women are still giving birth. The age pattern of divorced/ separated women is intermediate, so CEB by age is lowest of all for these women. For specific patterns of completed fertility, until the ages of 25 to 29, married and widowed women are the same, thereafter, CEB is lower for widowed women compared to those who are married at each successive five-year age groups. This scenario is clear to see at Figure 5.1, where the cumulative fertility of 3 for 45 to 49-year-olds who are currently married declines to 2.7 for widowed women of the same age.

Table 5.1: Number of children ever born to ever married women by current age and marital status, NPHC 2021

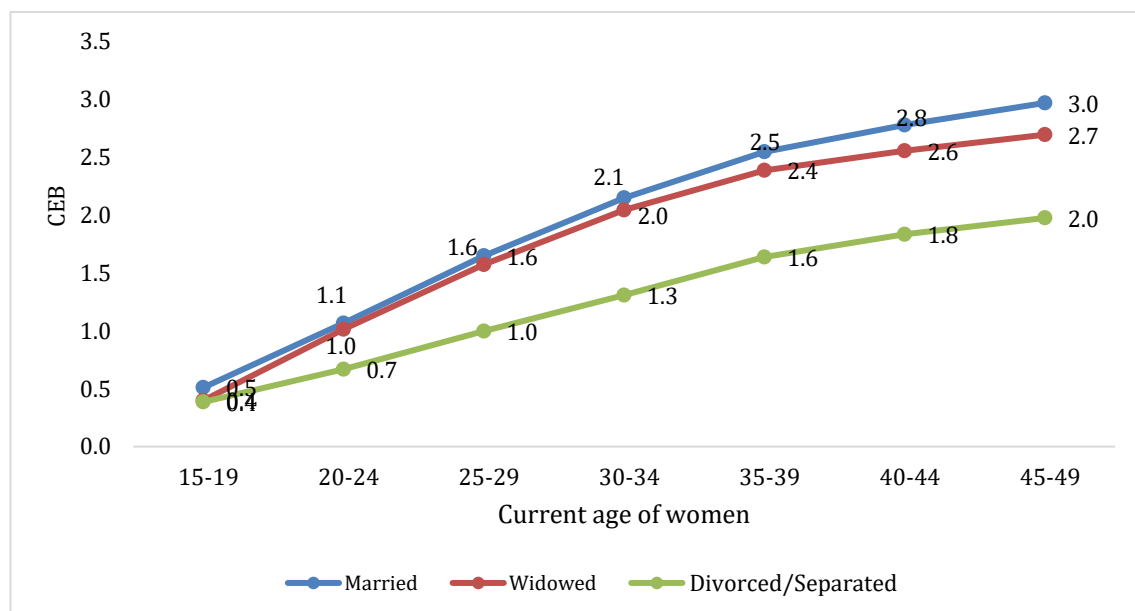
Age group	CEB by marital status				Declined CEB /000 women	
	Married	Widowed	Div./sep.	Total WRA	Married widow	Married div./sep.
15-19	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.1	112	125
20-24	1.1	1.0	0.7	0.7	52	398
25-29	1.6	1.6	1.0	1.4	75	651
30-34	2.1	2.0	1.3	2.1	104	840
35-39	2.5	2.4	1.6	2.5	160	908
40-44	2.8	2.6	1.8	2.7	222	943
45-49	3.0	2.7	2.0	2.9	274	993

Note: Div./sep. = Divorced/separated; WRA = Women of reproductive age (15 to 49 years).

Source: NSO, 2023.

The cumulative fertility for divorced/separated women is lower by one child than that of currently married women at the end of their reproductive years (45 to 49 years).

Figure 5.1: Number of children ever born by ever married women by current marital status and age group, NPHC 2021



Source: Table 5.1

5.1.1 Marital status and completed fertility: Ecological differences

Completed fertility is highest for women in the mountain zone in all three marital status and nearly the same for Hill and Tarai. The average CEB per woman is highest for widowed women in all three zones. However, by age, current fertility remains higher for married women in each successive age groups after 20 to 24 years in Mountain, 25 to 29 years in Tarai and after 40 years in Hill. This signifies, overall, that the combined age adjusted cumulative fertility is likely to be lower for widowed women. The effect of marriage dissolution due to divorce/separation on fertility is clear to see by the consistently smaller sized CEB at each age group (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2: Number of children ever born to ever married women by ecological zone, current age and marital status, NPHC 2021

Age Group	Mountain			Hill			Tarai		
	Married	Wid.	Div./Sep.	Married	Wid.	Div./Sep.	Married	Wid.	Div./Sep.
15-19	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.4
20-24	1.2	1.1	0.7	1.0	0.9	0.6	1.1	1.1	0.7
25-29	1.9	1.7	1.1	1.5	1.5	1.0	1.7	1.6	1.0
30-34	2.5	2.3	1.4	1.9	2.0	1.3	2.3	2.1	1.3
35-39	3.0	2.8	1.8	2.3	2.3	1.6	2.7	2.4	1.6
40-44	3.3	3.0	2.0	2.6	2.5	1.8	2.8	2.5	1.8
45-49	3.5	3.2	2.2	2.9	2.7	2.0	3.0	2.6	2.0

Note: Div./sep. = Divorced/Separated; WRA = Women of reproductive age (15 to 49 years).

Source: NSO, 2023.

The effect of marriage dissolution due to the death of a husband is relatively higher in Tarai and lowest in Hill as revealed by the differences in CEB between married and divorced women in the 45 to 49 age group.

A two-way logistic regression between marital status and completed fertility size is performed taking the binary number of women whose marriages have been dissolved (widowed, divorced and separated) as 1 and otherwise 0. The result indicates that marital instability during reproductive years is likely to reduce the completed fertility size of a women by about 18 percentage points compared to women who remain married until the end of their reproductive span (Table 5.3).

Table 5.3: Impacts of marital instability on completed levels of fertility, NPHC 2021

ceb	Odds ratio	Std. err.	z	P> z	[95% conf. interval]	
Mstatus=1	0.8188023	0.0056576	-28.93	0	0.8077884	0.8299663
_cons	7.389489	0.0093361	1583.04	0	7.371213	7.40781

5.2 Age at marriage and fertility: Children ever born

Age at marriage has a direct proportional relation with fertility. However, where modern contraception is widely available, married women can exhibit different fertility patterns despite prolonged years of marriage, although generally the younger the age at marriage, the higher the fertility and vice versa is an accepted phenomenon.

Early age at marriage exposes girls to increased risks of fertility – and can have life-threatening consequences. This phenomenon is evident from the data presented at Table 5.4. A girl aged 15 to 19 years, if married before the age of 15, is likely to bear 0.4 more children (423 more children per 1,000 of girls aged 15 to 19, married before the age of 15) than a girl of the same age who marries between the ages of 15 to 19 years.

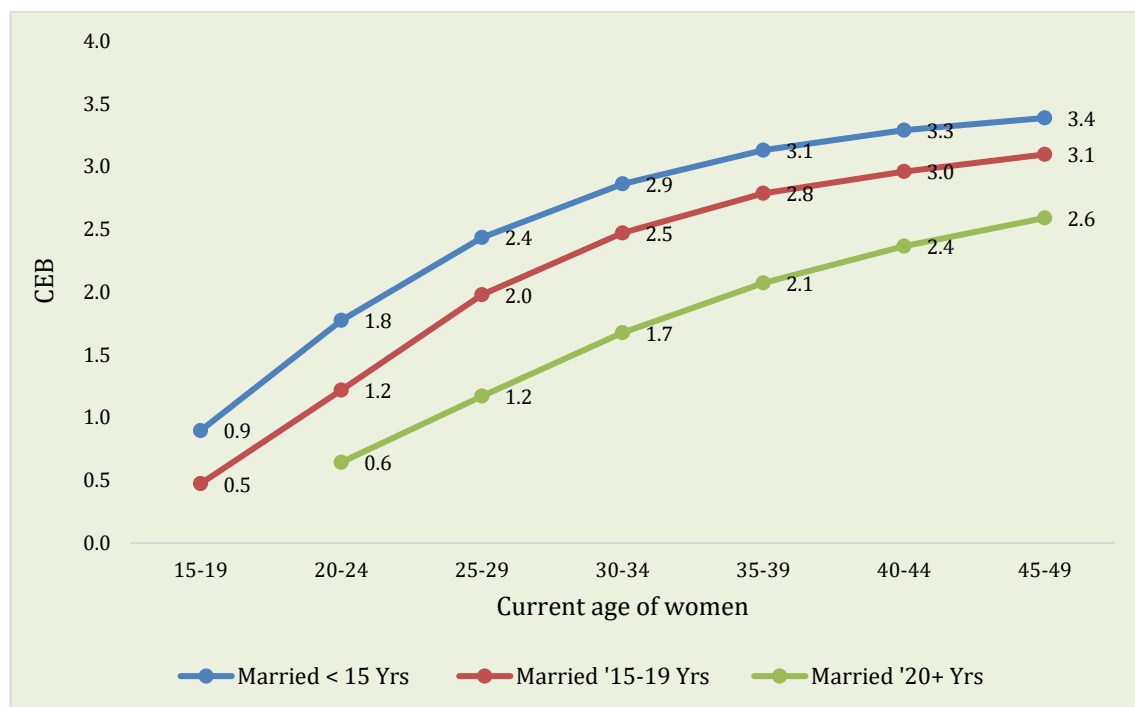
Similarly, at the end of her reproductive years (45 to 49 years), a woman married before the age of 15 has a completed fertility of 3.4 children, which is higher by 0.3 children than women who marry between 15 to 19 years and 0.8 higher than women who marry after the age of 20. This means that the 1,000 ever married women who married before the age of 15 have 290 more children than the same number of women married between the ages of 15 to 19, and 797 more children than those who marry after the age of 20 and above. The extent of completed fertility of women married before the age of 15 is highest in between the ages of 20 and 40 years. This trend is visualized at Figure 5.2.

Table 5.4: Children ever born per ever-married women by age at marriage and current age, NPHC 2021

Age group	CEB by age at marriage			Total	Difference in CEB per 1,000 women by age at marriage		
	< 15 Yrs	15-19 Yrs	20+ Yrs		< 15 & 15-19	< 15 & 20+	15-19-20+
15-19	0.9	0.5	-	0.5	423	-	-
20-24	1.8	1.2	0.6	1.1	555	1,130	575
25-29	2.4	2.0	1.2	1.6	455	1,263	808
30-34	2.9	2.5	1.7	2.1	390	1,185	795
35-39	3.1	2.8	2.1	2.5	344	1,057	714
40-44	3.3	3.0	2.4	2.8	330	925	595
45-49	3.4	3.1	2.6	2.9	290	797	506
Total	2.8	2.3	1.7	2.1	560	1,098	538

Source: NSO, 2023.

Figure 5.2: Children ever born by ever married women by current age and age at marriage, NPHC 2021



Source: Table 5.4.

Ecological variation in age at marriage and completed level of fertility for ever married women of reproductive age is presented at Table 5.5. Data indicates that on average a woman married before the age of 15 has 0.6 (or 600 per 1,000 women), and one more child respectively, than women married between the ages of 15 to 19 and 20 and above in Mountain. A similar pattern holds true in Hill and Tarai.

Table 5.5: Children ever born per ever married women aged 15-49 by ecological zone, age at marriage and current age, NPHC 2021

Age group	Mountain: Age at marriage				Hill: Age at marriage				Tarai: Age at marriage			
	< 15 Yrs	15-19 Yrs	20+ Yrs	Total	< 15 Yrs	15-19 Yrs	20+ Yrs	Total	< 15 Yrs	15-19 Yrs	20+ Yrs	Total
15-19	0.9	0.5		0.5	0.8	0.5		0.5	0.9	0.5		0.5
20-24	1.8	1.3	0.8	1.2	1.6	1.2	0.6	1.0	1.8	1.2	0.6	1.1
25-29	2.6	2.2	1.4	1.9	2.2	1.8	1.1	1.5	2.5	2.0	1.2	1.7
30-34	3.1	2.8	2.1	2.5	2.6	2.3	1.6	1.9	2.9	2.5	1.8	2.3
35-39	3.4	3.2	2.6	3.0	3.0	2.6	1.9	2.3	3.2	2.8	2.2	2.6

Age group	Mountain: Age at marriage				Hill: Age at marriage				Tarai: Age at marriage			
	< 15 Yrs	15-19 Yrs	20+ Yrs	Total	< 15 Yrs	15-19 Yrs	20+ Yrs	Total	< 15 Yrs	15-19 Yrs	20+ Yrs	Total
40-44	3.7	3.5	3.0	3.3	3.3	2.9	2.2	2.6	3.3	3.0	2.4	2.8
45-49	3.8	3.6	3.3	3.5	3.4	3.1	2.5	2.8	3.3	3.1	2.6	3.0
Total	3.1	2.5	2.1	2.4	2.7	2.2	1.6	2.0	2.8	2.3	1.7	2.1

Source: NSO, 2023.

The impacts of delaying age at marriage on fertility are evident for women aged 20 to 40 years in all three ecological zones.

Similar levels of variation can be seen in the completed level of fertility for ever married women according to age at marriage in urban-rural areas of residence. The completed fertility of ever married women in urban areas in all three age brackets (before the age of 15, between the ages of 15 to 19 and 20 and above) is consistently lower than peri-urban and rural areas.

Table 5.6: Children ever born by ever married women by urban-rural area of residence, age at marriage and current age, NPHC 2021

Age Group	Urban: Age at marriage				Peri-urban: Age at marriage				Rural: Age at marriage			
	< 15 Yrs	15-19 Yrs	20+ Yrs	Total	< 15 Yrs	15-19 Yrs	20+ Yrs	Total	< 15 Yrs	15-19 Yrs	20+ Yrs	Total
15-19	0.9	0.4		0.5	0.9	0.5		0.5	0.8	0.5		0.5
20-24	1.7	1.1	0.5	0.9	1.8	1.2	0.7	1.1	1.7	1.2	0.7	1.1
25-29	2.3	1.8	1.0	1.4	2.5	2.1	1.2	1.8	2.4	2.0	1.3	1.7
30-34	2.7	2.2	1.4	1.8	2.9	2.6	1.8	2.3	2.9	2.6	1.9	2.3
35-39	2.9	2.5	1.8	2.1	3.2	2.9	2.2	2.7	3.3	2.9	2.4	2.8
40-44	3.0	2.6	2.0	2.3	3.3	3.0	2.5	2.8	3.5	3.2	2.8	3.1
45-49	3.1	2.7	2.1	2.5	3.3	3.1	2.7	3.0	3.7	3.4	3.0	3.3
Total	2.6	2.1	1.5	1.8	2.8	2.3	1.8	2.2	2.9	2.3	1.9	2.2

Source: NSO, 2023.

One thousand (1,000) urban women aged 20 to 24 who married before the age of 15 have 1,200 more children than women married after the age of 20. The corresponding number of children increases to 1,300 as the age advances to 30 to 34 years. Thereafter, the gap between women who married before the age of 15, between ages 15 to 19 and above 20 narrows at upper ages. This might be explained by the continuation of fertility for women who delay marriage until older ages, or the limiting of fertility by women who marry younger. This scenario is almost identical for women in peri-urban and rural areas.

In Koshi province, an ever-married women aged 45 to 49 whose age at first marriage was below 15 years has 3.2 children; this reduces to 3 and 2.5 children respectively for those women who married between the ages of 15 to 19 years and 20 years and above. It is evident at Table 5.7 that in each instance, completed fertility levels per 1,000 ever married women who married before the age of 15, up to the end of their childbearing years (45 to 49), is higher than those who married aged 15 to 19 and 20 years and above. Similarly, women who marry between 15 and 19 years have a higher level of completed fertility than those who married age 20 and above. The difference in completed levels of fertility for women who married before the age of 15 and after 20 years per 1,000 ever married women is highest in Bagmati (886) followed by Koshi (738), and lowest in Madhesh (410). The low figure in Madhesh might be explained by delayed marriage by women, who continue childbearing until older ages. The age of 45 to 49 is understood to be when levels of fertility are complete. Beyond that age, increasing fertility is not expected.

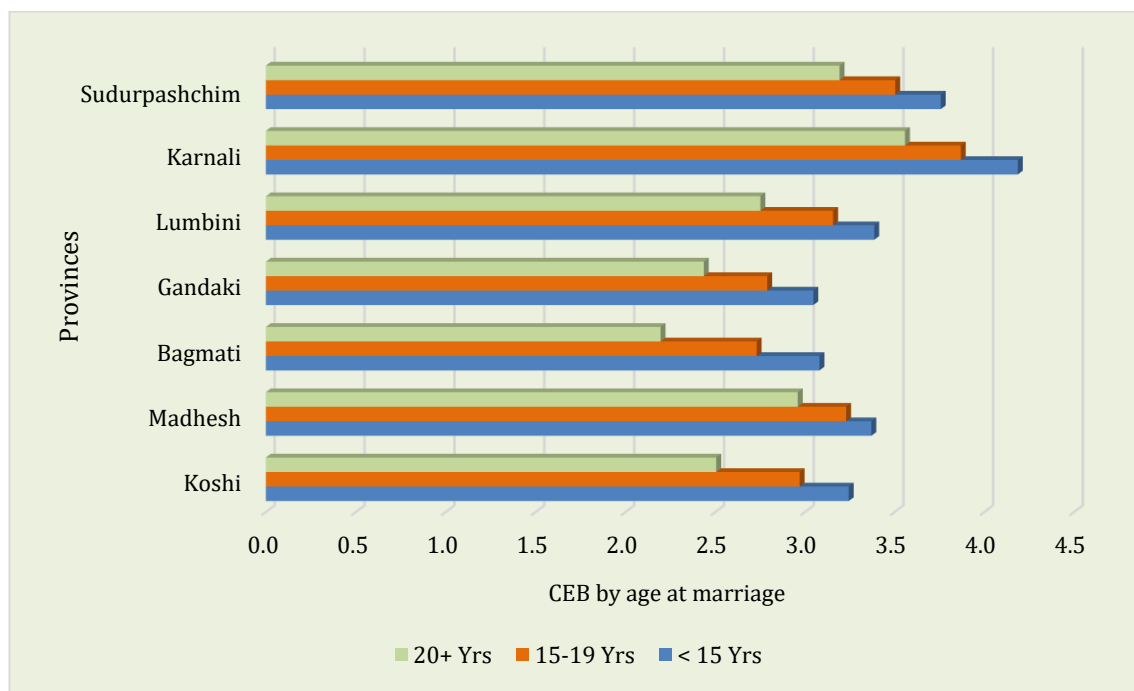
Table 5.7: Completed fertility of ever married women aged 45 to 49 by age at marriage and difference in number of children ever born, per 1,000 ever married women Nepal, NPHC 2021

Provinces	CEB per women by age at marriage			CEB difference per 1,000		
	Married < 15 Yrs	Married 15-19 Yrs	Married 20+ Yrs	< 15 and 15-19	< 15 and 20+	15-19-20+
Koshi	3.2	3.0	2.5	274	738	465
Madhesh	3.4	3.2	3.0	140	410	270
Bagmati	3.1	2.7	2.2	350	886	536
Gandaki	3.0	2.8	2.4	257	610	353
Lumbini	3.4	3.2	2.8	229	635	406
Karnali	4.2	3.9	3.6	317	629	312
Sudurpashchim	3.8	3.5	3.2	254	564	311
Nepal	3.8	3.6	3.3	175	530	355

Source: NSO, 2023.

The provincial variation in the size of completed fertility per ever married women aged 45 to 49 is clear at Figure 5.3. The highest difference in completed fertility for women who married before the age of 15 and after the age of 20 is visible in Bagmati and narrower in Madhesh.

Figure 5.3: Completed number of children ever born to ever married women aged 45 to 49 by age at first marriage and province, Nepal, NPHC 2021



Source: Table 5.7.

An analysis of completed fertility for ever married women according to their age at marriage found less variation for women aged between 20 and 34 years (15 years interval), as these are prime reproductive years for women. An assessment of the completed fertility for women in this age range, however, found that those women who married before the age of 15 years have nearly 1,200 more children than those who married 20 years and above. This figure is lowest in Gandaki (nearly 850 per 1,000 ever married women in this age range) and highest (above 1,200) in Madhesh province (Table 5.8).

Table 5.8: Completed fertility per ever married women aged 20 to 34 by age at marriage and difference in number of children ever born, per 1,000 ever married women, NPHC 2021

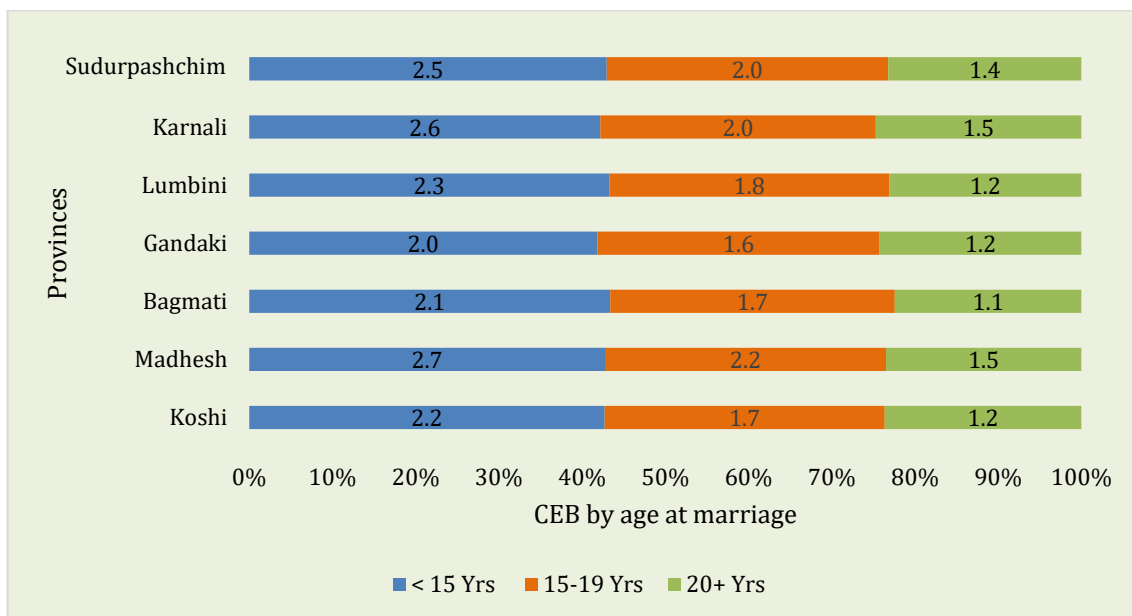
Provinces	CEB per women by age at marriage			CEB difference per 1,000		
	Married < 15 Yrs	Married 15-19 Yrs	Married 20+ Yrs	< 15 and 15-19	< 15 and 20+	15-19-20+
Koshi	2.2	1.7	1.2	464	976	512
Madhesh	2.7	2.2	1.5	573	1,228	655
Bagmati	2.1	1.7	1.1	445	1,016	570

Provinces	CEB per women by age at marriage			CEB difference per 1,000		
	Married < 15 Yrs	Married 15-19 Yrs	Married 20+ Yrs	< 15 and 15-19	< 15 and 20+	15-19-20+
Gandaki	2.0	1.6	1.2	382	847	464
Lumbini	2.3	1.8	1.2	515	1,076	562
Karnali	2.6	2.0	1.5	560	1,076	515
Sudurpashchim	2.5	2.0	1.4	532	1,151	618
Nepal	2.4	1.9	1.2	564	1,193	629

Source: NSO, 2023.

The difference in fertility indicates that the lower the age at marriage the higher the level of completed fertility in all instances. For the same age cohort, the completed fertility for women who married before the age of 15 is substantially higher than those who married between the ages of 15 and 19. Again, it is higher for those who married between the ages of 15 to 19 compared to women who married at age 20 and above.

Figure 5.4: Completed number of children ever born for ever-married women aged 20 to 34 by age at first marriage and province, NPHC 2021



Source: Table 5.7.

The biggest difference in completed fertility appears to be in women of the same age cohort who married before the age of 15 and after the age of 20. This is clear to see at Figure 5.4 where

for all instances of age at marriage for all provinces, the gap in completed fertility is substantially higher for ever-married women in the 20 to 34 age range than women in the 45 to 49 age cohort.

Results of the least square regression performed between age at marriage and completed level of fertility (CEB) clearly indicate that an increase in age at marriage for women by one step (<15 years, 15-19 years, 20-24 years and 25+ years) is likely to reduce the completed level of by 0.0238. This implies that if the age at first marriage of 1,000 women was postponed by one step, they would likely bear nearly 24 less children during their reproductive lifespan after marriage than women married at earlier ages. The results are presented at Table 5.9.

Table 5.9: An explanation of negative associations between age at marriage and completed fertility, NPHC 2021

ceb	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P> t	[95% conf. interval]	
agefirstmarr	-.0238202	.000154	-154.72	0.000	-.024122	-.0235185
_cons	2.143277	.0006937	3089.64	0.000	2.141918	2.144637

It can be concluded that marriage stability and age at marriage impact on the level of completed fertility. There appears to be a clear variation in completed levels of fertility by current marital status. Currently married women at the higher end of their reproductive years (45 to 49 years or above 35 years) have had more children than women who are widowed or divorced/separated in the intervening reproductive years. Likewise, age at marriage impacts a completed level of fertility. Women aged 20 years and above who married before the age of 15 have a higher number of children than women who marry after the age of 15 and after the age of 20. From this it can be asserted that marital stability during reproductive years and age at marriage (below 15 years) has an increasing impact on the completed levels of fertility.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Discussion on major findings

Marriage practices are influenced by socioeconomic changes and legal reforms. The Nepal Civil Code of 1962/63 (New Muliki Ain 2020 BS), which set a legal minimum age at marriage of 16 years, and regulated age differences between spouses, may have contributed to reducing early age at marriage and excessive age gaps between spouses. As a result, since 1961, the percentage of never married men and women at the younger ages has steadily increased in Nepal. The higher percentage of widowed women (nearly 18 percent – age standardized rate for females in 1961), in earlier censuses may be explained by past customs and practices of marrying young girls to much older men.

In recent censuses, there has been a slight decline in the proportion never married for both females and males and a corresponding increase in the proportion married. This might be explained by the heavy exodus of the unmarried population from the country; an upward shift in age composition; or some flaws in data collection and coding. Even though it is still a relatively uncommon phenomenon, the incidence of marriage dissolution from divorce and separation has increased over the past 60 years by 48 percentage points.

The increase in never-married females and the decline in widowed females over the last 60 years are more significant for females than males. The reduction between 1961 to 1981 was probably caused by a rapid decline in child marriage and narrowing age differences between spouses. Conversely, the increase in widowed people between 2011 and 2021 may be attributed to the process of population ageing. Delaying marriage is more common in urban areas, while early marriage remains prevalent in the Tarai regions. Urban areas consistently show a higher proportion of never married individuals, while rural areas have more married people, a trend unchanged between recent census periods.

Women tend to marry earlier than men, and nearly all men and women are married by 30 to 39 and 20 to 29 respectively. The highest proportion of males were married by the age of 40 until 1991, increasing to 45 in 2001 and 2011 and to 50 in 2021. The corresponding age for females increased from 30 in 1961 to 35 in 1971 and 2011 and further increased to 40 in 2021. This finding establishes an increasing trend in the propensity to delay marriage for both sexes. There appears to be a significant decline in the proportion of the population currently married in the

first three five-year age groups – 10 to 14, 15 to 19 and 20 to 24 years. The more than 71 percent of females aged 15 to 19 married in 1961 has gradually declined to 14 percent in 2021. This still shows the existence of child marriage, especially for females, in Nepal.

The chances of men remaining unmarried has increased by over 1.2 times, declines to be married by about 10 percent. This phenomenon holds true before the age of 50 for men the while for females it is 45. However, the chances of a male being widowed, divorced or separated, respectively lies between 66 to 33 percent. This phenomenon might be explained by four factors: first men marry at relatively older ages than females; there might be higher numbers of married males who are abroad leaving spouses behind in the country; there is a higher death rate for married males; and the limited practice of polygamy is still having an impact. All these four factors are worthy of further exploration.

Women are more likely than men to become widows at age 65 and above. A possible explanation of the lower incidence of widowed males may be the difference in age at marriage between males and females and higher life expectancy for females. The 2021 Census highlighted that some 1 to 2 percent of males aged over 40 and females aged over 35 are never married by the age of 65 and above. This is worth further exploration. The proportion of males who are married is saturated by the age of 50 at 96.5 percent, whereas for females it is below 95 percent at the age of 40. This remains nearly intact in the three ecological zones, by urban-rural residence and province. It is interesting to note that the proportion of married males remains well below the corresponding proportion of females below the age of 35 and reverses at successive ages. This suggests that the currently married status for women decreases with age.

The percentage of never-married males and females decreases from urban to peri-urban and to rural areas, while the proportion of married individuals correspondingly increases. However, the difference between peri-urban and rural areas according to the degree of urbanization is negligible. Similarly, the proportion of widowed individuals shows an increasing trend, rising from urban to peri-urban to rural areas. By provinces, the age standardized marital status revealed that, Bagmati has the lowest proportion of married people (56 percent for males and 60 percent for females) and the highest proportion of never married (41.3 percent for males and 33 percent for females). In contrast, Madhesh and Karnali have the lowest (below 25 percent each) proportion of never married females, for males it is Karnali at 32 percent, while the highest percentage of married males and females are in Karnali and Madhesh (68 percent males and 69 percent females respectively).

Literacy and the attainment of secondary level education and above have inverse relationships with the proportion of married people and a positive relationship with the proportion never married. This is more apparent for females. The proportion of never-married females increases

from 24 percent among those with basic education to 30 percent among those with secondary education, while the corresponding proportion of married females declines from 70 to 64 percent. The age-specific rates for never married and married people show a steeper decline and slower rise in respective rates as age increases for both literate males and females compared to their non-literate counterparts. The proportion of literate people never married is nearly eliminated at older ages compared to non-literate people. Interestingly, a sizeable proportion of females with higher levels of education remain never married until older ages, implying that education is an inhibitor on marriage for highly educated females in different ways.

Disability, for both males and females, is associated with an increasing proportion never married, widowed and divorced/separated and a declining proportion married. Data reveals that 43 and 46 percent of females and males respectively with any type of disability are never married against 28 and 38 percent of their counterparts without disabilities. The age-specific marriage rates of persons with disabilities never exceed 84 percent for males and 75 percent for females (even in at the peak age of marriage of 45 years and above), and the proportion never married remains high even after the age of 60 for both sexes.

Wealth status is positively associated with the increasing proportion never married and the declining proportion married. The proportions of never-married males and females in the lowest quintile—35 percent and 25 percent, respectively—increase to 43 percent for males and 34 percent for females in the highest quintile. The proportions of married males and females in the highest quintile—55 percent and 60 percent, respectively—increase to 62 percent and 67 percent, respectively, among their counterparts in the lowest quintile. There appears to be no conclusive variation in the rates of widowed and divorced people separated by wealth level.

The value of SMAM in all censuses has steadily and consistently increased across all instances of observation in the country. On average persons living in a single state before first marriage increased by one year for each decade for both males and females from 1961 to 2021. This means it increased from 19.5 and 15.4 years respectively, for males and females in 1961 to 25.5 and 21.8 years in 2021. There remain variations in SMAM by urban-rural, ecological and provincial, district and municipality level. In each instance, females are married three to four years earlier than males. This indicates universal early age marriage for females in the same age cohort. Relatively later ages at marriage for both males and females are consistently observed in Hill compared to Mountain and Tarai zones, which might be explained by the location of the country's major urban and metropolitan cities. Likewise, SMAM is consistently higher in urban municipalities than in rural municipalities in all five provinces. It is relatively higher for males and females in Bagmati, Gandaki and Koshi provinces in both urban and rural municipalities and lowest in Karnali, Sudurpashchim and Madhesh provinces.

The ranking of districts based on female's SMAM at one year intervals (20, 21, 22 and 23 years and above) classified 28 districts in the lowest category (20 years); 24 districts in the lower category (21 and less than 22 years); 19 in the middle category (22 and less than 23 years); with the remaining six districts in the highest category with a SMAM of 23 and above. Salyan district (20 years) ranked lowest and Lalitpur (25.1 years) highest. Seven of eight districts in Madhesh provinces are in the lowest category for female SMAM; other districts include 11 from Karnali; four from Lumbini; five from Sudurpashchim; and one from Gandaki. The six districts in the highest category include three (Kathmandu, Bhaktapur and Lalitpur) in Bagmati and three (Kaski, Manang and Mustang) in Gandaki province. The classification of SMAM at the local level where it was below the district's lowest found Salyan ranked bottom for females (20) and Mugu lowest for males (22). Sixty local levels have a female SMAM below the district low of 20 while the corresponding figure was 54 local levels for males. Of the 60 local levels, 33, or 55 percent, are from the five districts of Madhesh Province and five each are from Salyan and Surkhet districts of Karnali province. Accordingly, the 54 local levels with a male SMAM below the district lowest are mostly found in Karnali, Sudurpashchim and Lumbini provinces.

Incidence and prevalence of child marriage is measured by taking a proportion of the population aged 20 to 24 who married before the ages of 15 and 18. This is the SDG 5, goal and target monitoring indicator. At the national level, one half and 3 percent of males and females respectively in the 20- to 24-year-old population are married before the age of 15. The corresponding figure for the same population married before the age of 18 increases to 5 and 22 percent respectively for males and females. This implies that in 2021, 22 percent of girls are married as a child. The extent of child marriage is highest in the Tarai (4 and 24 percent of females respectively married before the ages of 15 and 18), in rural areas, and in Madhesh and Karnali provinces where 6 percent and 33 percent of females married before the ages of 15 and 18.

The district level variation in child marriage reveals that Dhanusa (7 and 39 percent of females respectively married before the ages of 15 and 18) ranks top for female child marriage both before the age of 15 and 18. All eight districts of Madhesh are included in the 10 districts with the highest levels of child marriage. Districts in Kathmandu Valley and Mountain districts, including Manang, Mustang and Solukhumbu, have the lowest levels of child marriage.

Child marriage is highest in the lowest wealth quintile (32 percent of females are married before the age of 18) and declines as wealth status increases to the highest quintile (8%). It is again highest for the non-literate population (44 percent of females married before the age of 18) and lowest for bachelor and above levels of education (2.5%). Madhesh/Tarai Dalits, religious/linguistic communities and Hill Dalits are communities with the highest levels of child marriage both before the ages of 15 and 18.

Ranking the 753 local levels by the prevalence of child marriage reveals that per 100 males and females aged 20 to 24 years, more than 12 and 39 respectively are married before the age of 18 in 30 out of 34 local levels. In 34 local levels, the extent of female child marriage is higher than the district highest; 31 or 91 percent are from six districts of Madhesh province, mainly Dhanusa and Rautahat. The Sahidnagar urban municipality of Dhanusa has the highest (11 and 50 percent of females respectively are married before the ages of 15 and 18) incidence of female child marriage both before the age of 15 and 18, followed by Aurahi rural municipality and Bideha urban municipality in the same district. This finding implies that child marriage and for females is most prevalent in Madhesh province, and specifically the districts of Dhanusa and Rautahat. The same applies to males. To address this issue, it is important for local levels, provincial, and federal governments to focus more on eliminating this harmful practice through policy programs and resource mobilization. Marital stability and age at marriage have direct implications on the level of completed fertility. The report looked at completed levels of fertility for ever married women of reproductive age and found that a change in marital status from married to widow or divorced/separated clearly reduces the levels of completed fertility. When completed fertility for ever married females aged 45 to 49 years was analysed, it was found that the number of children ever born substantially declines to widowed, divorced and separated women compared to their married counterparts by nearly half.

Age at marriage also impacts on completed levels of fertility. The size of cumulative fertility for women who married before the age of 20 far exceeds fertility for women who married age 20 and above. The gap between completed fertility for women who married before and after age 20 is narrower. This might be the result of fertility control by women who marry early after they have their desired family size and the continuation of fertility until older ages, by married women who marry later.

6.2 Conclusions

Transitions in the marital characteristics of the population have been established in Nepal. The proportion married has declined substantially, compensated by the proportional increase in the never married. Incidences of widow/widowerhood, driven by male-female age gaps in marriage, have declined, reaching a saturation level by 2011, and showing signs of an increase, which might be explained by the ageing of the population, and marriage dissolution at later ages.

There is substantial variation in marriage attributes by geographical region, degree of urbanization, province, caste/ethnic community and level of education, occupation and family wealth. Child marriage is still prevalent particularly among Dalit communities in the Madhesh/Tarai region, Dalits from the Hill, Tarai Janajatis and religious/linguistic communities. Male and female adolescents living in the district and local levels of Madhesh, Karnali,

Sudurpashchim and Lumbini provinces are at a high risk of early age and child marriage, although the phenomenon exists in all other parts of the country.

Insights gained from the analysis of marriage data from the 2021 Census and comparisons with previous censuses include:

- There appears to be a notable change in the composition of the population. The proportion of the population who are single, both males and female, has increased, and the proportion married and widowed decreased.
- The propensity to marry tends to rise with age peaking in middle age and tapering off thereafter. There was an upward trend in the peak time in the latest census for both males and females. Women tend to marry earlier than men and most men and women are married in the 45 to 49 and 30 to 34 age groups respectively. This age group was 30 to 39 and 20 to 29 respectively in 2001. Although early age marriage remains a significant social problem in the country, there has been a significant decline in the proportion of the population currently married in the age groups 10 to 14, 15 to 19 and 20 to 24.
- Some one to two percent of the population in successive age groups from 45 to 49 onwards remained never married in the 2021 Census, however, this data may not give a clear indication of the actual number. The age specific marital composition of the population with bachelor and higher levels of education have more of a propensity to remain single, increasing for females, possibly due to the inability to find a suitable marriage partner.
- The steady increase in SMAM of six years over the last six decades, across all residential and social and cultural attributes of the population, for both males and females, indicates that age at marriage is increasing.
- However, early age of marriage and child marriage is still prevalent particularly in the localities and communities of Madhesh, Karnali and Sudurpashchim provinces.

In conclusion, marital status, age at marriage and marital fertility are largely explained by ecological zone, three level of government, degree of urbanization, caste/ethnicity, literacy and education, sex of persons and sex of household heads, type of family, religion, occupation and wealth status of families. Above all, educational attainment is found to have the strongest impact on increasing age at marriage and prolonged years of remaining single as lower levels of completed fertility.

6.3 Policy recommendations

The 2021 data suggests that child marriage is still prevalent across the country and will have a negative impact on socioeconomic development. Policy measures have attempted to regulate the legal minimum age at marriage and marriage that constitutes incest, but progress across the

country has been uneven. Marriage characteristics are impacted by behaviours, social and religious norms and customs; improvements in living standards and economic opportunities; opportunities for education and training above basic levels, and an individual's autonomy. Given these variables it is essential that further research is undertaken to get a more in-depth insight into factors that drive child marriage and how these can be addressed. Targeted social interventions that raise awareness of the negative impacts of child marriage as well as a strict implementation of the law should also be considered.

Education

1. Ensure compulsory and universal education until the completion of at least secondary level of education (grade 12), especially for girls, targeting poor and marginalized communities. Education should also provide younger generations with skills that meet labour market demands.
2. In collaboration with local ward offices, establish life cycle surveillance systems for young adults to ensure the completion of minimum levels of education before marriage.

Employment and economic opportunities

3. Link education with productive employment, so that younger generations are motivated to complete education, delay marriage and secure employment opportunities.
4. Ensure improvements in income and the living standards of poor and marginalized communities at, so that they can invest in human resource development of their children ensuring delayed age at marriage.

Implementation of policy measures

5. In coordination with all three levels of governments, design and implement effective plans and programmes to raise awareness and increase adherence to the legal minimum age at marriage. Local government should design community targeted programmes where child marriage is high.
6. Establish surveillance mechanisms for the life-cycle development of children and young adolescents until they attain the legal minimum age at marriage.
7. Strengthen the vital registration system for marriage, ensuring the attainment of the legal minimum age at marriage of the marrying parties.

REFERENCES

- Bajracharya, G. & Bhandari D.R. (2014). Nuptiality trends and differentials in Nepal (Chapter 4). *Population Monograph of Nepal, Volume-1* (Population Dynamics), pp.71-114. Kathmandu: Central Bureau of Statistics.
- Becker, G.S. (1973). A Theory of Marriage: Part I. *The Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 81, No. 4., pp. 813-846. Stable URL: HYPERLINK <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0022-3808%28197307%2F08%25%202981%25>.
- Bongaarts, J. (1978). A Framework for Analyzing the Proximate Determinants of Fertility. *Population and Development Review*, HYPERLINK "https://www.jstor.org/stable/i307476" Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 105-132.
- CBS (1987). *Population monograph of Nepal* (Chapter V: Nuptiality, trends, differentials and determinants). Kathmandu: Central Bureau of Statistics.
- CBS. (2020). *Nepal Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey 2019* (Survey Findings Report November 2020). Kathmandu: Central Bureau of Statistics and UNICEF.
- Charles, K.K., Erik, H., & Killewald, A. (2013). Marital sorting and parental wealth. *Demography*, Vol. 50, No. 1, pp. 51-70. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23358832>.
- Davis, K. & Blake, J. (1956), Social structure and fertility: an analytic framework. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 4 No. 2, pp. 221-235.
- Dixon, R. (1971), Explaining cross-cultural variations in age at marriage and proportions never marrying. *Population Studies*, Vol. 32 No. 2, pp. 215-234. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2173211>.
- Ember, C.R. & Ember, M. (1981), *Anthropology*, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, NJ.
- Fawcett, J.T. (1974), Psychological determinants of nuptiality. *International Population Conference*, International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, Liege, Vol. 2, pp. 19-30.
- Guzzo, K. B., & Hayford, S. R. (2014). Fertility and the stability of cohabiting unions: Variation by intendeness. *Journal of family issues*, Vol.35, No. 4, pp. 547–576. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X12468104>.
- Hajnal, J. (1953). Age at marriage and proportions marrying. *Population Studies*, Vol. 7(2), pp. 111-136. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2172028>.
- Hosain, G.M. Monawar, Atkinson, D., & Underwood, P. (2002). Impact of disability on quality of life of rural disabled people in Bangladesh. *Journal of Health, Population and Nutrition*, Vol. 20, No. 4, pp. 297-305. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23498917>.

- Islam, A., & Rahaman, A. (2020). Age at first marriage and fertility in developing countries: A meta analytical view of 15 Demographic and Health Surveys. *Clinical Epidemiology and Global Health*, Vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 775-779. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cegh.2020.01.018>.
- Jennifer H. Lundquist, Douglas L. Anderton, & Barbara Yaukey (2015). *Demography the Study of Human Population* (Fourth Edition). Waveland Press, Inc.
- Kiernan, K. E., & Eldridge, S.M. (1987). Age at marriage: Inter and intra cohort variation. *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 38, No. 1, pp. 44- 65. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/590578>.
- Lotta V., Helena H., & Erling H.L. (2020). Marriages among people with disabilities in 19th-century Sweden: marital age and spouse's characteristics. *The History of the Family*, Vol. 25, No. 2, pp. 322-344. DOI: 10.1080/1081602X.2020.1719859.
- Ministry of Health & Population [Nepal], New ERA, & ICF. (2023). *Nepal Demographic and Health Survey 2022*. Kathmandu, Nepal: Ministry of Health and Population [Nepal].
- Ministry of Law, Justice & Parliamentary Affairs. (2074 BS). *Muluki Dewani Samhita 2074 (BS)*. Kathmandu: Ministry of Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs. <https://www.moljpa.gov.UM/wp-.pdf>.
- National Planning Commission (2024 (2081 BS)). *सोहौ योजना (आर्थिक वर्ष २०८१/८२-२०८५/८६) The Sixteenth Plan (2024/025 – 2029/030)*. Kathmandu: Government of Nepal, National Planning Commission.
- National Planning Commission. (2002). Tenth Plan (2002-2007). Kathmandu: Government of Nepal, National Planning Commission.
- National Planning Commission. (2020). *The Fifteenth Plan (Fiscal Year 2019/20 – 2023/24)*. Kathmandu: Government of Nepal, National Planning Commission.
- National Statistics Office (2022). *National population and housing census 2021, Report on post enumeration survey (PES)*. Kathmandu: National Statistics Office. <https://censusnepal.cbs.gov.UM/results/downloads/post-enumeration-report-survey>.
- National Statistics Office (2024). *National Population and Housing Census 2021: Population composition of Nepal (Thematic Report-1)*. Kathmandu: National Statistics Office.
- Nepal Law Commission (2015). *The Constitution of Nepal*.
- Nepal Law Commission (2074 BS). *The Civil Legal Code of Conducts (मुलुकी देवानी संहिता २०७४)*.
- Schneider, D. (2011). Wealth and the marital divide. *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 117, No. 2, pp. 627-667. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/661594>.
- Shryock, H.S., Seigel, J. S., & Associates. (1971). *The Methods and Materials of Demography*. Academic Press, INC. (Condensed Edition by Edward G. Stockwell).

- Smith, R., Stone, P., & Kahando, S. (2012). A model of women's educational factors related to delaying girls' marriage. *International Review of Education, Vol. 58, No. 4*, pp. 533-555. URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23255247>.
- Suvedi, B.K., & Thapa, A. (2014). Adolescents, youth and young population (CHAPTER 7). *Population Monograph of Nepal, Volume-2 (Social Demography)*, pp.273-291. Kathmandu: Central Bureau of Statistics.
- UNICEF. (2005) Early Marriage, a harmful traditional practice: A Statistical exploration. The United Nations Children's Fund (Unicef).
- United Nations (1995). *Report of the International Conference on Population and Development Cairo, 5-13 September 1994*. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations (2006). *Convention on the rights of persons with disabilities*. United Nations.
- United Nations (2010). *Post enumeration surveys: Operational guidelines* (Technical Report). United Nations Secretariat, Department of economic and social affairs, Statistic Division.
- United Nations (2019). *United Nations National Quality Assurance Frameworks Manual for Official Statistics Including recommendations*, (the framework and implementation guidance). United Nations: Department of Economic and Social Affairs.
- United Nations (2020). *Principles and Recommendations for Population and Housing Censuses Revision 3*.
- United Nations (2024). *Principles and Recommendations for Population and Housing Censuses (Revision 4)*. United Nations.

ANNEXES

Annex A3.1: Percentage of married males and females aged 10 years and above by five-year age group, Nepal Censuses 1961-2021

Age/Sex	% Currently married							Percentage point change			
	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	2021	1961-1981	1981-2001	2001-2021	1961-2021
Male											
All ages	65.4	64.1	62.1	60.6	58.5	57.6	59.1	-3.2	-3.6	0.6	-6.3
10-14 Yrs.	10.6	6.2	14.0	4.1	0.8	0.5	0.2	3.4	-13.3	-0.6	-10.4
15-19 Yrs.	35.9	26.6	25.1	19.1	11.7	7.1	3.8	-10.8	-13.4	-7.9	-32.1
20-24 Yrs.	69.6	65.6	57.8	60.3	47.8	42.0	30.9	-11.8	-10.0	-16.9	-38.7
25-29 Yrs.	85.3	85.7	78.8	85.5	81.1	78.3	66.2	-6.5	2.3	-14.9	-19.1
30-34 Yrs.	90.4	91.5	85.8	92.8	93.4	92.7	87.9	-4.7	7.6	-5.5	-2.5
35-39 Yrs.	91.8	93.3	89.0	94.8	96.0	96.3	94.8	-2.8	7.0	-1.2	3.0
40-44 Yrs.	91.1	92.9	89.1	94.4	96.2	96.9	96.3	-2.0	7.2	0.1	5.3
45-49 Yrs.	89.5	92.4	89.2	93.5	96.2	96.7	96.5	-0.3	7.0	0.3	7.0
50-54 Yrs.	87.0	90.5	88.4	91.2	95.2	95.9	95.7	1.4	6.9	0.5	8.7
55-59 Yrs.	84.1	88.5	87.2	89.2	94.1	94.9	94.6	3.1	6.9	0.5	10.5
60 + yrs	73.2	79.0	80.8	79.3	88.3	87.5	84.8	7.6	7.5	-3.5	11.6
Stdz. Male	67.6	67.0	65.0	65.7	64.5	63.0	59.1	-2.5	-0.5	-5.4	-8.5
Female											
All ages	69.2	70.3	70.8	65.7	65.5	63.9	64.3	1.7	-5.4	-1.2	-4.9
10-14 Yrs.	24.6	13.4	13.4	7.2	1.7	1.1	0.5	-11.3	-11.6	-1.2	-24.1
15-19 Yrs.	71.2	60.2	50.1	45.5	33.3	23.1	14.4	-21.2	-16.8	-18.9	-56.8
20-24 Yrs.	91.6	91.1	85.9	85.1	78.2	72.3	61.6	-5.6	-7.8	-16.6	-30.0
25-29 Yrs.	93.7	95.4	93.2	94.1	93.6	91.9	86.4	-0.5	0.4	-7.2	-7.3
30-34 Yrs.	91.8	95.0	94.8	95.1	96.1	95.7	94.0	3.0	1.3	-2.1	2.2
35-39 Yrs.	86.7	92.0	93.8	93.9	96.1	95.6	94.7	7.2	2.3	-1.4	8.1
40-44 Yrs.	78.3	86.6	91.1	90.9	95.0	94.5	93.4	12.8	3.9	-1.6	15.1
45-49 Yrs.	68.6	80.6	87.8	86.3	93.2	93.1	91.4	19.2	5.4	-1.8	22.8
50-54 Yrs.	59.2	70.8	81.7	78.2	89.5	90.2	87.8	22.6	7.7	-1.7	28.7
55-59 Yrs.	50.8	66.6	79.1	72.3	86.4	86.6	83.5	28.3	7.3	-2.8	32.7
60 + yrs	32.1	44.4	61.0	49.2	71.8	68.2	61.5	28.9	10.7	-10.3	29.4
Stdz. Female	68.0	70.5	72.6	69.4	71.5	68.8	64.3	4.6	-1.2	-7.2	-3.7

Never married

Age group	Census years							Percentage point change			
	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	2021	1961-1981	1981-2001	2001-2021	1961-2021
Never married males											
All ages	28.47	31.93	35.12	35.65	39.23	40.56	38.20	6.7	4.1	-1.0	9.7
10-14 Yrs.	98.3	93.71	85.11	95.76	99.18	99.55	99.80	-13.2	14.1	0.6	1.5
15-19 Yrs.	63.33	73.02	74.13	79.44	87.08	92.91	96.10	10.8	13.0	9.0	32.8
20-24 Yrs.	26.35	33.11	40.58	38.07	49.38	57.72	68.80	14.2	8.8	19.4	42.5
25-29 Yrs.	10.21	12.26	19.52	12.66	18.15	21.29	33.00	9.3	-1.4	14.9	22.8
30-34 Yrs.	4.72	5.7	12.36	5.15	5.69	6.67	11.00	7.6	-6.7	5.3	6.3
35-39 Yrs.	2.71	3.25	8.93	2.75	2.77	2.86	4.00	6.2	-6.2	1.2	1.3
40-44 Yrs.	2.06	2.31	8.04	2.11	2.01	1.98	2.10	6.0	-6.0	0.1	0.0
45-49 Yrs.	1.6	1.6	7.37	1.64	1.52	1.61	1.60	5.8	-5.9	0.1	0.0
50-54 Yrs.	1.47	1.43	6.88	1.55	1.43	1.49	1.40	5.4	-5.5	0.0	-0.1
55-59 Yrs.	1.26	1.22	7.04	1.38	1.35	1.21	1.20	5.8	-5.7	-0.2	-0.1
60 + yrs	0.98	1.07	8.83	1.29	1.42	1.1	1.10	7.9	-7.4	-0.3	0.1
Male Stdz.	26.09	27.86	31.70	29.51	32.79	34.90	38.20	5.6	1.1	5.4	12.1
Never married female											
All ages	15.12	19.35	23.3	25.71	30.26	31.13	28.40	8.2	7.0	-1.9	13.3
10-14 Yrs.	75.14	86.56	85.73	92.36	98.19	98.88	99.50	10.6	12.5	1.3	24.4
15-19 Yrs.	25.68	39.33	49.17	52.72	66.05	76.8	85.50	23.5	16.9	19.5	59.8
20-24 Yrs.	5.33	7.87	13.06	12.76	21.02	27.32	37.90	7.7	8.0	16.9	32.6
25-29 Yrs.	1.91	2.59	5.35	3.66	5.58	7.31	12.50	3.4	0.2	6.9	10.6
30-34 Yrs.	1.04	1.4	3.07	1.92	2.61	2.89	4.10	2.0	-0.5	1.5	3.1
35-39 Yrs.	0.77	1.08	2.63	1.3	1.75	2.04	2.20	1.9	-0.9	0.5	1.4
40-44 Yrs.	0.68	0.92	2.52	1.09	1.5	1.77	1.70	1.8	-1.0	0.2	1.0
45-49 Yrs.	0.58	0.77	2.93	0.9	1.24	1.44	1.50	2.4	-1.7	0.3	0.9
50-54 Yrs.	0.55	0.71	3.56	0.93	1.31	1.4	1.60	3.0	-2.3	0.3	1.1
55-59 Yrs.	0.51	0.68	4.2	0.89	1.05	1.13	1.40	3.7	-3.2	0.4	0.9
60 + yrs	0.45	0.62	6.24	0.89	1.18	1.03	1.30	5.8	-5.1	0.1	0.9
Female Stdz.	12.78	16.20	19.74	19.28	22.93	25.29	28.40	7.0	3.2	5.5	15.6

Widow/widower

Age group	Census years							Percentage point change			
	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	2021	1961-1981	1981-2001	2001-2021	1961-2021
Widow/Widower male											
All ages	4.36	3.66	2.36	2.95	1.34	1.63	2.20	-2.0	-1.0	0.9	-2.2
10-14 Yrs.	0.09	0.04	0.68	0.05	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.6	-0.7	0.0	-0.1
15-19 Yrs.	0.58	0.24	0.55	0.13	0.09	0.01	0.00	0.0	-0.5	-0.1	-0.6
20-24 Yrs.	0.54	0.90	0.82	0.38	0.10	0.08	0.10	0.3	-0.7	0.0	-0.4
25-29 Yrs.	2.46	1.59	1.09	0.68	0.23	0.16	0.20	-1.4	-0.9	0.0	-2.3
30-34 Yrs.	3.25	2.35	1.35	1.03	0.34	0.23	0.30	-1.9	-1.0	0.0	-3.0
35-39 Yrs.	4.12	3.05	1.67	1.59	0.58	0.40	0.40	-2.5	-1.1	-0.2	-3.7
40-44 Yrs.	5.69	4.40	2.48	2.67	0.96	0.69	0.70	-3.2	-1.5	-0.3	-5.0
45-49 Yrs.	7.73	5.67	3.11	4.04	1.46	1.21	1.20	-4.6	-1.7	-0.3	-6.5
50-54 Yrs.	10.41	7.79	4.39	6.43	2.49	2.17	2.20	-6.0	-1.9	-0.3	-8.2
55-59 Yrs.	13.52	9.99	5.44	8.57	3.79	3.48	3.50	-8.1	-1.7	-0.3	-10.0
60 + yrs	24.50	19.68	10.92	18.24	9.11	11.00	13.60	-13.6	-1.8	4.5	-10.9
Male Stdz.	6.20	4.80	2.86	3.86	1.75	1.87	2.20	-3.3	-1.1	0.5	-4.0
Widow/Widower female											
All ages	14.26	10.1	5.54	7.18	3.65	4.61	6.60	-8.7	-1.9	3.0	-7.7
10-14 Yrs.	0.18	0.06	0.70	0.06	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.5	-0.7	0.0	-0.2
15-19 Yrs.	0.80	0.30	0.49	0.16	0.22	0.04	0.10	-0.3	-0.3	-0.1	-0.7
20-24 Yrs.	1.62	0.73	0.62	0.40	0.17	0.17	0.20	-1.0	-0.5	0.0	-1.4
25-29 Yrs.	3.24	1.64	1.03	0.89	0.48	0.48	0.50	-2.2	-0.6	0.0	-2.7
30-34 Yrs.	6.14	3.28	1.73	1.76	0.97	0.97	1.10	-4.4	-0.8	0.1	-5.0
35-39 Yrs.	11.56	6.62	3.10	3.62	1.83	1.83	2.10	-8.5	-1.3	0.3	-9.5
40-44 Yrs.	19.88	12.10	5.82	6.74	3.14	3.14	3.80	-14.1	-2.7	0.7	-16.1
45-49 Yrs.	29.57	18.30	8.74	11.35	4.82	4.82	5.90	-20.8	-3.9	1.1	-23.7
50-54 Yrs.	38.99	28.13	14.08	18.93	7.65	7.65	9.40	-24.9	-6.4	1.8	-29.6
55-59 Yrs.	47.24	32.39	16.19	24.85	11.54	11.54	13.90	-31.1	-4.7	2.4	-33.3
60 + yrs	65.73	54.65	32.07	47.53	30.14	30.14	36.30	-33.7	-1.9	6.2	-29.4
Female Stdz.	17.92	12.97	7.19	9.87	5.53	5.51	6.60	-10.7	-1.7	1.1	-11.3

Divorced/separated

Age Group	Census years							Percentage point change			
	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011	2021	1961-1981	1981-2001	2001-2021	1961-2021
Divorced/Separated males											
All ages	0.4	0.28	0.38	0.46	0.79	0.25	0.40	0.0	0.4	-0.4	0.0
10-14 Yrs.	0.02	0.02	0.17	0.06	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.2	-0.1	-0.1	0.0
15-19 Yrs.	0.23	0.13	0.23	0.20	0.10	0.03	0.00	0.0	-0.1	-0.1	-0.2
20-24 Yrs.	0.63	0.40	0.52	0.59	0.20	0.17	0.20	-0.1	-0.3	0.0	-0.4
25-29 Yrs.	0.69	0.50	0.60	0.70	0.30	0.28	0.60	-0.1	-0.3	0.3	-0.1
30-34 Yrs.	0.61	0.46	0.52	0.65	0.35	0.35	0.80	-0.1	-0.2	0.5	0.2
35-39 Yrs.	0.47	0.39	0.43	0.63	0.32	0.40	0.80	0.0	-0.1	0.5	0.3
40-44 Yrs.	0.41	0.35	0.41	0.62	0.40	0.43	0.90	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.5
45-49 Yrs.	0.41	0.29	0.37	0.59	0.32	0.44	0.70	0.0	-0.1	0.4	0.3
50-54 Yrs.	0.39	0.26	0.36	0.62	0.35	0.45	0.70	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.3
55-59 Yrs.	0.35	0.25	0.34	0.59	0.31	0.43	0.60	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.3
60 + yrs	0.39	0.30	0.43	0.56	0.32	0.43	0.50	0.0	-0.1	0.2	0.1
Standardized	0.403	0.29	0.39	0.49	0.25	0.27	0.40	0.0	-0.1	0.1	0.0
Divorced/separated female											
All ages	0.34	0.28	0.42	0.69	0.32	0.35	0.70	0.1	-0.1	0.4	0.4
10-14 Yrs.	0.03	0.02	0.21	0.08	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.2	-0.2	-0.1	0.0
15-19 Yrs.	0.29	0.18	0.29	0.34	0.11	0.07	0.00	0.0	-0.2	-0.1	-0.3
20-24 Yrs.	0.45	0.33	0.39	0.64	0.25	0.24	0.30	-0.1	-0.1	0.1	-0.2
25-29 Yrs.	0.45	0.35	0.42	0.72	0.34	0.35	0.60	0.0	-0.1	0.3	0.2
30-34 Yrs.	0.43	0.33	0.42	0.78	0.41	0.40	0.80	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.4
35-39 Yrs.	0.46	0.35	0.45	0.91	0.45	0.51	0.90	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.4
40-44 Yrs.	0.46	0.35	0.54	1.07	0.54	0.61	1.10	0.1	0.0	0.6	0.6
45-49 Yrs.	0.42	0.35	0.53	1.16	0.55	0.65	1.20	0.1	0.0	0.7	0.8
50-54 Yrs.	0.38	0.34	0.62	1.37	0.57	0.74	1.20	0.2	-0.1	0.6	0.8
55-59 Yrs.	0.41	0.31	0.55	1.32	0.54	0.70	1.20	0.1	0.0	0.7	0.8
60 + yrs	0.24	0.36	0.65	1.05	0.50	0.64	1.00	0.4	-0.2	0.5	0.8
Stdz.	0.35	0.29	0.44	0.77	0.35	0.39	0.70	0.1	-0.1	0.3	0.4

Annex A3.2a: Percentage distribution of population 10 years and above by marital status, age sex and urban-rural municipalities, NPHC 2021

Urban municipalities

Age Group	Male					Female				
	Pop	NM	Married	Wid	Div./Sep.	Pop	NM	M	Wid	Div./Sep.
10-14	960,918	99.8	0.2	0.0	0.0	891,121	99.6	0.4	0.0	0.0
15-19	987,059	96.7	3.3	0.0	0.0	953,898	86.9	13.0	0.1	0.1
20-24	882,666	72.3	27.4	0.1	0.2	995,741	41.9	57.5	0.2	0.3
25-29	762,951	36.4	62.9	0.2	0.5	920,376	14.3	84.5	0.5	0.6
30-34	677,051	12.2	86.8	0.3	0.7	816,049	4.6	93.4	1.1	0.9
35-39	652,295	4.2	94.6	0.4	0.8	767,149	2.4	94.5	2.1	1.0
40-44	577,363	2.2	96.4	0.6	0.8	632,470	1.9	93.2	3.7	1.2
45-49	471,193	1.6	96.7	1.0	0.7	503,234	1.6	91.2	5.9	1.3
50-54	463,564	1.3	96.0	2.0	0.6	474,496	1.6	87.5	9.6	1.3
55-59	349,650	1.1	95.1	3.3	0.6	348,682	1.5	83.0	14.3	1.3
60-64	297,728	1.1	92.6	5.8	0.5	313,491	1.4	75.4	22.0	1.3
65-69	239,026	1.0	89.2	9.3	0.5	248,809	1.1	67.7	30.2	1.1
70-74	182,222	1.0	83.0	15.6	0.5	199,311	1.1	53.8	44.3	0.8
75-79	106,283	1.0	77.5	21.0	0.4	115,748	1.2	43.0	55.0	0.7
80-84	49,194	0.9	70.8	27.8	0.4	53,582	1.3	34.1	64.0	0.6
85+	36,623	1.0	58.6	39.9	0.4	45,667	1.3	25.8	72.4	0.5
Total	7,695,786	38.7	58.9	2.0	0.4	8,279,824	28.6	64.1	6.6	0.7
Standardised rates		39.1	58.4	2.1	0.4		29.3	63.2	6.8	0.7

Note: Pop= Total population; NM=Never married; Wid= Widowed; Div/Sep= Divorced/Separated

Rural Municipalities

Age Group	Male					Female				
	Pop	NM	Married	Wid	Div./Sep.	Pop	NM	M	Wid	Div./Sep.
10-14	535,036	99.8	0.2	0.0	0.0	522,790	99.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
15-19	507,464	95.1	4.9	0.0	0.0	517,983	83.0	16.8	0.1	0.1
20-24	418,352	61.5	38.1	0.1	0.2	486,301	29.5	69.8	0.3	0.3
25-29	359,291	25.9	73.2	0.2	0.7	416,731	8.4	90.5	0.6	0.5
30-34	301,925	8.5	90.3	0.4	0.9	352,687	3.0	95.2	1.2	0.6
35-39	284,636	3.4	95.1	0.5	0.9	337,412	1.8	95.3	2.2	0.7
40-44	251,130	2.0	96.2	0.9	0.9	286,869	1.5	93.8	3.8	0.8
45-49	216,332	1.7	96.1	1.4	0.8	245,281	1.4	91.9	5.8	0.9
50-54	228,930	1.6	95.1	2.5	0.7	246,862	1.5	88.4	9.2	1.0
55-59	187,908	1.4	93.9	4.1	0.6	189,704	1.4	84.5	13.1	1.0

Age Group	Male					Female				
	Pop	NM	Married	Wid	Div./Sep.	Pop	NM	M	Wid	Div./Sep.
60-64	168,234	1.6	90.8	7.0	0.6	176,151	1.4	77.2	20.4	0.9
65-69	140,663	1.3	87.5	10.6	0.6	143,120	1.3	69.8	28.1	0.9
70-74	109,832	1.4	81.2	16.9	0.6	118,005	1.2	56.8	41.2	0.8
75-79	64,715	1.3	75.2	23.0	0.5	66,457	1.3	46.2	51.8	0.7
80-84	29,121	1.1	67.7	30.8	0.5	29,659	1.3	36.9	61.2	0.6
85+	20,266	1.1	56.0	42.4	0.5	23,411	1.2	28.0	70.4	0.4
Total	3,823,835	37.3	59.6	2.6	0.5	4,159,423	28.1	64.6	6.8	0.5
Age standardised		36.3	60.7	2.4	0.5		26.5	66.5	6.4	0.5

Note: Pop= Total population; NM=Never married; Wid= Widowed; Div/Sep= Divorced/Separated

Annex A3.2b: Percentage distribution of population 10 years and above by marital status, age sex and degree of urbanization, NPHC 2021

Age Group by DEURBA	Male					Female				
	Population	N-Married	Marr-ied	Wido-wed	Div./Sep.	Population	N-Married	Married	Wido-wed	Div./Sep.
Urban										
10-14	371,397	99.8	0.2	0.0	0.0	329,928	99.6	0.4	0.0	0.0
15-19	413,146	97.8	2.2	0.0	0.0	378,809	90.8	9.1	0.0	0.0
20-24	400,258	79.6	20.2	0.1	0.1	419,074	53.8	45.7	0.2	0.3
25-29	351,173	45.2	54.3	0.1	0.4	399,958	20.8	78.0	0.4	0.7
30-34	318,043	15.9	83.3	0.2	0.6	365,665	6.5	91.5	1.0	1.0
35-39	304,912	5.5	93.5	0.3	0.7	337,008	3.2	93.6	1.9	1.3
40-44	269,644	2.7	96.1	0.5	0.7	279,088	2.4	92.7	3.4	1.5
45-49	214,553	1.9	96.7	0.8	0.6	213,620	2.1	90.8	5.5	1.6
50-54	199,064	1.4	96.6	1.4	0.6	190,213	2.2	87.2	9.1	1.6
55-59	141,221	1.2	95.9	2.5	0.5	135,631	2.0	82.6	13.9	1.5
60-64	115,292	1.1	93.7	4.8	0.4	117,989	2.0	75.0	21.6	1.4
65-69	86,815	1.0	90.7	7.9	0.4	90,900	1.6	66.8	30.5	1.1
70-74	63,738	1.0	84.4	14.1	0.4	71,076	1.6	53.6	44.0	0.9
75-79	38,405	1.2	79.2	19.3	0.4	44,421	1.7	43.5	54.1	0.7
80-84	18,724	1.1	72.6	26.0	0.3	22,302	1.8	34.6	63.0	0.6
85+	14,404	1.3	60.4	38.0	0.3	19,601	1.8	27.0	70.8	0.4
Total	3,320,789	40.3	57.8	1.5	0.4	3,415,283	30.5	62.7	6.0	0.8
Age standardised		41.4	56.4	1.8	0.4		32.4	60.3	6.6	0.8
Peri-urban										
10-14	610,225	99.8	0.2	0.0	0.0	576,579	99.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
15-19	590,920	96.6	3.3	0.0	0.0	573,883	85.4	14.5	0.1	0.0

Age Group by DEGURBA	Male					Female				
	Population	N- Married	Marr- ied	Wido- wed	Div./Sep.	Population	N- Married	Married	Wido- wed	Div./ Sep.
20-24	499,919	67.6	32.2	0.1	0.1	582,308	31.9	67.5	0.3	0.3
25-29	427,972	28.0	71.3	0.2	0.5	532,604	8.4	90.6	0.6	0.5
30-34	368,962	8.2	90.8	0.3	0.6	461,499	2.6	95.6	1.1	0.6
35-39	366,435	2.8	96.0	0.5	0.7	444,042	1.4	95.7	2.2	0.7
40-44	320,440	1.5	96.9	0.8	0.7	350,112	1.1	94.1	3.9	0.9
45-49	261,483	1.2	96.9	1.3	0.6	282,545	0.9	92.1	6.0	0.9
50-54	258,992	1.1	95.9	2.5	0.6	268,136	0.9	88.5	9.6	1.0
55-59	204,067	0.8	94.7	4.0	0.5	198,806	0.7	84.1	14.2	1.0
60-64	173,346	0.9	91.8	6.9	0.5	182,074	0.7	76.7	21.7	0.9
65-69	152,189	0.7	88.1	10.7	0.4	152,206	0.5	69.3	29.4	0.8
70-74	120,361	0.8	81.5	17.3	0.4	122,844	0.6	54.4	44.3	0.7
75-79	65,502	0.8	75.3	23.5	0.4	63,177	0.7	42.0	56.6	0.7
80-84	26,637	0.8	68.4	30.4	0.5	26,681	0.7	32.6	66.1	0.6
85+	20,357	0.8	56.3	42.5	0.4	22,777	0.8	24.0	74.9	0.4
Total	4,467,807	37.9	59.3	2.4	0.4	4,840,273	27.4	65.6	6.5	0.5
Age standardised		37.2	60.1	2.4	0.4		26.8	65.9	6.8	0.5
Rural										
10-14	514,332	99.7	0.3	0.0	0.0	507,404	99.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
15-19	490,457	94.2	5.8	0.0	0.0	519,189	81.8	18.0	0.1	0.1
20-24	400,841	59.7	39.9	0.1	0.3	480,660	31.2	68.1	0.3	0.4
25-29	343,097	26.9	72.1	0.2	0.8	404,545	9.6	89.2	0.6	0.6
30-34	291,971	9.3	89.2	0.3	1.1	341,572	3.6	94.4	1.2	0.7
35-39	265,584	3.8	94.4	0.5	1.2	323,511	2.3	94.6	2.3	0.8
40-44	238,409	2.3	95.7	0.9	1.1	290,139	1.8	93.2	4.0	1.0
45-49	211,489	1.9	95.7	1.4	1.0	252,350	1.7	91.2	6.0	1.0
50-54	234,438	1.9	94.8	2.4	0.9	263,009	1.8	87.5	9.6	1.1
55-59	192,270	1.7	93.7	3.9	0.8	203,949	1.8	83.4	13.6	1.2
60-64	177,324	1.8	91.0	6.5	0.7	189,579	1.7	76.1	21.0	1.2
65-69	140,685	1.5	87.8	10.0	0.7	148,823	1.5	68.6	28.8	1.1
70-74	107,955	1.5	82.0	15.8	0.7	123,396	1.5	56.2	41.5	0.9
75-79	67,091	1.4	76.5	21.5	0.6	74,607	1.5	46.4	51.3	0.8
80-84	32,954	1.1	69.0	29.4	0.5	34,258	1.4	37.4	60.6	0.6
85+	22,128	1.1	57.2	41.1	0.5	26,700	1.3	28.5	69.7	0.5
Total	3,731,025	36.7	60.1	2.6	0.6	4,183,691	27.9	64.2	7.3	0.6
Age standardised		36.3	60.8	2.3	0.6		26.9	65.9	6.6	0.6

Annex A3.3: Percentage distribution of population 10 years and above by marital status, age sex and Ecological Zones, NPHC 2021

Mountain

Age Group	Male					Female				
	Pop	NM	Married	Wid	Div./Sep.	Pop	NM	M	Wid	Div./Sep.
10-14	100,663	99.8	0.2	0.0	0.0	99,538	99.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
15-19	90,917	93.7	6.2	0.0	0.0	96,279	83.8	16.0	0.1	0.1
20-24	77,272	56.3	43.3	0.1	0.2	85,213	32.9	66.5	0.3	0.3
25-29	68,070	25.6	73.6	0.2	0.6	68,722	11.4	87.5	0.6	0.5
30-34	57,644	9.2	89.8	0.3	0.7	59,319	4.1	94.0	1.3	0.6
35-39	53,138	4.0	94.7	0.5	0.8	55,619	2.7	94.1	2.4	0.8
40-44	45,313	2.5	95.8	0.9	0.8	50,182	2.2	93.2	3.8	0.8
45-49	39,795	2.3	95.4	1.5	0.8	43,063	2.0	91.1	6.0	0.9
50-54	41,723	2.3	94.3	2.7	0.7	43,656	2.1	87.7	9.1	1.1
55-59	34,310	2.1	92.8	4.5	0.6	34,052	2.2	83.9	12.9	1.1
60-64	31,271	2.2	89.6	7.6	0.6	32,412	2.2	76.2	20.5	1.1
65-69	24,279	2.0	85.6	11.7	0.7	24,626	2.0	69.2	27.7	1.0
70-74	18,775	2.3	79.3	17.8	0.7	21,578	1.9	57.2	40.2	0.8
75-79	11,095	2.1	73.6	23.8	0.5	12,587	1.8	48.0	49.5	0.8
80-84	5,473	1.4	65.6	32.4	0.7	5,999	1.6	40.0	57.7	0.7
85+	3,411	1.2	56.8	41.5	0.5	4,549	1.7	31.0	66.6	0.7
Total	703,149	36.9	59.9	2.7	0.5	737,394	30.5	62.1	6.9	0.5
Age Standardised		35.9	61.1	2.5	0.5		27.7	65.3	6.4	0.6

Note: Pop= Total population; NM=Never married; Wid= Widowed; Div/Sep= Divorced/Separated

Hill

Age Group	Male					Female				
	Pop	NM	Married	Wid	Div./Sep.	Pop	NM	M	Wid	Div./Sep.
10-14	568,487	99.8	0.2	0.0	0.0	537,511	99.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
15-19	593,888	95.9	4.1	0.0	0.0	590,347	85.7	14.2	0.1	0.1
20-24	535,107	70.9	28.8	0.1	0.2	597,175	43.7	55.7	0.2	0.4
25-29	468,013	38.5	60.7	0.2	0.7	542,551	16.8	82.1	0.5	0.7
30-34	415,167	13.8	85.0	0.3	0.9	479,222	5.8	92.2	1.0	0.9
35-39	382,560	5.1	93.5	0.4	1.1	442,071	3.2	93.7	2.0	1.1
40-44	337,419	2.7	95.7	0.6	1.0	389,596	2.4	92.6	3.6	1.3
45-49	285,221	2.0	96.1	1.0	0.9	320,919	2.2	90.8	5.7	1.4
50-54	297,508	1.7	95.6	1.9	0.8	318,748	2.2	87.2	9.2	1.4
55-59	230,271	1.5	94.7	3.1	0.7	241,175	2.1	82.8	13.7	1.4

Age Group	Male					Female				
	Pop	NM	Married	Wid	Div./Sep.	Pop	NM	M	Wid	Div./Sep.
60-64	203,753	1.5	92.3	5.5	0.7	217,896	2.0	75.7	20.9	1.3
65-69	155,954	1.4	89.3	8.7	0.6	168,621	1.8	67.5	29.5	1.2
70-74	115,427	1.4	83.7	14.3	0.6	135,192	1.7	55.1	42.3	1.0
75-79	74,768	1.4	78.1	20.0	0.6	87,754	1.7	45.2	52.3	0.8
80-84	38,452	1.2	70.7	27.7	0.5	42,638	1.7	36.0	61.7	0.6
85+	27,537	1.3	58.6	39.7	0.4	34,973	1.6	27.4	70.5	0.4
Total	4,729,532	38.2	59.2	2.1	0.6	5,146,389	28.7	63.5	7.0	0.8
Age Standardised		39.4	58.1	2.0	0.5		30.0	62.7	6.5	0.8

Note: Pop= Total population; NM=Never married; Wid= Widowed; Div/Sep= Divorced/separated

Tarai

Age Group	Male					Female				
	Pop	NM	Married	Wid	Div./Sep.	Pop	NM	M	Wid	Div./Sep.
10-14	826,804	99.8	0.2	0.0	0.0	776,862	99.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
15-19	809,718	96.6	3.3	0.0	0.0	785,255	85.6	14.3	0.1	0.0
20-24	688,639	68.6	31.1	0.1	0.1	799,654	34.0	65.4	0.3	0.3
25-29	586,159	29.6	69.8	0.2	0.4	725,834	9.3	89.6	0.6	0.5
30-34	506,165	9.0	90.0	0.3	0.6	630,195	2.9	95.3	1.2	0.7
35-39	501,233	3.1	95.7	0.5	0.7	606,871	1.5	95.6	2.2	0.8
40-44	445,761	1.7	96.9	0.8	0.7	479,561	1.2	94.0	3.9	0.9
45-49	362,509	1.2	96.9	1.3	0.6	384,533	1.0	92.0	6.1	1.0
50-54	353,263	1.1	96.0	2.4	0.6	358,954	1.0	88.3	9.7	1.1
55-59	272,977	0.9	94.8	3.8	0.5	263,159	0.8	84.0	14.2	1.0
60-64	230,938	0.9	92.0	6.7	0.5	239,334	0.7	76.4	21.9	1.0
65-69	199,456	0.7	88.4	10.5	0.4	198,682	0.5	69.2	29.5	0.8
70-74	157,852	0.7	81.7	17.2	0.4	160,546	0.6	54.4	44.2	0.7
75-79	85,135	0.8	75.8	23.1	0.4	81,864	0.8	42.5	56.1	0.6
80-84	34,390	0.7	69.1	29.7	0.4	34,604	0.7	33.1	65.6	0.5
85+	25,941	0.8	56.8	41.9	0.5	29,556	0.8	24.9	73.9	0.4
Total	6,086,940	38.4	59.0	2.3	0.4	6,555,464	27.9	65.2	6.3	0.5
Age Standardised		37.5	59.7	2.4	0.4		27.2	65.4	6.8	0.6

Note: Pop= Total population; NM=Never married; Wid= Widowed; Div/Sep= Divorced/separated

Annex A3.4a: Percentage distribution of population according to marital status by sex, and provinces, NPHC 2011 and 2021

Province	2011					2021					% Change			
	Population	Never married	Married	Wido-wed	Div./Sep.	Population	Never married	Married	Wido-wed	Div./Sep.	Never married	Married	Wido-wed	Div/Sep.
<i>Male</i>														
Koshi	1,700,968	41.1	57.0	1.6	0.3	1,987,135	37.2	59.6	2.4	0.8	-3.9	2.6	0.8	0.5
Madhesh	2,026,172	37.9	60.2	1.8	0.1	2,355,108	39.4	58.2	2.3	0.1	1.5	-2.0	0.5	0.0
Bagmati	2,259,189	41.9	56.6	1.3	0.3	2,595,088	37.9	59.7	1.9	0.5	-4.0	3.1	0.6	0.2
Gandaki	851,626	42.6	55.5	1.6	0.3	973,399	37.3	59.7	2.3	0.7	-5.3	4.2	0.7	0.4
Lumbini	1,620,965	40.3	57.4	2.0	0.3	1,963,780	38.1	58.9	2.5	0.5	-2.2	1.5	0.5	0.2
Karnali	550,487	38.8	59.0	1.9	0.3	641,858	37.9	59.8	2.0	0.3	-0.9	0.8	0.1	0.0
Sudurpashchim	889,501	41.8	56.5	1.6	0.2	1,003,253	39.6	58.2	2.0	0.2	-2.2	1.7	0.4	0.0
<i>Female</i>														
Koshi	1,916,445	32.7	62.4	4.4	0.5	2,139,959	27.7	64.2	7.0	1.0	-5.0	1.8	2.6	0.5
Madhesh	2,021,485	27.0	68.3	4.5	0.1	2,414,905	27.6	66.7	5.5	0.2	0.6	-1.6	1.0	0.1
Bagmati	2,324,967	33.6	61.9	4.1	0.4	2,665,603	29.4	63.3	6.4	0.8	-4.2	1.4	2.3	0.4
Gandaki	1,085,690	30.0	64.3	5.2	0.5	1,122,075	25.5	65.1	8.4	1.0	-4.5	0.8	3.2	0.5
Lumbini	1,864,408	30.8	64.1	4.8	0.3	2,220,519	28.3	64.3	6.8	0.6	-2.5	0.2	2.0	0.3
Karnali	589,595	31.8	63.3	4.6	0.4	696,035	30.4	63.2	5.8	0.5	-1.4	-0.1	1.2	0.1
Sudurpashchim	1,020,184	32.2	62.3	5.3	0.2	1,180,151	30.7	61.7	7.3	0.3	-1.5	-0.6	2.0	0.1

Annex A3.4b: Percentage distribution of population by marital status and age-sex by provinces, NPHC 2021

Koshi Province

Age Group	Male					Female				
	Pop	NM	Married	Wid	Div./Sep.	Pop	NM	M	Wid	Div./Sep.
10-14	231,545	99.8	0.2	0.0	0.0	223,513	99.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
15-19	242,715	96.6	3.4	0.0	0.0	239,165	86.0	13.8	0.1	0.1
20-24	210,760	73.2	26.4	0.1	0.3	240,474	41.0	58.3	0.2	0.5
25-29	188,651	38.2	60.7	0.2	0.9	225,795	13.5	85.0	0.6	0.9
30-34	168,852	14.3	84.1	0.3	1.3	199,798	5.1	92.6	1.1	1.2
35-39	164,216	5.3	92.8	0.5	1.4	190,985	3.1	93.3	2.1	1.4
40-44	149,827	2.7	95.1	0.8	1.4	163,942	2.6	92.1	3.7	1.6
45-49	124,887	2.1	95.5	1.2	1.2	133,329	2.6	89.6	6.0	1.8
50-54	130,429	2.0	94.9	2.1	1.1	135,219	2.8	86.0	9.4	1.9
55-59	102,458	1.7	94.0	3.5	0.9	104,070	2.5	81.9	13.7	2.0
60-64	90,215	1.7	91.3	6.2	0.9	93,378	2.3	74.9	21.0	1.8
65-69	71,011	1.4	88.2	9.6	0.8	73,059	1.9	67.3	29.3	1.5
70-74	52,509	1.5	82.5	15.2	0.8	54,719	1.8	54.2	42.7	1.3
75-79	31,480	1.5	76.8	21.1	0.7	33,026	1.8	44.5	52.6	1.1
80-84	16,083	1.0	69.3	29.1	0.6	15,856	1.7	35.3	62.2	0.8
85+	11,497	1.1	57.2	41.1	0.6	13,631	1.4	25.9	72.3	0.5
Total	1,987,135	37.2	59.6	2.4	0.8	2,139,959	27.7	64.2	7.0	1.0
Age standardised		39.8	57.3	2.2	0.7		29.4	63.0	6.6	1.0

Note: Pop= Total population; NM=Never married; Wid= Widowed; Div/Sep= Divorced/Separated

Madhesh Province

Age Group	Male					Female				
	Pop	NM	Married	Wid	Div./Sep.	Pop	NM	M	Wid	Div./Sep.
10-14	352,252	99.7	0.3	0.0	0.0	331,403	99.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
15-19	327,285	96.8	3.2	0.0	0.0	301,431	82.7	17.2	0.1	0.0
20-24	270,626	66.5	33.3	0.1	0.1	297,511	22.8	76.8	0.3	0.1
25-29	222,693	25.5	74.1	0.2	0.2	258,289	4.9	94.3	0.6	0.2
30-34	183,710	6.8	92.7	0.3	0.2	218,524	1.3	97.4	1.1	0.2
35-39	184,460	2.3	97.1	0.4	0.2	221,202	0.7	97.2	1.9	0.3
40-44	162,490	1.2	97.9	0.7	0.3	163,167	0.5	95.9	3.3	0.3
45-49	133,759	0.9	97.7	1.1	0.2	139,197	0.4	94.4	4.9	0.3
50-54	128,977	0.8	96.6	2.4	0.2	121,077	0.4	91.1	8.1	0.4
55-59	101,572	0.6	95.4	3.8	0.2	91,281	0.3	87.6	11.7	0.3

Age Group	Male					Female				
	Pop	NM	Married	Wid	Div./Sep.	Pop	NM	M	Wid	Div./Sep.
60-64	87,346	0.7	92.2	6.9	0.2	86,137	0.4	80.1	19.1	0.4
65-69	80,973	0.5	88.8	10.5	0.2	74,667	0.3	73.7	25.7	0.3
70-74	66,137	0.5	81.5	17.7	0.3	63,255	0.4	57.8	41.5	0.3
75-79	33,110	0.6	75.1	24.0	0.3	28,537	0.5	45.0	54.2	0.3
80-84	11,136	0.6	67.4	31.7	0.3	10,317	0.5	35.6	63.6	0.3
85+	8,582	0.7	54.8	44.2	0.4	8,910	0.6	28.3	70.9	0.2
Total	2,355,108	39.4	58.2	2.3	0.1	2,414,905	27.6	66.7	5.5	0.2
Age standardised		36.6	60.9	2.4	0.1		24.7	69.0	6.1	0.2

Bagmati Province

Age Group	Male					Female				
	Pop	NM	Married	Wid	Div./Sep.	Pop	NM	M	Wid	Div./Sep.
10-14	259,593	99.8	0.2	0.0	0.0	237,946	99.6	0.4	0.0	0.0
15-19	301,870	97.2	2.8	0.0	0.0	282,100	90.5	9.4	0.0	0.0
20-24	302,751	77.9	21.9	0.1	0.2	307,458	55.6	44.0	0.2	0.3
25-29	275,104	45.1	54.2	0.1	0.5	296,889	22.9	76.0	0.4	0.7
30-34	247,202	16.1	82.8	0.2	0.8	269,333	7.5	90.7	0.8	0.9
35-39	230,882	5.8	93.0	0.4	0.9	248,919	3.8	93.3	1.6	1.2
40-44	205,375	2.9	95.6	0.6	0.9	218,440	2.8	92.8	3.0	1.4
45-49	167,748	2.1	96.2	0.9	0.8	174,067	2.4	91.1	5.0	1.5
50-54	168,504	1.7	95.9	1.7	0.7	167,912	2.4	87.8	8.3	1.6
55-59	123,202	1.5	95.0	2.9	0.6	121,547	2.2	83.8	12.6	1.4
60-64	104,661	1.4	92.9	5.1	0.6	107,437	2.2	77.0	19.4	1.5
65-69	78,818	1.4	89.8	8.3	0.6	82,048	1.8	68.9	28.0	1.2
70-74	56,246	1.4	84.0	14.0	0.6	63,685	1.7	57.7	39.5	1.1
75-79	38,017	1.5	78.5	19.5	0.5	44,328	1.7	47.4	50.1	0.8
80-84	19,553	1.3	71.0	27.2	0.5	22,903	1.7	38.0	59.6	0.6
85+	15,562	1.4	59.3	39.0	0.4	20,591	1.7	27.8	70.0	0.5
Total	2,595,088	37.9	59.7	1.9	0.5	2,665,603	29.4	63.3	6.4	0.8
Age standardised		41.3	56.3	1.9	0.5		33.0	60.2	6.0	0.8

Gandaki Province

Age Group	Male					Female				
	Pop	NM	Married	Wid	Div./Sep.	Pop	NM	M	Wid	Div./Sep.
10-14	112,774	99.7	0.3	0.0	0.0	105,041	99.4	0.6	0.0	0.0
15-19	119,627	96.5	3.4	0.0	0.0	116,618	85.6	14.3	0.1	0.1
20-24	104,438	75.5	24.1	0.1	0.3	120,432	42.1	57.2	0.2	0.5
25-29	88,570	40.0	58.9	0.2	0.9	116,439	12.4	86.2	0.5	0.9
30-34	79,759	13.0	85.4	0.2	1.4	103,863	4.4	93.3	1.1	1.2
35-39	74,724	4.7	93.4	0.4	1.5	96,611	2.7	93.7	2.2	1.4
40-44	66,888	2.6	95.4	0.6	1.4	85,545	2.2	92.1	4.1	1.7
45-49	58,568	2.0	95.8	1.1	1.2	71,425	2.2	89.9	6.2	1.7
50-54	62,964	1.8	95.4	1.8	1.0	72,101	2.2	86.5	9.6	1.7
55-59	51,726	1.6	94.8	2.7	1.0	58,254	1.9	82.0	14.5	1.6
60-64	47,867	1.7	93.0	4.6	0.8	54,323	1.9	74.6	21.9	1.6
65-69	38,318	1.5	90.2	7.6	0.7	43,722	1.7	66.0	30.8	1.5
70-74	29,097	1.6	85.5	12.2	0.7	34,528	1.7	53.4	43.7	1.2
75-79	19,216	1.4	80.0	18.0	0.6	22,177	1.6	42.4	55.0	1.0
80-84	11,044	1.1	73.4	25.0	0.4	11,743	1.7	32.9	64.6	0.7
85+	7,819	1.3	60.4	38.0	0.4	9,253	1.6	24.4	73.5	0.5
Total	973,399	37.3	59.7	2.3	0.7	1,122,075	25.5	65.1	8.4	1.0
Age standardised		40.1	57.4	1.8	0.7		29.2	63.0	6.8	1.0

Lumbini Province

Age Group	Male					Female				
	Pop	NM	Married	Wid	Div./Sep.	Pop	NM	M	Wid	Div./Sep.
10-14	268,902	99.8	0.2	0.0	0.0	254,176	99.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
15-19	266,043	95.9	4.0	0.0	0.0	274,857	85.9	14.0	0.1	0.1
20-24	222,524	65.4	34.2	0.1	0.2	274,122	36.3	63.0	0.3	0.4
25-29	191,156	26.9	72.2	0.3	0.6	249,329	9.6	89.2	0.6	0.6
30-34	166,688	8.1	90.7	0.4	0.8	215,252	3.0	95.0	1.2	0.8
35-39	159,440	3.0	95.5	0.6	0.9	197,653	1.6	95.2	2.4	0.9
40-44	137,684	1.8	96.4	1.0	0.8	161,284	1.2	93.5	4.4	0.9
45-49	112,979	1.4	96.2	1.6	0.8	126,723	1.0	91.1	6.9	1.0
50-54	111,759	1.3	95.2	2.8	0.7	124,609	0.9	87.3	10.8	1.0
55-59	88,491	1.1	93.7	4.5	0.6	90,869	0.8	82.2	16.0	0.9
60-64	76,171	1.1	90.8	7.5	0.6	82,188	0.8	74.9	23.5	0.9
65-69	63,584	0.9	87.0	11.5	0.5	67,336	0.7	66.4	32.1	0.8
70-74	49,769	0.9	80.2	18.5	0.5	52,697	0.8	52.4	46.1	0.7

Age Group	Male					Female				
	Pop	NM	Married	Wid	Div./Sep.	Pop	NM	M	Wid	Div./Sep.
75-79	28,123	0.9	74.1	24.6	0.4	28,303	0.9	41.0	57.5	0.6
80-84	12,144	0.8	66.9	31.9	0.4	12,013	1.0	31.1	67.6	0.4
85+	8,323	0.7	54.3	44.4	0.5	9,108	1.0	24.0	74.6	0.4
Total	1,963,780	38.1	58.9	2.5	0.5	2,220,519	28.3	64.3	6.8	0.6
Age standardised		36.8	60.1	2.6	0.5		27.6	64.5	7.3	0.6

Karnali Province

Age Group	Male					Female				
	Pop	NM	Married	Wid	Div./Sep.	Pop	NM	M	Wid	Div./Sep.
10-14	105,671	99.7	0.3	0.0	0.0	102,701	99.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
15-19	95,552	91.3	8.6	0.0	0.1	101,192	77.5	22.3	0.0	0.1
20-24	78,794	44.7	54.9	0.1	0.3	92,467	23.8	75.4	0.3	0.5
25-29	62,847	15.1	84.2	0.2	0.6	70,485	7.1	91.5	0.7	0.7
30-34	51,760	4.4	94.7	0.3	0.6	58,869	2.4	95.5	1.3	0.8
35-39	46,602	2.0	97.1	0.4	0.5	53,888	1.4	95.2	2.6	0.8
40-44	39,691	1.3	97.6	0.6	0.5	46,448	1.1	93.7	4.2	0.9
45-49	34,930	1.4	97.0	1.1	0.5	38,125	0.8	91.8	6.5	0.8
50-54	34,094	1.4	95.9	2.3	0.5	35,612	0.8	88.0	10.2	1.0
55-59	27,094	1.5	94.1	4.0	0.4	26,589	0.8	83.4	15.0	0.8
60-64	23,430	1.6	90.4	7.5	0.5	24,557	0.8	74.6	23.7	0.8
65-69	17,196	1.2	86.2	12.1	0.4	17,584	0.7	66.6	32.0	0.7
70-74	13,352	1.3	78.6	19.6	0.4	15,418	0.9	52.9	45.6	0.6
75-79	6,790	1.2	71.4	27.0	0.4	7,663	1.1	42.5	55.9	0.5
80-84	2,605	1.3	63.7	34.7	0.3	2,645	0.8	35.9	63.0	0.4
85+	1,450	1.4	56.3	42.0	0.3	1,792	2.0	29.7	68.2	0.2
Total	641,858	37.9	59.8	2.0	0.3	696,035	30.4	63.2	5.8	0.5
Age standardised		32.3	64.7	2.6	0.4		24.8	67.5	7.1	0.6

Sudurpashchim Province

Age Group	Male					Female				
	Pop	NM	Married	Wid	Div./Sep.	Pop	NM	M	Wid	Div./Sep.
10-14	165,217	99.8	0.2	0.0	0.0	159,131	99.6	0.4	0.0	0.0
15-19	141,431	95.1	4.8	0.0	0.0	156,518	85.6	14.3	0.1	0.0
20-24	111,125	59.3	40.5	0.1	0.1	149,578	34.5	65.1	0.3	0.1
25-29	93,221	23.1	76.5	0.2	0.2	119,881	10.0	89.0	0.7	0.3
30-34	81,005	6.6	92.8	0.3	0.3	103,097	2.7	95.4	1.6	0.3
35-39	76,607	2.2	97.0	0.4	0.4	95,303	1.0	95.7	2.9	0.4
40-44	66,538	1.3	97.6	0.8	0.4	80,513	0.7	93.9	5.0	0.5
45-49	54,654	1.0	97.5	1.2	0.3	65,649	0.5	91.8	7.3	0.5
50-54	55,767	0.9	96.5	2.4	0.3	64,828	0.4	87.4	11.7	0.5
55-59	43,015	0.6	95.4	3.7	0.3	45,776	0.3	82.7	16.4	0.5
60-64	36,272	0.8	92.5	6.3	0.3	41,622	0.4	73.2	25.8	0.5
65-69	29,789	0.6	88.8	10.2	0.3	33,513	0.4	66.3	32.7	0.6
70-74	24,944	0.8	82.9	16.0	0.3	33,014	0.5	51.6	47.5	0.5
75-79	14,262	0.7	77.9	21.2	0.3	18,171	0.6	42.3	56.7	0.4
80-84	5,750	0.6	71.5	27.4	0.4	7,764	0.5	34.7	64.4	0.4
85+	3,656	0.6	61.7	37.2	0.5	5,793	0.5	27.5	71.6	0.3
Total	1,003,253	39.6	58.2	2.0	0.2	1,180,151	30.7	61.7	7.3	0.3
Age standardised		35.3	62.3	2.2	0.2		27.2	64.9	7.6	0.3

Annex A3.5: Marital status (Observed and standardized) of males and females 10 years and above by Caste/Ethnicity, NPHC 2021

Caste/Ethnicity and sex	Population	Never married		Married		Widowed		Div/Sep	
		Obs.	Stdz.	Obs.	Stdz.	Obs.	Stdz.	Obs.	Stdz.
Male									
Hill Castes	3,501,088	37.8	40.1	59.9	57.9	1.9	1.6	0.4	0.4
M/T Caste	1,888,299	40.0	37.7	57.6	59.7	2.3	2.5	0.2	0.2
M/H JJs	3,053,134	37.5	39.6	59.2	57.3	2.5	2.3	0.8	0.7
Tarai JJs	1,060,055	34.4	36.5	62.8	60.3	2.5	2.9	0.3	0.3
Hill Dalits	911,486	39.6	34.1	57.7	62.6	2.2	2.6	0.6	0.7
M/T Dalits	522,193	38.2	33.6	59.0	63.0	2.6	3.2	0.2	0.2
R/L groups	510,950	44.1	35.5	54.1	62.2	1.7	2.2	0.1	0.2
Others	72,416	38.7	41.8	60.2	56.0	0.9	1.8	0.3	0.4
Female									
Hill Castes	3,883,717	27.5	29.8	65.9	62.9	5.5	6.6	0.2	0.7
M/T Caste	1,820,625	28.5	25.5	63.2	68.1	6.9	6.1	0.9	0.2
M/H JJs	3,375,156	29.1	31.0	66.2	61.8	6.0	6.3	0.4	0.9
Tarai JJs	1,137,991	27.4	28.6	62.4	64.0	7.2	7.0	0.9	0.4
Hill Dalits	1,083,784	29.4	25.5	66.6	65.2	5.7	8.3	0.2	0.9
M/T Dalits	535,159	27.5	22.8	62.8	69.7	4.3	7.2	0.4	0.3
R/L groups	543,875	32.6	24.9	76.1	68.5	5.5	6.2	0.3	0.4
Others	58,940	18.1	25.5	76.1	68.5	5.7	0.3	0.0	0.0

Note: M/T= Madhesh/Tarai; JJs= Janajatis; M/H= Mountain/Hill; R/L= Religious and Linguistic; Obs. = Observed rates; Stdz. = Age standardised rates

Annex A3.6: Marital status of male and female population 10 years and above by religion, NPHC 2021

Religions and Sex	Population	Never married	Married	Widowed	Div./Sep.
Male					
Hindu	9,374,714	38.0	59.5	2.2	0.4
Bouddha	970,173	37.1	59.5	2.6	0.7
Islam	534,470	44.1	54.2	1.6	0.1
Kirat	375,320	39.3	56.5	3.1	1.1
Christian	195,857	38.0	59.3	1.9	0.7
Prakarti	39,592	36.6	59.8	2.9	0.6
BJBS	29,495	37.3	58.2	3.4	1.1
Female					
Hindu	10,113,458	27.9	64.7	6.8	0.6
Bouddha	1,056,063	29.3	63.1	6.8	0.8
Islam	560,562	32.2	63.2	4.2	0.3
Kirat	401,290	31.4	61.0	6.5	1.0
Christian	230,091	30.5	61.4	6.7	1.5
Prakarti	44,876	28.1	63.8	7.4	0.7
BJBS	32,907	26.3	63.6	9.2	0.9

Annex A3.7a: Marital status (observed and standardized) of males and females 10 years and above, by literacy and attained level of education, NPHC 2021

Literacy and Sex	Population	N-Married		Married		Widowed		Div/Sep	
		Obs.	Stdz.	Obs.	Stdz.	Obs.	Stdz.	Obs.	Stdz.
Male									
Illiterate	1,994,785	10.2	34.1	81.3	62.4	7.8	2.9	0.7	0.6
Literate	9,522,846	44.1	38.4	54.5	59.5	1.0	1.7	0.4	0.7
Female									
Illiterate	4,084,317	4.2	21.4	78.5	70.8	16.4	7.2	0.9	0.6
Literate	8,352,183	40.2	29.4	57.3	64.6	1.9	5.3	0.5	0.7
Attained Level of education									
Male									
ECD/Others/NS	1,994,785	15.3	37.3	77.8	59.9	6.4	2.3	0.6	0.5
Basic	4,427,210	47.1	33.7	51.1	63.8	1.3	1.9	0.5	0.6
Secondary	4,060,949	44.8	39.1	54.3	59.2	0.6	1.4	0.3	0.3
Higher	796,481	32.2	35.5	67.1	63.1	0.5	1.3	0.2	0.2
Female									
ECD/Others/NS	369,004	7.7	25.9	80.7	66.7	10.5	6.6	1.1	0.8
Basic	3,782,889	44.6	23.8	52.2	70.0	2.0	5.4	0.6	0.8
Secondary	3,627,757	39.6	30.5	58.4	64.1	1.0	4.7	0.5	0.7
Higher	575,280	33.1	29.0	65.3	66.2	0.8	4.2	0.4	0.6

Note: Obs. = Observed rates; Stdz. = Age standardised rates

Annex A3.7b: Age-specific marital status of male and female by illiteracy and literacy status, NPHC 2021

Age group	Illiterate male					Illiterate female				
	Population	Nev-Marr	Married	Wido-wed	Div/Sep	Population	Nev-Marr	Marr-ied	Wido-wed	Div./Sep.
10-14	48,821	99.3	0.7	0.0	0.0	52,625	98.3	1.7	0.0	0.0
15-19	60,657	91.7	8.1	0.1	0.1	76,551	64.2	35.4	0.3	0.1
20-24	73,735	49.3	50.1	0.3	0.3	143,867	12.2	86.9	0.5	0.3
25-29	89,358	18.8	80.1	0.4	0.7	210,061	3.8	94.7	0.9	0.5
30-34	105,494	7.9	90.6	0.6	0.9	284,928	1.9	95.8	1.6	0.7
35-39	138,265	4.3	93.9	0.9	0.9	381,588	1.3	95.2	2.7	0.8
40-44	157,260	3.1	94.5	1.4	1.0	392,160	1.2	93.2	4.7	1.0
45-49	163,599	2.7	94.2	2.1	0.9	398,453	1.2	90.9	6.8	1.0
50-54	204,681	2.7	92.8	3.6	0.9	454,975	1.3	86.9	10.7	1.1
55-59	199,658	2.1	91.8	5.3	0.8	388,576	1.2	82.5	15.1	1.1
60-64	206,180	2.0	88.7	8.5	0.8	386,281	1.2	74.9	22.8	1.1
65-69	187,213	1.6	85.4	12.3	0.7	327,061	1.0	67.4	30.6	1.0
70-74	167,238	1.5	79.0	18.9	0.6	281,456	1.0	54.0	44.2	0.8
75-79	104,293	1.4	73.7	24.4	0.5	164,808	1.1	43.3	54.8	0.7
80-84	49,510	1.1	66.6	31.8	0.5	76,405	1.1	34.5	63.8	0.6
85+	38,823	1.1	55.4	43.0	0.5	64,522	1.2	26.0	72.4	0.4
Total	1,994,785	10.2	81.3	7.8	0.7	4,084,317	4.2	78.5	16.4	0.9
Age standardised		34.1	62.4	2.9	0.6		21.4	70.8	7.2	0.6
	Literate male					Literate female				
10-14	1,446,820	99.8	0.2	0.0	0.0	1,361,032	99.6	0.4	0.0	0.0
15-19	1,433,622	96.3	3.6	0.0	0.0	1,395,076	86.7	13.2	0.1	0.1
20-24	1,227,012	70.0	29.7	0.1	0.2	1,337,865	40.6	58.8	0.2	0.3
25-29	1,032,649	34.3	65.0	0.2	0.5	1,126,788	14.1	84.9	0.5	0.6
30-34	873,356	11.4	87.6	0.3	0.8	883,657	4.9	93.4	0.9	0.8
35-39	798,578	3.9	94.9	0.4	0.8	722,831	2.7	94.5	1.8	1.0
40-44	671,151	1.9	96.8	0.6	0.8	527,037	2.2	93.6	3.1	1.2
45-49	523,814	1.3	97.2	0.9	0.7	349,958	2.0	92.0	4.8	1.3
50-54	487,731	0.9	97.0	1.5	0.6	266,227	2.1	89.3	7.3	1.3
55-59	337,837	0.7	96.4	2.5	0.4	149,670	2.0	86.1	10.6	1.3
60-64	259,697	0.7	94.6	4.4	0.4	103,183	2.0	80.6	16.2	1.2
65-69	192,388	0.6	91.7	7.3	0.4	64,687	1.9	73.7	23.4	1.1
70-74	124,741	0.6	86.8	12.2	0.4	35,651	2.0	62.4	34.7	0.9
75-79	66,650	0.7	81.3	17.6	0.3	17,265	2.5	52.3	44.6	0.6
80-84	28,766	0.7	74.9	24.0	0.4	6,767	2.9	42.4	54.3	0.4
85+	18,034	1.0	62.6	36.1	0.4	4,489	3.2	34.2	62.1	0.5
Total	9,522,846	44.1	54.5	1.0	0.4	8,352,183	40.2	57.3	1.9	0.5
Age standardized		38.4	59.5	1.7	0.4		29.4	64.6	5.3	0.7

Annex A3.8: Age sex specific distribution of males and females age 10 years and above by marital status and disability status, NPHC 2021

Disable

Age group	Male					Female				
	Population	Nev_ married	Mar- ried	Wido- wed	Div/ Sep	Popula- tion	Nev_ married	Mar- ried	Wido- wed	Div./ Sep.
10-14	19,373	99.7	0.3	0.0	0.0	15,206	99.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
15-19	25,551	96.4	3.5	0.0	0.1	20,918	90.4	9.3	0.1	0.1
20-24	21,490	75.7	23.6	0.1	0.5	16,278	66.3	32.7	0.3	0.7
25-29	19,686	49.0	49.0	0.4	1.6	13,759	43.3	54.4	0.8	1.5
30-34	18,106	28.0	68.6	0.6	2.7	13,001	29.7	66.6	1.7	2.0
35-39	18,995	18.0	77.8	1.0	3.1	13,714	21.0	73.2	3.2	2.5
40-44	19,628	13.8	81.0	1.7	3.4	13,955	16.8	74.9	5.6	2.8
45-49	20,243	11.7	82.8	2.6	2.8	14,871	14.2	74.4	8.7	2.7
50-54	26,216	11.6	82.2	3.8	2.3	23,997	9.9	75.3	12.3	2.5
55-59	23,998	8.6	83.6	5.7	2.0	21,385	7.2	73.0	17.7	2.1
60-64	26,243	7.5	82.0	8.7	1.8	24,610	5.7	67.3	25.1	1.8
65-69	24,980	5.0	81.1	12.6	1.3	23,017	3.9	61.1	33.3	1.6
70-74	22,671	3.8	77.0	18.2	1.0	23,286	2.8	49.4	46.6	1.2
75-79	15,236	2.9	72.6	23.7	0.8	15,010	2.6	39.7	56.7	0.9
80-84	8,368	2.1	66.5	30.6	0.8	8,102	2.1	31.5	65.7	0.7
85+	6,740	1.5	55.5	42.4	0.6	7,773	1.9	23.7	73.8	0.7
Total	317,524	29.4	62.0	7.0	1.6	268,882	25.9	52.5	20.1	1.5
Age Stdz.		46.1	49.4	3.0	1.5		42.7	48.0	7.9	1.5

Not disable

Age group	Male					Female				
	Population	Nev_ married	Mar- ried	Wido- wed	Div/ Sep	Popula- tion	Nev_ married	Mar- ried	Wido- wed	Div./ Sep.
10-14	1,476,291	99.8	0.2	0.0	0.0	1,398,434	99.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
15-19	1,468,632	96.1	3.8	0.0	0.0	1,450,642	85.4	14.4	0.1	0.1
20-24	1,279,226	68.7	31.0	0.1	0.2	1,465,469	37.6	61.9	0.2	0.3
25-29	1,102,257	32.8	66.5	0.2	0.5	1,323,050	12.1	86.7	0.5	0.6
30-34	960,640	10.7	88.3	0.3	0.7	1,155,525	3.9	94.3	1.1	0.8
35-39	917,713	3.7	95.1	0.4	0.8	1,090,651	2.0	95.0	2.1	0.9
40-44	808,658	1.9	96.7	0.7	0.8	905,203	1.5	93.7	3.7	1.1

Age group	Male					Female				
	Population	Nev_ married	Mar- ried	Wido- wed	Div/ Sep	Popula- tion	Nev_ married	Mar- ried	Wido- wed	Div./ Sep.
45-49	667,071	1.3	96.9	1.1	0.7	733,493	1.3	91.8	5.8	1.1
50-54	666,093	1.0	96.3	2.1	0.6	697,159	1.3	88.2	9.3	1.2
55-59	513,380	0.9	95.2	3.4	0.5	516,834	1.2	83.9	13.7	1.1
60-64	439,537	0.9	92.6	6.1	0.5	464,841	1.2	76.5	21.2	1.1
65-69	354,579	0.8	89.1	9.6	0.5	368,774	1.0	68.9	29.2	1.0
70-74	269,263	0.9	82.8	15.9	0.5	293,897	1.0	55.3	42.9	0.8
75-79	155,694	0.9	77.1	21.6	0.4	167,113	1.1	44.6	53.6	0.7
80-84	69,915	0.8	70.0	28.7	0.4	75,102	1.2	35.5	62.7	0.6
85+	50,120	1.0	58.0	40.6	0.4	61,265	1.2	26.9	71.5	0.4
Total	11,199,069	38.5	59.0	2.1	0.4	12,167,452	28.5	64.6	6.3	0.6
	Age Stdz.	38.0	59.4	2.2	0.4		28.2	64.6	6.6	0.6

Source: NSO, 2023

Annex A3.9: Distribution of male and female population age 10 years and above by marital status and wealth quintile, NPHC 2021

Wealth Quintile	Population	Never married		Married		Widowed		Div./Sep	
	Male	Obs.	Stdz.	Obs.	Stdz.	Obs.	Stdz.	Obs.	Stdz.
Lowest	2,171,085	37.8	34.9	58.7	61.8	2.9	2.6	0.6	0.7
Lower	2,264,094	37.9	36.0	59.1	61.0	2.5	2.5	0.5	0.5
Middle	2,323,365	37.6	37.2	59.5	59.9	2.4	2.4	0.5	0.5
Higher	2,150,193	39.8	38.8	58.0	58.6	1.8	2.2	0.4	0.4
Highest	2,417,741	37.7	43.2	60.4	54.9	1.6	1.6	0.3	0.3
Female									
Lowest	2,390,125	28.8	25.3	62.9	67.0	7.8	7.1	0.6	0.6
Lower	2,508,251	28.0	26.1	64.7	66.6	6.8	6.7	0.6	0.6
Middle	2,550,073	27.5	27.0	65.2	65.6	6.6	6.7	0.6	0.6
Higher	2,361,884	29.0	29.1	64.3	63.1	5.9	7.0	0.8	0.8
Highest	2,590,732	28.1	33.7	65.0	59.7	6.3	6.0	0.6	0.6

Note: Obs. = Observed rates; Stdz. = Age standardised rates

Source: NSO, 2023

Annex A4.1: Trends in singulate mean age at marriage by sex, NPHC 1981, 2001, 2011 and 2021

S.N	District	1981		2001		2011		2021		Increase 1981-2021	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	Taplejung	23.4	19.6	23.8	21.9	24.3	21.1	25.7	21.6	2.3	2.0
2	Sankhuwa-sabha	23.5	20.1	23.5	20.8	23.4	20.7	25.3	21.2	1.8	1.1
3	Solukhumbu	23.9	20.9	23.9	22.4	24.6	22.1	26.0	22.3	2.1	1.4
4	Okhaldhunga	21.8	18.9	22.4	20.3	23.4	21.0	25.7	22.0	3.9	3.1
5	Khotang	23.0	19.5	23.1	20.6	24.0	21.0	25.7	21.4	2.7	1.9
6	Bhojpur	23.4	20.0	23.8	21.2	24.0	21.2	25.4	21.3	2.0	1.3
7	Dhankuta	23.3	20.2	24.6	21.5	23.9	21.4	25.5	21.7	2.2	1.5
8	Tehrathum	23.1	19.7	23.9	21.7	24.3	21.1	25.9	21.4	2.8	1.7
9	Panchthar	22.8	20.1	23.8	21.3	24.6	21.9	25.6	21.0	2.8	0.9
10	Ilam	24.2	NA	24.8	21.7	25.2	22.2	26.6	22.3	2.4	0.0
11	Jhapa	22.8	18.2	25.0	21.4	25.4	21.7	26.9	22.4	4.1	4.2
12	Morang	21.9	17.8	23.9	20.3	25.0	21.1	26.4	22.1	4.5	4.3
13	Sunsari	21.0	17.4	24.0	20.2	24.6	21.1	26.1	22.0	5.1	4.6
14	Udaypur	21.6	18.1	22.9	19.7	23.5	20.8	25.1	21.6	3.5	3.5
15	Saptari	17.7	14.3	22.9	18.7	23.5	19.8	25.0	20.9	7.3	6.6
16	Siraha	18.5	14.3	22.0	17.6	23.5	19.1	25.0	20.3	6.5	6.0
17	Dhanusa	18.4	14.6	22.9	18.1	24.1	19.1	25.4	20.1	7.0	5.5
18	Mahottari	18.6	13.7	22.2	17.5	23.5	19.0	25.2	20.4	6.6	6.7
19	Sarlahi	19.4	15.4	21.8	17.5	23.0	19.2	24.8	20.8	5.4	5.4
20	Rautahat	18.7	14.5	21.4	17.2	22.0	18.6	23.8	20.2	5.1	5.7
21	Bara	18.7	14.9	21.2	17.3	22.3	19.0	24.4	20.7	5.7	5.8
22	Parsa	18.0	13.7	21.1	17.2	22.9	19.1	25.0	21.2	7.0	7.5
23	Dolakha	22.7	19.3	22.5	20.0	23.4	21.2	25.7	22.6	3.0	3.3
24	Sindhupalchok	21.5	18.0	21.4	19.3	23.1	21.0	24.9	22.2	3.4	4.2
25	Rasuwa	22.9	19.3	22.2	19.4	23.0	20.8	25.0	22.5	2.1	3.2
26	Dhading	21.6	17.5	22.0	19.4	22.9	20.6	25.0	21.9	3.4	4.4
27	Nuwakot	22.3	18.0	22.0	19.9	23.4	21.0	25.1	22.0	2.8	4.0
28	Kathmandu	22.4	18.9	25.7	21.7	26.5	22.9	28.2	24.9	5.8	6.0
29	Bhaktapur	21.2	18.3	24.0	21.6	25.6	22.8	27.6	24.6	6.4	6.3
30	Lalitpur	21.7	18.7	24.8	21.9	26.2	23.0	28.2	25.1	6.5	6.4
31	Kavre	21.2	17.7	22.7	20.6	23.8	21.8	25.8	22.9	4.6	5.2
32	Ramechhap	21.7	18.7	22.1	19.8	23.5	21.4	25.5	22.3	3.8	3.6

S.N	District	1981		2001		2011		2021		Increase 1981-2021	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
33	Sindhuli	21.6	18.0	22.5	19.5	22.9	20.5	24.6	21.7	3.0	3.7
34	Makawanpur	20.4	17.3	23.6	20.6	23.5	21.1	25.2	22.1	4.8	4.8
35	Chitawan	21.6	17.5	23.9	20.2	24.5	21.3	26.2	22.5	4.6	5.0
36	Gorkha	21.3	17.8	22.7	20.1	23.5	20.5	25.5	21.5	4.2	3.7
37	Manang	25.4	24.5	28.3	25.4	25.3	23.3	25.9	24.0	0.5	-0.5
38	Mustang	25.8	22.7	25.2	23.9	25.1	24.1	26.0	23.1	0.2	0.4
39	Myagdi	21.0	19.5	23.0	20.0	23.1	20.0	25.4	20.8	4.4	1.3
40	Kaski	22.6	18.4	23.8	20.0	25.4	21.3	27.4	23.3	4.8	4.9
41	Lamjung	22.3	19.2	22.7	19.9	23.8	19.8	26.2	21.5	3.9	2.3
42	Tanahun	21.4	17.8	22.6	19.4	23.8	20.0	25.7	21.5	4.3	3.7
43	Nawalparasi-East	19.9	16.2	21.2	18.5	23.6	20.6	25.4	21.7	5.5	5.5
53	Nawalparasi-west							25.8	21.5	5.9	5.3
44	Syangja	21.3	17.4	24.0	20.1	24.9	20.6	25.5	22.4	4.2	5.0
45	Parbat	22.7	18.3	23.2	19.7	24.1	20.2	27.2	21.8	4.5	3.5
46	Baglung	22.3	18.4	22.7	19.6	23.4	20.4	26.4	21.4	4.1	3.0
47	Rukum -East	20.9	17.8	21.4	19.3	21.5	19.8	25.3	21.3	4.4	3.5
66	Rukum -West							22.3	20.3	1.4	2.5
48	Rolpa	20.3	18.3	20.4	18.7	21.3	19.4	23.2	20.5	2.9	2.2
49	Pyuthan	20.1	17.3	21.6	18.8	22.4	19.6	22.8	20.7	2.7	3.4
50	Gulmi	21.6	17.4	23.2	19.4	24.0	20.2	23.9	20.6	2.3	3.2
51	Arghakhanchi	21.6	16.9	22.7	19.2	23.7	19.9	25.9	20.9	4.3	4.0
52	Palpa	22.2	17.8	23.8	20.5	23.9	20.6	25.5	20.7	3.3	2.9
54	Rupandehi	18.1	15.1	23.1	19.7	23.4	20.5	25.6	22.5	7.5	7.4
55	Kapilbastu	17.9	14.6	20.6	17.7	22.4	19.6	24.7	21.8	6.8	7.2
56	Dang	20.6	17.4	21.9	19.0	22.4	19.9	24.1	21.4	3.5	4.0
57	Banke	20.9	16.2	23.3	19.6	23.0	19.9	24.6	21.7	3.7	5.5
58	Bardiya	19.1	15.5	21.5	18.5	22.7	20.3	23.9	21.5	4.8	6.0
59	Dolpa	23.0	20.7	22.0	20.7	21.0	20.3	23.6	22.5	0.6	1.8
60	Mugu	21.1	17.6	20.9	18.0	20.9	18.7	22.0	20.3	0.9	2.7
61	Humla	23.4	19.3	22.6	19.2	21.0	19.0	22.7	20.5	-0.7	1.2
62	Jumla	19.6	16.3	20.6	17.8	20.8	18.5	22.3	20.6	2.7	4.3
63	Kalikot	19.7	16.0	21.0	17.6	21.7	19.4	22.4	20.6	2.7	4.6
64	Dailekh	19.5	16.0	20.8	18.1	21.6	19.3	22.9	20.4	3.4	4.4

S.N	District	1981		2001		2011		2021		Increase 1981-2021	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
65	Jajarkot	18.9	16.9	21.7	18.9	21.4	19.2	22.1	20.1	3.2	3.2
67	Salyan	18.7	15.6	21.5	18.9	21.4	19.5	22.3	20.0	3.6	4.4
68	Surkhet	19.1	16.8	21.8	18.8	21.9	19.4	23.2	20.7	4.1	3.9
69	Bajura	19.5	17.1	21.0	18.3	21.9	19.7	22.7	20.8	3.2	3.7
70	Bajhang	19.0	15.7	19.8	17.4	21.2	19.1	22.4	20.7	3.4	5.0
71	Darchula	19.7	16.2	21.4	18.2	22.5	19.5	23.6	20.8	3.9	4.6
72	Baitadi	20.0	14.9	22.4	18.8	22.5	19.6	23.8	20.9	3.8	6.0
73	Dadeldhura	19.8	15.6	22.3	18.6	22.8	19.9	24.2	21.0	4.4	5.4
74	Doti	20.4	16.3	21.4	17.7	22.5	19.6	23.9	20.9	3.5	4.6
75	Achham	19.5	16.7	20.6	18.3	22.0	19.8	22.8	20.8	3.3	4.1
76	Kailali	19.8	16.1	22.1	18.9	23.1	20.5	24.8	22.3	5.0	6.2
77	Kanchanpur	18.4	14.2	22.6	18.9	23.6	20.6	24.9	22.1	6.5	7.9

Annex A4.2: Singulate mean age at first marriage (SMAM) for males and females by Local levels, NPHC 2021

Province and Districts	Name of Local Levels	Sex and Male-female difference		
		Male	Female	Difference
Koshi Province				
TAPLEJUNG	Phaktanlung RM ²⁶	25.4	21.4	4.0
TAPLEJUNG	Mikwakhola RM	25.0	22.2	2.8
TAPLEJUNG	Meringden RM	25.9	21.8	4.1
TAPLEJUNG	Maiwakhola RM	25.9	21.7	4.2
TAPLEJUNG	Aatharai Tribeni RM	25.3	20.7	4.6
TAPLEJUNG	Phungling UM ²⁷	25.8	21.9	3.9
TAPLEJUNG	Pathivara Yangwarak RM	26.0	21.5	4.5
TAPLEJUNG	Sirijanga RM	26.0	21.6	4.4
TAPLEJUNG	Sidingba RM	25.7	21.9	3.9
SANKHUWASABHA	Bhotkhola RM	24.0	22.4	1.6
SANKHUWASABHA	Makalu RM	24.1	21.0	3.1
SANKHUWASABHA	Silichong RM	26.8	22.8	3.9
SANKHUWASABHA	Chichila RM	24.5	21.1	3.4
SANKHUWASABHA	Sabhapokhari RM	24.7	20.6	4.1
SANKHUWASABHA	Khandabari UM	25.6	21.7	3.9
SANKHUWASABHA	Panchakhapan UM	23.7	20.6	3.1
SANKHUWASABHA	Chainapur UM	25.1	20.9	4.2
SANKHUWASABHA	Madi UM	25.2	20.2	5.0
SANKHUWASABHA	Dharmadevi UM	25.2	21.2	4.0
SOLUKHUMBU	Khumbu Pasanglhamu RM	27.0	23.9	3.1
SOLUKHUMBU	Mahakulung RM	24.9	23.0	1.9
SOLUKHUMBU	Sotang RM	25.0	20.7	4.3
SOLUKHUMBU	Mapya Dudhkoshi RM	25.3	21.3	4.0
SOLUKHUMBU	Thulung Dudhkoshi RM	25.5	21.4	4.1
SOLUKHUMBU	Necha Salyan RM	27.1	22.8	4.3
SOLUKHUMBU	Solu Dhudhakunda UM	26.3	22.6	3.7
SOLUKHUMBU	Likhu Pike RM	26.9	23.0	3.9
OKHALDHUNGA	Chishankhu Gadhi RM	25.9	22.0	3.9
OKHALDHUNGA	Siddhicharan UM	26.3	22.4	3.9
OKHALDHUNGA	Molung RM	26.1	22.1	4.0
OKHALDHUNGA	Khiji Demba RM	26.1	22.6	3.4
OKHALDHUNGA	Likhu RM	25.3	22.3	2.9
OKHALDHUNGA	Champadevi RM	24.7	21.8	2.9
OKHALDHUNGA	Sunkoshi RM	25.4	21.6	3.9

²⁶ RM= Rural Municipality

²⁷ UM = Urban Municipality

Province and Districts	Name of Local Levels	Sex and Male-female difference		
		Male	Female	Difference
OKHALDHUNGA	Manebhanjyang RM	25.0	21.3	3.7
KHOTANG	Kepilasgadhi RM	25.0	21.3	3.7
KHOTANG	Aiselukharka RM	26.5	21.3	5.2
KHOTANG	Rawa Besi RM	25.2	21.0	4.2
KHOTANG	Halesi Tuwachung UM	25.3	21.7	3.6
KHOTANG	Diktel Rupakot Majhuwagadhi Mu.	25.9	21.4	4.5
KHOTANG	Sakela RM	25.6	21.0	4.6
KHOTANG	Diprung Chuichumma RM	26.1	21.3	4.8
KHOTANG	Khotelang RM	25.9	21.6	4.3
KHOTANG	Jante Dhunga RM	25.7	21.6	4.1
KHOTANG	Baraha Pokhari RM	25.5	21.0	4.5
BHOJPUR	Shadananda UM	25.2	20.9	4.3
BHOJPUR	Salpa Silichho RM	25.4	21.9	3.5
BHOJPUR	Temkemaikum RM	25.4	20.6	4.8
BHOJPUR	Bhojpur UM	25.7	22.0	3.7
BHOJPUR	Arun RM	25.4	20.5	5.0
BHOJPUR	Pauwa Dunma RM	25.5	21.0	4.4
BHOJPUR	Ramprasad Rai RM	25.5	21.5	4.0
BHOJPUR	Hatuwagadhi RM	25.6	21.3	4.3
BHOJPUR	Aamchowk RM	24.9	21.6	3.3
DHANKUTA	Mahalaxmi UM	25.3	21.1	4.2
DHANKUTA	Pakhribas UM	25.8	21.9	4.0
DHANKUTA	Chhathar Jorpati RM	25.5	21.8	3.6
DHANKUTA	Dhankuta UM	26.2	22.5	3.7
DHANKUTA	Shahidbhumi RM	24.9	21.0	3.9
DHANKUTA	Sangurigadhi RM	25.0	21.8	3.1
DHANKUTA	Chaubise RM	25.6	20.7	4.9
TERHATHUM	Aatharai RM	25.8	20.7	5.1
TERHATHUM	Phedap RM	26.2	20.9	5.3
TERHATHUM	Menchhayayem RM	25.9	22.1	3.8
TERHATHUM	Myanglung UM	26.4	21.9	4.5
TERHATHUM	Laligurans UM	25.4	21.5	4.0
TERHATHUM	Chhathar RM	25.6	21.4	4.1
PANCHTHAR	Yangbarak RM	26.6	21.5	5.1
PANCHTHAR	Hilihan RM	25.6	20.9	4.7
PANCHTHAR	Falelung RM	25.9	21.1	4.7
PANCHTHAR	Phidim UM	25.7	21.2	4.5
PANCHTHAR	Falgunanda RM	25.8	21.4	4.4
PANCHTHAR	Kummayak RM	25.2	20.3	4.9

Province and Districts	Name of Local Levels	Sex and Male-female difference		
		Male	Female	Difference
PANCHTHAR	Tumbewa RM	24.5	19.7	4.8
PANCHTHAR	Miklajung RM	25.2	20.7	4.5
ILAM	Mai Jogmai RM	27.5	22.7	4.8
ILAM	Sandakpur RM	27.2	21.9	5.3
ILAM	Illam UM	26.8	22.7	4.1
ILAM	Deumai UM	26.6	22.3	4.3
ILAM	Fakfokathum RM	26.1	21.9	4.2
ILAM	Mangsebung RM	26.8	22.3	4.5
ILAM	Chulachuli RM	26.3	21.6	4.7
ILAM	Mai UM	25.0	20.9	4.2
ILAM	Suryodaya UM	27.4	23.2	4.2
ILAM	Rong RM	26.2	21.9	4.3
JHAPA	Mechinagar UM	27.0	22.6	4.4
JHAPA	Buddhashanti RM	26.6	22.1	4.5
JHAPA	Arjundhara UM	26.8	22.1	4.6
JHAPA	Kankai UM	26.8	22.1	4.6
JHAPA	Shivasatakshi UM	27.1	22.1	4.9
JHAPA	Kamal RM	26.8	22.1	4.7
JHAPA	Damak UM	27.1	22.9	4.3
JHAPA	Gauradaha UM	26.7	22.1	4.6
JHAPA	Gauriganj RM	26.5	22.1	4.3
JHAPA	Jhapa RM	25.8	21.2	4.6
JHAPA	Barhadashi RM	26.6	21.8	4.8
JHAPA	Birtamod UM	27.1	23.2	3.9
JHAPA	Haldibari RM	26.3	22.0	4.3
JHAPA	Bhadrapur UM	27.3	22.8	4.5
JHAPA	Kachanakawal RM	26.5	22.4	4.1
MORANG	Miklajung RM	25.6	21.0	4.6
MORANG	Letang UM	25.9	21.6	4.2
MORANG	Kerabari RM	25.6	21.3	4.3
MORANG	Sundarharaicha UM	26.3	22.3	4.1
MORANG	Belbari UM	26.5	22.3	4.2
MORANG	Kanepokhari RM	26.3	21.7	4.7
MORANG	Pathari Shanishchare UM	26.9	22.3	4.6
MORANG	Urlabari UM	27.0	22.2	4.8
MORANG	Ratuwamai UM	26.0	21.3	4.8
MORANG	Sunwarshi UM	25.5	21.1	4.4
MORANG	Rangeli UM	25.4	21.2	4.2
MORANG	Gramthan RM	25.8	22.2	3.6

Province and Districts	Name of Local Levels	Sex and Male-female difference		
		Male	Female	Difference
MORANG	Budhiganga RM	25.7	22.0	3.7
MORANG	Biratnagar Metropolitan City	27.6	23.3	4.4
MORANG	Katahari RM	25.4	21.7	3.7
MORANG	Dhanapalthan RM	24.9	20.9	4.0
MORANG	Jahada RM	24.8	20.7	4.2
SUNSARI	Dharan Sub-Metropolitan City	27.7	23.9	3.9
SUNSARI	Barahachhetra UM	26.2	21.8	4.3
SUNSARI	Koshi RM	24.6	20.5	4.1
SUNSARI	Bhokraha Narsingh RM	24.4	20.2	4.2
SUNSARI	Ramdhuni UM	26.2	22.3	3.9
SUNSARI	Itahari Sub-Metropolitan City	26.7	23.0	3.8
SUNSARI	Duhabi UM	25.0	21.4	3.6
SUNSARI	Gadhi RM	25.1	21.3	3.7
SUNSARI	Inaruwa UM	25.8	21.4	4.4
SUNSARI	Harinagar RM	24.6	20.0	4.6
SUNSARI	Dewangunj RM	25.2	20.7	4.5
SUNSARI	Barju RM	24.6	20.9	3.8
UDAYAPUR	Belaka UM	25.2	21.2	3.9
UDAYAPUR	Chaudandigadhi UM	26.1	21.9	4.2
UDAYAPUR	Triyuga UM	25.6	22.1	3.5
UDAYAPUR	Rautamai RM	24.2	21.1	3.1
UDAYAPUR	Limchunbung RM	24.1	21.1	3.0
UDAYAPUR	Tapli RM	24.2	21.8	2.3
UDAYAPUR	Katari UM	24.6	21.3	3.3
UDAYAPUR	Udayapurgadhi RM	23.8	20.7	3.2
Madhesh Province				
SAPTARI	Saptakoshi UM	26.0	22.3	3.8
SAPTARI	Kanchanrup UM	25.0	21.1	4.0
SAPTARI	Agnisair Krishna Sabaran RM	25.4	21.8	3.6
SAPTARI	Rupani RM	24.3	20.4	3.9
SAPTARI	Shambhunath UM	24.5	21.0	3.5
SAPTARI	Khadak UM	24.9	21.1	3.8
SAPTARI	Surunga UM	24.8	21.5	3.3
SAPTARI	Balan-Bihul RM	24.5	20.2	4.3
SAPTARI	Bode Barsain UM	24.5	20.4	4.2
SAPTARI	Dakneshwori UM	24.4	20.4	4.0
SAPTARI	Rajgadh RM	24.3	20.2	4.1
SAPTARI	Bishnupur RM	24.8	20.4	4.3
SAPTARI	Rajbiraj UM	26.6	21.7	4.8

Province and Districts	Name of Local Levels	Sex and Male-female difference		
		Male	Female	Difference
SAPTARI	Mahadewa RM	24.5	20.3	4.2
SAPTARI	Tirahut RM	24.6	20.4	4.3
SAPTARI	Hanumannagar Kankalini UM	25.0	20.5	4.6
SAPTARI	Tilathi Koiladi RM	24.8	20.3	4.5
SAPTARI	Chhinnamasta RM	24.9	20.4	4.5
SIRAHA	Lahan UM	25.4	21.4	4.1
SIRAHA	Dhangadhimai UM	24.9	20.5	4.5
SIRAHA	Golbazar UM	25.2	20.4	4.8
SIRAHA	Mirchaiya UM	25.3	20.2	5.1
SIRAHA	Karjanha UM	24.7	20.1	4.6
SIRAHA	KalyaUMur UM	24.3	19.4	4.9
SIRAHA	Naraha RM	25.1	19.9	5.2
SIRAHA	Bishnupur RM	25.0	19.8	5.2
SIRAHA	Arnama RM	24.7	20.0	4.7
SIRAHA	Sukhipur UM	25.0	20.2	4.8
SIRAHA	Laxmipur Patari RM	24.4	20.2	4.2
SIRAHA	Sakhuwa Nankarkatti RM	24.6	20.4	4.1
SIRAHA	BhagawaUMur RM	24.6	20.6	4.1
SIRAHA	Nawarajpur RM	23.8	19.9	3.9
SIRAHA	Bariyarpatti RM	24.6	20.0	4.6
SIRAHA	Aurahi RM	25.0	19.6	5.4
SIRAHA	Siraha UM	25.4	20.2	5.2
DHANUSA	Ganeshman Charnath UM	24.5	20.0	4.5
DHANUSA	Dhanusadham UM	24.3	19.5	4.8
DHANUSA	Mithila UM	25.2	20.8	4.5
DHANUSA	Bateswor RM	24.9	20.0	4.9
DHANUSA	Chhireshwornath UM	25.3	20.4	4.9
DHANUSA	Laxminiya RM	25.0	19.7	5.3
DHANUSA	Mithila Bihari UM	25.0	19.7	5.4
DHANUSA	Hansapur UM	24.5	19.3	5.1
DHANUSA	Sabaila UM	24.4	19.1	5.3
DHANUSA	Shahidnagar UM	24.6	19.0	5.6
DHANUSA	Kamala UM	24.7	19.4	5.3
DHANUSA	Janak Nandini RM	25.1	19.6	5.5
DHANUSA	Bideha UM	24.5	19.3	5.2
DHANUSA	Aurahi RM	25.0	19.6	5.4
DHANUSA	Janakpurdham Sub-Metro.	26.9	21.4	5.5
DHANUSA	Dhanauji RM	24.8	19.6	5.3
DHANUSA	Nagarain UM	25.4	20.1	5.3

Province and Districts	Name of Local Levels	Sex and Male-female difference		
		Male	Female	Difference
DHANUSA	Mukhiyapatti Musaharmiya RM	25.6	20.0	5.6
MAHOTTARI	Bardibas UM	25.5	21.3	4.2
MAHOTTARI	Gaushala UM	24.9	20.4	4.4
MAHOTTARI	Sonama RM	24.8	20.0	4.9
MAHOTTARI	Aurahi UM	24.9	20.2	4.8
MAHOTTARI	Bhangaha UM	24.4	20.0	4.4
MAHOTTARI	Loharpatti UM	24.5	19.5	5.0
MAHOTTARI	Balawa UM	24.9	19.9	5.1
MAHOTTARI	Ram Gopalpur UM	24.9	20.1	4.8
MAHOTTARI	Samsi RM	25.4	20.9	4.5
MAHOTTARI	Manara Shisawa UM	25.5	20.4	5.2
MAHOTTARI	Ekadara RM	25.8	21.0	4.8
MAHOTTARI	Mahottari RM	25.4	20.1	5.3
MAHOTTARI	Pipara RM	26.0	20.3	5.7
MAHOTTARI	Matihani UM	25.0	19.9	5.1
MAHOTTARI	Jaleswor UM	26.3	20.8	5.5
SARLAHI	Lalbandi UM	25.5	21.6	3.8
SARLAHI	Hariwan UM	25.3	21.6	3.7
SARLAHI	Bagmati UM	24.5	21.1	3.4
SARLAHI	Barahathawa UM	24.4	20.4	4.0
SARLAHI	Haripur UM	24.7	20.9	3.8
SARLAHI	Ishworpur UM	24.6	20.9	3.7
SARLAHI	Haripurwa UM	24.5	20.2	4.3
SARLAHI	Parsa RM	24.9	20.5	4.4
SARLAHI	Brahmapuri RM	24.9	20.6	4.3
SARLAHI	Chandranagar RM	24.5	20.4	4.1
SARLAHI	Kabilashi UM	24.7	20.2	4.5
SARLAHI	Chakraghatta RM	25.0	20.5	4.5
SARLAHI	Basbariya RM	24.3	20.2	4.1
SARLAHI	Dhanakaul RM	23.6	19.8	3.8
SARLAHI	Ramnagar RM	24.2	20.0	4.1
SARLAHI	Balara UM	24.6	20.5	4.0
SARLAHI	Godaita UM	25.0	20.9	4.1
SARLAHI	Bishnu RM	24.5	20.6	3.9
SARLAHI	Kaudena RM	24.3	20.3	4.0
SARLAHI	Malangawa UM	26.0	21.6	4.4
RAUTAHAT	Chandrapur UM	24.9	21.7	3.2
RAUTAHAT	Gujara UM	23.1	20.4	2.7
RAUTAHAT	Phatuwa Bijayapur UM	22.8	20.0	2.8

Province and Districts	Name of Local Levels	Sex and Male-female difference		
		Male	Female	Difference
RAUTAHAT	Katahariya UM	23.2	19.6	3.6
RAUTAHAT	Brindaban UM	22.9	19.6	3.3
RAUTAHAT	Gadhimai UM	23.4	19.8	3.6
RAUTAHAT	Madhav Narayan UM	23.7	19.6	4.1
RAUTAHAT	Garuda UM	23.9	20.1	3.8
RAUTAHAT	Dewahi Gonahi UM	23.0	19.3	3.7
RAUTAHAT	Maulapur UM	22.9	19.5	3.4
RAUTAHAT	Boudhimai UM	23.6	19.8	3.8
RAUTAHAT	Paroha UM	23.6	19.9	3.7
RAUTAHAT	Rajpur UM	23.3	19.9	3.4
RAUTAHAT	Yamunamai RM	23.5	19.9	3.6
RAUTAHAT	Durga Bhagawati RM	24.5	20.6	4.0
RAUTAHAT	Rajdevi UM	24.5	20.6	3.9
RAUTAHAT	Gaur UM	26.0	21.6	4.4
RAUTAHAT	Ishanath UM	24.2	20.7	3.6
BARA	Nijagadh UM	25.0	21.9	3.1
BARA	Kolhabi UM	24.2	21.5	2.7
BARA	Jitpur Simara Sub-Metro.	24.8	21.5	3.3
BARA	Parawanipur RM	24.9	20.7	4.2
BARA	Prasauni RM	25.0	20.7	4.3
BARA	Bishrampur RM	24.8	20.4	4.4
BARA	Pheta RM	24.4	20.3	4.0
BARA	Kalaiya Sub-Metropolitan City	24.9	20.9	4.0
BARA	Karaiyamai RM	23.8	20.7	3.1
BARA	Baragadhi RM	23.3	20.2	3.1
BARA	Aadarsha Kotwal RM	23.4	19.6	3.8
BARA	Simroungadh UM	24.1	20.0	4.1
BARA	Pacharauta UM	23.3	19.6	3.6
BARA	Mahagadhimai UM	24.1	20.2	3.9
BARA	Devtal RM	24.2	20.2	4.0
BARA	Subarna RM	23.2	19.6	3.6
PARSA	Thori RM	25.3	21.6	3.7
PARSA	Jirabhawani RM	24.7	21.4	3.4
PARSA	Jagarnathpur RM	24.2	20.7	3.5
PARSA	Paterwa Sugauli RM	24.5	20.8	3.7
PARSA	Sakhuwa Prasauni RM	23.9	20.5	3.4
PARSA	Parsagadhi UM	24.1	20.9	3.2
PARSA	Birgunj Metropolitan City	25.8	21.8	4.0
PARSA	Bahudarmai UM	24.6	20.5	4.1

Province and Districts	Name of Local Levels	Sex and Male-female difference		
		Male	Female	Difference
PARSA	Pokhariya UM	24.0	20.0	3.9
PARSA	Kalikamai RM	24.7	20.8	3.9
PARSA	Dhobini RM	24.4	20.3	4.1
PARSA	Chhipaharmai RM	24.7	20.8	3.9
PARSA	Pakaha MaiUMur RM	24.7	20.5	4.3
PARSA	Bindabasini RM	24.1	20.0	4.1
<i>Bagmati Province</i>				
DOLAKHA	Gaurishankar RM	25.7	22.8	2.9
DOLAKHA	Bigu RM	24.4	21.6	2.8
DOLAKHA	Kalinchowk RM	25.1	22.3	2.8
DOLAKHA	Baiteshwor RM	25.5	22.2	3.3
DOLAKHA	Jiri UM	26.6	24.0	2.6
DOLAKHA	Tamakoshi RM	26.1	22.6	3.5
DOLAKHA	Melung RM	25.8	22.8	3.1
DOLAKHA	Shailung RM	26.0	22.9	3.1
DOLAKHA	Bhimeshwor UM	25.7	22.5	3.2
SINDHUPALCHOK	Bhotekoshi RM	25.8	22.6	3.1
SINDHUPALCHOK	Jugal RM	24.3	22.2	2.1
SINDHUPALCHOK	Panchpokhari ThanRMal RM	24.4	21.3	3.1
SINDHUPALCHOK	Helambu RM	24.5	22.2	2.4
SINDHUPALCHOK	Melanchi UM	24.6	21.8	2.7
SINDHUPALCHOK	Indrawoti RM	24.3	22.2	2.1
SINDHUPALCHOK	Choutara Sangachowkgadhi UM	25.1	22.4	2.7
SINDHUPALCHOK	Balephi RM	25.4	22.8	2.6
SINDHUPALCHOK	Bahrabise UM	24.6	22.4	2.2
SINDHUPALCHOK	Tripurasundari RM	24.0	21.6	2.3
SINDHUPALCHOK	Lisankhu Pakhar RM	26.9	23.0	3.9
SINDHUPALCHOK	Sunkoshi RM	26.0	22.8	3.1
RASUWA	Gosaikunda RM	26.0	23.5	2.5
RASUWA	Aamachhodingmo RM	24.0	22.1	1.8
RASUWA	Uttargaya RM	25.7	22.1	3.6
RASUWA	Kalika RM	25.5	23.0	2.5
RASUWA	Naukunda RM	24.1	21.7	2.4
DHADING	Rubi Valley RM	25.2	22.9	2.3
DHADING	Khaniyabas RM	25.3	21.2	4.1
DHADING	Ganga Jamuna RM	25.6	21.8	3.8
DHADING	Tripurasundari RM	24.6	21.6	3.0
DHADING	Netrawati Dabjong RM	25.5	21.5	4.1
DHADING	Nilkhantha UM	25.5	22.2	3.3

Province and Districts	Name of Local Levels	Sex and Male-female difference		
		Male	Female	Difference
DHADING	Jwalamukhi RM	25.4	21.6	3.8
DHADING	Siddhalek RM	25.0	21.5	3.5
DHADING	Benighat Rorang RM	23.6	20.9	2.7
DHADING	Gajuri RM	24.2	21.6	2.6
DHADING	Galchhi RM	25.1	21.9	3.2
DHADING	Thakre RM	25.2	22.1	3.1
DHADING	Dhunibenshi UM	25.9	22.8	3.2
NUWAKOT	Dupcheshwor RM	23.3	20.9	2.3
NUWAKOT	Tadi RM	24.2	21.5	2.7
NUWAKOT	Suryagadhi RM	24.6	21.7	2.8
NUWAKOT	Bidur UM	26.0	22.7	3.3
NUWAKOT	Kispang RM	25.3	21.9	3.4
NUWAKOT	Myagang RM	25.5	21.3	4.2
NUWAKOT	Tarakeshwor RM	25.1	21.5	3.6
NUWAKOT	Belkotgadhi UM	24.9	21.8	3.1
NUWAKOT	Likhu RM	25.1	22.4	2.7
NUWAKOT	Panchakanya RM	25.1	21.8	3.2
NUWAKOT	Shivapuri RM	24.5	21.7	2.8
NUWAKOT	Kakani RM	24.5	21.6	2.9
KATHMANDU	Shankharapur UM	26.5	23.1	3.4
KATHMANDU	Kageshwori Manahara UM	27.2	24.1	3.1
KATHMANDU	Gokarneshwor UM	27.2	24.3	2.9
KATHMANDU	Budhanilkhantha UM	27.9	24.8	3.1
KATHMANDU	Tokha UM	27.9	24.8	3.1
KATHMANDU	Tarakeshwor UM	27.1	24.0	3.1
KATHMANDU	Nagarjun UM	28.0	24.3	3.6
KATHMANDU	Kathmandu Metropolitan City	29.1	25.7	3.5
KATHMANDU	Kirtipur UM	29.3	25.2	4.1
KATHMANDU	Chandragiri UM	27.1	23.9	3.2
KATHMANDU	Dakshinkali UM	27.1	23.8	3.2
BHAKTAPUR	Changunarayan UM	26.6	23.6	3.0
BHAKTAPUR	Bhaktapur UM	28.0	25.3	2.7
BHAKTAPUR	Madhyapur Thimi UM	28.3	25.0	3.3
BHAKTAPUR	Suryabinayak UM	27.5	24.4	3.1
LALITPUR	Mahalaxmi UM	28.0	24.6	3.4
LALITPUR	Lalitpur Metropolitan City	28.9	25.7	3.2
LALITPUR	Godawari UM	27.1	24.3	2.8
LALITPUR	Konjyosom RM	24.9	22.6	2.3
LALITPUR	Mahankal RM	25.4	23.1	2.4

Province and Districts	Name of Local Levels	Sex and Male-female difference		
		Male	Female	Difference
LALITPUR	Bagmati RM	24.1	22.0	2.0
KAVREPALANCHOK	Chauri Deurali RM	26.1	22.8	3.3
KAVREPALANCHOK	Bhumlu RM	26.2	22.6	3.6
KAVREPALANCHOK	Mandan Deupur UM	25.3	22.2	3.1
KAVREPALANCHOK	Banepa UM	26.5	23.7	2.9
KAVREPALANCHOK	Dhulikhel UM	26.5	23.3	3.2
KAVREPALANCHOK	Panchkhal UM	25.7	23.0	2.7
KAVREPALANCHOK	Temal RM	25.7	22.6	3.1
KAVREPALANCHOK	Namobuddha UM	25.8	22.8	3.0
KAVREPALANCHOK	Panauti UM	26.5	23.3	3.1
KAVREPALANCHOK	Bethanchowk RM	24.7	22.4	2.3
KAVREPALANCHOK	Roshi RM	25.3	22.1	3.2
KAVREPALANCHOK	Mahabharat RM	24.2	21.9	2.4
KAVREPALANCHOK	Khanikhola RM	23.5	21.3	2.2
RAMECHHAP	Umakunda RM	26.5	23.2	3.4
RAMECHHAP	Gokulganga RM	26.0	22.4	3.6
RAMECHHAP	Likhu Tamakoshi RM	25.1	22.5	2.6
RAMECHHAP	Ramechhap UM	25.1	21.8	3.3
RAMECHHAP	Manthali UM	25.1	22.1	3.0
RAMECHHAP	Khandadevi RM	25.5	22.5	3.0
RAMECHHAP	Doramba RM	24.6	22.1	2.4
RAMECHHAP	Sunapati RM	25.5	22.4	3.1
SINDHULI	Dudhouli UM	24.1	21.5	2.6
SINDHULI	Phikkal RM	25.3	21.7	3.5
SINDHULI	TiUMatan RM	24.5	21.4	3.1
SINDHULI	Golanjor RM	25.0	21.7	3.3
SINDHULI	Kalamamai UM	25.7	22.3	3.4
SINDHULI	Sunkoshi RM	25.4	22.2	3.2
SINDHULI	Ghyanglekha RM	23.7	21.6	2.1
SINDHULI	Marin RM	23.4	21.2	2.2
SINDHULI	Hariharpurgaghi RM	23.3	20.8	2.5
MAKWAUMUR	Indrasarowar RM	25.3	22.6	2.7
MAKWAUMUR	Thaha UM	24.8	21.9	2.9
MAKWAUMUR	Kailash RM	23.4	20.8	2.6
MAKWAUMUR	Raksirang RM	23.0	20.2	2.8
MAKWAUMUR	Manahari RM	24.5	21.6	2.9
MAKWAUMUR	Hetauda Sub-Metropolitan City	26.2	22.9	3.4
MAKWAUMUR	Bhimphedi RM	25.2	21.4	3.8
MAKWAUMUR	MakawaUMurgadhi RM	24.5	21.5	3.0

Province and Districts	Name of Local Levels	Sex and Male-female difference		
		Male	Female	Difference
MAKWAUMUR	Bakaiya RM	24.1	21.5	2.6
MAKWAUMUR	Bagmati RM	24.0	21.6	2.4
CHITAWAN	Rapti UM	24.8	21.4	3.5
CHITAWAN	Kalika UM	24.4	21.3	3.1
CHITAWAN	Ichchha Kamana RM	23.6	20.6	3.0
CHITAWAN	Bharatpur Metropolitan City	26.8	23.0	3.7
CHITAWAN	Ratnanagar UM	26.6	22.7	4.0
CHITAWAN	Khairahani UM	26.0	22.5	3.4
CHITAWAN	Madi UM	25.0	21.1	3.9
Gandaki Province				
GORKHA	Chumanubri RM	23.7	20.7	3.0
GORKHA	Ajirkot RM	25.6	21.5	4.1
GORKHA	Barpak Sulikot RM	25.6	21.5	4.1
GORKHA	Dharche RM	25.4	22.0	3.3
GORKHA	Aarughat RM	24.7	21.2	3.5
GORKHA	Bhimsenthapa RM	25.4	21.4	4.0
GORKHA	Siranchowk RM	25.5	20.9	4.6
GORKHA	Palungtar UM	25.5	21.0	4.5
GORKHA	Gorkha UM	25.7	21.8	3.9
GORKHA	Shahid Lakhan RM	26.1	21.5	4.6
GORKHA	Gandaki RM	25.3	21.9	3.5
MANANG	Narpa Bhumi RM	27.7	24.6	3.1
MANANG	Manang Ngisyang RM	27.4	23.9	3.4
MANANG	Chame RM	26.0	23.0	3.0
MANANG	Nason RM	27.4	24.7	2.7
MUSTANG	Lo Ghekar Damodarkunda RM	28.3	24.7	3.6
MUSTANG	Gharpajhong RM	26.6	20.8	5.7
MUSTANG	Varagung Muktichhetra RM	26.9	23.3	3.6
MUSTANG	Lomanthang RM	28.9	26.2	2.7
MUSTANG	Thasang RM	25.3	21.4	3.9
MYAGDI	Annapurna RM	27.1	20.8	6.3
MYAGDI	Raghuganga RM	25.9	20.3	5.6
MYAGDI	Dhawalagiri RM	24.5	20.5	3.9
MYAGDI	Malika RM	25.2	20.4	4.8
MYAGDI	Mangala RM	24.6	20.1	4.5
MYAGDI	Beni UM	25.4	21.7	3.7
KASKI	Madi RM	27.6	21.2	6.5
KASKI	Machhapuchchhre RM	26.8	21.8	5.0
KASKI	Annapurna RM	27.1	21.5	5.6

Province and Districts	Name of Local Levels	Sex and Male-female difference		
		Male	Female	Difference
KASKI	Pokhara Metropolitan City	27.4	23.4	4.0
KASKI	Rupa RM	26.6	21.5	5.1
LAMJUNG	Dordi RM	25.6	21.0	4.5
LAMJUNG	Marshyangdi RM	25.6	21.3	4.3
LAMJUNG	Kwhola Sothar RM	26.5	19.9	6.6
LAMJUNG	Madhya Nepal UM	26.2	21.1	5.1
LAMJUNG	Bensishahar UM	26.5	21.9	4.6
LAMJUNG	Sundarbazar UM	26.4	22.0	4.4
LAMJUNG	Rainas UM	26.1	21.0	5.2
LAMJUNG	Dudhapokhari RM	26.4	20.7	5.7
TANAHU	Bhanu UM	25.8	20.9	4.9
TANAHU	Byas UM	26.0	21.9	4.1
TANAHU	Myagde RM	25.8	21.5	4.3
TANAHU	Shuklagandaki UM	26.4	22.1	4.3
TANAHU	Bhimad UM	25.3	21.1	4.2
TANAHU	Ghiring RM	24.2	20.1	4.1
TANAHU	Rhishing RM	24.3	20.7	3.6
TANAHU	Devghat RM	24.3	20.4	3.9
TANAHU	Bandipur RM	25.8	21.4	4.4
TANAHU	Aanbu Khaireni RM	25.4	21.9	3.5
NAWALPARASI -EAST	Gaidakot UM	26.2	22.5	3.7
NAWALPARASI -EAST	Bulingtar RM	23.5	19.9	3.7
NAWALPARASI -EAST	Baudikali RM	23.6	20.0	3.7
NAWALPARASI -EAST	Hupsekot RM	24.1	20.6	3.5
NAWALPARASI -EAST	Devchuli UM	25.4	21.9	3.5
NAWALPARASI -EAST	Kawasoti UM	25.6	22.0	3.6
NAWALPARASI -EAST	Madhya Bindu UM	25.4	21.6	3.9
NAWALPARASI -EAST	Binayi Tribeni RM	24.9	21.2	3.7
SYANGJA	Putalibazar UM	27.6	22.1	5.5
SYANGJA	Phedikhola RM	28.0	21.8	6.2
SYANGJA	Aandhikhola RM	27.0	21.5	5.5
SYANGJA	Arjun Choupari RM	26.5	21.2	5.3
SYANGJA	Bhirkot UM	27.2	21.6	5.6
SYANGJA	Biruwa RM	27.0	21.3	5.7
SYANGJA	Harinas RM	26.1	20.5	5.6
SYANGJA	Chapakot UM	26.5	21.1	5.4
SYANGJA	Walling UM	27.5	22.2	5.3
SYANGJA	Galyang UM	27.3	22.2	5.1
SYANGJA	Kaligandaki RM	27.3	21.8	5.5

Province and Districts	Name of Local Levels	Sex and Male-female difference		
		Male	Female	Difference
PARBAT	Modi RM	26.6	21.4	5.2
PARBAT	Jaljala RM	25.5	21.2	4.3
PARBAT	Kushma UM	26.8	21.8	4.9
PARBAT	Phalebas UM	26.4	21.3	5.0
PARBAT	Mahashila RM	26.2	21.1	5.1
PARBAT	Bihadi RM	26.3	21.2	5.1
PARBAT	Paiyu RM	26.8	21.1	5.7
BAGLUNG	Baglung UM	26.1	22.2	3.9
BAGLUNG	Kathekhola RM	25.5	21.4	4.1
BAGLUNG	Tarakhola RM	25.1	21.1	4.0
BAGLUNG	Tamankhola RM	24.8	20.9	3.9
BAGLUNG	Dhorpatan UM	23.2	20.5	2.7
BAGLUNG	Nisikhola RM	24.3	20.5	3.8
BAGLUNG	Badigad RM	24.9	21.0	3.9
BAGLUNG	Galkot UM	25.8	21.4	4.4
BAGLUNG	Bareng RM	25.4	20.9	4.4
BAGLUNG	Jaimuni UM	26.0	20.9	5.1
Lumbini Province				
RUKUM -EAST	Putha Uttanganga RM	23.4	20.8	2.6
RUKUM -EAST	Sisne RM	22.9	20.2	2.7
RUKUM -EAST	Bhoome RM	23.4	20.6	2.8
ROLPA	Sunchahari RM	22.7	21.0	1.6
ROLPA	Thawang RM	23.1	21.0	2.1
ROLPA	Pariwartan RM	23.9	21.7	2.1
ROLPA	Gangadev RM	21.1	19.4	1.7
ROLPA	Madi RM	22.2	20.7	1.5
ROLPA	Tribeni RM	22.2	20.3	1.8
ROLPA	Rolpa UM	23.3	21.3	2.0
ROLPA	Runtigadhi RM	22.0	20.1	1.9
ROLPA	Sunil Smriti RM	23.0	20.6	2.4
ROLPA	Lungri RM	22.6	20.4	2.2
PYUTHAN	Gaumukhi RM	23.4	20.7	2.6
PYUTHAN	Naubahini RM	22.9	20.4	2.5
PYUTHAN	Jhimaruk RM	24.7	20.3	4.4
PYUTHAN	Pyuthan UM	24.7	21.2	3.5
PYUTHAN	Sworgadwari UM	23.3	20.6	2.8
PYUTHAN	Mandavi RM	23.8	20.4	3.3
PYUTHAN	Mallarani RM	24.6	20.6	3.9
PYUTHAN	Aairawati RM	24.6	20.5	4.1

Province and Districts	Name of Local Levels	Sex and Male-female difference		
		Male	Female	Difference
PYUTHAN	Sarumarani RM	23.3	20.1	3.2
GULMI	Kali Gandaki RM	25.7	20.6	5.1
GULMI	Satyawoti RM	26.1	21.0	5.1
GULMI	Chandrakot RM	25.5	20.7	4.8
GULMI	Musikot UM	25.6	20.5	5.2
GULMI	Isma RM	25.4	20.7	4.6
GULMI	Malika RM	25.2	20.7	4.5
GULMI	Madane RM	25.0	20.5	4.5
GULMI	Dhurkot RM	25.7	20.8	4.9
GULMI	Resunga UM	26.4	21.7	4.7
GULMI	Gulmi Durbar RM	26.2	20.9	5.3
GULMI	Chhatrakot RM	25.9	20.9	5.0
GULMI	Ruruchhetra RM	27.4	21.8	5.6
ARGHAKHANCHI	Chhatradev RM	26.5	21.0	5.4
ARGHAKHANCHI	Malarani RM	25.6	20.5	5.0
ARGHAKHANCHI	Bhumikasthan UM	25.7	20.4	5.3
ARGHAKHANCHI	Sandhikharka UM	25.9	21.2	4.7
ARGHAKHANCHI	Panini RM	25.6	20.8	4.8
ARGHAKHANCHI	Shitaganga UM	24.6	20.2	4.4
PALPA	Rampur UM	25.1	21.1	4.0
PALPA	Purbakhola RM	25.0	21.1	3.9
PALPA	Rambha RM	26.2	21.4	4.7
PALPA	Baganaskali RM	26.8	21.2	5.6
PALPA	Tansen UM	27.6	23.0	4.5
PALPA	Ribdikot RM	26.2	21.3	4.8
PALPA	Rainadevi Chhahara RM	25.3	20.6	4.8
PALPA	Tinau RM	24.4	20.4	4.1
PALPA	Mathagadhi RM	24.6	20.6	4.1
PALPA	Nisdi RM	24.6	20.8	3.7
NAWALPARASI -WEST	Bardaghat UM	25.9	22.4	3.6
NAWALPARASI -WEST	Sunawal UM	26.2	22.7	3.5
NAWALPARASI -WEST	Ramgram UM	25.1	22.2	2.9
NAWALPARASI -WEST	Palhinandan RM	25.0	21.8	3.2
NAWALPARASI -WEST	Sarawal RM	24.9	22.3	2.7
NAWALPARASI -WEST	Pratapapur RM	25.4	22.4	3.0
NAWALPARASI -WEST	Susta RM	25.5	22.4	3.1
RUPANDEHI	Devdaha UM	25.8	22.4	3.5
RUPANDEHI	Butwal Sub-Metropolitan City	27.2	23.6	3.6
RUPANDEHI	Sainamaina UM	26.1	22.6	3.5

Province and Districts	Name of Local Levels	Sex and Male-female difference		
		Male	Female	Difference
RUPANDEHI	Kanchan RM	25.3	22.0	3.3
RUPANDEHI	Gaidahawa RM	23.6	20.8	2.7
RUPANDEHI	Suddhodhan RM	24.8	22.2	2.7
RUPANDEHI	Siyari RM	25.0	22.1	2.9
RUPANDEHI	Tilottama UM	26.9	23.4	3.5
RUPANDEHI	Om Satiya RM	25.2	22.5	2.7
RUPANDEHI	Rohini RM	24.5	21.7	2.8
RUPANDEHI	Siddharthanagar UM	27.2	23.6	3.6
RUPANDEHI	Mayadevi RM	23.7	21.1	2.6
RUPANDEHI	Lumbini Sanskritik UM	23.9	21.1	2.7
RUPANDEHI	Kotahimai RM	23.5	20.7	2.8
RUPANDEHI	Sammarimai RM	23.7	20.9	2.8
RUPANDEHI	Marchawari RM	24.2	21.1	3.1
KAPILBASTU	Banganga UM	25.6	22.2	3.4
KAPILBASTU	Buddhabhumi UM	24.6	21.6	3.0
KAPILBASTU	Shivaraj UM	24.5	21.7	2.8
KAPILBASTU	Bijayanagar RM	24.3	21.3	3.0
KAPILBASTU	Krishnanagar UM	25.6	22.5	3.1
KAPILBASTU	Maharajganj UM	24.3	21.7	2.6
KAPILBASTU	Kapilbastu UM	24.8	21.8	3.0
KAPILBASTU	Yasodhara RM	23.9	21.2	2.7
KAPILBASTU	Mayadevi RM	24.0	21.3	2.7
KAPILBASTU	Shuddhodhan RM	23.7	21.2	2.5
DANG	Bangalachuli RM	22.4	19.7	2.8
DANG	Ghorahi Sub-Metro. City	24.6	21.8	2.7
DANG	Tulsipur Sub-Metro. City	24.2	21.5	2.7
DANG	Shantinagar RM	23.7	20.5	3.2
DANG	Babai RM	22.7	20.0	2.8
DANG	Dangisharan RM	23.2	20.7	2.5
DANG	Lamahi UM	24.2	21.9	2.3
DANG	Rapti RM	24.2	21.5	2.8
DANG	Gadhawa RM	23.8	21.4	2.3
DANG	Rajpur RM	23.1	20.6	2.4
BANKE	Rapti Sonari RM	23.4	21.1	2.3
BANKE	Kohalpur UM	24.5	22.0	2.5
BANKE	Baijanath RM	23.6	21.3	2.3
BANKE	Khajura RM	24.1	21.0	3.1
BANKE	Janaki RM	23.6	20.7	2.9
BANKE	Nepalganj Sub-Metro. City	26.2	22.8	3.3

Province and Districts	Name of Local Levels	Sex and Male-female difference		
		Male	Female	Difference
BANKE	Duduwa RM	23.7	20.6	3.1
BANKE	Narainapur RM	23.6	20.8	2.8
BARDIYA	Bansgadhi UM	23.4	21.3	2.2
BARDIYA	Barbardiya UM	23.2	21.2	2.0
BARDIYA	Thakurbaba UM	23.6	21.5	2.1
BARDIYA	Geruwa RM	23.7	21.6	2.0
BARDIYA	Rajapur UM	23.8	21.6	2.2
BARDIYA	Madhuwan UM	23.8	21.3	2.6
BARDIYA	Gulariya UM	24.9	21.9	3.0
BARDIYA	Badhaiyatal RM	24.1	21.2	3.0
Karnali Province				
DOLPA	Dolpo Buddha RM	27.4	26.2	1.2
DOLPA	Shey Phoksundo RM	28.6	26.8	1.8
DOLPA	Jagadulla RM	21.5	20.4	1.1
DOLPA	Mudkechula RM	22.5	21.0	1.5
DOLPA	Tripurasundari UM	22.3	21.1	1.2
DOLPA	Thulibheri UM	23.1	22.0	1.1
DOLPA	Kaika RM	22.2	22.5	(0.2)
DOLPA	Chharka Tangsong RM	29.2	28.4	0.8
MUGU	Mugumakarmarog RM	23.2	23.5	(0.3)
MUGU	Chhayanath Rara UM	21.4	19.7	1.8
MUGU	Soru RM	22.4	20.5	1.8
MUGU	Khatyad RM	21.9	19.9	2.0
HUMLA	Chankheli RM	23.5	21.6	1.9
HUMLA	Kharpunath RM	22.5	20.2	2.4
HUMLA	Simkot RM	23.0	20.6	2.3
HUMLA	Namkha RM	24.9	22.1	2.8
HUMLA	Sarkegad RM	21.9	19.7	2.2
HUMLA	Adanchuli RM	21.0	19.4	1.7
HUMLA	Tanjakot RM	22.6	21.0	1.6
JUMLA	Patarasi RM	21.5	20.4	1.0
JUMLA	Kanaka Sundari RM	21.9	20.2	1.7
JUMLA	Sinja RM	23.8	20.8	2.9
JUMLA	Chandannath UM	23.6	21.5	2.1
JUMLA	Guthichaur RM	21.2	20.2	1.1
JUMLA	Tatopani RM	22.2	20.2	2.0
JUMLA	Tila RM	21.9	20.1	1.8
JUMLA	Hima RM	21.6	20.5	1.1
KALIKOT	Palata RM	21.9	20.1	1.8

Province and Districts	Name of Local Levels	Sex and Male-female difference		
		Male	Female	Difference
KALIKOT	Pachal Jharana RM	22.9	21.0	1.8
KALIKOT	Raskot UM	22.2	20.4	1.8
KALIKOT	Sanni Tribeni RM	22.2	20.9	1.3
KALIKOT	Naraharinath RM	21.9	20.8	1.2
KALIKOT	Khandachakra UM	23.2	20.9	2.2
KALIKOT	Tilagupha UM	22.4	20.5	2.0
KALIKOT	Mahawai RM	22.9	20.3	2.6
KALIKOT	Shuva Kalika RM	22.2	20.3	1.9
DAILEKH	Naumule RM	22.2	20.3	1.9
DAILEKH	Mahabu RM	21.9	19.6	2.3
DAILEKH	Bhairabi RM	22.5	19.7	2.8
DAILEKH	Thantikandh RM	22.5	20.3	2.2
DAILEKH	Aathbis UM	22.7	20.4	2.3
DAILEKH	Chamunda Bindrasaini UM	23.0	20.5	2.4
DAILEKH	Dullu UM	23.0	20.4	2.6
DAILEKH	Narayan UM	24.0	21.0	3.1
DAILEKH	Bhagawatimai RM	22.9	20.9	2.1
DAILEKH	Dungeshwor RM	23.5	20.7	2.8
DAILEKH	Gurans RM	22.7	20.0	2.7
JAJARKOT	Barekot RM	22.3	20.5	1.8
JAJARKOT	Kuse RM	22.3	20.6	1.7
JAJARKOT	Junichande RM	21.9	20.3	1.6
JAJARKOT	Chhedagad UM	22.1	20.3	1.8
JAJARKOT	Shivalaya RM	22.3	20.0	2.3
JAJARKOT	Bheri Malika UM	21.6	19.6	2.0
JAJARKOT	Nalgad UM	21.9	19.9	2.1
RUKUM -WEST	Aathabisakot UM	21.9	20.1	1.8
RUKUM -WEST	Sanibheri RM	21.8	20.3	1.5
RUKUM -WEST	BaUMhikot RM	22.1	20.1	1.9
RUKUM -WEST	Musikot UM	23.4	21.0	2.4
RUKUM -WEST	Tribeni RM	22.0	20.4	1.6
RUKUM -WEST	Chaurjahari UM	22.1	19.9	2.2
SALYAN	Darma RM	21.7	19.9	1.8
SALYAN	Kumakh RM	22.3	19.9	2.4
SALYAN	Banagad Kupinde UM	22.0	20.2	1.8
SALYAN	Siddha Kumakh RM	22.0	20.1	2.0
SALYAN	Bagachour UM	22.1	20.1	2.0
SALYAN	Chhatreshwori RM	22.5	19.6	3.0
SALYAN	Sharada UM	22.9	20.4	2.5

Province and Districts	Name of Local Levels	Sex and Male-female difference		
		Male	Female	Difference
SALYAN	Kalimati RM	22.3	19.9	2.5
SALYAN	Tribeni RM	22.6	19.7	2.9
SALYAN	Kapurkot RM	22.1	20.4	1.8
SURKHET	Simta RM	22.4	19.5	2.9
SURKHET	Chingad RM	22.5	20.0	2.5
SURKHET	Lekabeshi UM	22.5	19.8	2.7
SURKHET	Gurbhakot UM	22.3	19.9	2.4
SURKHET	Bheriganga UM	22.3	19.9	2.4
SURKHET	Birendranagar UM	24.3	21.8	2.5
SURKHET	Barahatal RM	21.9	19.5	2.4
SURKHET	Panchapuri UM	22.4	20.4	2.0
SURKHET	Chaukune RM	22.8	20.1	2.7
Sudurpashchim Province				
BAJURA	Himali RM	23.4	20.7	2.7
BAJURA	Gaumul RM	22.5	20.9	1.6
BAJURA	Budhinanda UM	22.4	20.4	2.0
BAJURA	Swamikartik Khapar RM	22.4	20.4	2.1
BAJURA	Jagannath RM	21.6	20.0	1.7
BAJURA	Badimalika UM	23.3	21.1	2.2
BAJURA	Khaptad Chhededaha RM	22.5	20.8	1.7
BAJURA	Budhiganga UM	23.2	21.2	2.0
BAJURA	Tribeni UM	22.3	20.9	1.4
BAJHANG	Saipal RM	21.2	20.1	1.1
BAJHANG	Bungal UM	21.7	20.0	1.7
BAJHANG	Surma RM	20.3	19.2	1.1
BAJHANG	Talkot RM	22.2	20.7	1.5
BAJHANG	Masta RM	22.0	20.6	1.5
BAJHANG	Jayaprithbi UM	23.7	21.7	2.0
BAJHANG	Chhabis Pathibhara RM	21.8	20.8	1.0
BAJHANG	Durgathali RM	23.3	21.7	1.6
BAJHANG	Kedarsyun RM	22.8	21.0	1.7
BAJHANG	Bitthadchir RM	22.1	20.4	1.6
BAJHANG	Thalara RM	23.2	20.9	2.2
BAJHANG	Khaptad Chhanna RM	23.6	21.4	2.2
DARCHULA	Byas RM	23.5	20.7	2.8
DARCHULA	Duhun RM	23.2	20.7	2.5
DARCHULA	Mahakali UM	24.7	21.7	3.0
DARCHULA	Naugad RM	22.9	20.5	2.5
DARCHULA	Apihimal RM	23.1	21.0	2.1

Province and Districts	Name of Local Levels	Sex and Male-female difference		
		Male	Female	Difference
DARCHULA	Marma RM	22.7	20.3	2.4
DARCHULA	Shailyashikhar UM	23.6	20.5	3.1
DARCHULA	Malikarjun RM	24.0	20.6	3.4
DARCHULA	Lekam RM	24.2	20.9	3.3
BAITADI	Dilasaini RM	23.1	20.4	2.7
BAITADI	Dogada Kedar RM	24.2	20.8	3.3
BAITADI	Puchaundi UM	22.8	20.8	2.1
BAITADI	Surnaya RM	23.1	20.7	2.5
BAITADI	Dasharathchand UM	25.6	21.6	4.0
BAITADI	Pancheshwor RM	24.7	21.1	3.7
BAITADI	Shivanath RM	23.6	20.6	3.0
BAITADI	Melauli UM	24.5	21.2	3.3
BAITADI	Patan UM	24.4	21.0	3.4
BAITADI	Sigas RM	22.6	20.5	2.0
DAELDHURA	Nawadurga RM	24.5	20.9	3.6
DAELDHURA	Amargadhi UM	25.0	21.6	3.4
DAELDHURA	Ajayameru RM	24.8	21.3	3.5
DAELDHURA	Bhageshwor RM	24.5	21.4	3.1
DAELDHURA	Parashuram UM	23.5	20.5	2.9
DAELDHURA	Aalital RM	23.0	20.3	2.7
DAELDHURA	Ganyapdhura RM	24.4	21.2	3.1
DOTI	Purbichouki RM	23.2	20.8	2.3
DOTI	Sayal RM	22.1	20.0	2.2
DOTI	Aadarsha RM	23.6	20.8	2.8
DOTI	Shikhar UM	24.2	21.2	3.1
DOTI	Dipayal Silgadhi UM	24.8	21.3	3.5
DOTI	K.I. Singh RM	24.3	20.9	3.4
DOTI	Bogatan Phudsil RM	23.6	20.8	2.8
DOTI	Badi Kedar RM	23.5	20.7	2.8
DOTI	Joroyal RM	23.9	20.8	3.1
ACHHAM	Panchdebal Binayak UM	22.6	20.8	1.9
ACHHAM	Ramaroshan RM	21.7	20.2	1.6
ACHHAM	Mellekh RM	22.3	20.9	1.4
ACHHAM	SaUMhebagar UM	24.2	21.3	2.9
ACHHAM	Chaurpati RM	23.1	20.8	2.3
ACHHAM	Mangalsen UM	23.8	21.5	2.3
ACHHAM	Bannigadhi Jayagadh RM	23.9	21.4	2.5
ACHHAM	Kamal bazar UM	22.2	20.2	2.0
ACHHAM	Dhakari RM	21.9	20.4	1.5

Province and Districts	Name of Local Levels	Sex and Male-female difference		
		Male	Female	Difference
ACHHAM	Turmakhand RM	22.3	20.6	1.7
KAILALI	Mohanyal RM	22.2	19.8	2.4
KAILALI	Chure RM	23.0	19.9	3.1
KAILALI	Godawari UM	25.0	22.1	2.9
KAILALI	Gauriganga UM	24.2	21.8	2.4
KAILALI	Ghodaghodi UM	24.0	21.9	2.1
KAILALI	Bardagoriya RM	24.0	21.6	2.4
KAILALI	Lamki Chuha UM	24.2	21.8	2.3
KAILALI	Janaki RM	24.6	22.4	2.3
KAILALI	Joshiपुर RM	24.2	22.2	2.1
KAILALI	Tikapur UM	25.2	22.7	2.6
KAILALI	Bhajani UM	24.0	21.9	2.1
KAILALI	Kailari RM	24.4	22.2	2.2
KAILALI	Dhangadhi Sub-Metro. City	25.9	23.2	2.6
KANCHAUMUR	Krishnapur UM	24.4	22.0	2.4
KANCHAUMUR	Shuklaphanta UM	24.5	21.7	2.8
KANCHAUMUR	Bedkot UM	25.1	22.0	3.1
KANCHAUMUR	Bhimdatta UM	26.3	22.8	3.6
KANCHAUMUR	Dodhara Chandani UM	24.2	21.2	3.0
KANCHAUMUR	Laljhadi RM	23.6	22.0	1.6
KANCHAUMUR	Punarbans UM	24.2	21.7	2.4
KANCHAUMUR	Belouri UM	24.8	22.9	1.9
KANCHAUMUR	Beldandi RM	24.6	21.9	2.7

Annex A4.3: Percentage distribution of 20-24 years males and females married before age 15 and before age 18 by districts, NPHC 2021

Districts	Population 20-24			% Married <15 Years			% Married < 18 yrs		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Taplejung	11,661	5,740	5,921	1.7	0.6	2.8	14.9	6.4	23.2
Sankhuwasabha	13,378	6,357	7,021	2.0	0.6	3.3	17.5	6.8	27.2
Solukhumbu	9,451	4,643	4,808	0.8	0.2	1.5	9.5	3.1	15.7
Okhaldhunga	12,728	6,133	6,595	1.6	0.7	2.5	12.3	4.7	19.4
Khotang	15,338	7,345	7,993	1.7	0.7	2.7	14.8	4.9	24.0
Bhojpur	13,399	6,405	6,994	1.3	0.4	2.1	15.1	5.8	23.6
Dhankuta	13,079	6,123	6,956	1.5	0.4	2.5	14.5	6.1	21.9
Tehrathum	7,891	3,698	4,193	1.7	0.4	2.8	16.2	6.5	24.8
Panchthar	16,117	7,850	8,267	1.4	0.5	2.2	15.2	6.4	23.6
Ilam	24,718	11,801	12,917	1.5	0.5	2.4	12.0	4.4	18.8
Jhapa	84,368	37,665	46,703	1.3	0.3	2.1	10.8	3.2	17.0
Morang	103,087	47,208	55,879	1.5	0.3	2.6	11.9	3.3	19.2
Sunsari	87,171	39,234	47,937	1.8	0.5	2.8	12.9	4.0	20.1
Udayapur	31,158	14,091	17,067	1.7	0.6	2.7	15.6	6.3	23.3
Saptari	66,524	30,937	35,587	2.6	0.8	4.1	16.1	4.9	25.9
Siraha	68,861	30,782	38,079	3.1	0.7	5.1	21.1	5.4	33.7
Dhanusa	80,245	35,211	45,034	4.2	0.6	7.0	23.8	4.2	39.1
Mahottari	63,418	29,500	33,918	3.4	0.6	5.8	20.5	4.5	34.5
Sarlahi	81,581	39,864	41,717	3.1	0.7	5.4	18.9	5.7	31.5
Rautahat	75,249	36,875	38,374	4.1	1.4	6.8	23.4	8.9	37.4
Bara	71,128	35,488	35,640	3.4	1.2	5.6	18.5	6.8	30.2
Parsa	58,784	29,880	28,904	2.9	0.8	5.2	15.7	4.8	27.0
Dolakha	14,339	6,789	7,550	0.9	0.2	1.6	10.2	3.8	16.0
Sindhupalchok	21,163	10,078	11,085	1.7	0.7	2.6	12.5	5.7	18.7
Rasuwa	4,267	2,191	2,076	0.8	0.2	1.4	9.9	3.9	16.2
Dhading	28,574	13,362	15,212	1.9	0.5	3.2	15.0	6.4	22.5
Nuwakot	21,735	10,097	11,638	1.7	0.6	2.7	13.9	6.4	20.5
Kathmandu	218,003	108,893	109,110	0.5	0.1	0.8	4.6	1.6	7.6
Bhaktapur	42,316	21,228	21,088	0.6	0.3	1.0	5.4	2.3	8.6
Lalitpur	53,669	27,121	26,548	0.6	0.3	1.0	5.4	2.4	8.5
Kavrepalanchok	31,373	14,896	16,477	1.1	0.4	1.7	10.0	4.7	14.7
Ramechhap	13,667	6,167	7,500	1.1	0.5	1.7	12.0	4.9	17.8
Sindhuli	28,096	13,148	14,948	1.7	0.6	2.7	14.8	6.7	22.0
Makwanpur	44,670	21,577	23,093	1.7	0.8	2.6	13.7	6.6	20.2
Chitawan	68,181	31,891	36,290	1.7	0.5	2.7	11.4	4.4	17.5
Gorkha	19,309	8,554	10,755	1.2	0.2	1.9	13.9	4.4	21.4
Manang	380	196	184	0.8	1.0	0.5	7.4	2.0	13.0
Mustang	918	486	432	0.9	0.0	1.9	8.0	2.9	13.7
Myagdi	9,131	4,434	4,697	1.5	0.3	2.6	14.6	4.3	24.4

Districts	Population 20-24			% Married <15 Years			% Married < 18 yers		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Kaski	59,940	28,780	31,160	0.8	0.2	1.3	7.2	2.0	12.1
Lamjung	12,620	5,833	6,787	1.2	0.2	2.0	11.7	2.8	19.4
Tanahu	27,894	12,245	15,649	1.6	0.4	2.6	15.1	5.0	23.0
Nawalparasi-East	35,037	15,454	19,583	1.5	0.3	2.5	13.6	4.8	20.5
Syangja	21,178	9,481	11,697	1.1	0.2	1.7	11.0	2.1	18.2
Parbat	10,930	4,889	6,041	1.4	0.2	2.3	13.7	3.6	21.8
Baglung	21,840	9,451	12,389	1.3	0.2	2.1	15.1	4.3	23.3
Rukum -East	5,694	2,596	3,098	1.6	0.7	2.4	18.5	9.1	26.5
Rolpa	23,506	10,074	13,432	1.6	0.6	2.3	20.9	11.9	27.6
Pyuthan	20,774	7,900	12,874	1.8	0.4	2.7	20.3	6.7	28.6
Gulmi	19,532	7,712	11,820	1.7	0.4	2.5	16.9	3.5	25.7
Arghakhanchi	13,962	5,340	8,622	1.7	0.2	2.6	18.5	3.3	28.0
Palpa	20,983	8,884	12,099	1.6	0.3	2.5	15.0	4.2	23.0
Nawalparasi-West	37,330	17,034	20,296	1.3	0.4	2.0	10.7	3.8	16.5
Rupandehi	110,733	52,195	58,538	1.5	0.5	2.5	10.7	3.8	16.9
Kapilbastu	63,340	29,294	34,046	2.1	0.8	3.2	12.7	4.8	19.4
Dang	66,955	28,424	38,531	1.9	0.5	2.9	17.1	7.1	24.4
Banke	59,629	26,730	32,899	2.8	0.8	4.3	16.0	6.3	24.0
Bardiya	44,848	18,706	26,142	1.8	0.5	2.7	15.7	6.9	21.9
Dolpa	4,229	2,024	2,205	1.3	0.6	1.9	13.8	8.3	18.8
Mugu	6,189	2,906	3,283	1.9	0.5	3.2	20.2	11.4	28.1
Humla	4,246	2,007	2,239	2.3	0.5	3.9	17.7	8.3	26.1
Jumla	12,487	5,791	6,696	1.8	0.6	2.8	17.9	8.6	26.0
Kalikot	14,661	6,804	7,857	1.2	0.4	1.9	14.5	6.5	21.3
Dailekh	24,794	10,996	13,798	1.9	0.5	3.0	18.9	8.0	27.5
Jajarkot	18,550	8,852	9,698	2.2	0.7	3.6	22.1	10.9	32.4
Rukum -West	17,407	7,842	9,565	2.2	0.8	3.4	23.7	12.4	32.8
Salyan	24,911	11,305	13,606	1.9	0.6	2.9	24.3	11.9	34.7
Surkhet	41,069	17,915	23,154	2.2	0.6	3.5	19.5	8.3	28.2
Bajura	12,696	5,607	7,089	1.9	1.0	2.7	15.0	7.6	20.8
Bajhang	16,783	7,232	9,551	2.1	0.9	3.0	19.0	10.7	25.2
Darchula	12,000	5,220	6,780	1.9	0.6	2.9	16.8	6.6	24.6
Baitadi	22,326	9,073	13,253	1.5	0.5	2.1	13.6	4.4	20.0
Dadeldhura	13,148	5,297	7,851	1.6	0.3	2.5	14.5	4.1	21.5
Doti	17,748	6,981	10,767	1.6	0.5	2.3	15.4	5.4	21.8
Achham	19,402	7,983	11,419	1.5	0.5	2.1	16.5	8.6	22.0
Kailali	91,913	39,856	52,057	1.5	0.5	2.4	11.9	4.9	17.2
Kanchanpur	50,930	20,566	30,364	1.3	0.4	2.0	10.8	3.4	15.7

Annex A4.4: Percentage distribution of 20-24 years males and females married before age 15 and before age 18 by 753 Local levels, NPHC 2021

Province & Districts	Name of Local levels	% Married < 15 Years			% Married < 18 Years		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Koshi Province							
Taplejung	Phaktanlung RM	2.1	0.5	3.8	16.0	7.5	25.1
Taplejung	Mikwakhola RM	1.6	1.0	2.1	15.1	7.7	21.9
Taplejung	Meringden RM	1.0	0.6	1.3	13.9	5.8	22.2
Taplejung	Maiwakhola RM	1.4	0.2	2.7	15.7	5.4	26.5
Taplejung	Aatharai Tribeni RM	1.0	0.4	1.6	14.2	7.6	20.3
Taplejung	Phungling UM	1.8	0.4	3.1	14.8	5.8	22.6
Taplejung	Pathivara Yangwarak RM	1.5	0.5	2.4	15.4	6.8	23.8
Taplejung	Sirijanga RM	2.9	1.3	4.5	14.1	5.4	23.1
Taplejung	Sidingba RM	1.9	0.4	3.4	15.8	7.0	24.7
Sankhuwasabha	Bhotkhola RM	2.2	2.4	2.0	15.6	7.7	23.4
Sankhuwasabha	Makalu RM	2.1	0.6	3.8	17.8	9.0	27.7
Sankhuwasabha	Silichong RM	0.8	0.2	1.4	9.5	3.6	15.4
Sankhuwasabha	Chichila RM	1.9	0.3	3.3	19.2	9.4	28.7
Sankhuwasabha	Sabhapokhari RM	2.6	0.7	4.4	20.3	7.1	32.8
Sankhuwasabha	Khandabari UM	2.0	0.3	3.4	16.7	5.7	25.2
Sankhuwasabha	Panchakhapan UM	2.3	1.1	3.5	21.7	7.9	34.0
Sankhuwasabha	Chainapur UM	2.1	0.7	3.3	18.1	7.1	28.0
Sankhuwasabha	Madi UM	1.8	0.5	3.1	17.6	7.0	28.0
Sankhuwasabha	Dharmadevi UM	2.1	0.3	3.6	17.2	5.6	27.0
Solukhumbu	Khumbu Pasanglhamu RM	0.3	0.0	0.5	5.2	2.4	7.9
Solukhumbu	Mahakulung RM	0.3	0.0	0.5	7.7	3.2	12.2
Solukhumbu	Sotang RM	0.7	0.5	1.0	11.1	2.7	19.5
Solukhumbu	Mapya Dudhkoshi RM	0.7	0.2	1.2	8.7	3.1	14.0
Solukhumbu	Thulung Dudhkoshi RM	1.1	0.1	2.2	13.8	4.4	23.5
Solukhumbu	Necha Salyan RM	1.8	0.6	3.0	11.2	3.9	18.1
Solukhumbu	Solu Dhudhakunda UM	0.8	0.1	1.5	8.8	2.4	14.8
Solukhumbu	Likhu Pike RM	0.9	0.4	1.4	4.8	1.5	7.8
Okhaldhunga	Chishankhu Gadhi RM	1.5	0.6	2.3	13.8	3.9	22.4
Okhaldhunga	Siddhicharan UM	1.0	0.4	1.5	11.3	4.1	17.9
Okhaldhunga	Molung RM	2.3	1.5	3.0	13.0	5.8	20.0
Okhaldhunga	Khiji Demba RM	0.6	0.4	0.9	7.0	2.7	11.3
Okhaldhunga	Likhu RM	0.9	0.0	1.8	10.8	4.0	16.9

Province & Districts	Name of Local levels	% Married < 15 Years			% Married < 18 Years		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Okhaldhunga	Champadevi RM	3.1	0.8	5.0	15.0	5.7	22.6
Okhaldhunga	Sunkoshi RM	1.6	0.5	2.6	14.8	5.3	24.3
Okhaldhunga	Manebhanjyang RM	1.9	0.9	2.9	13.5	6.1	20.5
Khotang	Kepilasgadhi RM	1.8	0.8	2.8	15.5	5.6	25.4
Khotang	Aiselukharka RM	0.7	0.2	1.3	13.5	5.8	21.7
Khotang	Rawa Besi RM	2.7	1.3	4.0	19.4	6.2	31.2
Khotang	Halesi Tuwachung UM	2.2	0.7	3.5	13.9	4.3	22.8
Khotang	Diktel Rupakot Majhuwagadhi UM	1.7	0.7	2.6	15.5	5.3	23.7
Khotang	Sakela RM	0.8	0.2	1.3	18.1	6.5	28.9
Khotang	Diprung Chuichumma RM	1.9	0.8	3.0	15.0	4.3	24.9
Khotang	Khotehang RM	1.5	0.9	2.0	13.1	4.4	21.2
Khotang	Jante Dhunga RM	1.1	0.0	2.2	12.2	2.5	22.1
Khotang	Baraha Pokhari RM	1.9	1.0	2.8	13.1	4.8	21.6
Bhojpur	Shadananda UM	1.5	0.8	2.1	18.6	7.7	28.5
Bhojpur	Salpa Silichho RM	1.1	0.2	2.2	12.8	3.5	22.8
Bhojpur	Temkemaikum RM	1.6	0.9	2.3	14.6	5.4	23.4
Bhojpur	Bhojpur UM	1.3	0.1	2.2	14.4	5.7	21.5
Bhojpur	Arun RM	1.7	0.3	2.9	16.7	6.4	26.2
Bhojpur	Pauwa Dunma RM	0.9	0.2	1.6	14.1	4.6	22.9
Bhojpur	Ramprasad Rai RM	1.7	0.9	2.5	15.2	6.7	23.0
Bhojpur	Hatuwagadhi RM	1.0	0.3	1.6	12.4	4.5	19.8
Bhojpur	Aamchowk RM	0.9	0.0	1.7	13.9	5.6	22.0
Dhankutta	Mahalaxmi UM	1.6	0.9	2.2	15.2	5.8	23.1
Dhankutta	Pakhribas UM	1.3	0.4	2.1	14.2	5.6	22.2
Dhankutta	Chhathar Jorpati RM	1.2	0.3	2.1	16.3	6.6	25.0
Dhankutta	Dhankuta UM	1.2	0.1	2.1	11.5	4.4	17.2
Dhankutta	Shahidbhumi RM	1.4	0.1	2.6	14.6	7.3	21.7
Dhankutta	Sangurigadhi RM	2.3	0.7	3.7	14.8	6.7	22.5
Dhankutta	Chaubise RM	1.7	0.3	2.9	17.7	7.4	26.7
Terhathum	Aatharai RM	2.8	0.5	4.8	18.2	7.4	27.8
Terhathum	Phedap RM	1.1	0.5	1.6	16.3	6.6	24.9
Terhathum	Menchhayayem RM	3.0	0.8	5.1	16.3	5.0	27.2
Terhathum	Myanglung UM	1.1	0.0	2.0	14.1	4.7	21.5
Terhathum	Laligurans UM	1.3	0.4	2.1	15.7	7.6	23.4
Terhathum	Chhathar RM	1.7	0.6	2.6	16.8	6.6	25.9

Province & Districts	Name of Local levels	% Married < 15 Years			% Married < 18 Years		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Panchthar	Yangbarak RM	1.1	0.0	2.3	12.0	4.1	20.4
Panchthar	Hilihan RM	2.2	0.4	3.8	17.2	6.0	27.1
Panchthar	Falelung RM	0.8	0.3	1.3	13.7	6.4	21.2
Panchthar	Phidim UM	1.7	0.7	2.6	16.0	6.7	24.3
Panchthar	Falgunanda RM	1.2	0.7	1.7	14.3	5.8	22.3
Panchthar	Kummayak RM	1.3	0.5	2.1	18.0	8.2	27.7
Panchthar	Tumbewa RM	1.1	0.7	1.5	17.2	8.3	26.0
Panchthar	Miklajung RM	1.1	0.5	1.7	13.7	6.2	20.9
Ilam	Mai Jogmai RM	1.1	0.1	2.1	10.6	2.6	18.1
Ilam	Sandakpur RM	1.1	0.2	2.0	12.1	3.0	19.8
Ilam	Illam UM	1.3	0.6	2.0	10.2	2.9	16.6
Ilam	Deumai UM	1.2	0.5	1.8	10.1	4.3	15.5
Ilam	Fakfokathum RM	1.9	0.6	3.0	14.3	5.5	22.0
Ilam	Mangsebung RM	3.1	1.5	4.8	14.7	7.2	22.7
Ilam	Chulachuli RM	1.7	0.4	2.7	14.7	5.8	22.2
Ilam	Mai UM	1.8	0.5	2.9	17.7	7.4	27.0
Ilam	Suryodaya UM	1.1	0.4	1.8	8.7	3.5	13.6
Ilam	Rong RM	1.2	0.3	2.0	11.5	3.1	19.1
Jhapa	Mechinagar UM	1.1	0.1	1.8	9.6	2.6	15.5
Jhapa	Buddhashanti RM	1.2	0.3	2.0	10.9	2.9	17.1
Jhapa	Arjundhara UM	1.1	0.3	1.8	10.9	2.9	17.4
Jhapa	Kankai UM	1.0	0.2	1.6	11.6	2.5	19.1
Jhapa	Shivasatakshi UM	1.6	0.4	2.5	12.0	4.3	18.0
Jhapa	Kamal RM	1.2	0.2	2.0	11.6	3.1	18.5
Jhapa	Damak UM	1.1	0.3	1.8	9.7	3.3	14.9
Jhapa	Gauradaha UM	1.2	0.3	1.9	11.6	3.8	17.9
Jhapa	Gauriganj RM	1.4	0.3	2.3	11.6	3.7	17.7
Jhapa	Jhapa RM	2.7	0.5	4.3	17.6	5.6	26.8
Jhapa	Barhadashi RM	1.6	0.3	2.7	11.8	3.1	18.9
Jhapa	Birtamod UM	1.3	0.4	2.0	8.6	2.4	13.6
Jhapa	Haldibari RM	1.8	0.4	3.0	13.9	4.6	21.5
Jhapa	Bhadrapur UM	1.2	0.2	1.9	9.7	2.8	15.3
Jhapa	Kachanakawal RM	1.0	0.3	1.6	10.2	2.8	15.5
Morang	Miklajung RM	1.9	0.3	3.3	16.1	5.0	25.8
Morang	Letang UM	1.4	0.3	2.3	14.0	6.6	20.0
Morang	Kerabari RM	1.7	0.5	2.8	15.6	6.1	23.6

Province & Districts	Name of Local levels	% Married < 15 Years			% Married < 18 Years		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Morang	Sundarharaicha UM	1.1	0.3	1.7	10.1	3.1	16.1
Morang	Belbari UM	1.2	0.3	1.9	11.8	3.6	18.2
Morang	Kanepokhari RM	1.4	0.1	2.5	13.3	4.2	20.5
Morang	Pathari Shanishchare UM	1.2	0.2	1.9	12.4	3.2	19.4
Morang	Urlabari UM	1.3	0.3	2.3	11.5	3.5	18.3
Morang	Ratuwamai UM	1.5	0.3	2.4	12.3	2.5	19.9
Morang	Sunwarshi UM	2.1	0.4	3.4	16.1	4.0	25.5
Morang	Rangeli UM	2.2	0.5	3.6	16.1	4.3	25.8
Morang	Gramthan RM	1.6	0.5	2.7	10.6	4.3	16.2
Morang	Budhiganga RM	2.0	0.6	3.1	12.3	4.4	19.1
Morang	Biratnagar Metro. City	1.4	0.2	2.3	8.6	1.9	14.5
Morang	Katahari RM	1.8	0.6	2.9	12.3	3.1	20.7
Morang	Dhanapalthan RM	1.9	0.5	3.1	13.4	3.0	22.4
Morang	Jahada RM	2.3	0.3	4.1	15.3	3.4	26.1
Sunsari	Dharan Sub-Metro. City	1.2	0.4	1.8	8.1	3.0	12.5
Sunsari	Barahachhetra UM	1.7	0.3	2.7	13.5	3.7	21.1
Sunsari	Koshi RM	2.6	1.0	4.0	18.5	6.4	29.0
Sunsari	Bhokraha Narsingh RM	2.7	0.7	4.3	18.4	4.7	29.2
Sunsari	Ramdhuni UM	1.4	0.5	2.0	10.1	3.6	15.0
Sunsari	Itahari Sub-Metro. City	1.4	0.4	2.2	9.4	3.3	14.2
Sunsari	Duhabi UM	2.2	0.5	3.7	15.6	6.1	23.9
Sunsari	Gadhi RM	2.1	0.5	3.4	14.2	4.9	21.9
Sunsari	Inaruwa UM	2.2	0.8	3.3	14.5	4.0	23.1
Sunsari	Harinagar RM	2.6	0.6	4.2	20.8	4.3	33.7
Sunsari	Dewangunj RM	2.0	0.2	3.5	15.2	3.1	25.3
Sunsari	Barju RM	2.2	0.9	3.4	16.0	5.7	25.0
Udayapur	Belaka UM	1.5	0.5	2.3	16.6	5.6	25.7
Udayapur	Chaudandigadhi UM	1.4	0.4	2.3	13.3	4.7	20.2
Udayapur	Triyuga UM	1.5	0.6	2.2	13.8	5.5	20.1
Udayapur	Rautamai RM	1.6	0.4	2.6	16.9	7.8	25.2
Udayapur	Limchunbung RM	1.5	0.7	2.3	14.6	5.8	23.8
Udayapur	Tapli RM	0.7	0.2	1.1	14.7	6.4	22.4
Udayapur	Katari UM	2.4	1.0	3.6	17.2	8.0	25.1
Udayapur	Udayapurgadhi RM	2.9	0.6	4.9	20.8	8.2	32.0
Madhesh Province		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Saptari	Saptakoshi UM	1.5	0.7	2.2	12.8	4.4	19.6

Province & Districts	Name of Local levels	% Married < 15 Years			% Married < 18 Years		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Saptari	Kanchanrup UM	2.4	0.6	3.9	14.8	4.2	23.4
Saptari	Agnisair Krishna Sabaran RM	2.7	1.0	4.1	13.1	5.3	19.3
Saptari	Rupani RM	2.3	0.8	3.5	19.0	5.5	30.4
Saptari	Shambhunath UM	2.1	0.9	3.0	15.5	6.0	23.2
Saptari	Khadak UM	2.9	1.0	4.4	15.6	5.1	24.1
Saptari	Surunga UM	2.9	1.3	4.1	14.2	5.0	21.6
Saptari	Balan-Bihul RM	2.5	0.3	4.6	18.1	5.2	30.5
Saptari	Bode Barsain UM	3.0	0.9	4.8	18.3	5.2	29.5
Saptari	Dakneshwori UM	2.6	0.7	4.3	17.7	5.1	29.0
Saptari	Rajgadh RM	3.0	1.0	4.9	18.5	5.9	29.8
Saptari	Bishnupur RM	3.0	1.0	4.9	16.0	4.7	26.7
Saptari	Rajbiraj UM	2.4	0.8	3.8	14.2	3.8	23.9
Saptari	Mahadewa RM	2.2	0.5	3.6	17.1	4.3	28.7
Saptari	Tirahut RM	1.8	0.5	3.0	16.1	5.1	25.8
Saptari	Hanumannagar Kankalini UM	2.4	0.4	4.3	17.5	5.2	29.0
Saptari	Tilathi Koiladi RM	2.9	0.8	4.9	18.1	4.3	30.8
Saptari	Chhinnamasta RM	2.9	0.8	4.9	17.4	4.5	29.6
Siraha	Lahan UM	2.6	0.6	4.2	16.2	4.9	25.7
Siraha	Dhangadhimai UM	2.6	0.8	4.1	19.2	5.6	30.6
Siraha	Golbazar UM	2.8	0.5	4.8	19.7	4.9	32.0
Siraha	Mirchaiya UM	4.4	0.9	7.3	22.2	5.1	36.6
Siraha	Karjanha UM	3.9	0.6	6.4	25.3	6.5	38.9
Siraha	KalyaUMur UM	4.5	1.3	6.6	27.1	6.9	41.2
Siraha	Naraha RM	4.7	0.6	8.1	25.9	7.4	41.2
Siraha	Bishnupur RM	3.1	1.1	4.7	21.9	6.5	34.6
Siraha	Arnama RM	2.2	0.5	3.5	21.3	4.2	34.5
Siraha	Sukhipur UM	3.0	1.0	4.7	20.8	4.5	34.2
Siraha	Laxmipur Patari RM	2.1	0.5	3.5	19.6	6.8	29.7
Siraha	Sakhuwa Nankarkatti RM	3.1	0.5	5.3	21.6	6.7	33.9
Siraha	BhagawaUMur RM	2.7	0.4	4.6	20.0	6.0	32.0
Siraha	Nawarajpur RM	4.0	0.9	6.8	23.1	7.8	36.3
Siraha	Bariyarpatti RM	2.6	0.5	4.4	21.5	6.4	34.8
Siraha	Aurahi RM	3.2	0.7	5.3	22.9	6.4	36.5
Siraha	Siraha UM	2.8	0.4	4.6	21.0	3.0	34.8
Dhanusa	Ganeshman Charnath UM	5.0	1.2	7.9	25.8	6.6	40.3
Dhanusa	Dhanusadham UM	4.0	0.4	6.5	28.7	5.2	45.8

Province & Districts	Name of Local levels	% Married < 15 Years			% Married < 18 Years		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Dhanusa	Mithila UM	2.5	0.5	4.3	17.1	3.6	28.4
Dhanusa	Bateshwor RM	2.7	0.4	4.5	19.9	3.6	32.8
Dhanusa	Chhireswornath UM	3.4	0.6	5.6	21.3	3.2	35.6
Dhanusa	Laxminiya RM	5.0	0.8	8.1	25.6	4.1	41.4
Dhanusa	Mithila Bihari UM	4.7	0.7	7.6	26.7	4.7	42.9
Dhanusa	Hansapur UM	5.5	0.9	8.9	27.7	4.3	44.9
Dhanusa	Sabaila UM	5.2	0.6	8.4	29.1	5.4	45.6
Dhanusa	Shahidnagar UM	6.8	1.3	10.6	32.2	6.7	50.3
Dhanusa	Kamala UM	4.6	0.8	7.4	27.2	6.4	42.4
Dhanusa	Janak Nandini RM	4.6	0.8	7.2	28.6	5.0	44.5
Dhanusa	Bideha UM	4.6	0.5	7.6	29.5	4.3	47.5
Dhanusa	Aurahi RM	6.5	0.6	10.6	30.0	4.8	47.5
Dhanusa	Janakpurdham Sub-Metro. City	3.0	0.5	5.2	16.3	2.6	28.6
Dhanusa	Dhanauji RM	4.8	0.5	8.0	27.7	4.3	44.6
Dhanusa	Nagarain UM	4.4	0.7	7.3	24.4	4.7	39.8
Dhanusa	Mukhiyapatti Musaharmiya RM	3.2	0.6	6.0	19.5	3.3	36.3
Mahottari	Bardibas UM	2.1	0.2	3.6	14.2	3.2	23.5
Mahottari	Gaushala UM	3.3	0.7	5.5	19.2	4.6	32.2
Mahottari	Sonama RM	3.5	0.4	6.7	22.4	5.7	38.8
Mahottari	Aurahi UM	3.7	0.8	6.3	22.9	5.9	38.1
Mahottari	Bhangaha UM	4.6	0.8	7.4	23.0	6.3	35.5
Mahottari	Loharpatti UM	4.9	1.1	7.7	28.7	6.0	45.4
Mahottari	Balawa UM	4.4	0.9	7.4	24.8	5.9	40.5
Mahottari	Ram Gopalpur UM	2.7	0.6	4.6	19.0	3.6	33.9
Mahottari	Samsi RM	2.3	0.7	3.8	16.5	3.3	28.4
Mahottari	Manara Shisawa UM	3.9	0.8	6.8	21.2	4.7	35.8
Mahottari	Ekadara RM	2.6	0.7	4.5	18.2	4.4	31.7
Mahottari	Mahottari RM	2.5	0.0	4.6	20.6	2.6	35.4
Mahottari	Pipara RM	3.7	0.4	6.7	20.4	3.7	36.0
Mahottari	Matihani UM	3.7	0.5	6.4	23.2	4.5	39.3
Mahottari	Jaleswor UM	2.9	0.3	5.1	18.6	2.9	32.6
Sarlahi	Lalbandi UM	2.1	0.7	3.3	14.4	5.9	21.9
Sarlahi	Hariwan UM	2.5	0.6	4.1	16.1	5.6	25.0
Sarlahi	Bagmati UM	2.4	0.5	4.0	17.4	7.0	26.0
Sarlahi	Barahathawa UM	3.5	0.8	6.0	20.8	6.8	33.9
Sarlahi	Haripur UM	3.0	0.8	4.9	18.1	5.8	28.6

Province & Districts	Name of Local levels	% Married < 15 Years			% Married < 18 Years		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Sarlahi	Ishworpur UM	3.1	0.9	5.0	19.7	6.5	31.7
Sarlahi	Haripurwa UM	5.3	1.2	9.4	24.2	6.8	41.5
Sarlahi	Parsa RM	2.5	0.5	4.3	17.2	4.0	29.2
Sarlahi	Brahmapuri RM	3.0	0.9	4.9	19.0	4.8	31.6
Sarlahi	Chandranagar RM	3.4	0.8	6.0	19.0	4.9	32.9
Sarlahi	Kabilashi UM	4.9	0.9	8.8	24.0	6.8	40.8
Sarlahi	Chakraghatta RM	4.4	0.7	8.4	20.6	6.0	36.3
Sarlahi	Basbariya RM	3.0	0.3	5.6	21.7	5.5	37.7
Sarlahi	Dhanakaul RM	3.2	0.6	5.9	21.3	6.1	37.8
Sarlahi	Ramnagar RM	2.9	0.6	5.5	21.9	5.6	40.1
Sarlahi	Balara UM	2.5	0.6	4.6	17.7	4.6	32.6
Sarlahi	Godaita UM	2.7	0.7	4.8	17.4	4.5	30.7
Sarlahi	Bishnu RM	3.7	1.3	6.3	18.4	6.8	31.7
Sarlahi	Kaudena RM	3.4	0.9	6.0	20.5	5.3	35.3
Sarlahi	Malangawa UM	2.6	0.6	4.5	15.1	3.4	26.3
Rautahat	Chandrapur UM	2.2	0.9	3.3	15.4	5.9	23.7
Rautahat	Gujara UM	3.4	0.9	5.4	22.5	9.9	33.0
Rautahat	Phatuwa Bijayapur UM	4.0	1.4	6.3	25.0	11.7	37.0
Rautahat	Katahariya UM	4.8	1.5	8.2	27.0	9.9	45.0
Rautahat	Brindaban UM	5.1	1.8	8.1	28.9	12.1	44.5
Rautahat	Gadhimai UM	4.6	1.7	7.6	23.6	8.7	39.1
Rautahat	Madhav Narayan UM	4.6	1.1	8.2	26.5	8.7	44.1
Rautahat	Garuda UM	4.7	1.6	7.9	22.9	9.0	37.4
Rautahat	Dewahi Gonahi UM	5.7	2.4	9.1	29.5	12.6	46.5
Rautahat	Maulapur UM	3.4	1.0	6.2	24.8	8.9	42.7
Rautahat	Boudhimai UM	4.7	1.2	8.8	24.3	8.4	42.3
Rautahat	Paroha UM	4.5	1.5	7.4	24.0	9.0	38.4
Rautahat	Rajpur UM	4.2	1.6	6.4	23.6	8.7	36.6
Rautahat	Yamunamai RM	6.6	1.9	10.4	28.8	10.7	43.9
Rautahat	Durga Bhagawati RM	4.9	1.5	8.1	25.4	9.1	40.8
Rautahat	Rajdevi UM	2.9	0.9	4.9	18.6	4.8	31.9
Rautahat	Gaur UM	2.3	0.6	4.1	15.8	4.2	27.4
Rautahat	Ishanath UM	4.4	1.4	7.3	23.6	8.7	37.9
Bara	Nijagadh UM	1.7	1.0	2.2	13.4	7.0	18.6
Bara	Kolhabi UM	2.2	0.5	3.6	15.1	5.9	22.8
Bara	Jitpur Simara Sub-Metro. City	3.5	1.2	5.6	16.5	6.5	25.6

Province & Districts	Name of Local levels	% Married < 15 Years			% Married < 18 Years		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Bara	Parawanipur RM	3.2	1.4	5.4	17.0	5.4	30.8
Bara	Prasauni RM	3.4	0.5	6.5	19.1	4.3	35.2
Bara	Bishrampur RM	1.8	0.3	3.7	17.5	5.1	33.2
Bara	Pheta RM	3.5	1.3	5.8	20.2	7.4	33.3
Bara	Kalaiya Sub-Metro. City	3.4	1.2	5.8	16.1	4.8	28.1
Bara	Karaiyamai RM	3.9	1.3	6.2	19.7	8.1	30.4
Bara	Baragadhi RM	4.7	1.9	7.2	23.6	9.9	36.5
Bara	Aadarsha Kotwal RM	4.6	1.1	7.9	25.5	9.4	41.1
Bara	Simroungadh UM	3.6	1.2	6.2	20.0	7.2	34.1
Bara	Pacharauta UM	3.5	1.4	5.8	22.9	10.0	36.6
Bara	Mahagadhimai UM	4.2	1.4	7.0	22.0	7.3	36.6
Bara	Devtal RM	2.6	1.0	4.3	17.0	6.5	28.5
Bara	Subarna RM	4.4	1.9	7.1	23.4	10.4	37.7
Parsa	Thori RM	1.7	0.4	2.6	15.6	5.3	22.6
Parsa	Jirabhawani RM	3.2	1.0	5.1	15.5	5.8	23.7
Parsa	Jagarnathpur RM	2.1	0.7	3.5	15.3	5.1	26.2
Parsa	Paterwa Sugauli RM	2.9	0.4	5.2	15.6	4.2	26.0
Parsa	Sakhuwa Prasauni RM	3.3	0.7	5.6	18.3	6.1	28.9
Parsa	Parsagadhi UM	2.7	0.9	4.3	17.2	5.5	27.6
Parsa	Birgunj Metro. City	2.9	0.8	5.0	14.0	4.2	24.2
Parsa	Bahudarmai UM	3.1	0.9	5.5	19.7	6.5	34.7
Parsa	Pokhariya UM	3.0	0.4	6.1	18.2	4.8	34.1
Parsa	Kalikamai RM	1.9	0.6	3.3	13.5	4.0	23.9
Parsa	Dhobini RM	3.4	0.8	6.4	16.8	4.9	30.3
Parsa	Chhipaharmai RM	3.2	1.0	6.0	16.3	5.2	30.4
Parsa	Pakaha MaiUMur RM	4.7	1.0	9.0	18.8	4.8	35.1
Parsa	Bindabasini RM	3.5	0.8	6.6	19.2	5.6	34.4
Bagmati Province							
Dolakha	Gaurishankar RM	0.9	0.6	1.2	9.8	3.1	15.7
Dolakha	Bigu RM	1.2	0.4	2.0	11.2	5.6	16.7
Dolakha	Kalinchowk RM	0.7	0.1	1.3	8.4	3.3	13.0
Dolakha	Baiteshwor RM	0.6	0.0	1.2	9.8	3.4	15.7
Dolakha	Jiri UM	1.1	0.1	1.9	8.8	2.6	14.3
Dolakha	Tamakoshi RM	1.0	0.0	1.9	9.8	3.4	15.8
Dolakha	Melung RM	1.6	0.6	2.5	12.6	4.9	19.2
Dolakha	Shailung RM	0.7	0.4	1.0	12.7	6.2	18.8

Province & Districts	Name of Local levels	% Married < 15 Years			% Married < 18 Years		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Dolakha	Bhimeshwor UM	0.8	0.0	1.5	10.1	3.1	16.1
Sindhupalchok	Bhotekoshi RM	1.4	0.7	2.1	10.6	5.2	16.6
Sindhupalchok	Jugal RM	2.5	1.2	3.7	13.9	5.8	21.4
Sindhupalchok	Panchpokhari Thangpal RM	2.3	1.1	3.6	15.1	7.8	22.0
Sindhupalchok	Helambu RM	1.2	0.4	1.9	11.7	6.6	16.6
Sindhupalchok	Melanchi UM	2.0	1.1	2.9	13.2	6.0	19.8
Sindhupalchok	Indrawoti RM	1.9	0.4	3.2	15.5	8.1	22.0
Sindhupalchok	Choutara Sangachowkgadhi UM	1.3	0.7	1.9	11.1	5.1	15.9
Sindhupalchok	Balephi RM	1.5	0.5	2.5	9.7	3.5	15.3
Sindhupalchok	Bahrabise UM	1.4	0.6	2.2	12.2	3.9	20.1
Sindhupalchok	Tripurasundari RM	2.0	0.9	3.1	14.8	8.7	20.4
Sindhupalchok	Lisankhu Pakhar RM	0.9	0.5	1.3	9.1	2.7	15.2
Sindhupalchok	Sunkoshi RM	1.5	0.4	2.3	11.7	3.9	17.9
Rasuwa	Gosaikunda RM	1.0	0.0	2.2	8.0	3.8	12.9
Rasuwa	Aamachhodingmo RM	0.8	0.3	1.4	9.1	3.9	15.0
Rasuwa	Uttargaya RM	1.2	0.2	2.2	11.6	3.7	19.7
Rasuwa	Kalika RM	0.4	0.2	0.6	7.6	2.7	12.0
Rasuwa	Naukunda RM	0.5	0.2	0.9	12.3	5.0	20.5
Dhading	Rubi Valley RM	1.3	0.4	2.1	12.8	7.4	18.1
Dhading	Khaniyabas RM	2.1	0.2	3.8	19.5	7.9	30.6
Dhading	Ganga Jamuna RM	1.7	0.1	3.1	16.6	7.6	24.3
Dhading	Tripurasundari RM	2.6	0.8	4.0	15.2	4.3	23.6
Dhading	Netrawati Dabjong RM	1.8	0.0	3.2	14.2	4.4	22.3
Dhading	Nilkhantha UM	1.4	0.3	2.3	12.1	4.9	17.8
Dhading	Jwalamukhi RM	2.2	0.1	3.7	14.5	3.4	22.9
Dhading	Siddhalek RM	2.3	0.8	3.6	14.3	5.2	22.0
Dhading	Benighat Rorang RM	3.5	1.0	5.9	20.5	9.9	30.7
Dhading	Gajuri RM	2.0	0.5	3.4	17.0	7.7	25.7
Dhading	Galchhi RM	1.5	0.5	2.4	16.8	7.5	24.8
Dhading	Thakre RM	1.4	0.3	2.4	13.5	5.9	20.9
Dhading	Dhunibenshi UM	1.2	0.5	1.8	10.4	5.5	14.9
Nuwakot	Dupcheshwor RM	2.4	1.2	3.7	19.0	11.1	27.3
Nuwakot	Tadi RM	2.8	1.2	4.4	17.3	8.2	25.8
Nuwakot	Suryagadhi RM	2.1	0.6	3.4	14.4	6.4	21.6
Nuwakot	Bidur UM	1.4	0.4	2.3	10.1	3.0	15.9

Province & Districts	Name of Local levels	% Married < 15 Years			% Married < 18 Years		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Nuwakot	Kispang RM	1.4	0.2	2.5	12.9	5.2	20.2
Nuwakot	Myagang RM	1.6	0.5	2.4	15.3	5.3	22.5
Nuwakot	Tarakeshwor RM	2.0	1.4	2.4	15.8	5.9	24.0
Nuwakot	Belkotgadhi UM	1.6	0.3	2.7	13.4	6.6	19.4
Nuwakot	Likhu RM	1.1	0.3	1.8	14.8	8.6	19.9
Nuwakot	Panchakanya RM	1.5	0.8	2.0	15.3	6.1	22.7
Nuwakot	Shivapuri RM	1.2	0.8	1.5	14.3	9.0	18.7
Nuwakot	Kakani RM	2.1	0.4	3.7	14.6	6.7	22.0
Kathmandu	Shankharapur UM	1.1	0.4	1.8	8.7	4.2	13.3
Kathmandu	Kageshwori Manahara UM	0.6	0.2	1.0	5.9	2.2	9.5
Kathmandu	Gokarneshwor UM	0.9	0.3	1.4	7.0	3.0	10.5
Kathmandu	Budhanilkhantha UM	0.7	0.2	1.1	5.5	2.0	8.6
Kathmandu	Tokha UM	0.6	0.2	0.9	4.8	1.8	7.6
Kathmandu	Tarakeshwor UM	0.5	0.1	0.8	5.5	1.8	8.8
Kathmandu	Nagarjun UM	0.4	0.1	0.7	4.5	1.5	7.3
Kathmandu	Kathmandu Metro. City	0.3	0.1	0.6	3.3	1.1	5.7
Kathmandu	Kirtipur UM	0.3	0.2	0.5	3.3	1.2	6.1
Kathmandu	Chandragiri UM	0.6	0.2	1.1	6.7	2.5	10.7
Kathmandu	Dakshinkali UM	0.6	0.0	1.2	7.6	2.9	11.9
Bhaktapur	Changunarayan UM	0.8	0.3	1.3	6.8	2.4	11.1
Bhaktapur	Bhaktapur UM	0.6	0.2	1.1	4.6	1.9	7.4
Bhaktapur	Madhyapur Thimi UM	0.6	0.2	1.0	4.8	2.0	7.6
Bhaktapur	Suryabinayak UM	0.6	0.3	0.9	5.7	2.6	8.6
Lalitpur	Mahalaxmi UM	0.6	0.2	1.0	5.1	1.9	8.5
Lalitpur	Lalitpur Metro. City	0.5	0.2	0.8	4.4	2.0	6.8
Lalitpur	Godawari UM	0.8	0.5	1.1	7.2	3.5	10.7
Lalitpur	Konjyosom RM	1.9	0.5	3.3	13.7	7.2	20.5
Lalitpur	Mahankal RM	1.2	0.0	2.4	9.8	3.1	16.7
Lalitpur	Bagmati RM	1.7	1.1	2.2	13.3	7.0	19.9
Kavrepalanchok	Chauri Deurali RM	1.0	0.4	1.5	10.8	4.3	17.1
Kavrepalanchok	Bhumlu RM	1.2	0.2	2.3	11.7	5.3	17.7
Kavrepalanchok	Mandan Deupur UM	1.5	0.6	2.3	12.1	5.9	18.0
Kavrepalanchok	Banepa UM	0.9	0.3	1.5	7.1	3.2	10.5
Kavrepalanchok	Dhulikhel UM	0.8	0.3	1.3	7.3	2.7	11.6
Kavrepalanchok	Panchkhal UM	0.8	0.3	1.3	10.9	5.9	15.5
Kavrepalanchok	Temal RM	0.8	0.2	1.4	11.5	4.8	17.5

Province & Districts	Name of Local levels	% Married < 15 Years			% Married < 18 Years		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Kavrepalanchok	Namobuddha UM	1.0	0.3	1.6	9.5	3.4	14.6
Kavrepalanchok	Panauti UM	0.9	0.3	1.4	7.6	3.2	11.5
Kavrepalanchok	Bethanchowk RM	1.1	0.2	1.8	9.8	5.2	13.3
Kavrepalanchok	Roshi RM	1.6	0.3	2.8	12.6	6.2	18.6
Kavrepalanchok	Mahabharat RM	1.6	0.7	2.5	16.2	8.6	23.6
Kavrepalanchok	Khanikhola RM	1.8	1.0	2.5	19.6	13.2	25.6
Ramechhap	Umakunda RM	1.2	0.4	1.9	9.8	4.0	15.1
Ramechhap	Gokulganga RM	0.9	0.4	1.4	11.1	3.6	17.6
Ramechhap	Likhu Tamakoshi RM	1.0	0.3	1.6	12.4	5.6	18.1
Ramechhap	Ramechhap UM	0.9	0.3	1.2	12.5	5.0	18.2
Ramechhap	Manthali UM	1.6	0.6	2.3	13.3	4.7	19.7
Ramechhap	Khandadevi RM	1.1	0.3	1.8	12.7	6.0	18.8
Ramechhap	Doramba RM	0.9	0.8	1.0	11.3	6.2	15.4
Ramechhap	Sunapati RM	1.1	0.4	1.6	11.3	5.1	16.8
Sindhuli	Dudhouli UM	2.2	0.6	3.4	16.4	7.5	23.5
Sindhuli	Phikkal RM	1.7	0.9	2.5	14.0	5.4	22.3
Sindhuli	TiUMatan RM	1.4	0.5	2.2	15.6	7.3	23.1
Sindhuli	Golanjor RM	1.3	0.4	2.1	12.8	5.0	19.9
Sindhuli	Kamalamai UM	1.2	0.2	2.1	11.7	3.6	18.6
Sindhuli	Sunkoshi RM	1.0	0.3	1.6	10.9	4.7	16.0
Sindhuli	Ghyanglekha RM	1.9	0.7	3.0	16.9	7.7	25.5
Sindhuli	Marin RM	1.9	0.9	2.8	17.3	9.4	25.2
Sindhuli	Hariharpurgaghi RM	2.2	0.8	3.4	18.3	10.7	25.3
Makwanpur	Indrasarowar RM	1.4	1.1	1.6	13.6	10.0	17.2
Makwanpur	Thaha UM	1.5	0.7	2.2	12.3	5.6	18.7
Makwanpur	Kailash RM	2.9	1.3	4.7	22.7	13.5	32.6
Makwanpur	Raksirang RM	3.7	1.4	6.0	22.0	12.3	31.9
Makwanpur	Manahari RM	2.2	0.9	3.3	16.4	7.7	24.0
Makwanpur	Hetauda Sub-Metr. City	1.2	0.6	1.8	9.6	3.9	14.8
Makwanpur	Bhimphedi RM	1.2	0.5	2.0	12.9	4.9	20.7
Makwanpur	MakawaUMurgadhi RM	1.2	0.2	2.2	13.9	6.2	21.5
Makwanpur	Bakaiya RM	2.2	0.9	3.4	16.9	8.7	24.4
Makwanpur	Bagmati RM	1.9	1.1	2.6	16.9	9.0	24.1
Chitawan	Rapti UM	2.4	0.8	3.8	17.0	8.6	24.6
Chitawan	Kalika UM	2.4	0.8	3.8	17.1	6.8	26.0
Chitawan	Ichchha Kamana RM	2.9	1.2	4.6	20.7	11.2	29.7

Province & Districts	Name of Local levels	% Married < 15 Years			% Married < 18 Years		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Chitawan	Bharatpur Metro. City	1.3	0.3	2.1	8.9	2.9	14.1
Chitawan	Ratnanagar UM	1.5	0.4	2.4	9.1	3.1	14.4
Chitawan	Khairahani UM	1.4	0.5	2.1	10.6	4.3	15.8
Chitawan	Madi UM	3.5	0.9	5.6	19.0	6.7	29.2
Gandaki Province							
Gorkha	Chumanubri RM	0.5	0.5	0.5	9.3	4.5	13.7
Gorkha	Ajirkot RM	1.0	0.2	1.7	11.9	3.6	19.1
Gorkha	Barpak Sulikot RM	0.5	0.0	0.9	12.0	3.5	18.7
Gorkha	Dharche RM	0.9	0.0	1.7	9.7	3.0	15.9
Gorkha	Aarughat RM	1.0	0.1	1.6	15.3	5.7	22.7
Gorkha	Bhimsenthapa RM	2.8	1.1	4.1	16.5	4.7	25.1
Gorkha	Siranchowk RM	1.5	0.0	2.8	17.1	4.8	27.2
Gorkha	Palungtar UM	1.4	0.1	2.4	16.8	4.3	26.5
Gorkha	Gorkha UM	1.1	0.2	1.8	13.1	4.6	19.5
Gorkha	Shahid Lakhani RM	0.9	0.1	1.5	15.3	3.8	24.5
Gorkha	Gandaki RM	1.1	0.6	1.6	11.2	5.3	16.5
Manang	Narpa Bhumi RM	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.2	0.0	7.1
Manang	Manang Ngisyang RM	1.0	2.0	0.0	3.1	4.0	2.2
Manang	Chame RM	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.2	1.8	17.3
Manang	Nason RM	1.3	1.3	1.4	9.3	1.3	18.1
Mustang	Lo Ghekar Damodarkunda RM	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.1	2.0	2.2
Mustang	Gharapajhong RM	1.3	0.0	2.7	9.8	3.0	17.3
Mustang	Varagung Muktichhetra RM	1.4	0.0	3.1	12.0	6.5	18.5
Mustang	Lomanthang RM	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Mustang	Thasang RM	0.7	0.0	1.6	8.5	2.1	15.6
Myagdi	Annapurna RM	1.2	0.0	2.5	10.9	2.8	19.0
Myagdi	Raghuganga RM	1.1	0.2	2.1	14.5	3.6	25.5
Myagdi	Dhawalagiri RM	1.9	0.8	3.0	15.3	5.6	24.8
Myagdi	Malika RM	1.3	0.4	2.3	16.8	5.6	28.1
Myagdi	Mangala RM	2.1	0.2	3.8	18.1	5.2	29.6
Myagdi	Beni UM	1.3	0.2	2.3	13.0	3.5	21.4
Kaski	Madi RM	2.3	0.0	4.8	12.1	2.4	22.8
Kaski	Machhapuchchhre RM	0.9	0.2	1.5	9.6	2.0	17.0
Kaski	Annapurna RM	1.4	0.1	2.7	12.4	2.4	22.6
Kaski	Pokhara Metro. City	0.7	0.2	1.2	6.7	1.9	11.0
Kaski	Rupa RM	1.6	0.5	2.6	13.8	3.2	23.9

Province & Districts	Name of Local levels	% Married < 15 Years			% Married < 18 Years		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Lamjung	Dordi RM	0.5	0.0	0.9	10.7	2.3	19.1
Lamjung	Marshyangdi RM	1.0	0.1	1.9	11.6	3.6	19.6
Lamjung	Kwhola Sothar RM	1.1	0.0	2.2	11.3	1.7	19.9
Lamjung	Madhya Nepal UM	1.2	0.0	2.2	13.4	2.7	21.9
Lamjung	Bensishahar UM	1.3	0.3	2.0	10.5	2.6	16.9
Lamjung	Sundarbazar UM	1.6	0.3	2.6	11.3	2.8	18.1
Lamjung	Rainas UM	1.3	0.0	2.4	14.9	3.8	24.6
Lamjung	Dudhapokhari RM	0.3	0.0	0.6	10.6	2.2	18.6
Tanahu	Bhanu UM	1.4	0.1	2.3	17.2	4.3	26.4
Tanahu	Byas UM	1.4	0.2	2.3	13.6	4.0	20.4
Tanahu	Myagde RM	1.9	0.5	3.0	15.3	5.7	23.2
Tanahu	Shuklagandaki UM	1.2	0.3	2.0	11.2	3.9	17.3
Tanahu	Bhimad UM	1.9	0.3	3.3	17.2	5.4	26.5
Tanahu	Ghiring RM	3.5	1.7	4.9	24.5	10.1	35.4
Tanahu	Rhishing RM	1.9	0.3	3.2	20.7	6.8	31.8
Tanahu	Devghat RM	1.8	0.5	2.9	18.3	7.2	28.0
Tanahu	Bandipur RM	1.6	0.3	2.8	14.9	4.6	24.4
Tanahu	Aanbu Khaireni RM	1.3	0.4	2.0	12.0	4.8	18.2
Nawalparasi-EAST	Gaidakot UM	1.2	0.3	1.9	9.6	3.3	14.9
Nawalparasi-EAST	Bulingtar RM	2.7	0.5	4.8	23.5	10.4	35.4
Nawalparasi-EAST	Baudikali RM	2.7	0.5	4.3	20.6	7.0	29.9
Nawalparasi-EAST	Hupsekot RM	1.9	0.3	3.1	20.0	8.3	28.7
Nawalparasi-EAST	Devchuli UM	1.5	0.4	2.4	13.5	4.9	20.3
Nawalparasi-EAST	Kawasoti UM	1.4	0.2	2.4	11.2	3.6	17.1
Nawalparasi-EAST	Madhya Bindu UM	1.4	0.2	2.3	14.4	4.7	21.6
Nawalparasi-EAST	Binayi Tribeni RM	2.0	0.3	3.2	16.2	5.3	24.7
Syangja	Putalibazar UM	0.8	0.1	1.4	10.0	1.6	16.8
Syangja	Phedikhola RM	0.7	0.0	1.3	10.3	1.9	17.1
Syangja	Aandhikhola RM	1.0	0.0	1.9	11.9	1.6	20.5
Syangja	Arjun Choupari RM	1.6	0.0	2.9	13.8	2.1	23.3
Syangja	Bhirkot UM	0.9	0.5	1.2	10.9	1.7	18.5
Syangja	Biruwa RM	1.2	0.4	2.0	12.1	2.4	20.6
Syangja	Harinas RM	1.2	0.2	2.0	15.2	3.5	25.3
Syangja	Chapakot UM	1.5	0.4	2.4	14.6	3.5	23.4
Syangja	Walling UM	1.0	0.2	1.7	9.4	1.9	15.8
Syangja	Galyang UM	0.8	0.1	1.3	9.6	1.8	15.4

Province & Districts	Name of Local levels	% Married < 15 Years			% Married < 18 Years		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Syangja	Kaligandaki RM	1.3	0.2	2.2	9.9	2.0	15.8
Parbat	Modi RM	1.7	0.6	2.7	11.8	2.7	19.9
Parbat	Jaljala RM	1.7	0.3	2.9	14.9	4.7	24.4
Parbat	Kushma UM	1.2	0.1	2.0	12.4	3.2	19.5
Parbat	Phalebas UM	0.7	0.0	1.2	14.0	3.4	21.6
Parbat	Mahashila RM	2.0	0.3	3.3	15.9	3.8	25.7
Parbat	Bihadi RM	1.6	0.4	2.6	15.2	5.0	23.8
Parbat	Paiyu RM	1.3	0.0	2.2	14.3	3.0	22.5
Baglung	Baglung UM	1.2	0.1	2.0	10.8	3.1	16.7
Baglung	Kathekhola RM	1.3	0.1	2.2	13.4	2.8	22.0
Baglung	Tarakhola RM	1.1	0.0	2.2	15.9	5.1	26.8
Baglung	Tamankhola RM	1.8	0.3	2.9	18.1	4.3	28.2
Baglung	Dhorpatan UM	2.0	0.5	3.1	21.2	8.2	30.0
Baglung	Nisikhola RM	0.9	0.3	1.4	17.3	6.2	25.6
Baglung	Badigad RM	1.7	0.6	2.5	16.6	5.1	25.0
Baglung	Galkot UM	0.6	0.1	1.0	11.2	2.8	17.9
Baglung	Bareng RM	2.0	0.0	3.5	17.0	4.6	26.1
Baglung	Jaimuni UM	0.9	0.0	1.6	18.0	3.3	29.6
Lumbini Province							
Rukum -East	Putha Uttanganga RM	1.7	1.0	2.4	18.1	10.3	25.4
Rukum -East	Sisne RM	1.7	0.6	2.6	20.4	8.6	30.1
Rukum -East	Bhoome RM	1.4	0.6	2.1	17.2	8.2	24.2
Rolpa	Sunchhahari RM	1.2	0.7	1.7	14.9	9.4	19.9
Rolpa	Thawang RM	1.1	0.4	1.6	17.7	9.5	24.3
Rolpa	Pariwartan RM	1.4	0.8	1.8	17.1	8.4	23.0
Rolpa	Gangadev RM	1.5	0.5	2.2	23.5	14.1	30.4
Rolpa	Madi RM	1.3	0.5	1.9	22.1	11.5	29.3
Rolpa	Tribeni RM	1.7	0.3	2.9	22.4	11.3	31.3
Rolpa	Rolpa UM	1.3	0.6	1.8	15.9	8.8	21.1
Rolpa	Runtigadhi RM	2.3	0.8	3.4	30.9	21.5	38.5
Rolpa	Sunil Smriti RM	1.4	0.5	2.1	19.4	9.1	26.9
Rolpa	Lungri RM	1.9	0.8	2.6	21.8	13.0	28.0
Pyuthan	Gaumukhi RM	1.6	0.2	2.7	18.2	6.4	26.6
Pyuthan	Naubahini RM	1.5	0.4	2.2	20.1	8.9	28.3
Pyuthan	Jhimaruk RM	1.8	0.4	2.7	20.3	4.3	30.0
Pyuthan	Pyuthan UM	1.5	0.3	2.2	17.7	5.4	25.0

Province & Districts	Name of Local levels	% Married < 15 Years			% Married < 18 Years		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Pyuthan	Sworgadwari UM	1.9	0.5	2.8	22.8	9.3	30.2
Pyuthan	Mandavi RM	2.5	0.9	3.5	22.4	6.9	31.5
Pyuthan	Mallarani RM	1.8	0.2	2.7	17.1	3.7	25.0
Pyuthan	Aairawati RM	2.0	0.6	2.7	18.9	5.0	26.7
Pyuthan	Sarumarani RM	2.7	0.5	3.9	26.9	8.8	37.4
Gulmi	Kali Gandaki RM	2.0	0.5	3.1	18.7	5.0	29.4
Gulmi	Satyawoti RM	2.1	0.3	3.2	15.9	4.3	23.3
Gulmi	Chandrakot RM	1.9	0.3	2.9	18.3	3.5	27.2
Gulmi	Musikot UM	2.0	0.2	3.3	16.2	2.9	25.3
Gulmi	Isma RM	1.4	0.4	2.1	18.9	4.2	28.5
Gulmi	Malika RM	1.7	0.8	2.3	17.4	3.5	26.5
Gulmi	Madane RM	1.8	0.4	2.7	20.8	3.7	31.4
Gulmi	Dhurkot RM	1.5	0.2	2.2	19.5	3.0	29.2
Gulmi	Resunga UM	1.3	0.5	1.8	14.0	2.9	21.2
Gulmi	Gulmi Durbar RM	1.2	0.2	1.8	15.6	3.4	23.1
Gulmi	Chhatrakot RM	1.9	0.6	2.8	19.0	4.2	27.9
Gulmi	Ruruchhetra RM	1.4	0.3	2.2	11.2	1.9	18.3
Arghakhanchi	Chhatradev RM	1.3	0.0	2.1	17.7	2.4	25.8
Arghakhanchi	Malarani RM	1.9	0.1	2.9	20.4	4.1	30.2
Arghakhanchi	Bhumikasthan UM	1.6	0.4	2.2	20.6	2.3	30.4
Arghakhanchi	Sandhikharka UM	1.3	0.0	2.2	14.6	2.3	22.6
Arghakhanchi	Panini RM	1.8	0.0	2.9	18.5	3.0	27.9
Arghakhanchi	Shitaganga UM	2.3	0.5	3.5	20.8	4.9	31.9
Palpa	Rampur UM	2.1	0.4	3.3	17.8	5.1	26.5
Palpa	Purbakhola RM	1.5	0.4	2.3	17.1	4.1	25.4
Palpa	Rambha RM	0.8	0.3	1.2	13.9	3.8	21.0
Palpa	Baganaskali RM	0.8	0.5	1.1	11.1	2.4	17.8
Palpa	Tansen UM	0.9	0.1	1.5	8.4	2.0	13.0
Palpa	Ribdikot RM	1.6	0.6	2.3	15.7	4.8	23.2
Palpa	Rainadevi Chhahara RM	1.8	0.1	3.0	18.3	4.3	28.8
Palpa	Tinau RM	2.9	0.4	4.8	20.1	5.9	31.5
Palpa	Mathagadhi RM	1.6	0.3	2.7	17.6	5.4	28.0
Palpa	Nisdi RM	1.7	0.3	2.7	17.2	6.8	25.1
Nawalparasi-WEST	Bardaghat UM	1.2	0.3	1.9	10.4	3.6	15.7
Nawalparasi-WEST	Sunawal UM	0.9	0.3	1.5	8.6	2.9	13.3
Nawalparasi-WEST	Ramgram UM	1.4	0.5	2.2	12.6	5.0	18.9

Province & Districts	Name of Local levels	% Married < 15 Years			% Married < 18 Years		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Nawalparasi-WEST	Palhinandan RM	2.1	0.5	3.6	12.2	3.9	20.1
Nawalparasi-WEST	Sarawal RM	1.0	0.4	1.4	9.8	4.0	14.8
Nawalparasi-WEST	Pratapapur RM	1.3	0.6	2.0	10.9	3.2	17.7
Nawalparasi-WEST	Susta RM	1.1	0.2	1.9	11.2	4.1	17.0
Rupandehi	Devdaha UM	1.5	0.4	2.5	10.6	3.7	16.3
Rupandehi	Butwal Sub-Metro. City	0.8	0.2	1.4	6.4	1.9	10.2
Rupandehi	Sainamaina UM	1.0	0.3	1.6	9.4	2.9	14.3
Rupandehi	Kanchan RM	1.3	0.4	2.0	12.9	3.9	19.3
Rupandehi	Gaidahawa RM	2.6	0.7	4.4	17.1	6.8	26.7
Rupandehi	Suddhodhan RM	1.3	0.2	2.3	11.2	4.5	16.8
Rupandehi	Siyari RM	1.6	0.7	2.3	10.7	4.0	16.8
Rupandehi	Tilottama UM	0.6	0.2	0.9	6.2	1.9	9.9
Rupandehi	Om Satiya RM	1.6	0.5	2.6	10.0	3.5	16.2
Rupandehi	Rohini RM	1.8	0.5	3.1	13.1	4.5	21.4
Rupandehi	Siddharthanagar UM	1.5	0.5	2.5	7.7	2.6	12.5
Rupandehi	Mayadevi RM	3.2	1.3	4.9	17.9	7.4	28.0
Rupandehi	Lumbini Sanskritik UM	1.6	0.4	2.7	13.6	4.5	22.3
Rupandehi	Kotahimai RM	2.9	0.8	5.0	17.0	6.2	28.1
Rupandehi	Sammarimai RM	4.0	1.5	6.7	19.2	8.4	30.7
Rupandehi	Marchawari RM	1.8	0.6	3.1	14.0	4.6	24.0
Kapilbastu	Banganga UM	1.5	0.4	2.3	10.4	3.5	15.6
Kapilbastu	Buddhabhumi UM	1.6	0.5	2.6	11.9	3.6	19.1
Kapilbastu	Shivaraj UM	1.7	0.6	2.6	12.7	4.7	19.5
Kapilbastu	Bijayanagar RM	3.5	1.4	5.4	17.4	7.7	26.1
Kapilbastu	Krishnanagar UM	2.0	0.7	3.2	10.8	3.9	17.6
Kapilbastu	Maharajganj UM	2.2	0.8	3.6	12.0	4.6	19.3
Kapilbastu	Kapilbastu UM	1.3	0.3	2.3	11.3	4.5	17.2
Kapilbastu	Yasodhara RM	2.0	0.7	3.1	11.7	5.3	17.1
Kapilbastu	Mayadevi RM	4.2	2.1	5.9	16.3	7.2	23.9
Kapilbastu	Shuddhodhan RM	2.2	1.0	3.3	16.6	6.3	25.3
Dang	Bangalachuli RM	2.6	0.6	3.7	30.1	11.2	39.8
Dang	Ghorahi Sub-Metro. City	1.5	0.4	2.3	15.2	6.4	21.6
Dang	Tulsipur Sub-Metro. City	2.0	0.5	3.1	16.9	7.1	24.2
Dang	Shantinagar RM	2.7	0.6	4.1	22.9	7.8	33.3
Dang	Babai RM	3.3	0.7	5.0	28.8	12.3	39.9
Dang	Dangisharan RM	1.8	0.2	3.0	19.3	9.2	26.9

Province & Districts	Name of Local levels	% Married < 15 Years			% Married < 18 Years		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Dang	Lamahi UM	1.6	0.6	2.4	12.6	5.7	18.3
Dang	Rapti RM	2.1	0.6	3.2	15.5	7.0	21.9
Dang	Gadhawa RM	2.0	0.4	3.2	15.6	6.5	22.8
Dang	Rajpur RM	1.5	0.3	2.5	17.6	7.8	25.8
Banke	Rapti Sonari RM	1.8	0.7	2.7	16.3	7.6	22.5
Banke	Kohalpur UM	2.4	0.7	3.7	14.0	6.2	20.2
Banke	Baijanath RM	2.3	0.8	3.4	17.0	7.3	23.6
Banke	Khajura RM	3.4	0.6	5.3	19.9	6.6	29.3
Banke	Janaki RM	5.3	1.4	8.8	22.4	8.6	34.6
Banke	Nepalganj Sub-Metro. City	2.2	0.7	3.6	11.9	3.9	19.1
Banke	Duduwa RM	4.1	1.2	6.7	22.4	9.1	34.4
Banke	Narainapur RM	3.2	1.4	4.8	17.4	7.1	26.6
Bardiya	Bansgadhi UM	1.6	0.5	2.4	16.0	6.6	22.7
Bardiya	Barbardiya UM	2.1	0.5	3.3	16.3	8.7	21.9
Bardiya	Thakurbaba UM	1.2	0.2	1.8	14.8	7.7	19.8
Bardiya	Geruwa RM	1.7	0.8	2.3	15.6	8.0	20.5
Bardiya	Rajapur UM	1.7	0.4	2.6	15.5	7.5	21.1
Bardiya	Madhuwan UM	2.0	0.8	2.9	19.0	8.7	26.0
Bardiya	Gulariya UM	1.5	0.4	2.3	12.1	4.1	18.8
Bardiya	Badhaiyatal RM	2.3	0.4	3.6	17.4	5.5	25.2
Karnali Province							
Dolpa	Dolpo Buddha RM	0.4	0.8	0.0	6.4	4.2	8.6
Dolpa	Shey Phoksundo RM	0.3	0.0	0.6	2.0	0.6	3.4
Dolpa	Jagadulla RM	1.7	0.9	2.6	18.4	9.4	27.4
Dolpa	Mudkechula RM	3.0	1.1	4.6	20.1	9.9	29.6
Dolpa	Tripurasundari UM	0.7	0.4	0.9	15.4	9.3	20.4
Dolpa	Thulibheri UM	2.0	0.9	3.0	16.0	11.7	20.4
Dolpa	Kaike RM	1.0	0.5	1.4	11.6	5.3	17.1
Dolpa	Chharka Tangsong RM	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.1	3.1	1.0
Mugu	Mugumakarmarog RM	0.3	0.0	0.6	6.1	5.4	6.7
Mugu	Chhayanath Rara UM	3.0	0.8	4.8	25.5	15.4	34.2
Mugu	Soru RM	0.8	0.2	1.4	20.6	11.7	29.1
Mugu	Khatyad RM	1.7	0.4	2.8	17.0	7.0	25.5
Humla	Chankheli RM	2.9	0.0	5.8	20.4	7.8	32.9
Humla	Kharpunath RM	2.2	0.4	3.5	17.2	7.0	25.4
Humla	Simkot RM	3.0	1.1	4.8	16.0	6.5	24.8

Province & Districts	Name of Local levels	% Married < 15 Years			% Married < 18 Years		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Humla	Namkha RM	1.5	0.0	2.9	8.5	1.5	15.2
Humla	Sarkegad RM	3.4	0.8	5.6	26.2	14.6	35.9
Humla	Adanchuli RM	0.8	0.3	1.2	18.0	11.8	24.0
Humla	Tanjakot RM	1.0	0.5	1.5	8.4	2.7	13.1
Jumla	Patarasi RM	3.1	1.2	4.6	23.9	14.8	31.4
Jumla	Kanaka Sundari RM	1.1	0.0	2.1	18.1	8.8	26.2
Jumla	Sinja RM	1.3	0.6	2.1	12.2	6.5	18.2
Jumla	Chandannath UM	1.9	0.9	2.8	14.1	5.9	20.7
Jumla	Guthichaur RM	2.1	0.6	3.4	21.0	12.1	28.5
Jumla	Tatopani RM	1.7	0.7	2.7	19.6	8.3	29.9
Jumla	Tila RM	0.7	0.1	1.2	18.8	6.9	28.6
Jumla	Hima RM	2.0	0.5	3.2	17.7	6.9	26.4
Kalikot	Palata RM	0.9	0.3	1.4	14.0	6.1	21.3
Kalikot	Pachal Jharana RM	0.4	0.3	0.5	10.7	5.7	15.3
Kalikot	Raskot UM	1.5	0.3	2.6	18.4	8.2	27.2
Kalikot	Sanni Tribeni RM	1.1	0.2	1.9	15.1	6.6	22.4
Kalikot	Naraharinath RM	1.3	0.6	1.9	16.0	9.2	21.4
Kalikot	Khandachakra UM	1.8	0.6	2.9	13.9	4.9	22.1
Kalikot	Tilagupha UM	0.6	0.1	1.1	11.4	5.2	16.6
Kalikot	Mahawai RM	1.6	0.5	2.6	15.2	5.7	23.4
Kalikot	Shuva Kalika RM	1.2	0.4	1.9	15.9	7.2	22.6
Dailekh	Naumule RM	2.3	1.1	3.3	21.6	12.2	29.2
Dailekh	Mahabu RM	2.7	0.3	4.3	22.9	9.0	32.2
Dailekh	Bhairabi RM	2.5	0.5	3.8	25.4	8.7	36.4
Dailekh	Thantikandh RM	1.0	0.1	1.6	15.0	4.5	23.5
Dailekh	Aathbis UM	1.3	0.2	2.3	15.4	8.1	21.9
Dailekh	Chamunda Bindrasaini UM	1.2	0.3	2.1	15.5	6.2	23.8
Dailekh	Dullu UM	1.9	0.6	2.8	19.2	7.1	27.8
Dailekh	Narayan UM	2.3	0.5	3.6	18.1	9.1	24.7
Dailekh	Bhagawatimai RM	1.2	0.2	2.0	16.5	8.5	23.9
Dailekh	Dungeshwor RM	1.8	0.3	3.0	19.0	6.4	28.9
Dailekh	Gurans RM	2.9	1.2	4.5	22.7	9.0	34.7
Jajarkot	Barekot RM	2.0	0.2	3.7	19.6	8.7	30.0
Jajarkot	Kuse RM	1.6	0.9	2.2	19.3	8.7	29.4
Jajarkot	Junichande RM	2.3	1.1	3.3	21.5	10.8	31.0
Jajarkot	Chhedagad UM	1.5	0.3	2.7	19.3	10.1	27.8

Province & Districts	Name of Local levels	% Married < 15 Years			% Married < 18 Years		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Jajarkot	Shivalaya RM	1.1	0.7	1.5	20.6	9.3	32.1
Jajarkot	Bheri Malika UM	3.6	1.1	5.7	28.2	14.5	39.2
Jajarkot	Nalgad UM	2.5	0.9	3.9	23.0	11.8	33.6
Rukum -West	Aathabisakot UM	2.3	0.6	3.8	24.3	13.8	33.4
Rukum -West	Sanibheri RM	2.5	1.5	3.4	23.6	14.4	31.6
Rukum -West	BaUMhikot RM	2.2	0.6	3.4	25.6	12.3	36.7
Rukum -West	Musikot UM	2.2	0.5	3.3	20.7	7.9	29.8
Rukum -West	Tribeni RM	1.6	0.7	2.3	21.7	11.1	30.2
Rukum -West	Chaurjahari UM	2.4	0.6	3.9	26.2	14.5	36.1
Salyan	Darma RM	1.5	0.4	2.4	25.5	13.1	35.6
Salyan	Kumakh RM	2.3	1.0	3.4	24.8	12.4	36.4
Salyan	Banagad Kupinde UM	1.6	0.5	2.5	22.3	11.1	31.6
Salyan	Siddha Kumakh RM	1.6	0.3	2.6	23.7	10.5	34.5
Salyan	Bagachour UM	1.6	0.6	2.4	24.4	13.6	33.5
Salyan	Chhatreshwori RM	1.7	0.4	2.6	26.0	10.8	37.1
Salyan	Sharada UM	1.8	0.6	2.7	22.3	9.3	33.0
Salyan	Kalimati RM	2.5	1.1	3.8	26.5	14.0	37.5
Salyan	Tribeni RM	2.6	0.5	4.2	25.2	10.8	36.4
Salyan	Kapurkot RM	2.2	0.7	3.5	24.6	13.1	34.4
Surkhet	Simta RM	2.3	0.8	3.2	27.6	9.1	37.7
Surkhet	Chingad RM	1.4	0.7	2.0	21.2	8.8	30.7
Surkhet	Lekabeshi UM	2.7	0.8	4.2	25.3	11.2	35.8
Surkhet	Gurbhakot UM	3.6	1.0	5.4	28.2	13.3	38.4
Surkhet	Bheriganga UM	3.0	0.3	5.0	26.5	12.1	37.1
Surkhet	Birendranagar UM	1.4	0.3	2.3	12.4	5.0	18.5
Surkhet	Barahatal RM	2.5	0.5	4.1	23.5	9.1	35.2
Surkhet	Panchapuri UM	2.0	0.6	3.1	19.7	9.5	28.0
Surkhet	Chaukune RM	2.7	1.0	4.2	18.6	8.4	27.3
Sudurpashchim Province							
Bajura	Himali RM	1.6	0.9	2.3	12.7	4.5	19.9
Bajura	Gaumul RM	1.4	0.8	1.9	11.6	6.0	15.9
Bajura	Budhinanda UM	2.0	0.7	3.0	19.9	8.7	28.3
Bajura	Swamikartik Khapar RM	1.9	0.6	3.0	15.1	6.1	22.9
Bajura	Jagannath RM	2.0	1.5	2.3	17.6	10.5	22.7
Bajura	Badimalika UM	0.8	0.1	1.4	9.2	4.7	12.9
Bajura	Khaptad Chhededaha RM	2.3	1.8	2.6	13.8	9.3	17.8

Province & Districts	Name of Local levels	% Married < 15 Years			% Married < 18 Years		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Bajura	Budhiganga UM	2.4	1.3	3.3	18.0	10.4	24.0
Bajura	Tribeni UM	2.9	1.6	3.8	16.1	7.1	22.1
Bajhang	Saipal RM	3.0	1.5	4.5	26.0	16.5	35.6
Bajhang	Bungal UM	1.8	0.7	2.7	18.4	9.9	25.2
Bajhang	Surma RM	2.2	1.0	3.2	30.3	21.5	38.1
Bajhang	Talkot RM	3.2	1.5	4.4	23.2	11.6	31.6
Bajhang	Masta RM	3.2	0.9	4.9	24.3	12.8	33.2
Bajhang	Jayaprithbi UM	2.2	1.0	3.1	15.0	7.1	21.0
Bajhang	Chhabis Pathibhara RM	1.9	1.1	2.5	19.1	12.1	24.4
Bajhang	Durgathali RM	1.2	0.2	1.9	13.9	6.0	19.9
Bajhang	Kedarsyun RM	1.5	0.6	2.1	15.8	10.0	19.7
Bajhang	Bitthadchir RM	2.3	1.0	3.4	19.4	10.7	26.6
Bajhang	Thalara RM	1.7	0.4	2.5	16.6	7.0	22.4
Bajhang	Khaptad Chhanna RM	2.2	1.3	2.8	16.3	9.3	21.2
Darchula	Byas RM	1.8	0.3	3.0	17.9	5.6	26.9
Darchula	Dahun RM	3.3	1.4	4.5	18.8	7.2	26.7
Darchula	Mahakali UM	1.8	0.8	2.5	15.0	5.3	21.2
Darchula	Naugad RM	1.4	0.6	2.0	14.1	5.9	20.8
Darchula	Apihimal RM	0.8	0.3	1.1	13.5	7.5	18.8
Darchula	Marma RM	1.8	0.5	2.8	22.0	11.5	30.6
Darchula	Shailyashikhar UM	2.2	0.7	3.5	19.4	7.7	29.6
Darchula	Malikarjun RM	2.2	0.6	3.4	17.2	5.6	26.6
Darchula	Lekam RM	1.9	0.2	3.2	12.8	3.5	20.0
Baitadi	Dilasaini RM	2.5	0.7	4.0	18.3	7.4	27.1
Baitadi	Dogada Kedar RM	1.3	0.4	2.0	14.8	3.8	22.4
Baitadi	Puchaundi UM	1.3	0.6	1.9	13.8	6.4	19.8
Baitadi	Surnaya RM	1.3	0.3	2.0	12.4	3.9	17.9
Baitadi	Dasharathchand UM	1.2	0.3	1.9	10.8	1.5	16.7
Baitadi	Pancheshwor RM	1.0	0.5	1.3	8.0	1.0	12.2
Baitadi	Shivanath RM	1.0	0.7	1.2	12.2	1.9	17.7
Baitadi	Melauli UM	1.2	0.3	1.7	11.6	2.3	17.1
Baitadi	Patan UM	1.8	0.8	2.4	13.2	3.2	19.7
Baitadi	Sigas RM	2.0	0.8	3.0	20.7	8.6	29.7
Dadeldhura	Nawadurga RM	1.9	0.3	2.9	14.5	3.1	21.1
Dadeldhura	Amargadhi UM	1.1	0.3	1.7	9.4	2.4	14.7
Dadeldhura	Ajayameru RM	0.9	0.0	1.4	10.3	2.2	15.7

Province & Districts	Name of Local levels	% Married < 15 Years			% Married < 18 Years		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Dadeldhura	Bhageshwor RM	1.8	0.6	2.6	12.6	2.8	19.1
Dadeldhura	Parashuram UM	2.1	0.6	3.1	18.9	6.4	27.3
Dadeldhura	Aalital RM	1.9	0.0	3.3	20.3	6.9	30.4
Dadeldhura	Ganyapdhura RM	1.3	0.2	1.9	12.4	2.6	18.0
Doti	Purbichouki RM	1.8	1.1	2.2	19.1	8.2	25.1
Doti	Sayal RM	1.7	0.6	2.3	20.7	10.0	27.2
Doti	Aadarsha RM	1.6	0.6	2.1	15.4	4.8	20.9
Doti	Shikhar UM	1.8	0.6	2.5	12.9	2.8	19.0
Doti	Dipayal Silgadhi UM	1.2	0.0	2.0	13.1	4.1	19.2
Doti	K.I. Singh RM	2.1	0.9	2.7	14.7	4.6	20.4
Doti	Bogatan Phudsil RM	0.9	0.2	1.4	15.2	5.6	21.8
Doti	Badi Kedar RM	2.0	0.7	3.2	16.7	7.2	25.6
Doti	Joroyal RM	1.6	0.6	2.4	13.7	4.5	21.2
Achham	Panchdebal Binayak UM	1.6	0.8	2.1	16.3	9.9	20.4
Achham	Ramaroshan RM	2.0	0.7	2.9	21.1	11.8	27.8
Achham	Mellekh RM	2.0	0.7	2.9	18.5	10.7	23.5
Achham	SaUMhebagar UM	1.6	0.4	2.6	15.1	5.5	22.2
Achham	Chaurpati RM	1.9	0.6	2.5	17.0	8.4	21.9
Achham	Mangalsen UM	1.0	0.4	1.3	13.4	6.2	18.6
Achham	Bannigadhi Jayagadh RM	0.7	0.0	1.1	12.0	5.4	15.6
Achham	Kamal bazar UM	1.0	0.3	1.5	18.2	9.1	24.2
Achham	Dhakari RM	1.2	0.3	1.9	14.1	8.6	19.0
Achham	Turmakhand RM	1.3	0.5	1.9	18.2	9.9	25.0
Kailali	Mohanyal RM	2.9	0.9	4.7	22.3	8.9	33.8
Kailali	Chure RM	2.9	0.6	5.1	21.2	8.8	32.9
Kailali	Godawari UM	1.6	0.4	2.5	11.2	3.4	17.0
Kailali	Gauriganga UM	1.5	0.5	2.3	13.6	5.9	18.9
Kailali	Ghodaghodi UM	1.5	0.5	2.2	14.0	6.1	19.7
Kailali	Bardagoriya RM	1.6	0.4	2.5	14.6	4.6	21.9
Kailali	Lamki Chuha UM	1.6	0.5	2.5	13.5	5.5	19.4
Kailali	Janaki RM	1.6	0.5	2.3	11.7	5.3	16.3
Kailali	Joshipur RM	1.3	0.8	1.6	11.4	5.9	15.8
Kailali	Tikapur UM	1.4	0.6	2.0	10.1	4.6	14.2
Kailali	Bhajani UM	2.3	0.9	3.4	14.7	7.0	20.8
Kailali	Kailari RM	1.9	0.4	3.0	12.6	6.5	17.1
Kailali	Dhangadhi Sub-Metro. City	1.1	0.3	1.7	7.9	3.0	12.0

Province & Districts	Name of Local levels	% Married < 15 Years			% Married < 18 Years		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Kanchanpur	Krishnapur UM	1.5	0.5	2.2	10.9	3.8	16.1
Kanchanpur	Shuklaphanta UM	1.3	0.4	1.9	10.9	3.2	15.9
Kanchanpur	Bedkot UM	1.4	0.2	2.2	10.9	3.6	15.9
Kanchanpur	Bhimdatta UM	1.0	0.3	1.6	7.7	2.0	11.9
Kanchanpur	Dodhara Chandani UM	2.0	0.4	2.8	17.3	3.4	24.2
Kanchanpur	Laljhadhi RM	1.3	0.4	2.0	11.8	5.7	16.5
Kanchanpur	Punarbans UM	1.9	0.5	2.7	13.7	4.6	19.4
Kanchanpur	Belouri UM	0.8	0.2	1.2	8.0	3.3	11.5
Kanchanpur	Beldandi RM	1.0	0.5	1.3	11.7	4.0	16.4

Publisher:

Government of Nepal

Office of the Prime Minister and Council of Ministers

National Statistics Office

Thapathali, Kathmandu

Tel: 5365323, 5341801, 5328406, 5345946 (47, 48)

Fax No.: 977-1-5327720

E-mail: info@nsonepal.gov.np, Website: www.nsonepal.gov.np

E-mail: popcen@nsonepal.gov.np, Website: www.censusnepal.cbs.gov.np

ISBN: 978-9937-9844-8-5



9 789937 984485