Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh Bangladesh Water Development Board Flood Plan Coordination Organization

FLOOD ACTION PLAN

NORTHEAST REGIONAL WATER MANAGEMENT PROJECT (FAP 6)

> STUDY ON URBANIZATION

FINAL REPORT November 1994

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COVER PHOTO: A typical village in the deeply flooded area of the Northeast Region. The earthen village platform is constructed to keep the houses above water during the flood season which lasts for five to seven months of the year. The platform is threatened by erosion from wave action; bamboo fencing is used as bank protection but often proves ineffective. The single *hijal* tree in front of the village is a remnant of the past lowland forest that used to cover much of the region. The houses on the platform are squeezed together leaving no space for courtyards, gardens or livestock. Water surrounding the platform is used as a source of drinking water and for waste disposal from the hanging latrines. Life in these crowded villages can become very stressful especially for the women, because of the isolation during the flood season. The only form of transport from the village is by small country boats seen in the picture. The Northeast Regional Water Management Plan aims to improve the quality of life for these people.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

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BBS	:	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
BSIC		Bangladesh Standard Industrial Classification
CIF	1	Chief Inspector of Factories
DPHE	1	Department of Public Health Engineering
FAP	Ð	Flood Action Plan
FCC&I	1	Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industries
GDP		Gross domestic product
LFS		Labour Force Survey
LGRD&C	1	Local Government, Rural Development and Cooperatives
NERP	:	Northeast Regional Project
NGO	:	Non-government organization
PDB	2	Power Development Board
PTI	:	Primary Teachers' Training Institute
R&H	:	Roads and Highways
SMA	:	Statistical metropolitan area
T&T	2	Telegraph and Telephone
UDD	÷	Urban Development Directorate

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Bazaar	3	Market place
Biri	:	Indigenous cigarette
District	:	Geo-administrative unit comprising several thanas
На	:	Hectare
Haor	: mfr	Low-lying area, natural depression
Hat		Market for specific days of a week
Madrassa	:	Educational institution with emphasis on religios teaching
Parishad	:	Council
Pourashava	:	Municipality, legally constituted urban centre
Sadar		Headquarters
Shohor	1	Town
Taka (Tk)	:	Local unit of currency, $1 \text{ US} = \text{Tk } 40 \text{ approx}$.
Thana		Geo-administrative unit under a district comprising several unions
Union		Local self-government unit under a thana comprising several villages
Upazila		Geo-administrative unit, renamed as thana
Ward	2	Administrative and electoral constituency within a municipality

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SUMMARY STATISTICS

Parameter	Bangladesh	Northeast region
Total Population (1991)		
• Enumerated census data	106,314,992	17,073,173
Adjusted census data	111,455,185	
Urban population (%)	20	11
Municipal population (%)	11	4
Municipalities (1991)		
• Total number	95	15
• Large municipality (100,000 or more population)	23	2
Municipal population	11,788,251	741,176
Average size of household	5.44	5.56
Sex ratio	124	121
Percentage of farm households (1983/84)	20	26
Main source of livelihood (% in 1983/84)		
Trade and commerce	23.8	31.3
Government service	20.4	15.5
Non-government service	16.5	10.6
• Manufacturing establishments excluding handloom units, employing 10 or more persons (1989/90)	24,945	2,796
• Handloom units (1990)	212,421	44,677

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NERP DOCUMENTS

The Northeast Regional Water Management Plan is comprised of various documents prepared by the NERP study team including specialist studies, the outcome of a series of public seminars held in the region, and pre-feasibility studies of the various initiatives. A complete set of the Northeast Regional Water Management Plan Documents consists of the following:

Northeast Regional Water Management Plan

Main Report

Appendix: Initial Environmental Evaluation

Specialist Studies

Participatory Development and the Role of NGOs

Population Characteristics and the State of Human Development

Fisheries Specialist Study

Wetland Resources Specialist Study

Agriculture in the Northeast Region

Ground Water Resources of the Northeast Region

Public Participation Documentation

Proceedings of the Moulvibazar Seminar Proceedings of the Sylhet Seminar Proceedings of the Sunamganj Seminar Proceedings of the Sherpur Seminar Proceedings of the Kishorganj Seminar

Pre-feasibility Studies

Jadukata/Rakti River Improvement Project Baulai Dredging Mrigi River Drainage Improvement Project Kushiyara Dredging Fisheries Management Programme Fisheries Engineering Measures Environmental Management, Research, and Education Project (EMREP) Habiganj-Khowai Area Development Development of Rural Settlements Pond Aquaculture Applied Research for Improved Farming Systems Surface Water Resources of the Northeast Region

Regional Water Resources Development Status

River Sedimentation and Morphology *Study on Urbanization*

Local Initiatives and People's Participation in the Management of Water Resources Water Transport Study

Proceedings of the Narsingdi Seminar Proceedings of the Habiganj Seminar Proceedings of the Netrokona Seminar Proceedings of the Sylhet Fisheries Seminar

Manu River Improvement Project Narayanganj-Narsingdi Project Narsingdi District Development Project Upper Kangsha River Basin Development Upper Surma-Kushiyara Project Surma Right Bank Project Surma-Kushiyara-Baulai Basin Project Kushiyara-Bijna Inter-Basin Development Project Dharmapasha-Rui Beel Project Updakhali River Project Sarigoyain-Piyain Basin Development Improved Flood Warning

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

The main objective of the study is to gain a general understanding of the extent of urbanization and growth potential of major urban centres in the northeast region. It is expected that the study would be able to provide some insight about the growth of urban population, the economic base of the urban centres, employment situation, nature of migration, physical facilities, nature and state of urban services and so on.

Data were mostly obtained from interviews with municipality officials and from secondary sources. Eight urban centres in the region with a population of more than 25,000 were selected for more detailed study.

Urbanization

Urban centres have developed mainly around the district and *thana* headquarters. The pace of urbanization has been very slow until recently. The growth rate of urban population has increased since 1961.

Total municipal population of the northeast region is estimated to be 0.74 million according to the 1991 census. The extent of urbanization has been lower in the region, the proportion of municipal population among the total regional population being only 4%.

There are several private associations of traders and manufacturers in urban areas. These include transport owners' association of different types, and the merchants' association for different trades. Their main role is to provide liaison and to negotiate with government agencies for the promotion of trade, commerce and industry in the respective constituencies.

Population Characteristics

The municipalities in the northeast region are mostly of smaller size with respect to population. Only two, Sylhet and Narsingdi, have populations above 100,000.

The average number of persons per household is higher in urban areas than in rural areas despite the relatively lower fertility rate in urban areas. The male population of the urban centres is much higher than the female population implying an influx of more male immigrants than of females to municipal towns from other areas.

The people are mainly involved in various non-farm activities, although one-fourth of the municipal households possess an agricultural farm. The municipalities are the major trade centres in the respective districts. Commercial activities of different sorts are the predominant source of livelihood for the highest proportion of the municipal households. Municipalities are also administrative headquarters at the district or at the *thana* level and the government employees constitute a significant proportion of the municipal population.

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Manufacturing Sector

The northeast region is poorly endowed with manufacturing establishments. While the region accounts for 16% of the area and the population of the country, only 11% of medium and large scale manufacturing units (excluding handloom units) are located here. Places adjacent to Dhaka have a higher concentration of manufacturing establishments.

Among the medium and large scale manufacturing establishments in the region, units involved in the manufacturing of food, beverage and tobacco are the most common, their proportion being 36%. This is closely followed by textile, wearing apparel, and leather industries.

All medium and large scale industries (excluding handloom units) together employ about 0.28 million persons in the region. Most of the units are of medium size. Only 3% of all the units are very big which employ one thousand persons or more.

The handloom sector is quite big in the country which accounts for more than 12% of industrial GDP of the country. The region's share of total handloom units of the country stands at 21%, while 27% of the operational looms are located in the region employing a quarter of a million population. About 46% of the total cloth production in the handloom sector comes from the region.

Major Urban Centres

Urban centres in the region are still under-developed. Much of the land is being used for agriculture. The proportion of urban land used for commercial and industrial purposes is also not very high.

All the municipalities under study are connected by the national grid (for electricity). Supply of piped water is available only on a limited scale, mainly in the core administrative zone. The majority of the dwelling units still depend on private hand tube wells and ponds for drinking water and other domestic purposes.

Each district headquarters in the region except Sylhet now possesses a 50 bed hospital within the framework of the public health care system. In Sylhet, there is a 500 bed medical college hospital and a few other specialized hospitals in the public sector with about 200 additional beds.

The state of sanitation is very poor. Conservancy service is limited mainly to the collection and disposal of night soil and other wastes from core urban areas.

Future Trend

The growth of urban population in the region would be lower compared to overall growth of urban population in the country. The urban population in the region has been estimated to be 11% in 1991. It is expected to be 14% in year 2000 and 20% in 2015. It is likely that the overall growth rate of population in the country will decline in future, but the population may continue to increase at a faster rate in some urban centres.

The districts of Narayanganj and Narsingdi are expected to be more urbanized in the near future and its integration with the Dhaka mega-urban field will be accelerated because of their strategic location. A sharp rise in urban population in this zone in the initial period will result form inmigration from villages, as well as from transformation of some rural and semi-urban settlements into new urban centers along the Dhaka-Sylhet and the Dhaka-Chittagong corridors.

Conclusion

The process of urbanization has been slower in the northeast region. The expansion of the employment base in the recent past had not been very encouraging, particularly in the formal sector. The state of urban infrastructure is also poor. With increasing population and a consequent rise in associated activities, the existing state of urban services and the water management regime will be under severe pressure.

Compared to the 1991 situation, the urban areas in the region will have an extra population of more than four million, and the total urban population would reach a level of about 6.6 million in 2015. This will create tremendous pressure on urban land, civic amenities and economic infrastructure. Appropriate strategies in the form of enhanced facilities need to be evolved to cope with the future situation.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The Northeast Regional Project (NERP) is presently being implemented within the framework of the Flood Action Plan (FAP). The region covers 16.4% of the land area of Bangladesh. It includes six districts in their entirety and parts of seven districts in the *Brahmaputra-Meghna* basin. The estimated population of the region is slightly over 17 million according to the census of 1991 which is 16% of the total population of the country.

Several macro and micro level studies are being carried out within the NERP encompassing various issues pertaining to water management and other related matters. All these studies are inputs for a comprehensive regional plan for water management. A study on urban centres has been planned as part of the regional planning process within the NERP.

1.2 Study Objectives

The main objective of the study is to gain a general understanding of the extent of urbanization and growth potential of major urban centres in the northeast region. It is expected that the study would be able to provide some insight about the growth of urban population, the economic base of the urban centres, employment situation, nature of migration, physical facilities, nature and state of urban services and so on.

It is a dominant perception that the process of urbanization is strongly linked with the development of trading, services and the manufacturing sectors. It has often been observed that the manufacturing sector grows in and around urban enclaves possessing better transport network and other infrastructural facilities. Viewing in this context, it has been endeavoured to present information on these aspects.

Although urbanization means the process of development of urban environment and the movement of people in urban areas in the conceptual sense, the present study concentrated mainly on a description of selected urban areas and the manufacturing sector in the NE region.

1.3 Methodology

Although there are many urban pockets of different size, it has been decided to study eight of them which are assumed to be indicative of the region. Data were mostly obtained from interviews with key informants and secondary sources. Major urban centres in the region were selected on the basis of their population size. Urban centres with populations more than 25,000 (in 1991) were selected for this purpose and were visited during March-May 1993 as part of the exercise. Informal discussions were held with selected officials of the *Pourashava*, members of the business community, NGO staff and some urban dwellers to obtain the necessary information. The following urban centres in the northeast region were visited:

Sylhet

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- Narsingdi
- Bhairab
- Kishoreganj
- Sherpur
- Netrokona
- Habiganj
- Moulvibazar

Description and analysis of concerned issues have been presented in the following chapters. Urban centres have been listed in the tables in the descending order with respect to their 1991 population size and this does not necessarily reflect their ranking based on any other criteria. Detailed statistical information have been presented in the appendix.

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2. URBANIZATION

2.1 Definition of Urban Area

An urban area is generally perceived as a geographical unit where non-agricultural activities, particularly manufacturing and service sectors, are predominant. According to the definition used in the 1981 population census of Bangladesh, an urban area has the following connotation:

The term (urban area) normally includes places having a Municipality (*pourashava*), a Town Committee (*Shohor* Committee) or a Cantonment Board. In general an urban area will be a concentration of population of at least 5,000 persons in continuous collection of houses where the community sense is well developed and the community maintains the utilities, such as, roads, street lightings, water supply and sanitary arrangements, etc. These places are generally non-agricultural and having non-agricultural labour concentration and a high literacy rate. An area which has urban characteristics but has less than 5,000 population may in special cases be treated as an urban area. All *thana* headquarters irrespective of their area and level of urbanization, *hat* and *bazaar* with electricity, not covered under the above definition, have also been considered as urban area in 1981 population census.¹

Urban centres in Bangladesh have developed mainly around the district and *thana* headquarters. All these centres do not necessarily conform to the criteria mentioned above with respect to physical facilities and other socio-economic characteristics. Particular mention may be made about the land use pattern which shows a high incidence in favour of agriculture in some urban centres. This has been analyzed in a subsequent chapter.

2.2 Urban Population

The proportion of urban population was only 2.4% of the total population of the country at the beginning of this century. The pace of urbanization had been very slow until recently. The growth rate of urban population became faster since 1961. Urban population showed a sharp rise during the inter-censal period of 1974-81. During that period, the annual exponential growth rate of urban population was more than 10%. This might have happened partially due to the extended definition of urban areas used in the 1981 census.

According to 1981 census, 15.2% of the total population were residents of different urban areas. According to projections based on 1981 census figures, the proportion of urban population in the country was supposed to be 25.4% in $1990.^2$ However, the actual urban population according to the 1991 census has been reported to be 20.15% (see figure 1). During the period from 1981 to 1991, the annual exponential growth of urban population was about 5%. Among the urban-dwellers, about three-fourths are residents of big cities with population size more than 100,000. Disaggregate data on 1991 population by urban-rural residence are not yet available.

¹ BBS: 1992 Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh.

² BBS: Bangladesh Population Census 1981, Analytical Findings and National Tables.



The northeast region is mainly comprised of areas belonging to greater Dhaka, Mymensingh, Jamalpur and Sylhet districts. BBS data show that the proportion of urban population in greater Dhaka district is much higher than the national figure, whereas that of greater Jamalpur, Mymensingh and Sylhet districts are lower. According to the 1981 population census, the proportion of urban population in greater Dhaka district was 38.5%. Such proportions were 8.8%, 10.0% and 8.7% for greater Sylhet, Mymensingh and Jamalpur districts respectively.¹ Based on enumerated census data of 1991, the proportion of urban population in the study region is estimated to be 11% of the total regional population.

2.3 Municipalities

A municipality, commonly known as *pourashava*, is a legally constituted urban centre within the administrative jurisdiction of the *Ministry of Local Government*, *Rural Development & Cooperatives* (LGRD&C). There are 15 *pourashavas* in the region out of 95 in the country listed By the BBS.² Among these, 8 are district headquarters. Part of Narayanganj *pourashava* (part of Bandar *thana*) is located within the northeast region.

Total municipal population of the northeast region is estimated to be 0.74 million according to the 1991 census. Extent of urbanization with respect to municipal population has been lower in the region. While 11% of the total population of the country are residents of different municipalities, the proportion of municipal population among the total regional population is only

¹ BBS: 1992 Statistical Yearbook of Bangladesh.

² BBS: Supplement No. 1 to the Preliminary Report on Population Census, 1991.

4%. The share of the northeast region in the total municipal population of the country is as low as 6%.¹ It may be mentioned that all four metropolitan cities of Bangladesh: Dhaka, Chittagong, Khulna and Rajshahi, are located outside the region. These four cities together account for 52% of the total municipal population of the country.

Urban population in the northeast region are mainly concentrated in the *thana* headquarters. While 8% of the country's population live in big cities with a population size more than 100,000, such proportion is only 1% in the northeast region (see figure 2).



Figure 2: Urban Population in 1991

2.4 Institutions

Each municipality is run by a municipal committee. The committee is comprised of one 'Chairman' and several 'Members'. The committee, as a part of the local self-government system, is directly elected by the eligible voters of respective municipalities.

A municipal area is composed of several 'wards'. Each ward elects one member for the

¹ NERP: Population Characteristics and State of Human Development, 1993.

municipal committee. The committee has certain power to impose tax and to collect revenue. Revenue and development expenses of the municipalities are financed from their own resources (fees and taxes) and financial grants allocated by the central government.

There are several private associations of traders and manufacturers in urban areas. These include transport owners' association of different types and merchants' association along different trades. There is a *Chamber of Commerce and Industry* in each district headquarters and in few other municipalities at the *thana* level. Their main role is to liaison and negotiate with government agencies for the promotion of trade, commerce and industry in respective constituencies. These Chambers are affiliated to the *Federation of the Chambers of Commerce & Industries* (FCC&I) with its headquarters in Dhaka. Many of these Chambers are of recent origin and are yet to be functional.

3. POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

3.1 Population Size of the Municipalities

The municipalities in the northeast region are mostly of smaller size with respect to population. Out of fifteen municipalities in the region (including Bandar *thana* which is a part of Narayanganj municipality), six have population less than 25,000 and another three have population less than 50,000 (see table 1). The number of large municipalities having a population of 100,000 or more is only two in the region out of twenty three in the country.

The district headquarters of Sylhet is the largest urban centre in the region with respect to population, followed by Narsingdi. These two municipalities, with population size more than 100,000 each, account for 29% of the total municipal population of the region. The *thana* headquarters of Bhairab in the district of Kishoreganj is the third largest urban centre in the region. Among the municipal urban centres of the region, Mohanganj in the district of Netrokona is the smallest, followed by Companiganj in the district of Sylhet. Each of these municipalities have population less than 20,000 (see figure 3).

3.2 Household Size

The average number of persons per household is higher in urban areas than rural areas despite relatively lower fertility rate in urban areas. One possible reason may be the flow of migrants from rural to urban areas and the consequent high incidence of 'extended' families in urban areas compared to rural areas.

Based on 1991 census data, the average size of household is estimated to be 5.53 in the entire northeast region. But in the *pourashava* areas of the region, the average household size is 5.56. This is slightly higher than that of all the *pourashavas* of Bangladesh which is 5.44. The average size of household within the region is higher in Sylhet and Sunamganj *pourashavas*, the size being more than six, and it is lower in Sherpur and Bajitpur (Kishoreganj), the size being less than five (see table 1).

Demographic characteristic with respect to average size of household is similar in urban and rural areas within a district. It may be mentioned that the average size of household in the districts of Sylhet and Sunamganj is also the highest within the region, being more than six and that of Sherpur district is the lowest, being less than five.¹

3.3 Sex Ratio

The male population of the urban centres is much higher than the female population. While the sex ratio for the northeast region is estimated to be 105, it is as high as 121 in the *pourashava* areas of the region.² This implies that there has been influx of more male immigrants than

¹ NERP: Population Characteristics and State of Human Development, 1993.

² Sex ratio is defined as the number of male population per 100 females.



females to municipal towns from other areas. The aggregate sex ratio for all *pourashavas* of Bangladesh is slightly higher (124). This might have happened due to the location of major metropolitan centres outside the region which attract more male immigrants from other urban and rural areas.

Municipality	Number of households	Population	Average size of household	Sex ratio
Sherpur	13,230	63,030	4.76	123
Gouripur	3,825	19,524	5.10	108
Netrokona	9,133	46,203	5.06	118
Mohanganj	3,600	18,526	5.15	121
Kishoreganj	11,630	64,676	5.56	120
Bajitpur	4,752	23,184	4.88	107
Bhairab	12,933	75,747	5.86	110
Sunamganj	3,821	24,298	6.36	123
Sylhet	16,844	114,284	6.78	124
Companiganj	3,334	19,032	5.71	114
Moulvibazar	6,407	35,371	5.52	125
Srimangal	3,728	19,868	5.33	125
Habiganj	7,180	42,898	5.97	116
Narsingdi	19,293	100,120	5.19	135
Narayanganj	13,628	74,415	5.22	118
Total (NE region)*	133,338	741,176	5.56	121
Bangladesh*	2,166,740	11,788,251	5.44	124

Table 1: Population C	characteristics in	1 the	Municipalities,	1991
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* Municipal household/population only Source: BBS

Findings show that Narsingdi, which is a major industrial area, has the highest sex ratio in the region, the ratio being 135. Moulvibazar, Srimangal, Sylhet, Sunamganj and Sherpur have also very high proportion of male population which implies a higher demand for male work force in those urban centres.

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According to BBS data, the relative proportion of female population in urban areas has been increasing in the successive inter-censal periods. In 1941, the sex ratio in Bangladesh was as high as 150 in urban areas compared to 106 in rural areas. Since then, the sex ratio of urban population has been decreasing at a fast rate and that of the rural population remained almost static (see figure 4). According to the LFS data, the sex ratio was 111 for urban population and 106 for rural population in 1989.¹



Figure 4: Sex Ratio of Population in Bangladesh

The declining trend in sex ratio indicates that more and more families (including the spouse) are accompanying the male migrants from rural to urban areas. Also women belonging to the *civilian labour force* are moving from villages to urban centres in increasing numbers than before.

It may be mentioned that urban population, as defined in the BBS literature, include a substantial proportion of non-municipal population. The sex ratio of the 'municipal' population is expected to be higher than that of the total 'urban' population as portrayed in figure 4. Disaggregate data for the northeast region with respect to male/female ratio in 'urban' areas are not available, but the regional situation is unlikely to vary significantly from the rest of the country.

Urbanization

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BBS: Report on Labour Force Survey 1989.

3.4 Occupation

The people of the municipalities are mainly involved in various non-farm activities. But the number of farm households in some places is quite high. According to the 1983-84 census of agriculture and livestock, 26% of municipal households in the region possess farm, though agriculture may not be the principal source of their livelihood.¹ The proportion of farm households in the municipalities of the region is higher than that of the whole country (see table 2).

A farm household has been defined in the 1983-84 census as one which cultivates 0.05 acre (0.02 ha approx.) of land or more. Households with operational holding less than 0.05 acre have not been treated as farm households.

In Bangladesh, 20% of the municipal households possessed farms of different size in the reference year of 1983-84. Data include information on thirteen municipalities of the region, excluding Companiganj and Narayanganj (Bandar). Companiganj municipality in the district of Sylhet was created after the 1983-84 census and relevant information on Bandar *thana* under Narayanganj municipality is not available separately.

Within the region, Moulvibazar municipality has the highest proportion of farm households, followed by Bajitpur municipality

Table 2: Farm Households

Municipality	% of farm households		
Sylhet	18		
Narsingdi	8		
Bhairab	28		
Kishoreganj	25		
Sherpur	41		
Netrokona	22		
Habiganj	30		
Moulvibazar	54		
Sunamganj	23		
Bajitpur	51		
Srimangal	15		
Gouripur	33		
Mohanganj	24		
Total	26		
Bangladesh*	20		

*Municipal households only Source: BBS

in the district of Kishoreganj. More than half of the households possess farm in these two places. The proportion of farm households among the municipalities of the region is the lowest in Narsingdi where only 8% of households possess a farm. There are fewer farm households also in Srimangal and Sylhet.

The municipalities are the major trade centres in respective districts. Commercial activities of different sorts are the predominant source of livelihood for the highest proportion of the municipal households. Municipalities are also administrative headquarters at the district or at the *thana* level and the government employees constitute a significant proportion of the municipal population. In fact, they are the second largest community in the municipalities of the region

¹ BBS: The Bangladesh Census of Agriculture and Livestock 1983-84, Vol. IV.

where "government service" is the main source of livelihood (see table 3). The proportion of workers in the manufacturing sector could not be ascertained as it was not mentioned as a separate category in the census of 1983-84.

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Main source of livelihood	Percentage of municipal household		
1	Bangladesh	NERP	
Trade and commerce	23.8	31.3	
Government service	20.4	15.5	
Non-government service	16.5	10.6	
Self-employment	15.2	13.1	
Agricultural land	5.1	9.1	
Pension	2.5	.1.6	
Other immovable property	0.9	0.6	
Large factory owner	0.8	0.5	
Small factory owner	0.5	0.4	
Others	14.4	17.3	
Total	100.0	100.0	

Table 3: Occupationa	l Distribution of	Municipal	Households
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Source: BBS

The proportion of municipal households with "service" (regular job) as main source of livelihood, both government and non-government, is less in the region compared to the rest of the country. However, more people in the region are involved in different types of "business" (trade and commerce) activities. Intra-regional variation with respect to occupational distribution is evident, but no significant pattern is observed in this respect (see Appendix A).

In a separate analysis of the 1983-84 census data, it has been found that 29% of households in the municipalities resort to manual labour of different sorts to earn a living. Among the manual labourer households, the proportion of rickshaw pullers is the highest, followed by agriculture labourers (see table 4). Among other major occupational groups (among the manual labourer households) are the carpenters/repairers, porters, push cart drivers and so on.

Occupations involving manual labour	Percentage of municipal households		
	Bangladesh	NERP	
Rickshaw puller	22.8	19.0	
Agriculture labourer	12.7	15.0	
Carpenter/repairer	10.4	7.4	
Porter	8.4	7.7	
Push cart driver	6.2	6.2	
Construction worker	5.4	4.6	
Hawker	5.0	4.8	
Mobile shop	4.8	8.5	
Others	24.4	26.8	
Total	100.0	100.0	

Table 4: Manual Labourer Households

Source: BBS

The proportion of municipal households reporting as agriculture labourer households is higher in the northeast region than the rest of the country. The proportion of agriculture labourers among the municipalities within the region is high, more than 20%, in Sherpur, Bajitpur and Gouripur, all belonging to the greater Mymensingh district. Such proportion is very low in the municipalities of greater Sylhet district and in Narsingdi (see Appendix A, Table A2).

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4. MANUFACTURING SECTOR

4.1 Manufacturing Establishments

The manufacturing sector is often viewed as an indicator of economic progress. This sector is very small in Bangladesh characterized by low level of technology and slow growth. Its share in the GDP was less than 10% throughout the eighties. While large scale manufacturing establishments are generally located in and around urban centres, small and medium scale establishments are spread all over the country.

According to a directory of manufacturing establishments prepared by the BBS, there were 24,937 "medium and large scale manufacturing units" in the country employing 10 or more people in the reference period of 1989-90. These included units registered with the *Chief Inspector of Factories* (CIF), as well as those not yet registered, but excluded handloom units.¹

The northeast region is poorly endowed with manufacturing establishments. While the region accounts for 16% of the area and the population of the country, only 11% of medium and large scale manufacturing units (excluding handloom units) are located here. Among the *thanas* of the region, there is no medium or large scale manufacturing establishment (excluding handloom units) in 25 *thanas*, while 54 *thanas* have manufacturing establishments ranging 1 to 25 units. Only 7 *thanas* possess more than 100 manufacturing establishments of different size. Places adjacent to Dhaka have higher concentrations of manufacturing establishments.

4.2 Type of Industry

Manufacturing establishments have been classified into various types by the Bangladesh Standard Industrial Classification (BSIC) code which has grouped all establishments in ten broad categories. These are as follows:

- Not adequately defined (BSIC Code 30)
- Food, beverage and tobacco (BSIC Code 31)
- Textile, wearing apparel and leather industries (BSIC Code 32)
- Wood, wood product including furniture (BSIC Code 33)
- Paper, paper product, printing and publishing (BSIC Code 34)
- Chemicals, petroleum, coal, rubber and plastic product (BSIC Code 35)
- Non-metallic mineral except petroleum and coal (BSIC Code 36)
- Basic metal industries (BSIC Code 37)
- Fabricated metal product, machinery and equipment (BSIC Code 38)
- Other manufacturing industries (BSIC Code 39)

Among the medium and large scale manufacturing establishments (excluding handloom units) in the *thanas* of the northeast region, units involved in the manufacturing of food, beverage and tobacco corresponds to the highest frequency, their proportion being 36%. This is closely followed by textile, wearing apparel and leather industries (see Appendix A, Table A3 for details).

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¹ BBS: Directory of Manufacturing Establishments 1989-90.

The region has relatively higher concentrations of textile, wearing apparel and leather industries, followed by food, beverage and tobacco industries, where 17% and 13% of the total units of the country respectively are located within the northeast region. Numbers of units involved in the manufacture of wood and wood products and manufacture of metal products, machinery and equipment are very low in the region, their proportion being only 4% in each field (see table 5).

Name of industry	Total number of units	Number of units in the region	% of units in the region
Not adequately defined	8	1	13
Food, beverage and tobacco	7,623	1,006	13
Textile, wearing apparel and leather	5,714	987	17
Wood, wood product including furniture	1,804	215	12
Paper, paper product, printing & publishing	1,078	39	4
Chemicals, petroleum, coal, rubber & plastic	1,903	120	6
Non-metallic mineral except petroleum & coal	2,359	227	10
Basic metal industries	483	40	8
Fabricated metal product, machinery & equipment	3,455	133	4
Other manufacturing industries	518	28	5
Total	24,945	2,796	11

Table 5: Manufacturing	Establishments	by	Type of	Industry
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Source: BBS

Thana-wise detailed statistics on manufacturing units have been presented in Appendix A. The highest number of food, beverage and tobacco industries are located in Sherpur *sadar thana* followed by Sylhet *sadar thana*. In the field of textile, wearing apparel and leather industries, Rupganj *thana* in Narayanganj district ranks first with respect to number of establishments, followed by Narsingdi *sadar thana* in Narsingdi district. The district of Sherpur has a high concentration of semi-automatic and automatic rice mills and Moulvibazar district has the highest concentration of tea estates. Textile industry is mainly concentrated in the districts of Narsingdi and Narayanganj.

4.3 Employment

All medium and large scale industries (excluding handloom units) together employ about 0.28 million persons in the *thanas* covered by the northeast region. Actual employment in the region

would be slightly lower, as some *thanas* are partly covered by NERP. According to the BBS directory of manufacturing establishments, 14% of the total employed work force of Bangladesh in these industries are in the *thanas* of the northeast region (see table 6).

Moulvibazar district tops the list in the region with respect to number of persons employed in the manufacturing sector (excluding handloom units), followed by Narayanganj and Narsingdi. Tea estates in Moulvibazar district are highly labour-intensive and employ a large number of workers. The extent of industrial employment in Netrokona and Sunamganj districts is, however, much lower.

The highest proportion of employment in the manufacturing sector of the northeast region is in the food, beverage and tea industries (mainly tea estates), followed by industries of non-metallic minerals except petroleum and coal (mostly brick fields), their share of employment in total employment of the country in the respective industry group is 25% and 14% respectively ("not adequately defined" establishments have not been considered here as these are very few in number). Detailed statistics in this regard have been presented in Appendix A, Table A4.

Name of industry	Total person	Region's share in	
	Bangladesh	Northeast region	employ- ment (%)
Not adequately defined	378	137	36
Food, beverage and tobacco	615,165	15,6805	25
Textile, wearing apparel and leather	816,603	79,848	10
Wood, wood product including furniture	37,159	3,793	10
Paper, paper product, printing & publishing	41,016	1,125	3
Chemicals, petroleum, coal, rubber & plastic	102,069	7,517	7
Non-metallic mineral except petroleum & coal	172,059	23,377	14
Basic metal industries	45,630	1,487	3
Fabricated metal product, machinery & equipment	135,852	4,638	3
Other manufacturing industries	13,898	1,242	9
Total	1,979,829	279,969	14

Table 6: Employment in the Manufacturing Sector

Source: BBS

4.4 Size of Manufacturing Units

It has already been mentioned that the BBS directory covered only the medium and large scale industries employing ten or more people. According to this directory, most of the units are of medium size employing 10 to 49 persons, their proportion being 81%.¹ The rest 19% establishments are large scale employing fifty persons or more in each of these.

Only 3% of all the units are very big which employ one thousand persons or more (see table 7). These are mainly the tea estates which are mostly concentrated in Moulvibazar district. Other types of very large scale establishments employing one thousand workers or more are mostly located in Narayanganj district. Details in this regard have been presented in Appendix A, Table A5.

Table 7: Size of Manufacturing Units

Persons engaged	Manufacturing units		
	Number	Percentage	
10 - 19	1,448	52	
20 - 49	806	29	
50 - 99	216	8	
100-999	235	8	
1,000+	94	3	
Total	2,795	100	

Source: Based on BBS data

4.5 Localization of Industry

It has been evident that certain type of industry has developed more in certain areas. For example, many food processing establishments, particularly rice mills, were set up in Sherpur district. In addition to marketable surplus rice, this area has a good road transport network and a market for cheap labour.

Moulvibazar district and also part of Habiganj have a concentration of tea estates. The physical terrain of this region is suitable for plantation of tea where the tea industry had developed with the initiative of the British entrepreneurs in the nineteenth century. Tea is an export-oriented industry. This area is well connected with the port city of Chittagong with good road and railway links through which tea is shipped.

The Narayanganj-Narsingdi region has been a marketing outlet for textiles for several centuries. A large proportion of the population of this region are traditional weavers. Besides, availability of electricity (for running a power loom), its central location and its access to road, railway and riverine transport network also facilitated the localization of the textile industry in this area to a significant extent.

¹ Establishments employing less than 10 persons are categorized as small and cottage industries. An establishment employing 50 persons or more is termed as large scale unit in the conventional literature.

4.6 Handloom Sector

The handloom sector is quite big in the country accounting for annual cloth production of about a billion meter and contribute more than ten billion taka in the GDP according to the handloom census of 1990.¹ The share of the handloom sector alone in the total industrial GDP of the country was more than 12% in the corresponding period. There are more than 0.21 million handloom units in the country with 0.51 million looms. Among these, 0.35 million looms are operational (see table 8).²

Handloom sector*	Bangladesh	Northeast region**	Region's share (%)
Handloom unit	212,421	44,677	21
Number of looms	514,456	124,410	24
Number of operational looms	352,214	96,331	27
Production (meter/month)	88,363,999	40,465,413	46
Persons engaged	1,027,407	254,240	25
Value added (million Tk)	10,016	4,356	43

Table 8: Statistics on the Handloom Sector

*Includes power loom **All thanas of the region in their entirety Source: BBS

The northeast region possesses more handloom units compared to other regions. The region's share of total handloom units of the country stands at 21%, while 27% of the operational looms are located in the region. About one-third of the looms in the country have been reported by the handloom census as non-operational, mainly due to lack of capital.

Loom capacity is more utilized in the northeast region than other areas, as 46% of the total cloth production in the handloom sector comes from the *thanas* covered by the region. While monthly cloth production was 88.4 million meters in Bangladesh in 1989-90, it was as high as 40.5 million meters in the *thanas* of the northeast region.

There is a high concentration of handlooms in the districts of Narsingdi and Narayanganj. Among the nine *thanas* in the region which possess more than one thousand operational looms

¹ BBS, Report of Bangladesh Handloom Census 1990.

² Figures include power looms. At the national level, power looms account for 16% of the yearly cloth production in the handloom sector.

each, four are in Narsingdi district, three are in Narayanganj district, one is in Gazipur district and one is in Moulvibazar district. On the other hand, there is no operational loom in 38 *thanas* of the region. These *thanas* are mostly located in the *haor* areas, particularly in the districts of Sunamganj, Sylhet, Habiganj, Netrokona and Kishoreganj.

Araihazar *thana* in the district of Narayanganj has the highest concentration of looms in the region, followed by Raipura and Narsingdi *thanas* in the district of Narsingdi. Each of them have more than twenty thousand operational looms. But Narsingdi *thana* ranks first among the *thanas* with respect to cloth production, followed by Araihazar *thana*, the level of their monthly production being more than ten million meters of cloth.

All six *thanas* of the region producing more than a million meter of cloth per month belong to the districts of Narsingdi and Narayanganj which together account for 44% of total cloth production in the handloom sector of the country and as much as 95% of the total production in the region (see Appendix A, Table A6).

The handloom sector alone employs more than a million persons in the country of which onefourth are in the districts covered by the northeast region. Among the employed work force, 40% are women. Female employment in the handloom sector is much higher in the greater Sylhet district: more than 70% of the total employed work force. Here, handloom units are mostly household-based and are operated mainly by female members of the households. In the Narsingdi-Narayanganj area, the extent of female employment is less than 40% of the total employed work force. Hired labourers, particularly male, are extensively used in the handloom units of this area (see Appendix A, Table A7 for details).

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5. MAJOR URBAN CENTRES

5.1 The Context

The eight largest municipalities of the northeast region have been visited and studied in some detail. These are Sylhet, Narsingdi, Bhairab, Kishoreganj, Sherpur, Netrokona, Habiganj and Moulvibazar. Among these, two are large municipalities, three are of medium size and three are small with respect to population. Selective information was obtained from discussion and interviews, as well as from secondary sources, to have an understanding of the urbanization process and to assess the potential for their growth in future.

Among the major urban centres in the northeast region, Sherpur and Kishoreganj municipalities are the oldest which were constituted in 1869 (see table 9). Municipalities were constituted mainly around administrative headquarters and trading centres. Bhairab and Narsingdi municipalities are of recent origin which were constituted in 1958 and 1972 respectively. Narsingdi has experienced a high growth of population and industrialization in recent decades and is becoming part of the "greater Dhaka urban field".

5.2 Population Growth

The rate of population growth in the country has been high and in the urban areas it is even higher. The population of Bangladesh has doubled during the thirty year period from 1961 to

1991. During this period, the aggregate population of the eight major municipalities in the northeast region has increased more than three times. There has, however, been changes in the boundary of some municipalities. Irrespective of the area, the population in the urban areas has grown at a faster rate compared to rural areas.

During this 30 year period, the population of Moulvibazar municipality increased the most, more than five times, while that of Habiganj and Narsingdi increased more than three times (see table 10). Detailed statistics on municipal population have been presented in Appendix A, Table A8.

During the last inter-censal period from 1981 to 1991, the growth rate of population among the major urban centres of the region was also the highest in Moulvibazar, followed by Habiganj, Sherpur and Sylhet (see figure 5). All these urban centres except Sherpur are located along the "Dhaka-Sylhet corridor".

Table 9: Growth of Municipalities

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Municipality	Year of establishment	
Sylhet	1885	
Narsingdi	1972	
Bhairab	1958	
Kishoreganj	1869	
Sherpur	1869	
Netrokona	1887	
Habiganj	1913	
Moulvibazar	1930	

Source: District Gazetteers/field work

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The population growth rate was the lowest in Bhairab municipality during the corresponding period, followed by Netrokona municipality. The population of Moulvibazar municipality has more than doubled during this period while that of Bhairab was less than the overall national growth rate.

While population grew at the rate of 2.25% annually in Bangladesh during the period from 1974 to 1991, the growth rate was more than 3% in all the municipalities under study during this period. The growth rate was much higher during 1974-81 compared to the period 1981-91 except in Moulvibazar where the situation was the reverse (see table 11). During 1974-81, the aggregate annual growth rate of population was more than 5% in eight major municipalities of the region under study. This was, however, less than 3% during 1981-91.

The extent of urbanization may be better appraised in the context of long term trend in the growth of urban population. Any attempt of in-depth analysis in this respect is seriously constrained by lack of usable data. It has been observed that the urban population started growing at a faster rate after the 1961 census, particularly after the independence of the country in 1971. This growth has been spectacular in the four metropolitan cities of the country, all of which are outside the region. These four cities (only municipal areas) experienced an average annual (exponential) growth of more than 5% during 1961-91.

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Municipality	Base: 1961=100			Base: 1981=100	
	1974	1981	1991	1991	
Sylhet	156	216	281	130	
Narsingdi	184	261	322	124	
Bhairab	138	200	239	119	
Kishoreganj	148	214	269	126	
Sherpur	143	193	253	131	
Netrokona	156	220	272	123	
Habiganj	134	207	354	171	
Moulvibazar	169	253	542	214	
Bangladesh	138	163	199	122	

Table 10: Population Index for Selected Municipalities

Source: Estimates based on BBS/UDD statistics

Table 11: Population Growth Rate

Municipality	Annual rate of population growth			
	1974-81	1981-91	1974-91	
Sylhet	4.78	2.66	3.53	
Narsingdi	5.15	2.14	3.37	
Bhairab	5.50	1.77	3.29	
Kishoreganj	5.41	2.31	3.57	
Sherpur	4.44	2.72	3.42	
Netrokona	5.09	2.12	3.33	
Habiganj	6.35	5.53	5.86	
Moulvibazar	5.93	7.92	7.09	
Total	5.16	2.81	3.77	
Bangladesh*	2.35	2.03	2.16	

*Growth rate for total population Source: BBS/UDD studies



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The population of the cities in the northeast region increased at a slower rate. This has been revealed in a comparative analysis between four district headquarters: Sylhet, Kishoreganj, Sherpur and Netrokona, for which data are available for the period 1961-91. The annual population growth rate varied between 3% and 4% in all these cities during this period.

The pace of urbanization had been very slow in these four cities of the northeast region (except Sylhet) before 1961. This means that Sylhet started developing as a major urban centre since the beginning of the century, whereas other cities started "growing" only recently, though all of them were declared municipalities almost at the same time. The annual population growth rate in Sylhet municipality was more than 2% during the fifty year period from 1911 to 1961, while it was less than 1% in Kishoreganj, Sherpur and Netrokona (see figure 6).



Figure 6: Population Growth Rate in Selected Cities

5.3 Migration

A higher growth rate in the urban centres implies that the growth of population has been higher than the "natural increase" and the "extra population" is comprised of immigrants from other rural and urban areas. An attempt has been made here to estimate the extent of migration in the urban centres under study. Estimates of natural increase have been made using the population growth rate of respective districts during the inter-censal period from 1981 to 1991. The difference between the estimated population of 1991 based on natural increase and the actual population of 1991 has been attributed as "net migration".

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Findings show that Narsingdi and Bhairab municipalities have "lost" population. This means that more people migrated from these two cities to other areas than the new immigrants, or these two cities attracted less immigration from outside the district than other parts of the district. The other six municipalities under study have "gained" population during 1981-91 (see table 12). The extent of immigration has been the highest in Moulvibazar during 1981-91, followed by Habiganj, the proportion of "net immigrants" being 42% and 28% of the 1991 population of respective districts (see figure 7).

Municipality	1981 population	1991 population based on natural increase	Actual 1991 population	Net immigration	Immigration as % of 1991 population
Sylhet	87,922	112,297	114,284	1,987	1.7
Narsingdi	81,000	104,190	100,120	-4,070	-4.1
Bhairab	63,563	76,177	75,747	-430	-0.6
Kishoreganj	51,472	61,687	64,676	2,989	4.6
Sherpur	48,214	60,069	63,030	2,961	4.7
Netrokona	37,455	41,305	46,203	4,898	10.6
Habiganj	25,050	30,715	42,898	12,183	28.4
Moulvibazar	16,509	20,377	35,371	14,994	42.4
Total	411,185	502,112	542,329	40,217	7.4

Table 12: Net Migration during 1981-91

Source: Estimates based on UDD statistics

The real situation may be different from what has been projected in table 12. It may be mentioned that many new immigrants reside at the outskirts of the *de jure* municipal boundary, but work within the municipal area. Hence, the actual number of immigrants may be more than what has been estimated.

For the municipalities which "gained" population, it has not been possible to estimate how many people came from other areas of the same district and how many came from outside the district. Discussion with key informants and observations reveal that many people settled in the urban areas, particularly in Moulvibazar, Habiganj and Sylhet, who had migrated from other districts. They came mainly for employment purposes. In other urban centres of the region, flow of migration was mainly from other places within the district (see table 13).

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Generally municipal towns attract people from the surrounding *thanas* mainly for employment in government offices and commercial establishments and other activities of casual nature in the service sector, particularly construction. Also many people prefer to reside in urban areas for trading purposes and to avail educational facilities for their children. Educational institutions, particularly government secondary schools, are generally located at the district or *thana* headquarters, and government colleges are located at the district headquarters.

5.4 Employment Situation

The cities serve mainly as administrative headquarters and trade centres. Within the formal sector, government service is a dominant occupation. While the upper echelon of the administration is managed by the staff belonging to different cadre services and drawn from different parts of the country, the lower level supporting staff are mainly recruited from amongst the local residents. The scope for further employment in this formal sector appears to be very limited.

In the informal sector, trading and different types of self-/wage employment are predominant. Among the work force living on manual labour, the number of rickshaw pullers is high. In the municipal towns, rickshaw is the principal mode of transport. How many people are actually employed in this sector cannot be ascertained on the basis of the number of rickshaws registered with respective municipal authorities, as there are many rickshaws which ply without any valid registration, as well as many rickshaws are registered with neighboring *Union Parishads* but ply in the municipal areas.

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Municipality	Thanas within the district from where migrants mainly came	Other districts from where migrants mainly came
• Sylhet	 Balaganj Bishwanath Golapganj Beanibazar 	 Mymensingh Sunamganj Kishoreganj Brahmanbaria Comilla Chandpur
 Narsingdi 	RaipuraBelabo	• Brahmanbaria
Bhairab	Kuliarchar	• Brahmanbaria
 Kishoreganj 	 Karimganj Astagram Nikli Itna Tarail 	
• Sherpur	SribardiJhenaigatiNakla	
• Netrokona	KhaliajuriMadanAtpara	• Sunamganj
• Habiganj	 Nabiganj Baniachang Lakhai Ajmiriganj 	 Noakhali Chandpur Comilla Brahmanbaria
• Moulvibazar	 Kulaura Barlekha 	 Noakhali Mymensingh Kishoreganj Chandpur Comilla Brahmanbaria

Table 13: Flow of Migrants from Outside

Source: Field work

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Rickshaw pullers constitute a substantial proportion of the urban population. Among the municipalities in the region, Moulvibazar has the highest concentration of rickshaws, followed by Habiganj (see table 14). In the greater Sylhet region, rickshaw pullers are mainly migrant labourers from other districts, mainly greater Mymensingh and Comilla districts.

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The informal sector is characterized by fluctuating demand for unskilled casual labourer. Data on wage rates have been obtained for the unskilled construction workers (see table 15). Wages reach their peak during the dry season (December-May), the main season for construction activities in the urban areas. This also synchronizes with high demand for farm labour where *boro* rice is grown. The demand for labour falls during the monsoonal months (July-October) which again synchronizes with low demand for farm labour.

Table 14: Number of Rickshaws

Municipality	No. of registered rickshaw	Popula- tion per rickshaw
Sylhet	3.440	33
Narsingdi	2,200	46
Bhairab	1,800	42
Kishoreganj	2,362	27
Sherpur	1,950	32
Netrokona	1,450	32
Habiganj	1,672	26
Moulvibazar	2,400	15

Source: Respective municipalities

Seasonal fluctuation in average daily wage could be as high as Tk 20. Data have been obtained for unskilled construction workers in and around the municipal areas (see figure 8). Wages have been found to be relatively higher in greater Sylhet district and lower in Mymensingh.

Urban centre	Peak season	Slack season	Average
Sylhet	60	50	55
Narsingdi	55	40	48
Bhairab	50	40	45
Kishoreganj	40	35	38
Sherpur	40	35	38
Netrokona	45	30	38
Habiganj	60	40	50
Moulvibazar	70	60	65

Table 15: Daily Wage of Unskilled Labourer (Tk)

Source: Field work

Urbanization



Figure 8: Daily Wage of Unskilled Labourer

With respect to peak season daily wage rate, Moulvibazar tops the list in the region. These findings further substantiate the observation that people from low wage areas have a tendency to migrate to high wage areas.

5.5 Major Manufacturing Establishments

As a part of the study, efforts have been made to identify the ten top employers of each area. It may be mentioned that an employer may have a production unit in the urban area but he/she may not necessarily be an urban-dweller. It is also possible that an employer is a resident of a municipality but his/her production unit is located outside the boundary of the municipality. Similarly, the workers of a production unit may be recruited both from urban and rural areas.

While attempting to identify who are the big employers of a particular urban centre, all these methodological issues had to be considered. Here, a simple methodology has been adopted. The ten top production/manufacturing units have been identified from respective *thanas* where the concerned municipalities under study are located.

Among 80 large scale establishments (10 from each location), brick fields correspond to the highest proportion (33%), followed by food processing units (26%), cotton textile mills and *biri* factories (11% each) and jute mills (8%). Jabbar Jute Mill in Narsingdi, a public sector enterprise employing 1,793 persons, is the largest manufacturing establishment in the concerned *thanas* under study (for details, see Appendix A, Tables A9 and A10).

5.6 Land Use

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Land use data on functional urban areas are available from the UDD studies. In Sylhet, Moulvibazar and Narsingdi, the highest proportion of land is used for residential purposes, followed by agriculture. For other cities, the situation is reverse. Agricultural use accounts for more than 70% of land in Bhairab, Sherpur and Kishoreganj and more than 60% in Habiganj. The proportion of urban land used for commercial and industrial purposes is relatively higher in Sylhet and also Narsingdi. Sylhet also ranks first with respect to land use for health and education (see table 16).

An overview of land use data shows that agriculture still remains a major economic activity in the urban centres of the region. With the growth of population, future need for land, particularly for residential, commercial, utility services and other human development needs, will certainly increase. The increased demand for land can, however, be met with existing land within the boundaries of some functional urban centres if agricultural land is gradually transformed for other uses as needed. This is likely to happen as a natural process.

			Percen	tage of are	a used for	different p	urposes	
Urban centre	Ref. year	Agri.	Resi- dence	Admi- nistra- tion	Trade/ indus- try	Educa- tion/ health	Water body	Others
Sylhet	1985	21.5	51.5	2.1	5.9	5.2	12.8	1.0
Narsingdi	1985	38.6	44.8	1.2	4.8	0.9	9.7	0.0
Bhairab	1987	79.3	11.6	3.9	1.6	0.3	1.3	2.0
Kishoreganj	1989	71.6	16.7	1.7	0.5	0.8	4.3	4.3
Sherpur	1989	75.9	15.2	0.7	1.2	0.7	3.2	3.1
Netrokona	1989	56.3	23.7	0.9	1.0	0.7	13.2	4.2
Habiganj	1987	61.7	20.0	3.9	1.4	1.0	5.5	6.5
Moulvibazar	1989	36.5	44.5	2.0	1.7	1.1	2.0	12.2

Table 16: Land Use

Source: UDD studies on Land Use/Master Plan

5.7 Urban Services

All the municipalities under study are connected by the national grid (for electricity). Supply of piped water is not available in Bhairab. In other places it is available only on a limited scale, mainly in the core administrative zone. The majority of the dwelling units still depend on private hand tube well and pond for drinking water and other domestic purposes.

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Municipal services mainly consist of street lighting, water and sanitation, road construction and maintenance of *hats*, *bazaars* and graveyards. Several other agencies are involved in these fields either exclusively or partly. Street lighting of some municipalities are still within the jurisdiction of the Power Development Board (PDB). The Department of Public Health Engineering (DPHE) looks after water supply and sanitation. The Roads & Highways (R&H) Department is responsible for roads which are parts of the national highway network. The T&T Board is responsible for telecommunications. These agencies are vertically linked with respective line Ministries.

5.8 Health and Sanitation

Limited hospital facilities for indoor patients were first created in major urban centres located at the administrative headquarters in the later part of the nineteenth century. A "Sub-divisional Hospital" at Sherpur was first established in 1867. A sub-divisional Hospital in Kishoreganj was set up in 1869 and in Netrokona in 1876. Charitable dispensaries were set up mainly at district and *thana* headquarters since the 1850s.

Each district headquarters in the region except Sylhet now possesses a 50 bed hospital within the framework of the public health care system. In Sylhet, there is a 500 bed medical college hospital and a few other specialized hospitals in the public sector with about 200 additional beds. These hospitals are supposed to cater to the need of the entire population of respective districts. Bhairab, though the third largest city in the region, has only a 10 bed *thana* hospital.

The municipal committees are responsible for sanitation and conservancy service in their respective jurisdictions. But the state of sanitation is very poor. Conservancy service is limited mainly to the collection and disposal of night soil and other wastes from core urban areas.

5.9 Education

Modern education in the present sense of the term was first introduced in some urban centres during the middle of the nineteenth century. English teaching was first introduced in Netrokona in 1846. A new system of primary education was introduced in 1871. *Madrassa* education, which had been the main form of formal education before the advent of the British rule, is still continuing.

There is one primary school for about two to four thousand people in the major urban centres of the region. Among the urban centres under study, primary school-population ratio is lower in the big cities (see table 17). The ratio of primary school to population is lower in the municipalities than the ratio in respective districts mainly because of the higher density of population in urban areas. This ratio in the municipalities is higher for secondary schools (high schools) and colleges. This implies that while the infrastructure for primary education is more evenly distributed, the facilities for higher education are concentrated in urban areas. It may be mentioned here that, though secondary schools and colleges are concentrated in municipal towns, these institutions have a much wider zone of influence. A significant proportion of the students come to study in these institutions from surrounding rural and urban areas.

All the district headquarters have one primary teachers' training institute (PTI) and one vocational training institute run by the government. Besides, there is a university in Sylhet city which was established recently.

Municipality	Primary	High	College	Institutio	n per 10,00	00 people
	school	school		Primary school	High school	College
Sylhet	23	12	6	2.0	1.1	0.5
Narsingdi	18	9	2	1.8	0.9	0.2
Bhairab	18	4	2	2.4	0.5	0.3
Kishoreganj	23	7	4	3.6	1.1	0.6
Sherpur	26	5	3	4.1	0.8	0.5
Netrokona	19	7	3	4.1	1.5	0.6
Habiganj	13	5	2	3.0	1.2	0.5
Moulvibazar	11	5	2	3.1	1.4	0.6

Table 17: Number of Educational Institutions

Source: Respective municipalities/field work

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6. FUTURE TREND

6.1 Population Growth

What will be the size of the urban population at the end of this century, that is, in year 2000? This depends on a host of factors like expected population growth rate, extent of migration, delineation of urban boundaries and so forth. Migration itself depends on various exogenous and endogenous factors like the state of employment in urban and rural areas, extent and quality of urban services, location of administrative and economic infrastructure, and so on.

Although the extent of urbanization in Bangladesh has been very low until recently, it is now increasing at a fast rate. According to the 1991 census, one-fifth of the total population of the country are urban-dwellers. The urban population of Bangladesh, as estimated in a recent study, would increase to 26% in year 2000 and to 37% in 2015.¹ The bulk of the urban population will be the residents of major metropolitan cities.

The growth of urban population in the region would be lower compared to the overall growth of urban population in the country. The urban population in the region has been estimated to be 11% in 1991. With a simplistic assumption of uniform growth of urban population in the region as that of the whole country, it would be 14% in year 2000 and 20% in 2015 (see figure 9).





¹ Islam, Nazrul: Dhaka in 2025 A.D.

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6.2 Major Urban Centres

In order to have a very simple understanding about future population in the major urban centres of the region, projections have been made based on a high growth rate (that of 1974-91) and a medium growth rate (that of 1981-91). For Moulvibazar, the situation is reverse which experienced a relatively higher growth rate during 1981-91 (see table 18).

Municipality	Area (ha)	Popul	ation project	ion
			200	0
		1991	Α	В
Sylhet	970	114,284	161,601	148,550
Narsingdi	1,032	100,120	139,454	123,753
Bhairab	1,531	75,747	104,682	90,266
Kishoreganj	1,016	64,676	91,882	81,267
Sherpur	2,466	63,030	88,236	82,399
Netrokona	1,354	46,203	64,131	56,994
Habiganj	905	42,898	75,847	73,463
Moulvibazar	769	35,371	70,192	75,783
Total	10,043	542,329	796,025	732,475

Table 18: Population Projection for Selected Municipalities

Source: Based on BBS and UDD statistics / respective municipalities A: Based on 1974-91 growth rate B: Based on 1981-91 growth rate

The geographical boundaries of the municipalities are often fixed arbitrarily and may not necessarily reflect the functional urban areas. Land use studies sponsored by the Urban Development Directorate (UDD) have defined functional urban areas on the basis of "catchment areas" or "zone of influence" of urban services. This has often been referred to as "study area" in the land use studies.¹

Population figures for functional urban areas for 1981 are available from the UDD studies. The 1981-91 annual exponential growth rate of population of the municipalities has been used for estimating the population of functional urban centres for 1991, 2000 and 2015. It is likely that the overall growth rate of population in the country will decline in future, but the population may continue to increase at a faster rate in some urban centres. Estimates show that Sylhet would still remain the largest city in the region in 2015, closely followed by Moulvibazar (see table 19).

¹ Land Use Master Plan/Structure Plan for different *pourashavas* were prepared in the eighties under the auspices of the Urban Development Directorate of the Ministry of Works.

Functional urban centre	Area (ha)		ased on 1981 the municipa	
		1991	2000	2015
Sylhet	2,900	198,152	250,898	371,817
Narsingdi	1,032	100,120	121,158	166,497
Bhairab	2,640	83,225	97,454	126,777
Kishoreganj	2,957	98,271	120,693	169,996
Sherpur	5,743	77,544	98,693	147,518
Netrokona	1,850	48,358	58,413	80,030
Habiganj	3,302	53,225	86,374	193,565
Moulvibazar	1,456	58,141	115,429	361,998
Total	21,880	717,036	949,112	1,618,198

Table 19: Population Projection for Functional Urban Centres

Source: Estimates based on BBS/UDD statistics

6.3 Dhaka Mega Urban Field

The districts of Narsingdi and Narayanganj are the two most densely populated districts with a higher extent of urbanization in comparison to any other part of the northeast region. The average number of people per sq km in all six thanas covered by the proposed project is more than 1,500 compared to 707 in the region and 755 in the country.

The districts of Narayanganj and Narsingdi are expected to be more urbanized in the near future and its integration with the Dhaka mega-urban field will be accelerated because of their strategic location. A sharp rise in urban population in this zone in the initial period will result from inmigration from villages, as well as from transformation of some rural and semi-urban settlements into new urban centers along the Dhaka-Sylhet and the Dhaka-Chittagong corridors.

In addition to the thana headquarters, several growth centres along the Dhaka-Sylhet corridor are rapidly becoming urbanized. Some of these are as follows:

- Tarabo (Rupganj *thana*)
- Bhulta (Rupganj thana)
- Kanchan (Rupganj *thana*)
- Madhabdi (Narsingdi thana)
- Shekher Char (Narsingdi thana)
- Panchdona (Narsingdi thana)

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This region has a very high concentration of modern manufacturing establishments. Proximity to Dhaka, better transport network and high social mobility of the people of this area, provide a conducive environment for the development of the manufacturing sector.

With increasing urbanization, land use and cropping patterns are undergoing rapid changes in this area. While more and more lands are being put to industrial use, high value crops, particularly vegetables, are replacing traditional field crops to a significant extent.

It is likely that Narsingdi municipality, which is the largest city in this part of the region, is not expected to expand rapidly, as many more urban areas and growth centres in this part would flourish in near future. It is expected that the major growth centres of this area which are now discretely located will soon be integrated into a larger chain and would become a part of the greater Dhaka city. Already, a part of this area has been officially included in the "Dhaka statistical metropolitan area" (SMA). It may be mentioned that the entire Bandar thana in Narayanganj district has already been treated as an urban area in the 1991 census.

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7. CONCLUSION

The extent of urbanization in Bangladesh has so far been low compared to many other countries in the region. However, urban population is rapidly expanding since the sixties. But the process of urbanization has been slower in the northeast region. Two major urban centres in the region, Narsingdi and Bhairab, have indeed lost population during the last decade. One possible explanation could be the high propensity to migrate from these two urban centres to other urban areas outside the region where more "pull factors" are working.

It may be mentioned that Dhaka, the largest urban centre in the country, can "pull" people belonging to the civilian labour force from the adjacent urban centres like Narsingdi and Bhairab. This trend may continue as Dhaka has more potential for expansion, both quantitative and qualitative.

Employment opportunity in the urban centres and the process of pauperization in the rural areas together determine the nature and extent of migration to a significant extent. But the expansion of the employment base in urban centres of the region in the recent past has not been very encouraging, particularly in the formal sector.

The creation of the *upazila* infrastructure has fostered employment generation in certain areas and was believed to be a major determinant of rural to urban migration (from villages to *thana* headquarters).¹ With the abolition of the *upazila* as a self-government tier and consequent uncertainty with respect to its status in the geo-administrative structure, now it would be difficult to ascertain to what extent these new urban centres would flourish and expand. "Induced development" at the *thana* level through state patronage is likely to diminish in future if the *thana* does not receive adequate recognition in the politico-administrative structure.

It may be mentioned that the modern manufacturing sector has the capacity to absorb a large work force. This sector expanded only marginally during the last decade. Whatever expansion took place in terms of employment was mainly in the field of ready-made garments. The garments industry is concentrated in Dhaka and Chittagong and is virtually non-existent in the northeast region. Proximity to the office of the related supporting agencies, financial institutions, port facilities and availability of cheap female labour have created a favourable climate for the growth and expansion of the garments industry in these two metropolitan cities. This is unlikely to happen in the northeast region.

Findings show that the rate of growth of population in recent years was much higher in Moulvibazar than any other city in the region. Observations reveal that Moulvibazar with its high wage rate attracted workers from other districts who could be absorbed in the flourishing

¹ The *upazila* system was introduced in 1982 through an executive order of the government. All *thanas* were "upgraded" as *upazilas* and was made a mid-level self-government unit between the District Council and the *Union Parishad*. Officers and staff of almost all the Ministries were posted in the *upazilas* as part of the administrative and judicial decentralization scheme. The system was abolished in 1992.

construction sector financed by remittance money. The present trend of migration may not continue in future if existing conditions of labour absorption change.

The state of urban infrastructure is poor in the region. With increasing population and a consequent rise in associated activities, the existing state of urban services and the water management regime would be under severe pressure.

The current land use pattern will be affected as the urban population rises. The demand for residential land will increase, as well as land for other civic amenities like play grounds, recreational facilities, roads, schools, hospitals and so on. Land use planning in the urban areas, except in some parts of the major metropolitan cities and the administrative zones in the district and *thana* headquarters, is virtually absent. Problems associated with increasing rural-urban migration and consequent unplanned settlements may result in slum-dwelling and deterioration of the state of water supply and sanitation.

The average density of population in eight major urban centres (functional) of the region has been estimated to be 33 person per hectare in 1991. This would increase to 43 in year 2000 and to 74 in 2015. The increased population can still be accommodated without spatial expansion in many areas if settlements change in a planned manner.

It has been estimated that 25% of land in the major urban centres taken together is used for residential purposes. Considering residential land only, there are 177 persons per hectare on an average in eight major cities of the region. The proportion of residential land, however, varies from 12% in Bhairab to as high as 52% in Sylhet. In order to maintain the 1991 level of residential land endowment, at least 33% of urban land would be required for residential purposes in those major urban centres. This proportion would be 55% of total urban land in 2015.

Compared to the 1991 situation, the urban areas in the region would have an extra population of more than four million and the total urban population would reach a level of about 6.6 million. This would create a tremendous pressure on urban land, civic amenities and the economic infrastructure. Appropriate strategies in the form of enhanced facilities need to be evolved to cope with the future situation.

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APPENDIX A TABLES

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Table A1: Distribution of Households by Main Source of Livelihood

Municipality hubblePension bubbleLand immova- bubbleOther service govt.Non- Govt. factoryLarge factorySin factorySylhet 2.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 Sylhet 2.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 1.0 0.5 0.07 0.6 Narsingdi 1.1 1.8 0.5 0.5 23.0 13.7 0.7 0.7 Bhairab 1.0 7.3 0.7 0.7 19.3 0.7 0.7 0.7 Sherpur 2.1 18.1 0.6 0.7 19.3 7.7 0.5 0.6 Kishoreganj 3.2 9.7 19.3 7.7 0.5 0.6 0.6 Methur 2.1 18.1 0.7 0.7 13.0 0.5 0.6 Kishoreganj 1.3 14.3 0.6 13.0 0.5 0.6 0.6 Methur 2.1 18.1 0.6 19.3 7.7 0.5 0.6 Habiganj 1.9 10.8 10.6 14.5 10.9 0.6 0.6 Moulvibazar 1.1 7.1 0.5 18.0 0.6 0.6 Moulvibazar 1.1 0.1 0.5 10.9 0.6 0.6 Moulvibazar 1.1 0.1 0.6 10.6 0.6 0.6 Moulvibazar 1.1 0.1 0.6 0.6 0.6 <	Percentage of households with main source of livelihood			
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Table A2: Occupational Distribution of Manual Labourer Households

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					Indu	Industry type (BSIC Code)	(BSIC C	ode)			
District	Thana	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	Total
KURIGRAM	RAJIBPUR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ROWMARI	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	SHERPUR	93	1	2	-	0	5	0	-	0	103
SHERPUR	SRBARDI	∞	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	10
	JHENAIGATI	36	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	37
	NAKHLA	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18
	NALITABARI	23	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	24
	JAMALPUR	46	4	4	2	5	7	0	2	1	71
JAMALPUR	ISLAMPUR	10	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	16
	BAKSHIGANJ	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
	DEWANGANJ	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	9

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					Indus	Industry type (BSIC Code)	(BSIC C	ode)			
District	Thana	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	Total
	NETROKONA	П	0	4	0	1	1	0	1	0	18
NETROKONA	PURBADHALA	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
	DURGAPUR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	KALMAKANDA	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
	BARHATTA	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	MOHANGANJ	6	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
	ATPARA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	KHALIAJURI	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	KENDUA	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	4
	MADAN	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	MYMENSINGH	55	10	31	19	25	4	4	30	٢	185
MYMENSINGH	PHULPUR	22	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	25
	HALUAGHAT	13	С	1	0	0	0	0	С	0	14
	GOURIPUR	∞	1	4	0	0	1	0	0	1	15
	ISHWARGANJ	5	0	5	0	0	-	0	-	0	6
	NANDAIL	2		0	0	2	1	0	0	0	9
	DHOBAURA	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	-
	GAFFARGAON	6	0	3	0	1	5	0	0	0	12

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					Indus	Industry type (BSIC Code)	(BSIC C	ode)			
District	Thana	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	Total
	KISHOREGANJ	18	5	14	0	1	3	0	0	0	41
KISHOREGANJ	HOSSAINPUR	4	0	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	6
	TARAIL	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	ITNA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	MITHAMAIN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	KARIMGANJ	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	4
	ASTAGRAM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	NIKLI	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	KATIADI	4	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	80
	PAKUNDIA	5	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
	BAJITPUR	11	I	8	0	1	5	0	0	0	26
	KULLARCHAR	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
	BHAIRAB	45	4	2	0	14	10	0	7	2	84
GAZIPUR	KAPASIA	3	0	0	0	0	∞	0	0	0	11
	KALIGANJ	5	30	2	0	0	5	0	0	0	42

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					Indu	Industry type (BSIC Code)	(BSIC C	ode)			
District	Thana	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	Total
	HABIGANJ	13	0	4	0	0	0	0	2	0	19
HABIGANJ	LAKHAI	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	MADHABPUR	10	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	13
	CHUNARUGHAT	14	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	15
		7	0	0	0	1	9	0	0	0	14
	BANIACHANG	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	AJMIRIGANJ	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	NABIGANJ	-	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
	MOULVBAZAR	13	2	4	0	-	16	0	4	0	40
MOULVIBAZAR	SRIMANGAL	38	0	3	0	2	0	0	9	0	49
	KAMALGANJ	18	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	19
	KULAURA	33	0	3	0	0	4	0	-	0	41
	RAJNAGAR	Ξ	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
	BARLEKHA	21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21

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					Indus	Industry type (BSIC Code)	(BSIC C	ode)			
District	Thana	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	Total
	SYLHET	79	29	28	10	15	33	9	22	1	223
SYLHET	BALAGANJ	I	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
	BEANIBAZAR	-	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	0	9
	FENCHUGANJ	22	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	24
	BISWANATH	3	0	9	0	0	3	0	0	0	12
	GOLAPGANJ	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	5
	ZAKIGANJ	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	-
	GOWAINGHAT	9	0	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
-	JOINTIAPUR	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
e e	KANAIGHAT	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
-	COMPANIGANI		0	0	0	0	4	0	1	0	9
	COMI VINCO	-									



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					Indu	Industry type (BSIC Code)	(BSIC C	ode)			
District	Thana	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	Total
	SUNAMGANJ	12	0	4	0	0	3	0	0	0	19
SUNAMGANJ	MADHYANAGAR	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
	TAHIRPUR	ю	0	п	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
	BISHWAMVARPUR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	DOWARABAZAR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	CHHATAK	10	0	6	0	0	4	0	1	0	24
	JAMALGANJ	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	DHARMAPASHA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	DERAI	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-
	IAGANNATHPUR	0	0	-	0	0		0	0	0	2
	A L III S	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	NARSINGDI	23	335	2	2	5	6	1	5	2	384
NARSINGDI	PALASH	4	13	4	1	5	4	0	2	0	33
	SHIBPUR	16	19	1	0	1	13	0		-	52
	MONOHARDI	m.	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	S
	BELABO	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	D A TDI TD A	L	17	v	C	C	2	0	-	0	32

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					Indu	stry type	Industry type (BSIC Code)	ode)			
District	Thana	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	Total
	BANDAR	63	44	2	0	4	3	3	16	1	136
NARAYANGANJ	SONARGAON	52	33	5	0	13	1	15	12	9	137
đi	ARAIHAZAR	7	58	4	1	2	0	1	1	0	74
	RUPGANJ	28	375	4	3	18	42	10	15	5	500
TOTAL		1006	987	215	39	120	227	40	133	28	2795
BANGLADESH		7623	5714	1804	1078	1903	2359	483	3455	518	24937

BSIC Code

31: Food, beverage and tobacco

32: Textile, wearing apparel and leather industries

33: Wood, wood product including furniture

34: Paper, paper product, printing and publishing

35: Chemicals, petroleum, coal rubber and plastic product

36: Non-metallic mineral except petroleum and coal

37: Basic metal industries38: Fabricated metal product, machinery and equipment39: Other manufacturing industries

Source: Compiled from BBS, Directory of Manufacturing Establishments 1989-90.

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14: Number of Persons Employed	
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	Thana				Indu	istry type (Industry type (BSIC Code)	()			
District	Тпапа	12	ct	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	Total
		IC	40			<	c	G	0	0	0
VIIDICEAM	RAJIBPUR	0	0	0	0	0	0		>	,	3
	POUNTADI	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	KUWMAN			00	UC.	U	696	0	11	0	3364
	SHERPUR	2339	12	70	707	2					
SHFRPUR		277	U	0	0	0	43	0	0	0	620
	SRIBARDI	110	2		<	0	C	C	0	0	551
	IHFNAIGATI	501	0	50	0	2		,			
		346	C	C	0	0	0	0	0	0	345
	NAKLA	040	>	,					c	0	717
	10 t u turan tota	206	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	D	11/
	NALITABARI	201					000	C	28	24	3941
	IAMALPUR	3194	269	47	23	84	717	>	3		
IAMALPUR		100	C	35	0	0	111	0	0	0	345
	ISLAMPUK	221	5				0		0	C	112
	BAKSHIGANI	100	0	12	0	0	0	0	>	>	
			2	35	c	C	0	0	0	0	895
	DEWANGANJ	836	74	<i>cc</i>	>	2					

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District	Thana				Indu	stry type (Industry type (BSIC Code)	e)			
		31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	Total
	NETROKONA	763	0	113	0	20	86	0	13	0	995
NETROKONA	PURBADHALA	184	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	184
	DURGAPUR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	KALMAKANDA	13	0	37	0	0	0	0	0	0	50
	BARHATTA	0	0	45	0	0	0	0	0	0	45
	MOHANGANJ	101	0	31	0	0	0	0	0	0	132
	ATPARA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	KHALIAJURI	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	KENDUA	0	23	24	0	0	200	0	0	0	247
	MADAN	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
	MYMENSINGH	1298	158	694	495	509	131	53	499	92	3929
MYMENSINGH	PHULPUR	790	0	0	0	0	199	0	0	0	989
	HALUAGHAT	231	0	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	249
	GOURIPUR	1785	10	53	0	0	62	0	0	27	1937
	ISHWARGANJ	28	0	56	0	0	22	0	12	0	118
	NANDAIL	53	21	0	0	22	30	0	0	0	126
	DHOBAURA	0	0	0	0	0	12	0	0	0	12
	GAFFARGAON	66	0	71	0	17	138	0	0	0	292

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District	Thana				Indi	Industry type (BSIC Code)	(BSIC Cod	le)			
		31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	Total
	KISHOREGANJ	610	1347	169	0	11	107	0	0	0	2244
KISHOREGANJ	HOSSAINPUR	546	0	10	0	13	244	0	0	0	813
	TARAIL	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
	ITNA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	MITHAMAIN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	KARIMGANJ	0	0	34	0	0	105	0	0	0	139
	ASTAGRAM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	NIKLI	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	KATIADI	357	0	49	0	13	0	0	0	0	419
	PAKUNDIA	1285	0	84	0	0	0	0	0	0	1369
	BAJITPUR	165	Π	87	0	12	63	0	0	0	338
	KULIARCHAR	30	0	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	99
	BHAIRAB	1262	1849	26	0	205	824	0	95	29	4290
GAZIPUR	KAPASIA	46	0	0	0	0	371	0	0	0	417
	KALIGANJ	101	3274	24	0	0	315	0	0	0	3714

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District	Thana				Indu	istry type	Industry type (BSIC Code)	le)			
		31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	Total
	HABIGANJ	241	0	60	0	0	0	0	24	0	325
HABIGANJ	LAKHAI	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	MADHABPUR	697	540	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	1255
	CHUNARUGHAT	10026	0	0	0	0	16	0	0	0	10042
	BAHUBAL	5406	13	0	0	300	1071	0	0	0	6790
	BANIACHANG	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	AJMIRIGANJ	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50
	NABIGANJ	85	0	0	0	0	93	0	0	0	178
	MOULVIBAZAR	2976	1307	92	0	31	4934	0	55	0	9395
MOULVIBAZAR	SRIMANGAL	31757	0	30	0	324	0	0	303	0	32414
	KAMALGANJ	23654	0	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	23704
	KULAURA	18281	0	37	0	0	503	0	31	0	18852
	RAJNAGAR	10785	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10785
	BARLEKHA	20917	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20917

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District	Thana				Indi	istry type	Industry type (BSIC Code)	e)			
		31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	Total
	SYLHET	1769	1821	397	154	313	3209	222	471	15	8371
SYLHET	BALAGANJ	10	0	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	30
	BEANIBAZAR	13	0	125	0	0	238	0	0	0	376
	FENCHUGANJ	1953	0	0	0	1360	0	0	10	0	3323
	BISWANATH	30	0	68	0	0	603	0	0	0	701
	GOLAPGANJ	0	0	36	0	0	231	0	0	0	267
	ZAKIGANJ	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
	GOWAINGHAT	1344	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	1354
	JOINTIAPUR	1127	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1127
	KANAIGHAT	336	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	336
	COMPANIGANJ	16	0	0	0	0	94	0	10	0	120

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District	Thana				Indu	stry type (Industry type (BSIC Code)	e)			
		31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	Total
	SUNAMGANJ	216	0	48	0	0	346	0	0	0	610
SUNAMGANJ	MADHYANAGAR	104	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	104
	TAHIRPUR	32	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	42
	BISHWAMVARPUR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
-	DOWARABAZAR	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	ö
I	CHHATAK	177	0	114	0	0	1116	0	10	0	1417
	JAMALGANJ	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	DHARMAPASHA	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	DERAI	57	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	67
	JAGANNATHPUR	0	0	13	0	0	126	0	0	0	139
	SULLA	0	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20
	NARSINGDI	301	11784	21	40	110	524	16	136	26	12958
NARSINGDI	PALASH	703	11494	71	11	3005	695	0	11	0	16050
	SHIBPUR	1285	881	14	0	46	175	0	17	500	2918
	MONOHARDI	37	0	11	0	0	47	0	0	0	95
	BELABO	0	20.	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	31
	RAIPURA	410	298	57	0	0	202	0	10	0	977

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District	Thana				Indu	Industry type (BSIC Code)	BSIC Code	e)			
		31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	Total
	BANDAR	1427	9710	413	0	64	49	66	1834	35	13598
NARAYANGANJ	SONARGAON	1107	4136	109	0	345	15	738	482	93	7025
	ARAIHAZAR	147	6163	58	12	23	0	40	10	0	6453
	RUPGANJ	755	24663	43	370	690	4793	352	506	383	32555
TOTAL		156805	79848	3793	1125	7517	23377	1487	4638	1242	279832
RANGI ADESH		615165	816603	37159	41016	102069	172059	45630	135852	13898	197945

BSIC Code

31: Food, beverage and tobacco

32: Textile, wearing apparel and leather industries
33: Wood, wood product including furniture
34: Paper, paper product, printing and publishing
35: Chemicals, petroleum, coal rubber and plastic product
36: Non-metallic mineral except petroleum and coal
37: Basic metal industries
38: Fabricated metal product, machinery and equipment
39: Other manufacturing industries

Source: Compiled from BBS, Directory of Manufacturing Establishments 1989-90.

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Table A5: Distribution of Manufacturing Establishments by Number of Persons Employed

District	Thana			Number of per	Number of persons employed		
		10-19	20-49	50-99	100-999	1000 +	Total
KURIGRAM	RAJIBPUR	0	0	0	0	0	0
	ROWMARI	0	0	0	0	0	0
	SHERPUR	67	28	2	6	0	103
SHERPUR	SRIBARDI	4	3	1	2	0	10
	JHENAIGATI	33	3	1	0	0	37
	NAKLA	10	8	0	0	0	18
	NALITABARI	4	18	2	0	0	24
	JAMALPUR	39	20	5	9	1	71
JAMALPUR	ISLAMPUR	12	2	2	0	0	16
	BAKSHIGANJ	П	2	1	0	0	4
	DEWANGANJ	4	1	0	1	0	6

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Table A5: Distribution of Manufacturing Establishments by Number of Persons Employed – (Cont'd)

Z

District	Thana		Z	umber of per	Number of persons employed		
		10-19	20-49	50-99	100-999	1000 +	Total
	NETROKONA	8	80	1	1	0	18
NETROKONA	PURBADHALA	4	1	0	1	0	9
	DURGAPUR	0	0	0	0	0	0
	KALMAKANDA	4	0	0	0	0	4
	BARHATTA	-	-	0	0	0	2
	MOHANGANJ	12	0	0	0	0	12
	ATPARA	0	0	0	0	0	0
	KHALIAJURI	0	0	0	0	0	0
	KENDUA	2	1	0	1	0	4
	MADAN	1	0	0	0	0	1
	MYMENSINGH	129	40	10	9	0	185
MYMENSINGH	PHULPUR	2	17	5	1	0	25
	HALUAGHAT	7	7	0	0	0	14
	GOURTPUR	11	2	1	0	-	15
	ISHWARGANJ	8	-	0	0	0	6
	NANDAIL	3	3	0	0	0	9
	DHOBAURA	1	0	0	0	0	-
	GAFFARGAON	5	2	0	0	0	12

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Table A5: Distribution of Manufacturing Establishments by Number of Persons Employed - (Cont³d)

Distaint	Thana		Z	lumber of per	Number of persons employed		
DBUTC		10-19	20-49	50-99	100-999	1000 +	Total
	KISHOREGANJ	27	8	2	3	1	41
KISHOREGANJ	HOSSAINPUR	.6	2	2	2	0	6
	TARAII	1	0	0	0	0	1
	ITNA	0	0	0	.0	0	0
	MITHAMAIN	0	0	0	0	0	0
	KARIMGANJ	. 6	0	0	-	0	4
	ASTAGRAM	0	0	0	0	0	0
	NIKI I	0	0	0	0	0	0
	KATIADI	2	3	2	1	0	8
	ALTINITA	9	1	0	0	1	80
	RATTPUR	25	1	0	0	0	26
	KTII IARCHAR	4	0	0	0	0	4
	BHAIRAB	54	22	1	9	1	84
CA7IDUR	KAPASIA	S	4	1	-	0	11
NO ITAND	VALICANI	23	10	5	3	-	42

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Table A5: Distribution of Manufacturing Establishments by Number of Persons Employed - (Cont'd)

L

District	Thana			Number of per	Number of persons employed		
		10-19	20-49	50-99	100-999	1000 +	Total
	IIABIGANJ	15	3	1	0	0	19
HABIGANJ	LAKHAI	0	0	0	0	0	0
	MADHABPUR	5	1	3	4	0	13
	CHUNARUGHAT	2	0	1	2	5	15
	BAHUBAL	1	2	2	9	9	14
	BANIACHANG	0	0	0	0	0	0
	AJMIRIGANJ	0	0	1	0	0	1
	NABIGANJ	0	0	2	0	0	2
	MOULVIBAZAR	16	7	3	11	3	40
MOULVIBAZAR	SRIMANGAL	13	4	1	16	15	49
	KAMALGANJ	2	I	1	0	15	19
	KULAURA	5	4	10	13	6	41
	RAJNAGAR	1		0	1	8	11
	BARLEKHA	1	1	1	9	12	21

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Table A5: Distribution of Manufacturing Establishments by Number of Persons Employed - (Cont'd)

District	Thana		2	Number of per	Number of persons employed		
		10-19	20-49	50-99	100-999	1000 +	Total
	SYLHET	122	60	28	13	0	223
SYLHET	BALAGANJ	3	0	0	0	0	3
	BEANIBAZAR	3	0	1	2	0	9
	FENCHUGANJ	13	3	3	4	1	24
	BISWANATH	6	0	0	3	0	12
	GOLAPGANJ	9	0	1	1	0	5
	ZAKIGANJ	-	0	0	0	0	1
	GOWAINGHAT	3	0	1	3	0	7
	JOINTIAPUR	2	2	0	2	0	9
	KANAIGHAT	1	0	0	1	0	2
	COMPANIGANJ	5	0	1	0	0	9

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Table A5: Distribution of Manufacturing Establishments by Number of Persons Employed – (Cont'd)

	Thana			Number of per	Number of persons employed		
		10-19	20-49	50-99	100-999	1000 +	Total
	SUNAMGANJ	11	5	1	2	0	19
SUNAMGANJ	MADHYANAGAR	6	0	0	0	0	6
	TAHIRPUR	4	0	0	0	0	4
	BISHWAMVARPUR	0	0	0	0	0	0
	DOWARABAZAR	0	0	0	0	0	0
	CHHATAK	18	ю	1	2	0	24
	JAMALGANJ	0 -	0	0	0	0	0
	DHARMAPASHA	0	0	0	0	0	0
	DERAI	0	0	1	0	0	-
	JAGANNATHPUR	1	0	0	1	0	2
	SULLA	0	0	0	0	0	0
	NARSINGDI	242	115	16	6	2	384
NARSINGDI	PALASH	6	8	3	7	9	33
	SHIBPUR	24	14	4	10	0	52
	MONOHARDI	4	1	0	0	0	5
	BELABO		1	0	0	0	2
	RAIPURA	20	7	1	4	0	32

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Table A5: Distribution of Manufacturing Establishments by Number of Persons Employed - (Cont'd)

District	Thana			Number of per	Number of persons employed		
		10-19	20-49	50-99	100-999	1000 +	Total
	BANDAR	56	46	14	18	2	136
NAKAYANGANJ	SONARGAON	59	53	16	8	I	137
	ARAIHAZAR	34	33	1	4	2	74
-	RUPGANJ	201	207	53	35	4	500
TOTAL		1444	806	216	235	94	2795

Source: Compiled from BBS, Directory of Manufacturing Establishments 1989-90.



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District	Thana	Unit	Loom	Operational loom	Monthly production (meter)
KURIGRAM	RAJIBPUR				
	ROWMARI	466	678	507	97608
	SHERPUR	146	213	81	11965
SHERPUR	SRIBARDI	2	2	1	4
	JHENAIGATI	212	222	46	1062
	NAKLA	33	44	2	609
	NALITABARI				
	JAMALPUR	157	236	79	15372.89
JAMALPUR	ISLAMPUR				
	BAKSHIGANJ				
	DEWANGANJ	9	30	18	1975
	NETROKONA	37	94	16	11903
NETROKONA	PURBADHALA	20	51	1	220
	DURGAPUR	2	26	17	799
	KALMAKANDA				
	BARHATTA				
	MOHANGANJ	1	12		
	ATPARA	1	4		
	KHALIAJURI	17	17		
	KENDUA	1	6		
	MADAN				
	MYMENSINGH	77	172	45	6155
MYMENSINGH	PHULPUR	23	48	26	1840
	HALUAGHAT	77	94	16	2205
	GOURIPUR	4	12	1	266
	ISHWARGANJ	59	66	66	21568
	NANDAIL	2	3	1	426
	DHOBAURA				
	GAFFARGAON	50	61	42	30648

Table A6: Number of Handlooms and Volume of Production



District	Thana	Unit	Loom	Operational loom	Monthly production (meter)
KISHOREGANJ	KISHOREGANJ	3	102	44	5483
	HOSSAINPUR				
	TARAIL	1	1	1	
	ITNA		_		_
	MITAMINE				
	KARIMGANJ	1	20		
	ASTAGRAM	69	172		
	NIKLI				
	KATIADI	277	598	176	26409
	PAKUNDIA	9	34	22	2760
	BAJITPUR	7	23	1	107
	KULIARCHAR	55	104	8	1245
	BHAIRAB	580	1655	681	125554
GAZIPUR	KAPASIA	108	251	51	10019
	KALIGANJ	562	2281	1437	469723
HABIGANJ	HABIGANJ				
	LAKHAI	4	9		
	MADHABPUR	1	4	4	284
	CHUNARUGHAT	267	486	266	6913
	BAHUBAL	19	33	3	18
	BANIACHONG				
	AJMIRIGANJ				
	NABIGANJ				
	MOULVIBAZAR	61	170	49	95223
MOULVIBAZAR	SRIMANGAL	251	330	205	1358
	KAMALGANJ	2544	4155	3410	92440
	KULAURA	117	188	133	3224
	RAJANAGAR				
	BARLEKHA	164	192	100	7052

Table A6: Number of Handlooms and Volume of Production — (Cont'd)

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District	Thana	Unit	Loom	Operational loom	Monthly production (meter)
	SYLHET	280	517	421	20589
SYLHET	BALAGANJ				
	BEANIBAZAR				
	FENCHUGANJ				
	BISWANATH				
	GOLAPGANJ	13	17		
	ZAKIGANJ	12	14	8	449
	GOWAINGHAT	21	40	25	1093
	JOINTIAPUR	1	2	2	167
	KANAIGHAT	13	13		
	COMPANIGANJ	72	78	77	2358
	SUNAMGANJ	11	24		
SUNAMGANJ	MADHYANAGAR				
	TAHIRPUR	1	3		
	BISHWAMVARPUR	· 21	26		
	DOWARABAZAR				
	CHHATAK	65	85	71	1178
	JAMALGANJ				
	DHARMAPASHA				
	DERAI	47	64	5	92
	JAGANNATHPUR	23	53	14	478
	SULLA				
NARSINGDI	NARSINGDI	7378	24610	20176	1392465
	PALASH	1144	3216	1880	75624
	SHIBPUR	1254	3145	2154	116000
	MONOHARDI	29	81	67	469
	BELABO	162	674	459	9169
	RAIPURA	1054 4	27945	21628	522618

Table A6: Number of Handlooms and Volume of Production — (Cont'd)

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District	Thana	Unit	Loom	Operational loom	Monthly production (meter)
	BANDAR	113	233	188	62944
NARAYANGANJ	SONARGAON	1958	5698	4787	1668839
	ARAIHAZAR	1028 0	32111	27828	13245069
	RUPGANJ	4739	12862	8985	3241098
Total	1	4467 7	12441 0	96331	40465413
Bangladesh		2124 21	51445 6	352214	88363999

Table A6: Number of Handlooms and Volume of Production - (Cont'd)

Source: BBS, Bangladesh Handloom Census 1989-90

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Table A7: Employment and Value Added in the Handloom Sector

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	Number	Number	Operational loom	l loom		Persons engaged	ngaged		Value added
District	of unit	of loom	Number	%	Male	Female	Total	% of female	(1000 1K)
Kurieram	719	1101	601	55	1453	1386	2839	49	10,347
Chernitr	393	481	130	27	134	234	368	64	1,760
Jamalpur	170	278	103	37	145	132	277	48	10,391
Netrokona	79	210	34	16	64	71	135	53	792
Mymensingh	620	1047	432	41	875	758	1633	46	8,137
Kishoregani	1002	2709	932	34	1406	1407	2813	50	10,965
Gazipur	816	3112	1905	61	3274	1933	5207	37	50,107
Habigani	291	532	273	51	67	452	519	87	299
Moulvibazar	3137	5035	3897	77	1219	5510	6729	82	20,958
Svihet	412	681	533	78	86	1012	1098	92	1696
Sunameani	168	255	90	35	53	141	194	73	516
Narsingdi	20511	59671	46364	78	72639	42510	115149	37	1,886,536
Naravangani	17231	51468	42176	82	66791	41668	108459	38	2,290,921
Total	45549	126580	97470	77	148206	97214	245420	40	4,293,425
Bangladesh	212421	514456	352214	69	571765	455642	1027407	44	10,016,043
NFRP %	21	25	28		26	21	24		43

Source: BBS, Bangladesh Handloom Census 1989-90

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		Рори	ulation	
Municipality	1961	1974	1981	1991
Sylhet	40,644	63,417	87,922	114,284
Narsingdi	31,000	57,000	81,000	100,120
Bhairab	31,750	43,702	63,563	75,747
Kishoreganj	24,033	35,605	51,472	64,676
Sherpur	24,924	35,578	48,214	63,030
Netrokona	17,010	26,460	37,455	46,203
Habiganj	12,114	16,281	25,050	42,898
Moulvibazar	6,530	11,032	16,509	35,371
Total	188,005	289,075	411,185	542,329
Bangladesh	55,222,663	76,398,000	89,912,000	109,876,977

Table A8: Municipal Population in Different Census Years

Source: BBS/UDD

Thana where the municipal city is located	Manufacturing establishment	No. of persons employed
Sylhet	Sylhet Textile Mills	976
	NBS Brick Field	500
	New Light Brick Field	350
	Surma Food, Biscuit & Bread Factory	346
	Solam Box Brick Field	152
	Khadim Tea Estate	148
	Dana Miah Brick Field	141
	Monipur Tea Garden Factory	130
	Lalmiah Brick Field	127
	Burjan Tea Estate	92
	Average	296
Narsingdi	Silpair Textile Mills	1516
	Alijan Jute Mill	1111
	United Jute Mill	720
	Jaba Textile Mills	600
	Meghna Jute Mills	597
	Chandpur Jute Mills Ltd	348
	Joil Jute Mill	153
	A. Rashid Bhuiyan Brick Field	119
	Baijuddin Weaving Factory	100
	Rahmat Ali Textile	81
	Average	535

Annex 9: Top Ten Employers in Selected Thanas

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Thana where the municipal city is located	Manufacturing establishment	No. of persons employed
Bhairab	Jabbar Jute Mill	1793
	Haji Chand Mia biri factory	411
	Enu Uddin Brick Field	181
	Kamal Miah Brick Field	156
	Binu Kazi Brick Field	121
	Joynaluddin Brick Field	118
	Meghna Industrial Complex (Brick)	103
	Ful Mia Biri factory	60
	Mojibar Rahman Chishtia Flour Mill	47
	Sabid Ali Brick Field	44
	Average	303
Sherpur	Lata biri factory	351
	M/S Idris & Co (biri)	300
	Noor Islam Brick Field	300
	Zahur Brick Field	250
	Jand Co Brick Field	200
	Halim Brick Field	150
	I & Co Brick Field	62
	Ziar rice & flour mill	50
	Auto Rice Mill	49
	Nabinagar Rice & Flour Mill	47
	Average	176

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Thana where the municipal city is located	Manufacturing establishment	No. of persons employed
Kishoreganj	Kishoreganj Textile Mills	1163
	Subodh Biri factory	150
	Nayan biri factory	150
	Joy Textile Mill	51
	Kishoreganj Rice Mill	43
	Raj lozenge factory	40
	Abdul Shahid Biscuit factory	33
	Shapla Lozenge Factory	28
	M.M.K. Brick Field	28
	Delwar Hossain Bamboo Furniture	22
	Average	171
Netrokona	Binod biri factory	553
	Hossain Ali Brick Field	86
	Multipurpose Industry	45
	Bacchu Mia Biri Factory	40
	Diamond Ice Cream	31
	Inshar Rice Mill	23
	Moti Biri factory	23
	Bittahin Mohila Society Ltd	21
	Mojibar Rahman Soap factory	20
	Panna Rice Mill	15
	Average	86

Annex 9: Top Ten Employers in Selected Thanas – (Cont'd)

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Thana where the municipal city is located	Manufacturing establishment	No. of persons employed
Moulvibazar	Hamidia Tea Estate	1124
	Moulvi Textile Mills	1116
	Md. Mohshin Ali Brick Field	700
	Sazadur Rahman Brick Field	650
	Alhaj M. Abdullah Brick Field	600
	Md. Israil Brick Field	450
	Haji Mobarak Ali Brick Field	300
	M.S. Textile mill ltd	191
	M.R. Brick field	157
	Md. Imanuddin Brick Field	87
	Average	538
Habiganj	Dinurpur Rice Mill	51
	Habiganj Automatic Rice Mill	26
	Modern Bakery	21
	Nurpur Rice & Atta Industries	20
	Khetramohan Sutradhar Wooden Furniture	19
	Bhai Bhai Biscuit Factory	18
	Zakir Hossain Bamboo Furniture	16
	Bread & Biscuit factory	15
	Mir Md. Abdul Kadir Wooden Furniture	14
	Rahmania Bread & Biscuit factory	12
	Average	21

Annex 9: Top Ten Employers in Selected Thanas - (Cont'd)

Source: Compiled from BBS, Directory of Manufacturing Establishments 1989-90.

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Table A10: Distribution of Large Manufacturing Establishments by Industry Type

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Thana where the					Industry type				
located	Brick	Food processing	Cotton textile	Biri	Jute	Tea	Timber	Chemical	Total
Sylhet	5	-	1			3			10
Moulvibazar	7		2			1			10
Habiganj		7					ę		10
Narsingdi	1		4		5				10
Bhairab	9	1		2	1				10
Kishoreganj	1	4	2	2			1		10
Netrokona	1	5		3				-	10
Sherpur	5	3		2					10
Total	26	21	9	6	9	4	4	1	80
Percentage	33	26	11	Н	8	5	5		100

Source: Compiled from BBS, Directory of Manufacturing Establishments 1989-90.

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