CHAPTER III
SPATIAL PATTERN AND PROCESSES OF SLUM FORMATION IN THE STUDY AREA.

3.1. Identifications of slums:

Assam as a whole had an urban population of 22.23 lakhs (10.97 percent) in 1991 which increased to 32.93 lakhs (12.72 percent) in 2001. The slum population for the same period was 4.5 lakhs in 1991 and increased to 9.36 in 2001. According to the town and country planning department total number of identified slums in 28 towns have been 205 based on surveys through urban local bodies. As per 2001 total slum pockets under 81 urban local bodies distributed across the state are 829 slum pockets out of which 64 pockets are distributed in seven towns of Western Assam which is 8 percent of state’s total slum pocket that have been identified and intensive study carried out for this work.

Western Assam has 5.84 lakhs of urban population out of which 97396 thousand constitute slum population (2001). The total slum population identified by the urban local bodies and municipal boards are distributed in the 64 slum pockets. These slum pockets comprised of 1721 households in Dhubri, 834 in Kokrajhar, 1010 in Bongaigaon, 1019 in Goalpara, 479 in Barpeta, 450 in Barpeta Road and 840 in Nalbari. All these are found in different wards of the towns.

Bigger cities do have larger slum population as in Guwahati. But the growth of slum population is also directly related to the growth of the towns. It, must be kept in mind that the Brahmaputra valley has long been known because of the fertile soil. It grows important crops like jute, oil seeds, sugarcane, pulses etc which provide the economic base to the towns of the valley. Most of the old towns are standing either on the bank of the river Brahmaputra or their tributaries. Western Assam, constituted originally of Goalpara and Kamrup district but it was divided into Dhubri, Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon, Goalpara, Barpeta and Nalbari districts in the subsequent years. Their respective head quarters in these seven towns are Dhubri, Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon, Goalpara, Barpeta and Nalbari, that were in existence as small towns, were
connected and declared district head quarters. With the birth of new districts there has been a
growth in services such as administrative functions, extended and new railway lines, medical
services, banks, institutions etc and these in due course attracted people from neighbouring
villages and smaller towns who felt there were greener pastures that were available with the
growing services in the newly established districts.

If we consider the seven towns in the Western part of Assam within the old districts
of Goalpara and Kamrup, we do see that since 1872 the growth of towns has been maximum in
these two districts. In 1971, Goalpara had 12 and Kamrup had 17 towns. But in 2001, undivided
Goalpara had 20 and Kamrup had 18 towns. Many of these towns have been declared
municipalities and town committees or urban local bodies, but have only few urban
characteristics.

In Western Assam, its small and old towns were exposed to the influence of both
indigenous and colonial growth prior to the independance and of the development of growth
during the period of post independance. Most of the towns had a natural evolution, and are
little affected by conscious development plans and programmes.

During the decade 1991-2001 three towns Bongaigaon, Barpeta Road and Nalbari
developed from commercial point of view. Hence these towns drew large number of people
that could not provide adequate housing or civic amenities -- thereby leading to the deplorable
living conditions and formation of slums.

Out of a total of 64 slum pockets that have been identified for this particular work,
the number of households covered out of 6353 households distributed in the 7 towns has been
645 an average of 10 percent. The slums identified are inhabited by poor people and are
concentrated in slums which can denote ‘Shell of Languishing Urban Masses’. These pockets
in the identified towns have interesting features in terms of the people who constitute it.
Since all the seven towns donot have very large industries or anything much to absorb the
large scale influx of people, but what is more interesting to note is that most of the people
living in these slums are actually rendering their services to the people in the towns outside
their designated pockets. In other words, absence of this class of people will make certain
services unavailable or costly for the present users. Identifying these pockets of various service providers will enable us to view things from both sides of the fence. (Map 3.1.1)

3.2. Distribution Pattern of Slums:

A glimpse of the Western part of Assam in a map, from Nalbari district in the east to Dhubri on the west clearly shows the vertible maze of rivers that flow down from the foot hills of the Himalayas. Each of the seven towns where the sixty four slum pockets are located are either situated near a river or in a break of bulk point. (Map 3.2.1)

The distribution of slum areas within the seven towns of Dhubri, Kokrajhar, Bongaigoan, Goalpara, Barpeta Road, Barpeta town and Nalbari, tends to be socially isolated from other, partly by choice and partly by location. It is the area of lowest status and is known to them. Their link with the rest of the community is their identification with the labour market, but there may be an additional link through politics.

Dhubri, which was Goalpara district's headquarter in 1879 had its first phase of growth. Subsequently construction of railway tract between Dhubri and Amingaon in 1909-1910 and the establishment of the match factory in 1925 boosted trade and commerce that brought along with it more and more people. The administrative areas cover the north eastern part of the town along the Brahmaputra river. The main business area is centered on either side by Netaji Subhash Road and the area between the old Grave yard and the R.K.Mission Road. There is only one industrial area on the west along the old steamer ghat road. The roads are narrow and dirty. The town has a congested appearance.

There are fifteen slum pockets in the town comprising of 1721 households out of which 155 has been the unit of observation. The largest is found in the western side of the town close to the river Brahmaputra by the name of Manpatti and close to its eastern side is Baluchar which is an extremely flood prone area. Both of them are located within ward no. 5 and 3 respectively. Rest thirteen are distributed in all other wards. South of the two pockets is a char area. Slum and slum like formations exist in the major areas of the town. Statistics tell us that as high as 13.93% of the urban population live in the slum areas. The pattern of slum
distribution is not clustered in one pocket but spread throughout the town as shown in Table 3.2.1.

**Table 3.2.1 Distribution of Urban and Slum Population of Western Assam.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Urban population</th>
<th>Slum population H.Q.</th>
<th>Percentage of Slum Population H.Q.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Dhubri</td>
<td>190546</td>
<td>26487</td>
<td>13.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kokrajhar</td>
<td>63632</td>
<td>5653</td>
<td>8.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Goalpara</td>
<td>67289</td>
<td>6494</td>
<td>9.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bongaigaon</td>
<td>110287</td>
<td>7131</td>
<td>6.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Barpeta</td>
<td>125140</td>
<td>6347</td>
<td>5.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Naibari</td>
<td>27478</td>
<td>6595</td>
<td>24.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Assam Statistical Hand Book 2002 and T.P.O.2000

Physical distribution speaks one aspect but the more important point is who are distributed in these pockets and why are they there that sustains them in a situation which is deplorable, unhealthy and neglected by the public services for sanitation.

The people who constitute the slum pockets comprise of immigrant population from Bangladesh (22%) followed by Bihar (19%) and Uttar Pradesh (3%). But the maximum percentage (51%) of people hails from other parts of the district itself. Most of these people have moved into the town in search of some livelihood. During the 1980’s and 1990’s, number of brick industries were set up and people came in search of work into the district, some of which moved to the town. The other reason for people to move to Dhubri, as found in the course of the survey, was that the Bodoland movement had displaced people from the disturbed areas and they came here to re-establish themselves.

Kokrajhar town which has a municipal board is an important town politically and commercially. It is located in the north east back of Gaurang which is a tributary of the river Brahmaputra. Today it is the headquarter of Bodo Territorial Council. The town has ten slum pockets out of which five pockets are distributed along the periphery of the town in ward number 9, 3, 8 and 10 and four in the centre in ward number 2, 4, 6, 7 and another in between on the south western side in ward number 5. Most of the land, where the slums are located belong to the people. Out of the ten slum pockets Gaurnagar in ward number 1 on the extreme west side has the highest population of 960 persons with 71 households. The slums of Kokrajhar unlike the other pockets are relatively homogenous in terms of religion and
language. Second generation migrants from West Bengal, Bihar and Bangladesh too seem to constitute a sizable population. The migrants that came from other states and also from other countries like Nepal and Bangladesh came mainly for work, as they saw number of opportunities for self employment. Due to the Bodo movement people in rural areas felt insecure and most of them moved from rural areas like Serphangguri, Dottoma, Sakti Ashrom to Kokrajhar for security reasons. After the closure of the hydro electrical power project of Salakati in 1988, some labourers came and lived in the slums in search of shelter and livelihood. The distribution pattern within the pockets display typical characteristics in terms of congestion and poor housing structure.

Bongaigoan was known more as a railway junction than anything else. Prior to the extension of the railway broad gauge line to Dibrugarh, all passengers and goods had to be off loaded at Bongaigaon for their different destinations, only to move on through different modes of communication. This town with eleven pockets of slums distributed in eleven wards, out of which two large ones are in the central part along the railway track. Four smaller pockets are distributed in ward number 8, 9, 10 and 11 north of the railway line scattered from west to east but closer to the railway track. Other five of them are towards the south east and south west spread over in ward number 6, 4, 2, 1, 3, 5 and 7. Over the last decades, 1971-91 and 1991-2001 it experienced highest growth rate of 156.38 and 70 respectively. During this period there has been an increase in industrial as well as commercial development in the town, which attracted a large number of immigrant population and migrants from rural and urban areas. These people settled in most of these slums. Slum population constituted 7131 person under the municipal board. People comprise of Bangladeshis, Nepalees, Biharies, Bengali and from the Hindi speaking belt. The establishment of railway workshop in Bongaigaon in the year 1970 and the Bongaigaon Refinery and Petrochemical Ltd in 1972 followed by the construction of Naranarayan Setu connecting Goalpara town and Jogighopa in 1998 all contributed to the influx of people especially from the lower echelons of society. Added to this were the floods and river erosion in the neighbouring areas of the district that compelled people to move to towns for better livelihood and work opportunities.

Goalpara town, which is linear in shape is on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra
bordering Meghalaya. The town has ten identified slum pockets with 1019 households and a density of 4859 person per sq. km. With the new bridge Naranarayan setu it is being linked with the northern bank through road and rail giving an impetus to mobility. These slums are distributed in an uneven manner. Out of the ten pockets seven large ones are located in the northern part of the town in ward number 5, 6, 1, 4, 3 and 2 and only two on the extreme south in ward number 1 and 9 on the western end the other in the eastern end respectively. The population in Kalibari slum pocket close to the river Brahmaputra has the highest density with a mixed population of 70 percent Hindu and 30 percent Muslim. This is primarily because the river erosion are making many of them landless and they tend to squeeze in more into an already over crowded pockets. It is seen that the population constituting the slums comprised of people from Bangladesh of Mymensingh and Sylhet district particularly after partition and in 1972 after the Bangladesh war of liberation. Numerous people moved into the town particularly in the year 1984, 1988, 1990, 1994 due to flood and river erosion. An interesting pattern seen in the slums of Goalpara is the first generation dwellers, who tend to come here due to natural calamities. Goalpara being an old town that had plenty of timber and timber products. But with the Government ban on forest produce many people were out of jobs. This itself contributed to a large extent of displacement of people.

Barpeta Road town is an important commercial town of Barpeta district which is located on the north of Barpeta town at a distance of 24 km. from it, and on the bank of river Mora Manah near the Manas wild life sanctuary. This is a small town with an urban population of 35,281 as per 2001 census, which is rapidly rising due to its communication links. North eastern railway line divides the town as it passes through the heart of the town, whereas the National Highway No. 31 passes through the fringe area of the town. The western side have together provided good road linkage resulting in the mushroom growth of various types of service, shop and other communication activities. The rapid development of service and ancilliary activities of fringes of the Municipal boundary is in a continuous linear pattern together with the bursting of economic and commercial activities, move so its proximity to the Manas sanctuary and Barpeta town.

This town is having only 4 slum pockets of which two are located near the railway
station in ward number 1 and 2 and other two in the outskirts of the town in ward number 4 and 3 close to the National highway 31. The total population of all the slums of Barpeta Road is 7,468. Out of 4 slum pockets Sanjoy nagar on the extreme northern side located in ward 4 has the largest area but the slum pocket Saktinagar located in ward 3 on the western side of the town near railway line has the highest population of 2,221 persons per sq. km, where 80 percent people are muslims and more than 50 percent people speak Bengali.

The Barpeta town at present is serving as a headquarter of the Barpeta district. It is surrounded by green paddy fields. The Barpeta town is located in a low lying area, intercepted by river Chowlkhowa and Bhelengi, the tributaries of the Brahmaputra flowing from north east to south west. This is a small town with population of 41,175 as per 2001 census, which is rapidly rising due to growth of various administrative office and river erosion in the surrounding areas. There is rapid development of services and ancillary activities at the fringe of the municipal boundary which is in a continuous linear pattern together with other economic and commercial activities. The survey reveals that all the wholesale business houses and big commercial establishments are located in this town. The commercial activities like biscuit factory, betal nut processing, ice factory are rapidly growing with a promising prospect. The expansion and multiplication of trade and commerce has inflated the population which is more than the figure of 1971. The present population has increased over the years and as a result slum pockets have developed over certain patches of town land. There are six numbers of slum pockets which have been identified by Town and Country Planning Department within Barpeta municipal area.

Out of six slum pockets of Barpeta town two are located at the southern side of the town in ward number 11, 12 and 4. Other four are scattered of which Daspara is isolated at north west direction of the town and Gharamarahati having highest slum population of 535 is located in the eastern side of the town in ward number 1.

Nalbari town is the district headquarter of Nalbari district. The Municipal area of the town is 5 sq. km with a population of 23177 (as per 2001 census). It is functionally a commercial town with National Highway 37 and the railway line passing through Nalbari
town. It is connected with various interior places in northern side like - Barama, Tamulpur, Masalpur and from the southern side it is connected with places like - Mukalmua, Morrowa, Sarthebari, Samata. So people from such backward places come to this town because of many reasons particularly for education, treatment, for marketing various agricultural products. It is a functional commercial town because various goods and materials are produced in this town. Nalbari has a fame in production of bamboo-cane materials. Besides this is a good wholesale market place for the betelnut, rice and coconut. Various mills or small industries also affecting the commercial activity of the town which is having mustard oil mill, rice mill and the like.

Nalbari town has much importance commercially from earlier time and peoples of this district were found to do various types of business in different places from the period of British. As it is located near the regional metropolitan city of North east India and capital of Assam i.e. Guwahati at a distance of 70 km, it has much importance from both economic, administrative or commercial point of view. For all these reasons population of the district including slum population seem to increase with every decade.

Nalbari town is located at the western side of Pagladia a tributary of the Brahmaputra and at the northern side of the National Highway 31. The railway line is transversing through the core area of the town. Nalbari town is having eight slum pockets of which five are located near railway lines in ward number 1, 2, 4 and 8 and other 3 are scattered in the southern side of the town in ward number 3, 5, 6, 7. Of all these slum pockets Dalgobinda is the largest which is located in the northern side of the town in ward number 3 having slum population of 1,028.

3.3. Factors affecting the distribution of slums:

The slums are distributed in various localities of the 7 towns of Western Assam, where various factors determine this pattern of distribution. There is no single factor but a combination of physical attributes and variation in regard to the manifestation of each one of the physical attributes are responsible. The pattern differ in terms of both physical as well as social. Universally, there are some common factors that do determine flow of people and affect distribution of slums such as rural poverty, unemployment, better
opportunities and amenities in cities and urban centres that lead to increasing pressure on physical and social resources. The same is also true in the case of Assam slums. But the towns in Western Assam are all towns, that have had natural growth and in the process have extended municipal boundaries in most cases. Their rural hang over continues to dominate and in the process of transition assumes the form of urban slums where cheap rents attract low income groups to move into these pockets and look for jobs and hence over crowding deteriorates the residential environment. Another major factor that affects the distribution of slums in Western Assam is availability of land, where one can settle even if temporarily and the other is the services one can render by choice or by chance. Coming specifically to the slum pocket spread over in the seven towns, specific questions were put to the slum dwellers to understand the reasons for their selection of a particular pocket to settle where they intended to reside. The reasons were many and are as follows.

- availability of government and railway land for construction of huts
- entry into existing slums was easy
- cheaper house rent
- closer to work place
- invited by kith and kin to live with them

It has been seen that there are plenty of open space in the periphery of the towns near railway tracks, or wherever there are embankments and forest land they are occupied by people who settle down in search of some form of livelihood. The marshylands near the towns close to rivers and low lands are also occupied by people who can ill afford a living.

In Dhubri town slums are located in different types of land from railway, forest and marshy. It is seen that the abandoned railway line running from Fakiragram to Dhubri has been encroached by four pockets of slum dwellers. They are Karo factory, Alta Road, Santinagar and Harizon colony. Out of 155 household it has been found that 75 percent of
the people lived in their own land, 24 percent on rented premises and only 1 percent occupied government land. Although 75 percent claim to own the land where they reside, but records show that originally the land was encroached and occupied. River banks were also occupied. One such being Gowalapatti in ward number 1, Bin patti in ward number 4, located in the charland, east of the town. Two pockets have developed in the low lying marshy area near the town in ward number 11 and 12. The most dominant factor affecting distribution of slums in Dhubri town is the accessibility to free and cheap land and house.

In Kokrajhar, slums seem to crop up in various types of land. Durgabari, College Road, and Hatimatha are the slums which are located in forest land. On the bank of river Gaurang, slums are seen to grow they are Garnagar, Shantinagar and Bhatgaon. Station Road is a slum which is located in railway land. Out of 100 surveyed households of Kokrajhar slum pockets 75 percent live in their own land, 24 percent in rented land and remaining 1 percent in government land.

In Bongaigoan town also, slums are located in various land types. Railway lands are also occupied by two pockets of slums dwellers. These are Station Road and Sankar Dev Colony. Bhakra para, Barpara, Bhakripita are the slums that are located in the buildup area at the outskirts of the town. In case of slums of Bongaigaon town it has been seen that 58 percent of slum dwellers live in their own land, 42 percent in rented land and there is no government land as mentioned by the dwellers.

In Goalpara town slums are seen mostly in forest land such as Salbari, Pitbari, and Chandaria Pathar. Kalibari is a slum which is located on the embankment of the river Brahmaputra, north of the town. On the bank of the river and outskirts of the town is Karbala slum. In the marshy places, particularly occupying Hasila Beel in the heart of the town is the slum of Kishmotpur. Galipara and 2 no Colony are located in open marshy places. In this town out of 100 surveyed households 27 percent live in own land, 7 percent in rented land and 56 percent in government land.

In Barpeta Road out of four slum pockets two are located near railway lines. They
are Railway colony and Gharamarahati. One slum pocket of Barpeta Road is in south west of the town located in wetland area. In Barpeta Road out of 40 surveyed households 25 percent live on own land, 15 percent on rented land and 60 percent on government railway land.

In Barpeta slums are mostly located in wetlands. Here out of six slums three are located in wetlands. These are Rongpurhati, Ganak kuchi and Dohati. On the bank of the river Bhelengi and at the eastern side of the Barpeta town it is the slum of Gharamarahati. The slum Daspara is located at the bank of Chowlkhowa river. Here out of 60 surveyed households all live in their own land.

In Nalbari town slums are located in different types of land. It is seen that railway lands are occupied by slum dwellers. These are Dalgobinda, Fakirtala, Pushpakpur and Bhakatpara. The slum named Janopar is located at the bank of a stream of the river Pagaldia. In Nalbari town out of 80 surveyed households 51 percent are in own land, 45 percent in rented land and 4 percent live in government land.

Besides the role of availability of open space entry into slum being easy also affects the distribution of slums. People from various places could come and establish because of uniformity of culture among them. The quality of houses being poor the rent of such type of houses is low. So people coming to the towns for doing low income work, preferred low rented houses of the slums to live in. This again becomes more advantageous for some being near to their work place. Old slum dwellers often seem to invite their kins or friends of their native places to do any job for better means of livelihood.

3.4 Process of slum formation:

The migration of rural population to the town is due to the pull exerted by higher average income and job opportunities, better housing and health conditions, better education for their children. At the same time accelerated pace of urbanization is faced with an acute shortage of housing and other civic amenities in the city. A large portion of the population which falls in low income bracket has no alternative but to live in improvised shelters which are devoid of even minimal civic facilities. These areas are known as slums which are scattered all over the town and more or less resemble villages.
Various factors are seen to effect the processes of slum formation in the towns of Western Assam like flooding, river erosion, search of job or better means of livelihood. Out of all the 645 households in 7 towns of Western Assam, 8.2 percent of the people came for job, 29.19 percent as daily labourer, 6.8 percent migration took place because they were invited or lured by their relatives and friends.

There are three categories of people living in the slums of Western Assam area. Firstly, those who left their native villages on their own accord, secondly those who were forced to leave on account of flooding or river erosion and thirdly, those who have been living in the slum through generations such as in Dhubri town.

Migration of individual members of households in search of more adequate livelihood has been going on for many decades. Thus slum formation due to migration take place during normal times and also during and after natural calamities also.

Most of the slum dwellers of Dhubri town are found to be migrants. From the total of 155 households surveyed 56 percent were migrants, out of 35 percent of slums are of first generation. Here more than 46 percent of the migrants come for labour, 40.6 percent reported to have come in search of jobs and remaining 14.1 percent of the migrants come due to natural calamities and political disturbances.

Migration has been a major component in the demographic profile of Dhubri town slum dwellers. The highest percentage of migrants comes from various localities of the district of Dhubri other than Dhubri town. Inflow of population from other district is not so prominent (only 3 percent). While the inflow of population from outside the state of Assam but within India is almost the same (24 percent) as inflow from outside the country (22 percent). This 22 percent of people which comes from outside the country is solely from Bangladesh. Political disturbances, search for employment have largely been responsible for migration from outside the country. But it is primarily economic pull that causes migration from within the country. The relatively poorer state like Bihar have accounted for nearly as much migration (19 percent) as from Bangladesh (22 percent).
Thus the analysis depicts that migration to Dhubri town has been the result of the push factor from relatively poorer areas rather than pull factor. As Dhubri gradually become an important centre for wholesale trade as well as many other business, it attracts people. Moreover being the district head quarter of newly formed Dhubri district people from poorer areas of other districts, other states and adjoining Bangladesh come to Dhubri town is search of jobs. But the town is not sufficiently well off in terms of infrastructures to accomodate the migrants. The migrants take shelter wherever they could get. Without growing and sustaining economic development, the slum dwellers of Dhubri town could neither raise their level of income above the poverty line nor improve their surroundings. They perform various low wage jobs like - carpenter, daily labourer, rickshaw puller, fish seller, sweeper, driver. In the slums, at Kokrajhar town there were more family migration from the interior of the district to the slums of the town. In conformity with these characteristics of slums in any other town Kokrajhar slums also have a large percentage of migrant population (47 percent).

But in five out of ten slums the migrant household are much above the average and constitute 50 to 100 percent of total households. Migrant from the adjacent state of west Bengal, Bihar and from neighbouring country Bangladesh constitute a sizeable section of the migrant population. Most of these migrants have settled here for a long time as the average occupancy generation is second generation.

The reason for migration as mentioned by the respondents was divided. The factors like family movement, search for employment or economic reason had pushed them to the town. Nearly 41 percent migrant household specified employment prospects as the reason for coming to the town. Out of 100 surveyed households 76 percent are self employed which include - small business, rickshaw puller, labourer.

Besides non migrant households the slums of Bongaigaon have a substantial population of immigrants. On an average immigrant households constitute 79 percent of the total surveyed households. The slums of Sankardev Colony, Station Road , Bhakripita, Old colony 1, Old colony 2, Bakrapara, Netajinagar have highest percent of immigrant
households. The ongoing process of economic development in the town is a major pull factor for immigrants as 63 percent of slum dwellers reported the search for job (labour) as the main reason for their coming to Bongaigaon. Majority of percentage of slum dwellers of Bongaigaon town are self employed and engaged as rickshaw puller, railway cooli, hawker, labourer, sweeper, driver, electrician, shoe maker, and rendering similar services.

Particularly in recent years the slums have received a continuous flow of migrants, since nearly half of the migrant households have been staying here for less than ten years. Intra-district migration mainly from rural areas is the predominant stream followed by intra district migration within the state while inter-state migration is almost negligible. In fact the concentration of immigrants in the slums is to a greater extent based on a network of primary affinity of dialect region, village, caste of kin and the like. It has particularly enabled the rural migrants coming from small village communities to become acculturated in the complex and diversified environment of the town. However, unlike other bigger cities and metropolises, Bongaigaon slums are not inhabited on the basis of regional affiliation. Since non-migrants and migrants are mostly from the same region and share similar cultural values.

Majority of slums of Goalpara have residents migrated from nearby villages of Goalpara district, that is 65 percent peoples from nearby villages came to Goalpara town due to many factors like river erosion, flooding, in search of attractive work search for livelihood and many others such problems.

Second group of migrants came from districts outside Goalpara district in search of job due to natural calamities etc. The percentage being 25 only. People of outside state is negligible. But they worked as sweeper, shoe-makers, barbar.

Most of the slum dwellers are rural migrants having own social polarities. Nearly all families have come from different villages of the same district of Barpeta or from nearby district Bongaigaon, Nalbari or few from outside the state of Assam from West Bengal and Bihar.
The survey shows that in slum pocket Karbala in ward number five all the dwellers were from Bengal and Bihar. In the slum pocket Salbari, 40 percent were from West Bengal and 20 percent from Bihar. In the slum pocket Pitbari and 2 No. Colony, 80 percent of slum dwellers came from U.P. and hundred percentage from nearby district of Barpeta respectively. In Goalpara town majority of slum dwellers are engaged in self occupation which includes different works like small business, rickshaw puller, fishseller, driver, sweeper, shoe-maker and carpenter.

More important is the span of stay of slum dwellers in Barpeta Road. It may be mentioned that 70 percent of slum dwellers living here is of second generation. Those living only for first generation, are only 20 percent and 10 percent only of third generation. It is seen that 100 percent of slum dwellers had come as labourers involving heavy manual labour or as daily wage earners including hand cart puller, railway cooli or general labourer.

Most of the slum dwellers of Barpeta town are original people belonging to the fourth generation where inter district migration seem to occur, which aids in the process of slum formation. Migration from out side the district is not seen at all.

Major percentage of slum dwellers of Nalbari town are of second generation, comprising 36 percent followed by third generation settlers and first generation and finally the fourth generation people comprising only 14 percent. Thus it can be said that the town expanded in a short period of time, considering the high percentage of fairly new settlers, in this way spatio-temporal expansion occur. This is called as dynamics of urban area formation. As these slums are also integrated and form part of urban areas, so there is increased slums and slum population contributing to the dynamics of slum formation. Here sizable proportion (90 percent) of the working population in slum are self employed working as fish seller, daily labourer, working in small pan shops or tea stalls, goldsmith, tailor, carpenter, electrician etc.

We have found that before migration the economic position of the immigrants in Nalbari town slums was miserable as told by themselves at their native places. And the migration is generally ascribed to their poverty which is a multidimensional phenomenon with social dimension caused by age old deprivation.
Thus it is seen in the slums of Nalbari town that 55 percent people come from different places of the district and particular village areas like - Dhamdhama, Barama, Malikuchi. Outside the district, 37.5 percent are from Kamrup, Darrang, Barpeta and few, 7.5 percent comes from outside the state like West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh.

Maximum peoples of the slums of Nalbari came to serve as labourers (66 percent). Remaining percentage came due to reasons like specific job and for relatives luring them. In the beginning the newly migrated people come in search of labour but gradually they settle in the slum areas permanently. Later on they perform various income generating activities like small business, rickshaw puller, hand cart pullers, goldsmith etc. Some came to do fourth grade jobs, more over some came to their kins and ultimately settled permanently.

It is clear from the research finding that the process leading to slum formation is based both in the demand and supply chain of service and rendering service by default.
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