

Migration of Matua Community from Bangladesh: A Microlevel Case Study from West Bengal, India

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ABSTRACT

In the history of migration in South and South East Asia, the great exodus of 1947 and 1971 due to the outcome of the nation-building process of the Indian sub-continent were the most gigantic episodes with respect to spatial, temporal, and post-traumatic experience. It created millions of homeless and jobless refugees who are still suffering from identity crises and stress through decolonization. Although some of them were ascendant groups and became decision-making authorities in their own ancestral habitats before decolonization. This paper tries to identify the migration scenario of some sections of Namasudra, a lower caste group that emerged as a dominant group as an outcome of westernization in the colonial period in Eastern areas of undivided Bengal. Hence, the Matua community was selected for this study. It is one of the low-caste groups, formed as a distinct religious practice in the undivided Bengal and consolidated in the colonial period but after partition became a refugee for India. Two villages were selected, i.e. A1 and A2 for the primary survey. The study reveals that in both the villages (A1 & A2) migration of Matua families continued till the previous decade of the twenty-first century whereas, in both villages, more than 80 percent of Matua families arrived after 1971. Thus, from the nationality perspective, those were illegal immigrants in India.

Keywords: Matua Community, Refugee Rehabilitation, Migration, Illegal-immigrants

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Introduction

The demographic mobility in the South Asian subcontinent for a long time had largely been uncontrolled. Hence, Bengal (including the Assam valley) Nepal and Sri Lanka have a long history of migration where people came from different regions in the colonial period (Elahi and Sultana, 1985). The reasons for the migration were socio-economical, environmental, and political (Gardner and Osella, 2003).

India has been a part of some of the largest migration movements. During 1947-1948, nearly 15 million Muslim and Hindu refugees migrated between India and Pakistan; about 1 million Burmese Indians migrated between 1948 and 1965. During the Indo-Pak War in 1971, around 10 million people fled from East Pakistan (Bangladesh) to India; in 1981 about 0.1 million Chakmas fled from Bangladesh to India (Samāddāra, 1999). Among these, migration between East and West Pakistan (after 1947) and Bangladesh (after 1971) were the worst refugee crisis in the history of migration and one of the largest human movement in the recent past (UNHCR, 2000).

Considering the Dalit perspective, a firm difference between the migration from the Eastern border and the Western border of India (Butalia, 1998) existed. Among the refugees of the two borders, spatio-temporal variation along with caste and class differences was observed (Bharadwaj et al., 2008). But less attention has been drawn to the Eastern region (Kudaisya, 2007). According to the 2001 Migration D-Series Report (*D-02: Migrants Classified by Place of Last Residence*), 51,55,423 people residing in India had their last residence outside of India, of which 59.83 percent (30,84,826 persons) were from Bangladesh (Census of India, 2001). Among the total number of people residing in India but born outside the country, 41.96 percent were of Bangladeshi origin. According to the by Place of Birth data of Census 2011, out of the total number of Bangladeshi migrant 83.201 percent residing in West Bengal, 9.35 percent in Tripura, 2.78 percent in Assam, 1.03 percent in Odisha and remaining percentage in other states of country. In West Bengal migrants were primarily concentrated in North 24 Parganas, Nadia and Jalpaiguri districts (Bhattacharya, 2014).

In this context, it is essential to know that whether this migration process is still on going? Some scholars feel that migration is still going on. According to Ghosh, from 1974 to 1996 everyday 475 Hindu's departed from East Bengal (Ghosh, 2016). According to Chowdhury (Chowdhury, 2002) the said number could be 500 people in 1998. As per the 2011 Census of Bangladesh (*Table C-13: Distribution of Population by Religion, Residence and Community*), in the first decades of twenty-first century, the Hindu population in Bangladesh increased from 19percent to 22 percent (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2011). Thus, it can be inferred that the Hindu population of Bangladesh did not migrate in large numbers. The recent scenario, however, has not been explicitly addressed. Therefore, the research question of this study is: How is the migration of Bangladeshis to West Bengal

currently unfolding, and if ongoing, what are the latest trends? Hence, this study aims to uncover the contemporary immigration patterns in the North 24 Parganas district of West Bengal originating from Bangladesh.

Decolonization, Rupture the Habitat, Displacement and Migration: A Historical Review

In Bengal, the process of refugee movements and rehabilitation differs from that in Punjab, where a large population was displaced within a very short span of time (Talbot, 2011), whereas in West Bengal, it occurred gradually and steadily. They were primarily settled in the rehabilitation camps and got compensation and settled easily after a few days of crossing the border (Rao, 1967). Bengal on the other hand, witnessed a prolonged, slow but steady refugee influx, where rehabilitation was inadequate. The situation was so worse that the refugees who came to Kolkata immediately after partition occupied "every tiny piece of vacant land that they could find, whether on pavements or the 'set-asides' along the runways of airfields, in empty houses, on snake infested marsh and scrubland and even on the unsanitary verges of sewers and railway tracks" (Chatterji 2007:141–143). During the initial wave of immigration in 1947–1948, the educated middle class and wealthy upper caste Hindus were dominated (Bandyopadhyay, 1997), from the caste perspective they were Brahman, Kayastha and Baidya settled around the metropolitan Kolkata (Calcutta) (Sen, 2018). By 1 June 1948, 1,100,000 Hindus who had migrated from the east about 50 percent (350,000 people) were urban Bhadrak, 31.81 percent (550,000 people) were rural Hindu's and the rest were businessmen (Pakrasi, 1971). Among them, there were some Namasudraⁱ Middle class also who were landowners or in government service and could manage to exchange or sell their property. The second wave of migration started after the Barisal riots in April 1950 and continued till 1957 when almost 2.1 million Namasudra peasants moved from East Bengal to West Bengal (Chatterji, 2007, 123–125). They moved without their assets, associates, jobs, culture and were settled in the border areas of North 24 Parganas and Nadia districts. Up to 1970s large influx of people to India because of several reasons like worsening economic prospects and riots of 1952 (Sinha, 2015), Urdu domination in 1955, adoption of the Islamic constitution in 1956 and the Hazratbal riot incident in 1964 (Datta, 2012). In 1970, due to economic causes and election conflicts in Bangladesh 2,52,000 people were displaced. Altogether after 1970, there were 39,56,000 people in West Bengal who were Bangladeshi migrants and they moved due to political and religious instability in Bangladesh. Further, the independence war in 1971 also adversely affected the communal bonding (Datta, 2004).

Luthra (1972) and Chatterjee (2007) identified some reasons for the fleeing of the refugee from East Bengal to India (Luthra, 1972; Chatterji, 2007: 111–113).

Table 1
Reasons for influx in West Bengal from East Bengal

Year	Reasons for influx	Into West Bengal (in lakh)
1946	Noakhali riots	0.14
1947	Partition	2.58
1948	'Police action' by India in Hyderabad	5.9
1949	Communal riots in Khulna and Barisal	1.82
1950	Ditto	11.82
1951	Kashmir agitation	1.4
1952	Worsening of economic conditions; persecution of minorities; passports scare	1.52
1953	—	0.61
1954	—	1.04
1955	Unrest over declaration of Urdu as lingua franca	2.12
1956	Adoption of Islamic constitution by Pakistan	2.47
1957	—	0.09
1958	—	0.01
1959	—	0.09
1960	—	0.09
1961	—	0.1
1962	—	0.13
1963	—	0.14
1964	Riots over Hazratbal incident	4.19
1965	—	0.81
1966	—	0.04
1967	—	0.05
1968	—	0.04
1969	—	0.04
1970	Economic distress and coming elections	2.32
	Total	39.56

In 1991, Chakraborty in the book entitled '*Marginal Men*' categorized the refugee who came over to India from its eastern border between 1946 to 1971. The categorization was based on refugee rehabilitation and assistance provided by Government. Three categories were thus identified and listed in the following based on Chakrabarti (Chakrabarti, 1960) (Table 2).

Table 2
Categorization of refugees by the Government

Stages	Period of Migration	Category of Migrants	Total no of Migrant	Govt. Assistance
Stage 1	October 1946-March 1958	Old Migrants (1946-1958)	41.17 lakh	Eligible for rehabilitation
Stage 2	April 1958-December 1963	In-Between Migrants (1959-1963)	1.44 lakh	Govt. didn't recognize them as refugee
Stage 3	January 1964-March 1971	New Migrants (1964-1971)	11.14 lakh	Eligible for rehabilitation

Hindu Bangladeshi migrants who arrived in India from Bangladesh after 1971 were largely due to persecution (Shamshad, 2017b) and were more visible in West Bengal (Das & Ansary, 2017). According to '*Indira-Mujib Agreement of 1972*', India will not provide any kind of assistance and shelter for the people who came after 1971 from Bangladesh to India (Chaudhury, 2003) and are termed as 'Illegal Migrant' (Kumar, 2011; Guha, 2016). The 1985 revision to the Citizenship Act, which followed the Accord, introduced a fresh segment entitled 'Special Provisions as to Citizenship of Persons Covered by the Assam Accord.' This segment aimed to assuage concerns regarding migrants arriving from Bangladesh after the 1971 Liberation War. It established distinct categories of eligibility for citizenship based on the year of a person's migration to India. Those who arrived before 1966 were granted citizenship; individuals who arrived between 1966 and 1971 were removed from the electoral rolls and required to wait a decade before being eligible to apply for citizenship. Those who entered after 1971 were classified as illegal immigrants. In 2004, an amendment to the Citizenship Act stipulated that even if someone was born on Indian soil, they would not be eligible for citizenship by birth if one of their parents was an illegal migrant at the time of their birth (Jayal, 2019).

Methods and Methodology

Decolonization changed the ethnic-spatial identity of two independent caste groups of East Bengal (prior to 1956 East Pakistan was known as East Bengal), one was 'Namasudra', mainly concentrated in the Jessore, Khulna, Faridpur and Barishal districts and also scattered in the other districts of eastern and central Bengal (Bandopadhyay, 2011). Another was the Rajbanshi community who primarily lived in Dinajpur, Rangpur, Princely state of Cooch Behar and Jalpaiguri districts of northern Bengal (Basu, 2003). After

those decades, those two groups became isolated and their movement and identity were disrupted.

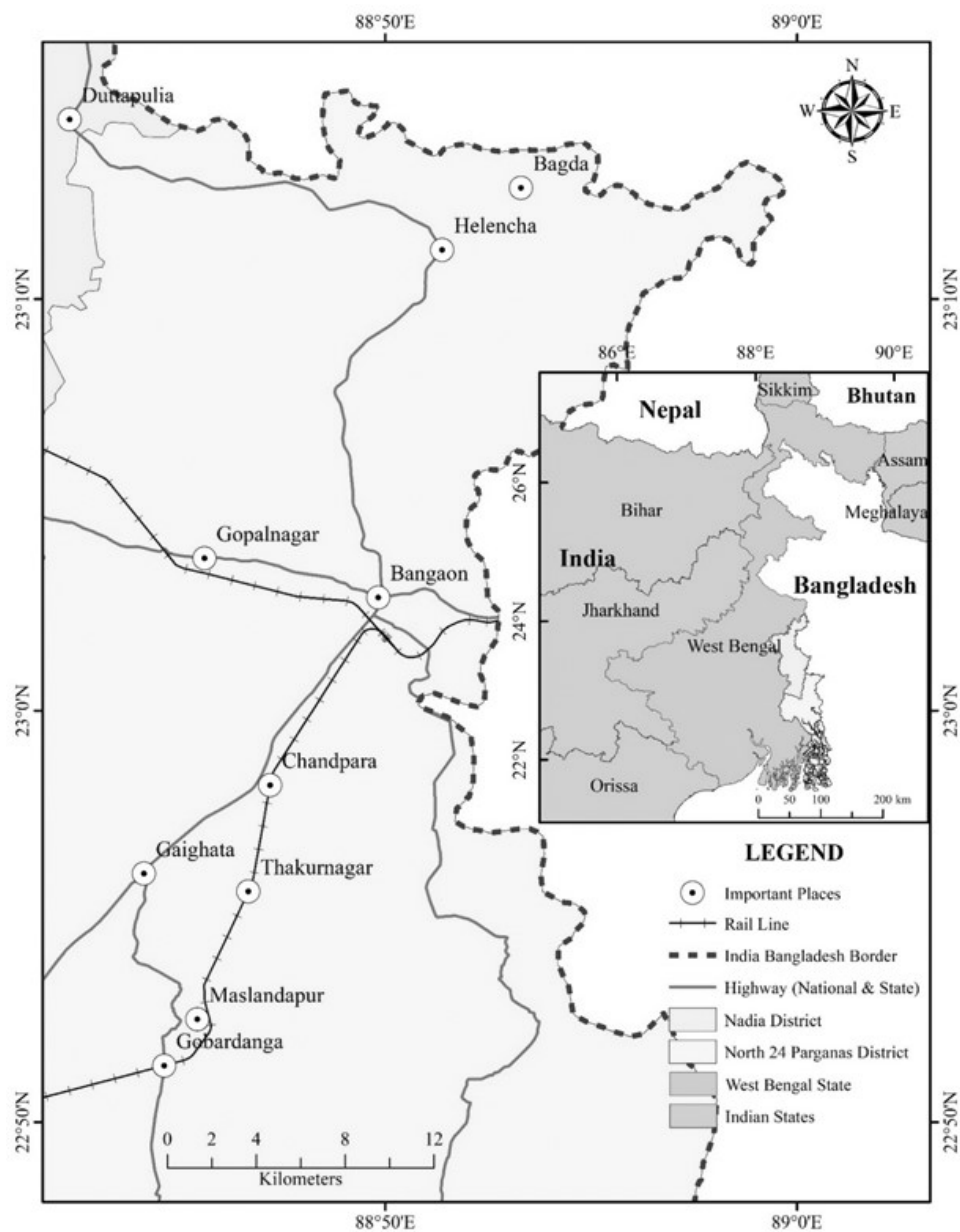


Fig. 1. Location of study area

In North 24 Parganas the people mostly came from Jessore, Khulna, Faridpur, Barisal and Dacca. According to the State Statistical Bureau (West Bengal) Report published in 1951, 19.38 percent of migrants who resided in 24 Parganas originated from the Dacca (Dhaka) district, 18.17 percent from Barisal, 15 percent from Khulna, 13.36 percent from Faridpur, 12.27 percent from Jessore, and the remaining 21.82 percent from other districts of East Pakistan (Pakrasi, 1971). This was the core area of Namasudra habitation. Hence, it would not be overstated that the people who came from those districts of Bangladesh were mainly 'Namasudra' and they settled as primary settlements in different areas of 24 Parganas. In the post-1971, the people arrived from the same five districts of Bangladesh and they settled in those areas of North 24 Parganas where there had a relative (patrilineal, matrilineal, affinal), people of the same village or locality or prior connection by which they could manage the initial settlement and minimized the harassment and resettlement (Nakatani, 2000).

Hence, to identify the present trend of migration, two Matuaⁱⁱ dominated villages were selected. One village (Village A1) was selected near the Thakurnagar area, named after Pramath Ranjan Thakur, the great-grandson of Harichand Thakur, founder of the Matua Movement and Refugee & Rehabilitation Minister and Minister of State for Tribal Development of West Bengal in 1963. It is 72 km away from the International Border of Bangladesh. Settlements were developed in 1948 which was under the Gaighata Block of North 24 Parganas districts. Another village (Village A2) was situated in the border surrounding area of Bagda block and shared its boundary with the International Boundary of Bangladesh (Mukherjee, 2018) (Map). Purposive snowball sampling was used to select the Matua household from those two villages and then scheduled questionnaire survey from those villages was conducted. The sample size of those villages was 238 households and 251 households respectively (Table 3).

Table 3
Sample size of the surveyed villages

Surveyed Village	Panchayat Office 2021	Field Survey 2021-22		
	Namasudra Household	Matua Household	Final Surveyed	Percent of Matua Household
A1 Village	400	320	238	74.38
A2 Village	450	340	251	73.82

Source: Compiled by authors

We utilize percentages to convey variations as fractions of the entirety. Conversely, percentage difference entails the alteration in percentage over time (Cole & Altman, 2017),

commonly employed to juxtapose and evaluate two sets of data. In this study, the annual arrival of the Matau family has been computed as a percentage for each village, taking into account the total sample population of that specific area. The formula is:

Percentage of Migrant arrived in a specific Year =

$$\frac{\text{Migrant Family arrived in an Individual Year}}{\text{Total Migrant Family arrived in that Area}}$$

Additionally, the percentage difference between the two areas has been employed to facilitate a comparison of migration patterns. Matua Migrants were classified into four distinct groups: Old Migrants (1946-1958), In-Between Migrants (1959-1963), and New Migrants (1964-1971), following the categorization established by Chakrabarti in 1960 (Table 2). Those who arrived after 1971 were designated as Illegal Migrants.

Linear regression analysis was employed to investigate the relationship between two variables, yielding a fitted linear regression line. The strength of the linear correlation was measured using the correlation coefficient (Sedgwick, 2013). Within this study, the linear correlation between the passage of time and the influx of Migrant Matua Family was computed, with the arrival of the Migrant Matua Family serving as the dependent variable and time as the independent variable. Correlations have been computed for two distinct time frames: 1956 – 1971 and 1972 – 2013, encompassing 16 years and 42 years, respectively.

Result and Discussion

Number of Migrant Family

Matua influx in Village A1 started from 1956 and continued till 2004. In the span of 48 years, 238 Matua families were settled, which means that in every year 4.96 Matua families immigrated to A1 village. The rate of immigration differed and was not same; rather, the arrival was unevenly distributed. In 1956, only 1.68 percent of families arrived in A1 village. Therefore till 1960, no Matua families remigrated. From 1960 onwards, immigration was regular, with some minor discontinuities. The highest number of migrant Matua families arrived in 1987 (15.97 percent of total families settled here).

In the years 1982 and 1992, more than ten percent of Matua families built their houses. However, in 1998, only 0.84 percent of the Matua families found settlement in this area. After that, the migrant Matua dwellers were no longer in flux and the influx stopped for five years. Migration resumed in 2004, and only 1.26 percent of Matua families were able to settle in this village. Since then, the process of immigration in this village has been discontinued.

In A2 village arrival of Matua families started late. The first sign of movement was in 1961, six years after the first arrival of immigrant Matua family in A1 village. In this village

movement continued till 2013 which was nine years later of the discontinuation of immigration in A1 village. In this period of 52 years, 251 Matua families sheltered in A2 village, 4.82 percent of Matua families migrated every year to the border surrounding village of the Bagda block. Here migration was also unevenly distributed because, in the history of immigration of 52 years, the movement of people was only noticed in 37 years were immigration less, whereas it was only 20 years for the A1 village. In A2 village, 22.71 percent of Matua refugee families arrived in 1987, which was the highest arrival in a single year. The rate of immigration experienced a significant drop in post-2000. In the span of 2000 to 2013, a mere 1.26 percent of Matua families arrived and established themselves in 2004. Ultimately, by 2013, 1.20 percent of Matua families ventured across the border to make this village as their new home.

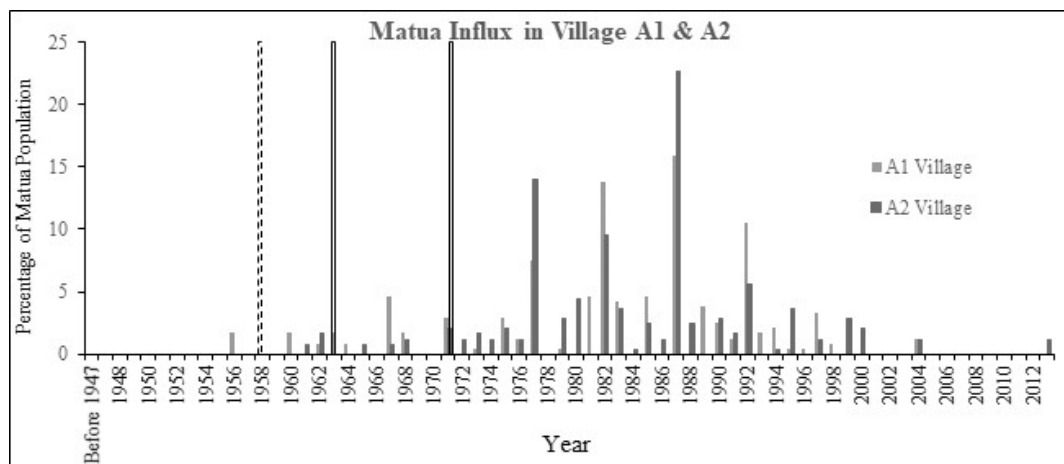


Fig. 2. Temporal distribution of Matua influx in two space

Source: Primary Survey

Categories of Migrants

Matua migrants in the study area were categorized on the basis of the previously mentioned category noted by Chakraborty in 1991 (Table 2). Matua community who was arrived and settled after 1971 were named as Illegal Immigrants. In villages A1 and A2, the majority of Matua residents arrived after 1971, with statistical data revealing figures of 84.03 percent and 92.83 percent, respectively. In village A1, 10.08 percent of Matua households fell under the 'New Migrants' category, 4.20 percent were categorized as 'In-Between Migrants', and 1.68 percent were classified as 'Old Migrants'. The pattern was quite similar in Village A2, with only 4.78 percent of Matua families falling into the 'New Migrant' category and 2.39 percent categorized as 'In-Between Migrants'. However, since no residents arrived before 1958, there were no households classified as 'Old Migrants'.

Table 4
Chronology of Matua influx (in percentage)

Year	A1 Village	A2 Village	Year	A1 Village	A2 Village	Year	A1 Village	A2 Village	Year	A1 Village	A2 Village
Before	0	0	1963	1.68	0	1980	0	4.38	1997	3.36	1.20
1947	0	0	1964	0.84	0	1981	4.62	0	1998	0.84	0
1948	0	0	1965	0	0.80	1982	13.87	9.56	1999	0	2.79
1949	0	0	1966	0	0	1983	4.20	3.59	2000	0	1.99
1950	0	0	1967	4.62	0.80	1984	0	0.40	2001	0	0
1951	0	0	1968	1.68	1.20	1985	4.62	2.39	2002	0	0
1952	0	0	1969	0	0	1986	0	1.20	2003	0	0
1953	0	0	1970	0	0	1987	15.97	22.71	2004	1.26	1.20
1954	0	0	1971	2.94	1.99	1988	0	2.39	2005	0	0
1955	0	0	1972	0	1.20	1989	3.78	0	2006	0	0
1956	1.68	0	1973	0.42	1.59	1990	2.52	2.79	2007	0	0
1957	0	0	1974	0	1.20	1991	1.26	1.59	2008	0	0
1958	0	0	1975	2.94	1.99	1992	10.50	5.58	2009	0	0
1959	0	0	1976	1.26	1.20	1993	1.68	0	2010	0	0
1960	1.68	0	1977	7.56	13.94	1994	2.10	0.40	2011	0	0
1961	0	0.80	1978	0	0	1995	0.42	3.59	2012	0	0
1962	0.84	1.59	1979	0.42	2.79	1996	0.42	0	2013	0	1.20

Source: Based on Primary Survey

Table 4
Village A1- flow of Matua dwellers in different periods

Stages	Period of Migration	Category of Migrants	Percent of Family
Stage 1	October 1946 - March 1958	Old Migrants (1946-1958)	1.68
Stage 2	April 1958 - December 1963	In-Between Migrants (1959-1963)	4.20
Stage 3	January 1964 - March 1971	New Migrants (1964-1971)	10.08
Stage 4	After March 1971	Illegal Migrant - I (after 1971)	84.03

Source: Based on Field Survey

Table 5
Village A2- flow of Matua dwellers in different periods

Stages	Period of Migration	Category of Migrants	Percent of Family
Stage 1	October 1946 - March 1958	Old Migrants (1946-1958)	0
Stage 2	April 1958 - December 1963	In-Between Migrants (1959-1963)	2.39
Stage 3	January 1964 - March 1971	New Migrants (1964-1971)	4.78
Stage 4	After March 1971	Illegal Migrant - I (after 1971)	92.83

Source: Based on Field Survey

1977 was the year of a instability as the military dictatorship and devastating flood in Bangladesh forced the Hindu population and poor Muslims to migrate to India which is also evident through the field survey of the two villages (Rashiduzzaman, 1978). The devastating flood of early September 1987 had a long-term implication on the social and economic condition of Bangladesh. At that time, 3000 people died, 1 million hectares of farmland was devastated and 66 percent of the land was submerged (Paul and Rasid, 1993). The development fund for the rehabilitation of people to provide food and shelter was cut down by 45 percent (Brammer, 1990). Livestock and crop loss made them impoverished as it was resulted in increased indebted and land sales with huge unemployment. Therefore, migration to urban areas, where jobs and livelihoods were more secure, was left as the only option (Alamgir, 1980; Currey, 2010). After 1987, a devastating cyclone also occurred in 1991, when 6700 people died and millions were displaced (Chowdhury et al., 1993). Data revealed that a large number of Matua Families migrated in 1991 and 1992 which can be an implication of this flood. After the 1990s, the economy of Bangladesh boosted up and stabilized (Manni and Afzal, 2012) which was responsible for to the reduction of immigrant flow from Bangladesh.

Correlation

Relationship between the year of arrival and number of family arrived in the two villages in two different time periods, i.e., before 1971 and after 1971 has been calculated. In the first stage, between 1956 - 1971, when the migration was Legal, correlation for both the villages was positive. As the number of years increased, the number of migrants also grew, although the rate was low in both the areas. In village A1, it was (+) 0.296 and while in village A2 it was (+) 0.314. From 1972 to 2013, the correlation was negative in both the villages, i.e., (-) 0.269 and (-) 0.420, respectively (Table 7). So, with the progress of time, the total count of migrants decreased and as the time goes on, the count of migrants fell.

From 1972 to 1990 the migrants came in huge numbers, but as the years passed the number reduced. Between 1972 to 2013, the negative correlation implied that no migrants came to this area. Thus, it can be inferred that currently Matuas are not crossing the border and residing illegally in North 24 Parganas districts of West Bengal.

Table 6

Correlation (r) between migration year and number of migrant families arrived in that year

Area	Period of Migration	
	1956 - 1971	1972 - 2013
Village A1	0.296	- 0.269
Village A2	0.314	- 0.420

Source: Computed by authors

Findings

For over seven decades, the Matua community has not been achieved a solid space for their community, fragmented by the continually movement from present-day Bangladesh to West Bengal, India. The present study revealed that the two villages witnessed the vestige of more than five decades of migration. During the years 1977, 1982, 1987, and 1992 more than five percent Matua families migrated and established their residence in the two villages.

However, they have a long history of migration but since 2004 and 2013 no Matua migrants have come in the two A1 and A2 villages and after 1972 the rate was also decreased. It means Matua people are not migration as much as pervious period. However, it is essential to point out that a large number of them are still illegally residing in the country.

Now it is important to understand the reasons for the arrival of Matua community after 1971. Shamshed (2017) categorized migrants from Bangladesh to India into four categories i.e., (i) Hindu migrants who came for economic benefit (Samāddāra, 1999; Datta, 2004); (ii) Muslim migrants came for economic pursuits and need who settled in the border surrounding districts (Pramanik, 2005); (iii) daily wage labour or cultivator came for better wage and (iv) Muslim migrants settled in the major large cities in India like Kolkata, Delhi etc. (Shamshad, 2017a). In every category economic distress is the dominant factor. On the other hand, Bandyopadhyay and Roy Chowdhury (2022) argued that migration was due to '*overwhelming sense of insecurity*' which was created by '*pervasive state of post-Partition conjunctural violence*' (Bandyopadhyay and Basu Ray Chaudhury, 2022). Environmental catastrophic events like flood, cyclone, river bank and coastal erosion etc. were also a responsible for outmigration from Bangladesh.

Along with that a substantial section of the border remains permeable, rendering it susceptible to in-migration. The border between India and Bangladesh extends for 4097 km, running through West Bengal, Assam, Meghalaya, and Tripura (Das & Ansary, 2017). Among this expanse, approximately 2803.013 km is enclosed by fencing, with an ongoing effort to erect an additional 169.64 km of fencing (Rajya Sabha Secretariat, 2019). Consequently, it is not solely due to a single factor that they must take the risk of settling in India. The other advantage for resettling in India was that voter card, ration card and other benefits with the help of locally dominated political party in the earlier days. But presently it has become very difficult for migrant to get access of those document. Hence, the rate of migration of this community has decreased from Bangladesh.

Conclusion

Bangladesh and West Bengal belong to the same geographic realm where people share similar socio-economic, linguistic and cultural identities and they were under the same administrative province in the pre-colonial and colonial periods also. Hence, this region has an archaic history of movement and migration. But immediately after decolonization the rate and volume of immigration changed. Many people migrated to India because of socio-cultural, environmental and economic reason. But after the economic improvement and socio-environmental conditions some stabilization in terms of immigrants have been observed. Hence, in the last decades of the twenty first century it is observed that migration of Matua community from Bangladesh to India declined.

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- (i) Namasudra: Herbert Risley described 'Namasudra', 'namas' means in Sanskrit, adoration and admiration again in Bengali 'namate' means below or underneath. If we consider first case that means adoration to 'sudras' and in second case lower caste of 'sudras' (Risley, 1892). Chandals were great racial caste of East Bengal and made great Hindu society of Namasudra people as in 1930 18.94 percent were them (Gait, 1901). They used to live in Jessor, Faridpur, Khulna, Maymensingh and Dhaka. Namasudras or Chandals were untouchables therefore they could not enjoy any advantages of health, education or anything due to preferences of Bramhins to dominate them from all. They attributed to Namasudra after anti- Bramhin revolution for development of sub-caste people from 1872, ideological protests began against caste by Harichand Thakur. In 1911, Chandals were changed with Namasudra in British census. There was a 'hyper- visibility' of caste-based movements against social, economic and political repression in colonial Bengal.
- (ii) Matuaism is a belief of Matua community that was established by Harichand Thakur. After him his son Harichand Thakur also set up anti Hinduism with confidant on his fellow Chandal villagers and they combat the untouchability system of upper caste. They transformed *Chandals* into Namasudra with revolutionary ideology. They made their Namasudra followers towards their own religion established by Harichand Thakur. They made schools that all lower caste people can enjoy enough advantages of life and they had conscious faith in womans too and whoever followed their views called Matua. They began their revolution in Faridpur, Bangladesh. Two third of population of Faridpur were Matuas.