

SECURITY- VULNERABILITY, IDENTITY- INSECURITY & SOLIDARITY-SEGREGATION COMPLEX AMONG BANGLADESHI IMMIGRANTS IN WINNIPEG, CANADA*.

HELAL MOHIUDDIN

Abstract

Popular socio-anthropological literature asserts that small community organizations produce solidarity-cultural homogeneity, proximity, reciprocity, cooperation, and collaboration. However, the present study conducted on a small Bangladeshi immigrant community in Winnipeg, Canada documents that conflicts, divisions, disintegration, mistrust, suspicion, hatred and factionalism replace their solidarity. This in-depth study documents that these expressions reflect their intense security-vulnerability and identity-insecurity, as well as individual-level subaltern survival strategy in response to security vulnerability. This study also finds their security-vulnerabilities to be outcome of complex interplays of ideological and value-driven motivations generated through globalization, individualism, terrorism, and local and global politics.

Introduction

Ninety million migrants or refugees are recorded living outside their respective countries of birth in 1997. It means that one in every 70 persons is migrant to another country (UNHCR 1998). In the USA and Canada, 'community organizations' are formed on the basis of the values of nationalism, language and uniformity of culture. These values act as "the rudders" or "the driving

forces" in their expatriate livelihoods (Notrajon 1989:22). There is an argument that a community organization is a 'must felt need' to a community of immigrants living in a big city. This is due to the emigrants' needs to serve various interests as well as to cope with the adversities of stringent and alien culture and livelihood. Immigrants prefer to live or settle in capital and port or industrial cities with wider opportunities of access to expanded job markets, available alternative income and urban amenities. Therefore, immigrants' communities grow bigger and need platforms to serve those interests and cope the adversities (Ahmed 1985; Yasmin 1982).

Theoretical Perspectives

Beginning from the notion of *Asahbiya* (solidarity) of Ibn Khaldun, classical community discourses commonly assert that small and culturally homogenous social groups tend to be more cohesive in themselves and protective of their cultural identity in alien cultural settings (McIver and Page 1967; Little 1964; Ogburn and Nimkoff 1972). Leiner and Meckl (1995) assert that the immigrants' community solidarity sustains mainly on the basis of serving economic interests and intra-organizational income--redistribution between members, Intra-organizational distributions take place through economic and financial supports of well-off community members to disadvantaged members. Distribution is not necessarily expressed in economic terms. Rather it is a social arrangement. For instance, immigrants from developing countries tend to promote reference-pool-immigration¹ of their family members, friends, colleagues or kinfolks or other community members voluntarily, thus creating scope for strong organizational basis for solidarity while in expatriation.

Muller (1995) also provides a similar insight that immigrants' general economic management system gives birth to their community solidarity. According to him, the immigrants tend to remit the lion-shares of incomes to their countries of birth. As a result, they often suffer from shortage of savings and capital. In such situations, community solidarity appears as a savior to financial crises of the immigrants. Todisco (1995:5)" views

* The study was conducted as an awarded component of the Heritage Small Research Grant, Canada's greater project titled "Diaspora, Immigrant Culture and Cultural Diversity".

immigrants' solidarity as a platform to transform an individual's needs to rights, and secure lifestyle from marginalization to integration in new cultures. Huq-Hussain (1995) indicates that migration is always a unilineal and unidimensional process occurring through migration of people from rural to urban areas, and small urban areas to larger international cities. Thus, immigrants' solidarity becomes an essential means 'for their adaptation into rural-urban livelihood intersections. 'Choice' and 'choicelessness' (Sullivan 1996) are two other factors related with expatriate solidarity. Sullivan (1996) reveals that cultural distance, lack of reciprocity and role and interrelationships of the individuals continuously create choices to be met and choicelessness to be overcome. The process paves the way to community solidarity for most immigrants.

Todisco (1995:5) views immigrants' solidarity as a platform to transform an individual's needs to rights, and secure lifestyle from marginalization to integration in new cultures. Huq-Hussain (1995) indicates that migration is always a unilineal and unidimensional process occurring through migration of people from rural to urban areas, and small urban areas to larger international cities. Thus, immigrants' solidarity becomes an essential means for their adaptation into rural-urban livelihood intersections. Some researchers, however, put immense emphasis on the preference of immigrants to social safety-net and security (Rahman 1990; Ahmed 1985; Yasmin 1982) options as basis for solidarity. To them, the more social safety net and security is ensured, the more the immigrants tend to gather around for enhanced solidarity network.

These arguments *refer* to three dimensions of expatriate solidarity-reciprocity, security, and adaptive capacity. In line with these arguments, it is imperative to understand the process of solidarity formation among Bangladeshi immigrants around the world. Knights (1996) in her study in Italy shows that the Bangladeshi immigrants remain politically active and compartmentalized even in foreign environments, and that such political polarization is often divisive to their community solidarity.

Yasmin (1982) believes that large communities in larger cities constitute greater risks of disintegration and conflicts of interest, and lesser social intimacy because larger people of similar interests compete for limited opportunities. In contrast, small community organizations of the immigrants in small cities reflect less competition and more solidarity, unity, togetherness, cooperation, mutual exchange and reciprocity and promote regular communication between the community members (Yasmin 1982:6). However, this hypothesis is not proved yet. Based on this hypothesis, I designed my research project to examine internal solidarity dynamics of Bangladeshi immigrants in Winnipeg, the capital city of Manitoba province in Canada.

Operational Premise

The point of departure of this study is drawn upon the constitution of the Canada Bangladesh Association (CBA) that begins with the objective to establish community solidarity, cooperation, unity, integrity and homogenous cultural bonds to preserve uniqueness of their indigenous cultural heritage, especially in response to (perceived) gradual erosion of "community identity" of small and specific cultural groups (CBA 1996:3-6) in Canada.

Some important objectives and principles stated in the constitution and revised by laws (CBA 1996) of the organization are: (1) preservation of community solidarity, unity and cooperation among the Bangladeshi residents in Winnipeg (CBA 1982:2), (2) resorting to all possible efforts to serve any valid and justifiable interests of its members (CBA 1982:2), and (3) elimination of conflicts of individual interests. 'Conflict resolution' is declared and adopted as the main principle of the association in the context of any unwanted and unprecedented conflicting 'situation between the members (CBA 1982:6). (4) The association serves as the common platform to bolster community strength, takes measures to overcome limitations, explore and appropriate scopes for development of lifestyles of its members as well to eradicate hindrances and obstacles to meet greater community needs and interests (CBA 1996:4). In short, the objective of the

association is to determine activities in compliance with the strength, weaknesses, opportunities and threats related with the Bangladeshi immigrant community.

Hence, solidarity dynamics of the community is defined in terms of level and magnitudes of interactions, range of social groupings, association-dissociation, cohesion and conflict between its members and nature and extent of intra-and inter-community linkages, strength, weaknesses, opportunities and threats. On the basis of these phenomena, an operational definition of the concept 'community identity' is adopted for the present study - 'Community identity' refers to "an effort by speakers (members) to identify them with a specific locality and to distinguish them from outsiders" (Bates and Plog 1990: 466).

Methodology

There were 220 adult Bangladeshi immigrants at the time of this study in 2004. A total of 44 respondents (20% sampled) - twenty-two (22) men and the same number of (22) women were selected as the informants. Initially, request letters were sent to 125 breadwinning adults of both sexes. On the basis of consent and availability, and on promise of anonymity and confidentiality of informants, the respondents are selected. Based on age, length of settlement and leadership experience, a total of eleven (11) informants (25% of the selected informants) were included in the in-depth case study.

The methodology of this study is built upon applied anthropological perspective in combination with psychological and social interpretations. The intents of in-depth sociological field research techniques i.e. (a) the desire to study certain topics; (b) investigate specific theoretical problems; and (c) suggest solutions to practical problems (Ellen, 1984: 193) are employed to acquire information on complex interpersonal relations of the community members. As anthropologists (Kemp and Ellen 1984) suggest, the study moved from a passive to a more active investigation using both structured and unstructured schedules. 'Observation' was the other required technique that went 'hand

in hand with elicitation (Ellen, 1984:214), seldom independently, and were 'often both the precursors to questions and the means to follow them up' (Ellen, 1984:214).

The study also incorporated the phenomenologists' especially Cohen's (1984) notion of 'intersubjectivity' suggesting social scientists' task as not just mapping the structural process of social organization; but collecting myths, discovering the morphology of religious systems in order "to be able to think, emote and cognize with one's informants and thereby, to come close to their perceptions and understanding of their social realities" (Cohen, 1984:228). Therefore, the study adopted in-depth focused interviews; case studies, audio taping, repeated personal level visit and telephone conversation. Interviewing was 'informal' in nature, because 'informal interviewing deals with a wide range of techniques and everything is negotiable in informal interviewing. Informal interview helps build rapport which is important for very continuation of the interview' (Kemp and Ellen, 1984:230-35). The technique allowed the informants criticize a question, correct it, and point out sensitiveness or answer in ways they wanted to.

Bangladeshi Immigrants' in Winnipeg: Historical Backdrop

Various literatures show that immigration from Bangladesh to Canada and the USA started only in the decades of 1950s. As a result, Bangladesh community consists of a small number of immigrants. Moreover, settlement of the community is concentrated in some specific areas of Canada due to regional preferences of the immigrants (Rahman 1990; Ahmed 1985; Yasmin 1982) towards better income-opportunities and social security.

About the immigration history of Canada, Hundey (1980) claims that, there was still no country of Canada in the 1840s except eight separate colonies. Beginnings of modern Canada were made through introduction of steam powered railway communication that resulted in migration of European commoners, growth of cities and immigration of labor force from the British colonies (Hundey 1980:302-317).

Before 1930s, Winnipeg was the largest agricultural region of Canada with a considerable demand of agricultural labor force. Shilliday (1994) terms the decade of sophisticated tillage method and use of synthetic fertilizer (Shilliday 1994:216-221). Now that grain production and processing is highly mechanized and one farmer 'can harvest several hundred hectares (Green et al 1994:23), prospect of agricultural jobs for migrant agricultural laborers shrunk. This is probably a reason that pulls a small number of low-skilled and semi-skilled agricultural workers in Winnipeg from poor countries like Bangladesh. However, a common trend among Bangladeshi immigrants is to move from Winnipeg to other provinces where living standard and the scope for economic well-being is more ensured than in Winnipeg (CBA 2000).

According to 1996 Census of the Canadian government, of total population, only 2.4 percent people hold South Asian identity (Colombo 1999:48). Till 1971, there were less than one thousands Bengali speaking people. 8000 Bengali people emigrated by 1991. Importantly, the number is doubled within the next 5 years as the Census of 1996 reports presence of 16000 Bengali speaking people in Canada (Colombo 1999:49). This statistics considers Bengali-speaking immigrants not particularly emigrated from Bangladesh, but also those who emigrated from the West Bengal, a Bengali-speaking province of India. This is why there is no specific information about Bangladeshi landed immigrants in greater Canada, specifically in Winnipeg. It is so far known that the first Bangladeshi who came to Winnipeg in 1962 was a physician. By 1978, thirty eight (38) immigrants arrived in Winnipeg. They established the Canada-Bangladesh Association (CBA) in Winnipeg in that year.

Where Solidarity Stands?

The informants focused on the aftermath of nine-eleven, and made comparison to previous and present status of immigrant livelihood systems-especially on security vulnerability, disintegration, chaos, conflict and mistrust among community members. All (44) informants perceive that segregation (splitting)

is much intense than solidarity among Bangladeshi immigrants, and that divisive element had been latent before the Nine-eleven though, it had become vividly manifested after the event. The triangulated and matrixes information derived through the in-depth study can be categorized into three emerging crises: 1) emergence of conflicts and divisions, 2) trauma of security-vulnerability, and 3) identity crisis and identity-insecurity.

Emergence of conflicts and divisions

In general; the respondents depict a reversal to classical community solidarity thesis. Though the community is small, numerous factors have been contributing to escalating conflicts and divisions between the community members. Seemingly, the nine eleven incident increased cross-cultural, political and regional divisions among immigrants nowadays than ever before.

Once latent, now manifested are immigrants' growing ethnocentrism over ethno-sensitivism. The issue of *origin and cultural heredity* has revived as a potential barrier to community solidarity. Nowadays fractioning bases on perceived 'ethnic originality' of the expatriates. The ethnocentric notion of "original Bangladeshis" (*Bangalis*) and "refugee Bangladeshis" (*Ghotis*) constitute the first stage of splitting. This deserves a brief clarification. In 1947, the once' British colonized undivided India received freedom from the colonial era. However, the historical setback- the religio-nationalist "partition" of the Muslim-majority Pakistan and Hindu-majority India caused widespread fratricidal riots, and political refuge of a large number of Muslims and Hindus respectively from India to Pakistan and Pakistan to India. Consequently, a large number of Indian Muslims-migrated mostly from the West Bengal and Bihar provinces *took* refuge to the then East Pakistan (present day Bangladesh). They are metaphorically and locally labeled with a defamatory *word* "*Ghoti*"². Most Bangladeshi immigrants blame that they opposed Bangladesh's independence war in 1971, and served the Pakistani occupation army as collaborators, and that they still do not revere or accept Bangladesh's freedom, and express loyalty to Pakistan. The 'original Bangladeshis' rationalize their anti-

refugee stance through apparent evidencing that the 'refugee Bangladeshis' never inclined to *merge* into the mainstream, as well still bear distinct cultural identity, and practice non-conventional rites and rituals.

After the nine-eleven, such obscured cultural compartmentalization has become exposed into suspicion and mistrust-driven concrete fractions. The reason and the process are worth mentioning in this context. A so-called 'refugee Bangladeshi,'³ was serving the governments' immigration department as a trilingual (Urdu, Arabic and Bengali) translator. However, all Bangladeshi immigrants I interviewed suspected him as a source of the Canadian intelligence. Despite absence of any supportive evidence against the above mentioned and the latest blames, the Bangladeshi community kept mistrusting him. When the alleged's repeated denial of these allegations went undone; he responded and resisted (Scott 1985; Ong 1991) the blame in a subaltern fashion-through building greater interpersonal relations with the Pakistanis, Iranians and Iraqi immigrants, and adopting 'complete avoidance policy' for the 'original Bangladeshis'. His case provoked other refugee Bangladeshis to resort to a "we" feeling, and to treat the so-called 'original Bangladeshis' from "other" or "they" point of view.

Political division also poses potential barrier to their solidarity. Partisan division in Bangladesh politics influences their splitting under two main parties⁴. While the post nine-eleven racial profiling of immigrants could consolidate solidarity among the Bangladeshi Muslims, the outcome was rather opposite due to political distancing of the supporters of the two parties. While the ruling party supporters became much more active than ever before to publicize that the government will surely lobby to safeguard them from profiling, they also started blaming the opposition party supporters as being treasonous through putting Bangladesh's image into crises. They blamed that the opposition party supporters had been trying to brand the ruling party as linked-up with Islamic fundamentalist terrorists in and outside country. It was evident that the opposition party supporters also

tried to cash some benefits out of the ruling party failure in terrorism control at the home front.

Two distinct ideologue sects also emerged consequently. One is the security- vulnerable group always striving to overcome vulnerabilities by any means. The other is the "puritans" who conceive surrendering or compromising under profiling pressure to be the most despicably self-degrading task. Thus, while a large section of immigrants tended to affidavit their name and religious titles, as well as change dress-up and other regional religious identity markers as a means to avoid national level racial profiling- a strong wave of tension, disapproval and resistance ignited among conservative and puritan immigrant groups. As six incidents of chaos and conflicts between the ideologue sects are recorded hereto, it can be asserted that the nine-eleven incident has also contributed to emergence of newer forms of splitting elements among the expatriate Bangladeshis.

"The nine-eleven also boosted-up various other splitting factors. Petty-regional mindsets, stereotypes, and regionally minded hatred and prejudices revived. Newer polarization practices such as which district's people are more fanatic, fundamentalist, or progressive etc.) began. Although of no scientific base, ethnocentrism seems to have bolstered with the Nine-eleven. Immigrants from different districts tended to flock together. The reason was partly related with their sense of helplessness, and perceived endangered situation under which they began to perceive that the fellows from the same districts would be much more helpful than others at time of crises.

Another round of splitting occurred in the form of a revival of a old debate over individuals' role in the independence war⁵- the patriots and the collaborators (*rajakars*). The mixed reaction of different people over nine-eleven incident has also become translated back into religious dogmatism of the *rajakars* during independence war in Bangladesh. As well, split took place in occupational levels too. Occupational division is evident between immigrants having prestige jobs and marginal jobs. It was

perceived by most community people that prestige-job-doers became concerned about losing their jobs. Thus, in order to secure their position from any adversities corresponding to racial profiling, they began to isolate them from social mixing, party going and keeping away from phone receiving (in fear that it might lead to unintended dialogues over the nine- eleven that might get recorded by the secret services). They especially established their, distance from new immigrants, refuge-seekers, political asylum claimants and stranded people conceiving that any relation with this most vulnerable section to deportation may also put them in danger of deportation or victimization. At the same time, they rather tended to behave like Canadians-going to parties, gymnasiums, clubs, casinos and other social places that they were usually not accustomed to. These were bids to prove them as more entitled to Canadian society than that of their culture of origins. However, such tendency of a few yielded hatred, pity, disgust and among the majority of the immigrants.

Such trauma of security-vulnerability constituted enormous negative implication for society. Although these subaltern livelihood strategies emanated from their loss of sense of belongingness-in most instances upon wrong and assumed perceptions without basis it put the expatriate community dynamics into a chaotic and disorderly situation. Regular art, festivities and religious rituals halted suddenly. There was a rich Potlatch⁶ culture that ended up in confusion and fear. A considerable number of women members had been well-known for their skill in cross-border (Canada-US) marital mediation (*ghotkali*). Marital mediation and corresponding fun and pastime had long existed over there as efficient means of community solidarity. This cultural trait also faced a sudden setback as a consequence of the nine-eleven. The Bangladesh Association for long had been delivering assistance and support service to new members in securing job and immigration. That service also stopped for about a year after the incident.

The other problems the respondents focused on are: 1) Increasing mistrust and suspicion between the community members, 2) erosion of religious values, and 3) revivalism of rigidity, mindset or extremism, and 4) identity crisis and identity-insecurity under which they consider three livelihood issues have become rather more problematic.' These are: i) enculturation and socialization of children with Bangladeshi values, because children who born out there started to make reference of brutality and fanaticism of the nine-eleven terrorists as symbols of the Muslim values, ii) communication gap as people have become overly cautious about telephone conversation contents, and social exchange_ and iii) generation gap or loss of emotional authority and attachment between parents and children as parents have become compelled to allow their offspring to merge completely in Canadian culture. Usually 'intergenerational cultural conflict' is considered as costlier than benefits of higher income (Rahman 1990; Ahmed, 1985). Thus, it appeared as a newer form of cultural shock to most community members.

Analysis of findings and conclusion

This study somewhat ends up in a newer dimension of anthropological study that looked into the relationship of expatriate livelihood and untoward incidents. The main findings is that financial security does not at all guarantee the safety-net of the expatriate community; rather their sense of belongingness define their livelihood. This study provides the insight that the expatriate livelihood constitutes rather greater vulnerability, and any untoward incidents may cause erosion in group and community solidarity. In this context, expatriate livelihood is impoverished livelihood *too*, as Sen (1984) and Agarwal (1990) assert that state of vulnerability of an individual to any socio-economic and natural adversities reflects his/her state of poverty. Indeed, this is not income-poverty. However, in Sen's proposition, this state of mind can be labelled as 'security-poverty' of the expatriates.

Safety-net appears to be a perceptual entity than a material reality. This is why whenever safety-net provisions become

undependable and shattered, people start to suffer from security-vulnerability. Security-vulnerable people become dependent more on homogenous communal social groupings. Such rolling back strategy is somewhat counterproductive and contrasting to globalization principles. Localizing effects, thus, ultimately lead to people's shrinking into small worlds from greater worlds. Burawoy et. al. (2000:341) rightly labels such global-local paradox as "grounded globalization". In Appadurai's (1995, 1996) notion, such grounded global-local experiences of people within the structure of their ideological and perception domains depict nothing but *ideoscapes* of human adjustment over society and culture. As well, expatriate livelihood constitutes the "image of limited good" (Foster 1965) to some extent.

This study also depicts that ethnocentric bias of people seems to last over decades, because such perception of expatriate Bangladeshis did not erase even in six decades (despite the fact that they have been latent before). Their ethnocentrism is reflected through their merger into regional and cultural identity groups. Scott (1985) terms them as "weapons of the week". In Phillips' (1989) terms, these adaptations are 'survival strategies' or the 'political' or 'internal dynamics' of people's livelihood. It ultimately represents that cultural entitlements or belongingness provides human beings their identity security. Besides own cultural boundaries (as in expatriation), human beings constitute a livelihood vulnerable to any form of unforeseen events and disasters.

REFERENCES

- Agarwal, B. 1990. Social security and the family: coping with seasonality and calamity in rural India. *Journal of Peasant Studies* 17(3):341-412.
- Ahmed, A. I. M., 1985. *Class and Ethnic Consciousness among the Bangladeshis in Toronto: Historical Bases and Current Pattern*. Ph.D. thesis, York University.
- Appadurai, A. 1995. The production of locality. In R. Fardon, ed. *Counterwork*. London: Routledge.
- Appadurai, A. 1996. *Modernity at Large: cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Bates, D.G and Fred Plog, 1990. *Cultural Anthropology*. New York: McGraw-Hill Publishing Co.
- BA W, 2000. *Members of the BA W: 1978-2000*. Winnipeg: Bangladesh Association in Winnipeg.
- BA W, 1996. *The By-laws of the Bangladesh Association*. Winnipeg: Bangladesh Association in Winnipeg.
- BA W, 1982. *The Declaration: The Bangladesh Association*. Winnipeg: Bangladesh Association in Winnipeg.
- Burawoy, M. et al. 2000. *Global Ethnography*. California: University of California Press.
- Clammer, J., 1984. "Approaches to ethnographic research" in R. F. Ellen (eds), *Ethnographic Research: A Guide to General Conduct*, London: Academic Press.
- Cohen, A. P., 1984. "Producing data", in R. F. Ellen (eds), *Ethnographic Research: A Guide to General Conduct*, London: Academic Press.
- Ellen, R. F., (eds) 1984. *Ethnographic Research: A Guide to General Conduct*, London: Academic Press.
- Foster, G. M. 1965. Peasant society and the image of limited good. *American Anthropologist* 67:293-315

Evans-Pritchard, E. E., 1973. "Some reminiscences and reflections on fieldwork". *Journal of Anthropological Society of Oxford* 4(1), 1-12. .

Hilliday, G., (eds) 1994. *Manitoba 125: A History*, Winnipeg, Manitoba: Great Plains Publications. .

Hundey, Y. 1980. *Canada: Immigrants and Settlers*. Toronto: Gage Publishing limited.

Hug-Hussain, S., 1995. "Modernization of the migrant women in Dhaka, Bangladesh analysis of some demographic variables". *Geojournal*, Vol. 35, No.4, pp. 531-8. Oordrecht, Netherlands.

Jackie, W., 1995. "South Asian women in employment: the impact of migration, ethnic origin and the local economy". *The Journal of the European Research Center on Migration and Ethnic Relations* Vol. 21, Number 3. pp. 18-27.

Kemp, J. H. and R. F. Ellen. 1984. "Producing data", in R. F. Ellen (eds), *Ethnographic Research: A Guide to General Conduct*, London: Academic Press.

Knights, M., 1996. "Bangladeshi immigrants in Italy: from geopolitics to micropolitics". *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 21, No.1, pp. 1055-23. London, Institute of British Geographers.

Leiner, Nadine and J. Meckl, 1995. "International migration and income edistribution: a trade-theoretic analysis. *International Migration*. Vol. 214, No.3, May 1995. pp. 324-41 Stuttgart, Germany.

Little, K., 1964. "The role of voluntary associations in West African urbanization", in P. V. de Berghe (eds), *Africa: Social problem. <s of Change and Conflict*. San Francisco: Chandler.

McIver, R. M and C. H. Page, 1967: *Society: An Introductory Analysis*. London: McMillan.

Mitchell, R. G. and K. Charmaz, 1994. "Telling tales and writing stories: postmodernist visions and realist images in ethnographic writing", in Grills, S. (eds), *Doing Ethnographic Research: Fieldwork Settings*.

Muller, T., 1995. "Immigration, income distribution, and social welfare". *Swiss Journal of Economics and Statistics*, Vol. 131, No.3, pp. 517-33. Basel, Switzerland.

Notrajon, C. S., 1989. *Immigrants and Community Organizations in North America*. India: Praxis.

Ogburn, W. F. and M. F. Nimkoff, 1972. *A Handbook of Sociology*, New Delhi. Urasia Publishing House.

Ong, A. 1991. The gender and labor politics of postmodernity. *Annual Reviews of Anthropology* 20:279-309. ' .

Phillips, L. 1989. Gender dynamics and rural household strategies. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*. Toronto: University of Toronto.

Rahman, A., 1990. "Some reflections on Bangladeshi community life in Ontario". *Polyphony*, Vol. 12. pp. 8-11.

Scott, J. C. 1985. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Scott, J. C. 1990. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Sen, A. 1984. *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. .

Sullivan, T. A., 1996. "Immigration and the ethics of choice". *International Migration Review*. Vol. 30, No.1, Spring 1996. 90-104 pp. Staten Island, New York.

Todisco, E., 1995. *Immigration: From Needs to Rights, and From Marginalization to' Integration*. Italy: University of Rome. .

UNHCR, 1998. *Refugees and Others of Concern to UNHCR: 1997 Statistical Overview*. Geneva: Statistical Unit, United Nations High Commission for Refugees.

Yasmin, M., 1982. *Ethnic Identity Retention of the Bangladeshi Immigrants in the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area*. M.A. thesis, University of Guelph. Ontario: Canada.

References :

1. I use reference-pool-immigration to shorten a long description of Leiner and Medel that expresses the process of a immigration chain whereby a settled primer immigrant play the role of a referee (guarantor) to promote immigration of dependent family members, relatives and friends. For example, the immigrants of Sylhet region of Bangladesh still promotes a strong immigration pool in the UK, especially in Brick Lane area of downtown London.
2. The meaning of the word is pitcher or earthen vessel. It is a metaphorical expression that *refers* to a group of migrants who brought an insignificant amount of property to Bangladesh during migration.
3. He was a case study respondent. The word “ghoti” is not used for its ethnocentric connotation.
4. The Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) and the Awami League (AL)- Two parties assuming both ruling party and opposition party titles.
5. Bangladesh people fought in 1971 against Pakistanis for freedom. The betrayers and collaborators of the Pakistan army are known as Rajakars. Hatred against them is still persistent in the mind of the pro-liberation forces, the general member of the community.
6. Reciprocal community gathering the Mexican indigenous people had been maintaining over centuries. The word is borrowed from that culture. At potlatch, all families bring food of their choice, and all community members share and enjoy taste of different foods from this occasion.