

Network and Relation Influence Opportunities: The Bibiyana Case

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Abstract: The central aim of this paper is to show how network and relation influence opportunities for internal labor migrant. It argues that social network and relation have had direct influence in the life of in-migrant workers in Bibiyana gas field in Sylhet. By providing ethnographic evidence I suggest that soul linkages, relativeness, patron-client relationship, and mostly the power of place and the availability of work have attracted people from different areas of Bangladesh into the Bibiyana gas field. In addition, I am keen to find out whether the migrant laborers are organized, how did they come, and to learn about possible (collective) action and strategies they have taken to sustain new environment on new peace.

1. Introduction

The central aim of this paper is to show how network and relation influence opportunities for internal labor migrant. It argues that social network and relation have had direct influence in the life of in-migrant workers in Bibiyana gas field in Sylhet. By providing ethnographic evidence I suggest that soul linkages, relativeness, patron-client relationship, and mostly the power of place and the availability of work have attracted people from different areas of Bangladesh into the Bibiyana gas field. In addition, I am keen to find out whether the migrant laborers are organized, how did they come, and to learn about possible action and strategies they have taken to sustain new environment on new peace. In brief, I want to know their migration patterns, motivation, and their lives. In other words, this article is meant to serve as a primer on in-migrant social networks and relations as one of the fundamentals of the migration process and will discuss what they are, what they mean, why they are important and how they influence the opportunities.

The rest of the paper has been structured as follows: section two presents a brief review of the literature on social networks in order to provide a context within which the argument of the paper can be located. I argue that in-migrant social networks are quite different from others in terms of their composition, how they are used, and the effect they have on the lives. Section three is about the methodology I employed for collecting ethnographic data. Section four describes the ethnographic village, Karimpur, from which I have taken the data. Section five is all about the forms of social network, which has been used

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frequently by the in-migrant worker. By providing the narratives of the in-migrant worker here I show that not only the interpersonal ties but also the organizational relations play an influential role in migrating, to make a decision and to get jobs. Section six presents the formation and expansion of migrant social network into a new place and locality. Through focusing on the experiences, this section examines the livelihoods, adaptation, and social protection strategies of in-migrants to a new area. Section seven contains concluding remarks.

2. Social network

Network, social network are arrangements of element fastened together in some manner to make up a pattern human interaction forever generates interpersonal linkages called 'dyads'. A dyad is an interpersonal relationship between two actors in which each actor is indebted to the other. Dyads are maintained by systems of exchange. Strings chains of dyads constitute social networks. Anthropologists have always analyzed social network, but explicit attention to the ramifying nature of interpersonal dyads was introduced by J.A. Barries (Barries 1954). Some scholars think of all social structure as constituting a network of relationships. Others have conceived of social networks as those aspects of social life which remain after an analysis of definable social groups and social the former reasoning, establishment of network segments into specified sets and arrangements is important. In the latter reasoning, the social network may be regarded as a sort of residue of the functioning of tangible social units. Some scholars delimit networks in terms of one or two institutional criteria. In such cases, one may speak of a genealogical network, a political network, an economic network, or a friendship network. Much current analysis, however, seeks to bypass such approaches and regards social networks as a "relevant series of linkages existing between individuals who may form a basis for the mobilization of people for specific purposes, under specific conditions" (Whitten and Wolfe 1947:720).

A network is an asset that consists of individuals, families, and organizations that have an important place in people's lives, emotionally and socially but also often in other ways too, perhaps providing financial and material support (Khan and Seeley 2005:94). In the context of livelihood framework, the existence of social network increases people's ability to work together, providing them a safety net. The social network may be based on friendship, kinship, political or work relationships through which people work together or exchange information. Social networks are governed by trust between people and are built on a process of reciprocity. A social network creates social

capital¹ for the people especially for the poor, providing them with the means to survive in society by being part of a group. Such groups determine attitudes, behavior, values, identities as well as access to and opportunities to gain resources. Networks are based on connections that can be strengthened by trust and personal bond and ties (Purvez 2005). Social bond and ties are very important elements of social networks because they connect social relationship. Ties also vary in content, direction, and strength. They can be weak and strong. Weak ties often denounced as generative of alienation (Writh 1938) but some (for example see Granovetter 1973 and 1983) seen that ties as indispensable to individuals' opportunities and to their integration into communities; strong ties, breeding local cohesion, lead to overall fragmentation.

In migration study social network comparatively new issue but it is very much essential for immigration (Kritz and Zlotnik 1992). Social network mediated access to resources not only locally but also away from the villages. In every step, it plays a great importance in migrant life. Not only blood-based kin relation but also fictive kinship relation is effective for their livelihood but in the primary steps kinship based relationship plays an important role in decision making to go one place to another place (Haan, Brock and Coulibaly 2002). There are some works which emphasis on the role of social networks in the migration process (Butter worth 1962; Fjellman and Gladwin 1985; Gardner 1995, Graves and Graves 1974; Greco 1995; Lomnitz 1977; Wilson 1994 cited in Brettell and Kemper 2002). Migrants bring changes to localized communities not only through significant economic remittances but also through their continuing social connection (Levitt 1998 cited in Brettell and Kemper 2002). Migrant's contact with the village is likely to be influenced to the same degree by the ties to their native places. In the context of Bangladesh, the emotional bond is of great significance. Migrants visit their villages may enlighten the existing situation (Hussain 1996).

Here Social network is a significant determinant of population mobility, particularly due to 'segmentation' of migration streams between specific regions of origin and destination due to kinship and other networks (Haan 1999). However, most of the current scholarship focuses on the importance of social networks in countries of origin and destination (Boyd 1989; Gurak and Cases 1992; Kritz and Zlotnik 1992; Bo" Cker 1995; Boyle et al. 1998; Bauer et al. 2002), including the role of complex networks of family members and friends in the home country as well as abroad in affecting potential migrants' decisions to migrate; the role of both formal and informal networks in providing assistance with finding housing and employment; facilitating

¹ Social capital is a term that has been defined in many different ways (for example see Bourdieu 1986, Putnam 1993 and 1995, Fine 2001, Harris 2002: 15-28). It can be understood as a network of social relations characterized by norms of trust and reciprocity.

adjustment to new surroundings (Koser and Pinkerton 2002); and spearheading ethnic community development in the destination country (Castles and Miller 2003). Much less is known about the role of social networks in in-migrant worker's life and livelihood. Indeed, the importance of social networks in in-migrant life cannot be underestimated. Before discussing this issue, let us look at the ethnographic area from which I have drawn my data.

3. Methodology

As an anthropologist I was interested in the details of day-to-day life and wanted depth rather than breadth in the information collected, that's why I chose methods of 'qualitative inquiry'. Qualitative inquiry or research is multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalist approach to its subject matter. The 'multi-method in focus' is described as the combination of multiple methods, empirical materials, perspectives and observers in a single study are best understood, then as a strategy that adds rigor, breadth, and depth to any investigation (Flick 1992). It means that the data which I have gathered here is not really based on statistical methods which provide so-called 'solid' evidence rather my methods are taken from well-established social science practices and procedure which stress qualitative rather than quantitative data. I chose participant observation method² to establishing rapport with the informants and to learn about the day-to-day routine activities of the in-migrant worker in the natural setting. To enhance true participation, I always encourage the participant to talk about their lives and their lifestyle rather than collecting data according to a structured questionnaire. The in-depth interview was conducted in the style of guided checklist to bring out detailed information about an immigrant's thought and his behaviors in a specific condition which offers a complete picture of what happened in the particular migrant's life. Case study method was used to capture the migration experiences of the respondents with a clear focus on the information sought and assistance received throughout the migratory trajectory. Focus group discussions were also carried out with in-migrant workers living in the Karimpur village, many of whom had used their social networks as a form of their opportunity to move to a particular destination, find a job and housing. The approach was to undertake repeat visits of nearing lengths once in one year to the same people learning a little more each time about what they had done and what they now did. These repeat visits thus enabled the story to build up a picture of the lives of the in-migrant people within the context of the social relationships of their communities, what

² Participant observation is a method of collecting information about the operation of, and attitudes existing in, a community through a researcher living in the area for an extended period. Here the author himself did this method and has taken the interviews which involved intense field work conducted over twelve months in ethnographic area.

Harriss-White (2003:11) citing Martin (1999) calls a 'richer map of reality'. My main aim, via these methods, was to listen to migrants' accounts of their experiences and to understand their everyday struggles and their adaptation process as well.

4. The Ethnographic Area

Bibiyana gas field

Bibiyana gas field is one of the largest gas fields in South Asia. It is situated in the north-east part of Bangladesh under Sylhet division in Hobigang Block no 12. The Bibiyana Gas Field represents one of the most significant natural gas discoveries in Bangladesh in terms of quality and quantity; the field is now the second largest in the country. The Gas Field is comprised of two separate sites: the 'North Pad' at Dighalbak, next to the Kushiara River, and the 'South Pad', a few kilometers inland, and surrounded by the villages of Karimpur, Nadampur, and Firozpur.³ Whilst the Dighalbak site was developed in the mid-1990s by the company Occidental, the South Pad was developed by Unocal and then Chevron from 2005, who named the site 'Bibiyana'. It was expected to initially produce 200 million cubic feet of natural gas per day (mm cf). The plant's full capacity of 600 mm cf is scheduled to be available by late 2007, with the field reaching maximum total production of 500 mm cf by 2010. Once full production is realized, Bibiyana is set to become the largest producing gas field in the country. Unlike other gas fields in Bangladesh (for example Jalalabad) Bibiyana is situated in a lowland, rice-producing region and surrounded by densely populated villages. Approximately fifty acres of land were acquired by the government in order to build the South Pad, which has been operated by Chevron since 2007. Much of this land was owned by large landowners, some of whom lived in the U.K. It is the most important gas field in Bangladesh, producing over 30% of the country's net gas output. In 2014, Chevron completed the Bibiyana expansion project which increased gas production capacity by 27% and doubled the liquids production capacity of the field.⁴

The ethnographic locus: Karimpur village

Karimpur village lays Enaetgonj union in Habiganj district in greater Sylhet division. From Sylhet town, it is fifty minutes' journey by bus to Enaetgong

³ For detail see, Gardner, K. (2012), *Discordant Development: Global Capitalism and The Struggle for Connection of Bangladesh*, Pluto Press, London. And also see, Gardner, Ahmed, Rana, & Bashir (2014). Field of Dreams: Imagining Development and Un-Development at a Gas Field in Sylhet, *South Asia Multidisciplinary Academic Journal* [Online], 9 | 2014, 1-16. Available from: <http://samaj.revues.org/3741> [Online since 23 July 2014, connection on 23 July 2014].

⁴ See: <http://www.lngworldnews.com/chevron-begins-gas-production-from-bibiyana-expansion-project-in-bangladesh/> [Accessed 28 October, 2014]

union. Karimpur is the nearest village of Bibiyana gas field in comparison to other villages, which are directly surrounding the South Pad of Bibiyana gas field. A large proportion of land which was acquired by the government for gas extraction is from Karimpur village. Karimpur was once a largely Hindu village, the home to several Hindu Zamindars, who owned most of the land in the vicinity. Over the last 20-30 years, the village has been settled by wealthy Muslim Londoni, who made money in the U.K and bought land from the Hindus. All of the original Hindu landowners have now left the area, though many Hindu households remain, all of whom are landless or land poor. Right now some about 80 percent of the village people are Muslims and rest of its Hindu communities. Karimpur is a 'Londoni' village per-excellence. Unlike other 'Londoni' villages it is also economically heterogeneous, with a significant divide between those who own land and other property (renting a house, filling station, fish farm, poultry farm, market etc.) and those who don't. Most of my informants (in-migrant worker) are coming from a different distance in Bangladesh. But they all of are now staying in Karimpur village because Karimpur is the most adjacent village of Bibiyana gas field and it has accommodation capacity as well. The inhabitants of Karimpur are welcoming in-migrants workers. The migrant's workers find here their living place and other facilities, such as bazaar, renting a house, nearest working place as well. For the consequences of all forms of facilities, most of the in-migrant workers are choosing this village to live and stay there as a community.

5. The forms and impact of Social Networks in in-migrant life

A social network is made up of individuals and organizations which are tied together by different sorts of relationships, such as friendship, economic exchange, influence, and common interests. In a social network, an individual person can think of him or herself as a node that has ties to kin, community members, schoolmates, and colleagues, as well as to larger religious, political, educational, and state institutions (Poros 2011). The migration literature has a well-established body of research on the role of social networks in the constitution and continuation of migration flows across time. Studies have mostly focused on family or community networks and their role in mediating between particular origin and destination areas (Meeteren and Pereira 2013). But all social networks are not created equal. In-migrant social networks are quite different from others in terms of their composition, how they are used, and the effect they have on the lives of people currently living and working away from home.

5.1 Contractor and their social network

Migration researchers have typically defined migrant networks as interpersonal ties linking kin, friends, and community members in their places of origin and

destination. But other kinds of social ties also exist for migrants (Poros 2011). Many migrants have ties to institutions and organizations that help them to migrate, get jobs, or adjust to society in the destination area in other ways. Such institutions might include government and non-governmental organizations, private employment agencies, corporations, religious and cultural organizations, and so on. In my study area (Bibiyana gas field) most of the contractors are assigned with sub-contract based. Finding work in Bibiyana most of the time depends on their social network or relation. Moreover, most of the sub-contractors are found their work in Bibiyana not only with the assistance of their native or relatives but also with the help of organizational social ties.

Case: Robiul sub-contractor (48)

Robiul came from Sirajgong to Bibiyana gas field. He is the head of a family of twelve and the only earner. Robiul used to work as a man on going to place to place in search of work. In Bibiyana he gets his job with the help of his village relatives who work in Bibiyana gas field since 1998. At the beginning of his work in Bibiyana gas field, he supplies manpower for the construction work. But now he has been working as an enlisted sub-contractor of Bibiyana gas field. He said that he made his current position in Bibiyana with the assistance of organizational social ties. He used to supply labor for Momotaz enterprise, which is one of the renowned local enterprises of Bibiyana gas field. By providing manpower for the enterprise, Robiul becomes a trustworthy person for them. He manages to make a fruitful organizational social tie with the enterprise. As a result of his social ties, he gets the support of this organization to be an enlisted sub-contractor of Bibiyana gas field. As a subcontractor for construction work he brings laborer from his own village, most of the laborer who worked under his supervision are village relatives or kinship-based relatives. Everybody who works under the supervision of Robiul was satisfied to work with him because Robiul is very much sincere about his work and he is very truthful. Robiul also trusts his laborer and making them happy with building a trustful relationship. Robiul believed that his interpersonal network and organizational social ties opened up the door of opportunities for him.

One of my other respondent contractors Alam (51) discusses the process of assessing the employment in Bibiyana. In the interview, he explained more about how he gets the job in Bibiyana and how social network plays an important role to find opportunities in the gas field.

Q: How did you find this job in Bibiyana?

A: *I am not getting this sub-contract in general or straightaway. In Bibiyana there are many companies working here on the basis of the subcontract. BFEW (Bangladesh Foundry & Engineering Works Ltd.) is one of these companies. This company is working here (in Bibiyana) for a long time. BFEW signed a contract—with Chevron to do their construction work. In the meantime, they need some hand for doing their work in time. I came through this news from this company's instructor who was my collateral relative and who also lives in Comilla (one of the districts in Bangladesh). For his assistant and his recommendations, I got the job here in Bibiyana.*

Q: What is your current position here?

A: *I am a sub-contractor of BFEW. I have signed a contract with this company. I found my job here for a certain (nine-month) time. I have an enterprise which is named Alam enterprise and under this enterprise, 16 workers are working here in Bibiyana under my supervision.*

Q: What sort of contract did you get here?

A: *I have got the contract for construction work. I have been working here for three months. I have previous experience of doing such work. I had been doing such work since 1999 and I know how to manage the worker and do the work very sharply. I have a reputation of doing such work in the Comilla district which helped me to find this job here in Bibiyana. I know my job very well.*

Q: Did you hire your entire worker from Lalbagh, Comilla?

A: *I love to hire them from my own village. Some of them are hired from the nearest village of Lalbagh but all of the workers are inhabitants of Comilla district and most importantly all of them are Muslim. Because of their locality and religious identity, I can rely on them. I think all of them are a reliable worker because I know about the character of most of the people here. So, I can get the best work from them. That is why the reputation of my work spread over Comilla. I must say it is very much helpful for my own livelihood and establishing my status in my village as well as my working place.*

Q: Why do you choose such network in worker employment?

A: *My works are standing by the dint of trust. Trust from both side from employer and employee side as well. Trust is a central element of the social network. The existence of which is essential in network building. By looking at the degree of trust we can measure the strength of a relationship. Trust can be seen as something balanced between faith and confidence. When trust is built up between employer and employee it leads to beneficial action through mutual cooperation. For this reason, when the question of employment came I choose my social network.*

The above case study and interview illustrate that various forms of social network and relationships are being used by the in-migrants for their livelihood, which opened up the opportunity for them in a number of ways. It basically depicts that not only interpersonal ties but that other forms of network and relation are also important. Sometimes weak ties function more effectively (Granovtter 1973) when there is an obligation in the relationship pattern of a pair of actors (Purvez 2005) an obligation might be thought of as a type of bond. Such bonds may be horizontal or vertical. Horizontal relationships are formed between peers, people who are from the same class or social group whereas a vertical relationship is seen to occur between people of different positions in society, as in the case of patron-client relationships. The patron-client relationship is actually formed when poor people become clients who are obliged to provide their patrons with services while the patron provides security, perhaps in the form of work. In some cases, the patron-client relationship can be exploitative. Here we see contractors may serve as patrons to a group of labor, helping them out by providing jobs at a time of crisis but they can exploit the labor by forcing the latter to work with him at a comparatively low wage.

Here we also see how regionalism and religious identity plays a very important role in the social life of individuals, groups, and societies. Regionalism is a strong feeling of pride or loyalty that people in a region have for that region. In the above case, we find that sort of feeling in hiring labor. On the other hand, religious identity is also a very important contributing factor in hiring labor. As we see in the above case religious identity provides a specific type of identity. This creates the sense of group membership to a religion. Here Muslim brotherhood feeling (“musolman bhai bhai”) creates the sense of group membership and it opened up the opportunity of work for the laborer. In addition, the above case demonstrates that different types of network and relations have different mechanisms of assistance come into play, which is important to study. So, we can say that the use of social networks and the types of social networks that exist may differ in relation to the context of destination (Zell and Skop, 2011).

5.2 Worker and their social network

Migrant networks facilitate the moves of newcomers by providing information about the new society and assistance, for example with housing and employment. The ways in which migrant networks contribute to reducing the costs of migration over time, reduce selectivity and perpetuate migration have been well documented in migration research (e.g. Massey et al. 1993; Massey et al. 1998; Gurak and Caces 1992; Fawcett 1989; Tsuda 1999; Pellegrino 2004). Most potential in-migrants seek to minimize their risks when they move and consider places where they know other individuals or organizations that can help them to make the trip and settle most easily. Social networks provide the kinds of connections needed to make migration possible.

A migrant’s ability to move to a particular destination, find a job and housing, open up a business, participate in the development of their native hometown and access health care can all be directly impacted by or even dependent upon the migrant’s social network (Poros 2011). During my fieldwork, I also got the same impression from the in-migrant workers who were coming from different district of Bangladesh. Most of them said that they found their work in Bibiyana gas field with the assistance of their social network and relation. They all believe that social network affects many aspects of their in-migration process and play a significant role in their lives. On the one hand, many workers told that they find their job and housing in Bibiyana with the support of their close relatives and friends. On the other hand, many people believe that institutional relation also plays an important role in migration here in Bibiyana.

One of my respondents Prosanta Dev (34) who is a gas field labor discusses the process of assistance he gets here in Bibiyana and also shares his opinions in the light of his personal experiences. I am going to elaborate his discussion with me in a brief manner.

Q: Do you think that personal image or social networks play an important role to get a job?

A: *Yes, I do. Because of in our country if we look closely we can see that there are lots of unemployed people. When a post declared, 1000's of people come to us to get the post. Then it is very difficult to get the job. In that scenario, personal image or social network has an effect.*

Q: How do you get your job?

A: *One of my village natives named Mr. Fazlur Rabaman has been working under Bangladesh foundry & engineering works Ltd, as an operator since 1995. His company has a contract with Chevron Bangladesh. He sent the news to my elder brother in the village that his company needs some electricians. Fazlur Rabaman knows about my family very well because he is my elder brother's close friend. In favor of that, he came to our house for a number of times. He knows that I am an electrician. He also knows about the character of almost all persons of our family. Moreover, he knows that I am a hardworking and honest person. So he sent me the news and lobbied for me for the post. As he was a sincere and senior person of his company the interviewer considering his request and selected me for the post.*

In Bangladesh, a potential migrant's most immediate connection comes from within the boundaries of the *gusti* (kin base relation). Migrant is migrated on the basis of their relative's presence. On the contrary, the migrant is usually migrated to those places where their relatives stay and work. One of the in-migrant labors of Bibiyana gas field Mojjadde (22) discusses the process of assistance which he received here in Bibiyana gas field.

Q: Why do you choose Bibiyana for work?

A: *One of my uncles migrated here before and that's why I come here. Actually, my uncle found a job for me here in Bibiyana and my family wants me to go for the work. Because they know my uncle guided me as my father. That's why they send me here to work.*

Q: Did you face any problem when you first came to Bibiyana?

A: *No, I didn't face any problem at all here. My uncle did everything for me. I found my job and accommodation here very smoothly.*

Q: What kind of assistance did you get from your uncle?

A: *I am the eldest son of my family. I was not good in education as my younger brother does. So, my father decided that I should work. As a result, he requests his brother, who is an operator of Alom enterprise, to find a job for me. On the contrary, I came to Bibiyana and took shelter in my uncle's rented house. After some days my uncle managed a work for me. Thereafter I get the job as a helper at the same company where my uncle worked. So I think that upon arrival I didn't encounter many barriers because my paternal uncle was here and he was a very important bridge for me in making it possible for me to come.*

If we look at who provided such information, we see that most information respondents received before migrating came from a person or organization in the destination area. Apart from institutions, we see that information is provided mostly by relatives and friends. In each of these cases, social ties are instrumental in making migration happen. Necessary resources, such as information, money, persuasion, and influence must be exchanged within

these ties to make migration possible. The relations inherent in the social capital of migrants constitute the mechanism by which such resources are distributed. Interpersonal and organizational social ties affect who migrates and to which destinations. Simultaneously it shows that in-migrant receive assistance from different actors – both individual and institutional – for different types of needs and that there are also differences between the profiles and countries of destination.

6. The formation and expansion of migrant social network in new place

Many in-migrants have ties to institutions and organizations that help them to migrate, get jobs, or adjust to society in the destination area in other ways. Migrant networks also facilitate the moves of newcomers by providing information about the new society and assistance, for example with housing and employment. But this is not to say that a social network offers equal opportunities and resources to all of its members. In a new place, in-migrants has faced many difficulties in their everyday way of life, their previous linkage, and institutional ties most of the time have had no effect on it. In that moment they overcome those adversities through the creation of fictive kinship⁵. The amplification of fictive kinship is employed in a variety of circumstances in Bengali society because it demoralizes the encounters between native and newcomer or self and other. As a newcomer in-migrants have to expand their social network to survive into a new place or locality.

6.1 Fictive kinship in workplace

According to Massey and colleagues (2005: 42), sustained growth in migration flows is strongly rooted in migrant networks as ‘sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrant, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship and shared community origin.’ Although reference is made to the relevance of other migrant supporting institutions in facilitating migration, within social network theory, migrant networks are central to theorizing and as a result also to most of the empirical research that has been undertaken within this research strand (Garip and Asad 2012). Recent critiques of this approach have pointed at the relevance of ties beyond kinship, friendship, and community, such as employers, officials, coworker and other migration brokers (Krissman 2005). In my fieldwork, I also found the relevance of other ties in the working place. One of my informants informs me that the worker informs each other when they get to know that other companies are paying higher salaries. Senior operators, for

⁵ People who are regarded as being part of a family even though they are not related by either blood or marriage bonds. Fictive kinship may bind people together in ties of affection, concern, obligation, and responsibility.

example, play a significant role as brokers since they teach the junior operators and helpers and motivate them to apply for a job as an operator in another company when they know the necessary skill.

Operator Juwel (24) told that:

I am very lucky that I had a very good operator as my immediate boss. I usually address him as 'Chacha' (uncle) he also treats me like his brother's son. After some months my operator told me to search for a job, as an operator, to earn more. When he comes to know that our neighbor company, which is also working in Bibiyana as a contract base work, find some operator for their respective work. My operator uncle told me to apply there. I must say that with all his inspiration and support I applied there for the post of the operator. During the interview day, he accompanied me because he knows that I am always a little bit worried about facing interview. Moreover, he talked with one of the interviewees, whom he knew as his early attachment, for supporting me to get the job. Finally, our dreams come true. I have been selected for the post and I got the job. If I don't have any relation with my previous operator then I will not be able to get the job. This was all happened because of him.

On this relative matter helper, Mustak (22) expresses his opinions in another way. He said that:

In my village, I am doing nothing. I did not have any previous experiences of doing such type (helper) of work. So from the beginning, I became very much puzzled about my work and as a result of that, I made some mistake then. For this reason, my supervisor scolded me. Sometimes he insulted my parents and threatens me saying bad things. I am very much afraid and do not dare to say anything to him. But my colleagues, whom I used to call 'bbai' (brothers), were always helping me out. Always they were taking positions which were in favor of me. That's why my supervisor doesn't get very much harsh on me anymore. Our unity and relations make our freedom in the workplace.

Here we see common brotherhood plays an important role in doing work with solidarity in the working place. Although they are not related to each other by either blood or marriage bonds, they are regarded as being part of a family. They know it very well that this sort of relation was not extended in the long run but to get rid out of their present awkward situation they maintain this relationship for their own sake.

6.2 Use and influence of fictive kinship in migrated area

If we look at how in-migrants find their housing and manage their living to the destination area, we see that most of the in-migrants who are bachelor that benefited most by the formation of fictive relation in the new place. Fictive kinship plays a vital role for the in-migrant workers to find a place to live and most vitally in their adaptation process to the new locality. To survive into new place one person has to maintain many things. Some of the respondents who are living in staff hostel are practicing such relation. They also told that it is very much helpful for them to get mutual solidarity into the living place.

Jamal Sikdar (38), an in-migrant who came to work in the Bibiyana gas field explains how important the fictive relation is:

We are living here in the staff hostel at least more than 25 persons at the same place. Everyone comes from the different area of Bangladesh. Someone has kin here but rest of them is not. But if we want to live together we have to maintain a certain relationship otherwise, it becomes haphazard. It is very much necessary to live in such a commonplace one with intimacy. To do this we the people are making fictive relation to each other on the basis of our age and our working position or designation. To exercising this relation someone become an uncle and someone becomes a big brother for us. And this is how a cordial intimacy growing up here with each other. No one can say what will happen to me today, if something negative happened with me then we have no one to help us out except these people. These are the people who are coming forward to helping me out at first. Because of they are now my roommate and fictive close relative as well. On the contrary, if I will not maintain a good relation with them then it becomes a very helpless position for me. Because then these people are not helping me out from danger. So considering all these things we are all maintaining such fictive relations.

As I said earlier that all of my informants are coming from different district of Bangladesh to Bibiyana so they have to face many challenges in adjustment process to a new place. Usually, they have been strangled for getting the portal to the new arena. In my qualitative material, I have some stories about in-migrants who have mitigated their common problem by establishing a fictive relation to the native people of their destination area. During my fieldwork, I found that in Karimpur in-migrants face an identity (bachelor) barrier which makes it more difficult to find housing in the new place. As a result, the in-migrant workers in Karimpur strongly rely on their new mechanism of social networks and the mechanism is none but the fictive relation which plays a very important bridge for them. The role of fictive relation is likely to reflect the specificity of this kind of assistance. I must say that this form of interaction has mostly taken place after the migrant arrives.

The in-migrants are making fictive relation with those people who are very important for them and whom they have a frequent connection. Furthermore, new fictive relation mediates the contact of the in-migrant with others that are better positioned in the destination area. Fictive relation becomes a safety net for the newcomer who migrates as a worker in Bibiyana. It becomes helpful to them to maintain their regular movement in the new place and to sustain their standard of living as well.

Sumon (22) a helper who use fictive relation and very much involve in local activity, put it quite clearly when asked for his motivation to join the local activity. He said:

We are migrants but we have good relation with local people, especially with our neighbor. Most of the time the local people treated us as their brother. They are inviting us in different social festivals and we are attending their function with a great heart. We also invite them to our function; they are also attending our function with great enjoyment. And in this way, our relation becomes stronger day-to-day. So I can say that all these are happening with the help of fictive relation and the only motive to maintain such relation with the local people is to make our life more comfortable and hazardless in the new place.

In this way, fictive kinship becomes very important in the life of in-migrant people. It plays a vital role for them to stay and work with the villagers as an insider. So we can say that they use this relation as a mechanism which opened up the opportunity to them into the new pace. They are very aware of this mechanism and they maintain that relationship in their own interest, like, for example, to manage their living into a new place in the more comfortable way or to improve their working condition.

7. Conclusion

Social network and the relation is an asset for the in-migrant people. But the entire migrants do not have equal opportunities to build up a similar relationship with individuals, groups, and institutions. Much depends on who you are and whether you can build up and service a network that is advantageous to you. Social network exists not only as actual sets of transacting individuals forever forging and breaking dyadic ties but also sets of conceptualizations constructed by interacting individuals. Now we can say that social network exist overtly and covertly in observable and stereotypic dimensions. They are conceptualized not only by the person studying them but also by every individual interacting in multiple contexts in every conceivable social arena.

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