



**Sociology Ph.D
Program**

The Collection of Theses of the Ph.D. Dissertation

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Attachments and Failures

Role of Ties and Failures of Ties in Integration

Results of a Fieldwork among Refugees

Supervisor:

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Corvinus University of Budapest
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Table of Contents

I. PRELIMINARY RESEARCHES AND THE REASONS FOR CHOOSING THE SUBJECT	4
I.1. THEORETICAL SYNOPSIS	5
II. METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH	12
II.1. THE RESEARCH AREA	12
II.2. THE METHODS.....	12
II.2.1. <i>Fieldwork</i>	12
II.2.2. <i>The flexible survey method</i>	14
II.2.3. <i>Social network analysis</i>	14
III. RESULTS OF THE DISSERTATION	16
III.1. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF NEO-INTEGRATION	16
III.2. HYPOTHESES AND RESULTS	18
III.2.1. <i>The lack of relations affects the integration negatively.</i>	18
III.2.2. <i>The different types of lack of ties weaken the integration in different ways.</i>	19
III.2.3. <i>The types of the different lacking relations are influenced by the diverse socialization schemes and psychological attitudes.</i>	20
III.2.4. <i>The failures experienced in relations have negative influences on the neo-integration.</i>	20
III.2.5. <i>The personal network of the neo-integration is not similar to the morphology of the first personal network.</i>	21
III.2.6. <i>The childhood socialization also influences the relations (re)formed in adulthood.</i>	23
IV. REFERENCES	25
V. OWN PUBLICATIONS IN THE SUBJECT	32

I. Preliminary researches and the reasons for choosing the subject

In the recent years, I have been done research among the homeless, drug users, persons involved in party culture and Muslim converters. When asked about the reason of my interest in these communities and cultures, I usually told they had some common features. However, I could hardly define what this common thing was. Apart from the similarity of my approaches to these groups – it is no miracle, regarding that I was led by the same theoretical and methodological considerations at each research –, I could feel there was something more in common. The solution was shown by the common elements of life stories: narrations of forced or deliberate secession from family and friends, followed by the willful affiliation to a new community – what we could call integration. After deciding to do research at the refugee camp, I started my fieldwork to find the same narrations: failures in relationships, secession, then signs and stories of a new integration into another society.

I regarded social capital and ties as essential factors in these researches, but later I realised that their lack was of at least the same importance for the analysis. Therefore, I focused on the lack and failures of ties. Lack of ties is a crucial element of secession and desintegration. Their examination led me to the disfunctions of integration, failures of ties and the different interpretations of failures. Furthermore, I recognised that both sense of failure (and success) and interpretation of ties depended on culture, thus the approach of cultural sciences was needed.

As various patterns of life stories were identified during my research, pre-steps of a new integration were recognized, differing significantly from the attributes of the former integration. Therefore I went on with the interpretation and definition of neo-integration – to find that there can be differences even in this process. At that phase, lack and failures of ties, as well as their acceptance or rejection proved to be at least as important as cultural differences.

The chief questions of my thesis are the following: How is integration weakened and broken by the different types of the lack and failures of ties, and what is their effect on the formation of a new integration (neo-integration)? I further intend to describe how the lack or scarcity of social capital can be interpreted.

In my thesis I applied the theoretical approaches of integration, social capital and network analysis as „positive” approaches of my topic. This helped me to explore the weak points of

the theoretical studies, where they ignored the „negative” aspects mentioned above, as the lack of ties, scarcity of social capital or dysfunctions of integrations, and neo-integration. I aim to fill this gap as I presume on the score of my fieldwork, that it is essential for describing the whole range of the topic.

My thesis is linked to both theoretical and empirical literature on social capital, as the approaches mentioned above as „positive” are resumed in my theoretical platform, and at the same time my empirical research is an example of diaspora researches. The application of network analysis is however a new approach to the topic, as well as the examination of the lack of ties and its effect on social networks (and through them, on neo-integration).

I found that negative approaches – as lack, sense of lack, failure and sense of failure – are at least of the same importance as ties realised, for the interpretation of integration and social networks. I further found that not only lack but also the acceptance or rejection of lack have significant impact on the building of new ties. One of the main features of individuals at my area is that they had been seceded – deliberately or forced by external conditions – from their usual environment, being in the phase of building up (conscious or unconscious) a new network of ties at the time of my research. Due to this feature, I could examine how past ties and lacks effect neo-integration.

Regarding the relevance of my research topic, I tried to answer a problem emerging often in social politics: why do (or do not) migrants (especially those Sub-Saharan origin and other Muslim migrants) integrate and assimilate to the receiving society? As I have mentioned already, I discuss this problem from a positive and a negative approach, regarding the effects of both ties and their lack.

I.1. Theoretical synopsis

My thesis is based theoretically on the theoretical approaches of social and group integration and dezintegration. According to Weber (1987), the concept of integration involves the concepts social acts and ties. His tipology of acts is a starting point of the researches of individual motivations, making an interactionist approach of acts – i. e. classification and interpretation of collective and individual (or from a different point of view: deviant) acts – possible. By the association and separation of the concepts of social and system integration (life world and system), Habermas (1994) creates a possible framework for the concept of

integration, describing social integration (i. e. protection from dezintegration) as a function of the political scene, being responsible for social identity.

The problem of group integration reflects to micro-aspects of the possible approaches, involving both rational and irrational acceptance of collective answers and options to the existential questions posed by individuals, as well as a contextual interpretation of belonging to a group.

Due to its ties, the individual (ego) is oriented to multiple directions, which creates a network of interactions, where individuals stand in both dependant and subordinative relations to each other. The integration of individuals to a group and the society is based on ties, that is at times reinforced by institutionalised rites. Bourdieu (1978) regards ties as actual and potential resources of the improvement and preservation of the status of individuals. Due to this resource, capitals not possessed by an individual can be accessed, in exchange for responsibilities taken up voluntarily (Bourdieu, 1998).

Ties can be interpreted by their symmetry and their strength or weakness. While strong ties play a role in the preservation of states obtained and possessed during the flow of network resources, weak ties are responsible for obtaining new states (Angelusz – Tardos, 1991; Granovetter, 1991; Nan Lin, 1991). According to the attributes of my topic, role of weak ties gains special importance. Affiliation to the diaspora and most of information needed for migration are held by weak ties. It is more likely that these ties become bridges than strong ties (Granovetter, 1988. 45), not only in homophil ties between the diasporas, but also towards members of the receiving society.

Migrants and refugees are segregate as well by their social networks which put boundaries between natives and outsiders. Its members are prevented from assimilation to the receiving society by the network (especially by its strong intensity), and in the same time, it *can* grant them jobs, home and well-being (see Tilly 2007).

Thus a qualitative interpretation of ties can and must be considered, stating far more than the existence or non-existence of ties. While analysing a tie, statements concerning its intensity, mutuality, intimacy and recognition are also important, beyond the binary opposition of exists/does not exist.

For the approach of the lack and failures of ties, I took the model of normal social network as a basis. Within this model, I separated three types of ties: that of family, friendship and school/workplace ties. I defined lack of connections as the lack or scarcity of ties within one of these categories. I classified the lack of ties as follows:

<i>Tie</i>	Weak tie	Strong tie
Ceased	Ceased weak tie	Ceased strong tie
Not formed	Not formed weak tie	Not formed strong tie

Once existing ties between the ego and its friends or familiars, ending up later on (from our approach: in the past), are regarded as ceased weak ties. Once existing family ties ended by conflicts, death, divorce etc. are regarded as ceased strong ties. These are the ties once serving as agent of socialisation and normative control in a phase of the life of individuals, and their loss can lead to sense of absence.

Interpretation and empirical analysis of not formed ties is more difficult than those once existing, as ties appearing in a „normal” social network not possessed by the ego are examined by hypothetical suppositions. Not formed weak ties mean the lack of ties with the members of friend or peer groups (probably with religious communities, networks of familiars), which could have increased the chance of integration into the given community by playing the role of a (real) reference group for the individual. Not formed ties (lack of father and/or mother, brother and sister, grandfather and grandmother) appears as a missing attribute in early socialisation, in the evolution of the concept about the world and – what is important for us – in the first integration.

Lack of ties, if attached to the subjective senses of failure and frustration, can hamper the creation of new ties. Sense of failure is not completely subjective, as it also depends on culture and socialisation.

Creation of new ties is affected by the experience of the lack of ties as sense of both acception or failure, because the ability of building ties is decreased by the sense of failure, that has an influence on both integration and neo-integration.

Considering the theories on ties and culture, I underline the importance of ties and social capital, as well as that of their lack in the state and evolution of integration and neo-integration. Lack of social capital (and generally, lack of ties) can lead to segregation and marginalisation by decreasing the chance of integration. However, new ties are formed during neo-integration, enhancing the chance of integration (see Durkheim, 1982, Bourdieu, 1998 and Granovetter, 1991). Neo-integration depends on previous experiences of integration – and once existing ties are very important at this point – and failures. When interpreting success and failure, success of individuals is not only dependent to the success in gaining new states,

in language use, in physical rehabilitation, recovering from trauma, as they are interdependent with the success (failure) of ties.

Theories of migration, and especially those *on diasporas*, are particularly important in my approach, as they reflect the most usual way of neo-integration of refugees. Though network approach and solidarity was foreseen by the network theory of Tilly (2001), in-depth interpretation, the role of ties and their lack are still missing in diaspora researches.

As I mentioned above, a cultural approach is necessary, and therefore I should declare my opinion in the debate on culture, subculture versus deviance. I argue for the equal status of different cultures – or the Other –, but I try to express theories of both culture and diaspora in the cultural aspects of my theories, due to the peculiar nature of my topic. In order to meet the aim above, I examined reflexive anthropological approaches, the concept of the post-colonial Other, the interpretation of intertextuality, approaches appearing after the hermeneutical turn of anthropology, the praxis of translation and contextual interpretation, the sense of discursive approach and the concepts of pluralism, hybridity, transnationalism and of course of diaspora. As I argue in favour of ethnography (as a method of data collection) and analysis of narratives (as a method of analysis), I should have also interpreted subjectivity (emerging in the subject and methodology of the research as well as in the person of the researcher). Fulfillment of the criteria of scientific activity is realised by the deconstruction of the researcher's pretext, phenomenological reduction and constant (self-)reflexivity, even if these kinds of subjectivity are still present in qualitative researches. Furthermore, this is a moderate advantage of subjective approaches, enabling the access to data and notions of greater validity. Success is guaranteed if our concepts are valid and inter-subjective, providing the most coherent picture possible. From the point of view of understanding a text, successful interpretation (Wilhelm, 2003. 67) means the unfold of meanings.

It can be affirmed that interpreting analysis, revelation of the meaningful structure, intention of increasing the validity of notions, if accompanied to qualitative methods, should contain the reflexions of subjectivity, as an approach close to experiences, the subjectivity and empirical experiences of the researcher (in the form of pretexts and research experiences) are all factors increasing subjectivity.

After discussing the above mentioned theoretical and practical approaches, we can get back to the interpretation of diaspora.

Diasporas are social groups at the border of integration and segregation. Although they are within the texture of society, the source of their identity is different, and their legitimacy is based on a mythised historical event (and place, culture) (see Safran, 1991. 83-84 és Clifford, 2001.).

Regarding also the aspect of ties, the definition of Safran is to be mentioned, which described two sorts of external ties: firstly, constant ties with the Home, that defines group identity and solidarity of the members of the diaspora, and at the same time it is not perfectly accepted by the receiving society. There are two further – not network – aspects at Safran, one of them being that ethnical community can be found at two places different from the original centre (Home) in the diaspora, and the second one being that the members of the diaspora are committed to their fatherland, preserving the memory and myths of it as well as the hope to be back (Safran, 1991).

Neo-integration of individuals are realised particularly in-group (in their own cultural agent, being the diaspora), the role of out-group being of less importance, and conditional. This depends on the existing network, economical and intellectual resources, fragmentation and last but not least, on the mutual connections of the diaspora as a whole to the receiving country. Boundaries of the sovereignty of diasporas are marked by the ends of individual networks. Therefore, some of the diasporas can have strong ties with many other communities and diasporas, while the ties possessed by other ones are insufficient for the integration of individuals.

Diaspora can provide „the sense of affiliation to somewhere else, an other kind of sense of time and conception, a different way of modernity” (Clifford, 2000), constantly looking beyond the reality of the receiving country, trying to reconstruct the essences of the Home with the expectation of being back is a reality for them or the next generation.

Diasporas exist inside the receiving society, presenting constantly – though not defiantly – the strange and the exotic. Therefore the challenge of hospitality (Derrida, 2004), outsider existence and exclusion as spears of interpretation have been drawn by diaspora to my theoretical approach. Nevertheless, I examined the above aspects from the point of view of ties and failures.

Among those supposing a cumulative causality (Massey et al, 2001. 28-29 and 38), migrant networks are the first factors complemented by the factors of household incomes, possessing (estates) and culture. In my opinion, the above factors should be supplemented with subjective ratings measuring satisfaction about social status or understanding it as an effect of inter- and intra-generation mobility. Furthermore, the component of possessing estates should

not be restricted to the dimension of subsistence, but expanded to that of possessing power. Other possible factors as wars, famines, persecution etc. are also worth being drawn into casual interpretation.

Diasporas are not identical to *refugee communities*, as they consist of individuals from the same national-ethnic communities but with different reasons of migration. Refugees form just a group within diasporas, but theoretical approaches interpreting diasporas can be used as a tool of understanding refugee existence. There are some attributes however, characterizing refugee communities typically.

Refugees are different from the rest of their diaspora by not only their way of arrival, but also their socio-economical status. Moreover, they tend to have stronger in-group ties than with non-refugee members of their diaspora. This feature has two reasons: in the one hand, those possessing higher status hold aloof from those having worse conditions partially or totally, while on the other hand, common experiences of refugees also function as detaining factors to building out-group ties. The above reasons are often complemented by the fact that those being able to leave their homelands legally come from different ethnic/religious/social groups as refugees from their countries.

Nevertheless, refugee communities do have some ties with the rest of their diasporas. These ties are more intensive while feasts and national holidays, and patron-client or – less likely – ascriptive ties are also often formed between them, particularly due to work or entrepreneurship. Therefore, the differentiation between common days and feasts should be supplemented with the temporality originated from the functionality of ties (according to Sinha-Kerkhoff (2006), they are often short). However, in-group ties within ethnical groups or out-group ones between similar groups – regarding religious, national or regional proximity – are maintained in such a way to be able to actualise when necessary.

Taking my research area, diasporas and refugees into consideration, aspects of trans-nationalism and the concept of cultural familiarity supporting identification should be also regarded.

As integration and networks are essential from the point of view of my thesis, two attributes of cultural familiarity and trans-nationality should be stressed: although it is in-group cultures that are enhanced by familiarity and the bias for the own culture, neighbouring culture are in a constant, reflexive relation at the same time.

Although ties (also regarded as social capital), integration, cultures and identity seem well-examined areas considering the theoretical approaches above, I can still recognise an empty area.

Dysfunctions and failures of integration have not been examined – this being the task of researchers of deviance and subculture. The process leading from the integration of the individual to its failure and the acceptance of the deviant or the different has not been analysed, although this different integration can be as complete and sufficient as the original one – even if they do not aim at the majority society.

According to network analyzers, explanations for many questions reside – of course – in ties, social capital and the integrative role of ties. However, lack or failure of ties and their role in integration and social capital are scarcely discussed. While examining integration, secession forms the Home and neo-integration, I consider lacks and failures as important as existing ties have been considered by now. According to the praxis of cultural research, they are to be analysed with regard to the characteristics of the given cultures.

Thus I accentuate the process from the lack of ties and the failure of integration to neo-integration, analysing it partly retrospectively, and partly by 'tracking' during fieldwork. I demonstrate the process starting at the (first) integration of the individual and leading to neo-integration through the failure of the original integration, by the interpretation of the role of lacks and failures of ties in this process. I intended to analyse social networks in their dynamics, trying to explore the morphology of ego-networks at the different stages of the process, aiming at the re-interpretation of interpretations by the opposed sides of integration to society and to cultural community, as well as at the analysis of the roles of lacks and failures of ties in first and neo-integration¹.

¹ This is not exclusively the second one, as it can be result of a multiple attempt of integration. In this case, intermediate stages are also to be examined.

II. Methodology of the research

II.1. The research area

Prior to the present research, I had explored Muslim communities in Hungary since 2003, then refugees of the camp of Békéscsaba since 2005, observing the life of refugees leaving the camp within their diasporas.

Refugees of the camp came from the Balkans, the former Soviet Union, South Asia, the Middle East, Maghreb Region and Sub-Saharan African countries. Briefly after starting my fieldwork, those coming from the last four regions turned to be closer to me regarding both their language and culture. Therefore I chose interviewees from the following countries (in alphabetical order): Afghanistan, Algeria, Bangladesh, Ivory Coast, Ethiopia, Guinea, Iraq, Iran, Cameroon, Congo, Liberia, Mali, Nigeria, Pakistan, Palestine Territories, Somalia, Sudan, Turkey, Uganda, Uzbekistan. In spite of the great cultural, religious and linguistical disparities within these communities, I managed to build up a way of communication with them, that made my research possible.

II.2. The methods

II.2.1. Fieldwork

My fieldwork was realised from 2005 to 2008, making interviews and conversations, as well as observing social networks. It was located at the receiving station of Békéscsaba, the railway station and many diasporas in Budapest. Besides the role of the researcher, I worked as a volunteer in the refugee camp, what made my access and free moving possible, and moreover, enabled to make acquaintance with and at the same time, to provide help to the refugees. During my fieldwork, I decided to take up the role of participant observer (Babbie, 1996. 308). My role was constantly changing within the one I chose to play. I was sometimes regarded as partner in religious debates (especially by Muslims) as well as political and social issues, and at the same time, as voluntary translator in seeking for jobs and in attempts to obtain refugee status. The above roles seemed to be mixed at cultural questions and conflicts. Communication at the field was facilitated by my previous fieldwork experience², knowledge

² My previous knowledge about Islam (see Nagy, 2007, 2008, 2009a) were complemented with studies on wahabi, sufi and shia schools, while within Christianity, I strove to learn about the specific features of African Christianity.

of cultures³ and languages⁴, as well as socio-cultural and political information about the given countries.

During my research, I focused on male and female roles, concept of friendship, monogamy and poligamy, role of the head of family and collegial ties, as their cultural interpretation was necessary.

98 interviews including short and long ones, a numerous of conversations and analyses of 22 homeland and 39 present social network have been realised during my fieldwork. I organised interviews – both short and complete narrative ones – around three junctions as life story, refugee existence and ties. In many cases, I should have made more conversations with the same interviewees so as to feel my interview complete. Due to the special character of my fieldwork, I had the occasion to find them again and refine their narratives.

II.2.1.1. Narrative interview, narrative analysis

By narrative life interviews, I intended to examine social and socio-cultural environment, ties and their cultural meanings, functioning, presence and lack, possible sense of failure due to the lack of ties, skills of maintaining ties, level of satisfaction, prospects of future and last but not least, the impressions on social environments. I also aimed at exploring ties and networks, both present ones and those being able to be examined retrospectively, taking into consideration that objectivations examined retrospectively are interpreted by interviewees in view of the present situation.

Interviews were made in an unstructured form, in order to avoid the building of narration and influencing of the structure of (nearly) natural reminiscence as much as possible. Therefore I was aware of not only the ways of argumentation and legitimation, but also sequencies, structuredness⁵ and sentimentality of the text.

According to the above considerations, I made narrative analysis so as to explore the ways of argumentation and legitimation, enabling to strain off the features of reminiscence (Pászka, 2007; Nagy, 2009). During interpretation, I considered that life stories are based on the facts

³ Understanding West African refugees and East Africans in diasporas was facilitated by my knowledge about Rasta culture. Beyond this, I wanted to learn about Punjabi, Pashtu, Tajik, Malinke, Senoufo, Ibo, Yoruba, Hausa, Amhara, Tigre, Oromo, Somali, Kurdish, Palestine, Arabic and Sudanese cultures.

⁴ I learned some Urdu, Farsi, Ibo, Amhara, Senoufo, Somalian and a Bamileke dialect, and tried to adjust my English to the English used in the camp, as well as to use some basic French expressions.

⁵ For the interpretation of structuredness, it is necessary to identify whether the interviewee is a professional, an occasional or an inexperienced storyteller. Furthermore, it is well-known that in some of Sub-Saharan cultures only a brief and structured text is given unless there is constant feedback about the attention of the partner. In case of this feedback, a more vivid, detailed narration is provided.

of life career (Pászka, 2007. 190), but these facts appear from the subjective point of view of the present, so narration of a life story is a process of interpretation interpreting, analysing casual processes and in the same time, legitimating the present situation.

Regarding methodology, I found the hermeneutical approach – or postmodern sociological / anthropological approach – adequate, as in spite of its weaknesses at generalisation (and to an extent, at reliability, too), validity is its strong point.

II.2.2. The flexible survey method

Intending a more valid data collection, I used flexible survey instead of traditional survey method (Letenyei, 2004. 134). Due to this method, the range and reliability of the collected data were not modified, but even more validated by different phrasings or languages of my questions (see Letenyei, 2004. 135). Phrasing of questions on education, time, age, friendship etc. were problematic, as I needed to re-phrase them according to cultures, languages and religions.

By using flexible survey method, I could generally enforce demographical data, but the data and information relevant as proof or disproof to my hypothesis and leading to my conclusions were obtained mostly by my fieldwork and interviews.

II.2.3. Social network analysis

By social network analysis, I examined integration (past, and present or neo-integration), existence and lack of ties, as well as failures of ties. During my research, both social networks of groups and ego-networks of their members were analysed, according to the following considerations.

I studied the ego-networks of group members, the existence and lack of ties towards the worlds of family, friends and work. I examined the dynamics of ego-networks or the morphology of the social network, existence and lack of ties, their intensity and usage at the first integration, as well as at the second (third etc.) one called neo-integration after the failure of ties and integration. I took into consideration that my interviewees are in the phase of rebuilding and widening their ties. Observation of those being in Hungary for several years, so building their new networks for a longer time is a possible control for this. Moreover, the fact that I could interview some persons at two different stages of neo-integration (at the

beginning of their lives in the refugee camp, and then much later, outside the camp) also served as a controlling factor, supplementing retrospective network analysis.

Interactional and structural features of the ties of individuals were observed by the analysis of temporary networks at the refugee camp.

III. Results of the dissertation

III.1. The characteristics of neo-integration

During the fieldwork I experienced that the neo-integration means the neo-integration to the diaspora in the first place, and in the second place it means the neo-integration to the receiving society. The latter disappears first in consequence of the relationship failures, and rarely and weakly can be experienced a direct connection between the refugees and the members of the receiving society. The neo-integration depends on the specific experiences of the individual. His/her culture, socialization, relations, the lack of relations and its perception, failures, and the knowledge about the receiving society's myths are included in these experiences. Even though they start with an attempt to integrate to the receiving society they face their own foreignness and being discriminated. In addition, the lack of relations in the first integration and its failures and the failures during the neo-integration also influence the formation of the neo-integration.

In connection of the first integration I analyzed the effects of the esthetic-existential crisis, which can be the cause and also the result of the absence of the relations. At the same time this can generate new relationships which help the migration and are accepting towards the individual's new terms of success and his/her way of life.

The situation of refugees and migrants stands out with the multidimensional interpretation of the inter- and intra-generational mobility: in the spatial, educational-occupational, income dimensions in relation to father's status we can experience a short-term rise or stagnation (mainly at home) – but there is a decline regarding to the individual's original status. In the light of this the narratives of success are less present than the narratives of disappointment, discontent and failure. The fact that the spatial mobility required a significant (economic) capital expenditure attracted my attention to the chances of the conversion of capital. My results show that the rate of return is low during the first years and the latter return is a relationship-sensitive and long-term process. As time goes on the chance of the conversion increases theoretically but as a matter of fact they have a lot of obstructive factors: so in case of the lack of relations or with only diaspora oriented relations the chances of conversion decrease due to the weakness of neo-integration. The conversion of social capital to economic capital is based on mutual trust which depends on culture and religion in this social space. Therefore the conversion between the diaspora is more obvious, but it can bring less

economic benefit than the out-group conversion. The chance of economic conversion increases if the individual has heterogeneous/transnational relationships and can react to ethnical, cultural or religious similarities. The conversion with the receiving society has to materialize without the latter.

Besides the conversion of capital the power, reputation, the achievement and keeping of status is relationship-sensitive – in the society and within the diaspora as well. The in-group within society status achievement is helped by occupation, income, stable lifestyle and accessibility – in this cultural space the religion is often indispensable part of the stable lifestyle.

I analyzed the achievement and keeping of status regards the affections and relational deficiencies as well. I concluded that the affections come into existence by the principle of similarity: in addition to the ethnical, religious and regional similarity the gender is determinative, too.

Beside the existence of relationships I also analyzed the lack of relations and the effects of the retrospective researchable lacks of relationships. I classified these into four groups: both the weak and strong ties were divided into two, on the basis if the relation was established or not. As a result of the research I concluded that this approach can be expanded taking into consideration that the individual accepts or refuses the lack of relationship. This forms the relations to the diaspora and the receiving society in the period of neo-integration. The openness towards establishing relations shapes positively the emergence of neo-integration, even then the selection of alters is restricted by the rules originating from tradition, culture or religion. Because of the relational failures less new relations evolve and the morphology of the new social network differs from the one described as “normal” which is realized in the period of the first integration and other aspects of neo-integration (solidarity, *communitas*, loyalty) are fragile as well.

Evidently I was continuously separating the attachment and neo-integration to the diaspora and to the receiving society and the characteristics between the diaspora were drawn into the analysis as an additional aspect.

I found that if the diaspora is economically strong and/or the ties between the individual and the members of the diaspora are strong, the attempts to connect to the receiving society, the initiatives to the integration – and even the demand for recognition – are less intense, weak. Moreover the out-group relations are not successful because of the low degree of ambition, willingness.

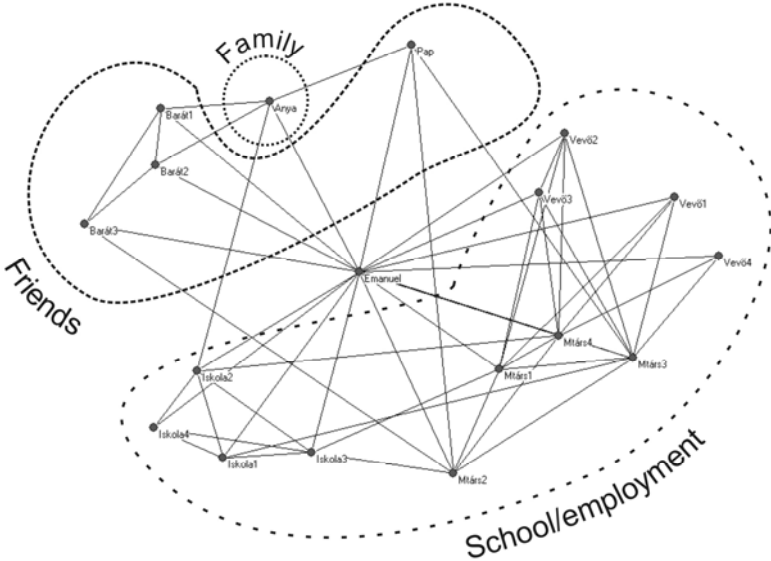
But if the diaspora is not strong economically it reevaluates the out-group relations even if it is a coherent community. However the intensity and intimacy of these relations is low: they mean the sources of the information and getting a job. The relational failures appearing in the practical experiences can weaken the in-group, similar ethnical-religious relations too. Therefore the neo-integration to the diaspora can become weak as well. Testing my hypotheses I found that the relational deficiencies significantly affect the neo-integration and the cultural characteristics and the cultural differences in the transnational relations are weakening the neo-integration.

III.2. Hypotheses and results

III.2.1. The lack of relations affects the integration negatively.

The evolved relational deficiencies affect the formation of the weak and strong ties in the period of the first integration. Not many ties are established, and they are less intense and intimate (compared to the ones between the individuals from same culture). The affect of values and normative control transmitted by the relations on the individual is weaker, too. Therefore the integration of the individual can be weaker just like the social embeddedness (the number of domestic relations, the existence of weak ties, and the intimacy of weak ties). Often the relations to the reference group – which are few as well - dominate these relations too (see Figure 1.). These connections can be understood by the help of the other tested hypotheses.

Figure 1: The integration which is loaded with lacks of ties.



III.2.2. The different types of lack of ties weaken the integration in different ways.

The four types of relational deficiencies (the weak and strong ties divided by whether they were ceased or not even existed), especially the subjective evaluation, is the acceptance or rejection influence the formation of relations. I determined the following subtypes:

- 1. The rejection of the ceased strong tie which results that the ego is not opened to new strong ties.*
- 2. The individual accepts the ceasing of the strong tie, therefore the person is open to new relations. The homogeneity is not a condition to these and culture or tradition does not determine the selection of the alter.*
- 3. The individual accepts the lack of the never existed relation, thus he/she remains open to a new relation, but the selection is determined by tradition.*
- 4. The individual refuses the lack of the strong tie, therefore is not open to new strong relations.*
- 5. The person accepts that the weak tie did not evolve, thus is not open to establish new weak ties.*
- 6. The person refuses that the weak link is not established, therefore he/she is open to new relations, and this relation should not be determined by tradition.*
- 7. The individual accepts that a weak link is ceased, remains open to new relations, and culture does not influence the selection.*
- 8. The individual refuses that a weak link is ceased thus he/she is not open to new relations.*

The openness to relations affects the formation of the neo-integration in a positive way, even if the internalized rules from tradition, culture or religion limit the selection of alters to some extent.

The implicit or explicit refusal of establishing relations can limit the relations with not only the receiving society but with the diaspora as well, thus the neo-integration is weak, the solidarity, the normative control and the loyalty will be negligible to both ways according to the interviews.

As for the social network researchers out the fact that the different types of weak ties support the individual in diverse ways clearly stands (e.g. Granovetter, 1973 and 1991 or Wellman, 1992), for me it became clear in the same way what kind of influence the lack of weak and strong ties have on the integration/neo-integration. As mentioned above there are relational

consequences but it effects the integration as well. The lack of strong ties weakens the community/national loyalty; therefore the habitus and the collective consciousness do not or barely reach the ego. The lack of weak ties causes problems not only regarding to the access to information or the stakes offered by the reference group, but the control of the group, the goals of the group and the feeling of *communitas* can be absent too. These partial shortages can lead to the dysfunctions of the integration – which also can be shown in a relational approach.

III.2.3. The types of the different lacking relations are influenced by the diverse socialization schemes and psychological attitudes.

I found that the socialization schemes (socialization in a traditional extended family, polygamist father figure or the nuclear family, the existence or lack of religious surroundings, the habitus) determine what kinds of relations the individual has. The more religious and traditional the nurture of the person is the more he/she protects his/her relations. Besides this the bigger and more traditional family means more relations and the person tends to establish strong ties as well.

The socialization determines the relational deficiencies in the integration and neo-integration in the same way. The keeping of relations is more intense, thus only a few strong tie cease by the individual's choice, and the normative control influences the forming (and the lack) of the weak ties.

In traditional families the strong ties can end in case of death or because of rude violation of the norms. In a nuclear family it is simpler to break off or neglect the cousinhood. In this type of family it can occur that the (normally existing) connection is not established, e.g. between the children of a family which moved to the city and changed their lifestyle and their grandparents.

III.2.4. The failures experienced in relations have negative influences on the neo-integration.

This hypothesis proved to be right only partly, because the time factor needed to take into consideration. Often the relational failures are not accepted however in some case the sense of failure can be effaced by the progress of time. Thus I have to offer my opinion the 4th

hypothesis is not verifiable in this form, just if we break up it more. The rejection of the ties' failure has a temporality. I interpreted the subjectively negative assessment of the ceased weak and strong tie as a relational failure; however, it is important to analyze how the individual processes that failure.

Therefore if the individual accepts step by step the failure the negative effect on the neo-integration will slowly disappear. If the relational failure is accepted it does not influence directly the relations with the co-workers. The fact that these relations have a relatively small number is caused by the refugee legal status and the transnational characteristics of his/her relations.

If the individual cannot process the relational failure, then the existence of relations, the morphology of the personal network, the skills needed to establish a relationship and the neo-integration are all different. The number (relative and absolute number) of the relations is smaller, some of the morphological elements are missing – namely those types which are missing from the personal network. In case of the unprocessed failure the relational skills and the desire to establish a relationship are weakened or missing and the neo-integration has become fragile. The failures of the transnational relations are influenced by the exclusion and discrimination. This weakens the neo-integration to the receiving society at the first place and the relations between the diasporas in the second place but does not influence the in-group (within the diaspora) relations.

Therefore I have to admit that the hypothesis can be acknowledged only if the acceptance of the relational failures does not occur – in this case there is a negative influence on the neo-integration.

III.2.5. The personal network of the neo-integration is not similar to the morphology of the first personal network.

Analyzing the morphological elements the shrinking of the family and occupational relations is eye-catching. In the period of the neo-integration the strong ties are barely seen; they are mainly maintained domestic strong ties, in rare cases established new relations can be seen. The ethnical/religious homogenous relations are more important than the relations with friends or people from the same age group, thus the ego is more strongly connected to the diaspora but these relations are not intimate, either. The personal network of the neo-integration is not similar to the morphology of the first personal network: beside the two shrinking morphological elements (family and school/employment) we can experience that

they appear in the new relations in only small numbers. On the other hand the friendship networks (the element called ethnical/religious homogenous element) in some cases mean more relations in the neo-integration than in the first integration. The ethnical, linguistic and religious homogenous relations are more valuable in diasporas. (See Figure 2a and 2b.)

Figure 2a: The morphology's sweeping changes. A Pakistani man's network from Homeland.

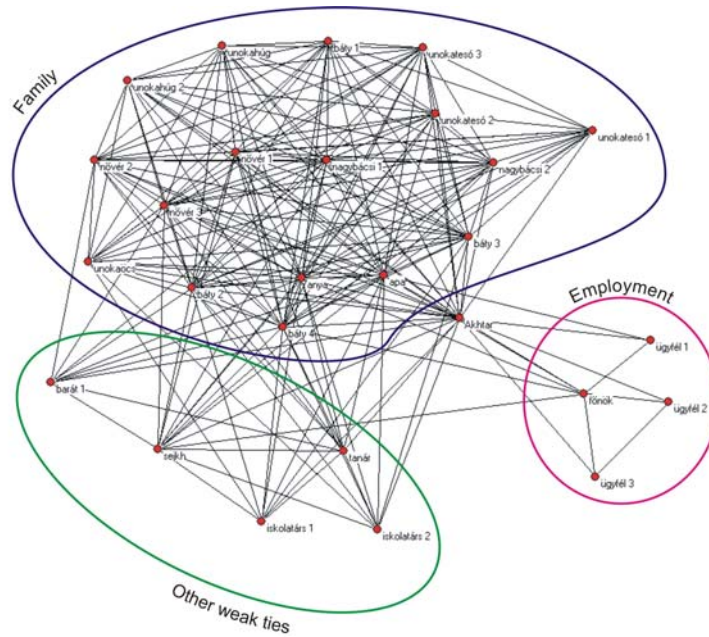
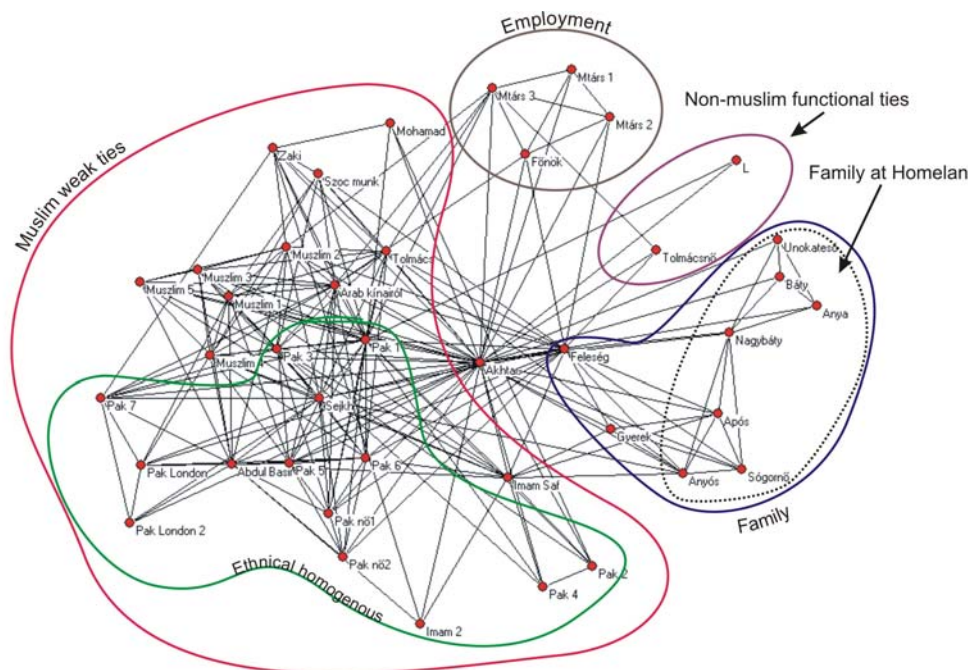


Figure 2b: The morphology's sweeping changes. A Pakistani man's network from diaspora.



III.2.6. The childhood socialization also influences the relations (re)formed in adulthood.

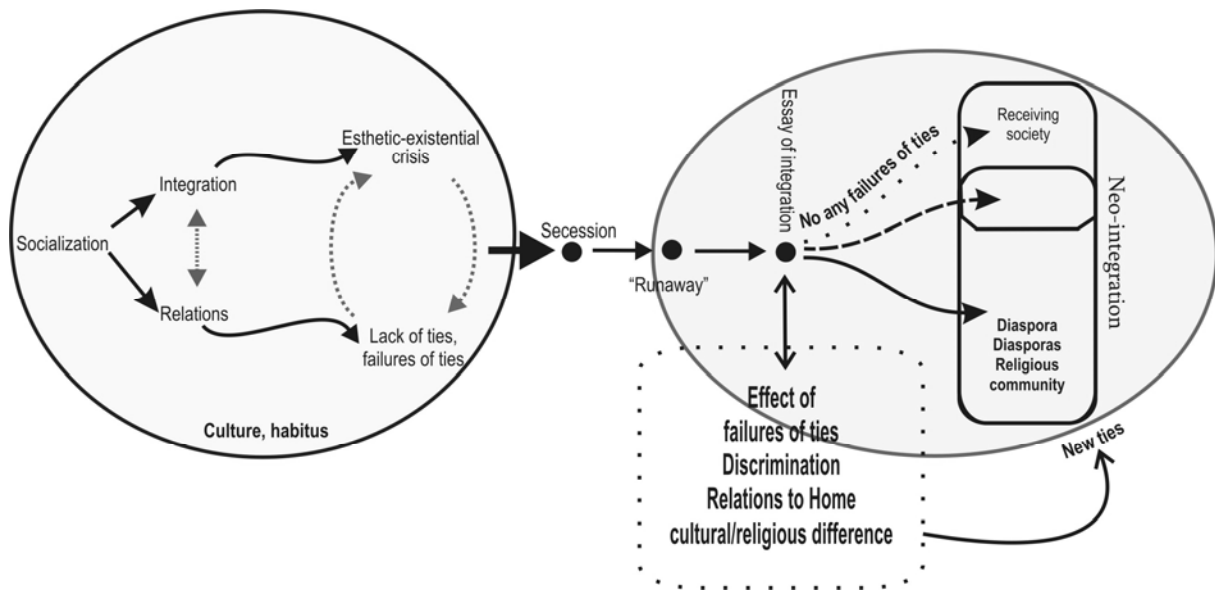
The validity of the effect of the above mentioned relations formed by culture, religion and habitus and the influences that determine the relational failures do not disappear with the growing spatial distance caused by getting away. The establishment of the relations is obstructed by culture, habitus and religion. Therefore relatively few weak ties are established with the opposite gender, with people from other diasporas or with people from other religious groups during the neo-integration. The majority of the new relations in neo-integration are religiously and ethnically homogenous – in these relations the cultural practices can be exercised. Because of the missing cultural experiences the transnational relations easily break up. In this vulnerable period of their life the refugees often see this as a failure and they tend to turn back to homogenous relations again.

Among the socialization schemes the traditional-conservative scheme emphasizes the keeping of relations the most. The individuals who are socialized by this scheme (rural Pakistani and Somali, some groups of urban Somali, Afghans and Iraqis etc.) have a dense personal network in the neo-integration because they have a lot of in-group (ethnically homogenous) relations and they keep the relation with their families. The people socialized in less rigorous schemes (urban West-Africans, Pakistani and Somali) have a more scarce personal network, because this scheme lets relational failures influence the individual.

This hypothesis proved to be right: in the periods of neo-integration and the earlier transitional integration the individual's culture influences the keeping of relations – in the establishing, reforming and keeping the relations as well.

Summarizing my research results I can conclude that using the theoretical-terminological approach of the integration (and neo-integration later) with the analytical approach of the relations and drawing the elements defined in the terms of integration into the interpretation we can understand how the relational failures influence the integration and neo-integration. (See Figure 3 about the process which is going on from integration to neo-integration.)

Figure 3: From integration to neo-integration



The interpretation of integration and maintaining of relations needs a cultural approach. In addition, with the help of habitus culture interpretation we can understand the interaction between the esthetic-existential crisis and relational failures which results disintegration and migration. At the destination (in our case Hungary as a mistaken destination) of the migration the refugees aim the integration, which I call neo-integration, and in the first step it aims at the receiving society, too. However, the disappointments, the relational failures, the discrimination and the cultural differences make the neo-integration harder. At the same time the earlier experienced relational failures play a significant role in the forming of relation if they are not processed yet. An additional analytical aspect is the ties and relations and the relational failures which are within the diaspora and religious community or have an out-group direction and their cultural-hermeneutical interpretation. As a result the majority of the refugees has a well established connection with their diaspora and their religious community and their neo-integration is more or less successful, but their relation with the receiving society is less intense. At the same time the morphological and interactional characteristics of the neo-integration are different from the domestic one, which is a “prototype”.

The refugees and diasporas live in the receiving society but they are still outsiders. The relations and relational failures and their cultural determination emphasize this outsider position, therefore completes the cultural and diaspora-oriented approaches while the “negative” approach completes the relation-oriented ones.

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