Faith in a New Home A Case Study from Refugees in Towns San Miguel, El Salvador

Jocsan Blanco with María Fernanda Escobar



Cover photo: Seller woman at the stairs of "Our Lady of Peace" church in San Miguel. Photo by Jocsan Blanco.

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Location

El Salvador



Figure 1. Map of Central America, American Continent. Source: Google Maps©

"God, Union, Liberty"¹ is written on the white stripe representing peace and harmony on the national flag of the Republic of El Salvador. This emblem symbolizes the importance of faith and hope in the identity of the Salvadoran people. El Salvador has a population of around 6.6 million and is known as "The Thumb of America" for being the smallest country in Central America.² El Salvador is divided into 14 administrative departments, each with its own municipalities. It is a young democracy, and its economy recognized the U.S. dollar in 1999.

From 1979 to 1991, the armed conflict between the Armed Forces of El Salvador and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) guerrilla represented one of the country's most challenging moments. During the civil war, the government created the "Escuadrones de La Muerte" (death squads), and the guerrillas recruited children and young people to fight. During this time, massacres, armed confrontations, kidnappings, and damage to the country's infrastructure occurred. The violence began to wear down

¹ These words are also found on the national coat of arms of El Salvador.

² January 7, 2020, Nelson Guzmán, deputy director of the General Directorate of Statistics and Censuses

⁽Dygyestic), declared the following to the digital newspaper elsalvador.com: "The last population census was carried out in 2007 even though the Organic Law of Statistical Service it establishes that it must be carried out every 10 years." The document "Population Estimates and Projections at the National and Departmental Level" was made based on the five censuses carried out in 1950, 1961, 1971, 1992, and 2007. The data cover the period 1950-2050.

the country, worsening the country's economy, development opportunities, and security. The conflict caused half a million nationals to emigrate to the United States. On January 16, 1992, the peace accords were signed between both sides, marking the beginning of a new era for El Salvador's democracy and human rights.

During the civil war, emigration caused the loss of youth labor. However, it also created an essential source of income in the country as emigrated Salvadorans sent remittances. According to the Central Reserve Bank, in 2020, the country received \$5.918,16 million USD in remittances, 16% of the GDP. Despite El Salvador's gradual socioeconomic improvements after the end of the armed conflict, emigration to the United States has not decreased.

<u>San Miguel</u>

The city of San Miguel, population 218,410,³ is the departmental capital of San Miguel in the eastern part of the country. San Miguel has the largest number of international fast food outlets and the only shopping center with a cinema in the whole eastern part of the country. Much of the economic activity in San Miguel is driven by its population of around 23,000 students.⁴ Several private and public institutions provide health services, especially San Juan de Dios National Hospital, which is famous across the eastern part of El Salvador because it is one of the largest hospitals in the country. Finally, San Miguel is also known for its patron saint festivities which are carried out by the Catholic community throughout the year in honor of its patron "Our Lady of Peace."



Figure 2: Map of San Miguel, El Salvador. Source: Google Maps ©

³ VI Population and Housing Census of 2007.

⁴ Resultados de la Información Estadística de Instituciones de Educación Superior, 2018.

Background on Migration in El Salvador and San Miguel

The migrant population in El Salvador is 42,617, who represent 0.7% of the total population of the country.⁵ According to the DESA, 30,475 immigrants come from other countries in Central America and constitute 71% of the country's total immigrant population. The largest nationality of migrants is Honduran (27.77%), followed by Guatemalan (21.13%), then Nicaraguan (18.65%), Costa Rican (2.08%), Panamanians (1.07%), and Belizean (0.80%).

In the eastern part of the country—Usulután, Morazán, San Miguel, and La Unión—most immigrants are Nicaraguan. There is no strict migration control by the institutions in charge, possibly due to the existence of border blind spots, or due to the "Paso Libre" agreement established in CA-4⁶ where the governments of El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua agreed that citizens could cross borders only by presenting their identity document.

Work Opportunities

The agricultural area is quite active in San Miguel and Santa Rosa de Lima's rural areas,. In these areas, *jornaleros*⁷ and farmers are hired on the *haciendas*⁸ and ranches. The majority of workers are young Nicaraguans who come from rural areas and arrive knowing the trade.

Street vendors in the urban area offer various options to earn a living, from the *carretilleros* who provide fruits and vegetables, or the *cachada* who sell clothes, watches, flashlights, cell phone

imagine how they manage to move so fast



protectors, and other products.⁹ It is hard to Figure 3: Trade of fruits and vegetables in the urban area—photo by author.

without dropping any fruit and sneak through the streets full of crowds of people and

⁵ 2019 UN and its Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA) statistics. El Salvador's population in 2019 was 6.4 million (The World Bank).

⁶ San Salvador, on the twenty-fourth day of August of the year two thousand and five, by the government of President Elías Antonio Saca González.

⁷ Day job on a farm or ranch.

⁸ Estate or plantation.

⁹ Street sale of second-hand products at a low price.

merchandise, such as the area shown in Figure 3, dodging other *carretilleros* competing for customers in tight spaces.¹⁰

Nicaraguan women are mostly hired as domestic workers. Men work mostly in construction, as assistants, or as *bodegueros*.¹¹ Migrants also work in formal companies such as hardware stores, agricultural services, and clothing distributors, where women typically work as salespeople and men are hired as drivers.

Reasons for Immigrating

The pastor of San Miguel, who is of Nicaraguan nationality, commented, "The economic and political situation of the country," was the primary reason people immigrate here. The dollarized economy of El Salvador, and the laws that are less aggressive towards migrants are two other appeals.

Lifestyle

The *mesones*¹² are a place where mostly male migrants live in urban areas. They have a low cost but small space. When they do not have water service, residents buy water from *pipas*¹³ or draw water from *porras*.¹⁴ In contrast, Nicaraguan women who do domestic work live in their employers' homes with more comfort.¹⁵ Those who work in rural areas sometimes live in *adobe piezas*¹⁶ near the ranch. In the best-case scenario, they have a bed and light, but sometimes they only have a hammock. These small spaces are a health risk, not only due to the deficiencies of some services but also due to the high temperatures that can reach 36 Celsius (97 Fahrenheit).



Figure 4: The white flag is used to request food supplies due to the lack of economic income resulting from the quarantine imposed by the COVID-19 virus photo by author.

¹⁰ Street vendor who carries his product in a wheelbarrow.

¹¹ Warehousem<u>en who load and unload products.</u>

¹² Building(s) with one or two floors with rooms for rent at low monthly costs. In some cases, the tenants share a bathroom.

¹³ Tank truck that transports drinkable water.

¹⁴ Barrels.

¹⁵ This includes drinking water, fans, bed, better food, and own bathroom.

¹⁶ Adobe is a mass of clay sometimes mixed with straw, molded into a brick shape and dried in the air, used to construct walls or walls. Other times these rooms are made of cement.



Nicaraguans play soccer in the neighborhood field with neighbors, coworkers, and family in their spare time. It is common for women to attend church.

Figure 5: Meson is located in the urban area of the city of San Miguel photo by author.



Figure 6: The sidewalks of businesses and branches of companies become sales of vegetables and fruits during the day and are removed at night so more people can earn a living—photo by author

Discrimination

There is no aggressive behavior by residents of San Miguel towards of migrants because their nationality. In some jobs, there is a small salarv difference where citizens more than earn Nicaraguans. A dairy merchant commented: "there are more Nicaraguans looking for work here, and yes, they are paid a little less." In market areas, expressions are heard towards street vendors such "These chochos¹⁷ as and catrachos¹⁸ should also pay tax,"

but this complaint also occurs towards Salvadoran street vendors, who avoid taxes and sell products at a lower price.

The Authors' Positions in San Miguel

Jocsan

I am a Protestant Christian from Santa Rosa de Lima, El Salvador, 35 minutes from San Miguel, where my family has always gone to the same church. Since I was little, my parents instilled in me Christian values. At church I had the opportunity to establish many

¹⁷ A colloquial name, meaning Nicaraguan.

¹⁸ A colloquial name, meaning Honduran.

friendships, including with Nicaraguan migrants, which have lasted to this day. I always saw the church as a place where people could share without fear of class or racial marginalization. As a child, I was not aware of these differences because I felt that the church was all one big family.

In my youth, I worked with Nicaraguan migrants who repaired electrical appliances in my father's company. They told me about the difficulties they faced in other jobs due to their unstable condition in El Salvador. This was my first encounter with migrants' reality, and I began to understand the employment discrimination suffered by my friends who I worked with and went to church with.

While studying psychology in San Miguel, my closeness to the migrant residents grew. I frequently shopped at both local and migrant vendors in the city's market and town terminal. There I made friends with people of different religions, both local and migrant. It was there I learned of those who have been helped by a church.

By being open about my past experiences in my church, I was able to gain the migrants' and religious leaders' trust and could conduct interviews with them. I was able to explain to them about the Refugees in Town project. We talked about the report and agreed that it would make the work that religious institutions carry out with the migrant community more visible, and show how they help migrants achieve a more dignified life in El Salvador.

Fernanda

I am from Ecuador, where I worked with low-income and vulnerable populations before coming to the United States nine years ago to continue my graduate studies. In the U.S. I learned about the migrant community and began volunteering in various organizations that helped them. That made me decide that I would focus my studies on immigration. When the U.S. government began separating migrant children from their parents at the southern border in 2018, I worked as a volunteer to contact parents who were deported to Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador. I verified the information provided during detention to reunite these parents with their children who were in the U.S. shelters.

This experience was deeply troubling to me because of the trauma I observed in the children and their families. I proposed a final project in my Forced Migration class at the Fletcher School that addressed psychological support for deported and separated children together with their families in El Salvador. This project enabled us to meet Jocsan Blanco, and we started working together to explore migrant integration through religious institutions. My experience working with the migrant community and as a researcher on

migration issues allows me to understand the factors that encourage a person to migrate and the challenges in their new home.

Methods

At the beginning of the research, we reflected on what was known about migrants in San Miguel. We chose to focus on migrant social integration and how religious institutions helped in the community integration process. Next, we reviewed academic articles, web pages, and collected secondary data from grey literature including reports prepared by the UTEC and the Latin American Program for Socioreligious Studies (PROLADES). That information was essential to understanding the country's social context better. We then determined institutions and key informants such as migrants and religious leaders who we could interview. Through the pages of religious institutions and on Facebook social network and web pages, data was obtained on how churches manage to communicate with their communities through announcements about events, service hours, word of mouth, social media, radio, and TV.

We interviewed two Protestant Christian pastors, a representative of the Catholic Church, a Protestant Christian migrant, and a Catholic migrant. Due to the health crisis caused by the COVID-19 virus, the interviews were conducted through phone calls and the WhatsApp messaging app as a preventive measure against a possible contagion.

Another source of information was informal talks with friends, acquaintances who belong to the Catholic Church, the Protestant Church, and pastors of Jocsan's congregation. After transcribing the interviews, we coded the responses to address the subject as fully and objectively possible.

Introduction

This report explores migration and integration in the city of San Miguel, El Salvador, focusing on the theme of faith as a vehicle for social integration. The report sees the church from a social perspective, not only as a religious institution, in that church congregations act as a community supporting the collective welfare. The report focuses on Catholic and Protestant faiths since they are the two main religions in Central America, as shown in Table 1.

Country	Catholic	Protestant	Others	None
Belice	40.5%	50.5%	7.4%	1.6%
Guatemala	47.9%	38.2%	2.3%	11.6%
El Salvador*	44.3%	35.3%	20.2%	
Honduras*	43.8%	43.9%	12.3%	
Nicaragua	55.7%	30.4%	2.3%	11.6%
Panamá	66.8%	21.3%	4.7%	7.2%
Costa Rica	63.4%	22.9%	3.6%	10.0%

Clifton L. Holland in 2012. Author's Notes.

In San Miguel, we can see how religion influences values and behavior. The church is a place where people are viewed as brothers and sisters and where people seek help. Others are moved to help them because their faith calls for that communion. The church facilitates immigrants' social integration as religious leaders develop new methods of social integration. Likewise, NGOs, educational institutions, the Ministry of Migration and Foreigners, and government or private institutions work with religious institutions to provide migrants with a decent living standard.

As in other Central American countries, most of the population in El Salvador is Catholic. Protestantism also has a history in the region, and has grown in membership over time. Other Christian sects (Mormonism, Seventh-day Adventists, Jehovah's Witness) are present, as well as Buddhism and Islam. Catholic churches are part of San Miguel's cultural heritage. *Migueleños*¹⁹ festivals for their patron saint are renowned throughout the country. Churches also provide opportunities for their members to work together and establish strong bonds of friendship.

With my coworkers at Sunday school, we have a very nice group, thank God. We share, we meet, we tell all our joys, our sorrows, and we cry with each other... One arrives empty, but when we meet there

¹⁹ Technically, the term is *Miguelense*, but the colloquialism *Migueleńos* is used more often.

[Sunday school], we are all very happy. - Nicaraguan Protestant migrant.

Church, Community, and City

Most of San Miguel's churches still offer masses despite their age, such as the El Rosario Church, one of the oldest buildings in the city that was built at the end of the 18th century. The Cathedral of San Miguel, or "Basilica Santuario Nuestra Señora de la Paz," in the historical center of the city, was constructed in 1862 and is named for the patron saint of San Miguel.

San Miguel's religious festivals are known across the country. Most notable is the Mariano Festival, which takes place every November 20 with the Processions of Our Lady of Peace. People from all over El Salvador travel to San Miguel to attend these events. Religious missions also organize concerts, preaching in the streets, and religious retreats.

The values of church members are solidarity, respect, optimism, equality, charity, and support. In principle, they accept all people and are committed to helping them both spiritually and in their daily lives. Church members also help migrant members find work. For instance, the pastor of the Church of Santa Rosa de Lima²⁰ said:

A migrant who belongs to a church has a greater chance of getting a job since the members of the church themselves are in solidarity with him, they help him in many ways. The migrants also sometimes turn to the pastor for letters of recommendation, or the pastor to go to a business owner and help him get a job.

When a migrant is part of a church, they build their network. For example, Nicaraguan women who live in employers' homes are often invited by their employers to attend church. Many become members, often taking a more active role in the congregation than the employers themselves. They perform volunteer functions and develop skills that help them get better jobs, while simultaneously networking with other church members to find new employment opportunities.

²⁰ Santa Rosa de Lima is a city located 41.9 km (around 40 minutes driving) from the city of San Miguel.



Figure 7: Special service of the Iglesia de Fraternidad Cristiana Intercontinental de San Miguel, called "Fiesta de Libertad," celebrated in September in Central American countries. Used with permission from Fraternidad Cristiana Intercontinental, San Miguel, El Salvador.

A San Miguel's pastor commented, "the migrant's attitude and how he represents his faith is important. It is not only about a person showing up to church." In this way, churches help migrants learn acceptable norms and customs to become part of the communities in San Miguel.

Church, Migrant, and Society

Community Service

In El Salvador, there is a high poverty rate²¹ and churches often aid both nationals and migrants. On several occasions in our church, members were asked to donate clothing, food products, or other supplies for people in need. The aid collected was usually enough to cover a street or a small community. Larger churches have a more extensive reach.

The level of help will depend on the case. It will depend on the capacity of the congregation, and on the degree of involvement that the migrant has within the Christian community. – Evangelical Pastor.

Jocsan participated in delivering aid with the church or sometimes through an association of psychologists called Psicoriente, which works in San Miguel and the surrounding areas. In addition to delivering food, recreational activities, such as piñatas, games, and children's dances are also scheduled.

²¹ By the end of 2020, it is projected that four out of every 10 Salvadorans will be in a situation of poverty, a growth of 6.5 percentage points compared to the 2019 figures.

The Catholic Church also collects food for people in poverty through ministries, youth groups or brotherhoods. For example, the Catholic Church, El Oratorio San José has a group of members of the Hermandad de Jesús Nazareno. They donate 300 to 350 food packages every 15 days in their facilities. Unfortunately, this activity was suspended due to the health crisis caused by the COVID-19.

Caritas El Salvador

Caritas El Salvador is a religious organization of the Catholic Church, which, since 1960 has benefited the most vulnerable Salvadorans. They also support migrants living in the country by organizing marches, festivals, and masses, raising awareness in their congregation and the general population about the needs, rights, and difficulties migrants go through to adapt to the Salvadoran community.

Advocacy Work

In addition to building communities across nationalities, San Miguel's churches support migrant integration. For example, "El Festival del Migrante," held from September 20-22, 2015, was organized by Caritas El Salvador through the "Pastoral de Migrantes, Refugiados y Trata" in cities in the eastern part of the country. Institutions such as the General Directorate of Migration and Immigration and the Gerardo Barrios University participated in the event. The festival had artistic folklore sessions, samplings of different traditional dishes, handicrafts, and various school bands from the cities where the event took place, such as San Miguel, Pasaquina, Santa Rosa, and Usulutan.

Guia de Reflexión del Mensaje del Papa Francisco para la 106ª Jornada Mundial de los Migrantes y Refugiados



Figure 8: Caritas raise awareness about immigrants 'situation through the work of artist Kelly Latimore "The Sacred Family" in their bulletin.

Emotional and Spiritual Support

Another way religious institutions integrate the migrant community is when pastors and priests give counseling to members. It is a job without a formal schedule or a set time as frequently there are emergencies that require urgent attention.

During a crisis the church gives many forms of support. The church helps migrants contact funeral services in case of bereavements, towing service in case of an accident, and

doctors in case of illness. If a migrant must return to his country with his family, repatriate a body, or needs help for some treatment, the church provides financial aid. In Jocsan's church, in situations of mourning or illness, the members often provide financial assistance to migrants.

I was abandoned by my husband, who went to the USA. For a while, he remembered his commitment to our home, but he forgot it later. It was in this time when the church members became closer. They helped me with recommendations for work and my children's college education. My son even got a scholarship to an American university with the recommendation of the Bishop of San Miguel at the time. – Nicaraguan Catholic migrant.

In many cases, these crisis services are provided by the members of the congregation who seek to support other members. For migrants, who are without their families in the country, this type of community provides security. It reduces the risk of making costly mistakes because they have the pastor and the congregation's support when navigating difficult situations.

We had happiness and blessing because the church supported us directly in our most difficult moments with food. ... There was always bread on my table, clothes to wear, medicine to use, but all through the church. – Catholic migrant.

At the end of year's church services, various members from the congregations are put in charge of sharing traditional dishes from their countries of origin—such as Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Honduras—with other church members. Although there are few migrants in the congregation, they are very active members and are brought to the congregations' attention through this cuisine-sharing activity.



Figure 9: "Viacrusis Migrante 2018", carried out by Caritas El Salvador, in San Salvador, the capital of the country, on Saturday, March 24, 2018, under the slogan "From the dream of migrating to the nightmare of deportation." Photo by: Cáritas El Salvador.

Finally, churches organize events to celebrate immigrants. For example, the "Iglesia Intercontinental," which celebrates Fraternidad Cristiana Central America's independence in September, hosts a special service called "Fiesta de Libertad," where the different national anthems of Central America are presented, artistic presentations are made, and the typical cuisine of each country is shared. It is an exchange involving both locals and migrants that is rooted in acceptance, interest in learning from diversity, and a respect for each country's cultural richness. Churches are active participants in these celebrations. A pastor commented, "the church teaches a lot of respect and openness to know different cultures, not to close oneself." Further, in the Catholic Church, intensiones (prayers)²² are made for migrants at masses throughout September, which is celebrated as the "Month of the Migrant."



Figure 10: Dance group in the special service "Fiesta de Libertad". Used with permission from Fraternidad Cristiana Intercontinental, San Miguel, El Salvador.

The church also helps with the development of leadership skills. For instance, in several ministries, migrants take on leadership positions, such as leading workgroups. Other migrant leaders preach in Bethel houses²³ after undergoing a leadership course.

All these activities are an essential part of the integration process of the migrant community in San Miguel.

Religious Networks and Integration

When a church member travels to other parts of the country and joins a new church, he or she establishes contact between his old church and the new one. The networks a pastor establishes with other pastors nationally and internationally are important for supporting migrants. These networks are built through council meetings, which are held every 3 to 6 months. International pastors' conferences encourage friendships between the different participants from different countries. Another way a network is built is when a pastor of the church migrates to another country and establishes a new church and continues his relationship with his prior congregation, which connects the congregations. Another tool that connects pastors is social media. Some upload their preaching or events

²² Petitions Catholic believers make for deceased people.

²³ Meetings of congregants of a church, whether Catholic or Protestant.

to these networks, which can be seen by other pastors, and leads to invitations for preaching at other congregations.

The church pastor helps new migrants by introducing them to the congregation during Sunday worship. The migrant is given a space to talk about his life and can mention what type of job they can perform, for instance, construction or carpentry. They can also ask the congregation if someone rents a place or knows where they could stay while they settle down in the country. Sometimes the church will collect financial aid for the new member.

Faith in Covid-19 times

Due to COVID-19 in El Salvador, several public places, including churches, closed for five months. At the end of August, there was a process of reopening businesses and public places, in which most churches opened their doors, implementing security measures to avoid the spread of the COVID-19 virus. During quarantine, churches transmitted their services through digital media such as web pages, Facebook live, and YouTube. They also used conventional means of communication, such as their television channels and radio frequencies. Using these resources, churches and congregation reached their members so they can attend the services without having to leave home.

The number of religious centers in San Miguel is quite large. These are located in most neighborhoods and cantons. By doing a simple Google search, more than 20 churches appeared in the city of San Miguel. As shown in Figure 11, the majority are Catholic and Protestant churches. That doesn't mean that only these religious centers exist in San Miguel, but only those registered in Google. The number of churches and their location in the different sectors helps migrants decide which one to attend.

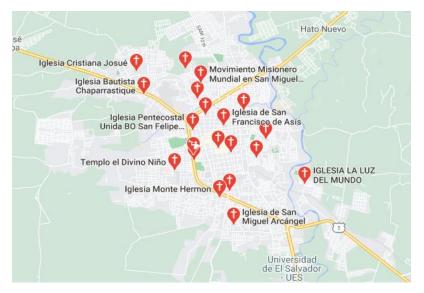


Figure 11: Screenshot of Google map search with churches in San Miguel.



Parroquia Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, San Miguel

Segunda Asamblea y la Santa Misa en la Parroquia Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, San Miguel. Le correspondió al Sector # 5 y al Ministeri... Ver más



Figure 12: Screenshot of church Facebook Page in San Miguel.

--- Part of a New Family

The church provides a healthy space for migrants to establish friendships with people who care about their wellbeing. They become friends with a purpose that unites them and encourages them to work shoulder to shoulder as equals. Mutual respect, camaraderie, and happiness grow as congregants share in this space.

When I, Joscan, was a more active member of the church, I was part of the Bible school ministry, where I shared with migrant teachers and students. A funny fact is that I didn't realize the nationality of some of my Nicaraguan sisters until they invited me to visit their country, where we stayed at their relatives' house. It was a very gratifying experience because we saw beaches, cathedrals, museums, and other tourist places. Before the trip, I had a negative view

of Nicaragua due to what the media shared about the economic and political crises, and the levels of crime in the country. But after sharing with these friends, I realized that I was wrong because Nicaragua has a lot of beautiful sights and welcoming people.

Through the time shared in the church, I established many strong friendships, in particular with my Nicaraguan friends.

Conclusion

The first meeting point between a migrant and a church takes place in their country of origin, because the place where they grew up and their new host community typically share Christian religion, whether it be Catholic or Protestant. In many cases, migrants arrive in San Miguel already belonging to a religious community that shares the same doctrines, beliefs, and customs, which makes it easier for the migrant to adapt.

The church is crucial because in many cases migrants arrive in the country alone without any support. The church supports migrant integration into their own community, and wider communities in San Miguel. The friendships formed inside the church provide practical support, such as congregants offering better employment opportunities, and supporting migrant business with advice and patronage. Further, through cultural festivals and other activities, churches raise awareness in the congregation and the community about the needs and experiences of migrants in San Miguel.

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About the RIT Project

The Refugees in Towns (RIT) project promotes understanding of the migrant/refugee experience in urban settings. Our goal is to understand and promote refugee integration by drawing on the knowledge and perspective of refugees and locals to develop a deeper understanding of the towns in which they live. The project was conceived and is led by Karen Jacobsen. It is based at the Feinstein International Center at Tufts University and funded by the Henry J. Leir Foundation.

Our goals are twofold

Our first long-term goal is to build a theory of integration from the ground up by compiling a global database of case studies and reports to help us analyze and understand the process of immigrant/refugee integration. These cases provide a range of local insights about the many different factors that enable or obstruct integration, and the ways in which migrants and hosts co-exist, adapt, and struggle in urban spaces. We draw our cases from towns in resettlement countries, transit countries, and countries of first asylum around the world.

Our second more immediate goal is to support community leaders, aid organizations, and local governments in shaping policy, practice, and interventions. We engage policymakers and community leaders through town visits, workshops, conferences, and participatory research that identifies needs in their communities, encourages dialogue on integration, and shares good practices and lessons learned.

For more on RIT

On our website, there are many more case studies and reports from other towns and urban neighborhoods around the world, and we regularly release more reports as our project develops.