INTEGRATION OF REFUGEES IN RURAL AREAS AND THE ROLE OF THE RECEIVING SOCIETY: CONCEPTUAL REVIEW AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

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Summary: Research on integration processes of migrants has until recently remained on geographical levels of observation which are not apt to reveal and explain the variety of local integration trajectories. Furthermore, most research has focused on the role of migrants within these processes, while the attitudes and behaviours of the receiving society have been rarely addressed. This research gap concerns in particular rural areas since those areas have been widely left out of migration research. This article addresses those research gaps and develops a concept for the empirical research of local receptivity processes.

Zusammenfassung: Forschungen zu Integrationsprozessen verbleiben vielfach auf geographischen Betrachtungsebenen, die die Vielfalt von lokalen Integrationsverläufen nicht abbilden – geschweige denn erklären können. Zudem konzentrieren sie sich auf die Verhaltensweisen von Migrant*innen, während die Einstellungen und Verhaltensweisen der Aufnahmegesellschaft kaum berücksichtigt werden. Diese Forschungslücken betreffen vor allem ländliche Ankunftsräume, da diese kaum im Fokus von Migrations- und Integrationsforschung liegen. Dieser Artikel greift beide Forschungslücken auf und entwickelt ein Konzept zur empirischen Untersuchung der Aufnahmefähigkeit auf lokaler Ebene.

Keywords: reception, refugees, integration, local level, rural regions, receiving society

1 Introduction

In Germany, the interest for integration conditions of rural regions has increased since the large-scale arrival of asylum seekers and refugees since 2015. Due to the quota system for the geographically even distribution of asylum seekers in Germany, a significant proportion of asylum seekers were allocated to rural regions. Data from 2018 show that around 52% of persons with refugee status reside in rural regions (Rösch et al. 2020, 28). A number of case studies on those new rural destinations displayed a considerable variety of reception and integration conditions (see for example Gesemann and Roth 2016; Glorius and Schondelmayer 2018; Rösch et al. 2020) and identified specific strengths and weaknesses of rural regions regarding the integration of foreigners. Weaknesses of rural regions are mostly seen in integration infrastructure such as poorly developed public transport systems, lack of language classes and differentiated schools, or few labour market opportunities (Engel 2013; Rösch et al. 2020). Regarding social conditions for integration, research results highlight the social density of

relationships in rural places, combined with a high amount of social control and high relevance of social norms, which might support but also hinder social integration (Arora-Jonsson 2017; Gruber 2013; Micksch and Schwier 2000; Rösch et al. 2020; Schader Stiftung 2011).

While integration research mainly focuses on the behaviour of newcomers in a locality (e.g. Adam et al. 2019; De Lima et al. 2012; Phillimore 2020), this paper addresses the resident population as a major stakeholder in integration processes. Thus, as a guiding question for this paper we ask what conditions are needed for newcomers to successfully integrate in a rural locality. Based on a systematic review of conceptual approaches on acculturation and integration and a re-examination of research literature, we identify the potentials of a flipped perspective and propose an analytical framework for the research of local receptivity. Our argumentation for the relevance of this exercise is threefold: First, we concede that conceptual models on integration, albeit regarding integration as a two-sided process (Ager and Strang 2008), are mostly reduced to their explanatory value regarding the immigrants' behaviour, thus

leaving an important research gap regarding the role of receiving societies for integration processes. Second, and as a direct consequence, empirical research on integration processes neglects receiving societies' characteristics as explanatory factors for integration outcomes. Third, empirical research, albeit partly implementing local research perspectives, often fails to integrate local specifics into a coherent research design.

The paper is inspired by a collaborative research project on integration trajectories of refugees in rural regions of Germany, which aims to provide in-depth results on rural integration conditions, taking into account the multidimensionality of the research area and of possible local variations. The empirical work is structured into four fields, focusing on structural conditions for refugee integration in the rural areas, on the perspectives and experiences of refugees, local integration governance and on the attitudes of local residents.[1] The research is grounded on the heuristic model of AGER and STRANG (2008), differentiating ten interdependent realms, facilitators, and key components for integration. While this model works well in terms of assessing the structural frame, the perspective of refugees, and policy approaches on integration, we found that it works less well if we try to understand the role of the resident population and civil society stakeholders. Even though approaches on immigrant incorporation continuingly stress the two-sidedness of this process (LEE 2009), empirical research concepts fail to integrate the complexity of arrival regions, and populations, into an explanatory framework. Thus, as a result of our ongoing research on immigrant integration in rural regions in Germany and in terms of an ex-post-conceptualisation, we suggest a model of local receptivity that gives insight into the role of resident population and places of reception. While we focus on research gaps regarding immigrant receptivity in rural regions and small towns, we think that the model can also be transferred to urban areas, which usually entail a large number of varying reception conditions in terms of neighbourhoods or settlement types.

We start with a reflection on conceptual approaches for understanding the role of the resident population as 'receiving society' and effects of their

attitudes and social roles on integration processes (section 2). Then we elaborate local contexts of immigrant reception, discussing the spatial dimension in immigrant reception processes (section 3). As a conclusion of these elaborations, we develop a research design for the examination of receiving society within a local case study framework, which could address the above mentioned research gaps (section 4).

2   Conceptual approaches for understanding the role of the receiving society

Even though processes of acculturation and adaptation are conceptualised as a two-way-process (BERRY 2008), empirical research as well as political practice usually neglect the role of the receiving society, focusing on the behaviour of newcomers and measuring their 'integration' effort (SCHINKEL 2017). Integration politics defines integration as a multidimensional, non-linear set of interdependent processes through which new population groups are included, according to different gradients, into the existing systems of socio-economic, legal and cultural relations (PENNINX and GARCÉS-MASCAREÑAS 2016). In more general terms, integration means a continuous process for achieving social cohesion in a society (SCHAMMANN 2018). However, as SCHINKEL (2017, 76) points out, the concept of integration has never been fully "severed from assimilationist presuppositions", which is demonstrated by the practical operationalisation of integration concepts in terms of monitoring schemes which strongly support an unidirectional gaze at the behaviour of immigrants. Also the expanded concept of AGER and STRANG (2008) with ten interdependent realms, facilitators, and key components for integration has not resolved the unidirectionality of integration research.

More recent approaches such as diversity concepts (SCHNEIDER et al. 2015; VERTOVEC 2007) or the post-migration approach (YILDIZ and HILL 2014; FOROUTAN et al. 2018) react to the imbalance of integration approaches and examine the state of a heterogeneous society from a critical, post-colonial perspective. They provide valuable results for regions with a notable level of ethnic heterogeneity, but seem to fit less well for less diverse communities, such as rural localities or new immigrant gateways. Here, mostly U.S. based research provides insight into the role of the receiving society for immigrant integration (see MCDANIEL 2013; JENSEN 2006; DE JONG and TRAN 2001; FETZER 2000). Studies have shown differences in residents' receptivity in relation to eco-

nomic prosperity, but ethnic attributions were also significant. For example, stronger processes of marginalization of immigrants were demonstrated where the supposed ethnic diversity was particularly large compared to the receiving population, or where particularly high numbers of immigrants arrived within a short time, catching municipalities 'off guard'. Economic crises reinforced 'nativism', i.e. the exaggeration of the 'own', combined with the declaration of established prerogatives (Fetzer 2000; Jensen 2006). Thus, as McDaniel (2013, 19) in his research on Charlotte as a new immigrant destination points out, "receptivity is shaped in part by the dominant white racial class, social, and power structural contexts within the city."

Social psychology conceptualises the interactions between newcomers and receiving society as a process of gradual adaptation due to intercultural encounters, summed up under the term 'acculturation' (Sam 2006, 14). Redfield et al. (1936, 149) define acculturation as "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups". This key aspect of acculturation (intergroup contact) is further spelled out by the contact hypothesis, introduced by Allport (1954, 267). He concedes that prejudices are somewhat part of the basic conditions of human living, but that contacts – specifically equal status contacts – may reduce prejudice, notably if these contacts occur in the pursuit of common goals, and if they are framed by institutional support or cultural norms. As a result of long-term personal contact, there is mutual influence that can bring about changes in attitudes, behaviour patterns, and also institutional change.

Regarding the steps in the acculturation process, Berry (2006) points to the relevance of attitudinal differences in the receiving society concerning immigration and diversity ('multicultural ideology'), which is strongly linked to integration politics and political culture. For example, some states might encourage immigrants to maintain their culture and identity, introduce their culture to the receiving society and support this process because they perceive cultural diversity as an important resource, such as for example Canada (Bloemraad 2007). In other societies, there may be a negative attitude towards migration and diversity, and policy approaches focussing on the reduction of immigration and on assimilating immigrants might prevail. The strong nativist and anti-immigrant politics of Hungary might serve as an example for the latter (Guia 2016).

Attitudes towards immigration are frequently measured in longitudinal or cross-sectional surveys such as the Eurobarometer, European Social Survey (ESS) and – specifically for the German reception context – the Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP) or the Leipzig and Bielefeld studies on group related enmity, initiated by the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation (e.g. Brähler et al. 2016; decker et. al 2018; Zick et al. 2019). These surveys usually examine attitudes towards migrants by referring to theories such as *Relative Deprivation* (Runciman 1967; Pettigrew et al. 2008)*, Group Related Enmity* (Heitmeyer 2012) and *Anomia theory* (Merton 1957) and thus rather cover negative attitudes concerning migrants than variables which could explain tolerant and welcoming behavior. Due to the composition of the sample population, most of those studies entail an urban bias and are thus not representative for rural societies. Furthermore, they tell little about the effects of 'rurality' in terms of settlement structure and demographic fabric of the population as explanatory factor for anti-immigrant attitudes, as they have a rather bidirectional view on the 'rural' versus the 'urban', thus neglecting the variety of living circumstances in rural regions. Among the few representative survey results on rural populations, Crawley et al (2019) and Schmidt et al. (2020) found that rural respondents have more sceptical attitudes towards migrants and especially refugees than urban populations. The studies discuss effects due to spatial context or compositional effects, such as socio-demographic specifics. Maxwell resumes (by using different European data sets on immigration attitudes) rather compositional effects but recommends further research to extend the empirical knowledge on geographical implication on neighbourhood level, which „may have indirect effects on immigration attitudes" (Maxwell 2019: 473). Crawley et al. 2019 showed a higher proportion of negative attitudes in rural localities due to demographic disparities between rural and urban areas, such as higher age, lower educational attainment and poorer standards of living of rural populations. Further evidence for the link between socio-demographic variables and the development of negative or positive attitudes towards newcomers and asylum seekers give a number of case studies and literature reviews, calling for a research concept that considers the development of attitudes and behaviors of receiving society within a broad contextual framework, integrating temporal and spatial aspects (e.g. Ceballos et al. 2014; Fenelly and Federico 2008; Garcia and Davidson 2013; Zorlu 2017).

Regarding direct interactions of newcomers and strangers in relation to the general societal fabric of a locality, PUTNAM's (2000) considerations on 'social capital' are helpful, defined as a 'fabric of the community', including norms, trust and networks for collective benefits. He differentiates two forms of social capital, bonding social capital, which „constitutes a kind of sociological superglue" for the community (PUTNAM 2000, 23) and bridging social capital, which is more outward looking and promotes links to others. Regarding urban-rural differences of social capital, empirical research on small towns and rural regions found that there is a considerable level of social capital in rural areas, resulting from the need of neighbourly solidarity in the absence of state institutions (ARORA-JONSSON 2017; MICKSCH and SCHWIER 2000; SCHADER STIFTUNG 2011). However, the question is if immigrants as newcomers in rural localities are integrated in those social networks, so that they can profit from bonding social capital. PORTES (1998) points out that social capital might not solely have positive effects, but might also lead to social control and conformity pressure. This could specifically be relevant for small towns: "In a small town or village, all neighbors know each other […]. The level of social control in such settings is strong and also quite restrictive of personal freedoms, which is the reason why the young and the more independent-minded have always left." (PORTES 1998, 16).

3　Local contexts of immigrant reception

The role of the receiving society is closely linked to local conditions, which brings the role of space and place to the fore. The temporal-spatial settings of a locality are important framing features for processes of arrival, admission, integration, conflict and various negotiation processes between the local population and the newcomers. The study of those conditions entails a number of methodological challenges, such as the question how to generalise from locality to the nation state level using single case studies of 'paradigmatic cities' and the focus on ethnic clusters, combined with neglecting social stratifications or specific settlement structures in localities or regions (GLICK SCHILLER and ÇAGLAR 2009). GLICK SCHILLER and ÇAGLAR (2009) suggest a rescaling exercise, taking into account the power hierarchies into which single cities are embedded in a national and transnational framework. Focusing on the role of migrants in urban restructuring

processes, they suggest studying urban resources and ways to support migrants in order to explain varying outcomes of immigrant integration. This approach can be found in studies on new immigrant destinations on the one hand (PRICE and BENTON-SHORT 2008; SINGER 2004; SINGER et al. 2008), and in research on the nexus between immigration and urban restructuring on the other hand (HILLMANN and PANG 2020; POTTIE-SHERMAN 2018; VITIELLO and SUGRUE 2017). Studies on new immigrant gateways analyse the differences of local reception conditions across time and space, especially as opposed to traditional immigrant destinations. They focus on spatial and social changes occurring in the context of immigration, such as the appearance of immigrant neighbourhoods or the introduction of new cultural traditions, gradually leading to super-diversity (PRICE and BENTON-SHORT 2008; SINGER 2004; SINGER et al. 2008). While findings highlight the importance of immigrants' contribution for the re-configuration of urban spaces, economies and societies, they fall short in considering the role of ordinary everyday encounters in the neighbourhood or in public institutions like schools for migrant incorporation (MCDANIEL 2013). Studies on the immigration-revitalisation nexus ask for the specific role of migrants in urban regeneration processes, considering structural and political conditions in a locality. HILLMANN and PANG (2020) suggest to focus on the effects of migration-led regeneration on physical structures, socio-economic texture and policies and on the level of symbolism and representation, to arrive at a more differentiated view on the interplay between migration and urban regeneration strategies (HILLMANN and PANG 2020, viii). The approach promises international comparison and thus generalization, "as it includes re-active and pro-active action in regard to migration" and brings "top-down and bottom-up initiatives into the focus of research" (ibid.). Studies within this realm highlight the unevenness of local responses to immigration and the emergence of economic development-focused inclusionary initiatives as a response to neoliberal downscaling processes (POTTIE-SHERMAN 2018; TONKISS 2013; VITIELLO and SUGRUE 2017).

While research in the context of new immigrant gateways or immigrant-led urban revitalisation mostly focuses on larger metropolises, rural areas as new immigrant gateways have been increasingly considered by researchers since the 2014 refugee movements in Europe (MCAREAVEY and ARGENT 2018). Studies have been focusing on how the local population is coping with every-day encounters

and differences due to immigration (e.g. GLORIUS et al. 2020; WOODS 2018) and on cooperation and communication between residential population and refugees or newcomers (WOODS 2018). RYE and SCOTT (2018) highlight the challenges of integration in rural societies not only for migrants but also for the local population, as integration processes can trigger or push the transformation of „traditional rural values and life style". SØHOLT et al. (2018) examine in five case studies in Norway, Sweden and Denmark the role of the local society and their impact on integration processes of migrants linked with the discussion of rural development. They reveal that the acceptance of immigrants and newcomers is connected to certain economical and societal expectations of the local population, labelled as 'conditioned receptiveness'. BERG-NORDLIE (2018) finds similar outcomes by analysing local media discourses of Norwegian rural regions. Newspapers reported in a positive but also hegemonic manner about immigrants as important workforce and contributors to social and cultural life to the local community, while negative reports mostly addressed the cultural 'otherness' of migrants as an integration obstacle (ibid., 214f). Fears projected on to asylum seekers by local media can impact attitudes of the local population and social dynamics. Examining two rural English localities, HUBBARD (2005) found that opponents against first reception centres expressed their arguments very formally, referring to local shortcomings in infrastructure or a lack of appropriate building sites. However, behind the formal expression there were deeper anxieties and hidden racialized arguments that were connected with asylum centres and stereotypes such as crime, diseases and pollution of the local countryside (ibid., 10). Citizens claimed a need to protect the English countryside - perceived as rural idyll and as „a repository of white values, ideologies and lifestyle" which shows in turn that cities appear in the opponent's mindset as multicultural, therefore 'un-English' and less secure spaces, where „asylum seekers could integrate more successfully" (ibid., 12-14). As SPICER (2008) found for the case of urban neighbourhoods, those areas with considerable immigration history tended to be more receptive and provide for social inclusion of arriving refugees than neighbourhoods with few immigration experiences. This result might likewise apply to rural localities. The approach of 'rural cosmopolitanism' (WOODS 2018) gives helpful insight how to conceptualize intercultural encounters in every-day life by local residents and immigrants in small communities (ibid., 165). Everyday encounters give people the opportunity to directly negotiate their perceived differences. Regarding spaces and places of everyday encounters, WOODS (2018) highlights public institutions like schools or sport fields as important 'key sites' for encounter and negotiation. However, he also points to the limits of rural cosmopolitanism, notably regarding capacities of space and infrastructure or the possibility to shape progressive policies towards newcomers on the local level. Thus, integrative effects of everyday encounters or the level of openness of local residents towards newcomers are always conditional to other framing features, which calls for a differentiated approach for analyzing local receptivity.

4 Local receptivity: an analytical framework for the research of immigrant reception in rural localities

This paper aims to develop an analytical framework of local receptivity, based on the guiding question what societal conditions are needed for newcomers' successful integration into a rural society. Our focus on the rural is derived from ongoing empirical research in rural localities, which raised the interest to examine the specifics of 'the rural' regarding arrival, reception and integration, and considering that the focus of integration research was and is on urban conditions, yet without clearly defining what those conditions are. In the sections above, we showed that approaches for understanding the role of receiving society can be derived from 'classical' concepts of integration and acculturation, but that empirical designs are mostly focusing on the behaviour of immigrants, leaving an important research gap regarding the role of receiving societies for integration processes. Although this applies equally to urban and rural areas, the more homogeneous composition of rural populations, combined with the new societal challenges of refugee reception, enforces the need for research frameworks that cover the role of the receiving society more explicitly. Lastly, research designs, notwithstanding the efforts in the context of the local turn, often fail to integrate the spatial dimension, both with regards to geographical differentiation of research results, and in seeing spaces and places as specific opportunity structure for encounter between newcomers and residents of a locality.

In our own model on the local receptivity of rural societies (Fig. 1), we suggest an approach how to enhance our understanding about of perceptions,

Receptivity
Ability and willingness to receive and integrate newcomers

Resources	**Implementation**

Structural framing conditions

| Economic and demographic condition | Making use of material/infrastructural resources |
| Material/infrastructural resources | |

Political actors and structures

| Local governance-competence | Proactive governance strategy |

Society and societal structures

| „Social glue": social contacts, networks, actors | Openness, tolerance |
| Collective memory, local migration history | Attitudes regarding ethnic/cultural/religious diversity |

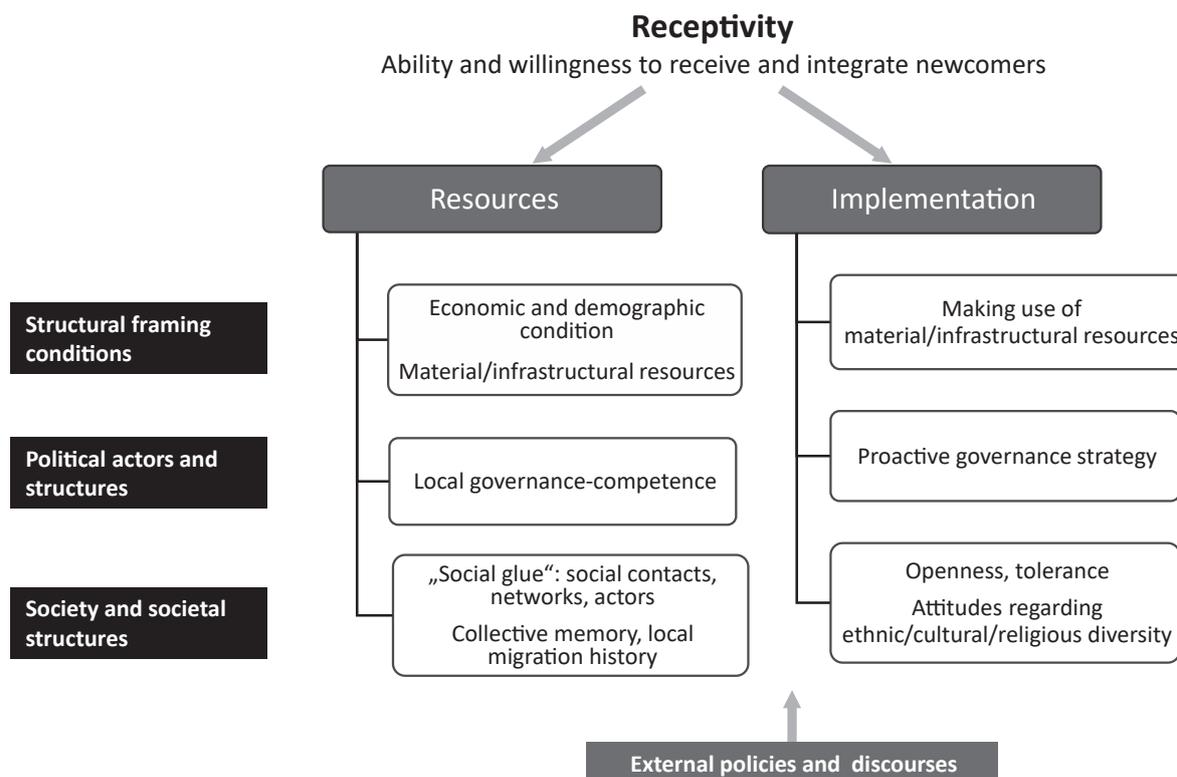**External policies and discourses**

Fig. 1: Local receptivity: local potentials and constellations for the successful integration of newcomers

behaviours and social conditions of the receiving society as important actors in integration processes, taking into account the embedding into various framing conditions and mutual influences between local actors. It is inspired by the above mentioned concepts and findings and tries to translate them to a local research field. As a guiding term for our research, we chose the notion of 'receptivity' which was used by McDᴀɴɪᴇʟ (2013) in his research on new immigrant gateways. McDᴀɴɪᴇʟ refers to receptivity as a "place's collective experience related to immigrants and newcomers", which "in turn affects newcomers' experience in a place" (McDᴀɴɪᴇʟ 2013, 1). In his empirical operationalisation, he uses a bipolar structure of positive and negative receptivity. While positive – or 'warm' – receptivity in his model means individual and institutional actions affecting proactive, progressive, or positive change in a city, negative – or 'cold' – receptivity refers to reactive or regressive actions, leading to negative effects on immigrant inclusion.

For empirical operationalisation, our understanding of the term 'receptivity' is the **ability and willingness to open up to newcomers and develop an inclusionary perspective within a local society**. This encompasses three dimensions which

can serve as main areas of analysis: the structural frame, political actors and governance structures, and – as main point of interest to understand receptivity – the society and societal structure. In all those dimensions, it is important to differentiate between the **resources** of a locality for integration processes, and **how they are implemented** in the context of newcomer integration.

Thus, regarding the first dimension of structural framing conditions, we need to ask for the material and structural resources of a locality as a prerequisite for reception and integration processes, and also the willingness to provide existing resources for the sake of immigrant integration. Economy can be an important factor, but also human and financial resources of a community need to be taken into account. The question how those resources are implemented for newcomer integration may vary on the local level. This might concern e.g. the willingness to open the municipal housing stock for refugee housing, or to proactively integrate migrant children in public child-care facilities and adapt the infrastructure accordingly.

Regarding local governance and political actors, we have to consider the range of local governance competences which are necessary to deal with inte-

gration processes on the local level, for example the structure of municipal administrations, the size and structure of municipal parliaments and political positions towards integration. On the implementation side, indicators of receptivity would be e.g. proactive governance strategies regarding integration and social inclusion, the introduction of an immigrant board in the local political structure, or the development of an integration and diversity concept for the municipality. Also individual engagement of local political stakeholders can enhance receptivity, notably in small towns and rural regions (SCHADER STIFTUNG 2011, 21; RÖSCH et al. 2020, 51).

The third dimension, society and societal structures, is the most important for our ongoing research, as it is this level where we are missing a clear conceptualisation which could mirror the focus on migrants found in most integration and acculturation approaches (LEE 2009). On the societal level, we include the resources of the local population: these might differ in relation to demographic, social and economic characteristics, but also regarding attitudes and experiences towards immigrants, the ability to engage in social contacts, the existence of social networks and of civil society key actors who are able to build bridges between newcomers and resident population. Thus, the conceptual thoughts on social capital (PUTNAM 2000), with its differentiation of bonding and bridging social capital as well as shared norms and trust as a basis for civil society development, are important elements for research as they display the quality of the societal structures. Also the collective memory and migration history of a locality is relevant. Has the locality already experienced significant inflows of (international) migrants, and have they managed to integrate them in an inclusionary way? Have there been specific institutions, areas or places of inclusion or exclusion which influence further processes of integration? How is immigration and integration collectively remembered and narrated in the locality? And how active are earlier immigrants in building up bonding social capital which can be used for the integration of new immigrants (SPICER 2008)?

Regarding the implementation of those locally embedded resources, relevant factors are openness of the local population, and tolerance, regarding ethnic, cultural and religious diversity. Societies who are open to include newcomers into their societal structures and who rather perceive the benefits than the challenges of newcomer integration, will turn out to be more receptive and able to manage integration processes faster and with a more positive outcome, than less receptive societies. Furthermore, societies who have positive experiences with newcomer integration and thus already arrived at diversified stakeholder structures, for example in public institutions, the labour market, or education, will benefit from those experiences and developments to successfully manage the challenge of newcomer integration.

Furthermore, there are external influences to both, the side of resources as well as the implementation side. Overarching political frames and governance approaches can influence material and structural conditions, local governance options or the institutionalisation of civil society. For example, the question of individual housing for asylum seekers will not only depend on the availability of municipal housing stock and the proactive organisation of decentralised housing, but also on political decisions regarding the preference of decentralized or group accommodations for asylum seekers and their top-down implementation. Further external influences are found on the discursive side. Public discourses on migration and integration can strongly influence local discourses and the local political climate. This can either fuel or hamper reception processes on the local level.

Our understanding of receptivity offers two important additions to the widely used approaches on integration and social inclusion: First, by focusing on the analysis of favourable preconditions for reception, our findings might offer new and concrete strategical options to political and civil society stakeholders. Second, we are able to integrate both central conceptual approaches from core disciplines explaining societal integration such as social psychology, sociology and political science **and** the important innovations of the 'local turn' and the strength of human geography to connect between society and space. Our model can be used as a framework for local case studies, with the aim to generalize findings notwithstanding the complexity of interrelated research categories.

The local observation level opens the view for relevant actor constellations, political and public debates and discourses, which are embedded in specific spatio-temporal systems and social and political patterns. Relevant actors are not only institutional actors, but also the newcomers and the local population. All of them are influenced by, but can also shape local constellations, both individually and collectively, through their perceptions, attitudes, and daily practices. Particularly in rural areas key actors who could promote openness and intercultural sen-

sitivity are - as shown above - a limited resource. Therefore, it is even more important to consider their roles and functions in local receptivity and local integration processes. The rural perspective used to develop this framework shows the particular importance of local migration history and local experience with diversity as part of the manifold explanatory factors for differing local integration frameworks.

The analysis of attitudes, action orientations and practices of the mobile and immobile parts of a local population can enhance our understanding of their everyday encounters and negotiations and their consequences. In turn, this can lead to a deeper understanding of integration processes that goes far beyond a purely functional interpretation towards a whole-of-community approach on integration.

Acknowledgement

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