Social mixing in the workplace: a review of existing research

The Challenge

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report collects and evaluates existing research on the workplace and social integration. We believe that this remains a relatively under-explored question, and that we need to give much more thought to the important role that our workplaces might play in building a more integrated society. We show that interactions at work can help to build social bonds, and we explore key findings to understand how and under what conditions workplace social mixing has the most positive impact. The evidence collected here is intended to serve as a foundation for further research and policy innovation, by highlighting what works and identifying the gaps in our knowledge.

This executive summary draws out the most important points to take away from the theoretical and empirical work we have reviewed.

Why does the workplace matter for social integration?

1. **Workplaces tend to be more diverse than other areas of our lives**
   Workplaces tend to be more diverse than other areas of our lives, such as neighbourhoods, friendship groups and social clubs. Therefore, many of us are more likely to come into contact with people who are different from us – whether from a different ethnic group, a different class background, or a different generation – when we are at work than in any other sphere of our lives.

2. **We spend large amounts of time at work and it is central to our lives**
   The average person in the UK spends 37 hours at work each week. Whether we feel negatively or positively about our work, the amount of time we spend in our workplaces means that who we work with, how we feel about them and how we interact with them, are significant experiences which shape our view of ourselves and others.

3. **We can't choose our colleagues**
   Most of us have little choice over who our colleagues are. Our tendency to gravitate (consciously or unconsciously) towards those who are similar to us can lead us to living more segregated social lives than we might think. Yet in the workplace we typically have less ability to choose who we interact with than in other areas of our lives, which breaks the tendency to mix with people just like us.

4. **Workplaces create conditions for powerful and lasting bonds**
   Workplaces tend to create opportunities for high quality and meaningful interactions with others. They require us to cooperate with colleagues towards common goals, and enable a shared identity as part of the same organisation or team. As such, workplaces often meet all the typical conditions under which people can and do form meaningful and lasting bonds, including with people who may be very different from us.

What do we know from the existing research?

1. **Workplace interaction leads to more positive attitudes and friendships**
   There is good evidence that workplace interactions with those who are different from us can result in more positive attitudes towards and higher levels of friendship with, people from different social groups.

2. **Workplace interaction can combat prejudice and stereotyping**
   Workplace interaction not only increases positive attitudes, but can serve to break down negative attitudes, prejudice and stereotypes.

3. **Workplaces may be more powerful sites for social integration than neighbourhoods**
   There is evidence that interactions in the workplace have a greater effect on our attitudes towards people from different backgrounds, compared to interactions in the neighbourhoods where we live.

4. **The positive impact of interactions at work holds across a range of differences**
   Most studies of workplace social contact have examined relations between people from different ethnicities or nationalities, and found positive outcomes. But there are also studies showing similarly positive outcomes in terms of people of different generations, gender, and sexual orientation.

5. **Workplace diversity is necessary but not sufficient for positive outcomes**
   Workplace diversity is linked to higher levels of social interaction between people from different backgrounds, but it is not a guarantee of it.

6. **Quality of interaction is more important than frequency of interaction**
   The evidence suggests the quality and context of social contact at work is more important than the frequency or quantity. Interactions which are more enjoyable, more informal or more personal are more likely to lead to more positive attitudes towards, and higher levels of friendship with, those who are different from us.

7. **Good relations don’t always easily extend beyond the workplace**
   Qualitative evidence suggests that positive attitudes towards difference and friendships across difference formed at work do not always extend beyond the workplace. There is evidence that interactions at work influence wider attitudes outside work, but this process of generalisation is not always a strong one.

What do we need to understand better?

1. **What conditions and policies in the workplace best encourage social integration?**
   The evidence clearly suggests that workplace interaction between people from different backgrounds can and does lead to positive outcomes in terms of greater positivity about difference, reduction in prejudice, and increased friendship. It also shows that the quality of interactions is crucial for determining how positive these effects are. Therefore, we need to more fully understand the workplace conditions - the policies, cultures, behaviours, and physical design choices - that enable the most positive forms of interaction.

2. **More research is needed on the workplace and socio-economic integration**
   There is good evidence that workplace mixing can improve relations between people from different ethnic backgrounds and generations, but more research is needed on socio-economic mixing in the workplace. How does social class structure divisions in workplaces, and can interactions between people from different socio-economic backgrounds have the same positive outcomes as they do for different ethnic groups? This is important as The Challenge's British Integration Survey 2019 shows that social class is the basis of significant segregation within British society.

3. **How will the workplaces of the future impact on social integration and social connection?**
   The nature of work is changing fast. Remote working, the gig economy and automation are already fundamentally reshaping how many people experience work. While communication technologies make it easier to interact over distance, we may find ourselves spending less time in the same physical space as our colleagues. What are the implications of these changes, given growing concerns over the extent of social dislocation? How can we build higher levels of social integration into the workplaces and work practices of the future, and guard against the loss of the invaluable social connection?

What are the most important things we need to think about?

We believe that employers, policymakers and civil society groups need to work together to think about what more we can do to enable our workplaces to play a leading role in building a more integrated society. How do we build on the evidence we have set out in this paper to come to a fuller understanding of what workplace conditions, policies and cultures best enable positive social integration outcomes? How can we encourage employers to help workers connect with one another and the communities within which they are based? What policies, programmes and resources can we put in place to support employers in this? The Challenge would be interested in working with businesses and other partners with an interest in these questions, to see if the learnings we and others have developed from social integration programmes in other spheres can also be successfully applied in the workplace.

INTRODUCTION

The evidence suggests that Britain remains socially segregated in a number of concerning ways. The Challenge's British Integration Survey 2019 found that 44% of Britons have no one from a different ethnic background to them in their social networks, and even in London, the most ethnically diverse region in the UK, almost a quarter of people said that they have no one from a different ethnic background in their social network. The survey also found that close social contact between older and younger people is low. At the same time neighbourhoods are becoming more segregated by age, half of children eligible for free school meals are located in 20% of schools, and the OECD has found that 80% of children of immigrant families attended schools with high proportions of fellow immigrant pupils or disadvantaged pupils - higher than any other OECD nation.

Social integration – enabling people from different backgrounds, cultures, and generations to forge relationships as friends, colleagues, neighbours and citizens – sits at the heart of The Challenge's mission. In the context of growing concerns about the extent of social divisions in our country, this is an increasingly important question for everybody. Social segregation can contribute to and exacerbate some of our most serious divisions. When people don't positively engage with others who are different from them, mistrust grows and prejudice sets in. We need to think about how we might address this in all spheres of our lives.

The Integrated Communities Strategy published in 2018, followed by the Integrated Communities Action Plan in 2019, sets out the Government's response to some of these challenges. It combines national initiatives with more localised approaches: the five 'Integration Areas' are intended to build on local expertise to develop integration strategies tailored to their specific communities. Importantly, the Strategy sees employers and businesses as having an important role to play in this. It calls on them to promote diversity and ensure that people from all backgrounds have equal access to work and opportunity. However, it also challenges businesses more broadly to:

> Consider their wider role in promoting integration to help build strong, integrated communities, promoting the English language skills of employees, and encouraging mixed environments."[1]

This is an important challenge, which arguably deserves more thought and attention than it has had up until now. When thinking about how we build a more integrated society, we need to think carefully about all the locations in which meaningful social connections take place. The workplace may in fact be one of the most important spheres in which people from different backgrounds and

[1] Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2018.

generations connect both with one another and the wider communities in which they live.

Over the past few decades there has been an increasing focus on tackling discrimination and boosting inclusion and diversity in workplaces. This work is vital to creating an equal and fair society, but we need to go further if we also want workplaces to contribute to a more cohesive society. We believe that researchers, employers, and policymakers have not directed enough attention at the role of the workplace in enabling connections between people from of different backgrounds.

This paper aims to encourage new focus on social mixing in the workplace. It reviews the existing research on workplace mixing, highlights areas which we think require more research, and along the way raises key questions which employers and others need to think about when considering the role of the workplace in building a more integrated society. We hope it provides a useful resource for researchers, policymakers, employers, and other practitioners interested in this area.

This issue has particular relevance for the work of The Challenge. We are always searching for new and innovative ways in which we can build a more integrated society, and develop programmes which bring people together across lines of difference. Indeed, employment is already at the core of a number of our programmes: both HeadStart and HeadStart Action boost employability skills for young people through confidence building and strong social integration components.

This literature review is organised into:

- **Theoretical foundations**
  Intergroup contact theory, homophily.
- **Outcomes of workplace mixing**
  More positive attitudes to people from a different background, greater levels of friendship, reduced prejudice and stereotyping.
- **Inputs of workplace mixing**
  Workplace diversity, quantity and quality of interactions.
- **Generalising relations beyond the workplace**
- **Mediators**
  The ways in which interactions lead to outcomes.
- **Moderators**
  The conditions under which interactions result in outcomes.
- **Future research**
  The gaps in the current evidence which need to be filled so that we can make the most of the integration opportunities offered by workplaces.

While there has not been a huge amount of study into this area, the evidence that we do have is very positive: interactions between colleagues have been shown to improve social relations between people from different backgrounds.

WHY WORKPLACES MATTER FOR INTEGRATION

Workplaces offer powerful opportunities for social mixing between different groups. They are spaces where people from different ethnicities, socio-economic backgrounds, and generations interact on a daily basis. Diversity is often higher in workplaces than in other social spaces – in a 2010 survey of English respondents, 30% said that at least half the people in their workplace are from a different ethnic background to them, while only 24% said the same for their neighbourhoods.[2]

As the legal academic Cynthia Estlund observes in the US context, "in a society that is still largely segregated, the workplace is where working adults are most likely to associate regularly with someone of another race."[3] Equally, workplaces can span three or four generations – younger Baby Boomers, Gen X, Millennials, and older Gen Z are all of working age.[4] There is less data on levels of educational or socio-economic diversity in workplaces, but workforces are often comprised of people from a range of social and educational backgrounds.

On top of all this, people spend a lot of time at work. The average person in the UK works 37 hours a week, or around 1,900 hours a year – this is a significant amount of time in which social interactions could be taking place.[5] It is therefore not surprising that a recent survey found that more UK adults have met a friend through work than through any other setting – including their local neighbourhood, school, or social activities.[6]

Integrated workplaces can benefit employers, employees, and society more generally. Research from 2018 found that nearly half of UK employees were not keen to get to work in the morning, and that only 41% were enthusiastic about their job.[7] It makes sense that when employees get on better, they will enjoy their jobs more and be better at communicating and cooperating. Integrated colleagues are not only happier, but are also less likely to leave their job.

In a 2019 survey asking Britons why they left previous jobs, 45% mentioned a lack of specific inclusion policies, and 58% said that their company didn't prioritise diversity and inclusion.[8] But most importantly, the benefits of

[2] In Laurence et al., 2018.
[3] Estlund, 2003 (p.3).
[4] Bencsik et al., 2016; Sanner-Stiehr and Vandermause, 2017.
[5] Office for National Statistics, 2019a.
[6] YouGov, 2019.
[7] Personal Group, 2019.
[8] Opinium, 2019.

integrated workplaces extend well beyond working hours – as the research collected in this paper shows, workplace contact may help to break down social divides and strengthen bonds between different groups of people in way that extends much more broadly.

We spend a large part of our waking lives at work, interacting and forming bonds with people who are different from us. However, increased workplace diversity by itself does not necessarily lead to better relations between colleagues.[9] Given the persistent divides in British society, it is vital that we build our understanding of how contact between colleagues can contribute to a stronger, more united society.

The Government's Integrated Communities Strategy stresses the responsibility of businesses and employers in building stronger communities[10] and recent academic research has renewed the focus on work as a key opportunity for social mixing. But policymakers and employers need better tools to ensure that workplaces fulfil their potential in helping to build a more integrated society.

THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

Intergroup contact theory

When people from different social groups interact with each other, they build mutual understanding, respect, and trust. This is the basis of the Intergroup Contact Theory, which is a useful aide in understanding how social interaction can help to break down divisions and strengthen relations. Social contact is a proven means for building positive relationships between different social groups, and is central to The Challenge's Design Principles for Meaningful Mixing.[11]

Intergroup contact theory was developed by psychologist Gordon Allport, and states that under the right conditions contact will have a range of positive outcomes, including stronger relations between groups from different backgrounds and improved attitudes towards difference.[12] A large number of studies have demonstrated support for intergroup contact theory, and a meta-analysis by Pettigrew and Tropp of 515 studies found that contact has a significant and positive effect on reducing prejudice.[13]

Allport identified four conditions for optimal contact, with Pettigrew adding a fifth:

1. **Equal group status**
2. **Common goals**
3. **Intergroup cooperation**

[9] Jayne and Dipboye, 2004.
[10] Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2019.
[11] The Challenge, 2018.
[12] Allport, 1954.
[13] Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006.

4. **Support of authorities, law or customs**
5. **The potential to establish friendships**[14]

As various academics have noted, workplaces have the potential to fulfil all five of these conditions.[15] Colleagues often interact on equal terms[16] and cooperate in pursuit of common goals, regardless of individual differences. Workplace encounters are protected by legislation on diversity and discrimination, and supported by organisational policies and workplace norms.[17]

Finally, since workplace interactions happen regularly over a long period of time, there is strong potential for colleagues to develop friendships. Intergroup theory therefore predicts that workplaces should provide good conditions for translating contact into improved attitudes, reduced prejudice, and stronger intergroup bonds. In fact, workplaces may offer better sites for meaningful mixing than neighbourhoods or schools, which do not always fulfil all five of these conditions for optimal contact.

Homophily

The key obstacle to establishing contact between people from different groups or backgrounds is 'homophily', which refers to the natural tendency for people to seek out others that are similar to themselves.[18] Most of us, understandably, gravitate towards people who share our attitudes and values – social psychologists call this the similarity-attraction theory.[19]

However, we often rely on surface-level characteristics to make judgments about how much we have in common with others. We tend to assume that people that look similar to us, for example based on age or ethnicity, are more likely to be like us. This has a knock-on effect on who we choose to socialise with – as McPherson and colleagues state in their study of homophily in social networks, 'similarity breeds connection'.[20]

Homophily at work isn't always bad – Gates and colleagues find in their study of friendships among lesbian, gay and bisexual academics that friendships between members of a minority group can be important for providing support and countering stigma.[21] But left unchecked, homophily means that different social groups will tend to stick together in the workplace, and not make the most of the possibilities for interaction presented by a diverse workforce. At best, the result is that chances to build bridges across difference are ignored; at worst, it can lead to workplace segregation and increased prejudice.

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[14] Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998.
[15] Li and Tong, 2018; Schmidt and Müller, 2013; Kokkonen et al., 2015.
[16] However, Kokkonen et al. (2015) suggest that equality of status is not guaranteed due to workplace hierarchies, but may exist between workers of the same level.
[17] Estlund, 2003; Laurence et al., 2018.
[18] Kokkonen et al., 2015.
[19] Berscheid, and Walster, 1978; Byrne, 1971.
[20] McPherson et al., 2001.
[21] Gates et al., 2019.

Workplaces therefore present a unique opportunity for integration, because they force us to connect with people who aren't like us. Unlike neighbourhoods or other public spaces, people have less choice over who they mix with at work – you can choose your friends, but not your colleagues.[22] In their private lives, people may avoid others who are different to them, either because of a preference for similarity or due to prejudice towards certain social groups. But at work, people need to put differences aside and interact with those that they wouldn't normally choose to. Research shows that contact has a more positive effect on attitudes when participants have no choice over whether to interact.[23] This means that contact across social divides should be greater in workplaces than in other spaces where people can stick to their preferences.

HISTORY OF RESEARCH ON WORKPLACE MIXING

The development of research into workplace mixing and social integration has been patchy and uneven, spanning many decades and disciplines. Early US studies in the 1940s and 1950s identified the potential for workplace mixing to positively influence intergroup attitudes: research showed lower levels of racial prejudice among white soldiers who had served in racially-mixed units during World War II,[24] among white police who had worked with Black colleagues,[25] and among white Merchant Navy seamen who had completed more voyages with black seamen.[26] The author of this last study described this as "a conclusion obviously filled with hopeful implications", but little further research was conducted in the following decades.

One notable exception was a 1980s experimental study where white participants with negative racial attitudes were paired with Black companions to complete a task where they had to manage a railroad system. At the end of 40 sessions, 40% of participants had more positive attitudes towards black people compared to before the study.[27] While post-war race relations in the US are not directly comparable to contemporary British social relations, this early research shows that the potential of workplaces to bridge social divides has long been recognised.

In the intervening years, the majority of research on social integration in the workplace has focused on integrating employees into the workplace.[28] This research mainly comes from an organisational demography or workplace diversity perspective, and responded to the growing need to manage increasingly diverse workforces as greater proportions of women and ethnic minorities entered the labour market over the second half of the 20th Century.

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[22] Thomsen, 2012.; Kokkonen et al., 2015; Laurence et al., 2018; Li and Tong, 2018.
[23] Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006.
[24] Stouffer et al., 1949.
[25] Kephart, 1957.
[26] Brophy, 1946.
[27] Cook, 1984.
[28] For useful summaries see Williams and O'Reilly, 1998; Guillaume et al., 2017.

This body of research has a narrower definition of social integration to the one that we use at The Challenge. Rather than being concerned with creating bonds between different groups in society, this research limits its focus to relations within workplaces. It uses social integration as an umbrella term to describe cohesion, communication, attachment, and (absence of) conflict between colleagues.

The primary concern is how to boost performance outcomes such as higher efficiency, greater innovation, and lower employee turnover. However, it does not consider how within-workplace integration might extend to wider social relations – it treats social integration as a means to increasing workplace performance, rather than a good in itself. Nevertheless, these studies still offer some useful insights into the different interaction processes that occur in workplaces, and we include relevant findings in this review.

More recently there has been renewed interest in the relationship between workplace interaction and social attitudes. This research has predominantly focused on race and ethnicity[29] – the Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies alone has published four studies on workplace contact since 2015. Studies have also examined intergenerational attitudes,[30] gender relations,[31] and socio-economic integration.[32] However, there is a stark absence of cross-referencing between disciplines – research into one dimension of diversity rarely engages with research on another dimension, even when they share similar methodologies and theoretical assumptions.

The majority of studies have used quantitative analysis of survey data, but several adopted qualitative or mixed methods.[33] Analysis has mainly been conducted in Europe, although studies have also been set in the US, Australia, and China.

[29] Jackman and Crane, 1986.; Wagner et al., 2006; Savelkoul et al., 2011; Thomsen, 2012; Schmidt and Muller, 2013; Savelkoul et al., 2015; Kokkonen et al., 2015; Laurence et al., 2018; Eisnecker, 2019.
[30] Iweins et al., 2013; Henry et al., 2015.
[31] Bhatnagar and Swamy, 1995.
[32] Li and Tong, 2018
[33] Ibarra, 1995; Bhatnagar and Swamy, 1995; Schmidt and Muller, 2013; Nesvåg and Duckert, 2017; Rajendran et al., 2017.

WHAT SHAPES WORKPLACE MIXING

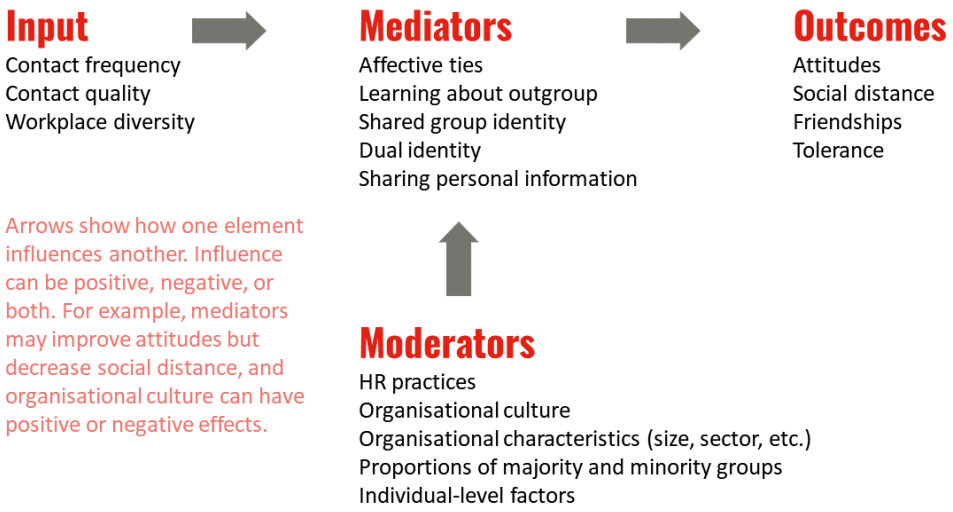
The diagram below can help us to make sense of how various factors can influence the outcomes of workplace social mixing. The diagram is based on factors identified by current research, and in the following section we explore the different stages of mixing in more detail.

'Inputs' are the things that initiate the process of social mixing – in this case, interactions and the presence of diversity.

'Outcomes' are the results of the inputs – in this case, our lasting views of, and relationships with, groups who are different from us (not just those individuals we have interacted with).

'Mediators' are things that help explain how interactions in the workplace (i.e. 'inputs') translate into these 'outcomes' (i.e. lasting views and relationships) whether positive or negative.

'Moderators' are additional factors which can influence the strength of the link between interactions and opportunities for interactions (i.e. inputs) and the lasting impact on us (i.e. outcomes).[34]



OUTCOMES OF WORKPLACE MIXING

Attitudes

There is good evidence that workplace contact is associated with improved attitudes towards those who are in some way different. A meta-analysis of 40 years of research showed that, on average, social contact had a greater effect

[34] Hewstone, 2009.

on prejudice in a work or organisational setting than it did in an educational or residential context; only laboratory and recreational contexts experienced a stronger effect of contact.[35] The majority of existing research on workplace mixing examines attitudes towards ethnic minorities or migrants, but several studies also show that workplace contact can improve attitudes towards people of different generations, gender, and sexual orientation.

A number of studies have shown that workplace interaction can have a positive impact on attitudes towards non-natives or ethnic minorities. Analysis of 2002 German survey data by Wagner and colleagues found that increased frequency of contact in workplaces was associated with an increase in non-citizen friends, which in turn led to lower levels of prejudice.[36]

A more recent study by Laurence and colleagues[37] found that workplace diversity had a positive but non-statistically significant effect on levels of warmth towards ethnic minorities, while neighbourhood diversity had a negative effect, though also non-significant. Both studies found that workplaces presented greater opportunities for interactions than neighbourhoods – in Laurence and colleagues' study, the association between workplace diversity and frequency of mixing was more than twice as strong as for neighbourhoods. These results suggest that workplaces encourage greater levels of mixing than neighbourhoods, and that this mixing can lead to positive social outcomes.

However, more diverse workplaces are not automatically more integrated. Harris and Valentine found, in a study of workers in Leeds, that people in more ethnically diverse workplaces held more positive attitudes towards people of ethnic minority backgrounds, but only up to a point. Attitudes were most positive among people in workplaces where less than half of employees were from a different ethnic background – workers in both non-diverse and highly diverse workplaces had more negative attitudes towards minority groups.[38] This study suggests that the relationship between workplace diversity and positive attitudes is not linear, and that high levels of diversity, when not effectively managed, may in some circumstances lead to greater tensions.

Conversely, there is evidence of a bell-shaped relationship between minority percentage in a region and levels of perceived threat. Savelkoul and colleagues looked at regions in The Netherlands, and found that perceived threat increased as the percentage of Muslim population grew – however, above a certain level perceived threat levelled out and then even decreased.[39] Further research should explore the role of group proportions in more detail, particularly since these are likely to vary depending on the dimension of diversity in question.

[35] Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006.
[36] Wagner et al., 2006.
[37] Laurence et al., 2018.
[38] Harris and Valentine, 2016.
[39] Savelkoul et al., 2011.

Workplace contact can not only increase positive attitudes, but also break down negative ones. Savelkoul and colleagues found, in the same study described above, that increased contact with ethnic minority colleagues was linked to a reduction in a range of negative stereotypes which portray Muslims as illiberal, non-integrationist, and fanatical. By contrast, contact with ethnic minority friends had no significant effects on attitudes to Muslims.[40] Interestingly, this analysis also found that women are less likely than men to have contact with ethnic minority colleagues, even after controlling for seniority of occupational status and other individual-level factors. The study is not able to offer an explanation for this gender difference, but this finding deserves further research.

Additionally, interactions at work can help to reduce social distance and increase tolerance towards minority groups. Eller and Abrams measured social distance by asking respondents how likely they would welcome having someone from a different ethnicity to them as a co-worker, boss, best friend, neighbour, or in-law. They looked at how Mexican workers' attitudes to American colleagues changed over time, and found that contact increased Mexicans' willingness to envisage Americans in a position of social proximity, as well as increasing positive attitudes.[41] Thomsen looked at levels of ethnic tolerance, which he defined as support for rights that protect ethnic minorities from discrimination. He found a positive link between workplace contact and ethnic tolerance, indicating that the familiarity encouraged by interactions between colleagues can boost support for minority rights.[42]

Voci and Hewstone, in their study of contact between Italian hospital workers and their non-EU colleagues, similarly found that contact was linked to increased support for immigrants' social and civil rights. **These findings show that workplace contact doesn't just increase people's levels of warmth towards each other – it can also make them more open to welcoming people who are different into their personal lives, and strengthen political support for minorities.**

Finally, there is evidence that jobs which require workers to interact with members of the public who are different from them can also help to improve attitudes. A study by Pagotto and colleagues looked at interactions between Italian hospital workers and non-EU patients. More frequent and positive contact at work was associated with more positive attitudes towards immigrants. Interestingly, the effects of workplace contact remained significant after they controlled for non-work contact and media influence – this implies that the effects of workplace contact are independent from contact experienced elsewhere.[43]

While research on workplace contact and attitudes has predominantly focused on relations between different ethnic groups, a few studies have also shown

[40] Savelkoul et al., 2011.
[41] Eller and Abrams, 2004.
[42] Thomsen, 2012.
[43] Pagotto et al., 2010.

positive outcomes for other dimensions of diversity. An analysis by Bhatnagar and Swamy found that male managers who reported satisfactory interactions with women managers had more positive attitudes towards women holding managerial roles. While this study only examined attitudes within the workplace, it gave some support to the notion that contact might generalize from one setting to another – there was partial evidence that when men had positive interactions with female clerks, their attitudes towards female managers were also better. This suggests that contact can still be effective across hierarchy distinctions, and more broadly implies that positive experiences with group members in one context can improve attitudes towards them in another context.[44]

A more recent study by Harris and Valentine, based on a survey of workers in Leeds, found that people who worked with some LGBT or disabled colleagues reported more positive attitudes towards these groups.[45]

Iweins and colleagues looked at the effects of contact between different generations at work, and found that younger workers who had positive contact with older workers were more likely to perceive older colleagues as competent, tolerant, effective, and adaptable. They also found a link between intergenerational contact and facilitation behaviours, which they defined as the extent to which respondents reported the desire to help or cooperate with older colleagues.[46]

A study by Henry and colleagues also examined the effect of workplace intergenerational contact on attitudes, and found that quality contact between older and younger colleagues resulted in reduced age bias for both groups.[47] These studies indicate that workplace contact does not only improve interethnic relations, but can also strengthen attitudes between genders and generations, and potentially a wider variety of differences.

Friendship

In addition to the positive effect on attitudes, there is good evidence that workplace interaction can lead to increased friendships between people from different social groups. Kokkonen and colleagues analysed nearly 25,000 responses to the European Social Survey, and found that people who work in diverse workplaces are more likely to have immigrant friends – this effect is more than twice as strong compared to the impact of living in a diverse neighbourhood. Notably, their analysis also shows that for people who have low educational attainment or feel economically vulnerable, the effect of workplace diversity on likelihood of friendship with immigrants is especially strong.

These same people are unlikely to have diverse friends when they work in non-diverse workplaces, which the authors suggest is due to them feeling more

[44] Bhatnagar and Swamy, 1995.
[45] Harris and Valentine, 2016.
[46] Iweins et al., 2013.
[47] Henry et al., 2015.

threatened by immigrants and therefore avoiding contact with immigrants outside of work. The workplace may therefore be a particularly important site for less educated and economically vulnerable people to interact with, and ultimately form friendships with, immigrants and those who are different from them.

Several methodological constraints mean that these findings should be treated with some caution. They separate respondents into those who have no immigrant friends and those who have at least one – this binary measure does not capture the number of friendships. They also do not test the strength of friendships, or assess how culturally or ethnically similar friends are. Nevertheless, the insights remain useful, and are replicated elsewhere: Savelkoul and colleagues, also working with ESS data, found that **interethnic workplace contact had a large effect on the likelihood of making friends with people from a different ethnic background.**[48]

In a Chinese context, Li and Tong examined friendships between urban residents and rural-to-urban migrants. The two groups have different state entitlements and socioeconomic positions, with urbanites generally holding negative attitudes towards rural residents. Analysis of survey data showed that respondents who experienced moderate workplace contact with migrants had on average roughly twice as many migrant friends as those with no workplace contact. Effects were even greater for those with frequent workplace contact, who had roughly four times as many migrant friends compared to those with no contact.

In contrast, urbanites who had close migrant neighbours were likely to have fewer migrant friends compared to those with no migrant neighbours (an average of 8 and 12 friends respectively), while having distant migrant neighbours (for instance, in the same apartment complex but not adjacent) had no effect on number of migrant friends. The fact that living near to migrants has either no effect or a negative effect on friendships is evidence, the authors suggest, that residential settings do not provide ideal conditions for mixing. In fact, superficial interactions between neighbours may reinforce prejudice.

A recent study by Eisnecker draws different conclusions from the previous research – he finds that employed people do not have more migrant friends than unemployed people, and that employed people who work in occupations with higher shares of migrants are not more likely to have more migrant friends. His study therefore returns no evidence that workplace contact can increase friendships between migrants and non-migrants. However, he suggests that the way that he measured workplace contact opportunities may partially explain why these findings diverge from other similar studies.[49]

[48] Savelkoul et al., 2015.
[49] Eisnecker, 2019.

INPUTS – WHAT SETS OFF THE WORKPLACE MIXING PROCESS?

Inputs – the factors that initiate the process of workplace mixing (see Fig. 1 on pg13) – can be separated essentially into diversity and contact. Contact can be further divided into frequency and quality, with evidence showing that quality of interaction is more important for improving attitudes to different social groups. At The Challenge, our Design Principles for Meaningful Mixing are based on this understanding that social interactions are much more effective in creating meaningful bonds when they are, among other things, more personal and mutually enjoyable.

Workplace diversity

Workplace diversity is a weaker measure than actual social interaction – while higher levels of diversity do generally create more opportunities for different people to mix, it does not guarantee that mixing is taking place.[50] However, there is evidence that workplace diversity is linked to more frequent contact, showing that diversity can itself be a valid predictor of social mixing.[51] Accordingly, several studies cited here use workplace diversity as the 'input' measure.[52]

When talking about contact, research shows that quality is more important than quantity when it comes to social interactions.[53] This is true for research on contact generally, and for workplace contact specifically. Quality is a more subjective measure, but has been defined by things like the level of enjoyment of interactions and the depth of relationships.

Quantity of interaction

Quantity can be defined in terms of number of people that individuals interact with, or the frequency with which these interactions occur. It doesn't consider how meaningful interactions are, but just whether they have taken place. There is mixed evidence concerning a link between frequency of workplace interaction by itself and positive outcomes. As mentioned above, several studies measure workplace contact through frequency alone, and find an association with improved attitudes or increased friendships.[54]

However, other research finds that frequency of workplace interaction by itself has little effect on attitudes,[55] and research on contact in other contexts even finds that more frequent interaction can be associated with negative outcomes.[56] Quantity of contact between colleagues is therefore not enough to guarantee more positive attitudes and relations.

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[50] Laurence et al., 2018.
[51] Laurence et al., 2018.
[52] Savelkoul et al., 2015; Kokkonen et al., 2015; Eisnecker, 2019.
[53] Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006.
[54] Wagner et al., 2006; Savelkoul et al., 2011; Harris and Valentine, 2016; Li and Tong, 2018.
[55] Bhatnagar and Swamy, 1995; Eller and Abrams, 2004.
[56] Li and Tong, 2018; Eller and Abrams, 2004 (Study 1); NEED MORE CITATIONS HERE.

Quality of interaction

Several of the studies listed above measure the quality of workplace contact, and find that this is more important than quantity for improving attitudes.[57] In particular, Laurence and colleagues provide useful insights into the role of the quality of workplace contact by looking at the different effects of positive and negative interactions. They find that increased workplace diversity leads not just to more positive encounters, but also more negative ones: people who experience high-enjoyment interaction are more likely to have positive attitudes, while low-enjoyment interaction is associated with negative attitudes. This is important, as it reminds us that workplace interaction in and of itself does not necessarily have positive results.

In neighbourhoods, they find that medium-enjoyment interactions are associated with positive attitudes, but in workplace these interactions do not impact attitudes either positively or negatively. This might be due to the more superficial and functional nature of medium-enjoyment interaction in the workplace. The impact of high-enjoyment contact is similar in both neighbourhoods and workplaces, but low-enjoyment contact leads to more negative attitudes in neighbourhoods. Based on this finding, they suggest that workplaces may limit the detrimental effects of negative interactions compared to neighbourhoods.

It is also important to note that, in their study, the negative effect of low-enjoyment workplace interaction on attitudes is more than double the positive effect of high-enjoyment interaction – what this means in practical terms is that if someone experienced both negative and positive contact at the same rates, the net effect on their attitudes would be negative. However, because high-enjoyment contact is more frequent, the overall effect of workplace contact is positive. To test whether some individuals are simply more predisposed to enjoy contact regardless of the setting, they examined whether individuals' levels of enjoyment were similar for workplaces and neighbourhoods. They found a moderate degree of correlation – so while individual characteristics may play some role, this clearly suggests that social interactions we experience in our neighbourhoods and social interactions in our workplaces have different effects on us.

GENERALISING – IMPACT OF WORKPLACE INTERACTION BEYOND THE WORKPLACE

The evidence suggests that we frequently use our experiences of people to make judgments (consciously or unconsciously) about the wider social groups to which they belong. This process is called generalisation, and it is central to understanding how social interactions can shape social relations. [58] A number of the studies cited above assume a process of generalisation – they look for a link

[57] Eller and Abrams, 2004; Iweins et al., 2013; Henry et al., 2015; Pagotto et al. 2010 use a composite index incorporating both qualitative and quantitative measures of contact.
[58] Pettigrew, 1998.

between individual-level interactions and attitudes towards 'outgroups' as a whole.[59] In contrast to these assumptions, some qualitative research suggests that people's attitudes to difference at work may not carry over to their personal life. One respondent from a German manufacturing firm interviewed by Schmidt and Muller said:

> Whether someone's Turkish mother is wearing a headscarf or a coat, I really don't care. [...] We are at work here, do our work here and that's it. The private sphere, what happens there are many things I actually disagree with.[60]

Just as positive attitudes between employees may not extend beyond the workplace, it can be hard to make the step from colleagues to friends. Research by Harris and Valentine similarly found that workplace relationships rarely continued outside of working hours, with interviews suggesting that an absence of common interests and living in different geographical areas were to blame.

The authors identify a tension between the opportunities created by workplace mixing and the structural inequality based on cultural and socio-economic difference.[61] In an Australian context, interviews conducted by Rajendran and colleagues with high-skilled migrant workers indicated that despite positive and welcoming behaviour by colleagues, interactions did not extend beyond the workplace, making it hard for migrant workers to establish friendships.[62]

A further step in the generalisation process – by which our experience of workplace interactions with individuals from different backgrounds translates more widely into our attitudes and relationships towards different social groups – is the extension of attitudes from an immediate outgroup to other outgroups. Eller and Abrams test for this in their research on the effects of workplace contact on Mexicans' attitudes to Americans, by also measuring their attitudes to Canadians as an 'uninvolved outgroup'. They find that workplace contact with Americans had some slight positive influence on attitudes to Canadians, therefore tentatively supporting the notion that contact with one social group may also improve attitudes towards other related groups.

Similarly, Voci and Hewstone find that improved attitudes to non-EU colleagues also generalised to immigrants more broadly. In a wider contact, the British Integration Survey 2019 conducted by The Challenge found that people who have high levels of social integration in one dimensions are more likely to have high integration in another dimension – people with ethnic diversity in their networks are more likely to also have socio-economic diversity, and vice versa.[63]

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[59] Pagotto et al., 2010; Henry et al., 2015; Laurence et al., 2018;..
[60] Schmidt and Muller, 2013, p. 374.
[61] Harris and Valentine, 2016 (pp. 587-8).
[62] Rajendran et al., 2017.
[63] The Challenge, 2019.

While there is clear evidence that contact between colleagues can influence attitudes towards wider social groups, the qualitative insights suggest that this generalisation process is not always particularly efficient. Further research and thinking is therefore needed into what workplace conditions and policies might enable positive interactions between colleagues in work to have a better chance of spilling over into friendships and more positive attitudes towards others outside of work.

MEDIATORS – HOW WORKPLACE INTERACTIONS LEAD TO SOCIAL OUTCOMES

Interaction does not directly influence attitudes – it initiates a series of psychological and social processes which ultimately lead to positive outcomes. These intervening steps are referred to in the academic literature as 'mediators' (see Fig. 1 on pg13), and they explain how contact translates into attitudinal change.[64] Examining these mediators is helpful, because **if we understand how interactions within the workplace translate into improved social relations and improved sense of integration, then we can begin to think about practical ways to build workplaces which enable this.**

Eller and Abrams, in their study of Mexican workers' attitudes to American colleagues, tested the importance of different mediators. They found that when Mexicans formed close bonds with, and learnt more about, Americans, this improved their attitudes towards them. They also found that that changes in behaviour, whereby Mexicans became more kind, open-minded, and understanding, led to reduced social distance, which was measured as how willing they would be to have Americans in close social proximity, such as neighbours or best friends.[65] A study by Pagotto and colleagues supports the importance of affective ties (i.e. ties that include an emotional element), finding that contact at work is related to increased empathy and decreased anxiety towards the outgroup individual, which is then generalised to the group level, and finally improves attitudes.[66]

Earlier work by Voci and Hewstone also finds that reduced anxiety about those from different backgrounds helps to explain the link between contact and improved attitudes.[67] There is evidence that anxiety about interactions across generations, for example feeling nervous or awkward, can reduce the effect of contact on intergenerational relations,[68] and a study by Allan and Johnson also finds that this anxiety about workplace interactions with older people may not just be due to perceived difference, but due to young people's anxiety about

[64] Hewstone, 2009.
[65] Eller and Abrams, 2004.
[66] Pagoto et al., 2010.
[67] Voci and Hewstone, 2003.
[68] Hutchison et al., 2010.

their own aging.[69] This finding is a useful reminder that mediators may vary depending on the type of difference in question.

Research has also tested the mediating roles of the four categorisation stages proposed by Dovidio and Gaertner in their Common Ingroup Identity Model. Eller and Abrams find that a shared group identity (e.g. as employees of an organisation) and a dual-identity (where identity is based on both shared workplace identity and social group) both partly explain the link between contact and improved social relations.[70]

Iweins and colleagues also find support for the importance of dual-identity – in their study, having both a strong age-group identity and a common workplace identity can increase the impact of contact on reducing stereotypes around older workers.[71] Both qualitative and quantitative research identifies the importance of sharing intimate or personal information with a colleague.[72] Working together leads to conversations between people from different social groups who may not normally choose to mix.

A white respondent from Leeds explains how he came to interact with people from different nationalities and ethnicities:

> "We didn't just set out to go and meet a bunch of them. We generally were in the canteen at the same time and we enjoyed each other's company. So we used to just sit and chat."[73]

This shows how the proximity created by working together leads to interactions, especially when there are shared recreational spaces. An interviewee from a Belgian study illustrates how these sorts of informal conversations can lead to re-evaluation of attitudes:

> "Every day you work together with people with different backgrounds, different cultures. So in conversations you get to that kind [of topic] […]. It comes up in daily things. […] In the end, they are people who are in the same situation as yourself. They also come here to work, to make a living, to support a family. Which maybe increases understanding, well, can lead to more understanding."[74]

Thomsen provides quantitative evidence for the role of information-sharing as a mediator – he finds that sharing details around feelings, marriage or partners,

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[69] Allan and Johnson, 2008.
[70] Eller and Abrams, 2004.
[71] Iweins et al., 2013.
[72] Thomsen, 2012.
[73] Harris and Valentine, 2016, p. 586.
[74] Spijkers and Loopman, 2018.

children, political views, and problems at the workplace help to explain how contact results in increased tolerance towards ethnic minorities. He also finds that a reduction in the belief that the outgroup poses a threat partly explains the process by which contact leads to improved attitudes.[75]

Taken together, these mediators offer useful insights into workplace relationships and interaction can have broadest possible benefits in terms of social integration**. Workplace interaction that enables people to learn about those who are different to them and develop affection – through increasing empathy and reduced anxiety – is more likely to lead to more positive attitudes to and relationships with those from different backgrounds.**

Workplace cultures and policies which build a sense of shared identity while maintaining an emphasis on individual diversity are also likely to result in more meaningful workplace mixing. Activities or spatial design which encourage colleagues to share personal information with each other are also an important way for strengthening the link between social interaction and improved relations.

MODERATORS – WHAT FACTORS INFLUENCE THE IMPACT OF WORKPLACE INTERACTION?

If mediators explain *how* contact leads to improved attitudes, 'moderators' tell us *when* or *under what conditions* contact leads to social outcomes.[76] Moderators can broadly be divided into organisational, workforce, and interaction-level factors which make contact more or less likely to have positive outcomes.

At the organisational level, research by Trau finds that perceptions of a climate of discrimination can negatively impact social relations, and therefore recommends that HR practices clearly demonstrate a commitment to diversity.[77] **Research elsewhere reinforces the importance of diversity training, a culture of trust and procedural fairness, and a multicultural perspective which recognises difference.[78]** Effective leadership, in particular, is important for building a shared sense of identity.[79] Other organisational characteristics, such as organisation size, sector, and geographical region may also impact levels of social integration, although more research is needed on these effects.[80]

[75] Thomsen, 2012.
[76] Hewstone, 2006.
[77] Trau, 2015.
[78] Guillaume et al., 2017, Table 1; Iweins et al., 2013.
[79] Guillaume et al., 2017.
[80] Reskin et al., 1999; Eisnecker, 2019.

At the workforce level, there are a number of individual-level characteristics that can act as barriers to integration. It is crucial to recognise that diversity is not just limited to characteristics such as age, ethnicity, and socio-economic background, but that other forms of less visible difference can impact relations. For example, the literature on organisational demography suggests that differences in people's education, training, or knowledge can impede social integration within the workplace.[81]

There is also evidence that tenure diversity – differences in the length of time that people have worked for an organisation – can negatively impact social integration. Accordingly, one researcher has suggested similar entry time as a means to encourage social mixing.[82] Research elsewhere finds that distinctions between full-time employees and part-time, temporary, or agency staff can lead to divisions in the workplace.[83]

Another difference that may impede relations between employees is seniority, although further investigation is needed on this. In sum, differences between colleagues can exist along many different dimensions – not all of these are visible and not all relate to the usual social categories. These differences can impede social mixing in workplaces, and it is therefore important to acknowledge their effects when considering how to enable a more integrated workforce.

The relative proportions of majority and minority groups can also affect levels of integration in the workplace. This is not just because more equal proportions increase opportunities for contact, but because smaller groups are more likely to be subject to stereotyping.[84] This might help to explain the findings, described above, that either too much or too little workplace diversity can have adverse effects on attitudes. Equally, the salience of group difference – how visible group membership is – has been shown to impact the link from contact to attitudes.

Studies by Pagotto and colleagues and by Voci and Hewstone found that when respondents were aware that the people they were interacting with belonged to different national groups, and considered them to be representative of their larger groups, the effects of contact were more positive.[85] The theory supports the concept of salient categorisation, whereby attitude change is more effective when individuals involved are seen as typical of their groups.

At the level of interaction, there is evidence that non-work-related contact is more effective than work-related contact when it comes to improving social relations. Research by Broschak and Davis-Blake found that non-work-related interactions – those which are informal and social, and not necessary for work –

[81] Williams and O'Reilly, 1998 provide a good summary; Mannix and Neale, 2005.
[82] Pfeffer in Williams and O'Reilly, 1998.
[83] Broschak and Davis-Blake, 2006.
[84] See Blau and Kanter in Reskin et al., 1999.
[85] Pagotto et al., 2010; Voci and Hewstone, 2004.

had a more positive effect on relations between colleagues and were associated with lower turnover intentions. By contrast, work-related interactions even had a negative effect along one measure: higher levels of interactions were associated with poorer supervisor-subordinate relations.[86] Research elsewhere supports the importance of more informal interactions – in a Norwegian context, Nesvåg and Duckert find that after-work drinking is an important means of defining an inclusive identity and strengthening relations between colleagues. However, they also note that drinking scenarios came with a set of "dominant rules" of behaviour which people have to conform to, and which could marginalise certain groups of people.[87]

A final moderator is workplace design. The layout of offices has shifted from cubicles to open plan and, more recently, hot-desking.[88] There is evidence that the physical design of a workplace can impact interactions – sometimes in unexpected ways. Research by Bernstein and Turban found that when two offices shifted to more open-plan spaces, face-to-face interactions decreased by around 70%, while email and instant messaging increased.

They also found a smaller than expected increase in face-to-face interactions between team members who sat next to each other, when cubicles were replaced with an open-plan layout. They interpret their findings as evidence that more open office environments may encourage employees to preserve their privacy by choosing "closed" channels of communication.[89] More broadly, this research highlights the importance of understanding whether virtual interaction – through email, video messaging, or chat apps – can have the same positive effects as physical interaction.

FUTURE RESEARCH

As we have shown above, the current evidence shows that workplaces can be a really positive site for meaningful interactions which result in stronger bonds between different groups of people. As well as broadly confirming that workplace mixing can have positive social outcomes, the existing research sheds some light on how this process takes place.

However, there are many gaps in our understanding that still need to be filled for us to build a fuller picture of how the workplace can be a fulcrum to creating a more integrated and cohesive society. We believe that the following areas deserve more attention are:

- **Workplace mixing by socio-economic and educational background**
  While there is evidence that workplace contact can improve relations across ethnicity, generations, and genders, there is little research on how workplaces might encourage mixing across socio-economic and

[86] Broschak and Davis-Blake, 2006.
[87] Nesvåg and Duckert, 2017.
[88] Hogan et al, 2019.
[89] Bernstein and Turban, 2018.

educational divides or indeed how workplaces might serve to structure and reinforce such divides. The British Integration Survey 2019 shows that social class is the basis of significant segregation within British society, and it is therefore important that we think about why this is and how we can combat it.[90] One explanation for a lack of research in this area may be the challenges of measuring socio-economic interactions in the workplace, since socio-economic status is primarily defined by an individual's occupation. This could be overcome by using a measure such as socio-economic status of parents or eligibility for free school meals.

Regarding education, it is reasonable to assume that people with different levels of education might concentrate in different roles, sectors, and levels of seniority. However, many organisations deliver a range of functions that require employees with diverse levels and types of education, so the vast majority of workplaces should still present opportunities for interaction between people from a range of socio-economic backgrounds.

More research is needed to test these assumptions across a range of workplaces, from offices to service industries to manual occupations. Ideally, this information could be captured as part of research which analyses multiple dimensions of diversity simultaneously, to examine whether workplace integration along one dimension corresponds to inclusion in other areas.

- **How interactions at work translate into positive social integration outcomes**
  As the mediators section above shows, qualitative insights gained through interviews and observation are really useful for understanding how people interact and form relations at work. We need a clearer sense of which policies, behaviours, and physical design choices encourage meaningful mixing. This will help employers and policymakers to think about how we maximise the potential of our workplaces to boost social connection and integration.

- **Extending the positive impact of workplace interaction beyond work**
  We need to understand more about when, why, and how positive workplace relations extend into private lives. As outlined above, findings from qualitative research are less positive than those based on analysis of surveys. Further research should explore which conditions encourage colleagues to develop workplace friendships outside of work – what role do individual-level factors play compared to organisational practices?

[90] The Challenge, 2019.

- **How workplace mixing relates to integration in other areas of our lives**
  At The Challenge, we recognise that social contact with others is a process which happens across people's whole lives, and in many different settings. There is currently little analysis of how prior levels of integration can affect workplace mixing. Some evidence in the US context shows that white people who went to less diverse high schools tend to later work in less diverse workplaces.[91] Equally, how can workplace mixing help to boost levels of integration in other settings? We need a better understanding of how workplace integration fits into a joined-up approach to integration.

- **Effects of recruitment strategies on workplace mixing**
  Hiring practices are another area where actions taken before individuals enter a workplace may impact subsequent integration. Clearly, discriminatory hiring practices which exclude certain groups of people will contribute to non-diverse workplaces, therefore limiting opportunities for contact across difference. But we also need more research on the link between hiring practices and social outcomes, in order to identify what kind of hiring practices best support higher levels of integration in the workplace.

- **A multi-dimensional approach to diversity**
  Research on workplace mixing tends to focus on one element of diversity, but it would be useful to know how different characteristics interact. For instance, do the same conditions that encourage improved attitudes towards ethnic minorities also work for intergenerational relations? There is evidence that the relationship between contact and attitudinal change might have different mediators depending on the type of diversity,[92] which suggests that practices which encourage integration along one line of difference may be less effective for another. Examining this further would help to identify whether there are practices or policies which best support mixing across multiple lines of difference.

- **Integrated workplaces of the future**
  The nature of work is changing, and it is important that we consider what implications this may have for how we interact at work. Flexible working arrangements are on the rise, meaning that some people spend less time sharing a physical space with their colleagues. At the same time, new communication technologies make it easier for colleagues who may never share a physical space to interact. Employment patterns are changing too – the number of British workers in the "gig economy" has doubled in the past three years, and zero-hour contracts have grown.[93]

[91] Gamoran et al., 2016..
[92] Iweins et al., 2003.
[93] FEPS, 2019; Sharma, 2018; Allen, 2017.

Previous research suggests that these kind of non-standard employment arrangements negatively impact workplace integration, which is concerning given that certain groups – particularly younger people and BAME people – are more likely to occupy these roles.[94] On top of this, automation is set to reshape employment across a number of sectors.[95] More exploration is needed on how technological changes will shape who our colleagues are, and how we interact with them.

[94] Broschak and Davis-Blake, 2006.
[95] Office for National Statistics, 2019b.

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ABOUT THE CHALLENGE

The Challenge is the UK's leading social integration charity. We design and deliver programmes that bring different people together to develop their confidence and skills in understanding and connecting with others. These programmes include HeadStart – an incentivised volunteering scheme with social integration at its heart – and a range of other social mixing initiatives run in partnership with business and government.

Alongside our primary role as a programme delivery organisation, we also develop ideas to forge a more connected and integrated Britain. During 2014 and 2015, The Challenge convened the Social Integration Commission. Following the Commission's conclusion, we set up the All Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on Social Integration, which is chaired by Chuka Umunna MP.

AUTHORSHIP

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