All Together Now: Meaningful mixing for a more integrated society
Introduction

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. The Challenge worked with the government to design National Citizen Service (NCS) and is now a major provider of the programme. In addition to NCS, we deliver HeadStart – an incentivised volunteering scheme with social integration at its heart – and a range of other social mixing initiatives.

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.

This document draws on our programme delivery experience, original research and extensive engagement with academics, policy experts and practitioners.

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Why mixing matters

Our people like us problem

Over the lifetime of the baby boomer generation, the UK has become more and more diverse and the lives of its citizens have become less and less uniform – fundamentally transforming the form and feel of our communities and how Britons from different backgrounds relate to one another. A demographic and social revolution borne of rising immigration, economic shifts and political, scientific and technological advances has made us more free to chart our own courses in life. The world at our doorstep is more vibrant, rich and interesting than ever before.

Our society is riven with invisible dividing lines. In part, this is because we’re increasingly living alongside people who share the same social and cultural backgrounds and belong to the same generation as us. But research produced by the Social Integration Commission shows that – even where we do live side-by-side with large numbers of people from different faith, ethnic, socio-economic and age groups – we don’t interact socially with those individuals as much as would be expected if we weren’t actively seeking out people like us.

As the diversity of our communities has intensified, we’ve become less joined-up as a society.

But as we’ve changed – as the diversity of our communities has intensified and we’ve become more dissimilar to one another – we’ve also become less joined-up as a society. The result is that we reside in a brilliantly diverse country which is home to people of many different faiths, cultures and creeds, but most of us aren’t taking full advantage of the opportunities which multiculturalism brings.

We’re living longer than ever, but the young and old know one another less and mistrust one another more than in times gone by. The old upstairs-downstairs class divisions which once structured our society have been consigned to the dustbin of history, and yet inequality is on the rise.
As a consequence of our socially segregated state, we too often find ourselves unable to understand or empathise with the feelings and perspectives of people from other social and cultural backgrounds and with different experiences of life. Feelings of belonging have declined sharply as we have come to feel less connected to the people who make up our communities and country. Social trust has fallen as we've come to see less of ourselves in one another. The sense that there is more that divides us than that which binds us together has become commonplace.

Birds of a feather flock together

In other words, the Britain of today is more socially mixed than at any point in history, but Britons from different walks of life don’t actually mix with one another very much.

At the heart of this pattern of social segregation is our evolved preference for spending time with those who we perceive to be in some way like us. Sociologists refer to this tendency as homophily. It is a deep-seated leaning – we’re hard-wired to gather in tribes, whether political, cultural or footballing. And it’s one which affects countless decisions which we make on a daily basis – from who we sit next to at school to where we shop, from where we live to who we date.

The individual bearing of each of these decisions on the cohesion of our communities and society is of course limited. Cumulatively, however, these choices impact significantly on levels of social integration – the extent to which we feel connected to one another as citizens, neighbours, colleagues and friends.

A deficit of connection

Our instinct to associate socially predominantly with people like us was a powerful driver of cooperative behaviour during those periods of history during which we lived chiefly alongside others from the same tribe or community. But, if left unchallenged within modern, diverse and open societies, this tendency can create tensions and challenges – converting dissimilarity into division.
The seeds of discord sown
This deterioration of the ties that bind cannot be attributed solely to a lack of social mixing between people from different faith, ethnic, socio-economic and age groups, but it's certainly true that mixing matters. Research demonstrates that a lack of positive contact across social fault lines feeds prejudice and fuels the politics of recrimination and blame.

In fact, academic studies suggest that nations in which members of different social groups regularly share positive encounters tend to register higher rates of trust in democratic institutions and benefit from more stable and less polarised systems of democracy. We have, furthermore, witnessed the turbulence and division which can result from citizens feeling estranged from one another and dislocated from their communities in our own national politics in recent years.

Leading segregated lives makes it all too easy to imagine that our problems are to some extent caused by those who are in some way different to us and all too hard to feel that society is heading in the right direction. Our connection deficit has, therefore, almost certainly contributed to the creation of the social conditions in which the ‘othering’ narratives and authoritarian outlooks of populist political movements have amassed considerable traction with the public.

71% of the riots which took place in several London boroughs and in other cities and towns across the UK in August 2011 occurred within the 10% of areas of the country ranked as the least socially cohesive.
Life chances lowered

It follows that measures to boost positive social mixing must sit at the core of any serious effort to tackle rising social discord. Arguably, though, the most pernicious effects of this trend relate not to the security of our communities but rather to their wellbeing.

Social segregation breeds anxiety. Feelings of apprehension about people from different backgrounds and walks of life manifest not only in heightened fear of crime but in greater rates of ill-health. Low levels of trust between neighbours can contribute to higher rates of cardiovascular diseases and of mental health issues – especially, in the latter case, amongst children – whilst access to strong, diverse social networks had been shown to significantly reduce the risk of mortality more generally.

A lack of social mixing inhibits social mobility, prolongs periods of unemployment and restricts economic growth.

There’s even a growing body of evidence to suggest that a lack of social mixing inhibits social mobility, prolongs periods of unemployment and restricts economic growth. This is in part as our developmental outcomes are shaped to a considerable degree by the people we encounter early in life, and as young people from wealthier backgrounds tend both to be able to draw on family networks which their less advantaged peers lack and to amass greater cultural capital – “the knowledge and capabilities we acquire from mixing with others about how to behave, how to dress or how to speak in certain situations.” It’s also the case, however, that the ability to access a diverse network of social contacts helps adults to find new and better paid jobs (a finding that becomes significantly less surprising if we consider that, as recently as 2010, 40% of jobs in the UK were found through personal connections); and to gain the trust of their employers to take on additional responsibilities. Relatedly, a number of major research projects have found that higher levels of social capital – “the habits of reciprocity, cooperation and trust which result from strong social networks” – are correlated with higher rates of economic growth.
The common life collapsed
For these reasons, The Challenge believes that a cocktail of intensifying diversity and decreasing integration poses a tangible and potent threat to the strength, health and prosperity of communities across the UK. The impact of social segregation has, moreover, been compounded as many of those trends which have given rise to this state – globalisation, the emergence of the post-industrial economy and the liberalisation of our social norms – have also precipitated the decline of many of the institutions which once bridged social, cultural and generational divides in our communities. This has further eroded our defences against social disintegration.

The rapid expansion of an economically self-sufficient and geographically mobile middle class – coupled with the collapse of the traditional industries around which whole towns and boroughs once organised – has weakened the strong social ties that previously bound together tight-knit communities. The rhythms of our lives have changed as we’ve come to work longer hours and have become more focussed on material success – leaving less time for active involvement in our neighbourhoods and local areas.

All the while, as social mores and values have evolved and medical science has advanced, we’ve begun living longer, having children later in life and forming families of all shapes and sizes. These developments have, in many ways, made life more fulfilling and free, but they have also redefined the ways in which people of different generations relate to one another within families and communities.

The dawn of the digital age has splintered us further still. Our national conversation has become fragmented as our media landscape has diversified. Not only are we increasingly seeking out and being directed towards sources of news and opinion which reflect our political and cultural predispositions, but we are now able to access home entertainment options suited to our exact tastes at the click of a button. As a result, we simply share fewer points of reference as a society. This has arguably contributed to the development and deepening of new cultural cleavages. Plus, the growing centrality of screens to everyday life has led to us spending more time indoors and alone.
The fragmentation cycle

Division needn’t be our new default. Many individuals and organisations are already engaged in the crucial work of establishing new ways for people to connect across difference. But, if we are to make leading an integrated life the norm, we must confront the full incompatibility of our ‘people like us’ preference with our desire to create a successful multicultural and open society.

In some instances, the effects of rising social segregation have accelerated the decline of the institutions which once underpinned our sense of the common life. The congregational spaces and organisations of the twentieth century were the organised church, voluntary and community groups, political parties and trade and credit unions. These institutions once brought large and diverse groups together in common purpose – and to some extent continue to do so today – but have declined in membership both as old doctrines have been challenged and as social trust has shrunk. The virtue of patriotism and importance of national identity have, in addition, come to be contested through the emergence of a cosmopolitan class of global citizens – a trend which arguably wouldn’t have progressed at such a pace if not for the increasing physical, social and cultural segmentation of people of differing levels of education. When you live in a bubble, assumptions often go unchallenged and ideas and views which might seem utterly alien to other social groups can come very quickly to resemble the norm. It is arguably in this manner that large swathes of our society have come to develop diametrically opposed views on the inherent morality of open borders and the meaning of national symbols such as Saint George’s Cross.

What it means to be a community has changed. The Harvard-based sociologist Robert Putnam has contended that people living in diverse but divided communities tend to ‘hunker down’ – placing less trust in their neighbours (including those of the same ethnicity and cultural background,) assuming markedly more negative attitudes towards their local areas and ‘withdrawing’ from collective life. Putnam’s research suggests that, where people from different backgrounds live side-by-side but lead parallel rather than interconnected lives, the result is a sort of cycle of fragmentation, wherein an absence of social links between groups sets in motion the loosening of ties within groups. This fresh waning of fellow feeling further saps our cities, towns and villages of the lifeblood of community – fostering social atomisation as well as division and exacerbating the myriad social problems stemming from our connection deficit in turn.
The building of a more socially integrated society will not, of course, be accomplished solely through boosting social mixing. The bonds of trust and reciprocity which underpin strong and resilient communities and nations exist as much in the collective imagination as in our everyday relationships. As long as a significant number of Britons feel that our economy isn’t working for them, our social fabric will continue to fray. It is, equally, vitally important that everyone in our society should feel a sense of belonging within their community and that they have a stake in how the decisions which shape their lives are made, no matter their background. But – if one of the core challenges we face in establishing a new ecosystem of trust is that, as our society has changed, we’ve come to know one another less – it stands to reason that we should seek concertedly to create new ways for Britons from all walks of life to come together and figure out what they have in common for themselves.

Rebuilding our common life

It’s plain that a community and civic infrastructure forged to reflect the needs of industrial Britain is not equal to the challenges facing our country in the era of globalisation. If – as some have argued – we now face a crisis of social solidarity, we might begin to address this challenge by confronting our people like us problem head-on.

Who we choose to spend our time with is ultimately a personal choice, and a shared worldview or common experiences often form the basis for our most richly rewarding relationships. The Challenge does not believe that homophily is a wholly or even mainly negative force in our society or that anyone has a right to tell us who we should be friends with. We do, however, believe that we as a society could do more to create opportunities and incentives for people from different faith, ethnic, socio-economic and age groups to meaningfully connect. In point of fact, we believe that we must.

We as a society could do more to create opportunities and incentives for people from different faith, ethnic, socio-economic and age groups to meaningfully connect.

After all, it is well evidenced that when people from different backgrounds meet and mix under the right circumstances, trust grows and prejudice declines. In fact, positively engaging with someone from a different social group makes people more likely not just to view that particular group positively, but to put more faith in people as a whole.

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Unity takes work

We must bear in mind, though, that contact with people from other social groups can impact positively or negatively on our perceptions of difference, depending on the conditions under which encounters take place. It follows that we must take a deliberate and methodical approach to bolstering social integration in this manner.

Each of The Challenge’s programmes has been carefully and specifically designed so as to support young people from different backgrounds to walk a mile in others’ shoes; to look beyond their dissimilarities and see how much they’re alike; and to create the intense common experiences from which shared identities spring. After all, we’re hard-wired to gather in tribes, but who belongs to our tribes needn’t be predetermined by our cultural inheritances or the circumstances of our births.

Through our experience of designing, delivering and rapidly growing effective social mixing programmes, The Challenge has identified a number of techniques, practices and conditions which we believe must feature within impactful and scalable interventions aimed at building positive relationships and bonds of trust between people from different walks of life. We believe that there is significant scope for these ‘design principles’ to be embedded within civic institutions and even public services – in the places where we come together now or might in future. Indeed, it is typically through the establishment of shared institutions that societies seek to bridge social, cultural and generational divides.

We also believe that our society is on a slippery slope towards deeper division. Only through supporting people to build better, more fulfilling relationships across social fault lines – as well as acting to promote inclusive economic growth and democratic renewal – might we begin to address the divisions which have been brewing beneath the surface of our national life for some time. Only through innumerable acts of meeting, mixing and connecting might we build a Britain in which people will respond to the challenges of the twenty-first century not by asking ‘who can we blame?’ but rather by asking ‘how can we solve this problem together?’
Demographic and economic changes, coupled with social and scientific advances, have created an increasingly diverse society where people from different backgrounds live side by side.

At The Challenge, we believe that action must be taken so that people from different social and cultural backgrounds forge relationships as friends, colleagues, neighbours and citizens.

Encouraging meaningful social mixing is a vital part of building a more integrated society where we connect well with one another.
At The Challenge, we believe that meaningful action must be taken to ensure that people from different ethnicities, cultures, social backgrounds and generations don’t just tolerate one another and live peaceably side-by-side, but forge relationships as friends, colleagues, neighbours and citizens.

It is well-evidenced that when people from different backgrounds meet and mix under the right circumstances, trust grows and prejudice declines. Contact with people from other social groups can, however, impact positively or negatively on our perceptions of difference, depending on the conditions under which encounters take place. It follows that we must take a deliberate and methodical approach to bolstering social integration in this manner.

Through our experience of designing, delivering and rapidly growing programmes which have brought together 175,000 young people from different backgrounds to meet, mix and connect, The Challenge has identified a number of techniques, practices and conditions which we believe must feature within impactful and scalable interventions aimed at building positive relationships and bonds of trust between people from different walks of life. Each of our social mixing programmes was designed to reflect insights derived from intergroup contact theory, and these ‘design principles’ have been drawn in part from the work of Gordon Allport and others in establishing criteria for positive and meaningful contact across difference.

We believe that there is significant scope for these principles to be embedded within civic institutions and even public services. After all, it is typically through the establishment of shared institutions that societies seek to bridge social, cultural and generational divides. In order to boost levels of social mixing, these places and programmes should be designed so as to embody, to at least some extent, the design principles set out in this document.

Above all, those seeking to improve social connectivity and integration in this manner, referred to here as ‘organising institutions’, must establish or utilise a socially mixed space in which they might create active and intense mixing experiences shaped to support participants to build sustainable bonds.
A socially mixed space is a necessary (if insufficient) condition for creating connections across social fault lines. In some instances, social mixing initiatives might be run in pre-existing spaces which are diverse but divided. In these cases, the aim is to transform the space in question so that it becomes more natural for people belonging to different social groups to mix within it. In the main, though, organising institutions must, in the first instance, seek to create an environment in which a diverse group of people might realistically be expected to gather. Design principles 1–3 relate to this task.
1. Give people a positive reason to join in:
Organising institutions might seek to attract a diverse range of individuals to gather in a shared environment through employing effective marketing techniques and offering meaningful incentives to participation, or co-benefits. Young people from all backgrounds sign up to The Challenge’s programmes because of the immediate benefits offered, such as the chance to have a fun summer experience, find a job, develop new skills or give back to their community – in other words because they have a good and obvious reason to join in. Whilst some teenagers are motivated to take part exactly because they are excited by the prospect of meeting new people, the chance to build a more diverse social network is, for many, either a bonus or immaterial.

In general, ‘getting integrated’ isn’t a particularly attractive offer for most people. Relatedly, obligating individuals to participate in an integration intervention is likely to undermine the impact of the activities involved. Crucially, selling rather than compelling participation increases the likelihood that those taking part in a programme or initiative will be mentally and emotionally well-disposed both to the activities involved and to interacting with one another.

Organising institutions might, furthermore, seek to boost levels of social mixing and build a more connected, trusting society in part through recruiting a diverse range of staff or partners to lead or contribute to a social integration programme. This is in part achieved through the offer of a clear incentive, such as remuneration or the promise of some other form of derived benefit.

2. Project an inclusive brand and proposition:
In order to generate the mixed spaces which are a prerequisite for social mixing, organising institutions must adopt and inhabit organisational identities and brands appealing to the widest possible range of target participants. Certainly, these bodies should not be more closely associated with any one social group over another.

A perceived association with the government may also represent a barrier to participation where people are mistrustful or fearful of authority figures. Organisers must, moreover, practice a high degree of procedural fairness if they are to earn and maintain the trust of all participants and to ensure that the institution in question possesses the level of legitimacy required to act with authority.

3. Capitalise on transitions to drive behaviour change:
In our experience, social mixing initiatives which reach people at transitions in their lives are more likely to succeed. Starting school, becoming a young adult and entering the workplace, enrolling at a college or university, becoming a parent, experiencing a change in employment circumstances or an end to a significant relationship, moving to a new area, or retiring – at these moments of disruption in our lives, we sometimes find ourselves cast adrift from our behavioural, psychological and social comfort zones, and can become more open to adopting new habits, identities and relationships. Social mixing integration interventions might, therefore, be designed so as to appeal particularly to individuals seeking to establish a ‘new normal’.
B. Create active and intense mixing experiences

Initiatives should be designed not only so as to bring together a diverse group of people in a shared physical space, but actively so as to promote meaningful social mixing between them. This requires organising institutions to take purposeful steps to shape the terms of engagement between participants and foster the psychological conditions under which positive social bonds are most likely to form – to create the intense common experiences from which shared identities spring. Design principles 4–6 are integral to any effort to accomplish this.
4. Proactively counteract the people like us preference:
Organising institutions must be capable of intervening, where necessary, to counteract the tendency of participants and service users to cluster in groups with people from similar backgrounds. In delivering NCS, The Challenge intentionally places young people in teams alongside others with different experiences of life, often separating them from their pre-existing friends. A less interventionist means of challenging this tendency is to organise participants into small groups – preventing them from splintering into sub-groups of people with whom they most immediately identify.

5. Facilitate equal status interactions:
People are more likely to engage meaningfully with others when they view them as peers – when relationships are reciprocal and built upon a foundation of mutually recognised value. It follows that, for social mixing initiatives to be effective, organising institutions must avoid replicating inequities in power or negative social dynamics where these are present within relationships between individuals or communities. The desired levelling effect can be realised, in part, through rotating leadership roles within a programme or institution or through purposefully designing an intervention to involve a range of different and intense activities – pushing all participants out of their comfort zone and ensuring that everyone feels like a novice at some point. Typically, programmes which involve participants completing activities alongside individuals who they haven’t met before, rather than in groups with settled social dynamics, will achieve greater integration impact.

6. Promote common challenging goals:
Impactful social mixing interventions enable participants from different walks of life to engage with one another collaboratively rather than competitively. This is because confronting individuals with a shared challenge – an obstacle which can be more easily overcome through teamwork than individual effort – encourages them to lean on and support one another, in turn generating feelings of warmth, trust and camaraderie. In addition, prompting participants to sub-consciously associate intergroup cooperation with personal gain encourages them to develop habits of solidarity. Indeed, people from different backgrounds are, in the first instance, more likely to develop an affinity for one another and to learn to communicate effectively through completing a demanding and absorbing activity together, than through dialogue. Whereas conversing with a stranger whose experiences of life and points of view differ from our own can, in some instances, be awkward and intimidating – and can result in a heightened sense of alienation from other social groups – engaging in a shared endeavour (particularly one which inspires strong emotional reactions, such as playing a sport65) enables participants to internalise their commonalities and the value of their differences. It’s also the case that working towards a common cause enables participants to perceive themselves and one another as fellow members of ‘something bigger’. The emergence of team or institution-specific identities allows participants to look beyond the impressions which they hold of the social groups to which their teammates belong, instead regarding them as individuals and companions. In fact, there is a strong evidence base to suggest that individuals who share a ‘superordinate’ identity of this sort tend to behave significantly more empathetically towards one another, even if they otherwise belong to different social groups66.
Generally speaking, building meaningful relationships takes time and work. One-off or occasional encounters with someone from a different walk of life can be powerful, even transformative, experiences, but these instances of connection are for the most part unlikely to drive long-term behavioural change. Accordingly, social mixing programmes should be designed so as to support people of all backgrounds to build relationships with the potential to last into the future, and to maximise the integration impact of every positive encounter with those from different walks of life. Through incorporating design principles into its intervention, an organising institution might seek to ensure that active and intense social mixing experiences will have a lasting effect on participants’ perceptions of, and feelings towards, other social groups.
7. Cultivate a culture of unity:
This sense that participants are ‘on the same side’ can be strengthened through incorporating signifiers of shared experiences and bonds within the culture of an integration initiative. Through encouraging participants to use a distinct ‘lingo’, through creating team labels and emblems, and even through incorporating a degree of ceremony and ritual into our programmes, The Challenge accelerates the development of ‘superordinate identities’ – or fellow feeling – amongst the young people who take part.

8. Encourage regular and sustained contact:
As participants will, for the most part, be able to devote only a limited amount of time to a social mixing initiative, organising institutions will typically need to strike a balance between encouraging participants to meet and mix intensively over a short burst of time or to do so repeatedly over a longer period. Whilst it’s true that the development of ‘superordinate identities’ is often accelerated where individuals share intense experiences – and these programmes should be designed to reflect this insight – sustained contact is often necessary for socially integrative behaviours and beliefs to become established and embedded. Accordingly, whilst NCS was designed to facilitate intensive social mixing – participants live, cook, eat and work together over a period of four weeks – it is also the case that these young people spend less uninterrupted time in one another’s company as the programme progresses.

This enables them to incorporate new relationships forged through NCS into their everyday lives, increasing the chance that they will stay in touch following their NCS experience. Teenagers taking part in our HeadStart incentivised volunteering programme, on the other hand, regularly engage with members of their community through completing a few hours of volunteering with a local charity partner each week, generally over the course of 8–12 weeks. Furthermore, HeadStart participants support their charity partner to achieve its core goals alongside other volunteers who are not involved in this programme – ensuring that, should they wish to do so, they are able to remain active in this work following the culmination of their participation in HeadStart.

9. Enable reflection:
Whilst organising institutions should – in our view – emphasise the co-benefits of social integration initiatives for recruitment purposes and throughout the early stages of programme delivery, it’s vital that they should provide participants with opportunities to reflect on what they do, and don’t, have in common with others and what they have learned through their experience as it progresses.

Accordingly, each of The Challenge’s programmes involves guided reflection sessions, through which the young people who take part are encouraged to ‘put themselves in one another’s shoes’ and to consider the challenges faced by particular social groups – fostering empathy with, as well as respect for, others from different walks of life.
Sources
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8. Ibid.


Eric Uslaner demonstrates that countries which register higher levels of social trust have better functioning governments, more redistributive policies, more open markets and less corruption, and argues convincingly that people who believe that others can be trusted are more optimistic about both the future of their society and their own ability to affect positive change: Uslaner, E M (2002). The Moral Foundations of Trust, New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Riots Communities and Victims Panel (2011). 5 Days in August: An interim report on the 2011 English Riots, p. 62. It should also be noted that many of the young people interviewed by the panel who didn’t participate in these riots stated that a sense of sharing an identity with their neighbours prevented them from doing so.


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Polling conducted by Populus in conjunction with The Challenge found that two thirds of Londoners thought they’d feel safer if they knew their neighbours. See: Plumb, N, Millinship Hayes, H and Bell, R, 2015

Helliwell, J F and Wang, S, 2011


Social Mobility Commission, 2017


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51 It should be noted that Putnam’s thesis is actually that the introduction of ethnic diversity into communities reduces social solidarity and inhibits social capital – he does not argue that this is the result of a lack of positive social contact between ethnic groups.

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57 Not least as a recent research report produced by The Challenge in conjunction with the iCoCo Foundation and SchoolDash demonstrates that our school system is becoming increasingly segregated in many areas: The Challenge, SchoolDash and the iCoCo Foundation (2017), Understanding School Segregation in England: 2011 to 2016, London: The Challenge

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(6) These design principles capture The Challenge’s understanding of best practice in designing and delivering integration interventions which promote social mixing specifically ‘in real life’, as opposed to those aimed at facilitating remote or imagined contact-across-difference.

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(6) This is especially true where the encounter is unlikely to live long in an individual’s memory or can be perceived as somehow removed from their everyday life.