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Mechanisms of declining intra-ethnic trust in newly diverse immigrant destinations [post-print]

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**MECHANISMS OF DECLINING INTRA-ETHNIC TRUST
IN NEWLY DIVERSE IMMIGRANT DESTINATIONS**

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Abstract: Some recent findings suggest that increasing ethnic diversity is associated with declining social cohesion within ethnic groups. Prevailing findings indicate that diversity is connected to declines in some forms of trust, but not consistently to declines in participation. I evaluate the extent to which three proposed mechanisms – divergent norms, networks, and preferences – might explain this phenomenon. The mechanisms all suggest that diversity contributes to declining in-group trust due to social withdrawal; yet the implied declines in participation are not consistently in evidence. The mismatch between prevailing findings and proposed mechanisms suggests a need to consider alternate explanations for declining trust amidst diversity. Drawing on 286 interviews in four newly diverse US immigrant destinations, I find that increasing diversity reveals in-group cleavages regarding how to respond to the out-group. Among immigrants, differing views on integration foster in-group mistrust. Similarly, among non-immigrants, disagreements over local policies toward foreign-born residents undermine in-group trust. The alternate mechanism proposed here, focusing on how divergent in-group preferences diminish trust, need not be limited to the new immigrant destination context and better explains prevailing findings.

Keywords: Inter-group relations, social capital, social cohesion, trust, new immigrant destination

In January 2001, Lewiston, Maine was 95 percent non-Hispanic white. Beginning in February 2001, over the course of 18 months, more than one thousand Somali refugees migrated to the small city. While migration to Lewiston was particularly rapid, since the late 1980s previously homogeneous towns across the United States have experienced increasing ethnic diversity, as immigrants disperse from gateways to new destinations (Singer 2004; Waters and Jiminez 2005). In view of this growing diversity in the US and elsewhere, scholars have devoted increasing attention to the concern that social cohesion declines in the presence of ethnic diversity (e.g. Alesina and La Ferrara 2002; Putnam 2007; Stolle et al. 2008; Hooghe *et al.* 2009; Morales 2013). In 2007, Robert Putnam published an influential article presenting evidence that trust is less prevalent amidst ethnic diversity in the United States. Whereas existing theories of social relations amidst diversity assumed that out-group aversion breeds in-group solidarity, Putnam (2007) argued that diversity contributes to declines in both inter- and intra-group trust, an effect referred to as the "constrict claim" (van der Meer and Tolsma 2014).

Although many scholars have attempted to test whether trust constricts amidst diversity, we know far less about *why* it would do so. What are the mechanisms through which diversity may lead to a decline in trust between and/or *within* ethnic groups? Previously homogeneous places like Lewiston, which are experiencing ethnic diversity for the first time in living memory, offer the opportunity to observe how inter- and intra-group relations evolve, revealing the processes through which ethnic diversity affects social cohesion. Thus, the aim of this paper is to evaluate proposed mechanisms underlying the constrict relationship drawing on 286 interviews in four previously homogeneous new immigrant destinations: Lewiston, Maine; Wausau, Wisconsin; Elgin, Illinois; and Yakima, Washington.

Reviews of literature testing the constrict hypothesis find that diversity's effect on social cohesion is more robust with respect to trust than participation (Schaeffer 2014; van der Meer and Tolsma 2014). Likewise, prevailing findings suggest that diversity has a more consistent effect on in-group trust than out-group trust (van der Meer and Tolsma 2014). Thus, any mechanism attempting to explain the constrict relationship should describe a process through which the presence of ethnic diversity results directly in declining in-group trust. I evaluate three proposed mechanisms that emerge from the literature; namely, those related to divergent norms, networks, and preferences. All three mechanisms describe a process through which diversity contributes to inter-group discomfort and declining participation, which in turn could affect intra-group trust. Yet inter-group wariness and declines in participation cannot explain findings of reduced trust since neither of these phenomena is consistently in evidence. In view of this mismatch between the proposed mechanisms and the prevailing findings, I draw on evidence from the four cases to identify a fourth mechanism, which I refer to as the divergent in-group preferences mechanism.

This alternate mechanism suggests that diversity reveals cleavages within ethnic groups that contribute directly to declining in-group trust. Although the mechanism may apply more broadly, in four newly diverse destinations, it manifests as follows. Among immigrants, divergent views on integration versus cultural preservation contribute to declining intra-ethnic trust. Among Anglos, as I will call long-term residents who are not of the immigrant ethnic group, divergent views on how to respond to immigrants contribute to in-group mistrust.[1] In these cities, local elites possess differing incentives when it comes to immigration, resulting in elite accommodation of immigrants. Divergent views on accommodation reduce trust between Anglo elites and the Anglo population, who view accommodation as providing immigrants with

preferential treatment. While accommodating immigrants may bolster their incorporation (e.g. Bloemraad 2006), to achieve these benefits, we must better understand the relationship between accommodation and in-group trust.

This paper contributes to the literature on social relations amidst diversity by identifying a mismatch between proposed mechanisms and prevailing findings. Further, it proposes an alternate mechanism to explain evolving social relations amidst diversity that comports with extant evidence. Although it is unlikely to explain the full relationship between diversity and social cohesion in all its complexity, the divergent in-group preferences mechanism describes a process through which diversity directly affects in-group trust. In the case of US new destinations, declines in in-group trust are also related to out-group conflict. Yet, in line with prevailing findings, the broader mechanism describes a process through which inter-group conflict is not a necessary precursor to declines in in-group trust. In the conclusion I discuss the potential broader applicability of this mechanism, as well as the implications for research on social capital and diversity.

The Constrict Hypothesis and Proposed Mechanisms

Contrary to the constrict hypothesis, previous theories of group relations amidst diversity assume that out-group relations are inversely related to in-group relations. Conflict theory asserts that increased diversity results in out-group prejudice and in-group solidarity, as the in-group bands together to compete for resources (Key 1949; Blalock 1967; Glaser 2003). Contact theory argues that interaction amidst diversity results in out-group harmony as narrow in-group identification diminishes (Allport 1954; Pettigrew and Tropp 2006). In contrast, the constrict hypothesis posits that increased ethnic diversity results in an overall constriction of both in-group

and out-group social connectedness tantamount to 'hunker[ing] down' (Putnam 2007, 149). The claim is perplexing: why would the growing presence of an outgroup result in a decline in connectedness even within the in-group? The constrict hypothesis is often described in broad strokes, as simply 'social capital declines amidst diversity.' Social capital itself is a broad concept, defined by the idea that human networks have value for both individual advancement and enabling collective action (Putnam 2000). Measures of social capital encompass a variety of attitudes and behaviors, related primarily to trust and participation in formal and informal social activities (e.g. Putnam 2000, 291). Despite the complexity of this dependent variable, few scholars have attempted to compile, much less test, the various proposed mechanisms relating ethnic diversity to declines in social capital. Drawing on attempts to categorize these mechanisms by Schaeffer (2014) and Habyarimana *et al.* (2007), I argue that proposed mechanisms can be classified as those related to divergent networks, divergent cultural norms, and divergent preferences.

The divergent social networks mechanism posits that in the presence of diversity ethnically divided networks reduce communities' capacity to share information and enforce norms (Habyarimana *et al.* 2007). Communities enforce collective norms through the expectation that members will encounter one another repeatedly and perhaps have need of one another in the future (Coleman 1990). In the absence of diversity, tightly knit networks of repeated play among like individuals effectively discourage deviance. In the presence of diversity, networks might be more diffuse – the person one encounters on the street is as likely to be from an out-group as from an in-group. Although norms may in fact be similar across these groups, the reality of non-overlapping networks results in less repeated play and fewer

consequences for deviance, thus complicating norm enforcement and leading to hunkering down (Schaeffer 2014).

The divergent norms mechanism posits that amidst diversity differing linguistic and cultural practices complicate communication, making collective action challenging (Desmet, Ortuno-Ortin, and Weber 2009). Here, the fraught process of communicating across linguistic divides or navigating different customs results in miscommunication, conflict, and a resultant withdrawal from social life. Finally, the divergent preferences mechanism focuses on ethnic groups' preferences to elevate their own group over other groups. Theorists of identity formation argue that humans develop a sense of self-worth by embracing a group identity and elevating that identity through contrasting it with out-groups (Tajfel and Turner 1986; Brown 2000). In the presence of diversity, participating and acting collectively might benefit not only the in-group, but also out-groups, and therefore it is less attractive (Alesina and La Ferrara 2002). In this way, the presence of the out-group diminishes collective action amidst diversity.

While the three previously proposed mechanisms are distinct, they suggest a similar process through which diversity could contribute to the erosion of intra-group cohesion. All three mechanisms suggest that diversity leads to inter-group wariness or conflict, which for varying reasons precipitates social withdrawal. This increasing isolation then contributes to broader declines in social cohesion, including declines in *intra*-group cohesion. Given the similarities among these mechanisms, it is worth asking whether findings on social cohesion amidst diversity parallel this hypothesized process.

Evaluating Proposed Constrict Hypothesis Mechanisms

Evidence for the constrict hypothesis has been extremely mixed, though some recent reviews suggest that validating studies exceed confuting studies by a statistically significant margin. Merlin Schaeffer's (2014) quantitative analysis of 172 studies concludes that 60 percent confirm the negative relationship. Van der Meer and Tolsma (2014) find nearly equal numbers of confirmatory and confuting studies (26 and 25 respectively), along with 39 "mixed" studies in which some findings were confirmatory while others were not. More importantly, however, both reviews move beyond an attempt to prove or disprove the constrict hypothesis to consider the conditions under which diversity is negatively associated with social capital.

In particular, both reviews find that studies that use participation measures as the dependent variable are more likely to confute than confirm the constrict hypothesis. Indeed, Putnam's (2007) own findings indicate an association largely between diversity and trust, while most measures of participation remain constant or increase. In Putnam's analysis, various forms of trust, participation in community projects, volunteering, and charitable donations decline in the presence of diversity, while interest in and knowledge about politics increases, along with some forms of political protest activity. Participation in groups and religious organizations is unaffected by changes in ethnic diversity. Thus, given available evidence, for a mechanism to convincingly explain the constrict relationship, it should imply a process that directly affects trust, and not only participation. To the contrary, each of the mechanisms outlined above specifies a process through which diversity affects in-group trust only through social withdrawal.

In the case of the divergent networks preference, attenuation of networks amidst diversity leads to challenges enforcing norms and therefore to social withdrawal. While the challenges of enforcing norms across ethnic divides are related to *inter*-group trust, it is unclear how these

divisions could lead directly to *intra-*group mistrust. Indeed, Habyarimana *et al.* (2007) present experimental evidence that even in the presence of diversity co-ethnics are able to hold one another to account, suggesting undiminished in-group trust. Rather, the divergent networks mechanism suggests a process whereby people withdraw in response to the perceived challenges of enforcing norms across ethnic divides. Similarly, the divergent norms mechanism suggests navigating cultural differences leads to miscommunication and discomfort that contributes to social withdrawal. Finally, the divergent preferences mechanism posits that competition between ethnic groups leads to declining participation since collective action is less appealing when it might aid the out-group. This social withdrawal could ultimately lead to a decline in overall levels of trust, but each of the mechanisms implies a process that affects in-group trust only through declines in participation, which are not consistently in evidence.

In addition to the disjuncture between hypothesized declines in participation and the evidence of declines in trust, recent reviews of constrict-related findings suggest that in-group trust is more likely to decline than out-group trust amidst diversity (van der Meer and Tolsma 2014). While the effect of diversity on in-group trust is the most unique aspect of constrict theory, relatively few studies have measured this relationship directly. Among those that have, findings are mixed, but most provide at least some confirmatory findings (van der Meer and Tolsma 2014, 10). In contrast, van der Meer and Tolsma find very little support for the claim that out-group trust declines amidst diversity, though the US may represent an exception to this general rule. Whereas the mechanisms proposed above describe a process through which diversity results in intergroup discomfort, social withdrawal, and resultant declines in-group trust, van der Meer and Tolsma's (2014) meta-analysis suggests that intergroup discomfort is not consistently present.

Clearly, the three proposed mechanisms to explain the constrict hypothesis do not comport with prevailing findings. To summarize, the mechanisms describe how diversity affects social cohesion in three steps: (1) intergroup discomfort, (2) social withdrawal, and (3) resultant declines in overall trust, including trust in the in-group (see figure 1). In view of the prevailing findings, however, all three proposed mechanisms are problematic. Declines in in-group trust are more commonly found than declines in participation. Therefore, evidence of social withdrawal (step two) is not consistently present. Likewise, declines in in-group trust are more commonly found amidst diversity than declines in out-group trust (van der Meer and Tolsma 2014). That is, evidence for "step one" is not consistently present. In sum, the mechanisms assume that inter-group discomfort and social withdrawal are necessary precursors to declines in in-group trust amidst diversity. The findings, on the other hand, suggest a link between diversity and declining in-group trust that does not necessarily rely on either of these preconditions. Given the mismatch between proposed mechanisms and prevailing findings, it is worth considering alternate mechanisms by investigating how social relations evolve over time in the presence of increasing diversity in US new immigrant destinations.

[Figure 1 here.]

Methods

Newly diverse immigrant destinations, which before 1980 were homogeneous white and had not experienced substantial immigration since at least the early twentieth century, are particularly well suited to this investigation in that they allow us to examine the processes through which trust changes over time in places experiencing unprecedented diversity. While qualitative case studies cannot capture the magnitude of change in these destinations, they

provide evidence of a previously overlooked mechanism. In view of what van der Meer and Tolsma (2014, 16) refer to as the "cacophony of empirical findings" with respect to the constrict hypothesis, it is worthwhile to step back and examine processes on the ground with a view to understanding whether quantitative studies are asking questions that properly operationalize the relationship.

This paper draws on 286 interviews from four newly diverse destinations: Elgin, Illinois; Yakima, Washington; Lewiston, Maine; and Wausau, Wisconsin. The cities are similar in terms of their small to medium size, ranging from 36,500 to just over 108,000 residents in 2010 (US Census 2010). Though their historical experiences of ethnoracial diversity differ somewhat, in 1980, each city was home to mostly non-Hispanic whites, which made up between 87 and 99 percent of the local population. Since then, each city has experienced relatively rapid ethnic diversification, through the in-migration of refugees or Latino immigrants. As of 2010, the relevant incoming ethnic group in each city ranged from 9 to 44 percent of the local population (US Census, 2010). Figure 2 compares the demographic change patterns across the four cities from 1970-2010. As it displays, Elgin and Yakima are home to rapidly expanding Latino populations, while Lewiston and Wausau are home to Somali and Hmong refugees, respectively.

[Figure 2 here.]

In Yakima, a city of 91,000 located in central Washington state, the Latino population has grown from less than five percent in 1980 to constitute 41 percent of residents in 2010 (US Census, 2010). While Yakima Valley farmers have long employed Latino migrants, the city of Yakima itself had only a small population of resident Latinos (4.6 percent) in 1980 (US Census, 1980). Former migrant farm workers from central Mexico began to settle in Yakima after the

Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. Elgin, a city of 108,000 located 45 minutes due west of Chicago, has also experienced rapid Latino population growth in recent years. Mexican immigrants were drawn to Elgin beginning in the late 1970s due to the availability of low-cost housing and proximity to jobs (Alft 2000). By 2010, Latinos made up 44 percent of Elgin's population (US Census, 2010).

While Yakima and Elgin are home to growing Latino populations, Lewiston and Wausau are primarily refugee destinations. In Wausau, a city of 39,000 in north central Wisconsin, churches began to sponsor Hmong refugees in the late 1970s. Since then, the Hmong population has grown through additional refugee resettlement as recent as 2005, as well as through 'secondary migration,' the movement of refugees from their original resettlement sites to other locations they choose. Today, Asians comprise 11 percent of Wausau's population (US Census, 2010). In Lewiston, a city of 36,500 located 45 minutes north of Portland, Somalis began arriving in 2001. Lewiston's Somalis, who now comprise roughly nine percent of the local population, are largely secondary migrants who chose to move to Lewiston due to the city's affordable housing and relative tranquility compared to urban resettlement sites.

Since 2003, I have conducted 286 interviews with community leaders and residents from among the immigrant and non-immigrant populations in the four cities, with no fewer than 48 interviews in a given city. Because the broader project investigated institutional responses in newly diverse destinations, two-thirds of informants (191 of 286) were community leaders, which I define broadly as individuals who are executives of local organizations or government units, business owners, and others who play key local leadership roles as members of boards or government committees. In terms of the ethnic distribution of interviews, in Yakima and Elgin, my informants are almost evenly divided between Latinos and non-Latinos. In Wausau, 29

percent of my informants were first- or second- generation immigrants. In Lewiston, where immigration is more recent and fewer immigrants can participate in English-language interviews, my sample consists of seven Somalis, two non-Somali immigrants, and 49 non-immigrants.

To select informants, I conducted both purposive and snowball sampling.[2] Ranging from twenty minutes to more than two hours (and averaging roughly an hour), interviews were semi-structured, building from a short list of questions to draw on informants' particular experiences. I coded interviews using Atlas.ti, in order to identify and extract themes. In addition to interviews, I observed community events, verified facts using local newspapers and other documents, and conducted on-going 'digital observation' by reading local websites and joining organizations' e-mail lists and on-line social networking groups.

Findings: The Divergent In-Group Preferences Mechanism

Evidence from newly diverse destinations identifies an alternate mechanism underlying the constrict hypothesis, which better aligns with prevailing findings. The divergent in-group preferences mechanism posits that increasing ethnic diversity uncovers or exacerbates cleavages within ethnic groups. Cara Wong (2010) has demonstrated that how people conceptualize their community (or in-group) affects their political views and behaviors, including their willingness to provide aid to outsiders. As she argues, these conceptualizations of community are not fixed. The divergent in-group preferences mechanism suggests that the presence of increasing diversity disrupts preexisting definitions of "in-group," contributing to declining trust, even among co-ethnics. Resulting conflicts contribute directly to undermining in-group trust as residents grapple with unsettling questions: Do people like me disagree with me? Are my community members no longer on my side?

In newly diverse destinations, diversity reveals cleavages between Anglo residents and Anglo elites. Anglo elites have different incentives with respect to immigration, which often lead them to accommodate immigrants. Anglo residents of diverse neighborhoods, on the other hand, feel they are competing with immigrants over resources and express considerable concern that the newcomers are consuming more than their fair share. As a result, Anglo residents see Anglo elites as providing preferential treatment for immigrants. On the flip side, elites complain about residents' negative views of immigrants. As diversity increases, divisions among Anglos become more evident leading to declining in-group trust.

In contrast to previously proposed mechanisms, the divergent in-group preferences mechanism offers a direct link between diversity and declining in-group trust. Likewise, in this alternate mechanism, inter-group conflict is not a necessary pre-condition for declining intra-group trust. Differences in in-group preferences may arise amidst diversity and diminish in-group trust without necessitating inter-group conflict. In the case of newly diverse immigrant destinations, however, I do identify a link between inter-group conflict and declining in-group trust. In line with the conflict theory, in the presence of greater diversity, Anglo residents of new destinations express concern about immigrant receipt of benefits and services (Glaser 2003; Taylor 1998). As elites accommodate immigrants, however, residents' animosity towards immigrants becomes entwined with anger towards elites. Whereas elsewhere, diversity more consistently affects in-group than out-group trust, evidence from the United States demonstrates broader effects of diversity on social cohesion, perhaps due to the US's challenging history of racial injustice and resultant "mix of heterogeneity, segregation, and inequality" (van der Meer and Tolsma 2014, 16). Thus, in the context of newly diverse US immigrant destinations, the divergent in-group preferences mechanism involves both inter- and intra-group conflict related to

Anglo elites' accommodation of immigrants. Because the cases examined here allow us to uncover the effect of unprecedented diversity on a previously homogeneous population of long-term residents, I focus primarily on relations among Anglos, though I conclude by demonstrating how the same basic mechanisms function with respect to immigrant groups.

Elite Accommodation of Immigrants

What leads Anglo elites in newly diverse destinations to accommodate immigrants more than the local public would support? My own evidence aligns with previous findings in the literature. Namely, business elites are typically favorable towards new residents in order to maintain an immigrant workforce. Public and non-profit leaders may accommodate immigrants as part of fulfilling a service mission (Jones-Correa 2008; Marrow 2009). Elites in the public eye may welcome immigrants to avoid or combat perceptions of racism (Freeman 1995). Even where leaders do not adopt a proactive policy of immigrant accommodation, local officials are required by federal law to serve immigrants in some ways, such as providing English language education and translation services in agencies that receive federal funding (Congressional Budget Office 2007).

Thus, among the four newly diverse destinations examined here, in three cities, local elites have proactively accommodated immigrants, while in one city local elites have remained largely inactive. In Lewiston and Wausau, local elites have been remarkably proactive in accommodating immigrants, after initial, short-lived episodes of restriction. In these refugee new destinations, local elites not only have distinct personal and professional incentives for welcoming immigrants, but they also have legal and programmatic obligations, since refugees qualify for resources that other immigrants do not (Horton 2004; Gelatt and Fix 2007). In Elgin,

elite responses have been largely accommodating even in the face of recent public pressure for restriction. In Yakima, where new Latino residents were long perceived to be part of a seasonal agricultural workforce, elites have been largely inactive in responding to immigrants until recently, when some accommodating measures have been implemented.

Despite this pattern across my cases, the focus on local accommodation of immigrants may seem surprising given the well-publicized examples of local government restriction in places like Hazleton, Pennsylvania. Restrictive local policies are more common when immigration politics is highly salient nationally and immigrant populations are growing rapidly locally (Hopkins 2010); yet these restrictive policies are still relatively rare. More than 9,000 US towns and cities are now at least five percent foreign born (US Census 2010) and the best estimates suggest that fewer than a couple of hundred have formally proposed or passed immigration-related ordinances (Ramakrishnan and Wong 2010; Walker and Leitner 2011; Steil and Vasi 2014). The phenomenon of accommodation in the four cities examined here, which were selected on the basis of their demographic change characteristics and not their responses, cannot be accounted for by immigrant population characteristics, economic base, or partisanship, since the cities vary substantially along these dimensions. The tendency toward local accommodation requires more elaboration than this article permits, but the effects of accommodation on trust remain broadly relevant. These cases indicate that intra-group tension over responses to immigration can contribute to intra-group mistrust even when localities are only implementing the educational and linguistic accommodations required by federal law.

Given the variation across these cases, we would expect to see stronger evidence of in-group mistrust in the more accommodating refugee destinations, specifically Lewiston and Wausau, followed by accommodating Elgin, and then inactive Yakima. Indeed, as I will

demonstrate below, I find that divergent in-group preferences were most evident in the refugee destinations. Conflict related to in-group preferences was particularly evident in Lewiston, where many refugees were still reliant on public assistance, as well as historically in Wausau, where the same had been true up until the mid-1990s. Likewise, conflicts between Anglo residents and elites were also most common in the destinations where elites proactively accommodated immigrants, namely Lewiston, Wausau, and Elgin. That said, in all of the cities, even the minimal accommodations required by US law, such as English-language education in the public schools, heightened resentment towards immigrants and led to perceptions that elites were providing preferential treatment for immigrants.

In-group Preferences and Competition

In Lewiston and Wausau, residents expressed misgivings about the extent to which immigrants deserved aid, if not outright suspicions about immigrant abuse of public aid. For instance, an unemployed Lewistonian reported: 'For me the biggest thing is coming to another nation and expecting that nation to bend over backward for you.' He shared the suspicions of many Lewiston residents that Somalis had come to Maine primarily to take advantage of generous welfare benefits. Likewise, in Wausau, accusations of welfare abuse were the 'unifying theme' of criticisms against the Hmong in letters to the editor during the 1980s and 1990s (Duffy 2007). Observers described welfare receipt as a 'primary element fueling inter-ethnic tension within the Wausau community' (Koltyk 1998). Criticisms of Hmong welfare abuse have receded as the Hmong gain economic independence, but they are not entirely absent from present-day discourse.

Resentment over immigrant use of public benefits is less pronounced in Elgin and Yakima, since fewer non-refugee immigrants qualify for public assistance. As in Lewiston and Wausau, however, accommodating immigrants in the schools and through translation contributes to resentment of the newcomers' presence. In Yakima, residents resented the need to translate signs and materials for immigrants. A city employee in Yakima explained: 'Five or six years ago, there was a great concern about doing dual language signs on the city's part. [People said,] "It's a waste of city money. Why are you reaching out to do that? Learn English!"' A letter to the editor in Elgin expressed a similar sentiment: 'Signs and phone answering systems often give the illegal immigrants living here information in their native Spanish language. They are here illegally; we should stop catering to them' (Abbs 2007). As these comments suggest, when it comes to competition over local resources, anger at immigrants is often intertwined with frustration at local elites for accommodating the newcomers.

Elite Accommodation and Intra-group Mistrust

Clearly, Anglo residents of newly diverse neighborhoods feel competition with immigrants over government services. Yet they also blame Anglo elites for accommodating the newcomers, contributing to intra-group mistrust through the alternate divergent in-group preferences mechanism. Residents frequently characterize efforts to serve immigrants as providing preferential treatment to undeserving outsiders. Perceptions of preferential treatment undermine Anglo residents' trust in Anglo officials. This intra-Anglo mistrust is not a one-way street. Some Anglo elites express disdain for those who resent immigrants. Thus, elite accommodation of immigrants engenders not only animosity towards the newcomers, but also intra-Anglo mistrust.

In Lewiston, where many Somalis continue to rely on public assistance, these tensions are once again particularly evident. Several Anglo women described how encountering Somalis at social service agencies increased their resentment toward both the newcomers and the local authorities serving them. One young mother explained:

> I was sitting there for 45 minutes with both of my kids and I was in there to see if I could try to get emergency food stamps or anything like that and one [Somali] woman came in and I was number 83. They called 97 before 83 and this [Somali] woman who just walked in went in. I asked the receptionist and she said, 'Well, it depends on which caseworker is not busy at the moment.' Whatever. That's stupid. I was here first; I should get in first.

Displaying both animosity towards Somali women and contempt for the local government, another young mother concluded, 'If you need help, you need to have ten kids and wear a sheet on your head.'

Residents of Lewiston and Wausau exhorted the local government to care for native-born residents first or equally. A 60-year-old Lewistonian who relies on public assistance felt resentful of the more generous benefits she believes Somalis are granted:

> We pay the taxes and somebody's getting special treatment that's not us. I worked at [a resort] for twenty years and I don't want somebody getting something better than I am when I'm the one who's been paying in the taxes. … I'm not sure why it's being done. But if there's some reason, it would behoove them [the city government] to tell us what it is. I mean, it's our damn money and they act like it's not.

Clearly, concerns about accommodation contribute to frustrations with immigrants, as well as mistrust of elites. In both Lewiston and Wausau, Anglo social service workers report being harassed through phone calls and public haranguing by Anglo residents concerned about preferential treatment of immigrants.

Even federally mandated accommodation measures such as translation, can raise animosity not only towards immigrants, who are criticized for failing to adapt, but towards Anglo leaders who are seen as catering to them. A politician in Elgin explained Anglo residents' objection: 'Their feeling is that we're now kowtowing to a group of immigrants because they

refuse to speak English.' To avoid such criticisms, a school administrator in Yakima printed separate English and Spanish documents, rather than bilingual forms, and strenuously tried to avoid sending the wrong language to the wrong parents. He also struggled with concerns over preferential treatment when he provided childcare and a meal for a Latino parent meeting through a targeted federal grant, but did not have the funds to do the same for the general population. By acting on their incentives to support immigrant newcomers, Anglo elites unintentionally contribute to polarization between the Anglo public and Anglo elites.

At the same time that Anglo residents complain about elite accommodation of immigrants, some elites complain about residents who resent the immigrants' presence. In discussing local animosity towards immigrants, Anglo leaders tend to scapegoat low income or less educated Anglos for holding these views. In Wausau, for instance, a local government administrator explained:

> I think you'll find the more educated segment of the community is less likely to be ignorant of the situation. Let's put it that way. You've got your blue collars that tend to react not very informed. They don't mind writing nasty letters to the editor.

A Wausau politician agreed that working class residents were more likely to dispute the Hmong presence: 'Let's face it; if you already have some amount of success, [the Hmong] are not your competition, alright? … You're not standing in line in back of them for a tee time or something like that.' Likewise, a non-profit representative in Lewiston hypothesized that local elites' different experience with immigration led to their condescension toward those who do not welcome the newcomers. She explained, 'City professionals and folks in power would like to believe that, [these tensions] have sort of blown over. But they don't have to live downtown; they don't have to face continued harassment. And also continued economic insecurity.'

In Elgin, the City Council's disdain for those concerned about unauthorized immigration precipitated a major local conflict that contributed to some councilors' ouster. A local anti-

immigration group issued a series of proposals aimed at deflecting unauthorized immigrants from settling in the city. When the Council acceded to pressure to respond to the organization's proposals in the local newspaper, their tone was often pedantic, if not outright contemptuous. For instance, one former councilman wrote, 'I find such [proposals] are typically the product of uninformed xenophobia' (as quoted in Brooks and Johnson 2007). In view of the councilors' comments, Anglo residents concerned about undocumented migration expressed mistrust in local authorities. A letter to the editor in response to councilors' comments read, 'Instead of honest and truthful responses, all we got from any of them was what sounded like a well-rehearsed monologue. They seemed more worried about staying popular with the Spanish citizens of this city than upholding their oaths to the lifelong residents of Elgin' (Brunschon 2007). Another letter-writer commented, 'I finally came to the conclusion that these guys are either in denial or they have forsaken all common sense and now worship at the altar of political correctness' (Froberg 2007). A third letter stated: '[I]t appears that there is a real disconnect and distinct separation between the will/voice of the people and the powers of the establishment' (Sowers 2007). As these comments suggest, the city council's accommodation of immigrants by refusing to consider local enforcement efforts contributed to both animosity toward immigrants and mistrust between Anglo residents and elites.

As the preceding examples indicate, differing incentives with respect to accommodation of immigrants exacerbate tensions between the Anglo populace and elites. These tensions clearly shake the foundations of trust between Anglo residents and Anglo elites. In addition to declining intra-group trust, conflicts among Anglos lead some residents to socially withdraw. Here, however, in line with prevailing findings, social withdrawal follows declining in-group trust rather than serving as its purported cause. As predicted, these tensions are particularly

evident in cities where Anglos elites actively accommodate immigrants, such as Lewiston, Wausau, and Elgin. In Wausau, two Anglo social service providers separately noted that they stopped attending their church during a controversy related to school desegregation because, as one man put it: 'I couldn't believe the people that I really liked and respected in so many ways, on this [issue] would miss the boat.' Another Wausau leader described how the same controversy had turned her and others away from community participation:

> They're not tuning out because they don't care; they're tuning out because it's just too painful to go through all the crap that's attached to it. … I know in this town there are a lot of very caring people that are very concerned about Wausau. … But to climb through all the crap – nobody does it any longer. They retreat. Because it's painful. You know, you take some of that seriously and you get to a point where it's like, yeah, enough.

Similarly, in Elgin, contentious battles over the city's stance against immigration enforcement caused some residents to lessen their engagement in local affairs. Two women, a city employee and a social worker, found themselves tuning out of local affairs because of ugly immigration-related conflicts. The city employee explained:

> [E]very, every day, you hear the same things about immigration, immigration, immigration. I think that whether people are right or wrong, or indifferent, I think it just fuels the fire and either people are doing too much, or they're not doing enough, or the police aren't acting appropriately, or the city's not responding appropriately. You know at some point you just get tired of hearing it all.

The social worker said that the vitriolic coverage actually made her want to hide: 'Just the whole idea of fighting over that kind of stuff turns me off so much that I guess I want to hide my head in the sand and think that they're just kinda loony people and they're gonna go away.' Conflicts related to perceived preferential treatment of immigrants have led her to see even some members of her own ethnic group as "loony" and therefore inherently untrustworthy.

Evidence from other case studies of new immigrant destinations points to similar declines in intra-Anglo trust due to tensions over accommodation. Observers of a Georgian carpet-producing town with a growing Latino population have commented on how elite accommodation complicates intra-Anglo relations: 'What is most notable in the case of Dalton is that Latino

immigration has fostered a split between different sectors of the white population' (Hernandez-Leon and Zuniga 2005, 270). Indeed, Putnam's nationwide analysis (2007) finds that, along with lower levels of inter- and intra-ethnic trust, ethnic diversity is associated with less faith in local leaders, the local media, and local, but not national, government. Thus, relations between local elites and the general public deserve further attention in explaining the puzzling finding of declines in intra-group trust amidst diversity.

Divergent In-Group Preferences and Declining Trust Among Immigrants

While I have focused here primarily on intra-Anglo disputes, immigrant ethnic groups also experience intra-group mistrust arising from disagreements over how to relate to the out-group. In each of the four destinations, immigrant ethnic groups experienced conflict over differing views on balancing cultural preservation and integration. Lewiston's Somalis, for instance, are divided between a conservative, religious faction that promotes safeguarding tradition and a less religious faction that promotes assimilation. These tensions can flare when Anglos consult Somalis about issues like whether Somali boys should be permitted to wear a traditional cap (*koofiyad*) as an exception to the high school's 'no hats' policy. Similarly, Hmong residents of Wausau experience tensions over the degree to which they should involve local government authorities in issues of domestic violence, a problem traditionally addressed by the clan system. A Hmong man described these tensions as a conflict between Hmong factions that he referred to as 'the traditional and the mainstream.'

Although the cultural distance is less marked, the same basic tensions over how the immigrant ethnic group should interact with Anglos are evident in Latino destinations like Yakima and Elgin. In Elgin, a flash point between more and less established Latino residents is

whether the local schools should employ bilingual education as opposed to English immersion. In Yakima, some prominent Mexican-Americans who experienced the Chicano movement eschew cooperation with Anglo institutions for fear of co-optation. More recent Mexican arrivals are more interested in forming partnerships with Anglos, creating tensions within the immigrant ethnic group. In part as a result, for many years, Yakima was home to two competing Hispanic Chambers of Commerce. In all four cities, for both immigrants and Anglos, the new challenges associated with navigating relations with the out-group contributed to schisms within the in-group.

Conclusion

Evidence from newly diverse immigrant destinations identifies an alternate mechanism that better explains how diversity could contribute to declines in in-group trust. The divergent in-group preferences mechanism suggests that diversity reveals cleavages within ethnic groups, diminishing intra-group trust. In newly diverse US immigrant destinations, Anglo elites have different incentives with respect to immigration that lead them to accommodate immigrants to a greater extent than many Anglo residents would choose. As anticipated, these intra-Anglo tensions are more evident in destinations that more actively accommodate immigrants, especially in new refugee destinations, where local authorities are tasked with providing refugees with federal benefits. Even where Anglos elites do not actively accommodate immigrants, however, simply complying with federal guidelines surrounding English-language education and translation provision can contribute to tensions between Anglo residents and elites. Such tradeoffs between heterogeneity and redistribution are particularly acute in the US due to the country's long history of racial injustice, and may not operate in the same way beyond the

American context (Banting and Kymlicka 2006). While the divergent in-group preferences mechanism manifests itself in concerns over redistribution in American cities, the mechanism itself could apply more broadly.

Indeed, while elite accommodation of immigrants cannot fully explain the more pervasive findings of constricting social cohesion amidst diversity, this investigation makes several contributions to the broader literature on this topic. First, I identify a mismatch between existing mechanisms – related to divergent networks, norms, and preferences – and the prevailing findings. In their extensive reviews of the literature, Schaeffer (2014) and van der Meer & Tolsma (2014) find a far more consistent negative relationship between diversity and trust than diversity and participation. Likewise, van der Meer and Tolsma (2014) find a more consistent association between diversity and declining in-group trust than out-group trust. Despite the fact that findings are more robust with respect to in-group trust, existing mechanisms specify a process through which diversity leads to inter-group discomfort and social withdrawal, rather than directly to in-group mistrust.

Thus, evidence from newly diverse destinations suggests an alternate divergent in-group preferences mechanism. This paper focuses largely on Anglos' divergent preferences over accommodation of immigrants, but immigrant ethnic groups also experience fractionalization as they negotiate whether and how to integrate amidst diversity. Moreover, the divergent in-group preferences mechanism need not be confined to destinations experiencing new diversity, nor to conflicts between elites and non-elites. As long as the salience of ethnic distinctions remains, in-groups will have to negotiate relations with out-groups, potentially revealing factions within the in-group. We know that over time, ethnic boundaries shift in the presence of diversity – witness, for instance, the literature on how western European immigrants of the late-nineteenth and early

twentieth centuries came to be regarded as white (e.g. Roediger 1999). It is also possible that diversity reconfigures relations within ethnic groups in ways that contribute to the broader constrict findings.

If this is true, scholars must devote careful attention to selecting dependent variables to measure changes in trust amidst diversity. Shifting in-group boundaries may complicate interpretation of findings, perhaps contributing to the inconclusive findings within the broader literature. For instance, Schaeffer (2014) and van der Meer and Tolsma (2014) find that the negative relationship between diversity and trust is more robust with respect to trust in neighbors than generalized social trust. But what do respondents conceptualize when they respond to questions about trusting neighbors? In the presence of growing diversity do respondents understand trust in neighbors as in-group trust, out-group trust, or some combination of both? Evidence of fractionalization within in-groups amidst diversity suggests the importance of clarifying what respondents have in mind when they respond to questions that rely on conceptualizations of the in-group and out-group. As Cara Wong (2010, 209) puts it, 'what is seen as "heterogeneity" [or homogeneity] depends on how one imagines one's community.' Future research could therefore productively investigate how growing diversity changes conceptions of the in-group over time.

In addition, the in-group preference mechanism described here may contribute to explaining why findings in favor of the constrict hypothesis are less robust when analysts control for socioeconomic inequality (Schaeffer 2014). Interpretations of this phenomenon tend to argue that declines in trust are the result not of ethnic differences, but of socioeconomic differences that tend to be highly correlated with ethnicity. Yet perhaps controlling for inequality also lessens the relationship between diversity and in-group trust because tensions over responses to

the out-group are more likely where in-group socioeconomic differences are more pronounced. In newly diverse destinations, elites have differing incentives with respect to accommodating immigrants in part because of elites' relative socioeconomic advantage. Where preexisting socioeconomic disparities are greater, we might expect to see more potential for in-group divisions amidst diversity. In effect, controlling for inequality could hold constant some of the potential for schisms in the in-group. Further studies could productively attend to this question of whether socioeconomic inequality or other intra-ethnic divisions seem to precipitate greater declines specifically in *in*-group trust amidst diversity.

More concretely, these findings raise the question of how local institutions can promote immigrant incorporation, while minimizing the costs to inter- and intra-ethnic relations. The finding that elite accommodation may contribute to in-group mistrust by no means automatically suggests that accommodation should be curtailed. Indeed, some findings in the US indicate that where social capital remains high, racial and ethnic minorities may experience greater inequities (Hawes and Rocha 2011; Hero 2007). These findings present the possibility that cleavages within the in-group that are associated with attempts to accommodate diverse newcomers may ultimately aid incorporation. In the most optimistic prognosis, in-group mistrust amidst diversity could be a sign of the diminishing salience of ethnic boundaries and progress toward incorporation of out-groups.

As Irene Bloemraad (2006) and others have demonstrated, government accommodation of immigrants can provide powerful material and symbolic support for incorporation. Indeed, one study suggests that diversity is more likely to negatively impact trust in countries that lack policies that encourage inter-ethnic contact (Kesler and Bloemraad 2010). At the same time, however, the evidence presented here suggests that accommodation can foment mistrust between

Anglos elites and residents, given that the broader public generally does not share elites'

incentives for welcoming immigrants. Thus, in democratic societies, efforts to incorporate

immigrants may be undermined if leaders do not attend to the potential resulting mistrust within

the majority group. In this way, understanding the mechanisms underlying the constrict

hypothesis is essential to developing policy interventions that bolster social cohesion amidst

diversity.

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[1] Since the cities I study are composed almost entirely of non-Hispanic whites and one immigrant ethnic group, Anglo generally refers to non-immigrant, non-Hispanic whites, though it may include a small number of non-immigrant African-Americans or others. While the term is not ideal, few alternatives are available and it therefore serves as a useful, non-racial shorthand for non-immigrant, non-co-ethnics.

[2] In each site, I drew on contacts in local academic institutions and community foundations to develop as diverse as possible a range of primary contacts. I spoke with at least the following individuals in each city: the Mayor, a law enforcement officer, a public school leader, a hospital administrator, a social service provider, and representatives of the chamber of commerce, major local civic institutions, and immigrant or minority rights organizations. In addition, I worked with native Spanish-speakers in 2004 and 2008 to conduct Spanish-language interviews in Elgin and Yakima. Throughout my fieldwork, I tracked the composition of informants to ensure that I interviewed a representative group in terms of gender, race/ethnicity, age, longevity in community, and professional fields.

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Figure 1. Mechanisms Explaining Declines in Intra-ethnic Trust Amidst Diversity
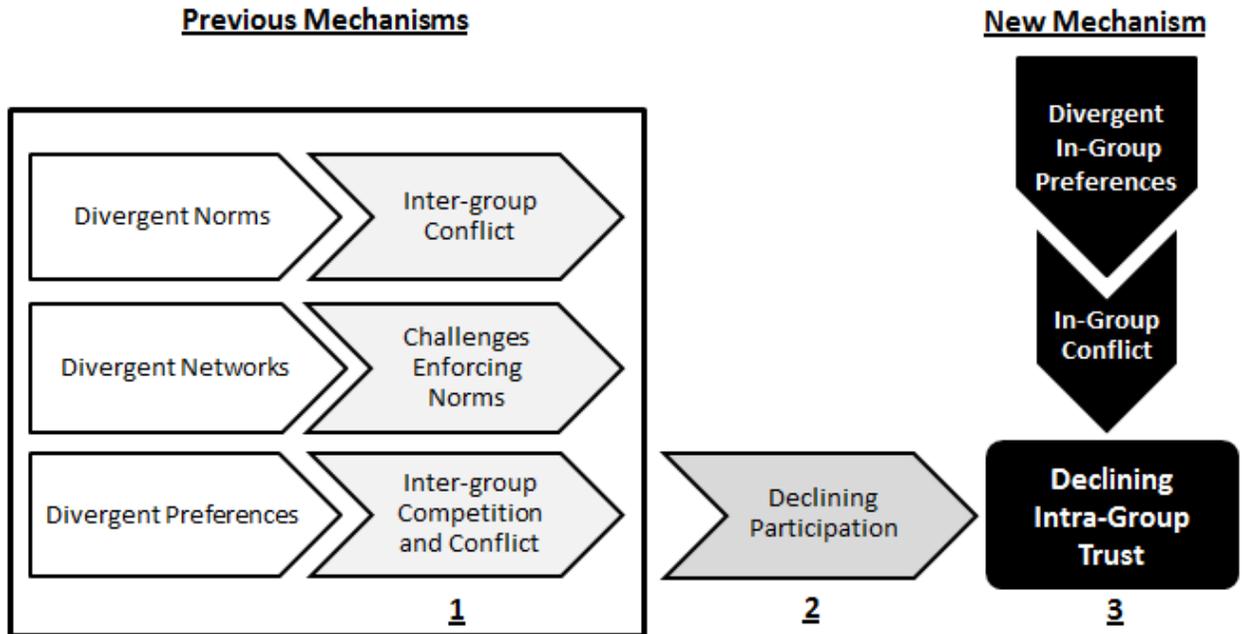
Figure 2. Ethnic Demographic Trends in Case Study Cities, 1970-2010
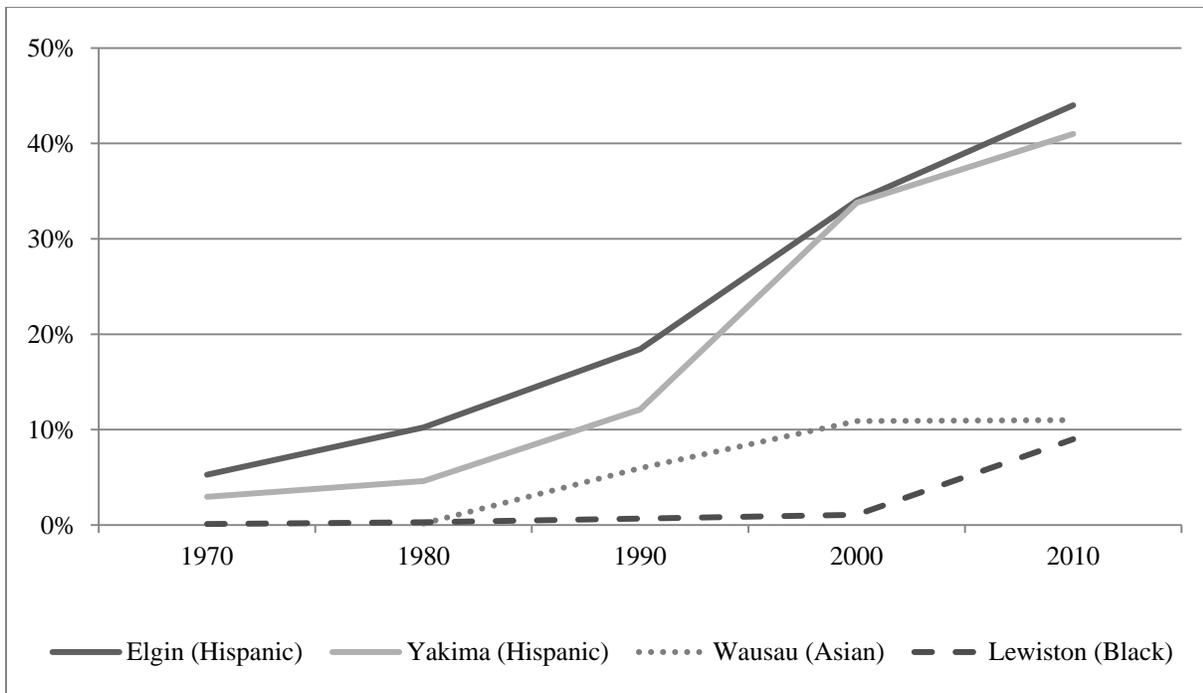
Source: Geolytics (1970-2000 US. Census data) and US Census 2010.