

## Segregation and Mistrust

Generalized trust – faith in people you don't know who are likely to be different from you – is a value that leads to many positive outcomes for a society. Yet some scholars now argue that trust is lower when we are surrounded by people who are different from us. Eric M. Uslaner challenges this view and argues that residential segregation, rather than diversity, leads to lower levels of trust. Integrated and diverse neighborhoods will lead to higher levels of trust, but only if people also have diverse social networks. Professor Uslaner examines the theoretical and measurement differences between segregation and diversity and summarizes results on how integrated neighborhoods with diverse social networks increase trust in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Sweden, and Australia and how they increase altruism toward people of different backgrounds in the United States and the United Kingdom. He also shows how different immigration and integration policies toward minorities shape both social ties and trust.

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## *Diversity, Isolation, and Social Cohesion*

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CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press & Assessment  
 978-0-521-19315-3 — Segregation and Mistrust: Diversity, Isolation, and Social Cohesion  
 Eric M. Uslaner  
 Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)



Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom  
 One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA  
 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia  
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 103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

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Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9780521193153](http://www.cambridge.org/9780521193153)

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First published 2012

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library*

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data*

Uslaner, Eric M.

Segregation and mistrust : diversity, isolation, and social cohesion / Eric M. Uslaner, University of Maryland, College Park.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-521-19315-3 (hardback) – ISBN 978-0-521-15163-4 (paperback)

1. Race relations. 2. Trust. 3. Segregation. 4. Multiculturalism.

5. Cultural pluralism. I. Title.

HT1521.U85 2012

305.8-dc23 2012013660

ISBN 978-0-521-19315-3 Hardback

ISBN 978-0-521-15163-4 Paperback

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## Preface

This is an accidental book. In 2002 I published *The Moral Foundations of Trust*. I thought I was done with trust as the major focus of my research. I was asked to give talks on trust well after that, and my next book, *Corruption, Inequality, and Trust* (2008), was mostly about corruption, but trust reappeared as a “supporting actor” in the story of what makes for honest governance.

The idea for this book came when I received notification of a conference to be held in Milan, Italy, in January 2006. I wanted to go to the conference, but the conference topic was “Understanding Diversity.” I didn’t know too much about diversity, but I had read papers in which authors such as Alberto Alesina attributed many ills of modern society – including low trust – to the reluctance of people to engage with people unlike themselves. Since the sort of trust I believed (and still believe) to be important is faith in people unlike yourself, I proposed to see whether it was really true that diversity drives down trust. I proposed a paper for the conference, it was accepted (a paid trip to Milan and shortly afterward another to Norway), and I started my analyses. All sorts of negative things began to happen. It snowed in Milan; I slipped and almost hurt myself on the icy road on the way to a restaurant. It poured in Norway, so a boat trip to the fjords was literally a washout. And the correlations across countries and American states between trust and all sorts of measures of diversity were about as close to zero as one can imagine.

I wasn’t happy about the weather in either Milan or Norway, but I was delighted that living among people who are different from yourself didn’t make you less trusting in people who are different from yourself. But that left me with a quandary: Does the composition of where you

live not matter at all for trust in people unlike yourself? I had no ready answer, but going through the cross-national data set I had constructed, I found a variable that seemed remotely relevant: a crude ordinal measure (from the Minorities at Risk Project at my own university, indeed just one floor below my office) of whether minorities lived apart from the majority population. I found a moderately strong correlation with trust across nations – a relationship that held even controlling for other factors in the trust models I had estimated in my 2002 book. It wasn't diversity but segregation that led to less trust. I had an argument. But I put it aside as I turned my attention to corruption.

After my corruption book was published, I looked around for another project. Once again, travel was the mother of invention. I received a series of invitations to conferences in Denmark and Sweden, the first at Aalborg University on "The Social Differentiation of Trust and Social Capital" (where even in June the weather was cold). This invitation renewed my interest in segregation and trust and I was off to a new project, which turned into this book. The opportunity to work with colleagues in Sweden on a social capital survey heightened my interest in diversity, since I knew from my friend Bo Rothstein that Sweden has remained a high-trusting society even as it has become more diverse.

I knew about the legacy of segregation in the United States, so that is where I began, although I knew little of the segregation literature at the time. A lot of hard work was before me. I wanted to extend my work beyond the United States. The opportunity to work with my Swedish colleagues provided a natural comparison. I also had written a fair amount on Canada, so that country seemed to be another place to study. At a conference in Paris in late 2008 where I was the only political scientist in a sea of economists, I met an English economist, Alan Manning, who was examining Muslims' sense of belonging using the United Kingdom Citizenship Survey. I was intrigued with the survey. I knew of issues of immigration and multiculturalism in Britain through the news and I felt that I understood a bit about England since my wife was born and raised in London. I had a lot of work to do, since I didn't know enough about residential patterns in Sweden or Canada to make reasonable arguments. I barely knew enough about the United Kingdom to write anything worthy of an academic paper (much less a book). And the notion of reading a few papers on segregation to set me on my way was way too optimistic. Every paper I read had many more citations. When I reached the electronic journal *Urban Studies*'s Web site and entered "segregation" in

the search box, I was stunned at the sheer volume of papers in just that journal.

Yet I persevered and started working on the project. Reasonably early on, I posted a paper or two on my Web site, and I received an e-mail from an older scholar who had found the papers and wanted to start a conversation. It was Thomas Pettigrew, who with his mentor, Gordon Allport, were the major figures in contact theory. Tom kept encouraging me, ultimately calling me a “social psychologist in political scientist’s clothing,” which I took as a compliment but didn’t advertise too much among my colleagues in my own discipline. The continued encouragement of Tom Pettigrew led me to continue with this project.

The literature on segregation turned out to be a natural fit for my interests – it is strongly linked to inequality, which I have long argued is the major factor leading to low trust. My selection of cases turned out to be more than fortuitous. And then I went away for four months – to Australia. The Fulbright grant I received had no teaching responsibilities, but I was expected to extend my research on segregation and trust to Australia and I was also expected to talk on this research throughout Australia. I found very receptive audiences throughout Australia, including government officials. And the new case seemed to fit in very well with the other four countries – the United States, the UK, Canada (which is culturally very similar to Australia, but with worse weather), and Sweden (more of a surprise). The topic intrigued me more and more as I progressed, and it brought me back to the arguments I had made in my 2002 book.

I am grateful to many colleagues (all listed alphabetically) who read the manuscript in draft, most notably Peter Thisted Dinesen, Miles Hewstone, Bo Rothstein, and Kim Mannemar Sonderskov, who read the manuscript in its entirety. Peter and Kim forced me to recognize that segregation doesn’t just happen – it reflects where people want to live (so Chapter 8 stems from their early criticisms). Bo forced me to think more like a political scientist at the end: What are the policy implications of all of this? And Miles told me I thought too much like a North American political scientist and pushed me to broaden my notion of contact.

Others who generously gave their time and expertise to portions of the book are Barbara Arneil, Ernesto Calvo, John Helliwell, Patrick James, Staffan Kumlin, Andrew Mason, Brian McKenzie, Jonathan Rothwell, Kim Rubenstein, Stuart Soroka, Dietlind Stolle, and Dag Wollebak. Susanne Lundåsen, my co-author on part of Chapter 6, was wonderful to work with and made it possible to extend my argument beyond English-speaking countries. She and Lars Svedberg and Lars Trägårdh

of Ersta Sköndal University College in Stockholm have taught me much about Swedish political and social life – and about trust more generally – and have served on multiple occasions as most gracious hosts at their institution (as have so many others, most notably Bo Rothstein of Goteborg University and Kim Mannemar Sonderskov of Aarhus University – where I am now Honorary Professor of Political Science).

All of these great people have helped me with my arguments. The arguments rest upon data, and much of the data were either proprietary or not readily accessible (at least to me). Susanne Lundåsen, Lars Svedberg, and Lars Trägårdh made the Swedish Social Capital survey from Ersta Sköndal University College available to me (and Susanne calculated the segregation indices). Andrew Markus of Monash University made the Australian data (the 2007 Scanlon Social Cohesion Survey) available to me; Mike Poulsen of Macquarie University provided the segregation measures; Steve McEachern and Andrew Leigh of Australian National University (Leigh is now a member of parliament for Canberra) provided data on diversity. Feng Hou of Statistics Canada graciously (and at short notice) calculated diversity and segregation measures for Canada; Isabelle Cadieux, Matthieu Ravnignat, and Frank Larouche expedited my visit to the Centre Interuniversitaire Québécois de Statistiques Sociales/Quebec Inter-University Centre for Social Statistics to use the 2008 Canadian General Social Survey.

John Iceland, one of the gurus of measuring segregation in the United States, provided the data on segregation in the United States that I use for most of my analyses; John Logan helped me understand other measures (which he also provided). Doug Goldenberg-Hart of *Congressional Quarterly* helped me obtain the American City Crime data for the United States (after I won a lottery at the American Political Science Association in 2009). Alberto Alesina and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya shared their national-level data on segregation; Eliana La Ferrara provided community-level Gini indices for the United States. Nathan Dietz of the Corporation for National and Community Service and Thomas Pollak and Katie Uttke of the Urban Institute provided the data on volunteering and charitable giving I use in Chapter 7, and Dale Jones of the Global Ministry Center helped to estimate community-level membership in religious denominations.

I am also grateful to the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, which made the General Social Survey for the United States available; to Robert Putnam for the Social Capital Benchmark Survey; to the UK Data Archive for the 2007 United Kingdom Citizenship

Survey; and to Richard Johnston and Stuart Soroka for making the Equality, Security, Community survey available.

Not only did I get many comments from individuals who read the draft – all or chapters – but I also benefited from comments at conferences where I presented my work, as either a keynote speaker or a paper giver. I single out several friends for their great hospitality in hosting me for a week each: Ola Bergstrand of the University of Goteborg (Sweden); Ali Carkoglu at Sabanci and Koc Universities (Istanbul, Turkey); Ed Fieldhouse at the Institute for Social Change at the University of Manchester (United Kingdom); Kimmo Gronlund of the Centre of Excellence: Democracy – A Citizen Perspective, Åbo Akademi University (Turku, Finland); Yoji Inaba at the School of Law, Nihon University (Tokyo, Japan); Bo Rothstein at the Quality of Government Institute, University of Goteborg (Sweden); and Eskil Wadensjö at Stockholm University (Sweden).

I am particularly grateful to the U.S.-Australia Fulbright Commission for the opportunity to spend the fall 2010 semester as the Fulbright Australian National University Distinguished Chair in American Political Science at the Australian National University (ANU). In Australia, I was particularly grateful to the wonderful Fulbright staff: Acting Director Lyndell Wilson, Natalie Collins, Kate Lyall, Rosemary Schmedding, and Jenny Street – especially to my hosts at ANU. John Hart, who was responsible for my well-being there, went well beyond what anyone might expect to make me feel welcome in one of the most beautiful (and now diverse) countries in the world.

While in Oz (as the locals call it), I had great colleagues at ANU: John Dryzek and Bob Goodin, both of whom I knew from their days at Maryland, as well as Kizzy Gandy, Kim Huynh, Bora Kanra, Kim Rubenstein, Meg Russell, Tetsuki Tamura, and Helen Taylor; a former ANU faculty member (Andrew Leigh, with whom I was going to do joint research before he became professionally unavailable due to his election to parliament); Geoff Woolcock and Jenny Wilson at Griffith University; Benno Torgler at the Queensland Institute of Technology; Robert Tanton of the University of Canberra; David Brown at Murdoch University; Mike Poulsen at Macquarie University; and Jenny Onyx at the University of Technology Sydney – all of whom arranged talks at their universities for me. I am grateful to Paul Ronalds of the Office of the Prime Minister for coming to hear me talk on my research.

I am also grateful to the Embassy of Canada and the Association for Canadian Studies in the United States for a Faculty Research Award for support for my research on trust among different ethnic groups in Canada.

And, of course, I express my deepest appreciation to the Graduate School of the University of Maryland, College Park, for a Research and Support Award in 2011 that gave me a semester free of teaching so that I could travel to present my work and write most of the rest of the first draft.

I have had wonderful opportunities to present my work throughout the world. I was a keynote speaker at the following conferences:

Conference on “The Social Differentiation of Trust and Social Capital,” Aalborg University, Denmark, June 6–9, 2009; Conference on “The Politics of Social Cohesion,” Centre for the Study of Equality and Multiculturalism (CESEM) at the University of Copenhagen, September 9–12, 2009; the 2009 Sweden Conference on Urban Policies and Social Capital, Lidköping and Gothenburg, September 24–6, 2009; the EURODIV 5th Conference “Dynamics of Diversity in the Globalisation Era,” Milan, Italy, October 22–3, 2009; the Inaugural Colloquium for Research Higher Degree Students, Griffith Institute for Social and Behavioural Research, Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia, November 11, 2010; the 2011 President Mauno Koivisto Lecture, Abo Akademi University, Turku, Finland, May 10, 2011; and the Asia Science Seminar, sponsored by the National Research Foundation of Korea and the Japan Society of Promotion of Science, Nihon University, Tokyo, Japan, September 16, 2011.

I also presented this work at:

The Diversity and Democratic Politics Workshop, Queens University, Kingston, Ontario, May 7–9, 2009; the Stockholm University Linnaeus Center for Integration Studies, March 16, 2010; the University of Oxford, April 13, 2010; the Conference on “‘People Like Us’: The Impact of Ethnic Concentration in Diverse Societies,” University of Manchester (UK), April 16, 2010; Chuo University, Tokyo, Japan, May 25, 2010; School of Politics and International Relations, Australian National University, Canberra, Australia, October 11, 2010; an informal seminar with faculty from the School of Law, the Department of Immigration and Citizenship, and the Office of the Prime Minister, Australian National University School of Law, October 20, 2010; University of Melbourne, School of Social and Political Sciences, November 1, 2010; Department of Environment and Human Geography, Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia, November 15, 2010; External Seminar at NATSEM (National Centre for Social and Economic Modeling), University of Canberra, Canberra, Australia, November 22, 2010; Cosmopolitan Civil Societies Research Centre, University of Technology Sydney, Sydney, Australia, November 17, 2010; Research School of Social Sciences, Philosophy Program, Australian National University, December 3, 2010; the Quality of Government Institute, University of Gotenborg (Sweden), January 24, 2011; Department of Political Science, Koc University (Istanbul, Turkey), February 22, 2011; Abo Akademi University (Turku, Finland), May 11, 2011; the European Consortium for Political Science General Conference (Reykjavik, Iceland), August 26, 2011; Workshop on Trust, Aarhus University (Denmark), October 27, 2011; Sabanci University (Istanbul, Turkey), January 4, 2012; and

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Workshop on Trust and Computational Models, University of Manchester (UK), January 18, 2012.

I am grateful to the many colleagues and new friends who commented on my work and were uniformly supportive. I presented an early version of my work at the American Politics Workshop at the Department of Government and Politics at my own university, the University of Maryland, on March 12, 2010. As usual, I got great feedback from my colleagues and graduate students. We never spare each other criticism, but we always do it in a supportive manner and we always remain good friends afterward. Masamichi Sasaki of Chuo University solicited a paper from the project and it was published as “Trust, Diversity, and Segregation in the United States and the United Kingdom,” *Comparative Sociology*, 10 (2011): 221–46. An expanded version appeared in Masamichi Sasaki and Robert M. Marsh, eds., *Trust: Comparative Perspectives*, Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill Publishers. Nils Holtug of Copenhagen Business School invited me to be a keynote speaker at a conference on “The Politics of Social Cohesion” at Copenhagen in September 2009 and invited me to publish a nontechnical summary of the paper in a special issue of *Ethnicities*; the paper, “Segregation, Trust, and Minorities,” appeared in volume 10 (2010): 415–34.

I have received strong support over the years from the Department of Government and Politics at the University of Maryland, College Park, especially from my department chair, Mark Lichbach. More recently, I have been fortunate to be Senior Research Fellow at the Center for American Law and Political Science at the Southwest University of Political Science and Law, Chongqing, China, since 2006, with strong support from President Zitang Fu as well as Secretary Zhan and Larry Li. Eric Crahan at Cambridge University Press has been very supportive as my editor in this and my previous book (and Lew Bateman was in my first book and continues to support me).

But the real support lies at home, where I am fortunate to have a son who is sometimes cynical, but always very bright and very humorous. After four years of a very demanding academic regimen at Colorado College, Avery better appreciates academic arguments and makes some strong ones himself. And I am more than fortunate to have in my life Debbie, my loving wife. She never doubted me or the worth of this project because she is a true generalized truster who always has contacts with people of different backgrounds.