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Ethnic diversity, public goods provision and social cohesion: Lessons from an inconclusive literature

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Lessons from an Inconclusive Literature

Discussion Paper

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Abstract

Over the last two decades there has been a growing debate on the supposedly negative relation between ethnic diversity, public goods production and social cohesion. Despite the amount of evidence, existing in-depth qualitative reviews conclude that the literature is inconclusive. Advancing upon their work, I conduct a quantitative review of over 480 empirical findings from 172 studies. Rather than seeing the huge literature as consisting of an incomparable mass of studies, I argue that the diversity of the literature allows us to analyse the robustness of the general association (does it hold for the comparison of Nepalese villages and European countries alike?) and the conditions under which it is more likely to appear. Accordingly, the review fine-tunes the conclusions we can draw from the existing evidence by noting that the debate has generally produced slightly more confirmatory than confuting evidence. But more importantly, this tendency for validating findings increases considerably under certain conditions: (1) inquiries from regions of the world with rather salient ethnic boundaries, (2) analysis of small-scale neighbourhood contexts and (3) a focus on trust related sentiments or public goods production as outcomes. A rather problematic result of the review is that discipline matters: In comparison to findings published in political science or sociology journals, a considerably larger percentage of findings that are published in economics journals are confirmatory. I conclude by suggesting that interdisciplinary work is necessary and should focus on the conditions under which ethnic diversity is a significant predictor of public goods production and social cohesion.

Keywords: Ethnic diversity, social cohesion, social capital, intergroup relations

Introduction

Over the last two decades there has been a growing debate on the supposedly negative relation between ethnic diversity, public goods production and social cohesion. Some economists claim that ethnic diversity is one of the reasons for stagnation and corruption in the developing world (Easterly & Levine, 1997), and that it explains why the US does not have a European-style welfare state (Alesina, Glaeser, & Sacerdote, 2001). Given increasing levels of ethnic diversity in Western countries because of immigration, this debate has seen growing attention among European scholars, spurred by the fear that the high levels of trust (e.g., Gundelach & Traunmüller, 2013), civic engagement (e.g., Vermeulen, Tillie, & van de Walle, 2012) and redistribution (e.g., Stichnoth, 2012) that characterize European countries might be at threat. With similar levels of concern, critics have warned that the debate obscures the much more important role of socio-economic deprivation (e.g., Twigg, Taylor, & Mohan, 2010) and generalizes research findings that are particular to the racial situation of the US or the ethnic configurations of developing countries (e.g., Sturgis, Brunton-Smith, Read, & Allum, 2011). Rather than analyzing a contemporary social problem, so the critics' apprehension, social scientists who problematize diversity unwillingly fuel populist agendas.

The contemporary empirical debate began to receive widespread attention beyond development economics only after a study by economists Alesina, Baqir and Easterly (1999), who showed that the proportion of tax money spent on education, trash disposal and welfare decline as racial diversity increases in US metropolitan areas. Such findings seem to be particularly relevant for European countries, which try to maintain high levels of welfare-state generosity while also facing growing ethnic diversification resulting from immigration. In line with such concerns, sociologist Eger (2010) provides evidence of less support for welfare-state generosity in ethnically diverse regions of Sweden, and political scientist Stichnoth (2012) shows similar evidence with regard to support for the unemployed in Germany. Burgoon (2012) offers evidence that conservative parties' actually meet the individual demands: where levels of immigration are high, the manifestos of conservative parties are less favourable of welfare generosity.

More recently scholars have started to investigate indicators of social cohesion such as civic engagement, levels of trust and generalized norms of reciprocity as mediating or intermediate factors helping to explain why ethnically diverse populations produce fewer public goods. According to this theoretical inclination, in ethnically divided populations the social radius within which people feel obliged to act reciprocally is smaller, probably narrowed to the people who fit the category of the own ethnic group. In return, people do not trust others to contribute to the general production of public goods that cross ethnic boundaries. Overall, this decline in social cohesion is seen as a decline in the potential for civic action and solidarity, and it is believed to result in lower levels of public goods provision. According to Putnam's (2007) influential study, trust in neighbours, generalized

trust, trust in people of other ethnicities, and even trust in people of one's own ethnicity are indeed lower in ethnically diverse populations. In such communities, he claims, people seem to 'hunker down', meaning that they withdraw from public social life. Newton (2007) hits the nail on its head, by calling the challenges associated with ethnic diversity the 'New Liberal Dilemma': while the key aim of liberal democracy is to accommodate diversity, that diversity seems to cause people to withdraw from engaging in public social life and thereby to erode the foundation of a well-functioning liberal democracy. Ethnic divisions seem to challenge the social foundations of liberal democracies, among them the willingness to engage, cooperate, share and deliberate.

There are multiple theoretical approaches to explaining why ethnically divided populations are less cohesive. The majority of studies refer to theories of cognitive biases against out-group members that might be triggered in ethnically diverse populations. With reference to feelings of group threat (Blalock, 1967) or in-group favouritism (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), ethnicity is regarded as a social division that causes conflict and anxieties and thereby reduces levels of social cohesion, just as Marx did in his treatment of the English working class' inability to uprise against capitalism:

> 'Every industrial and commercial center in England now possesses a working class divided into two hostile camps, English proletarians and Irish proletarians. The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker he regards himself as a member of the ruling nation and consequently he becomes a tool of the English aristocrats and capitalists against Ireland, thus strengthening their domination over himself. He cherishes religious, social, and national prejudices against the Irish worker. His attitude towards him is much the same as that of the "poor whites" to the Negroes in the former slave states of the U.S.A.. The Irishman pays him back with interest in his own money. He sees in the English worker both the accomplice and the stupid tool of the English rulers in Ireland. […] This antagonism is the secret of the impotence of the English working class, despite its organisation' (Marx, 1953 [1870]: 506).

Not all explanations refer to cognitive biases however. Network theory implies that if social relations are clustered along ethnic lines, then ethnic diversity might reduce the potential for social control (Habyarimana, Humphreys, Posner, & Weinstein, 2007; Miguel & Gugerty, 2005). Social choice theory suggests that different levels of public goods provision might be due to a variety of competing preferences resulting from ethnic diversity (Alesina & La Ferrara, 2000). Page expands this argument to the domain of social cohesion by arguing that diverse preferences are a 'potential for disagreement [that] may create incentives to misrepresent how we feel. We may try to manipulate process and agenda, creating distrust and dislike' (Page, 2008: 239). Finally, cultural theories highlight the coordination problems associated with a lack of shared language, meanings and

practices as an important aspect affecting social cohesion (Desmet, Ortuño-Ortín, & Wacziarg, 2012; Habyarimana et al., 2007).

However, this reasoning is not undisputed, even by political scientists and sociologists who are usually rather taken by Marx's thoughts. One reason for the dispute is that classical, well-established contact theory (Allport, 1954) is seen as predicting exactly the opposite: everyday experiences with people of other descent mitigate anxieties and prejudices and should thereby generalize the ways we trust in others to also encompass those who are not of our own kind (see, Uslaner, 2012). Accordingly, ethnic diversity should broaden the radius of trust and solidarity. Reflecting the lack of theoretical consensus, the numbers of empirical findings speaking in support of and against negative diversity effects nearly hold each other at bay according to recent, independent in-depth reviews of the field (Portes & Vickstrom, 2011; Stichnoth & Straeten, 2013). It is not at all clear why the debate has produced such mixed results. To some scholars this is evidence of the spurious nature of any findings on negative ethnic diversity effects (e.g., Portes & Vickstrom, 2011). Economists Stichnoth and Straeten (2013) on the other hand argue that a meta-analysis is needed to investigate under which conditions ethnic diversity affects public goods production and social cohesion. After all such knowledge would help to suggest policy interventions that might level any negative consequences. Complementing the existing in-depth reviews, I follow Stichnot and Straeten's (2013) suggestion and present a quantitative review of 480 empirical findings from 172 studies which provide evidence in favour or against the hypothesis that ethnic diversity erodes public goods provision and social cohesion.

Figure 1 shows the development of the literature on potentially negative consequences of ethnic diversity for public goods provision and social cohesion, as measured by civic engagement and trust-related sentiments.[1] The figure is based on 172 studies entailing 480 empirical findings, which provide evidence for or against the hypothesis that ethnic diversity erodes social cohesion. Both the overall numbers of articles, and the findings per year they entail, have been increasing steadily. From the early 1990s until the 2000s, economists set the stage for the debate. Early treatments on the matter originate either from development economics, and the question whether ethnic diversity is one of the causes for corruption and stagnation in the developing world (e.g., Easterly & Levine, 1997), or from political economics, and the question whether redistribution and other aspects of the public bundle depend on demographic characteristics such as ethnic heterogeneity (e.g., Cutler, Elmendorf, & Zeckhauser, 1993). Since the early to mid 2000s political scientists, and to a lesser extent also sociologists, have entered the de-

[1] In keeping with the focus on public goods provision and social cohesion, I do not review studies on the effect of ethnic diversity on civil war, prejudices, institutional trust or economic growth. I also do not review the literature on ethnic diversity at the workplace, since this debate has developed largely in isolation from the one that is the topic of this paper.

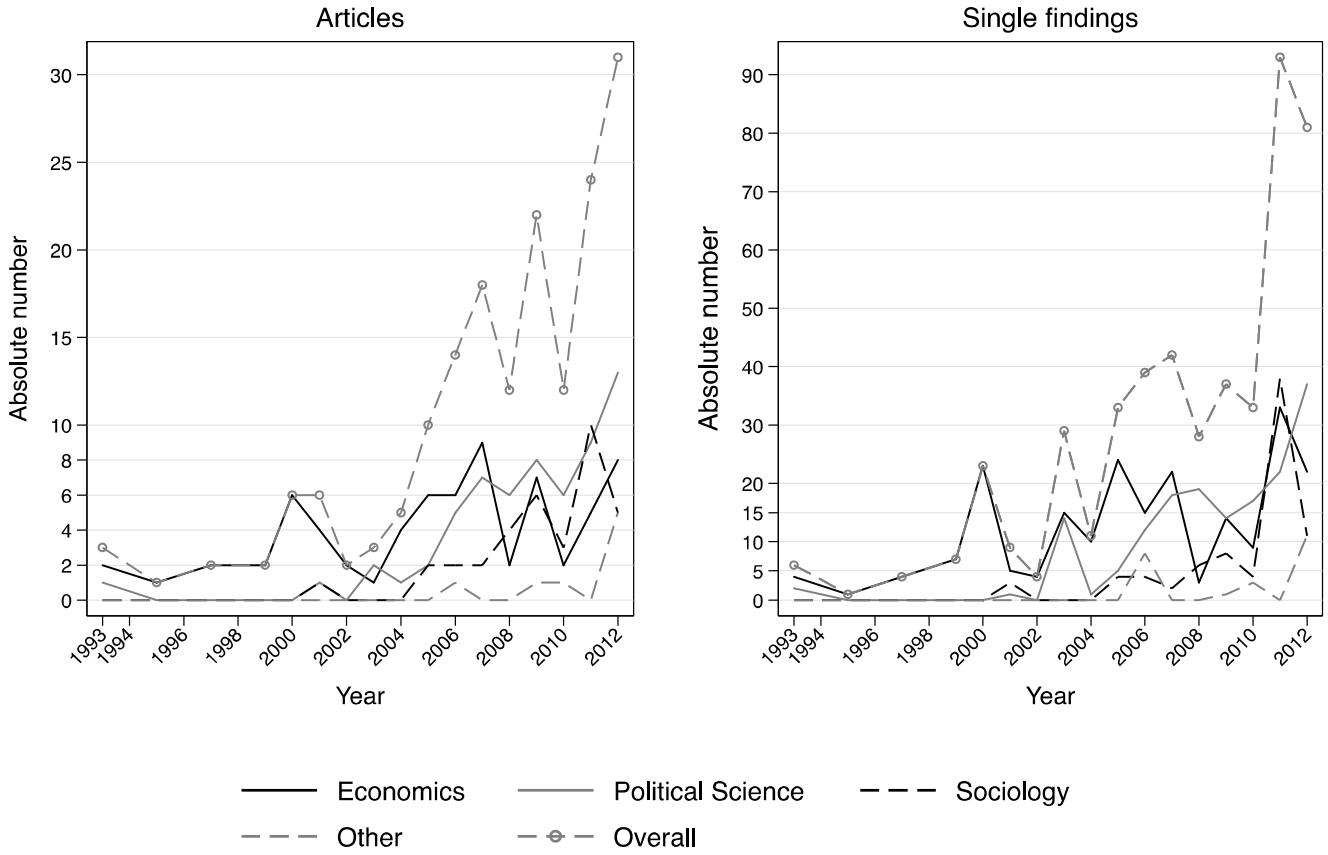
bate. Their participation parallels a shift from the focus on public goods provision: since the treatments of economists Alesina and La Ferrara (2000, 2002) and political scientist Putnam (2007), a growing number of studies also investigate how far measures of social cohesion, often termed social capital in the literature, are related to ethnic diversity. There are also studies by scholars from other disciplines such as anthropology (e.g., Ruttan, 2006) or biology (e.g., Koopmans & Rebers, 2009), but they contribute little to the overall number of articles or individual findings. Scholars of three disciplines that show a systematic interest in the topic: economics, political science, and sociology.

Yet despite the sheer amount of studies and empirical findings shown in Figure 1, it is difficult to judge the existing evidence. One of the reasons why the debate is so inconclusive is the heterogeneity in study designs with regard to the region of the world, to which the study refers, the type of ethnic diversity investigated, the level of analysis, and finally the specific collective action or social cohesion indicator analysed. Let me exemplify this point with a few concrete cases to then explain why a comparison of such a diverse literature is important.

Some studies engage in worldwide cross-national analyses, meaning they compare whether the level of corruption in heterogeneous countries like India is higher than in more homogeneous countries like Italy (e.g., Ahlerup & Hansson, 2011). They thus investigate country-level ethnic diversity. Other studies compare small-scale neighbourhoods to answer whether ethnic diversity is associated with lower levels of trust in neighbours (e.g., Bakker & Dekker, 2012, on neighbourhoods in Amsterdam). Such studies focus on neighbourhood-level ethnic diversity. Many studies are also situated on an intermediate level and focus, for example, on US states (e.g., Poterba, 1997) or metropolitan areas in Germany (e.g., Schaeffer, 2013). The differences between the levels of aggregation found in the literature are vast. These examples also show that some studies engage in worldwide comparisons, while others are situated in a specific region of the world, such as Europe or the USA.

Furthermore, the three examples just mentioned study rather different outcomes, suggesting that studies also vary with regard to the outcome variable that is actually investigated. The outcome variables can be classified according to the above-elaborated difference between collective action, trust-related sentiments and civic engagement. But even within these categories the concrete items used are highly diverse: if we consider only dependent variables that measure the amount and existence of public goods, for example, they range from latrines per pupil in Kenya (Miguel & Gugerty, 2005) to a comparison of infant mortality rates among 215 countries (Alesina, Devleeschauwer, Easterly, Kurlat, & Wacziarg, 2003).

Figure 1 Development of the literature on ethnic diversity, public goods production and social cohesion



Source: Compiled by the author, 480 empirical findings published in 172 assembled research papers on ethnic diversity effects, 1993-2012.

The findings also differ with respect to the type of ethnic diversity analysed. The worldwide comparisons, especially, tend to rely on Alesina et al.'s (2003) index of ethno-linguistic fractionalization (ELF), which focuses on what I call national ethnic groups. Their measure refers to ethnic groups that are part of a country's population traditionally and not because of recent immigration, such as the ethnic boundaries between Walloons and Flemings in Belgium or Hutu and Tutsi in Rwanda. Most studies from developing countries focus on the diversity of national ethnic groups. The European debate, in contrast, focuses on immigration-related diversity and, as can be imagined, the degree of Belgium's diversity depends on the type of diversity we study: are there two polarized national ethnic groups or is there a native majority and a diverse minority of immigrant origin? Further studies focus on religious, linguistic or racial diversity as further indicators of ethnic diversity. Rather than questioning whether these are all examples of ethnic diversity, recent theoretical thought on ethnicity supports the view that ethnicity has many different subtypes, some of them defined by linguistic and others by religious boundaries, so that 'subtypes of ethnicity can be distinguished depending on the type of markers that are used to substantiate the belief in shared culture and ancestry, most importantly ethnoreligious, ethnoregional, and ethnolinguistic categories and groups' (Wimmer, 2008: 973).

One might criticize that studies with such different designs are incomparable and that it thus comes at no surprise that the literature is inconclusive. But all studies have one thing in common: based on the same theoretical arguments they expect a measure of ethnic diversity to be negatively related to their particular outcome variable, which they regard as a measure of public goods provision or social cohesion. For sure, any relationship between diversity and public goods production or social cohesion must be fairly robust and generalizable in order to be reproducible for all these different levels of analysis, world-regions, types of collective action or social cohesion indicator and types of ethnic diversity. I do not see this as a critique, but regard exactly this point as one of my two motivations to carry out a quantitative review of this broad field that obviously is itself rather heterogeneous: following the idea of the good old most different systems design (Przeworski and Teune, 1970), it is interesting to see whether negative ethnic diversity effects are fundamental and can be generalized throughout different world regions, aggregation levels and so on, or whether they are highly contingent upon certain factors. In continuation, my second motivation is to investigate which these certain factors are, if negative ethnic diversity effects turn out to be unstable. The quantitative approach allows me to consider the whole set of findings rather than an exemplary sub-set, and to consider the above-mentioned differences in study composition. Is racial diversity a better predictor of social cohesion than immigration-related diversity? Or is this a faulty conclusion arising from world areas that have been studied – Europe for immigration-related diversity and the US for racial diversity? As I will detail below, the differences in study design unfortunately prevent me from conducting a proper meta-analysis. Instead, I conduct

a quantitative review that focuses on the simple presence or absence of significant associations. As such, my inquiry parallels van der Meer and Toslma's (2011) quantitative review. However, their review focuses on civic engagement and trust-related sentiments exclusively. This study complements their findings by also considering the literature on ethnic diversity and public goods provision and preferences for redistribution respectively, which constitute roughly half of the overall debate. And after all, it is the threat to public goods provision and hence to standards of life that lend the debate its relevance. Following a short discussion of key methodological assumptions, I present unadjusted and adjusted percentages[2] based on linear probability models.

Data and methods

Since a quantitative literature review is not a standard procedure, we need to clarify what it can achieve and what pitfalls it involves. A quantitative literature review allows us to summarize and analyse according to criteria of interest, a large number of published empirical findings, which would otherwise overtax human cognition. A further advantage is the opportunity to apply statistical methods that allow us to adjust results for the heterogeneity of other study characteristics. Since all the study criteria of interest discussed below are categorical, I use linear probability models (LPMs; for a discussion of LPMs see Angrist & Pischke, 2009: 49; Mood, 2010) to predict the percentages of confirmatory findings, adjusted for other relevant criteria. This has the great advantage of allowing us to inquire, for example, whether US studies are likely to provide more evidence, despite their tendency to focus on race rather than immigration-related diversity. I estimate linear probability models, because the comparison of categorical variables can be biased in non-linear models. But results that rely on logistic regressions do not suggest any alternative conclusions. Predictions based on logistic regressions are shown in Table A.5 in the appendix.

We should note, however, that regression adjustment is not unproblematic in this context, because there is no common support for the different study characteristics – meaning few European studies focus on racial diversity and not a single study from a developing country investigates the effect of immigration-related diversity. Hence, significant divergences of the adjusted results from the unadjusted ones should also be regarded with caution. Fortunately, standard tests do not suggest multicollinearity to be a strong problem: the mean VIF of the model with all covariates is 2.67. The predictor with the highest single VIF value, of 6.66, lies below the critical cut-off of VIF=10, and identifies findings that rely on worldwide comparisons. This is because most worldwide comparisons are mostly cross-national, but about a third (n=34) of all cross-national comparisons are not worldwide, such as Senik et al.'s (2009) comparison of European countries. All other VIF values are below the assurance threshold of five.

[2] I refrain from using the terms adjusted and unadjusted probabilities, because the term probability implies that the results can be generalized to future findings.

All reported standard errors acknowledge the clustering of findings within studies. In any case, the estimated cluster-robust standard errors should be interpreted with caution. While significance tests are computationally possible, they rely on two crucial assumptions that are most definitely violated: they assume equal reliability, validity and relevance, and they assume each finding to be an independent, randomly sampled observation.

According to the first assumption, each empirical finding should be equally reliable, valid and relevant. In principle, however, it is possible that confirmatory findings are on average less reliable than the confuting ones. Authors of confuting studies may have conducted more rigorous statistical tests with regard to the quality of data sets used, control variables accounted for, or statistical estimation method applied (see for example the debate between Dahlberg, Edmark, & Lundqvist, 2012; Nekby & Pettersson-Lidbom, 2012). Bias can also result from considering conditional support, meaning findings that involve an interaction effect and render ethnic diversity to be related to indicators of social cohesion only under certain conditions or only for certain populations, such as people who lack inter-ethnic friendships (Marshall and Stolle, 2004). Alternatively, confuting studies might tend to control for questionable post-treatment variables, such as classroom climate (e.g., Janmaat, 2012), satisfaction with ones social life and the way democracy works, or associational membership (e.g., Lupo, 2010), which could themselves be regarded as indicators rather than predictors of social cohesion. Similarly problematic are studies that attempt to test a couple of diversity measures against one another by adding them to the same statistical model simultaneously. Taken together with serious problems of multicollinearity, one has to wonder whether three insignificant findings and a single significant one are confuting evidence or simply indication of the superior explanatory power of one type of diversity over the others. Another validity problem concerns analyses of aggregate data. In their quantitative review, van der Meer and Tolsma exclude all aggregate analyses because ‘communities with a larger share of ethnic minorities will on average show lower levels of trust and participation and higher levels of informal contact, even when ethnic diversity is itself not the culprit’ (Van der Meer & Tolsma, 2011: 12).

While it is possible to code or even exclude studies according to their accuracy, such coding would of course demand expert knowledge. This also applies to relevance; some authors might investigate more relevant outcomes. But how do we judge the importance of conflicts over water in Tamil Nadu’s villages (Bardhan, 2000) against the percentage of taxes spent on crime prevention in the US (Hopkins, 2011)? We should not neglect to note that it is also of interest whether the hypothesis about a negative ethnic diversity effect survives empirical tests across space, time and outcome-the good old most different systems design (Przeworski & Teune, 1970). In my attempt to review the field, I refrain from any selection criteria other than the requirement that findings must be publicly accessible. Given that roughly 85 per cent of the findings reviewed here are published

in scientific journals, I assume that various anonymous peers are generally more reliable in deciding which research results are worth the public attention than my individual judgement. That said, I include variables identifying the presence of interaction effects or multiple diversity indices.

Coming to the second above-mentioned assumption, significance tests assume each empirical finding to be an independent, randomly sampled observation from a universe of empirical findings on the relation between ethnic diversity and social cohesion. It is certainly possible to account for the clustering of findings by study or data set, and thus to account for the partial non-independence of empirical findings. Still, a significance test treats each finding as one realization from a random distribution – just like tossing a coin. Yet, published empirical findings are not realizations of a random draw, but central parts of crafted articles that have survived the strenuous selection process of peer review. While peer review helps to ensure the reliability, validity and relevance of findings, there is also the known problem of publication bias towards statistically significant findings. Some scholars therefore suggest including conference or working papers and other publications in a review. I do include such works, but one should be cautious about work in progress that has not been published in a journal even years after its first appearance; there is probably a reason for this that should disqualify such studies' bias reducing function. If a working paper was later published in a journal, I consider only the published version of the paper. Below, a dummy variable identifies all publications that are not articles in peer-reviewed journal.

Both assumptions – that the empirical findings are first equally reliable, valid and relevant, and second randomly sampled – are highly questionable. Contemporary methods of meta-analysis are basically about substituting those two assumptions for a much larger set of more realistic ones, by incorporating for example standard errors, effect sizes and sample sizes of the studies reviewed (e.g., Hunter & Schmidt, 2004). However, in this case it is very unclear what the appropriate set of more realistic assumptions would be, given that some studies compare aggregate data on firewood collection from 18 villages in Nepal (Varughese & Ostrom, 2001), while others compare levels of generalized trust of thousands of respondents in 28 countries with logistic random intercept models (Gesthuizen, Van der Meer, & Scheepers, 2008). Again others analyse contributions in experimental public good games with diverse groups in Mangalore (Keuschnigg & Schikora, 2013). A proper meta-analysis opens up a vast contingent space of possibly more realistic assumptions about how to incorporate information on measurement reliability and sampling error, and would most certainly need to exclude many unsuitable findings. Against this background, I will rely on the two questionable, but at least comprehensive, assumptions. The quantitative literature can find patterns, but does not allow for testing whether these are generalizable throughout time and space. The tests of significance may give further confidence in the patterns that emerge, but should be treated cautiously.

The general pattern is mixed but not inconclusive

Before coming to the more refined results pertaining specific study designs, such as the type of diversity analysed, I here focus on the overall evidence for ethnic diversity effects. Existing reviews indicate that the overall evidence is inconclusive and, generally, the quantitative analysis confirms the inconclusiveness. It is even difficult to decide whether a study provides confirmatory or confuting evidence. Most studies investigate several indicators of social cohesion, and some even investigate different indicators of ethnic diversity such as ethnic and linguistic diversity. Frequently, this results in a situation where a single study encompasses a set of findings that suggest different conclusions, as when Gesthuizen et al. (2008) find generalized trust to suffer from ethnic diversity, but not levels of informal help, associational membership or five further indicators. It can hardly be said whether a study provides confuting or confirmatory evidence; in many cases it does both.

Table 1, which summarizes the results of my quantitative literature review, takes the majority of findings as a benchmark for the general conclusion of a paper.[3] We see that about 60% of the studies confirm a negative relationship between ethnic diversity, public goods provision and social cohesion. Both the binomial significance test and the cluster-robust standard errors of the linear probability model suggest this to be significantly more validating studies than confuting ones. To a smaller extent, this is also reflected on the level of individual findings. Roughly 56% of the findings argue the presence of an ethnic diversity effect, which is again significant according to both tests. But some of these confirmatory findings only provide conditional support: interaction effects render the association between ethnic diversity and social cohesion to be statistically significant only under certain conditions, such as high levels of democracy (Anderson & Paskeviciute, 2006) or a lack of inter-ethnic friendships (Marschall & Stolle, 2004). Without taking such conditional support into account, the percentage of validating findings decreases to 54% and is no longer significant; there are basically as many confirmatory as confuting findings. On the other hand, a couple of studies investigate several measures of ethnic diversity. But if one out of four measures of ethnic diversity is shown to be superior in explanatory power, should we judge 75% of the evidence provided by the study to generally speak against an ethnic diversity effect? Considering those studies that investigate a single diversity index only, suggests that roughly 57% of the findings are confirmatory, but the cluster-robust standard errors of the linear probability models do not give much confidence. Overall then, the debate has produced slightly more confirmatory than confuting evidence.

[3] Eleven papers entail similar numbers of validating and confuting findings so that I conservatively coded the overall study as confutation.

Table 1 Analysis of evidence in support of and against ethnic diversity effects

	Confutations		Validations		Binomial	LPM	
	n	%	n	%	Test	Adj. %	SE
Outcome	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Collective action	50	37.6	83	62.4	0.01	58.8	6.20
Public good	41	42.3	56	57.7	0.15	57.8	6.14
Support for welfare	7	38.9	11	61.1	0.48	69.3	15.15
Trust related sentiments	20	30.8	45	69.2	0.00	73.0	6.09
Generalized trust	30	51.7	28	48.3	0.90	52.0	6.82
Civic engagement	60	59.4	41	40.6	0.07	39.2	6.01
Diversity	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Racial	37	34.3	71	65.7	0.00	58.4	8.23
Religious	15	42.9	20	57.1	0.50	55.9	10.42
Linguistic	6	35.3	11	64.7	0.33	66.5	12.61
Ethnic (national)	64	41.6	90	58.4	0.04	60.7	6.47
Ethnic (immigrant)	86	54.4	72	45.6	0.30	48.4	5.86
Level	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Country	56	44.4	70	55.6	0.25	43.4	7.95
Region	75	45.5	90	54.5	0.28	57.7	5.49
Neighbourhood	61	43.9	78	56.1	0.17	62.5	5.11
Other	16	38.1	26	61.9	0.16	65.0	8.14
Region	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
USA	40	34.8	75	65.2	0.00	63.0	8.71
Aus, Can, Nzl	19	63.3	11	36.7	0.20	33.6	10.56
Europe	73	50.0	73	50.0	1.00	52.5	5.68
Developing Countries	42	47.7	46	52.3	0.75	42.0	10.51
Worldwide	34	36.6	59	63.4	0.01	72.9	10.44
Conditionality	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
No interactions	143	45.8	169	54.2	0.16	54.1	3.11
Includes interactions	65	40.6	95	59.4	0.02	59.4	5.93
Socioeconomic controls	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Not included	15	34.1	29	65.9	0.05	64.8	8.74
Included	193	45.1	235	54.9	0.05	55.0	2.90
Multiple Indices	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Only one index	161	43.5	209	56.5	0.01	56.8	3.23
Multiple indices	47	46.1	55	53.9	0.49	52.8	5.72
Publication	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Other publication	39	45.9	46	54.1	0.52	53.0	7.83
Journal article	169	43.7	218	56.3	0.01	56.6	2.94
Total Findings	208	44.1	264	55.9	0.01	55.9	2.96
Total Studies	66	39.1	103	60.9	0.01	60.9	3.76

Source: Compiled by the author, 480 empirical findings published in 172 assembled research papers on ethnic diversity effects, 1993-2012.

Note: LPM estimates are from linear probability models with cluster-robust standard errors. The underlying LPM regression estimates are shown in the appendix in Table A.3 with standard errors clustered by study, and Table A.4 with standard errors clustered by study and data set used.

Yet, from a more technical perspective, we come to a radically different conclusion: under the strict assumptions of statistical tests of significance, only five per cent of the studies should report a significant result if in reality there was no association between ethnic diversity and social cohesion. From this, arguably radical, perspective, there is clear support for negative diversity effects throughout the bench.

Leaning towards the initially presented, more conservative perspective, according to which there is only a tendency for more confirmatory results, critics might wonder about the tendency's robustness and social significance, given known problems of publication biases. But from a methodological point of view, it is hardly surprising that a debate in which studies frequently compare, for example, 40 fisheries (Ruttan, 2006) or 21 countries (Hooghe, Reeskens, Stolle, & Trappers, 2009) in a cross-section fail to report the standard levels of significance. Furthermore, the not-infrequent adjustment for post-treatment variables probably accounts for another pile of confuting findings. Consider, for example, the adjustment of diversity effects on trust for whether neighbours get along and share values, or whether the respondent feels treated as trustworthy (Uslaner, 2011). How does ethnic diversity affect trust if not by giving people the feeling that values are not shared, and by creating a situation in which people do not get along well or treat each other as trust- and respect-worthy citizens? Holding these variables constant, it is difficult to imagine how an increase in street robberies and murder could have an impact on trust. Finally, crude measurement, unobserved heterogeneity and sample selection bias are so prevalent in the social sciences that we should be equally concerned about the potential of not confirming a relationship that does exist (type II errors) as of finding one that does not exist (type I errors). From these arguments in defence of the small number tendency found, I conclude that rather than focussing on whether there is a negative relation between ethnic diversity and social cohesion that holds across time and space, we should inquire the moderating conditions in which such a relations becomes manifest.

Salience of ethnic boundaries, level of analysis, and outcome studied matter

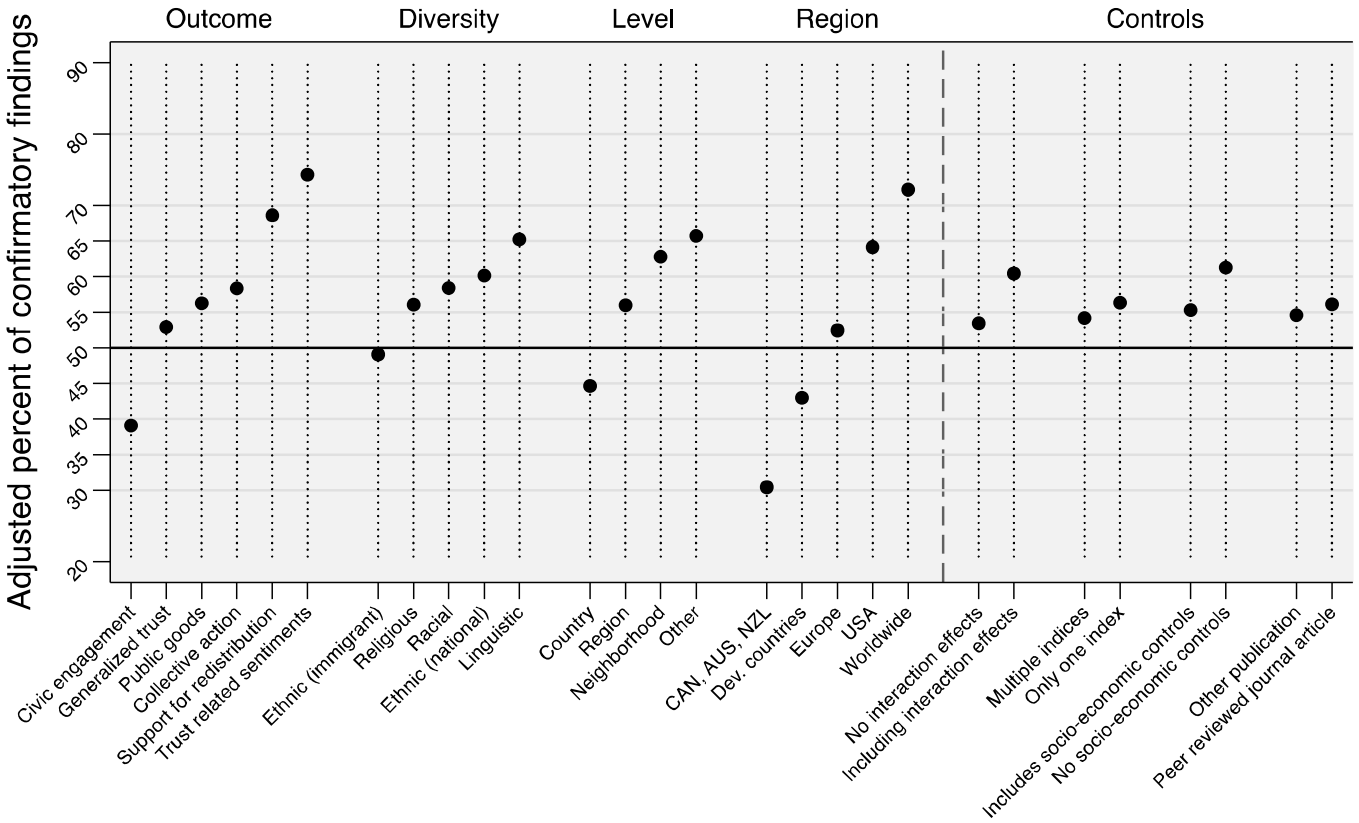
In addition to the general tendency, there are many claims that certain criteria of study designs correlate with the tendency to provide confirmatory evidence. In the following, I will discuss four study criteria: (1) the world-region a finding refers to (2) the type of ethnic diversity analysed, (3) the level of aggregation and finally (4) the type of dependent variables studied.

One of the central claims in the debate deals with world-regional specificities, here operationalized as findings referring to the world at large (worldwide), Europe, the USA, developing countries, or Canada, Australia and New Zealand. In particular, some scholars hold that 'the vast majority of extant empirical investigations are based on data collected in North America' (Sturgis et al., 2011: 53). This is a recurrent claim according to which the relation between diversity and social

cohesion is an example of US exceptionalism, with similar claims being made about the particular role of ethnicity in developing countries. Figure 2 presents in graph form the results of the linear probability model and thereby helps to find patterns. With 65% validating findings, there is indeed a tendency for US studies to provide more confirmatory results than those referring to any other region in the world. Adjustment for other study characteristics hardly alters the percentage of confirmations, but it inflates the standard errors beyond significance. The adjusted percentages of confirmations are particularly high and significant for findings relying on worldwide comparisons. However, the stark difference in findings from within a single region raises the question whether such international comparisons might be biased by unobserved heterogeneity. The claim that much of the evidence in favour of the existence of an ethnic diversity effect comes from developing countries, cannot be supported. In contrast to findings referring to Europe, the adjusted percentages reflect a lower tendency for ethnic diversity effects in the developing world. Only the classical immigration countries Australia, Canada and New Zealand provide fewer empirical validations. This tendency for few validations from developing countries further questions the validity of worldwide comparisons, which exploit the different levels of social cohesion and public goods provision between developing and developed countries. There are alternative ways to investigate the importance of study regions. Stichnoth and Straeten (2013), for example, suggest comparing findings from different welfare state regime-types or political systems. But a sizable number of studies are cross-national and involve countries with different welfare state regimes and political systems. This makes it impossible to attribute many findings to specific welfare state regimes or political systems.

Moreover, the regional differences imply that it is not welfare state regime-type or political system that are decisive, but rather the salience of ethnic boundaries. This becomes obvious as soon as we discuss regional differences with reference to the type of diversity under investigation. One reason that some scholars claim there is little supporting evidence from European countries, is that they regard immigration-related diversity as less salient than the ethnic cleavages between national minorities and majorities of developing countries or race relations in the US. This pattern does indeed show. It is only findings relying on immigration-related diversity that tend to be confuting rather than validating, whether adjusted for alternative study characteristics or not. Remarkable is the percentage of confirmatory findings with regard to linguistic diversity. The small number of findings (n=17) on linguistic diversity does not allow drawing any strong conclusion. Nevertheless, linguistic differences are arguable salient ethnic boundaries, because they are as easily noticeable in everyday life as the phenotypical differences of race. Alternatively, this might suggest coordination problems explaining diversity effects. Because it is only after adjustment that findings referring to developing countries tend to provide little validation, this suggests the salience of ethnic boundaries to be an important moderating condition. The USA is exceptional, if at all, only with respect to the degree that ethnic (in this case racial) boundaries matter.

Figure 2 Analysis of evidence in support of and against ethnic diversity effects



Source: Compiled by the author, 480 empirical findings published in 172 assembled research papers on ethnic diversity effects, 1993-2012.
Note: Estimates are from linear probability models with cluster-robust standard errors.

Another claim concerns the level of analysis. Theories about prejudices, in-group favouritism or inter-group contact, to which people frequently refer in the debate, are concerned with local-level coexistence, and they cannot necessarily be expected to yield explanatory power when countries are being compared. Country-level diversity, so the inclination suggests, is a poor proxy for diversity in everyday life. This concern is theoretically unjustified, at least with regard to theories of cognitive biases. Resembling Marx's initially mentioned reasoning, Bandiera and Levy (2011) for example argue that the governing elites become corrupt as diverse ethnic boundaries divide the poor in such ways that they do not mobilize or vote for their shared collective interest as the poor people anymore. This shows that cognitive biases predict people to have little interest in measures that level out differences between groups, whether these are national policies or neighbourhood endeavours. Other, less often explicated, theories of declining network density and the associated lack of social control in diverse settings are, however, specifically concerned with the local level. If the network-oriented explanation of diversity effects holds, we should find evidence particularly where local neighbourhood-level diversity is being investigated. After adjustment, at least, this is exactly what we see: Figure 2 shows that the adjusted percentages of confirmatory findings increase as the level of analysis decreases. Despite other contexts – most of which are either experimental conditions or school classes rather than levels of aggregation – most supporting evidence comes from studies that investigate diversity on the neighbourhood level, as identified by postal codes (in the Netherlands, see, e.g., Lancee & Dronkers, 2011), villages (e.g., Baland, Bardhan, Das, Mookherjee, & Sarkar, 2007) or any other contextual unit that is smaller than a whole city. This observation is supported by the confidence interval that does not encompass the 50% threshold. Analyses referring to the regional level, such as 'Raumordnungsregionen' or Kreise in Germany (e.g., Gundelach & Traunmüller, 2013; Koopmans, Dunkel, Schaeffer, & Veit, 2011), chiefdoms in Sierra Leone (e.g., Glennerster, Miguel, & Rothenberg, 2010) or any contextual unit that is smaller than a country but at least as large as a city, also provide more confirmatory evidence, but not significantly so. Alternatively to network mechanisms, however, one could also refer to the importance of actual perceptions of diversity, as Koopmans et al. (2011) explicate. Local-level diversity is, of course, experienced more directly than country-level diversity.

Finally, there are differences with regard to different types of dependent variables. In line with the outlined theoretical account, I principally differentiate between public goods provision, civic engagement and trust-related sentiments. I introduce a further distinction between direct instances of collective action, such as carpooling (e.g., Charles & Kline, 2006) or church spending (e.g., Hungerman, 2009), and the mere existence or quantity of public goods, as exemplified by the number of hospitals (e.g., Bandiera & Levy, 2011) or illiteracy as an indication of the quality of public education (e.g., Kuijs, 2000), because not all public goods stem from collective action. The number of latrines per pupil (e.g., Miguel &

Gugerty, 2005) might also be a function of international aid or due to donations by a single rich citizen. The quantity of public goods is a proxy, rather than a direct measurement of cooperation. I further distinguish generalized trust and support for redistribution from other trust-related sentiments, because the first of these, especially, has received a lot of attention throughout the social sciences, indicating a particular theoretical interest in this area.

Both the adjusted and the unadjusted percentages indicate that findings about trust-related sentiments tend to be confirmatory. This also holds for survey items that measure support for redistribution, a trust-related sentiment that is not bound to the neighbourhood but refers to the country level. The confidence interval is large, due to the small number of findings (n=18), but the adjusted percentage is similar to that of other trust-related sentiments. This speaks against van der Meer and Tolsma's (2011) conclusion that it is only neighbourhood social cohesion that is affected by ethnic diversity. To be sure, findings on generalized trust are much more ambiguous. But their inconclusiveness probably reflects the degree of abstractness and ambiguity of the survey item (Freitag & Bauer, 2013; Nannestad, 2008), rather than a substantive difference between generalized and more particular forms trust. Otherwise, it would be inexplicable that the percentage of confirmatory findings about support for redistribution, which by definition includes unknown strangers, is similar to that of confirmatory findings on trust-related sentiments.

The adjusted and unadjusted percentages of instances of collective action are smaller than those of trust-related sentiments, but with roughly 60% still positive. Even smaller is the percentage of validations of investigations about the existence and quantity of public goods, but they follow right behind with about 58%. If meaningful, this small difference probably reflects lower measurement quality. Overall, the standard errors are too large, however, to lay further confidence in the pattern. Finally, there are inquiries of civic engagement, such as associational membership or protest participation, and these tend to provide confuting evidence. This confirms van der Meer and Tolsma's (2011) conclusion in this larger sample of findings. As Koopmans et al. (2011) argue, one reason why civic engagement is hardly shown to be negatively related to ethnic diversity could be that some people actually start to mobilize and engage (maybe even across ethnic boundaries) in civic life, exactly because they are dissatisfied with the low levels of trust and solidarity in their community. Others argue that the social tensions associated with ethnic diversity cause people to engage in ethnic, nationalistic or other particularistic associations and withdraw from others (e.g., Soroka, Johnston, & Banting, 2005; Swaroop & Morenoff, 2006; Vermeulen et al., 2012).

The disciplinary divide

The characteristics discussed so far suggest a couple of patterns, under which ethnic diversity is more likely to be associated with public goods provision and social cohesion. More specifically, studies that provide evidence for a negative diversity

effects tend to have three important characteristics: (1) they were conducted in regions with comparatively salient ethnic boundaries such as race in the US (2) they focus on the neighbourhood level, and (3) they inquire ethnic diversity's association with trust-related sentiments or with collective action. There is an additional characteristic, which should not play a role at all from a theoretical point of view: the social science discipline to which the findings relate. And yet, as Table 2 shows, discipline matters. In comparison to findings published in political science journals[4], a considerably larger percentage of findings that are published in economics journals are confirmatory; 66% as compared to 44%. Findings from sociology and other disciplines fall between these two, with slightly more than 50%. One could argue that this is merely a function of other characteristics of the studies. Particularly with regard to the outcome variables studied, political scientists tend to have a stronger focus on civic engagement, which few studies show to be related to ethnic diversity. But the adjusted percentages are even more striking. Adjusting for other study characteristics, renders 72% of the findings in economics journals as validations in comparison to only 40% in political science journals, and, in contrast to the unadjusted percentages, this difference is significant. Moreover, the adjusted percentages of validating findings published in sociology and other journals are rather similar to those published in political science. Such stark differences, particularly in comparison to the above-discussed substantial criteria, are alarming.

Table 2 The disciplinary divide

	Confutations		Validations		Binomial	LPM	
	n	%	n	%	Test	Adjusted %	SE
Discipline	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Economics	72	33.8	141	66.2	0.00	72.5	4.12
Political Science	89	56.0	70	44.0	0.15	40.5	5.78
Sociology	36	46.8	41	53.2	0.65	45.2	6.51
Other	11	47.8	12	52.2	1.00	44.7	10.76

Source: Compiled by the author, 480 empirical findings published in 172 assembled research papers on ethnic diversity effects, 1993-2012.
Note: LPM estimates are from linear probability models with cluster-robust standard errors that control for the type of outcome variable, type of diversity investigated, level of analysis, region the study refers to, whether the finding was published in a peer-reviewed journal as well as inclusion of interaction effects, socio-economic controls and multiple indices. The underlying LPM regression estimates are shown in the appendix in Table A.3 with standard errors clustered by study, and Table A.4 with standard errors clustered by study and data set used.

Based on the quantitative review conducted here, I can only speculate about potential reasons. Given the well-established literature on the importance of ethnic diversity in explaining economic development, simply generalizing research on

[4] If a journal could not be clearly related to one discipline, such as the Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, I relied on the disciplinary affiliation of the first author.

ethnic diversity effects to other contexts, such as immigration in Europe, seems rather obvious to economists. Political scientists and sociologists, on the other hand, worry about the political implications of negative ethnic diversity effects. Accordingly, they frequently downplay diversity's role in comparison to socio-economic deprivation (e.g., Twigg et al., 2010). My impression is that the difference is driven by the usual publication bias in economics, coupled with strong motivations to falsify the hypothesis in political science and sociology. Wherever the differences stem from, the more important conclusion is the necessity of an interdisciplinary debate on theoretical arguments and, most importantly, on standards for convincing evidence.

The common lines of critique are questionable themselves

With these comments on the disciplinary divide, I do not want to downplay the methodological concerns put forward particularly by political scientists and sociologists. Critics' methodological concerns also question the results of the quantitative review presented here. While my quantitative review suggests that, overall, there seems to be evidence that ethnic diversity drives down public goods production and social cohesion under certain conditions for certain outcomes, critics still question whether this is caused by ethnic diversity at all. So what are those concerns? According to my reading, the common lines of critique are that any association could be explained first by composition effects (e.g., Uslaner, 2010) and second by selection biases (e.g., Twigg et al., 2010). Even though the results of my quantitative review itself are only a little telling in this regard, let me defend the results presented so far.

The first line of critique dwells upon the difference between compositional versus contextual effects. If we observe a difference in average trust levels between two populations A and B, this might be due to one of two reasons. Group A may be composed of people who tend to trust less, so that their average trust level is lower. This would be an example of a composition effect. Some people claim that the negative relationship between ethnic diversity and social cohesion is due to ethnic minorities tendencies to distrust – also called the trust-level effect. But if, for example, members of the majority trusted less because of the presence of minorities, this would be a context effect. A context effect differs from a composition effect, in that it takes interactions and interdependencies between the populations into account. Newton (2007) argues for a combination of compositional and context effect of ethnic diversity, because people tend not to trust those who do not trust. In any event, it would not render ethnic diversity effects as invalid if they turned out to be compositional: there cannot be a low-trusting ethnic minority in a homogeneous society. Compositional effects, as outlined above, might thus be one mechanism explaining lower levels of trust in ethnic diverse societies: ethnic diversity creates minority statuses and the associated disadvantages resulting in low levels of trust and less engagement. For many, however, the claim about the negative impact of ethnic diversity is contextual: the people's support for re-

distribution decreases with the level of diversity in their environment and not with the degree of their personal minority marginalization. The argument for a context effect is supported by the fact that the presence of ethnic diversity drives down trust and engagement levels, particularly of majority populations, who otherwise tend to have high levels of trust (e.g., Fieldhouse & Cutts, 2010; Lancee & Dronkers, 2011; Soroka et al., 2005).

The second line of critique on selection biases must be taken more seriously. First of all, ethnic diversity is usually accompanied by socio-economic deprivation, rendering unconditioned diversity effects to be spurious because of unobserved contextual heterogeneity (e.g., Twigg et al., 2010). Critics therefore argue that the existing evidence does not take the role of socio-economic deprivation into account properly, and that the importance of ethnic diversity is thus overstated. However, the vast majority of reviewed studies control for socio-economic deprivation in some way or another. Indeed, those findings that are not conditioned on socio-economic deprivation have a higher likelihood of being confirmative. But findings that are conditional on the socio-economic situation do not tend to be confuting either.

A more problematic version of the argument that diversity effects were spurious holds that better-situated people tend to move to other areas when the ethnic composition changes (e.g., Alesina & La Ferrara, 2002; Crowder, Hall, & Tolnay, 2011), leaving behind deprived, low-trusting and disengaged inhabitants. This critique about self-selection due to individual's diversity preferences is more problematic, because here diversity itself creates the bias. But since here the argument is that diversity causes the bias, this critique does not recognize the Tiebout process as one of the most fundamental ways in which diversity might affect social cohesion over time. In his seminal article, Tiebout (1956) argues for the importance of citizens' moving decisions in explaining local public goods expenditures. If people moved out or stayed away because of ethnic diversity, this should be regarded as one mechanism by which ethnic diversity affects public goods production and social cohesion. However, it is not at all evident that such a negative selection process is actually taking place. Algan, Hemét and Laitin (2011) claim the opposite: a positive selection process according to which increasing ethnic diversity might actually cause people who do not have high levels of general trust in strangers and who oppose ethnic mixing to move away, leaving behind those who enjoy an ethno-culturally diverse neighbourhood life. Their analysis utilizes the fact that people are randomly allocated in the French public housing sector. After confirming exogenous variation by means of simulations and other tests, they compare their results based on public housing to those of the private housing market where people self-select into housing tracts with more co-ethnics and higher average socio-economic status. They offer the surprising result 'that the naive estimator tends to downplay the true impact of fractionalisation on the overall opinion about housing conditions'. In short, Algan et al.'s (2011) results suggest that self-selection might bias results not in favour of but conservatively

against the hypothesis that ethnic fractionalization drives down social cohesion. The direction in which selection processes bias results on the relation between ethnic diversity and social cohesion is as disputable as the debate in general.

Conclusion

This article has elucidated the fragile nature of public goods provision and social cohesion. Social cohesion, which I have clarified to refer to levels of trust, trust-related sentiments and civic engagement, is a collective resource that helps groups to act collectively and produce goods that are in the interest of all. And yet the mutual dependence on trust and engagement makes social cohesion prone to contextual factors. One of these contextual factors might be ethnic diversity, for the anxieties and tensions that accompany ethnic divisions. The existing in-depth qualitative reviews of the literature on potentially negative consequences of ethnic diversity, by economists Stichnoth and Straeten (2013) and sociologists Portes and Vickstrom (2011), similarly conclude that 'the evidence is mixed at best' (Stichnoth & Straeten, 2013: 17). Building on their work, I have presented the results of a quantitative review of 480 empirical findings published in 172 articles. This review generally reconfirms the earlier observation on a decisively broader empirical basis, but also adjusts it by noting that the debate has produced slightly more confirmatory than confuting evidence. Under the common assumptions of statistical analyses, this tendency is significant. From the perspective of most different systems design, this result suggests that any negative diversity effects are contingent upon further factors rather than a fundamental association that generalizes throughout time and space. Under certain conditions – (1) inquiries from regions of the world with rather salient ethnic boundaries, (2) focusing on small-scale neighbourhood contexts and (3) trust-related sentiments or public goods production as outcomes – this tendency for validating findings is even higher, and confidence intervals do not entail the 'mixed at best' threshold of similar amounts of validating and confuting findings. Critics can convincingly argue that these few tendencies hardly amount to any clear-cut pattern. I argue, however, that they amount to at least three clear-cut lessons.

First, the alarming difference in the percentage of confirmatory findings between the disciplines of economics, political science and sociology demands for an interdisciplinary approach. It also suggests that the overall inconclusiveness of the debate is mostly the function of a missing consensus about appropriate methodological designs, ranging from the operationalization of diversity and affected outcomes, to suitable control variables in estimation procedures.

Second, a starting point for any future interdisciplinary debate should thus be to acknowledge that the overall mixed evidence, with a tendency toward confirmatory findings, does not question whether the relationship actually holds, but suggests that it depends on moderating conditions. Given the nature of ethnicity as a social identity that may be salient under some conditions and not under others, a somewhat large amount of confuting findings is hardly surprising. The larger per-

centages of validating findings originating from regions with salient ethnic boundaries further support this interpretation. Moreover, ethnic diversity on the local neighbourhood level probably makes a stronger impression than that it does on the national level, indicating that the tendency for confirmatory results of neighbourhood studies might be a function of salience too. Thus, the quantitative review speaks against any US exceptionalism, but points to the importance of conditions under which ethnicity becomes a relevant category in everyday life. As such, my review supports Stichnot and Raeten's (2011) claim that future research should pay special attention to interactions. Three examples of promising approaches are Selway and Bossuroy's (2011; 2011) inquiries of how alternative social identities potentially cut across ethnicity and thereby mitigate negative ethnic diversity effects, Alesina and Zhuravskaya's (2011) analysis of the moderating function of ethnic residential segregation, or recent studies highlighting the amplifying role of negative news media coverage (Hopkins, 2010; Schlueter & Davidov, 2011) and shocking events (Legewie, 2013). The latter studies focus on prejudices rather than social cohesion, but theoretically the mechanisms are generalizable to this debate.

Finally, in order to formulate hypotheses under which conditions ethnic diversity should negatively affect public goods production and social cohesion, we need to have a deeper understanding and empirical tests of the mechanisms that we believe to drive the association. If, for example, ethnic diversity was about communication and coordination problems, as Habyarimana et al. (2007) propose, we would not expect a strong ethnic diversity effect in countries where many immigrants tend to speak the native language, such as France. Other potential mechanisms include group threat and in-group favouritism, public choice problems because of diversely distributed preferences or lacks of social control in diverse communities. But these different mechanisms have hardly been tested against one another.

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Appendix A

Table A.3 Linear probability and logistic regression estimates with robust standard errors clustered by study

	Linear		Logistic	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Dependent variable, reference: Collective action	0	0	0	0
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Public good	-2.115	-7.430	-0.0968	-0.370
	(7.034)	(6.715)	(0.299)	(0.307)
Support for welfare	10.24	9.922	0.532	0.638
	(16.57)	(14.64)	(0.749)	(0.737)
Trust related sentiments	15.98	25.86**	0.795	1.308**
	(9.054)	(8.834)	(0.434)	(0.452)
Generalized trust	-5.458	4.075	-0.206	0.264
	(9.155)	(9.508)	(0.404)	(0.452)
Civic engagement	-19.28*	-8.461	-0.852*	-0.379
	(8.937)	(8.952)	(0.412)	(0.415)
Diversity, reference: racial	0	0	0	0
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Religious	-2.362	-2.928	-0.104	-0.183
	(14.21)	(14.51)	(0.630)	(0.663)
Linguistic	6.827	-2.651	0.312	-0.164
	(15.96)	(14.39)	(0.718)	(0.685)
Ethnic (native)	1.738	-5.610	0.0711	-0.311
	(11.94)	(11.89)	(0.549)	(0.560)
Ethnic (immigrant)	-9.339	-8.241	-0.433	-0.438
	(9.944)	(9.302)	(0.443)	(0.429)
Level, reference: country	0	0	0	0
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Region	11.32	8.723	0.494	0.365
	(10.34)	(9.155)	(0.475)	(0.441)
Neighbourhood	18.15	18.58	0.820	0.859
	(10.71)	(9.492)	(0.491)	(0.448)
Other	21.09	21.30	0.974	1.066
	(12.24)	(11.40)	(0.570)	(0.546)
Region, reference: USA	0	0	0	0
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Can, Aus, Nzl	-33.72**	-31.10**	-1.611**	-1.634**
	(11.28)	(9.748)	(0.576)	(0.534)
Europe	-11.68	-9.027	-0.555	-0.487
	(9.905)	(9.529)	(0.455)	(0.450)
Developing Countries	-21.16	-25.03	-0.951	-1.200
	(14.81)	(14.43)	(0.682)	(0.671)
Worldwide	8.058	8.036	0.326	0.321
	(16.15)	(15.14)	(0.745)	(0.725)
Conditional support, reference: No	0	0	0	0
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Includes interactions	7.010	9.593	0.330	0.479
	(6.848)	(5.786)	(0.313)	(0.270)
Socio-economic controls, reference: no	0	0	0	0
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Includes controls	-6.019	-8.139	-0.254	-0.364
	(9.451)	(8.364)	(0.430)	(0.408)
Multiple diversity indices, reference: no	0	0	0	0

	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Multiple indices	-2.130	-5.607	-0.108	-0.287
	(6.409)	(6.616)	(0.291)	(0.328)
Publication, reference: other	0	0	0	0
	(.)	(.)	(.)	(.)
Journal article	1.547	4.658	0.0622	0.216
	(8.239)	(8.123)	(0.352)	(0.364)
Discipline, reference: Economics		0		0
		(.)		(.)
Political science		-32.24***		-1.558***
		(7.857)		(0.377)
Sociology		-27.30**		-1.321**
		(8.798)		(0.417)
Other		-28.01*		-1.367*
		(11.71)		(0.538)
Constant	60.25***	75.41***	0.449	1.267
	(17.81)	(15.25)	(0.822)	(0.737)
Observations	480	480	480	480
AIC	5101.19	5082.56	648.58	629.25

Source: Compiled by the author, 480 empirical findings published in 172 assembled research papers on ethnic diversity effects, 1993-2012.
Note: Cluster-robust standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A.4 Linear probability and logistic regression estimates with two-way robust standard errors clustered by study and data set used

	Linear		Logistic	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Dependent variable, reference: collective action				
Public good	-2.115	-7.430	-0.0968	-0.370
	(7.308)	(6.994)	(0.310)	(0.324)
Support for welfare	10.24	9.922	0.532	0.638
	(14.24)	(13.18)	(0.627)	(0.625)
Trust related sentiments	15.98	25.86**	0.795	1.308**
	(9.465)	(9.086)	(0.455)	(0.462)
Generalized trust	-5.458	4.075	-0.206	0.264
	(9.457)	(9.704)	(0.420)	(0.467)
Civic engagement	-19.28*	-8.461	-0.852	-0.379
	(9.711)	(9.245)	(0.441)	(0.428)
Diversity, reference: racial				
Religious	-2.362	-2.928	-0.104	-0.183
	(13.56)	(13.58)	(0.601)	(0.621)
Linguistic	6.827	-2.651	0.312	-0.164
	(15.98)	(14.61)	(0.721)	(0.701)
Ethnic (native)	1.738	-5.610	0.0711	-0.311
	(12.37)	(12.40)	(0.571)	(0.587)
Ethnic (immigrant)	-9.339	-8.241	-0.433	-0.438
	(10.16)	(9.632)	(0.451)	(0.442)
Level, reference: country				
Region	11.32	8.723	0.494	0.365
	(10.18)	(9.013)	(0.475)	(0.438)
Neighbourhood	18.15	18.58*	0.820	0.859*
	(9.939)	(8.879)	(0.462)	(0.422)
Other	21.09	21.30	0.974	1.066
	(12.58)	(11.52)	(0.591)	(0.555)
Region, reference: USA				
Can, Aus, Nzl	-33.72**	-31.10**	-1.611**	-1.634**
	(12.03)	(10.18)	(0.606)	(0.544)
Europe	-11.68	-9.027	-0.555	-0.487
	(9.756)	(9.408)	(0.447)	(0.443)
Developing countries	-21.16	-25.03	-0.951	-1.200
	(14.65)	(14.14)	(0.679)	(0.653)
Worldwide	8.058	8.036	0.326	0.321
	(15.45)	(15.24)	(0.713)	(0.735)
Conditional support, reference: no				
Includes interactions	7.010	9.593	0.330	0.479
	(6.743)	(5.350)	(0.308)	(0.249)
Socio-economic controls, reference: no				
Includes controls	-6.019	-8.139	-0.254	-0.364
	(9.608)	(8.725)	(0.433)	(0.416)
Multiple indices	-2.130	-5.607	-0.108	-0.287
	(6.744)	(6.590)	(0.307)	(0.323)
Publication, reference: other				
Journal article	1.547	4.658	0.0622	0.216
	(8.629)	(8.364)	(0.368)	(0.376)
Discipline, reference: Economics				
Political science		-32.24***		-1.558***
		(7.461)		(0.343)
Sociology		-27.30**		-1.321***
		(8.461)		(0.395)

Other		-28.01*		-1.367*
		(13.93)		(0.642)
Constant	60.25**	75.41***	0.449	1.267
	(18.58)	(15.51)	(0.862)	(0.743)
Observations	480	480	480	480
AIC	5101.19	5082.56	648.58	629.25

Source: Compiled by the author, 480 empirical findings published in 172 assembled research papers on ethnic diversity effects, 1993-2012.

Note: Cluster-robust standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A.5 Analysis of evidence in support of and against ethnic diversity effects, predictions based on logistic regressions

	(1)	(2)
Collective action	0.581	
Public good	0.559	
Support for welfare	0.694	
Trust related sentiments	0.743	
Generalized trust	0.534	
Civic engagement	0.387	
Racial	0.584	
Religious	0.561	
Linguistic	0.652	
Ethnic (native)	0.600	
Ethnic (immigrant)	0.487	
Country	0.447	
Region	0.556	
Neighbourhood	0.625	
Other	0.656	
USA	0.643	
Can, Aus, Nzl	0.293	
Europe	0.520	
Developing Countries	0.431	
Worldwide	0.708	
No interactions	0.533	
Includes interactions	0.606	
No Socio-economic controls	0.608	
Includes controls	0.553	
Only one index	0.564	
Multiple indices	0.540	
Other publication	0.547	
Journal article	0.561	
Economics		0.717
Political science		0.398
Sociology		0.447
Other		0.438
Observations	480	480

Source: Compiled by the author, 480 empirical findings published in 172 assembled research papers on ethnic diversity effects, 1993-2012.

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