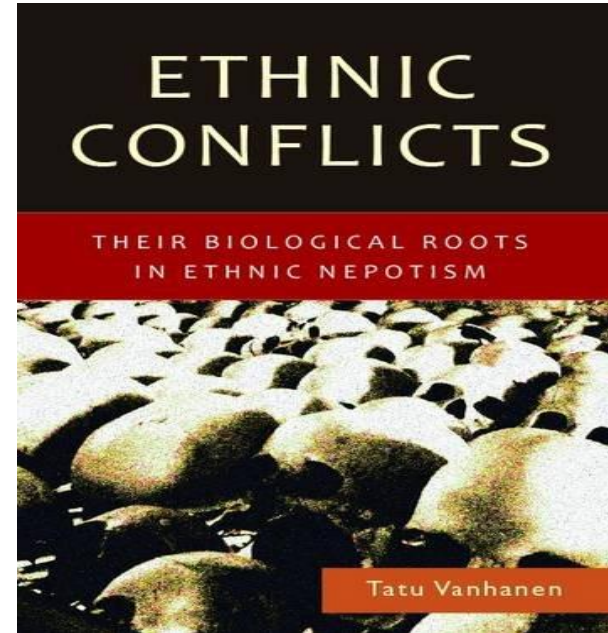


The Perils of Diversity: Revisiting Putnam and Vanhanen

John H. Bradford, Ph.D.

I. *Ethnic Conflicts*

- ***ETHNIC CONFLICTS - Their Biological Roots in Ethnic Nepotism***, by Tatu Vanhanen (2012)
- **HYPOTHESIS:** “*the more deeply a population is ethnically divided, the more interest conflicts become canalized along ethnic lines*” (p. 24-25)



Ethnicity & Ethnic Conflict

- **Ethnicity:** “the members of an ethnic group are, on the average, genetically more closely related to each other than to the members of other ethnic groups. This is a consequence of prevalent endogamous marriage patterns” (pg 6)
- **Ethnic Conflict (def):** “the concept of "ethnic conflict" covers a continuum of various interest conflicts between ethnic groups from more or less peaceful competition for scarce resources to ethnic demonstrations and violent conflicts in various forms.” (pg 6)

Ethnic Nepotism

- **Ethnic nepotism is an extended form of family nepotism because ethnic groups can be regarded as extended kin groups.**
 - The evolutionary interpretation of ethnicity and ethnic conflict has been traced to the sociobiological theory of **inclusive fitness or kin selection**. According to **William Hamilton's inclusive fitness theory**, it is **genetically rational to behave altruistically toward relatives because one shares more genes (shared heredity) with his/her relatives than with outsiders.**

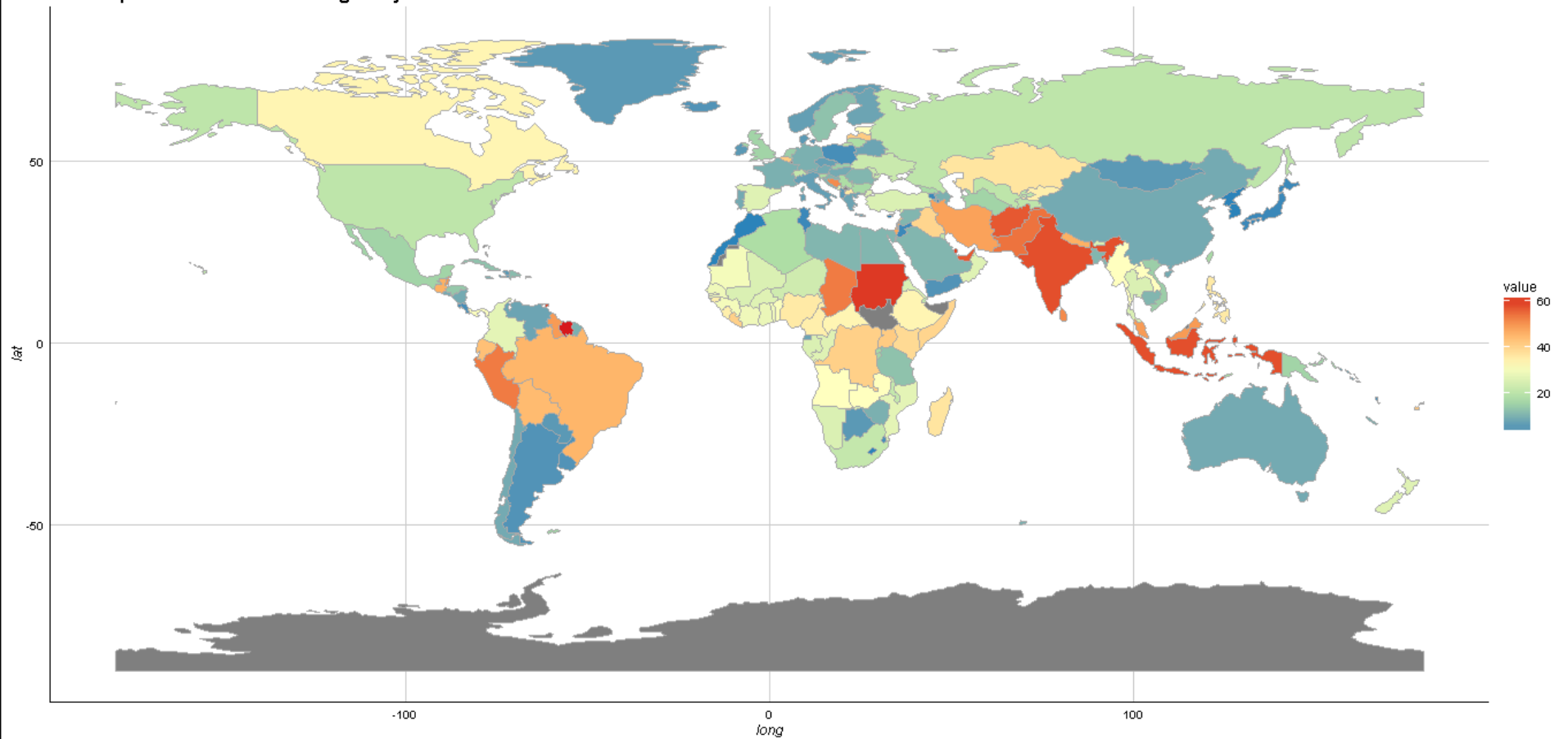
Ethnic Nepotism & Ethnic Conflict

- **“Ethnic nepotism does not explain the origin of conflicts,** but it explains why so many interest conflicts in human societies take place between ethnic groups. Briefly stated, the origin of all interest conflicts is in the inevitable struggle for scarce resources, **but ethnic nepotism explains why many of those conflicts become canalized along ethnic lines in ethnically heterogeneous societies.”**
 - **SCARCITY + ETHNIC DIVERSITY → ETHNIC CONFLICT**

Ethnic Heterogeneity (EH)

- *EH = 1 - % of largest ethnic group.*
- **How is the largest 'ethnic' group determined?**
 - “EH is based on the most significant racial, national, linguistic, tribal, or religious cleavage in a country.”
 - “... the measure is based in some cases on racial divisions and in some other cases on national, linguistic, tribal, or religious divisions.”

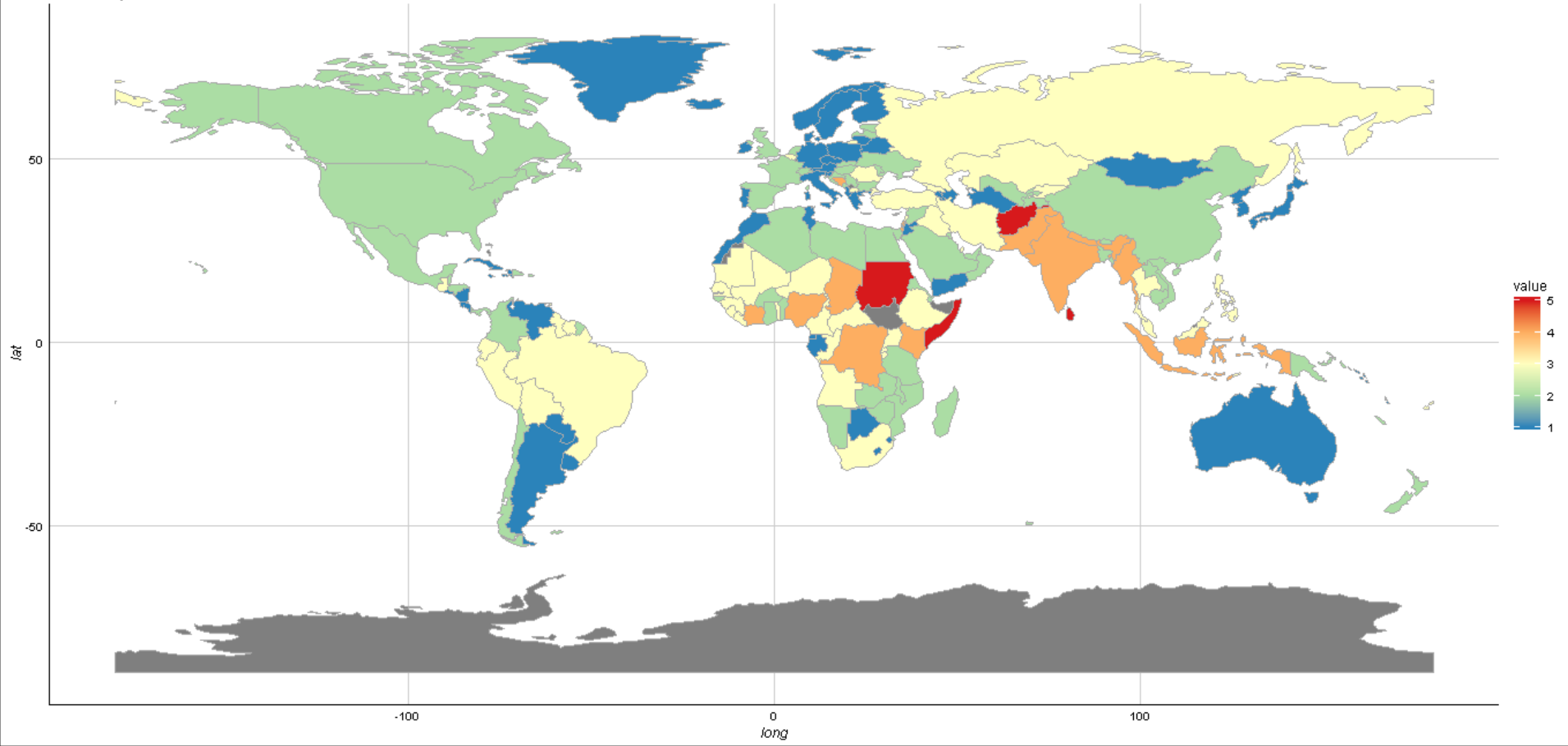
Heat Map of Global Ethnic Heterogeneity



Estimated Scale of Ethnic Conflicts (EEC)

- 1 = No information on ethnic violence, or only minor incidents at individual and local levels; only minor ethnic parties or interest organizations.
- 2 = Some significant ethnic violence at local level; significant political parties or interest groups organized along ethnic lines; institutionalized ethnic discrimination.
- 3 = Violent ethnic conflicts, or separatist strivings, in some parts of the country; important parties or interest groups organized along ethnic lines; serious discrimination of subjugated ethnic groups.
- 4 = Civil wars, ethnic rebellions, terrorism, or separatist wars in significant parts of the country; ethnic parties and/or interest groups dominate in politics; large ethnic groups are systematically discriminated and repressed, ethnic refugees.
- 5 = Violent ethnic conflicts and civil wars dominate in politics; ethnic cleansings, or genocides.

Heat Map of Global Ethnic Conflict



Bivariate Correlations with Ethnic Conflict

Table 3.3. Correlations between 11 explanatory variables and EEC in various groups of countries

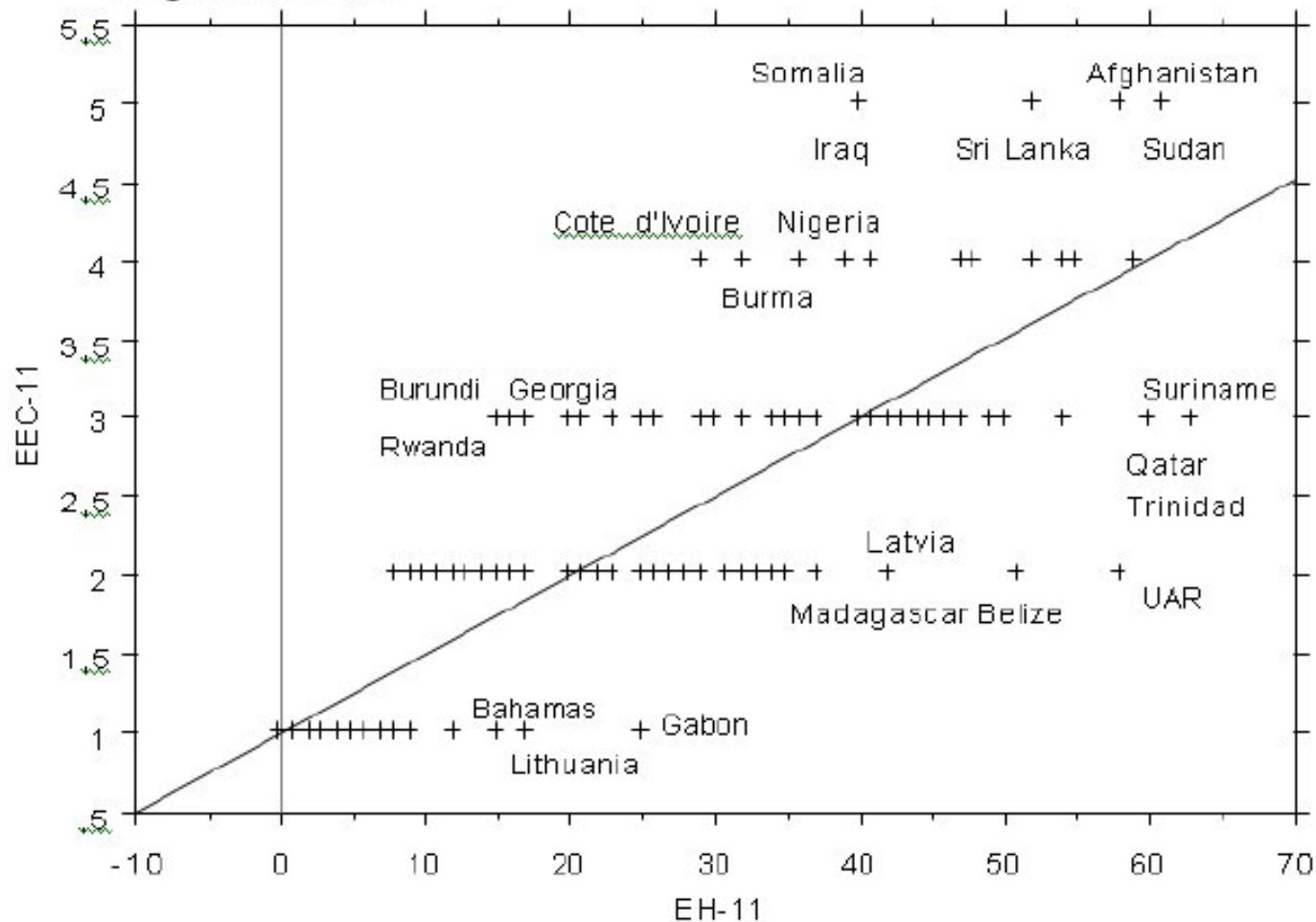
Explanatory variable	N	EEC
Level of ethnic heterogeneity (EH)	176	.812
Anckar's ethnic fragmentation	172	.526
Anckar's linguistic fragmentation	170	.465
Anckar's religious fragmentation	173	-.009
Alesina's ethnic fragmentation	171	.599
Alseina's linguistic fragmentation	165	.506
Alesina's religious fragmentation	173	.130
PPP/GNI per capita 2008	176	-.253
Human Development Index (HDI) 2010	176	-.395
Index of Democratization (ID) 2010	176	-.225
Freedom House Ratings (FH) 2010	176	.330

Multivariate Correlations with Ethnic Conflict

Table 3.4. The results of multiple correlation analyses in which EH and various combinations of other explanatory variables are used to explain variation in EEC in various groups of countries

Explanatory variables	N	EEC
EH and Anckar's ethnic and linguistic variables	169	.814
EH and Alesina's ethnic and language variables	165	.816
EH and Anckar's and Alesina's four variables	162	.822
EH and PPP/GNI-08	176	.833
EH and HDI-2010	176	.839
EH and ID-2010	176	.817
EH and FH-2010	176	.829
EH, PPP/GNI-08, HDI-2010, ID-2010 AND FH-2010	176	.850

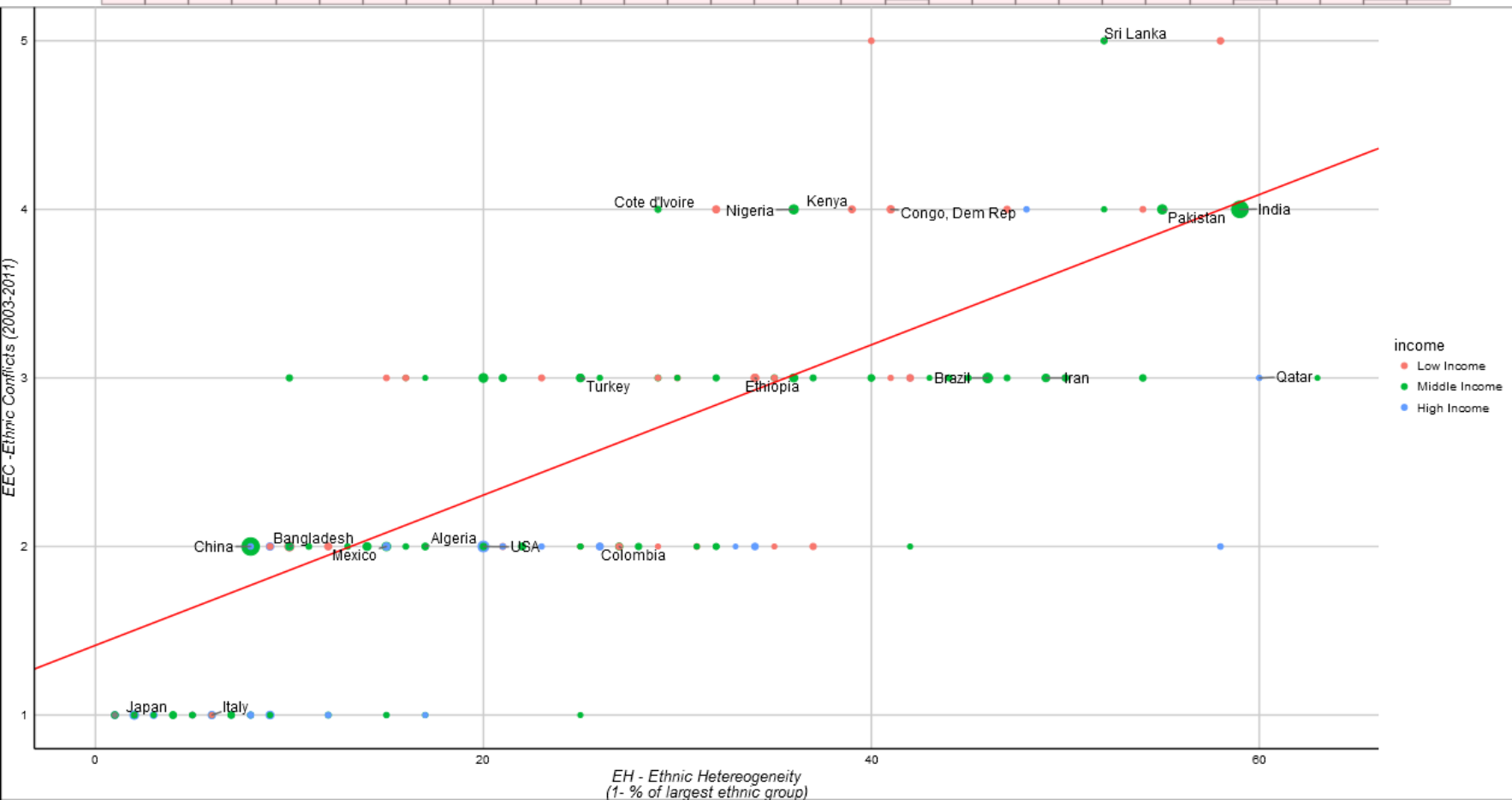
Regression Plot



$Y = 1,006 + .05 * X; R^2 = .659$

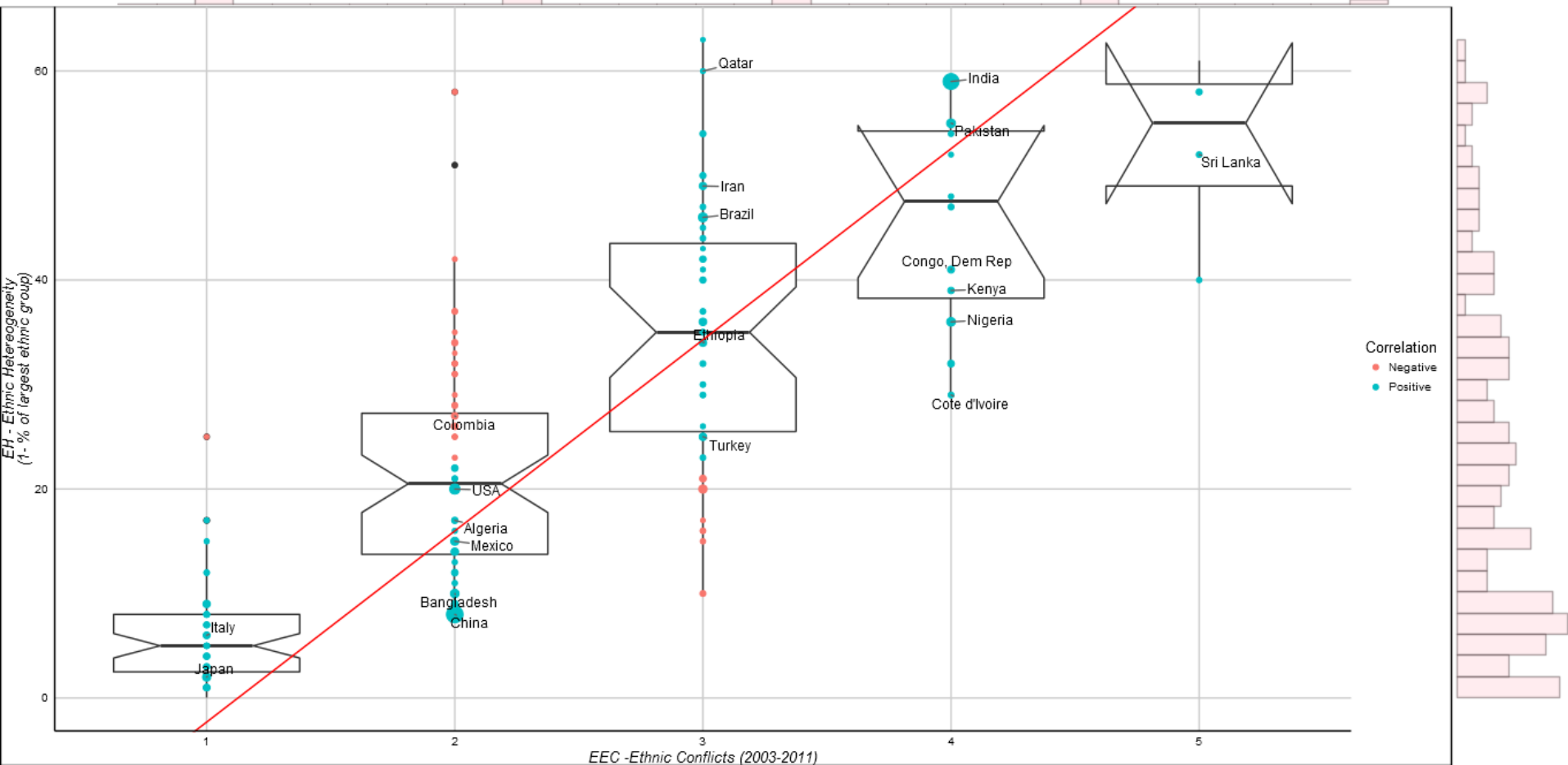
Ethnic Heterogeneity and Ethnic Conflicts

176 countries



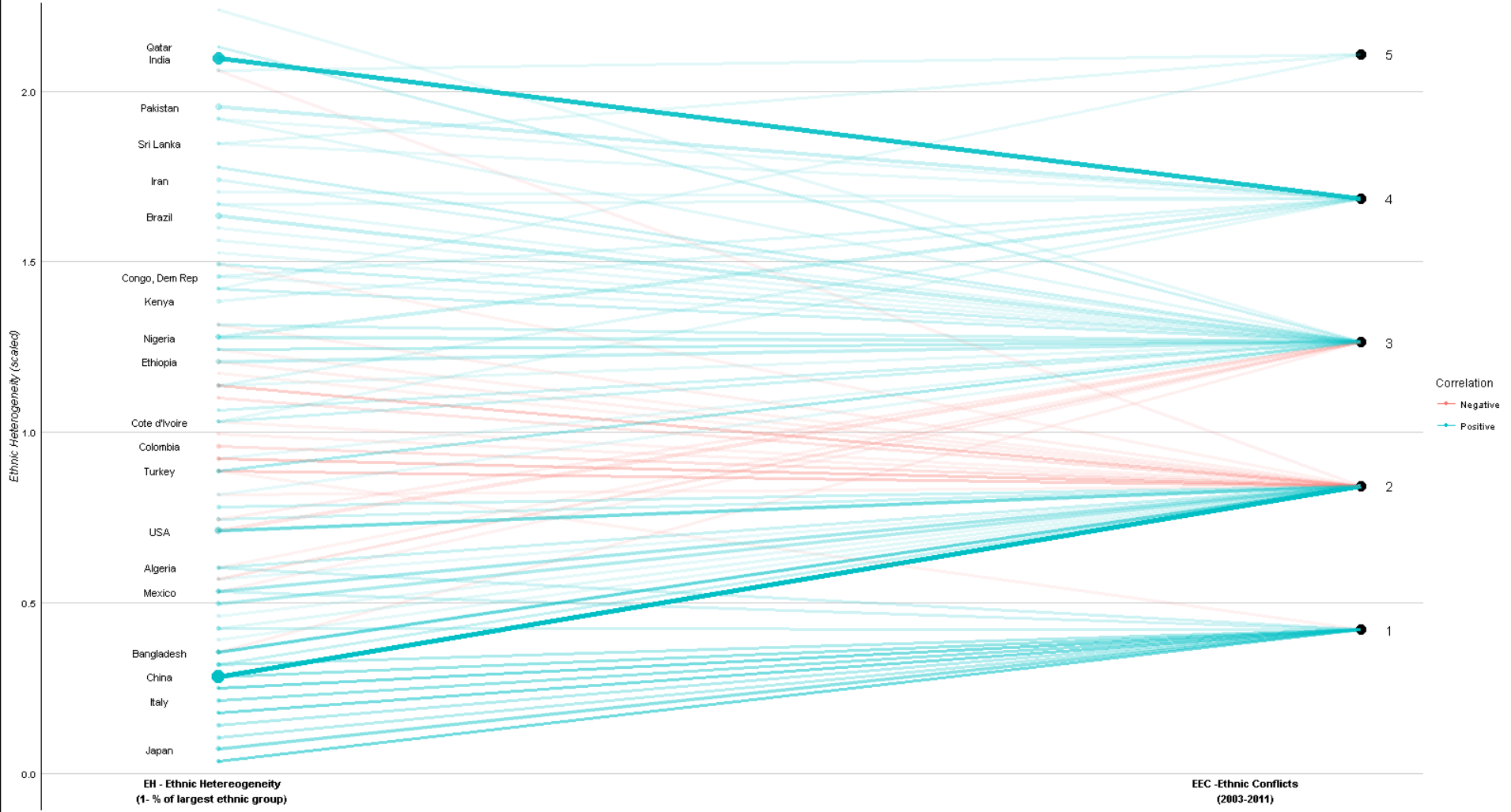
Distribution of Ethnic Heterogeneity by Level of Ethnic Conflict

176 countries

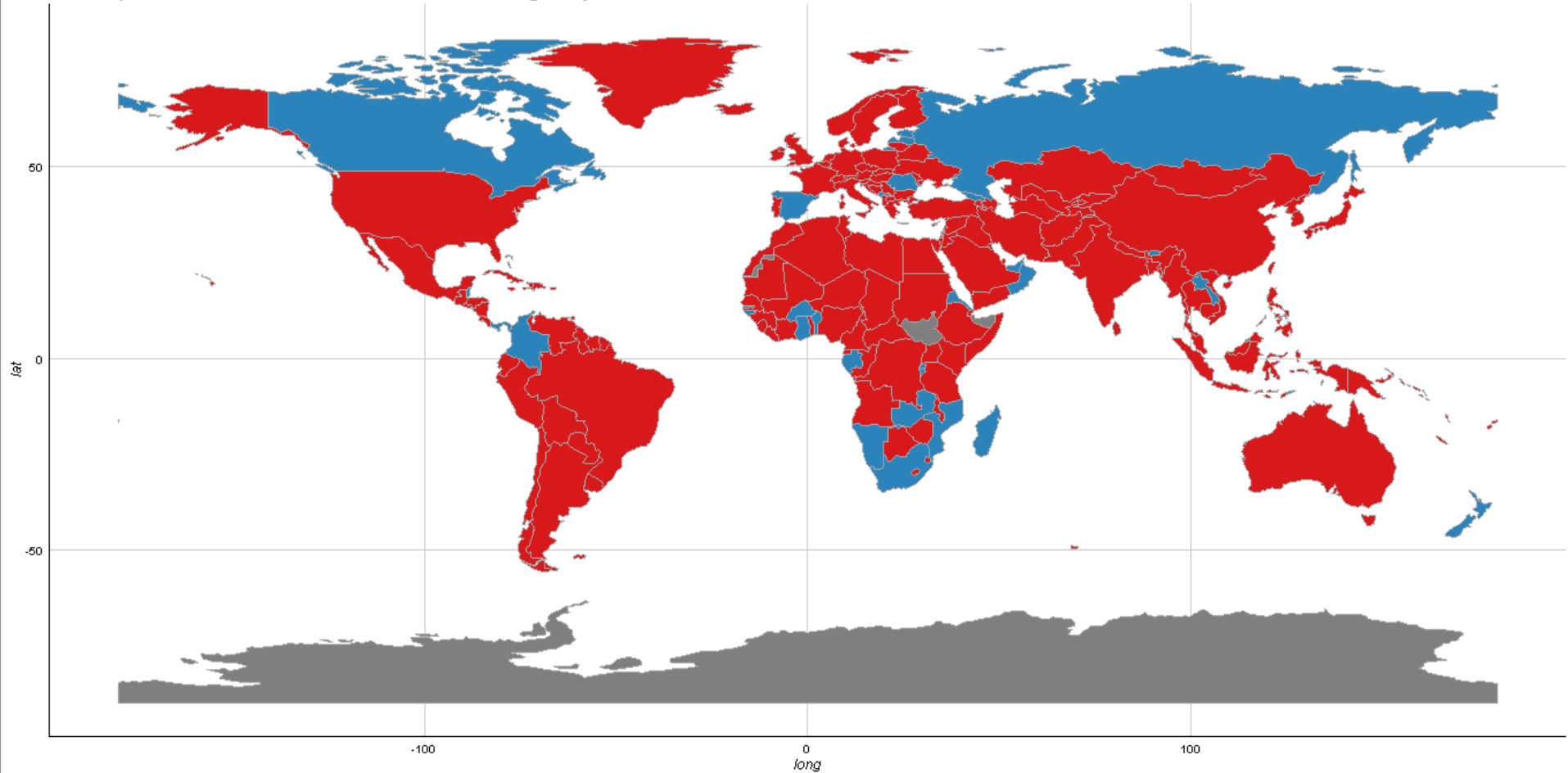


Ethnic Heterogeneity & Level of Ethnic Conflict

176 countries



Heat Map of Association Between Global Ethnic Heterogeneity and Ethnic Conflict



Weaknesses

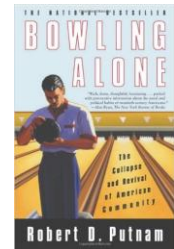
- 1. Validity – EH doesn't measure anything like 'genetic relatedness'.**
 - According to Vanhanen, the more distantly related two ethnicities are, the more intense their conflict should be, *ceteris paribus*.
- 2. Vanhanen doesn't rule out alternative explanations. Ethnic Nepotism isn't necessary to explain why conflicts often 'canalize' along ethnic lines.**
 - Even without ethnic nepotism, *social conflicts would still be coextensive with ethnicity because people tend to associate and mate with those to whom they are more closely related geographically and culturally.*

II. Ethnic Diversity and Social Capital

- **What is the relationship between ethnic diversity and trust in the United States?**
 - Data: Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey (2000), $n = 30,000$.



Robert Putnam



Contact vs. Conflict Theory

- **'contact hypothesis'** – Diversity → tolerance & solidarity; diminishing salience of group boundaries.
 - Only true when contact occurs under conditions of: mutual interdependence, common goals, equal status and power, informal settings
- **'conflict theory'** – Diversity → out-group distrust & in-group solidarity
 - Largely driven by contention over limited resources
- **BOTH ARE WRONG.** “Both conflict theory and contact theory share one assumption: that in-group trust and out-group trust are negatively correlated”

DIVERSITY → SOCIAL ISOLATION

- FINDINGS: “Diversity seems to trigger not in-group/out-group division, but anomie or social isolation. In colloquial language, people living in ethnically diverse settings appear to ‘hunker down’ – that is, to pull in like a turtle.”



hiding in shell in turtle leave ... by dooni_shirts

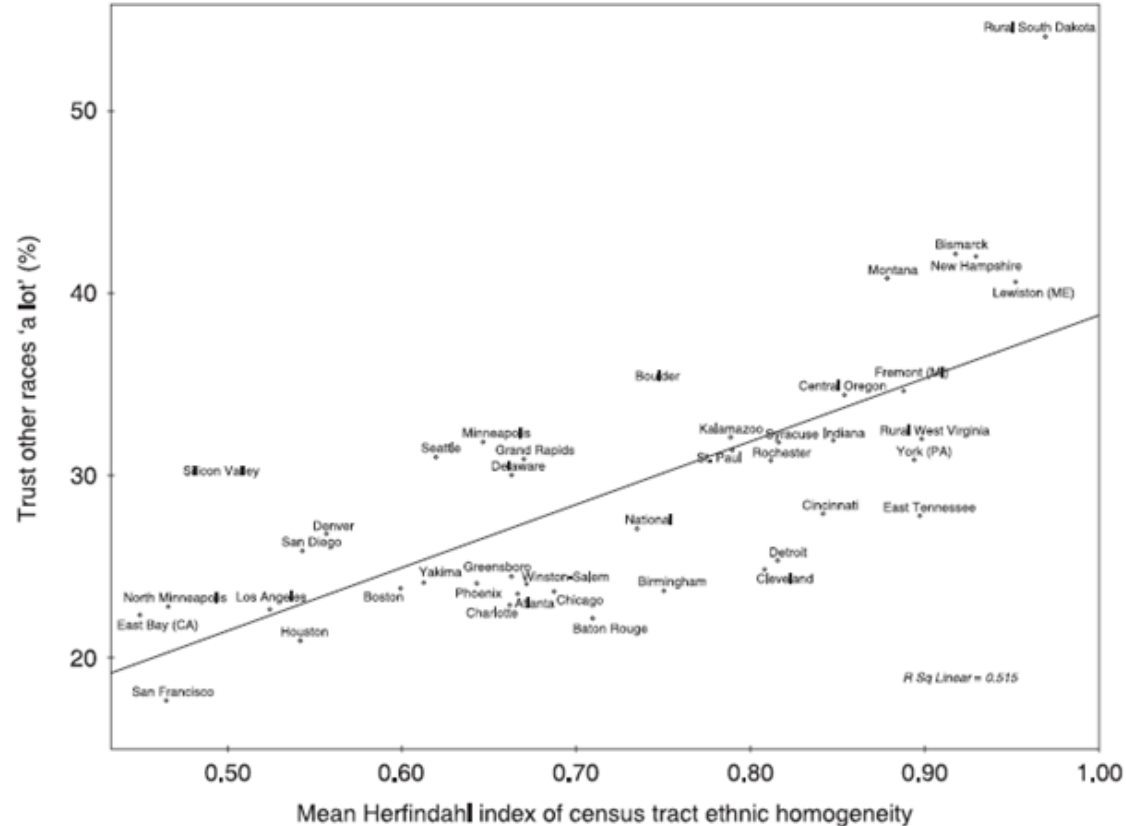
Figure 2. Social Capital Benchmark Survey Locations.



Inter-ethnic trust and ethnic homogeneity

Figure 3. Racial Homogeneity and Inter-racial Trust.

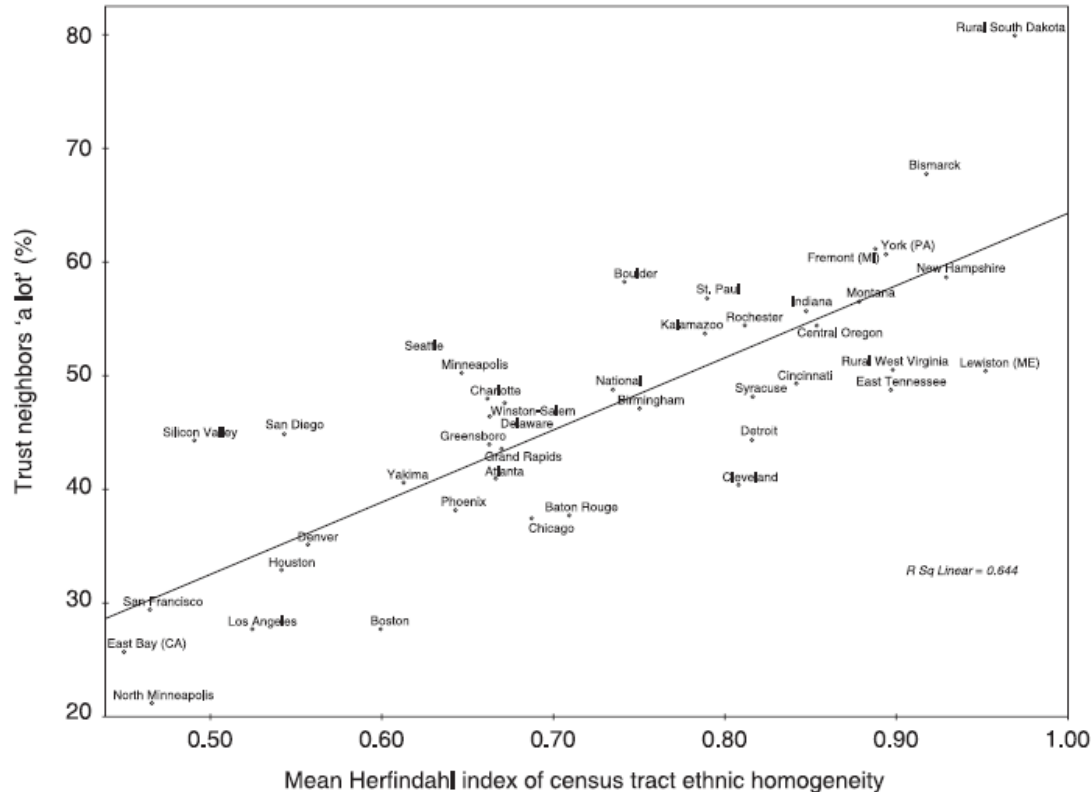
- “The more ethnically diverse the people we live around, **the less we trust them.**”
- **Survey Question:** ‘How much do you trust... [whites, blacks, Asian-Americans, Hispanics]; average of 3 other ethnicities.



Trust of neighbors and ethnic homogeneity

- “In more diverse communities, **people trust their neighbors less.**”
- **Survey Question:** ‘How much do you trust your neighbors’
 - Most neighborhoods are segregated; therefore measuring respondent’s own race.

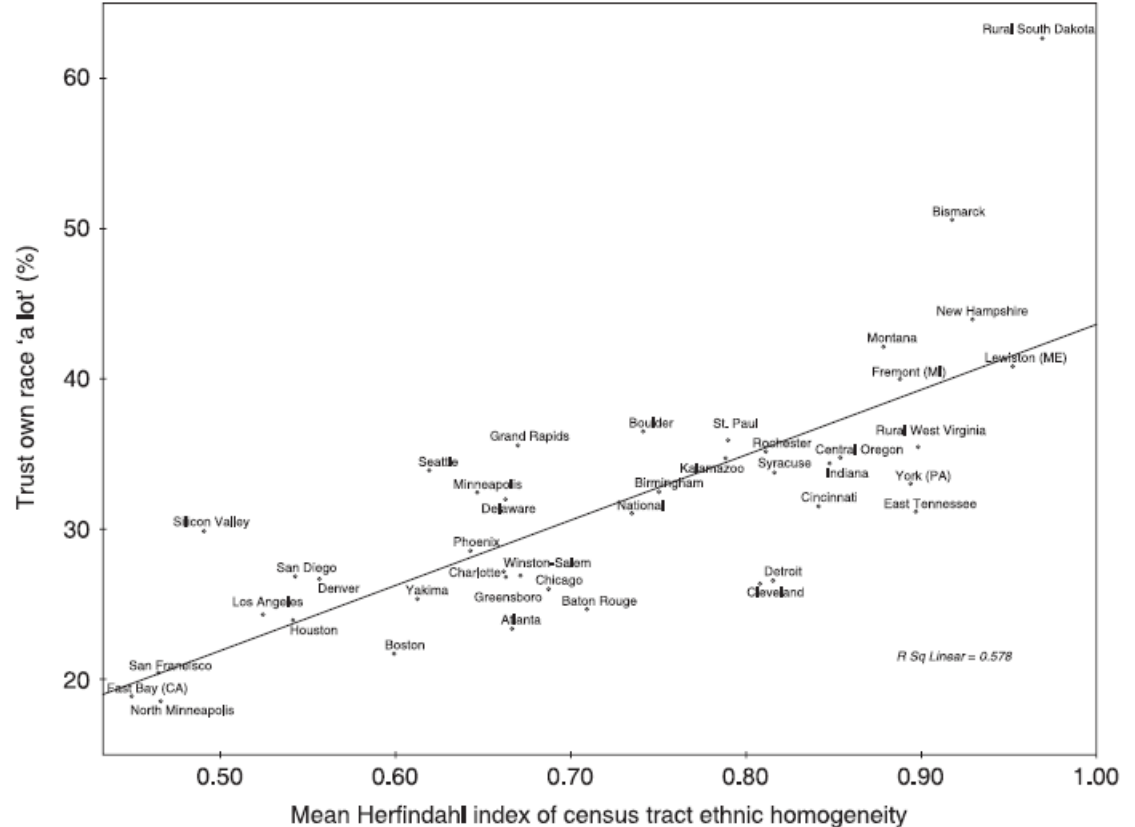
Figure 4. Racial Homogeneity and Trust of Neighbours.



Trust within the same race and ethnic homogeneity

Figure 5. Racial Homogeneity and Intra-racial Trust.

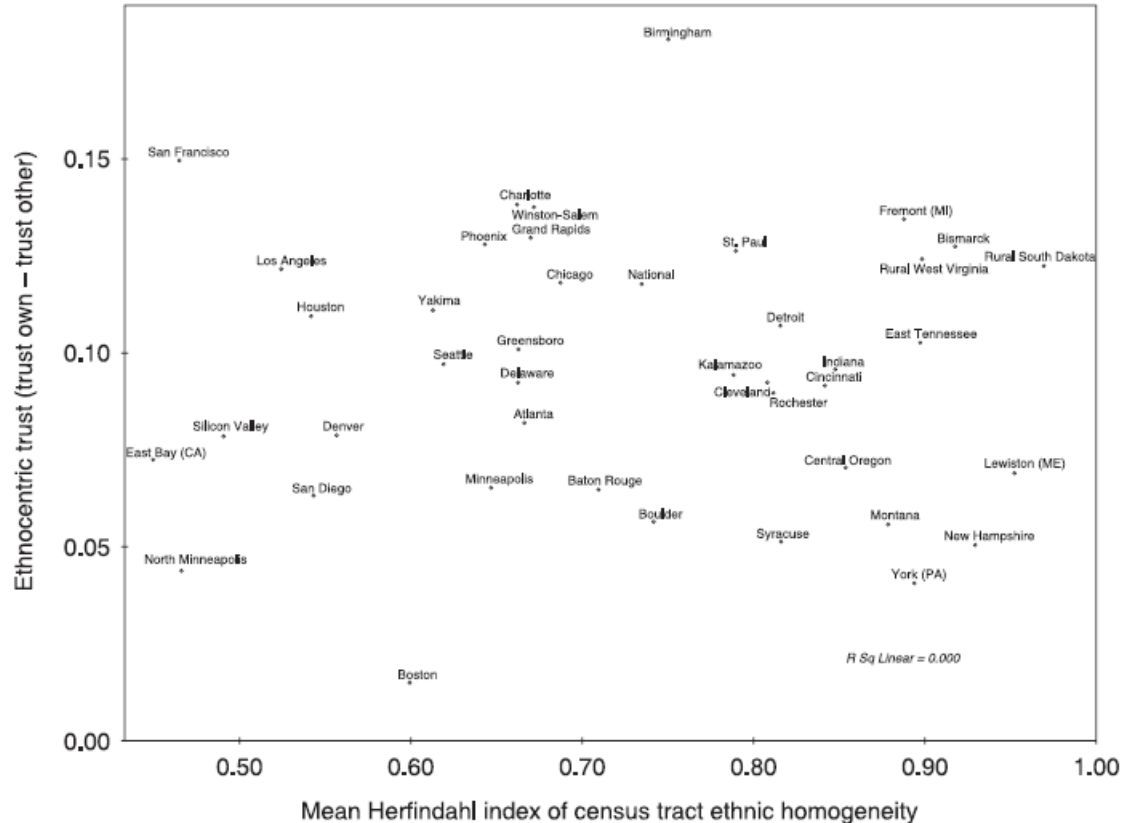
- In-group trust is lower in more diverse settings.



Ethnocentric trust and ethnic homogeneity

Figure 6. Racial Homogeneity and Ethnocentric Trust.

- **Ethnocentric trust** = trust in one's own race *minus* trust in other races.
- **Uncorrelated**
 - Suggests that *neither* conflict theory *nor* contact theory corresponds to social reality in contemporary America. (148)



Negative association
between ethnic diversity
and Trust holds net of
other factors...

Table 3. Predicting Trust in Neighbours from Individual and Contextual Variables

	B	S. E.	Beta	t	Sig.
(Constant)	0.79	0.11		7.0	0.0000
R's age	0.01	0.00	0.15	21.4	0.0000
R owns home (v. rent)	0.25	0.01	0.13	19.7	0.0000
R's education (years)	0.04	0.00	0.13	19.1	0.0000
R's ethnicity: black	-0.31	0.02	-0.12	-18.6	0.0000
Census tract poverty rate	-0.66	0.09	-0.08	-7.1	0.0000
R's satisfaction with current finances	0.10	0.01	0.08	12.4	0.0000
R's ethnicity: Latino	-0.24	0.02	-0.07	-9.8	0.0000
R's household income (\$100,000)	0.14	0.02	0.05	7.5	0.0000
County: Non-violent Crimes per Capita	-2.57	0.41	-0.05	-6.2	0.0000
Census tract Herfindahl Index of Ethnic Homogeneity	0.18	0.04	0.04	5.1	0.0000
Census Tract Population Density (100,000 per sq. mi)	-0.39	0.08	-0.04	-4.8	0.0000
Census Tract Percent Living Same Town as Five Years Earlier	-0.24	0.04	-0.04	-5.4	0.0000
R's decades in this community	.020	.004	0.04	5.3	0.0000
Census Tract Percent Renters	-0.14	0.04	-0.04	-3.5	0.0006
Census Tract Percent Bachelor's Degree	0.29	0.07	0.03	4.3	0.0000
R is Spanish-speaker	-0.13	0.03	-0.03	-4.1	0.0001
R is female	0.05	0.01	0.03	4.7	0.0000
Census Tract Gini Coefficient for Household Income	0.39	0.15	0.02	2.7	0.0069
Census Tract Average Commute Time (hours)	-0.21	-0.06	-0.02	-3.4	0.0006
R's ethnicity: Asian	-0.09	0.03	-0.02	-3.3	0.0011
Census Tract Percent United States Citizens	0.21	0.09	0.02	2.2	0.0264
County: Violent Crimes per Capita	6.59	3.35	0.02	2.0	0.0489
Census Tract Percent Over 65	0.21	0.10	0.01	2.1	0.0364
R is a citizen	0.06	0.03	0.01	2.1	0.0356
R's average monthly work hours	.002	.001	0.01	1.8	0.0732
R is resident of South	-0.02	0.02	-0.01	-1.2	0.2182
R is resident of Midwest	-0.02	0.02	-0.01	-1.0	0.3296
R is resident of West	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.8	0.4238
R's commuting time (hours)	-0.00	0.01	0.00	-0.2	0.8069

Notes: Question was 'How much can you trust people in your neighbourhood?' N = 23,260. Adj. R² = 0.26.

Other findings

Greater diversity also correlated with:

- lower confidence in local government...
- lower political efficacy (confidence in one's own influence)
- lower frequency of registering to vote
- less expectation that others will cooperate to solve dilemmas of collective action
- less likelihood of working on a community project
- lower likelihood of giving to charity
- fewer close friends
- less happiness
- lower perceived quality of life
- more time spend watching television

Conclusions

- “Diversity does not produce ‘bad race relations’ or ethnically-defined group hostility, our findings suggest. Rather, inhabitants of diverse communities tend to **withdraw from collective life, to distrust their neighbours, regardless of the colour of their skin, to withdraw even from close friends, to expect the worst from their community and its leaders**, to volunteer less, give less to charity and work on community projects less often, to register to vote less, ... and to huddle unhappily in front of the television.
- **“Diversity, at least in the short run, seems to bring out the turtle in all of us.”**