NEW EVIDENCE ON ETHNIC DIVERSITY AND SOCIAL CAPITAL IN INDONESIA

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Abstract
This study analyses the relationship between various measures of ethnic diversity and social capital in Indonesia, particularly trust and tolerance (towards other religions and towards other ethnic groups), using a nationally representative survey. Our main contribution is the inclusion of ethnic similarities in the construction of ethnic diversity variables. We find that all measures diversity is negatively associated with trust but is positively associated with tolerance. The use of instrumental variable regression method does not change the result.
Keywords: Ethnic diversity; Social capital; Trust; Tolerance; Indonesia.
JEL Classification: D19; O53; Z13.

Introduction

The association between social capital such as trust and ethnic diversity are not particularly clear. There are two conflicting theories that may explain the association. Conflict theory posits that prejudice emerge out of individual's biasedness towards their in-group and, therefore, they tend to have lesser trust towards out-group members. Meanwhile, contact theory suggests that frequent interaction among different group members may reduce prejudice and therefore increasing trust (Allport et al., 1954). Empirically, some studies show how the two seems to have a negative correlation. For example, in a cross-country study, trust was found to be lower in a society that are heterogenous (Alesina & La Ferrara, 2002). Whereas in another cross-country study, no robust relationship was found for these variables *per se* (Finseraas & Jakobsson, 2012), but when multidimensional social structure are introduced, the negative association emerges. Other variables are also found to be associated with trust, such as income inequality is negatively correlated with trust (Bjørnskov, 2008) and that females tend to trust more (Falk et al., 2018).

The literature is also not limited to cross-country but also within-country variations, including those in the context of developing countries such as Indonesia. With more than 700 local languages spoken by almost 300 million people, Indonesia is unique in terms of the large ethnic diversity and the socioeconomic implications of having such diversity. Previous studies have shown the conflicting effects of ethnic diversity on conflict: ethnic clustering has some positive correlations with local conflict (Barron et al., 2009), but different measures seem to give opposite effects on conflict (Bazzi et al., 2019). Meanwhile, Gaduh (2012) provides some evidence that trust (tolerance towards members of other religion) is negatively (positively) associated with religious heterogeneity. More recently, using individual-level data from the Indonesian Family Life Survey (IFLS), Mavridis (2015) shows ethnic diversity is negatively correlated with trust but is positively correlated with ethnic tolerance.

This study extends Mavridis (2015) in three regards. First, instead of using IFLS that only covers around half of total districts, we use data from a national survey to provide a better representation of Indonesia. Second, we weight ethnic diversity with ethnic similarities using objective measure from Ethnologue. This is important as there are gradations of ethnic differences: some ethnic groups are ethnolinguistically close to each other (e.g., Minang and Malay), while others are distant (e.g.,

Javanese and Dani in Papua). Third, we provide a causal identification using instrumental variable regression method.

Research Method

Social capital such as trust can be observed using survey or experiment. The latter is often used to establish causality using small sample (e.g., Chuah et al., 2013), and typically utilised trust/investment game (Berg et al., 1995). Most cross-country studies use survey method such as taken from the World Values Survey and from the Gallup World Poll, but national surveys are also very common such as the one we use in this study.

We use the 2009 National Socioeconomic Survey (Susenas) to measure trust and tolerance. The social capital module of the survey was not conducted every year and 2009 was the closest year to the 2010 census that provides the data for ethnic diversity. We also use the same survey to obtain individual and household characteristics used as controls in the regressions.

The Susenas survey asked 291,532 individuals whether they trusted their neighbours, village figures, government and village apparatus. Therefore, the survey reflects respondents' direct, particularised trust experience with their neighbourhood rather than generalised trust which measures respondent's belief over a stranger. We calculate the trust as the mean response to these questions. Similarly, the tolerance questions were also particularised, i.e., whether they content with having neighbour of different ethnicity or religion, and their opinion regarding a hypothetical plan of building a worship place of different religion in the neighbourhood.

We use two distributional measures, fractionalisation and polarisation, as proxies for ethnic diversity. Specifically, we use ethnolinguistic group as it is an appropriate proxy for ethnicity in Indonesia (Mancini, 2008) and it enables us to estimate linguistic similarities. Ethnolinguistic groupings were based on language spoken at home from the 2010 census (Minnesota Population Center, 2015), which was matched with linguistic similarities calculated from Ethnologue (Simons & Fennig, 2017). IPUMS-International sampled (geographically stratified and systematic) the original census data with an expansion factor of 10.

For each district, we calculate the Greenberg-Gini index (ethnolinguistic fractionalisation weighted by inter-group distance d_{mn}) (Esteban & Ray, 2011) as:

$$G = \sum_{m=1}^{N} \sum_{n=1}^{N} s_m s_n d_{mn}.$$

Here s_m and s_n are the share of group m and n, respectively. Thus, 0<G<1 and higher values correspond to a more divided society along different groups. G is weighted by linguistic distance d_{mn}, where $d_{mn} = 1 - (common/13)^{\delta}$. Here *common* is the number of common branches between groups m and n, while 13 is the maximum number of branches for Indonesia. Therefore, $(common/13)^{\delta}$ measures linguistic similarities. We use δ =0.05 as in Desmet (2009) (they found similar results when it was varied between 0.04 and 0.10). Also, Esteban et al. (2012) found the relatively flat pseudo-likelihoods for δ between 0.05 and 0.70. When d_{mn} is dropped, G becomes the

standard fractionalisation index *F* that measures the probability of two individuals coming from different groups.

Another important measure of cultural diversity is the polarisation index *P* that is also weighted by d_{mn} (Esteban & Ray, 2011):

$$P = \sum_{m=1}^{N} \sum_{n=1}^{N} s_m^2 s_n d_{mn}.$$

In addition to ethnic diversity, we also include religious fractionalisation (*RF*) as well that measures the probability of two random strangers having different religion.

We used simple ordinary least squares (OLS) models as the baseline which then relaxed by assuming the endogeneity of the ethnic diversity variables. In the OLS we separately regressed the three measures of social capital *sc* = {localised trust, tolerance towards ethnic outgroup members and tolerance towards religion outgroup members} using this specification (for individual *i* living in district *j*):

$$sc_{ij} = \beta diversity_j + \gamma X1_j + \theta X2_{ij} + \epsilon$$

where *diversity* is the four measures of ethnic and religious diversity (we run the regressions separately for these variables). $X1_j$ is a set of district-level controls that includes log population, log per capita GDP, urban dummy (=1 if more than half of the district population live in urban areas) and income inequality (percentage difference between the mean and the poorest 20% per capita household expenditure). Whereas $X2_{ij}$ is a set of individual/household characteristics which includes gender, age, squared of age, marital status, years of education, and household expenditure.

As usual we assumed the error term ϵ is uncorrelated with *sc* and the explanatory variables. But if that was not the case, the estimated parameters from the OLS would be biased and alternative identification is needed. Here, we used instrumental variable regression method where *sc* is instrumented by geographical variations: latitude/distance from equator, mean elevation and variance elevation (Ahlerup & Olsson, 2012; Michalopoulos, 2012). Due to the unavailability of the main data from these papers at subnational level, such as duration of human settlement and variations in land quality, we can only use these geographical variables as our instruments. We clustered the standard errors at district level and the parameters were estimated using generalised method of moments (GMM) since the error terms were found to be heteroscedastic following the Pagan and Hall (1983) test.

Result and Discussion

Table 1 summarises the variables used in this study. Although we have more than 290 thousand observations for some variables, but the actual number of observations that are used in the regression will be slightly lower.

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Table 1. Summary statistics

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Trust	291,240	3.769514	0.415244	1	5
Tolerance towards other religions	289,276	2.639638	0.732391	1	5
Tolerance towards other ethnic groups	286,222	3.203356	0.626467	1	5
Fractionalisation (*F*)	289,358	0.369451	0.262712	0.0047	0.8800
Polarisation (*P*)	289,358	0.022995	0.036173	0.0002	0.2433
Greenberg-Gini Index (*G*)	289,358	0.068338	0.102863	0.0005	0.6561
Religious Fractionalisation (*RF*)	289,358	0.161451	0.176444	0.0000	0.6995
Log Population	291,532	12.82605	1.020576	9.63	15.38
Log GRDP per capita	291,532	1.840117	0.719965	-1.02	5.07
Urban District	291,532	0.320963	0.466847	0	1
Years of Education	291,532	7.355759	4.260274	0	18
Single	291,532	0.060268	0.237983	0	1
Age	291,515	42.97709	14.41071	6	98

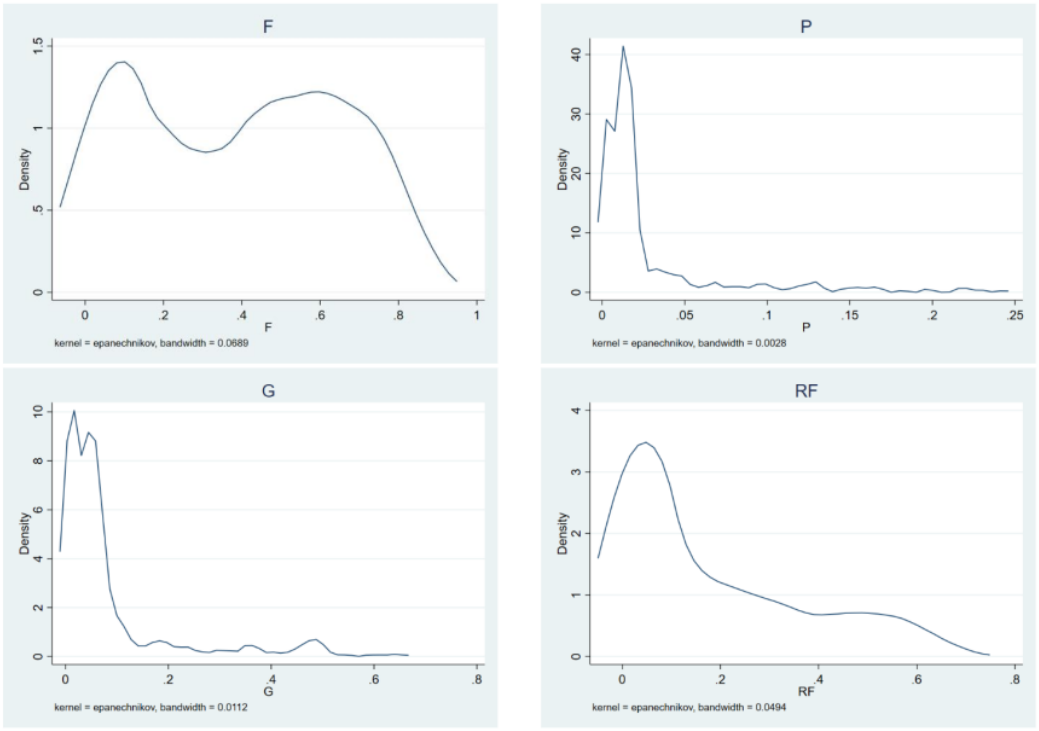

Figure 1. Densities of ethnic diversity variables

Meanwhile, a visual inspection on the scatterplots between ethnic diversity and trust (Figure 2), ethnic tolerance (Figure 3) and religious tolerance (Figure 4) suggests different patterns that emerged. Trust tends to be negatively correlated with ethnic diversity, but the opposite seems to happen for both ethnic and religious tolerances. Some outlier districts (Dogiyai in Figure 2 and Puncak in Figure 4; both are in Papua) are removed, but even if they are included the results remain the same.

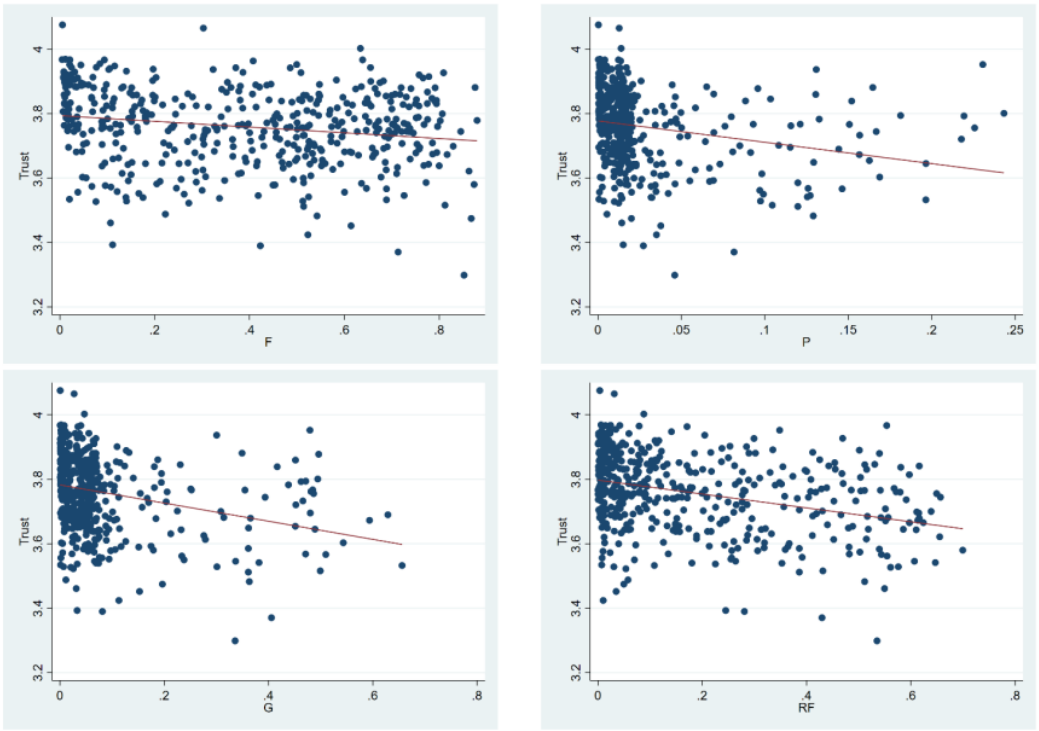

Figure 2. Trust and ethnic diversity

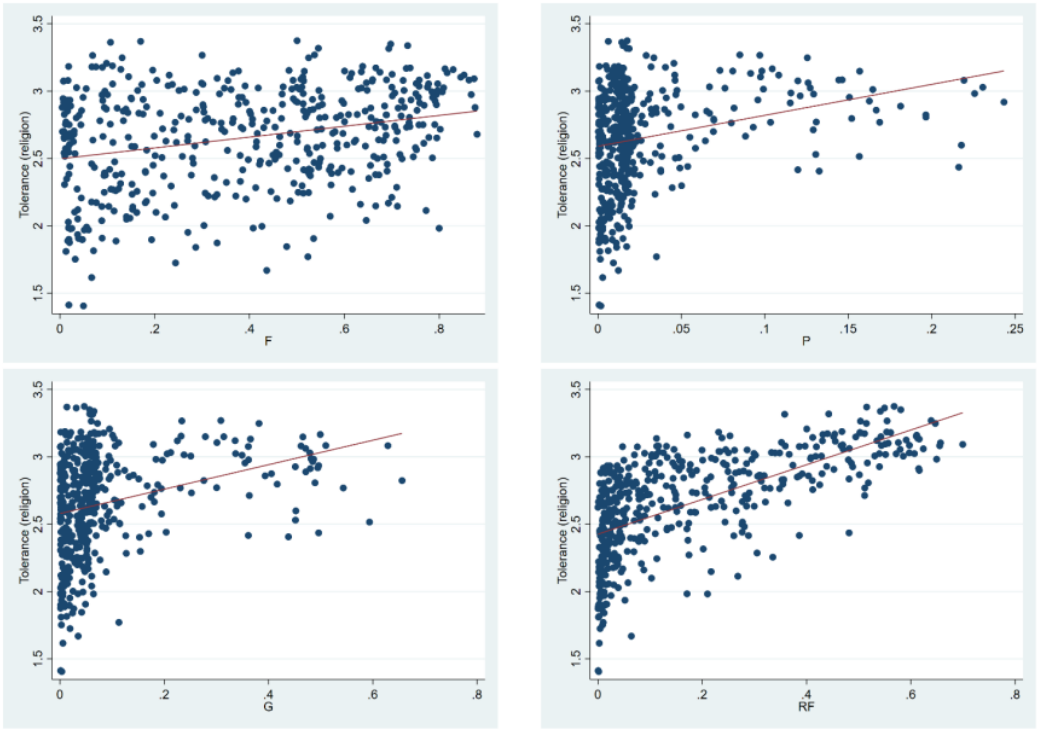

Figure 3. Religious tolerance and ethnic diversity

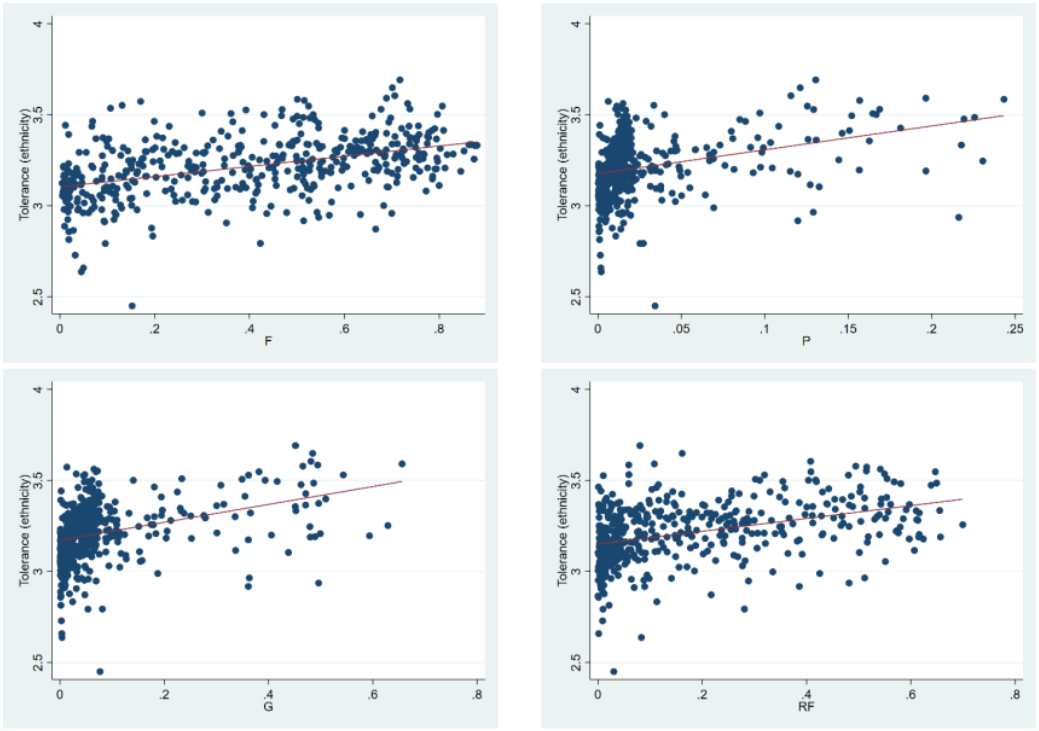

Figure 4. Ethnic tolerance and ethnic diversity

In the following discussion, we observe different results on the effect of ethnic diversity on social capital, where the effect is positive (negative) on the levels of tolerance (trust). This finding is statistically significant and consistent when various measures of ethnic diversity are used. Such systematic differences suggest a different underlying driver of trust and tolerance, at least on our data.

In Table 2, we found that all of our measures of social capital are negatively correlated with the trust, even after controlling for demographic and district characteristics. This finding generally holds when instrumental variable regression method is used. As shown in Table 2, the coefficients from *F*, *P*, and *G* are all negative and strongly significant. Here we exclude *RF* as the instruments used in Table 3 are specific for ethnic variables. We also report the first stage regression results and found that only latitude that are consistently significant in predicting variations of ethnic diversity (we will not report this again in subsequent tables as the regressions are identical to the ones in Table 3 except for the dependent variable).

Table 2. OLS Results (dependent variable: trust)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Fractionalisation	-0.0516***			
	(0.0183)			
Polarisation		-0.508***		
		(0.194)		
Greenberg-Gini Index			-0.217***	
			(0.0582)	
Religious Fractionalisation				-0.135***
				(0.0268)
Log Population	0.0154***	0.0150***	0.0136***	0.0127***
	(0.00494)	(0.00477)	(0.00486)	(0.00470)
Log GRDP per capita	-0.0212***	-0.0249***	-0.0255***	-0.0194***
	(0.00692)	(0.00668)	(0.00668)	(0.00656)
Urban District	-0.0644***	-0.0555***	-0.0576***	-0.0595***
	(0.0122)	(0.0116)	(0.0117)	(0.0119)
Years of Education	-0.00271***	-0.00252***	-0.00267***	-0.00247***
	(0.000574)	(0.000583)	(0.000561)	(0.000577)
Single	0.0122**	0.0126**	0.0119**	0.0133**
	(0.00558)	(0.00558)	(0.00557)	(0.00555)
Age	0.00389***	0.00402***	0.00397***	0.00398***
	(0.000416)	(0.000421)	(0.000422)	(0.000416)
Square of Age	-2.32e-05***	-2.37e-05***	-2.37e-05***	-2.34e-05***
	(4.17e-06)	(4.17e-06)	(4.18e-06)	(4.18e-06)
Female	0.00339	0.00463	0.00356	0.00292
	(0.00360)	(0.00368)	(0.00357)	(0.00358)
Household Expenditure	-1.81e-08***	-1.80e-08***	-1.78e-08***	-1.81e-08***
	(1.58e-09)	(1.68e-09)	(1.66e-09)	(1.62e-09)
Income inequality	-0.0448**	-0.0455**	-0.0394**	-0.0313*
	(0.0187)	(0.0180)	(0.0182)	(0.0175)
Constant	3.629***	3.624***	3.643***	3.640***
	(0.0719)	(0.0686)	(0.0693)	(0.0678)
Observations	289,058	289,058	289,058	289,058
Adjusted R-squared	0.032	0.033	0.033	0.033

Notes: Robust cluster (at district level) standard errors in parentheses. * p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01.

Source: Author's calculation.

Table 3. IV-GMM Results (dependent variable: trust)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Second stage			
Fractionalisation	-0.258***		
	(0.0461)		
Polarisation		-3.925***	
		(1.005)	
Greenberg-Gini Index			-1.129***
			(0.255)
Constant	3.873***	3.808***	3.804***
	(0.0277)	(0.0294)	(0.0284)
Observations	289,058	289,058	289,058
Adjusted R-squared	0.017	-0.053	-0.016
First stage			
Latitude	-0.344***	-0.022***	-0.079***
	(0.038)	(0.005)	(0.014)
Mean elevation	-0.088*	-0.002	-0.013
	(0.045)	(0.006)	(0.018)
Variance elevation	0.066	-0.002	0.008
	(0.083)	(0.011)	(0.032)
Constant	0.470	0.016	0.053
	(0.055)	(0.006)	(0.020)

Notes: Robust cluster (at district level) standard errors in parentheses. * p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01. All controls are included in all regressions (coefficients are not shown to save space).
Source: Author's calculation.

Table 4 summarises the results from the OLS regressions on tolerance, both tolerance towards other religions and tolerance towards other ethnic groups. Here we confirm our visual inspection as the coefficients are all positive and significant. Again, we re-estimate the model using instrumental variable regression method in Table 5 and the results hold (although the significance level drops to just 10% for tolerance towards other religions).

Table 4. OLS Results (dependent variable: tolerance)

	Towards other religions (1-4)				Towards other ethnic groups (5-8)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Fractionalisation	0.283***				0.201***			
	(0.0702)				(0.0249)			
Polarisation		1.677***				0.984***		
		(0.309)				(0.174)		
Greenberg-Gini Index			0.690***				0.384***	
			(0.128)				(0.0652)	
Religious Fractionalisation				1.240***				0.253***
				(0.0677)				(0.0375)
Log Population	-0.0382**	-0.0461**	-0.0424**	0.00186	-0.0342***	-0.0417***	-0.0401***	-0.0378***
	(0.0181)	(0.0180)	(0.0183)	(0.0148)	(0.00655)	(0.00615)	(0.00623)	(0.00615)
Log GRDP per capita	0.0172	0.0341	0.0358	-0.00850	-0.00270	0.00875	0.00958	-0.00168
	(0.0227)	(0.0221)	(0.0220)	(0.0180)	(0.00904)	(0.00884)	(0.00869)	(0.00853)
Urban District	0.0144	-0.0292	-0.0222	-0.00620	-0.0234*	-0.0535***	-0.0494***	-0.0461***
	(0.0386)	(0.0365)	(0.0364)	(0.0308)	(0.0141)	(0.0144)	(0.0143)	(0.0138)
Years of Education	0.0142***	0.0133***	0.0137***	0.0126***	0.00902***	0.00838***	0.00866***	0.00832***
	(0.00135)	(0.00137)	(0.00135)	(0.00114)	(0.000852)	(0.000853)	(0.000850)	(0.000833)
Single	0.0526***	0.0485***	0.0507***	0.0470***	0.0123*	0.00901	0.0102	0.00776
	(0.0120)	(0.0121)	(0.0121)	(0.0105)	(0.00707)	(0.00710)	(0.00713)	(0.00693)
Age	0.00217***	0.00149*	0.00165**	0.00175**	0.000567	9.50e-05	0.000186	0.000183
	(0.000798)	(0.000794)	(0.000793)	(0.000757)	(0.000566)	(0.000567)	(0.000568)	(0.000570)
Square of Age	-6.86e-06	-4.79e-06	-4.96e-06	-5.26e-06	-1.04e-06	2.34e-07	1.09e-07	-4.62e-07
	(8.18e-06)	(8.20e-06)	(8.17e-06)	(7.84e-06)	(5.60e-06)	(5.63e-06)	(5.63e-06)	(5.65e-06)
Female	-0.0460***	-0.0535***	-0.0502***	-0.0359***	-0.00826*	-0.0137***	-0.0119**	-0.0104**
	(0.00824)	(0.00888)	(0.00865)	(0.00740)	(0.00480)	(0.00492)	(0.00489)	(0.00488)
Household Expenditure	2.32e-09	3.17e-09	2.44e-09	1.94e-10	9.57e-09***	1.04e-08***	1.00e-08***	1.04e-08***
	(3.69e-09)	(3.55e-09)	(3.56e-09)	(3.09e-09)	(2.03e-09)	(2.12e-09)	(2.09e-09)	(2.11e-09)
Income inequality	0.309***	0.330***	0.311***	0.154***	0.116***	0.134***	0.125***	0.108***

	(0.0646)	(0.0642)	(0.0646)	(0.0524)	(0.0254)	(0.0248)	(0.0250)	(0.0243)
Constant	2.482***	2.646***	2.593***	2.121***	3.352***	3.493***	3.470***	3.466***
	(0.248)	(0.241)	(0.244)	(0.194)	(0.0979)	(0.0913)	(0.0921)	(0.0903)
Observations	287,099	287,099	287,099	287,099	284,074	284,074	284,074	284,074
Adjusted R-squared	0.049	0.047	0.049	0.113	0.024	0.021	0.022	0.022

Notes: Robust cluster (at district level) standard errors in parentheses. * p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01.

Source: Author's calculation.

Table 5. IV-GMM Results (dependent variable: tolerance)

	Towards other religions (1-3)			Towards other ethnic groups (4-6)		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Second stage						
Fractionalisation	0.242*			0.354***		
	(0.145)			(0.0579)		
Polarisation		4.236*			5.752***	
		(2.341)			(1.266)	
Greenberg-Gini Index			1.094*			1.612***
			(0.645)			(0.321)
Constant	2.020***	2.074***	2.075***	2.859***	2.942***	2.942***
	(0.0826)	(0.0742)	(0.0732)	(0.0372)	(0.0407)	(0.0390)
Observations	287,099	287,099	287,099	284,074	284,074	284,074
Adjusted R-squared	0.046	0.030	0.043	0.019	-0.048	-0.015

Notes: Robust cluster (at district level) standard errors in parentheses. * p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01. All controls are included in all regressions (coefficients are hidden to save space).
Source: Author's calculation.

This different coefficient signs between the two measures of social capital can be explained as follow. Supposedly, in a diverse environment, the levels of (generalised) interpersonal trust are low but at the same time the levels of (particularised) intrapersonal trust are high (Putnam, 2007). This trade-off was moderated by interethnic contact where a person with a diverse friendship tended to be more tolerant than those who did not (Rudolph & Popp, 2010). They also suggest particularised trust (as used in this study) to be a more accurate representation of trust as a function of social capital than generalised trust, in which the latter tends to serve as an indication for a person's level of tolerance.

Conclusion

The estimation results support Mavridis (2015) where trust and tolerance are negatively and positively associated with ethnic and religion diversity respectively, even after controlling for ethnolinguistic similarities. We also found consistent result after removing the possibility of endogenous ethnic diversity variables by conducting instrumental variable regressions. The implication of this finding is critical for Indonesia and other heterogenous countries, with communities at the forefront in not only acknowledging the importance of ethnic diversity but also in promoting inclusive activities.

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