

Tribe or Nation?

Nation-Building and Public Goods in Kenya versus Tanzania

Edward Miguel*
University of California at Berkeley

September 2002

Abstract

The design of public policies that promote inter-ethnic cooperation remains poorly understood. This paper examines how central government policies toward ethnic diversity affect inter-ethnic relations by comparing outcomes across two nearby rural districts, one in western Kenya and one in western Tanzania. Despite their largely shared geography, history, and colonial institutional legacy, post-independence governments in Kenya and Tanzania have followed radically different ethnic policies along a range of dimensions – most notably in language use, education, and local institutional design, with Tanzania consistently pursuing more serious “nation-building” policies. The evidence in this paper indicates that the Tanzanian approach has allowed ethnically diverse communities in rural Tanzania to achieve considerably better local public goods outcomes than diverse communities in the nearby Kenyan region. To illustrate, while Kenyan communities at mean levels of ethnic diversity have 30 percent fewer desks per primary school pupil than homogeneous areas on average, the comparable figure for the Tanzanian district is near zero and statistically insignificant. The Kenya-Tanzania comparison provides novel empirical evidence that, in the long-run, serious nation-building reforms in ethnically diverse countries can ameliorate social divisions, and that nation-building should take a place in government policy agendas, especially in Africa, the world’s most ethnically diverse continent.

* Correspondence to: emiguel@econ.berkeley.edu. Abhijit Banerjee, Melissa Gonzalez-Brenes, Tina Green, and David Laitin have provided valuable comments. I am deeply indebted to the staff of ICS Africa in both Kenya and Tanzania, the Meatu District Council, the Dutch Rural Development Programme, survey respondents in both Kenya and Tanzania, Alicia Bannon, Elizabeth Beasley, Negar Ghobadi, James Habyarimana, Sylvie Moulin, Avery Ouellette, Polycarp Waswa, and especially Melissa Gonzalez-Brenes, Mary Kay Gugerty, and Michael Kremer, my co-authors on related work, for their generosity. Tina Green provided excellent research assistance. I gratefully acknowledge financial support from the U.S. National Science Foundation (SGER-#0213652) and the U.C. Berkeley Committee on Research. Of course, all errors remain my own.

1. Introduction

The design of public policies that promote inter-ethnic cooperation remains poorly understood fifteen years after Horowitz's (1985) seminal work (Carroll and Carroll 2000). Recent empirical research suggests that higher levels of ethnic diversity are related to low provision of local public goods across United States municipalities (Alesina et al. 1999), and that ethnically diverse societies are prone to corruption, political instability and slow economic growth (Easterly and Levine 1997, Mauro 1995), presumably due to political conflict and lack of cooperation across ethnic groups. Ethnic divisions are at the heart of recent conflicts in Europe, South Asia, and Africa, including the Rwandan Genocide (DesForges 1999), that have had enormous human costs. Addressing ethnic divisions is likely to be particularly important for sub-Saharan Africa – which is the most ethnically diverse and the poorest region in the world.

This paper examines how central government nation-building policies affect inter-ethnic cooperation, by comparing the relationship between local ethnic diversity and public goods across two nearby rural districts, one in western Kenya and one in western Tanzania.

Despite their largely shared geography, history, and colonial institutional legacy, post-independence governments in Kenya and Tanzania have followed radically different ethnic policies along a range of dimensions, most notably in national language policy, the educational curriculum, and local institutional design. Tanzania has consistently pursued more serious nation-building policies – attempts to forge a common national identity attractive across ethnic groups – than Kenya during the post-colonial period, as described in detail below.

The empirical evidence in this paper indicates that the Tanzanian nation-building approach has allowed ethnically diverse communities in rural Tanzania to achieve considerable success in local public goods fundraising, while ethnically diverse communities in the nearby Kenyan region typically fail. To illustrate, while Kenyan communities at mean levels of ethnic diversity have 30

percent fewer desks per pupil than homogeneous Kenyan communities on average (statistically significant at 95 percent confidence), the comparable figure for the Tanzanian district is near zero and statistically insignificant. Analogous results hold when jointly testing hypotheses for multiple local public goods, including primary school funding and water well maintenance.

Of course, the case study presented in this paper has methodological shortcomings, the most obvious being the small sample size of two countries, and imperfect econometric identification. Still, this Kenya-Tanzania comparison provides suggestive micro-economic evidence that in the long-run, serious nation-building reforms in ethnically diverse countries can successfully address social divisions.

2. Related Literature on Ethnic Diversity and Economic Development

The seminal article on ethnic diversity in Economics is Easterly and Levine (1997). The authors explore how ethnic diversity affected growth rates across countries during the post-war period, using a dataset on national ethno-linguistic diversity compiled by Russian anthropologists during the 1960's. The continent with the greatest number of ethno-linguistically diverse countries according to this measure is Africa, which contains nine of the ten most ethno-linguistically diverse countries (the one non-African exception being India). Kenya and Tanzania, for example, each have dozens of major ethnic groups and are both among the world's ten most diverse countries.

Easterly and Levine find two striking patterns in the cross-country data. First, ethnically diverse countries had significantly lower per capita economic growth rates than homogeneous countries during the post-war period. Second, Easterly and Levine find that diverse countries exhibited poor public policy performance along a range of dimensions, including greater foreign exchange distortion, slow financial development, poor schooling outcomes, and less physical

infrastructure investment, and use this evidence to argue that diversity led to slow growth through poor public policy choices.

Applied microeconomists have since documented many specific instances where ethnic diversity produces poor economic outcomes, and for the remainder of this section, I briefly survey this growing evidence.¹ To illustrate, Peruvian micro-credit groups have higher loan default rates and lower savings when members are from different cultural backgrounds than when they are largely from similar backgrounds (Karlan 2002). United States municipalities with higher levels of racial diversity collect considerably less funding for local public goods (Alesina et al 1999). Finally, in the author's own work with Mary Kay Gugerty, which is discussed more below, rural Kenyan communities with greater ethno-linguistic diversity – or diversity across “tribes” as they are called in East Africa – have considerably less primary school funding, worse school facilities, and poor water well maintenance.

There is less of a consensus regarding the underlying theoretical mechanisms generating these outcomes in diverse settings, and two sets of theories have emerged. Although distinct theoretical mechanisms have been found to be more salient in particular settings, the two theories are not mutually exclusive, and both probably capture important aspects of reality in most cases.

The first theories are what I call *taste explanations* for negative ethnic diversity effects. There are several common variants of this theory, mainly developed in research on the United States. For example, Alesina et al (1999) have claimed that individuals from different ethnic groups prefer distinct types of public goods – roads versus libraries, for instance – so that there is less consensus on public goods choices in diverse areas, and thus lower funding. Alesina et al (2000) have claimed that, for the most part, individuals from different groups dislike mixing across ethnic lines, and this drives the poor collective action and organizational outcomes in diverse areas. Finally, there is

¹ For a review, refer to Costa and Kahn. (2002). There also exists an extensive literature on ethnic divisions and national political economy issues that I largely ignore in this piece.

recent empirical evidence that individuals prefer to fund public goods that benefit their own ethnic group over others, in which case once again public goods funding is lower in diverse areas (Vigdor 2002). Unfortunately, none of the explanations provides a theory of where these ethnic taste differences come from, nor how they can be affected through public policy, so this body of work does not directly speak to the central concern of this study, of how to ameliorate ethnic divisions.

The second set of theories emphasizes the important role community *social sanctions* play in sustaining collective action, and aims to show how sanctions are ineffective in diverse settings. Observers of less developed countries have long-noted the importance of community pressure based on dense social ties in sustaining good collective outcomes, and the recent empirical studies from less developed countries tend to emphasize this mechanism. The basic idea is that it becomes difficult to sustain social sanctions across ethnic groups in areas where members of different groups tend not to have frequent or intimate social interactions, or close social affinity. In this view of the world, public policies that promote interaction, information sharing, and coordination across ethnic groups are plausible vehicles for ameliorating the inefficiencies associated with ethnic diversity.

For example, Miguel and Gugerty (2002) focus on the difficulties in mobilizing diverse communities in rural Kenya, and present quantitative evidence from primary school committee meeting records that significantly fewer social sanctions are imposed in ethnically diverse areas. Other recent work comes to similar conclusions regarding the importance of informal social sanctions in sustaining loan repayment in ethnically homogeneous Peruvian micro-credit groups.

2.1 Reconciling Diversity and Development

There is limited empirical evidence regarding which public policies are most successful in addressing the negative impact of ethnic divisions. One possible institutional reform in diverse societies is to promote *power-sharing* across ethnic groups within governments or other organizations. In such a system, ethnic minorities are assured some minimum influence over policy choices, possibly

including veto power over certain policies. Although intuitively attractive, it is unclear how power-sharing actually overcomes the underlying causes of negative ethnic diversity effects in practice. In fact, at the same time that power-sharing structures competition among ethnic groups in the political arena, it institutionalizes political divisions across groups rather than reducing them. Rigid power-sharing rules that take ethnic classifications as fixed also reify existing ethnic divisions and may hinder the development of new social identities – or multi-ethnic political coalitions – that cut across pre-existing divisions.

A second approach – which may be more promising – advocates promoting dialogue and interaction among the leaders of distinct ethnic communities, who are then able to coordinate responses to violations of inter-group cooperation norms. One variant, associated with the work of Fearon and Laitin (1996), would have group leaders agree to punish violators from within their own ethnic group, the so-called *within-group policing* approach. For example, if there is a violent attack on a member of ethnic group A by members of group B, leaders of group B should publicly sanction the perpetrators in their own group, making organized retaliation by group A unnecessary and thus avoiding a violent downward spiral.

A closely related form of elite coordination is the establishment of formal *associational bonds across ethnic groups*. It has recently been argued that the density of cross-group associational ties is actually the critical determinant of inter-religious relations in Indian cities during episodes of communal violence: Varshney (2002) highlights the case of Bhiwandi city, near Bombay, where a determined effort to create inter-religious peace committees in the late 1980s successfully headed off communal violence in the aftermath of the 1992 Ayodhya mosque incident, while nearby cities were engulfed in anti-Muslim pogroms.

However, this view too has its limitations. Approaches predicated on the existence of cooperation among ethnic group leaders beg the question of how this cooperation comes about in the first place. In fact, elite cooperation is as much a manifestation of better ethnic relations as it is a

cause, and thus it is difficult to draw strong *causal* claims about how the existence of cross-group associational links actually affects inter-ethnic relations.

2.2 Political Socialization and Nation-building

The literature on “political socialization” within Political Science concerned itself with these and related questions, namely, of where individual political ideals, opinions, identities and preferences come from. The field focused primarily on how the mass media and the educational system could be employed by political leaders to inculcate citizens with “desirable” political ideals, including, often, a strong attachment to the nation over ethnic and regional ties. To the extent that political socialization is successful in shaping individual views toward both tribe and nation, it offers a way out of the dilemma mentioned above, of determining the source of ethnic preferences and tastes for inter-ethnic cooperation. Such nation-building policies may be viewed more generally as investments in “social capital” (Putnam 1993).²

Political socialization attempts in the newly independent East African nations figured prominently in the political socialization literature of the 1960s and 1970s (refer to Prewitt, Von der Muhll and Court 1970). However, this body of research did not reach strong empirical conclusions about how useful political socialization actually was in shaping a coherent national identity or political culture (Court and Kinyanjui 1980), in part because of the limited time between the implementation of nation-building programs in the 1960s and research only a decade later.

Sufficient time has now passed since independence – roughly forty years – to re-assess the impact of political socialization and nation-building policies on inter-ethnic cooperation in East Africa. In the next section I compare the post-independence development trajectories Kenya and Tanzania, paying particular attention to their divergent nation-building and ethnic policies.

² However, the construction of ethnic and national identities may also serve different strategic purposes. More recently, Fearon and Laitin (2000) have found that political elites often successfully manipulate ethnic identities to provoke ethnic violence, to “gain, maintain, or increase their hold on political power.”

3. A Nation-building Case Study: Kenya versus Tanzania

3.1 Geographic and Historical Commonalities

Kenya and Tanzania are a natural paired comparison, with similar geography and histories, but they have followed radically different nation-building policies since independence. Joel Barkan (1994) writes that:

Comparison between Kenya and Tanzania [is] ... appealing because of their resemblances with respect to a number of variables that impinge upon the developmental process and that could be held constant or nearly constant in an examination of the countries. Both are populated mainly by small peasant households of similar cultures. ... Both experienced British colonial rule and inherited a common set of political, administrative, and economic institutions, as well as a common market with a single currency and a common infrastructure of rail, port, and telecommunications facilities. As adjacent countries, they share a common climate and have similar natural resource endowments.

The two districts where I have conducted field work – Busia, Kenya, and Meatu, Tanzania (Figure 1) – are the sites of field offices for the same non-governmental organization (ICS Africa), and were originally chosen because they were thought to be poor rural areas in particular need of development assistance. Although Meatu is somewhat more arid and less densely populated than Busia, the two districts are similar along many other important characteristics. Busia, Kenya and Meatu, Tanzania are located relatively near each other (roughly 400 kilometers apart) on opposite sides of Lake Victoria³, both are overwhelmingly rural and they share similar staple crops (maize, sorghum, and cassava), although most of Meatu, Tanzania only has one harvest per year while Busia, Kenya has two. The areas were also part of a shared pre-colonial historical universe, with extensive migration across what is today the Kenya-Tanzania border; the historian David Schoenbrun (1998: 28) writes of the “profound historical unity of Great Lakes cultural practices.”

³ The ideal research design should *not* in fact choose districts literally straddling a common border, since border areas are likely to be strongly influenced by developments in the other country – including, potentially, their attitudes toward ethnicity and national identity – and the presence of cross-border “spillovers” complicates the interpretation of differences across neighboring regions.

The total 1989 population of Busia was 401,658 (Government of Kenya 1994) and the current population of Meatu is 201,981 (Government of Tanzania 1999). The two districts have similar ethnic compositions, with majority Niger-Kordofanian (Bantu) populations and substantial Nilo-Saharan minorities: the dominant Luhya ethnic group comprise nearly 70 percent of the population in the Kenyan district, while the majority Sukuma ethnic group constitute roughly 85 percent of the population of the Tanzanian district (Government of Tanzania 1999). Armed conflict associated with cattle raids was common during the pre-colonial period in both areas (Kidamala 1961, Government of Kenya 1986).

Another similarity lies in the realm of language use: unlike many other regions of Tanzania, Meatu district had minimal cultural and trade ties with Swahili speakers from the East African coast during the 19th century, so few residents of the area spoke fluent Swahili upon independence in the 1960s (Abdulaziz 1971). Swahili was not widely spoken in western Kenya during the pre-colonial period (Gorman 1974).

Moreover, community members play significant roles in funding local public goods in both countries, through school committees and water committees in Kenya (Wilson 1992) and through the Village Councils in Tanzania, so it is possible to compare local fund-raising across the two districts. Public finance expenditures were increasingly decentralized in Tanzania during the local government reforms of the 1990s (Therkildsen 2000).

The results of the East African Citizenship Project provide further evidence on commonalities. The investigators surveyed representative national samples of schoolchildren in Kenya and Tanzania in 1966-1967, less than a decade after independence in both countries, with a total of over 8,000 respondents. Nearly identical survey instruments were administered in both countries on politics, citizenship, and ethnicity, and their results support the claim that political attitudes were extremely similar in Kenya and Tanzania during that period. In fact, they conclude that “there is an often startling similarity between the responses given by Kenyan and Tanzanian

students. ... The cross-national similarities are so constant as to raise questions about the significance of the nation state as a differentiating variable” (Koff and Von der Muhll 1967: 50).⁴

Of course, this is not to say that Kenya and Tanzania were identical at independence. Nairobi was the cosmopolitan capital of British East Africa, with a large and growing industrial base, and Kenya had experienced a much more violent path toward independence than Tanzania, most dramatically illustrated in the Mau-Mau Uprising of the 1950s. Tanzania is also somewhat more ethnically diverse than Kenya on the whole, although the differences are relatively minor (refer to Court and Kinyanjui 1980 for further discussion of pre-independence differences). Nonetheless, many social scientists have taken the fundamental similarity of Kenya and Tanzania as an analytical starting point, and this paper follows in that tradition.⁵ Beyond East Africa, other scholars have also used the colonial-era placement of African national borders as a kind of “natural experiment” which allows them to evaluate the impact of difference policies (e.g., Miles 1994).

3.2 Post-independence Divergences

Despite the geographical, historical, and institutional commonalities in western Kenya and western Tanzania discussed above, central governments in the two countries have pursued drastically different public policies toward ethnicity in the post-colonial period, and I argue that this divergence has had a major impact on current levels of inter-ethnic cooperation. In this section, I briefly highlight the main sources of policy divergence, beginning with a description of nation-building policies in Tanzania.

Part of the divergence can be attributed to *the personalities and philosophies of their respective independence leaders*, Jomo Kenyatta and Julius Nyerere. Inspired by a pan-Africanist

⁴ The author has acquired the original micro-survey data discussed in Koff and Von der Muhll (1967). One limitation of the dataset is that it is not pre-independence information, since some nation-building policy divergences had already emerged by 1966-1967, and it thus cannot serve as a true baseline, unfortunately.

⁵ Refer to Barkan (1984) and Barkan (1994) for collections of essays on this theme.

and socialist political philosophy, Tanzanian leader Julius Nyerere forcefully downplayed the role of ethnic affiliation in public life and instead emphasized a single Tanzanian national identity. A founding principle of Nyerere's ruling TANU political party was "to fight tribalism and any other factors which would hinder the development of unity among Africans" (Abdulaziz 1980).

National language policy is another area of major differences across the two countries.

Barkan (1994) writes that:

Whereas ethnic identification has formed the basis of politics and political organization in Kenya for more than thirty years, in Tanzania it has not. ... The potential for [ethnic] conflict in Tanzania has ... been muted by the near universal use of Kiswahili, which replaced English as the country's official language in the mid-1960s and has evolved its own political idiom, nurturing the development of a national political culture.

Swahili (or "Kiswahili" in East Africa) is an indigenous African language originating on the Indian Ocean coast of East Africa through contact between Africans and Arab traders, and it is seen as largely ethnically "neutral" in both countries. The Tanzanian regime quickly pushed for total "Swahilization" of government administration after independence, and established the National Swahili Council to promote its use in all spheres of public life (Polome 1980).⁶

The public school curriculum in Tanzania has been aggressively employed as a nation-building tool. The curriculum stresses common Tanzanian history, culture, and values, and inculcates students with a strong sense of national and Pan-African identity (Court 1984). Political education was included as early as the late 1960s as a standard curriculum subject in both primary and secondary school, and tested on national exams (Court and Kinyanjui 1980: 67). Moreover, by the 1970s all individuals studying to become teachers were required to serve in the para-military National Service organization, which indoctrinated future teachers in the national ideals of the Tanzanian regime (White 1980). Prewitt, Von der Muhll and Court (1970: 222) asserted that:

⁶ Laitin (1992) has discussed the important role of language policy for national-building in newly independent African states, as well as the existence of lingua francas in other African regions which (like Swahili in East Africa) could potentially serve to promote the construction of stronger national identities in other states.

Tanzania is unique among African nations in the extent to which it has self-consciously sought to adapt the educational system inherited at independence to the goals of the postcolonial leadership. Its government is currently engaged in an extensive effort to restructure both the educational curriculum and the organization of school life in the hope of producing a deeper commitment to the new social order.

And Von der Muhll (1971: 24) wrote that:

In the ... sector of educational policy, however, the revolutionary character of current Tanzanian politics is now unmistakable. For the government has now committed itself, deliberately and unreservedly, to using the schoolroom environment to effect a radical transformation of the social values of those members of the younger generation whose exposure to formal education has equipped them to play some part in the life of the national community. ... The project currently enjoys a public saliency rarely accorded political education.

The nation-building role of the central government in Kenya could not be more different. Both post-independence presidents, Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel arap Moi, are perceived as “tribalists” within Kenya, as political opportunists who have thrived on the politics of ethnic division. Ethnicity has become the primary cleavage of political life in Kenya – as in many other African countries – and the current regime was widely implicated in arming and financing violent ethnic militias before national elections in 1992 and 1997, fomenting ethnic clashes that left hundreds dead (Ndegwa 1997). Recent violence in Nairobi’s Kibera slums and elsewhere in the run-up to the 2002 national elections is following an ominously similar pattern.

In terms of language policy, although Swahili has long been widely spoken in Kenya as a lingua franca, it competes with English and “vernacular” languages (including Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo, and others) in official settings, including political forums and schools. Local vernaculars – rather than Swahili – typically serve as the medium of primary school instruction through the fourth grade, while after fourth grade English is the principal language.

Unlike Tanzania, the central government in Kenya has not used the primary school curriculum to promote a coherent national linguistic or ideological identity: the official Kenyan Geography, History, and Civics (GHC) curriculum does not study Kenya as a nation until grade 5,

instead focusing on “the Village”, “the Division” (an administrative unit), “the District”, and “the Province” in grades 1 through 4, respectively. This focus on provincial geography and history probably serves to exacerbate regional and ethnic divisions, especially among the many Kenyans who drop out of primary school before grade 5, and thus never study national history in detail.

Though official Ministry of Education nation-building pronouncements in the 1960s were similar in Kenya and Tanzania (Koff and Von der Muhll 1967), Court and Ghai (1974: 7) observed that these were merely “vague invocations” in Kenya and “there [was] little evidence within schools that the rhetoric [was] followed by any serious attempts to make real changes” (p. 19). Nearly twenty years after independence, Court and Kinyanjui (1980: 69) concluded that “Tanzanian students have a stronger sense of national identity than their Kenyan counterparts.”

Quantitative evidence from school books also suggests that the Kenyan school curriculum is still considerably less pan-Africanist in orientation than the Tanzanian curriculum. As a rough measure of curricular emphasis on Africa and broader African issues, the author counted the number of times the word “Africa” (or “African”) appears in current Kenyan and Tanzanian GHC primary school textbooks for grades 3 through 6, and found more than twice as many mentions of Africa in the Tanzanian textbooks (66.5 times per textbook) than in the Kenyan books (28.6 times).⁷

Another important component of the reform package carried out during the Tanzanian socialist period was *the complete overhaul of local government institutions* with the aim of strengthening elected local Village Councils and District Councils, unlike Kenya, where the colonial-era system of centrally-appointed tribal chiefs was retained. Kenya has no local government institution comparable in either legitimacy or authority to the elected Tanzanian Village Council. In fact, Kenya and Tanzania, respectively, fit neatly into the typology of “conservative” and “radical” post-independence African states developed in Mamdani (1996: 25). In Tanzania, traditional rural

⁷ We examined four current Tanzanian GHC textbooks and five Kenyan GHC textbooks. The author thanks Negar Ghobadi for excellent research assistance. The result also holds if we control for the number of pages per textbook.

authorities and customary tribal law inherited from the colonial period were completely dismantled upon independence by the new regime. The abolition of traditional tribal authorities in Tanzania may have played a role in further diminishing the role of ethnicity in Tanzanian public life, relative to Kenya, while tribal chiefs largely retained their powers.

Taken together, the pan-Africanist ideology of Julius Nyerere, the promotion of Swahili as a national language, the aggressive political and civic education in schools, and the dismantling of tribal authorities contributed to the growing salience of a new, coherent, and popular Tanzanian national identity, which binds Tanzanians together across ethnic lines.

These policies link closely with existing theories of diversity and collective action surveyed above. First, as the broader Tanzanian identity becomes increasingly attractive and particular ethnic identities gradually lose salience, the “taste” theories for negative diversity outcomes become less important, since individuals increasingly identify with all of their fellow citizens rather than just their own tribe and are thus willing to fund public goods that benefit “other” groups. To the extent that nation-building policies also increase informal social interactions with members of other ethnic groups – in schools, village council meetings, other civic gatherings, or community groups – this could also increase the scope for community “social sanctions” across ethnic groups, reducing free-riding and improving local collective action outcomes.

4. Data and Methods

4.1 Data from Busia, Kenya

Jointly with Mary Kay Gugerty, the author has estimated the impact of ethnic diversity on local public good outcomes in a rural Kenyan district in previous work (Miguel and Gugerty 2002), and some of the data and methods in that paper are discussed below.

Detailed data for 100 of the 337 rural primary schools in Busia and Teso districts were collected from pupil, school, and teacher questionnaires in early 1996 as baseline information for a non-governmental organization (ICS Africa) School Assistance Project (SAP).^{8, 9} Busia primary schools are typical for Kenya in terms of educational attainment: the district ranked twenty-sixth of fifty districts on 1995 national primary school exams (Glewwe, Kremer, and Moulin 1998). The non-governmental organization (NGO) that collaborated on the data project collected a variety of financial and demographic data for these schools in 1996. The pupil questionnaire focused on pupil schooling background, family educational characteristics and asset ownership, and self-described ethnic affiliation, and was administered by trained survey enumerators to all grade six through eight pupils present on the day of questionnaire administration. In total, 100 school questionnaires and 861 teacher questionnaires were also administered in 1996.¹⁰ The Busia District Education Office provided school examination results and exam name lists. NGO enumerators using portable Global Positioning System (GPS) machines collected school latitude and longitude for all primary schools and water wells in the sample. The analysis below includes the eighty-four of 100 schools with complete pupil, school, teacher, GPS data, school committee records.¹¹

Ethno-linguistic fractionalization (ELF) is used as the principal empirical measure of ethnic diversity in this study, mainly because this measure has the advantage of comparability with the existing literature (Mauro 1995, Easterly and Levine 1997, and Alesina et al 1999).¹² Ethno-linguistic fractionalization is the probability that two people randomly drawn from the population are from distinct groups, and is closely related to a Herfindahl index. Formally,

⁸ Refer to Miguel and Gugerty (2002) for information on which schools were chosen for the sample.

⁹ In 1996, the original Busia district was split in two: Teso district is the northern part of the original Busia district, and Busia district is the southern part. We refer to the combined area as “Busia” for simplicity from now on.

¹⁰ School questionnaires – filled by schoolmasters with the assistance of a trained enumerator – contain detailed information on school finances, infrastructure, inputs, and pupil enrollment. Teacher questionnaires focus on teacher qualifications, and were completed by the teachers themselves.

¹¹ This dataset is available from the author upon request.

¹² Vigdor (2001) derives the fractionalization index from a simple model of “directed altruism”.

(1)
$$ELF \equiv 1 - \sum_i (\text{Proportion of group } i)^2$$

In Kenya, the principal measure of “local” ethnic diversity for a primary school is computed among all pupils attending primary schools located within five kilometers of the school in question. The five kilometer radius around each school appears to be a rough upper limit on the distance that people may walk to attend school or fetch water on a daily basis, and thus on what may constitute a “community”, although the empirical results are robust to radiuses of between three to six kilometers (results not shown). These data were created from 1996 government examination name lists provided by the Busia District Education Office, together with global positioning system (GPS) data.

4.1.1 Primary School Organization and Funding

Both the central government and local school committees play important roles in Kenyan primary school finance. The national Kenya Ministry of Education pays teacher salaries, while school committees raise funds locally for desks, classrooms, books, and chalk. Although the teacher salaries and benefits paid by the central government account for most primary school spending – approximately 90 percent of total primary school spending – a reduction in local funding could have an important impact on educational outcomes to the extent local inputs and teachers are complements in educational production.¹³

Each primary school is managed by its own school committee. Parents raise the bulk of local school funds through two mechanisms: school fees and local fundraising events. Annual school fees are set by the school committee and collected by the school headmaster. The school committee is composed of class representatives directly elected by the parents of schoolchildren, and it typically meets several times per year to discuss school finances and projects.

¹³ In addition to its finance role, the Ministry of Education assigns teachers and headmasters to primary schools.

The other important source of local primary school funding in western Kenya, accounting for approximately one-third of local funding, are village fundraisers called *harambees* in Swahili. At these events parents and other community members meet and publicly pledge financial support for a school project, such as the construction of a classroom. *Harambees* are major local events; planning a *harambee* requires a great deal of effort on the part of the school committee and all parents and members of the local community are expected to attend. While contributions at these events are supposedly voluntary, school committees often set *harambee* contribution levels for parents and teachers, and individual contributions are recorded by the school committee. *Harambees* are an important source of local public finance throughout Kenya, accounting for 40 percent of total local primary school expenditures, well maintenance, and other public goods according to Wilson (1992).

The main school finance outcome for Kenya is total local school funding collected per pupil in 1995. School facilities and inputs – the number of desks per pupil, latrines per pupil, and classrooms per pupil in 1996 – are also outcome measures, and these reflect recent local primary school expenditures.

4.1.2 Community Water Wells

Water wells are another important local public good in rural East Africa, since well water is generally safer to drink than alternative water sources, such as stream or lake water. The lack of safe drinking water is a major public health problem that contributes to the spread of water-borne diseases including schistosomiasis, amebiasis, cholera, and other infections (Government of Kenya 1986).

The vast majority of community wells in western Kenya were constructed in 1982-1991 with the assistance of the Finnish government, through an organization called the Kenya-Finland Development Cooperation (KEFINCO). KEFINCO identified well sites in cooperation with local communities, dug the original boreholes, and provided the equipment required to operate the wells. Communities were then responsible for forming well committees in charge of maintenance and

collecting usage and repair fees from the community. The committees operate on a voluntary basis with little explicit public authority for revenue collection, so their ability to collect fees largely depends on their success in exerting social pressure in the local community.

The data on well maintenance comes from a survey of nearly 700 wells conducted in Kenya from October 2000 to August 2001 by NGO field workers. The sample consists of the universe of modern borehole wells constructed in both districts from 1982-1991 by KEFINCO. The current condition of the KEFINCO wells thus reflects the success of local collective action in well maintenance from the 1980s through 2001.¹⁴ The survey collected detailed information on the physical condition of the wells, including water flow and missing or broken parts, as well as GPS locations, and alternative local water sources. The principal dependent variable for well maintenance is an indicator variable that takes on a value of one if water flow in the well was judged to be “normal” by field workers, and zero if either no water flows from the well or if the water flow is “very low”. Only fifty-seven percent of the wells had “normal” water flow at the time of the survey, suggesting widespread collective action failures, echoing an existing Kenyan government report (Community Water Supply Management Project 2000).

In the empirical analysis for Kenya, the unit of observation is a “primary school community”, and we consider all wells within 5 kilometers of the school (using GPS locations), as wells assigned to that primary school community. This is necessary in order to pool the results from both the primary school and water well regressions and perform joint tests on multiple local collective action outcomes, as described below. Unlike Tanzania, rural western Kenya does not have coherent villages with fixed boundaries, and for this reason in the Kenya analysis we focus on the school-level analysis. In practice, this is likely to result in noisier measures of local ethnic diversity for a particular well, as we discuss below.

¹⁴ Unfortunately, we were unable to obtain data on the precise year of construction for each well, and so cannot control for this variable in the analysis below.

4.2 Data from Meatu, Tanzania

Data collection for two survey instruments, the Village Council Survey and the Household Survey, was carried out in Meatu, Tanzania in two waves from August 2001 to August 2002 by ICS Africa field staff, with the cooperation of Meatu District Council government authorities. The surveys were designed to be largely comparable with existing survey data from Kenya, but considerable additional information was also collected.

The Village Council Survey was administered in all 71 villages in Meatu District, and has resulted in a unique panel dataset of village-level public finance in a rural African setting. We relied both on interviews with Village Council members and on local administrative records – especially the Village Tax Register – for the survey data. Tax registers are universally available and of reasonably consistent quality. Specifically, we collected information on all village public good projects – including schools, water, roads, and health clinic projects – by year from 1997 to 2002, including funds collected from community members as well as outside funding from other government agencies, or from NGOs. The field workers also observed the current condition of school, water, road, and health clinic infrastructure; recorded total village population from village records; and determined village ethnic composition, by assigning ethnic affiliation to all individuals (with the assistance of village officials) in a 20 percent random sample of the Tax Register. (The Tax Register includes all village adult males; unfortunately there is no comparable data for females.)

We collected information on social capital measures, including local community groups and attendance at Village Meetings during 2001. Village meeting attendance is constructed as the sum of attendance at all meetings in 2001, divided by the number of households in the village. Village meetings are held for certain local elections, to discuss development project planning, and to disseminate information from higher levels of government. We also gathered information on a wide

range of historical and political characteristics of these villages, some of which are described below. Due to logistical problems in the field, data for five villages is missing for at least some of the survey components, reducing the total sample to 66 villages.

The 2001-2002 Household Surveys were administered to approximately 15-20 households from each village in Meatu District. Households were randomly chosen from the Tax Register to be surveyed, as well as neighbors of the sampled household, in order to obtain a reasonably representative sample. In all, 1293 households were surveyed in 2001.¹⁵ The Household Survey includes a consumption expenditure module, and detailed socioeconomic, migration, and demographic questions and the resulting dataset allows us to construct measures of average living standards, asset ownership, and demographic characteristics for each village.

4.3 Identifying Ethnic Diversity Effects

There are two steps in the econometric identification strategy. First, we estimate the impact of local ethnic diversity on local collective action outcomes in both Kenya and Tanzania (Sections 4.3 and 4.4.). Second, we argue that the differences observed across the two districts, in terms of the impact of ethnic diversity on local outcomes, is caused by divergent central government nation-building policies rather than other causes (Section 4.5).

4.3.1 Ethnic Diversity in Kenya

In order to credibly estimate the relationship between diversity and local collective action outcomes within each district, we must rule out the possibility that local unobservable characteristics correlated with ethnic diversity – rather than ethnic diversity itself – are in fact driving the estimated effects.

¹⁵ Additional Household Surveys were conducted in 2002 but these data have not yet been fully processed for analysis. The 2002 Household Survey results will be included in future versions of this paper.

Busia and Teso districts in Kenya are moderately ethnically diverse: the largest ethnic groups are the Luhya (67 percent of the sample), Teso (26 percent), and Luo (5 percent). The Luo and Teso are Nilo-Saharan ethno-linguistic groups with pastoralist traditions, and the Luhya are a Bantu (Niger-Kordofanian) group. Luhyas are the majority ethnic group in southern Busia district and Tesos are numerically dominant in northern Busia district, although there are significant minority communities throughout the area.

The exogeneity of ethnic land settlement patterns in Busia district forms a basis for the empirical identification strategy within Kenya. A variety of evidence suggests that current levels of local ethnic diversity in Busia district is largely the product of historical accident rather than recent migration. “The nineteenth century was a time of considerable unrest throughout the District, with conflict between the Luhya groups, Luo, Teso and Kalenjin” (Government of Kenya 1986). Were (1967) writes that “various factors - famine, epidemics, domestic disputes, the spirit of adventure and warfare – made the inhabitants of the region extremely mobile” from the 17th to 19th centuries, when various Nilo-Saharan ethnic groups migrated to western Kenya from present-day Uganda. Successive waves of Teso and Luo migration, and the resulting wars with established Luhya communities largely determined ethnic residential patterns in the area.

The emergence of British colonial authority in western Kenya in 1894 ended wars and cattle raiding, as well as the population movements that accompanied them. Morgan et al. (1966) writes that ethnic land claims were “frozen by the Colonial Government by the demarcation of ‘African Land Units.’ This prevented the expansion of tribes into another’s territory and thus eliminated the principal source of major inter-tribal wars. ... Within the African areas the indigenous pattern of ‘water-tight’ units was maintained, but accentuated by the increasing population.” Land demarcation and individual land registration during the post-colonial period “has frozen the previously fluid situation and virtually halted the traditional mobility” (Government of Kenya 1986). Unlike central

Kenya, Busia was free of European settlement – and resulting disruptions of land claims – during the colonial period.¹⁶

Comparing residential ethnic composition at the geographic division level in 1996, using pupil survey data, to residential composition in 1962 using Kenyan Census data (Government of Kenya 1965) suggests that ethnic residence patterns have been largely stable: the ordering of residential ethnic diversity across geographic divisions, measured by the size of the largest ethnic group is identical in 1962 and 1996 (results not shown). Recent survey evidence also suggests that land sales and residential mobility are extremely rare in Busia (Miguel and Gugerty 2002). Residential mobility is low in rural Kenya for a variety of reasons, including the fact that local land markets are thin, as in much of Sub-Saharan Africa, and because approval from relatives is required *de facto* to sell traditional family land (Platteau 2000).

Although residential patterns in this area are stable, households can choose which local primary school their children will attend and which water well they will use, creating endogenous school populations and water users. Local sorting is an important issue in this context: evidence from a parent survey indicates that nearly one quarter of all households send a child to a primary school that is not the nearest to their home. In order to avoid biases due to endogenous sorting among schools and wells within walking distance of the household, we employ local ethnic diversity within 5 kilometers of each school as our principal measure of local ethnic diversity in the Kenya analysis, rather than the ethnic diversity of actual school pupils or water users.

Endogenous local sorting is less salient in Meatu, Tanzania where individuals live in coherent and separate villages and where population density is lower, and hence households generally have fewer schools and wells to choose from.

¹⁶ The use of historically determined ethnic settlement patterns in Miguel and Gugerty (2002) to estimate the impact of local ethnic diversity on public good provision in Kenya constitutes an improvement over recent estimates of the impact of ethnic diversity from the United States (Alesina et al 1999): the high rate of residential mobility observed in the United States complicates the interpretation of coefficient estimates on ethnic diversity, since unobserved aspects of school quality or individuals' taste for education may be correlated with local ethnic composition.

4.3.2 Ethnic Diversity in Tanzania

An empirical methodology similar to that used in the Busia, Kenya analysis is used to estimate the relationship between local ethnic diversity and public good provision in Meatu, Tanzania. Just as in Kenya, understanding patterns of ethnic land settlement is central to the econometric identification strategy. Meatu district was relatively sparsely populated until the mid-20th century, after which increasing numbers of individuals from neighboring areas migrated there in search of additional farmland. So, unfortunately, unlike Busia, Kenya there is no compelling migration “natural experiment” that can be used to identify ethnic diversity effects in Meatu, Tanzania.

Yet the relative stability of residential patterns helps rule out the most obvious forms of recent endogenous sorting in response to socioeconomic or public finance variation. There was limited local migration associated with the Tanzanian forced villagization program of the mid-1970s (which is described in more detail below), but villagization *per se* did not significantly alter local ethnic settlement patterns, since individuals seldom moved more than five miles from their original homes (Mwapachu 1975). Stringent village residency regulations during the Socialist period dampened migration flows, and, as in rural Kenya, the absence of a well-functioning land market contributes to relatively low rates of residential mobility.

Quantitative evidence from the Household Survey also indicates that local residential patterns have in fact been largely stable in Meatu since the mid-1970s, when most villages in the area were founded. To illustrate, over 80 percent of the young (adult 30 years) adult male respondents in sample villages have been living in the same village for at least the past ten years.¹⁷ As a further check, rates of residential stability over the past ten years for young adult males are also nearly

¹⁷ It is natural to focus on male residential stability in this context, since exogamy is common in this region and most women move in with their husband’s family upon marriage.

identical in relatively high ethnic diversity ($ELF > 0.15$) and low diversity ($ELF \leq 0.15$) villages, at 80.2 and 83.5 percent, respectively.

Moreover, to the extent that there is endogenous sorting in Meatu, Tanzania, the sorting bias should most likely be negative. The widespread perception in Meatu is that ethnically diverse areas – mainly in Nyalanja division – are marginalized and have poor quality land, perhaps because members of the dominant Sukuma group secured the better areas during the in-migration wave of the 1950s and 1960s. The observed correlation between village per capita income and village ethnic diversity is negative in Meatu, District (although not statistically significant), which is consistent with this perception. To the extent that land quality is unobserved, and is not entirely captured by our other socio-economic controls, this would presumably *negatively* bias our estimates of the ethnic diversity impact in Meatu, Tanzania, and so these estimates should be seen as lower bounds on the actual diversity effects.

Of course, these arguments do not resolve the potential problem of omitted variable bias, and it remains an important limitation of the identification strategy for Meatu, Tanzania. But the bottom line is that there are few or no compelling stories for why the sorting bias should be *positive*, and this is sufficient in our case, as discussed below.

4.4 Econometric Specifications

The main empirical specification for the estimation of diversity impacts is presented in Equation 2.

Y_{ic}^k is the local collective action outcome measure, where k may for example denote school funding, school infrastructure quality, well maintenance, or another outcome. $ETHNIC_{ic}$ is the measure of local ethnic diversity (ethno-linguistic fractionalization), where i denotes a community (within 5 kilometers around a school or well for Kenya, and in a village for Tanzania), and c denotes the country. X_{ic} is a vector of local socioeconomic, demographic, and geographic controls.

$$(2) \quad Y_{ic}^k = a^k + X_{ic}' \beta^k + \tau^k \cdot ETHNIC_{ic} + \mu_{ic}^k$$

School regression disturbance terms are assumed to be independent across geographic zones but are clustered within geographic zones or wards (although results are similar for Kenya when regression disturbance terms are allowed to be correlated across schools as a general function of their physical distance using the spatial estimation method in Conley 1999 – results not shown).

4.5 Identifying the Impact of Nation-building Policies

The two main methodological weaknesses of this study are, first, the small sample size of only two countries, and second, the lack of longitudinal data on ethnic composition and collective action outcomes in the two districts, which would greatly strengthen the case that the two districts were in fact largely comparable in the 1960s and have since diverged. However, these methodological weaknesses are impossible to overcome at this time given the lack of internationally comparable data on ethnic policies, historical patterns of ethnic relations, and current inter-ethnic cooperation and local public goods funding. The need to gather original data on these issues through field surveys limited the number of countries that could be examined in the current study.

Another central identification concern is that pre-existing ethnic relations in Busia, Kenya and Meatu, Tanzania endogenously affected the types of nation-building policies that were chosen, such that causality actually runs from ethnic cooperation toward nation-building rather than vice versa. Although the nation-building policies chosen in Kenya and Tanzania, as well as the characteristics of post-independence leaders, may indeed have been related to the nature of ethnic relations *at the national level* in both countries, *all that is necessary for a valid comparison of the impact of nation-building policies in Busia, Kenya and Meatu, Tanzania is that the choice of such national policies was not directly related to ethnic relations in these two small – and politically marginal – western districts*, which is plausible.

An important limitation of the study is the inability to separately estimate the effects of the various components of the Tanzanian nation-building package – in language, education, politics, and local institutional reform – on inter-ethnic relations and local collective action. These components may in principle interact in complex and multiple ways, and we are entirely unable to estimate these interactions in this study. Instead, the estimated differences between Kenya and Tanzania presented below should be seen as the reduced-form impact of the entire Tanzanian reform package on local collective action.

A reading of the recent history of western Kenya and western Tanzania indicates that differences in current levels of inter-ethnic cooperation across Busia, Kenya and Meatu, Tanzania are most likely to be due to their strikingly different nation-building policies during the post-colonial period, rather than due to divergent economic policies, or to other factors.

The period of most sustained public policy divergences between Busia, Kenya and Meatu, Tanzania occurred during the mid-1970s: from August 1974 through 1977, the Shinyanga regional government pursued a policy of “forced villagization”, in which over 340,000 rural residents were compelled to leave their homes and move to nearby *Ujamaa* villages, sometimes by force – including the burning of resisters’ homes (Mwapachu 1975). The centerpiece of Tanzanian rural socialism was the goal of concentrating Tanzania’s scattered populations into “*Ujamaa*” villages, where the government could, in theory, more efficiently provide public services, like education and health care, and where collectivized farming would take place (McHenry 1979). Village Council survey evidence indicates that two-thirds of the villages in our sample were created during this brief period.

However, if anything, the policies of the *Ujamaa* period appear likely to have enflamed ethnic tensions, rather than promoting cooperation: the non-Bantu Taturu and Hadzabe minority groups in the area were particularly hard-hit by forced villagization, since it contributed to the erosion of their traditional semi-nomadic lifestyles. To the extent that ethnic relations are currently

better in western Tanzania than in western Kenya, it is unlikely to be due to the arbitrary and violent villagization policies of the *Ujamaa* period.

In the aftermath of *Ujamaa*, the economic policies of Kenya and Tanzania since the financial crisis of 1982 have been largely parallel: “There were strong similarities in the nature of and responses to the [1982] crisis in each country ... [and] the ongoing efforts at economic reform and structural adjustment in both countries are similar in many respects, [as] they are both spearheaded by International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank programs” (Ndulu and Mwega 1994). Joel Barkan (1994) documents the broad convergence of economic development strategies and outcomes in Kenya and Tanzania since the 1980s.¹⁸

4.5.1 Econometric Estimation Equation

Equation 3 presents the empirical estimation framework for the cross-district comparison, where notation is as in equation 2 above. Data for a particular outcome – for example, school funding per pupil – is pooled from both countries in this specification. An indicator variable ($KENYA_{ic}$) is included for data from Kenya to capture any average differences in levels across countries.

$$(3) \quad Y_{ic}^k = a_1^k + a_2^k \cdot KENYA_{ic} + X_{ic}^k \cdot \beta^k + \tau_1^k \cdot ETHNIC_{ic} + \tau_2^k \cdot \{ETHNIC_{ic} * KENYA_{ic}\} + \mu_{ic}^k$$

The coefficient estimate of τ_1^k captures the impact of ethnic diversity on local outcomes in Tanzania, while $\tau_1^k + \tau_2^k$ is the effect in Kenya. The main hypothesis of this paper can be re-stated as $H_0: \tau_2^k =$

¹⁸ An alternative explanation for the existence of a stronger national identity in Tanzania could be the successful 1979 war repelling a Ugandan invasion of northwestern Tanzania. Victorious wars have long been credited with promoting national unity (for the British case, refer to Colley 1992). However, this hypothesis appears unlikely for at least two reasons. First, the Uganda war was brief, lasting only three months, leaving little time for wartime struggles against a common foe to serve as “the essential crucible of the nation” (Castles et al 1992). Second, although the war that began as an effort to stop Idi Amin’s marauding army, it became an exhausting six-year occupation of Uganda that nearly bankrupted the Tanzanian budget, contributing to the financial crisis of 1982 – not an outcome that generated lasting national pride (Gordon 1994).

0. Rejecting this hypothesis is equivalent to finding that ethnic diversity has significantly different effects on local collective action in Busia, Kenya and in Meatu, Tanzania.

The existence of multiple collective action outcomes provides considerable additional statistical power to reject the hypothesis that the impact of diversity is the same in the two districts. Collective action outcomes for a given village are only imperfectly correlated due to various idiosyncratic factors, including the competence of local officials and the school headmaster, for instance. So the confidence interval around the estimated impact of ethnic diversity when data is pooled across outcomes is considerably narrower than the interval for any single outcome.

Two methods are used to pool data across outcomes and produce an overall estimate of the impact of ethnic diversity on local collective action. The first method is seemingly unrelated regression (SUR), in which each regression is estimated separately, but disturbance terms are allowed to be correlated across outcome measures in the same village (or school) during hypothesis testing. This method uses information from multiple dependent variables to test whether the effect of ethnic diversity local public goods differs across Busia, Kenya and Meatu, Tanzania.

The second, related, method is a specification that literally pools data across collective action outcomes, imposing common coefficient estimates and error structure. In order to have comparability across different types of outcomes – e.g., school funding per pupil and the proportion of functioning water wells, which are measured in different units – all collective action outcomes are normalized (by district), such that they are mean zero and standard deviation one, and then the data are “stacked”. Regression disturbance are allowed to be correlated across the various collective action outcomes for each village (Tanzania) or school community (Kenya), since common unobserved influences may affect different outcomes.

5. Empirical Results from Western Kenya and Western Tanzania

5.1 Descriptive Statistics

Average levels of local ethnic diversity are similar in the two districts, although somewhat higher in the Kenyan district: the average level of *ELF* in Busia, Kenya is 0.23 and in Meatu, Tanzania 0.15 (Table 1, Panel A). Nonetheless the supports of the *ELF* distributions in the two districts are nearly identical, ranging from zero up to approximately 0.6, and there is considerable variation in local ethnic diversity in both districts.

In terms of local public goods, local school fundraising is somewhat higher in Meatu, Tanzania, but the quality of school infrastructure in Busia, Kenya is considerably better. For example, while there are only 0.013 classrooms per pupil in Tanzania there are 0.031 classrooms per pupil in Kenya and there are also large differences in the provision of latrines and in the pupil-teacher ratio across the two districts, with Kenya consistently having better quality infrastructure. This indicates that it will be important to include a term (such as the *KENYA* indicator variable discussed above) that controls for levels differences across districts. However, the proportion of wells with “normal water flow” is very low and nearly identical, at 57 percent in Meatu, Tanzania and 56 percent in Busia, Kenya, suggesting pervasive local collective action failures in both districts.

Busia, Kenya is similar to Meatu, Tanzania along several socioeconomic characteristics, including the proportion of homes with iron roofs, livestock ownership, and the proportion of households that grow a cash crop, but is consistently better off along others. For example, both average educational attainment and the proportion of respondents with formal sector employment are substantially higher in Busia, Kenya than in Meatu, Tanzania.¹⁹ These socioeconomic

¹⁹ These differences are probably somewhat misleading for the following reason: the Kenyan data were collected among parents of school children, and the data reported in Table 1, Panel A is data for Kenyan pupils’ fathers. By way of contrast, even though most respondents in the Tanzanian survey were male (two-thirds) and respondents tended to be young adults – and thus comparable to the Kenyan data – a minority of Tanzanian respondents were women and some were elderly, and these demographic groups tend to have lower educational attainment and less

characteristics, as well as the proportion of Catholic households, are included in all regression specifications as control variables.

Table 1, Panel B presents data that exists only for the Tanzanian district, including average annual expenditures on all local public finance projects. Information on the value (in Tanzanian shillings) of different types of local public projects was provided by the Meatu District Council and the Dutch Rural Development Programme. Each village, on average, funded 8.65 USD worth of local public finance projects per household per year from 1997 to 2002, and there was considerable variation across villages in these funding levels (standard deviation 6.39 USD). Most of this funding was spent on education, health, and water projects. Villages complete only 0.67 local projects per year on average, so roughly four projects per village in the six years of survey data.

The information on actual tax collection per household for 2001 indicates that only a fraction of total local public goods contributions are in cash while the remaining contributions are often in kind, usually in materials and labor. In addition, some funding for local projects in Tanzania comes in the form of assistance from the Meatu District Council (MDC) or other Tanzanian government agencies (e.g., TASAF, the Tanzanian Social Action Fund) or non-governmental organizations (NGOs). This assistance is typically structured as “cost-sharing”: the MDC or TASAF provide partial assistance for classroom construction, provided that the Village Council raises at least a certain portion of the funds from the local community. NGO’s often follow such cost-sharing policies both in Meatu, Tanzania and in Busia, Kenya.

Thus, in both western Kenya and western Tanzania the bulk of funding (and other inputs) for local public goods is raised locally, but with some degree of outside assistance. The public finance outcomes described in this paper capture both the ability of communities to raise funds and supplies

formal sector employment on average, compared to young men. Thus the actual socioeconomic gaps between the two districts are likely to be smaller than those reported in Table 1.

locally, as well as their ability to secure funds from outside donors, and both of these are important collective action outcomes in their own right.

5.2 Ethnic Diversity and Local Collective Action Outcomes in Kenya and Tanzania

The two key terms in the Table 2 regressions are the coefficient estimate on local ethnic diversity (*ELF*), which can be interpreted as the relationship between ethnic diversity and the local public goods outcome in Tanzania, and, most important, the coefficient estimate on the *ELF*KENYA* interaction term, which is the difference between the impact of ethnic diversity on the public goods outcome in Kenya versus Tanzania. The sum of these two coefficient estimates is the impact of ethnic diversity on the public goods outcome in Kenya.

The estimated relationship between ethnic diversity and local public goods provision in Busia, Kenya – the sum of the coefficient estimates on the *ELF* and *ELF*KENYA* terms – is negative for all five local public goods outcomes on which there is data for both countries (local primary school funding per pupil, desks per pupil, latrines per pupil, classrooms per pupil, and the proportion of water wells with normal water flow), and statistically significantly different than zero for desks per pupil. The desks per pupil result implies that the change from ethnic homogeneity to average levels of diversity in Busia, Kenya is associated with a drop of approximately 30 percent in average desks per pupil – a large effect – while the estimated effect for Meatu, Tanzania is small, positive and statistically insignificant. Figure 2 graphically presents the negative relationship between ethnic diversity versus local school funding in Busia, Kenya, and Figure 3 presents the negative relationship between diversity and desks per pupil.

One important difference between the results in Table 2 and those in Miguel and Gugerty (2002) is the econometric specification used to estimate the impact of local ethnic diversity on well maintenance. In Miguel and Gugerty (2002), each water well is considered a separate data point, and

ethnic diversity measures specific to that well (typically within 5 kilometers of the well) were constructed. By way of contrast, in the analysis in Table 2, we examine the maintenance of wells within 5 kilometers of each primary school in the sample, *and consider the local ethnic diversity of that primary school as the key explanatory variable*. This school diversity measure is a noisy measure of the ethnic diversity of each well located within 5 kilometers of the school, and resulting attenuation bias in the coefficient estimate on ethnic diversity is the most likely explanation for why the well maintenance results in Table 2 are weaker and less statistically significant than those in Miguel and Gugerty (2002). In Miguel and Gugerty (2002), the comparable coefficient estimate on local ethnic diversity is -0.26 (standard error 0.14, statistically significant at 90 percent confidence).

For all four primary school outcomes, the coefficient estimate on *ELF* is statistically insignificant, suggesting that there is no strong relationship between village diversity and local school funding in Meatu, Tanzania. For one outcome – the proportion of water wells with normal water flow – the coefficient estimate on *ELF* is negative and marginally statistically significant, suggesting that diverse villages in Tanzania do a somewhat worse job of maintaining water wells. However, Table 3 below provides more compelling evidence on the water infrastructure in Meatu, Tanzania: the density of functioning wells per household, and the density of all wells per household, are not in fact any lower in diverse villages, as we discuss below. Figure 4 graphically presents the positive (but statistically insignificant) estimated relationship between local ethnic diversity and school funding in Meatu, Tanzania, and Figure 5 presents the relationship between diversity and desks per pupil. These offer a sharp contrast with the negative relationships in Kenya.

The key coefficient estimate for our purposes is that on the *ELF*KENYA* term, which captures how the relationship between ethnic diversity and local public goods differs between Busia, Kenya and Meatu, Tanzania. We find that the coefficient estimate is negative in four of the five outcomes we examine, and is negative and statistically significant at 95 percent confidence in the case of desks per pupil.

Using the seemingly unrelated regression (SUR) method, which combines information from multiple outcomes, allowing us to jointly test hypotheses for these five regressions together, we reject the hypothesis that the coefficient estimate on *ELF*KENYA* is equal to zero at 95 percent confidence (p-value=0.049). In other words, local ethnic diversity has a significantly more negative effect on local public goods provision in Busia, Kenya than in Meatu, Tanzania. This is the main empirical result of the paper. By way of contrast, we are unable to reject the hypothesis that the coefficient estimate on the *ELF* term (p-value=0.38).

A second method of pooling information from the different outcomes is presented in regression 6, in which we normalize all outcomes (by district) and then stack the data. We once again we find that the coefficient estimate on *ELF* is not statistically significantly different than zero, while the coefficient estimate on *ELF*KENYA* is negative and significantly different than zero at 95 percent confidence, confirming the main finding.

The results are robust to aggregating the data up to the ward level (for Meatu, Tanzania) and the zone level (for Busia, Kenya); the 66 Tanzanian villages in our sample are located in 19 wards and the 84 Kenyan primary schools are in 22 zones. One advantage of analyzing data at higher levels of aggregation is that it reduces the likely bias from endogenous local residential sorting decisions. We again reject the hypothesis that the coefficient on the *ELF*KENYA* term is equal to zero, this time at 99 percent confidence.

5.3 Other Public Finance Outcomes in Tanzania

Ethnic diversity is robustly unrelated to a range of other local public finance outcomes in Meatu, Tanzania. Total local expenditures per household on all public goods projects – which is perhaps our best estimate of total local Village Council activity – is not significantly related to local ethnic diversity and the coefficient estimate is near zero (coefficient estimate 3.8 USD, standard error 8.4

USD), and the same holds for local expenditures on health and water well projects, total local tax collection, and the number of completed local public goods projects (Table 3, Panel A). A similar finding holds for average household spending on local taxes and school expenses using data collected from the Household Surveys (Table 3, Panel B). There is also no evidence that the quality of local water well or road infrastructure is related to local ethnic diversity (Table 3, Panel C).

We are unable to reject the hypothesis that the coefficient on *ELF* is equal to zero jointly for all thirteen local public finance outcomes in Meatu presented in Tables 2 and 3 (p-value=0.93).

5.4 Community Groups and Trust

The results on ethnic diversity and community group membership in Meatu, Tanzania are mixed: there is no significant relationship between village ethnic diversity and the total number of community groups or attendance at village meetings, and in fact the point estimates on ethnic diversity are mainly positive and insignificant (Table 4, Panel A). However, there is a strong negative relationship between local ethnic diversity and the probability that a Household Survey respondent was a member of a community group (Table 4, Panel B), echoing recent findings from the U.S. (Alesina and LaFerrara 2000). This membership effect is reasonably large: the change from complete ethnic homogeneity to average levels of ethnic diversity in Meatu, Tanzania is associated with a ten percent (3 percentage point) drop in average community group membership.²⁰

This result and the robust findings on ethnic diversity and local public goods presented above appear at odds, at first glance. One natural interpretation is that the nation-building policies pursued

²⁰ The author attempted to obtain similar data on community group densities for the Kenyan district, with only partial success. Data on the number of members of registered community groups in Kenya were available for only part of the sample area (slightly more than half the sample) due to difficulties in obtaining the administrative data from the relevant local officials. Restricting attention to registered groups is also not ideal, since many community groups are not registered in Kenya. (The enumerators for the 2001 Meatu, Tanzania surveys specified that they were interested in both registered and unregistered community groups, so this should not be as serious a problem there.) The relationship between local ethnic diversity and total group membership in this limited sample is consistently negative, and statistically significant at 90 percent confidence in some specifications (results available upon request). Due to the data limitations mentioned above, however, I have opted not to highlight the Kenyan results in the text.

in Tanzania have promoted local collective action – in attendance at local village meetings, and local public fundraising – but have not affected less formal patterns of social interaction, as expressed in community group membership (for example, in women’s self-help groups).²¹

To further explore these issues, we turn to existing World Bank household surveys for Tanzania in the next section.

6. Ethnic Diversity and Social Capital in Tanzania: Results from World Bank Surveys

This section uses data from the 1995 Tanzania Social Capital and Poverty Survey (SCPS) and the 1993 Tanzania Human Resource Development Survey (HRDS), both conducted by the World Bank. The SCPS sampled 87 rural clusters (subsets of villages) from the National Master Sample framework maintained by the Tanzania Bureau of Statistics, and fifteen households were randomly sampled in each cluster (Narayan 1997).²² Because the HRDS also used the National Master Sample framework, we matched SCPS and HRDS clusters, and this allows us to construct cluster-level ethnic fractionalization – the principal measure of ethnic diversity in the empirical analysis below.

The SCPS was primarily concerned with measuring social capital, but also contained questions on agricultural patterns, savings and credit, environmental resources, and household assets, and for fifty-three of the SCPS clusters, household consumption expenditure data was also collected. The survey instrument allows us to measure various dimensions of social capital. For example, individuals were asked about their community group memberships, asked to rate “village unity” and the “spirit of participation” in their community, as well as to evaluate the level of “trust” they had for different types of people (for example for tribal elders, political leaders, and members of other ethnic groups). Normalized indices ranging in value from zero to one were then created, where values close

²¹ Future versions of this paper will present additional information on the characteristics of informal social networks, as obtained in household surveys in both districts.

²² However, it appears that this may not have been the case in practice. We have observations on 6 to 21 households in each cluster with nonmissing data on the variables of interest to us. Refer to LaFerrara (1999) for a more detailed description of the data, and for an examination of income inequality and group membership in the same setting.

to one indicate higher levels of social capital. The overall trust index used in Table 5 is the (normalized) sum of expressed “trust” across all types of people.

The empirical specification is similar to Equation 2 above. Since the dataset contains surveys across various regions of Tanzania, it is difficult to make convincing arguments establishing that the statistical correlation between ethnic diversity and the social capital represents a truly causal relationship, or even a lower bound on a causal relationship, due to possible positive or negative omitted variable biases (although the inclusion of a rich set of explanatory control variables ameliorates this concern to some extent).²³ As a result, it is best to see these regressions as suggestive evidence regarding the impact of diversity on the social capital outcomes of interest.

Consistent with our findings in Table 4, the World Bank survey data indicate that community group membership rates are in fact somewhat lower in ethnically diverse communities (Table 5, Panel A), although the coefficient estimate on *ELF* is not significantly different than zero at traditional confidence levels. The relationship between ethnic diversity and group membership is driven by lower membership rates in non-religious community groups, and this effect is marginally statistically significant (coefficient estimate -0.32 , standard error 0.21). However, there is no significant relationship between local ethnic diversity and subjective measures of trust, village unity, or participation in these villages (Table 5, Panel B), and these may be the key factors driving the public goods results.

Taken together, the results suggest that even though ethnic diversity is associated with less community group membership in Meatu, Tanzania, it does *not* affect perceived community unity, self-expressed trust of others, or the ability to fund local public goods in these communities.

²³ As explanatory variables, we include individual characteristics including a household income measure, and the respondent’s educational attainment, sex, and age. The income measure is household expenditure per adult equivalent. We also control for average village-level expenditure per capita, and for village-level income inequality using the Gini measure.

7. Conclusion

To summarize the main results, although western Kenya and western Tanzania were largely similar along key social, economic, and political dimensions in the 1960s, after independence Tanzania adopted perhaps the most serious nation-building program in sub-Saharan Africa, and in forty years these regions have diverged sharply: ethnically diversity plays a prominent negative role in local public life in western Kenya, leading to lower public goods funding, but diversity is not associated with collective action outcomes in western Tanzania.

Moving to the national level, Tanzanian economic growth rates were also substantially higher than Kenyan growth rates during the 1990s (according to World Bank figures), and national elections less violent. Although we should not read too much into the national differences – which are the product of many factors – these broad patterns are also consistent with the claim that Tanzanian nation-building policies have indeed had a beneficial long-run impact on political stability and economic development.

On a less formal level, visitors to Kenya and Tanzania – including the author – are routinely struck by different popular attitudes towards tribe and nation in the two countries, and the far greater degree of attachment to national ideals, to national leaders, and to the Swahili language in Tanzania (although the lingering separatist dispute with Zanzibar indicates that ethnic and regional divisions have been entirely eliminated). To illustrate, during fieldwork in November 2000, one Tanzanian schoolteacher responded to a question about possible inter-ethnic divisions on the school committee by stating: “This is Tanzania – we do not have that sort of problem here.”

7.1 Potential Drawbacks to Nation-building in Diverse Societies

There are also many legitimate sources of concern regarding nation-building policies like those pursued in Tanzania.

First, the articulation and imposition of a single national identity through coordinated language and educational policies may have serious negative costs for communities that do not fit neatly into the dominant national vision, as well-known European examples illustrate. The construction of a British national identity from distinct English and Scottish identities during the 18th and 19th centuries was forged around common Protestant religious traditions and the English language, but no comparable compromise was reached for integrating Catholics or Celtic-language speakers into the mainstream of British public life (Colley 1992). The process of nation-building in France also entailed the loss of numerous regional linguistic and cultural identities (Weber 1976).

As a result, the fear remains real in many societies that the construction of a national identity will accelerate the erosion of indigenous cultures – and perhaps inevitably lead to a backlash by those who perceive these policies as a threat to their way of life. Nation-building policies could also be employed by opportunistic ethnic majority leaders to repress the legitimate political aspirations of minority group members under the guise of benign nation-building reform; the historical treatment of the Kurds in Turkey is one example. In societies with pronounced ethnic divisions, the process of nation-building may be slow and painful, such that in the short-term other solutions – including extensive decentralization, or even the secession of regions dominated by dissident ethnic minority groups – may actually lead to less conflict and more rapid economic development.

Even if nation-building policies should not be applied in every ethnically diverse society, the Tanzanian case suggests that nation-building can succeed without jeopardizing indigenous cultures and languages in an African context. Most vernacular languages – like the Sukuma language in Meatu – continue to thrive in non-official contexts in Tanzania decades after independence, co-existing with Swahili in homes and markets. In fact, one key to the success of the Tanzanian reform program may be that the central government never made efforts to “stamp out” vernacular languages

or most indigenous cultural practices, nor to deny the very existence of distinct ethnic groups.²⁴ The maintenance of distinct Scottish and Welsh identities – and a thriving Welsh language – in Great Britain after centuries of nation-building also demonstrates that nation-building need not lead to the eradication of cultural diversity.

Another reasonable concern about nation-building is that, although it binds people together within a society – reducing the likelihood of domestic civil strife – it may provoke nationalistic impulses that lead to war with neighboring countries. However, once again, this fear has not materialized in Tanzania. In fact, Tanzania has been an excellent neighbor, accepting millions of refugees fleeing armed conflicts in the region, and Tanzanian leaders have worked tirelessly for negotiated settlements to several African civil wars, most recently in Burundi. Internal tranquility and international peace have gone hand in hand for Tanzania, perhaps as a result of the pan-Africanist ideals at the heart of Julius Nyerere’s political philosophy.

7.2 Ethnic Diversity and Public Policy

Promoting nation-building policies will require a dramatic restructuring of cultural, educational, and language policies in many countries, and the centralized nature of this restructuring runs against current “Washington Consensus” thinking about economic development, which strongly advocates political and fiscal decentralization in less developed countries. Nation-building in less developed countries is also likely to be opposed by powerful politicians in the global North, concerned that increasingly nationalistic – and assertive – less developed countries will promote anti-Northern and anti-globalization views.

²⁴ One partial exception to this generalization about the inclusiveness of the Tanzanian approach is the small and wealthy South Asian community, who were never entirely welcome within Nyerere’s pan-Africanist and socialist vision, as well as several small “hunter-gatherer” ethnic groups – like the Hadzabe in Meatu district – who have seen their numbers shrink rapidly in recent decades, as other Tanzanians have encroached on their traditional lands.

Nonetheless, despite the possible opposition of the global North and the fact that benefits may take decades to materialize, the results of this paper suggest that nation-building should move onto government policy agendas, especially in sub-Saharan Africa. The articulation of new national political identities and institutions has been underway in many African countries since the democratization wave of the early 1990's, which has re-opened the public debate on the nature of the state in Africa. As a result, the upcoming decade may be a special "window of opportunity" for progressive African political leaders to adopt elements of the Tanzanian nation-building model as investments in the long-run social stability and economic growth of their countries.

8. Tables and Figures

Figure 1: Map of East Africa
(featuring Busia District, Kenya and Meatu District, Tanzania)



Figure 2: Busia, Kenya – Total local primary school funds per pupil (2001 U.S. dollars) in 1995 versus residential ethno-linguistic fractionalization in the geographic zone

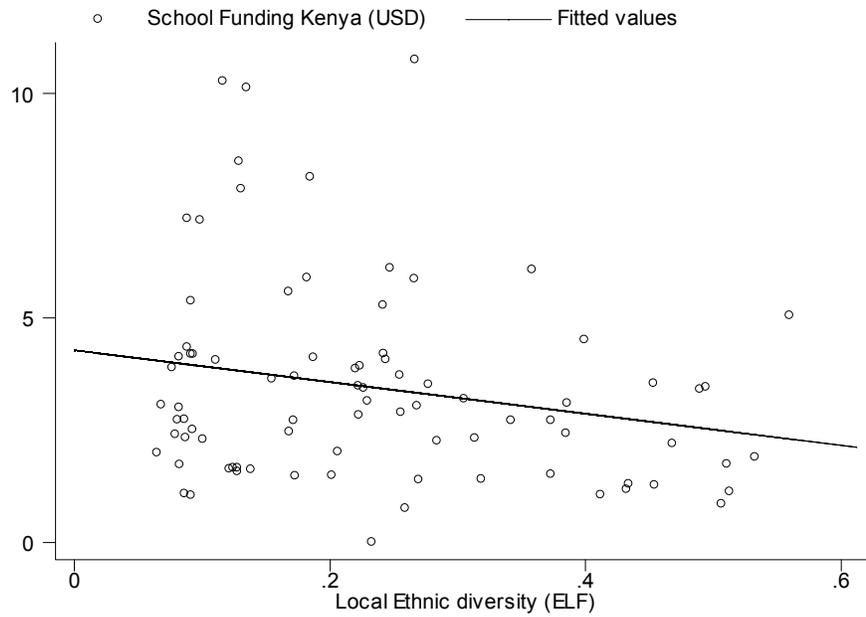


Figure 3: Busia, Kenya – Desks per primary school pupil in 1996 versus residential ethno-linguistic fractionalization in the geographic zone

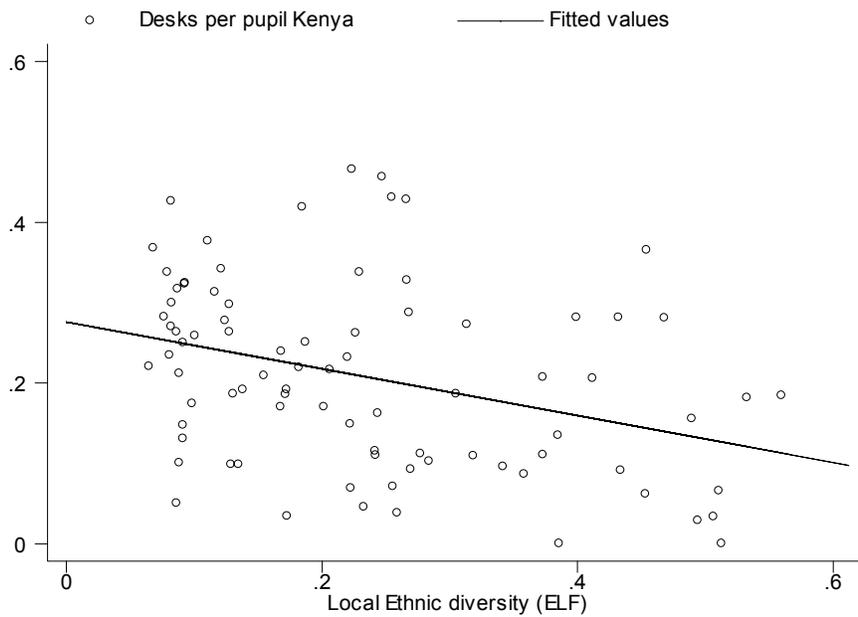


Figure 4: Meatu, Tanzania – Total local school funds per pupil (2001 U.S. dollars) per year in 1997-2002 versus residential ethno-linguistic fractionalization in the ward

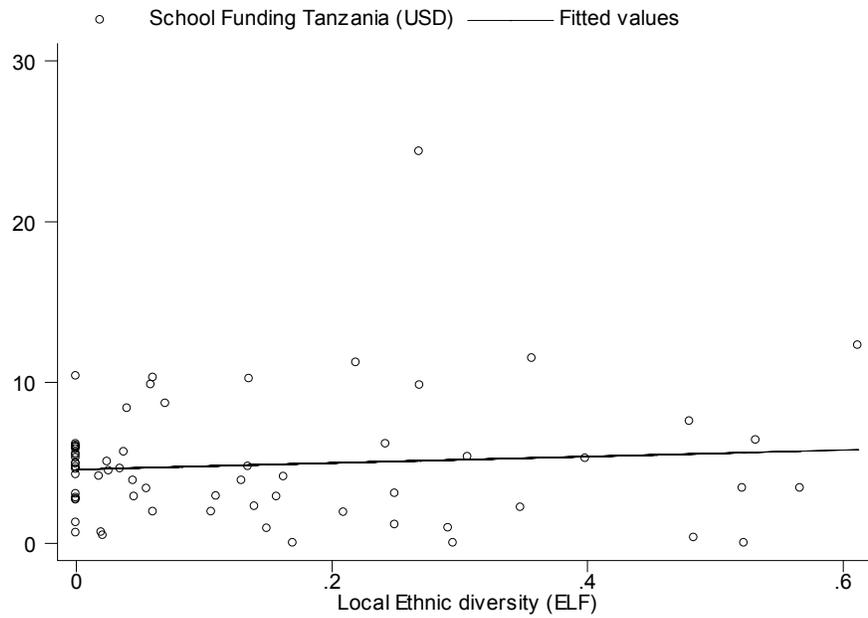


Figure 5: Meatu, Tanzania – Desks per primary school pupil in 2001 versus residential ethno-linguistic fractionalization in the ward

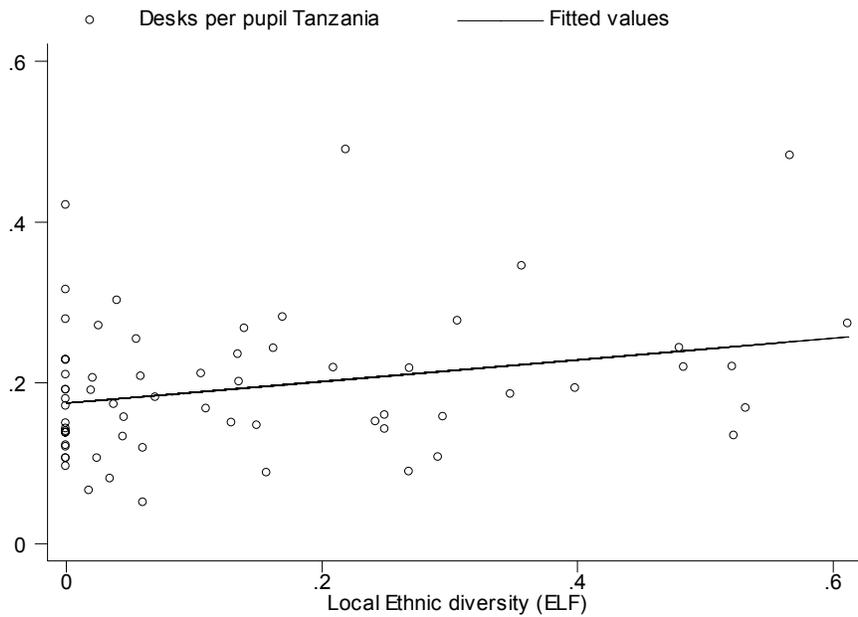


Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

	Meatu District, Tanzania			Busia District, Kenya		
	Mean	Std dev.	Obs. (villages)	Mean	Std dev.	Obs. (schools)
Panel A: Data for Tanzania and Kenya						
Local ethnic fractionalization (ELF)	0.15	0.17	66	0.23	0.14	84
Annual expenditures on local primary school projects per pupil (USD)	4.89	3.90	66	3.45	2.23	84
Desks per primary school pupil	0.19	0.09	66	0.21	0.12	84
Latrines per primary school pupil	0.011	0.005	66	0.016	0.013	84
Classrooms per primary school pupil	0.013	0.005	66	0.031	0.014	84
Teachers per primary school pupil	0.013	0.004	66	0.039	0.015	84
Proportion wells with “normal water flow”	0.57	0.37	66	0.56	0.14	84
Average years of education	4.1	1.1	66	7.4	1.3	84
Proportion formal sector employment	0.06	0.07	66	0.23	0.10	84
Proportion of homes with iron roofs	0.26	0.20	66	0.24	0.10	84
Proportion households grow cash crops	0.61	0.25	66	0.40	0.24	84
Proportion households own cattle	0.47	0.17	66	0.60	0.19	84
Proportion Catholic	0.17	0.12	66	0.58	0.22	84
Panel B: Data for Tanzania						
Number of households per village	408.3	179.2	66			
Annual per capita consumption expenditures (USD)	192.2	82.5	66			
Annual local expenditures on all public goods projects, per household (USD)	8.65	6.39	66	-	-	-
Annual local expenditures on health and water well projects, per household (USD)	1.51	1.78	66	-	-	-
Total annual local tax collection, per household (USD)	2.14	3.47	66	-	-	-
Average number of completed local public goods project, per year	0.67	0.40	66	-	-	-
Average household spending on local taxes and school expenses (USD) [HH Survey]	12.17	14.29	66	-	-	-
Wells with normal water flow, per household	0.008	0.009	66	-	-	-
Total water wells, per household	0.014	0.011	66	-	-	-
Average road quality (scale 1-4)	2.5	0.8	65	-	-	-
Community groups, per household	0.026	0.017	66	-	-	-
Women’s groups, per household	0.004	0.005	66	-	-	-
Youth groups, per household	0.004	0.007	66	-	-	-
Water groups, per household	0.011	0.011	66	-	-	-
Proportion survey respondents who are community group members [HH Survey]	0.33	0.23	66	-	-	-
Village meeting attendance, per household	1.22	1.03	66			

Table 1 Notes:

1) Busia, Kenya data are from the 1996 ICS School and Pupil Questionnaires, 1996 Government Examination Namelists, and Global Positioning Systems (GPS) readings taken by NGO field workers. Each Kenyan data point refers to a primary school, or to the 5 km radius around a school (in the case of the ethnic composition and water well maintenance). Meatu, Tanzania data are from the 2001-2002 Household Survey and 2001-2002 Village

Council Surveys, and ethnicity measures are for the village, computed using a 20 percent random sample of the Village Tax Register, to which ethnic affiliation was assigned.

2) For “Annual local expenditures on primary school projects per pupil (USD)”, the Kenyan data are from school records about parent and community contributions to the school in 1995. For Tanzania, local project values were obtained from the Meatu District Council and the Dutch Rural Development Programme, and then combined with 2001-2 Village Council Survey information on the types of project completed in each village to determine the overall value of local project activity. Thus measures for the two countries are not entirely equivalent. All dollar figures for both countries are in 2002 USD.

3) Local characteristics (education, employment, etc.) for Kenya are from the 1996 Pupil Questionnaire, and are data about pupils’ fathers. Local characteristics for Tanzania are from the 2001-2 Household Survey, in which both men and women were surveyed, though two-thirds of respondents were men. The gender of respondents may partially explain differences in average reported socio-economic characteristics between Busia, Kenya and Meatu, Tanzania, since educational attainment and formal sector employment are higher among men in both countries, and the Tanzanian sample contains both men and women while the Kenyan sample contains only men (fathers), and some Tanzanian respondents were also elderly, who tend to have less education and formal sector employment. However, these differences are unlikely to be large since most Tanzanian respondents are middle-aged men.

Table 2: Ethnic Diversity and Local Public Goods (Kenya and Tanzania)

Explanatory variable	Annual school spending / pupil (USD) (1)	Desks / pupil (2)	Latrines / pupil (3)	Classrooms / pupil (4)	Proportion wells with normal flow (5)	All outcomes (normalized and stacked) (6)
Local ethnic diversity (ELF) * Kenya Indicator	-4.7 (4.8)	-0.37** (0.14)	-0.016 (0.011)	-0.014 (0.010)	0.21 (0.29)	-1.75** (0.72)
Local ethnic diversity (ELF)	1.3 (3.4)	0.11 (0.09)	0.005 (0.004)	0.008 (0.005)	-0.31* (0.18)	0.60 (0.48)
Kenya indicator variable	-2.8** (1.2)	0.01 (0.06)	0.007 (0.005)	0.021*** (0.004)	0.16 (0.15)	0.06 (0.31)
<i>Socio-economic controls</i>						
Average years of education	0.40 (0.24)	0.011 (0.008)	0.0002 (0.0007)	0.0006 (0.006)	-0.044** (0.019)	0.04 (0.04)
Proportion formal sector employment	-2.7 (2.9)	0.16 (0.10)	0.008 (0.016)	0.001 (0.010)	0.29 (0.26)	0.77 (0.49)
Proportion homes with iron roofs	-2.2 (2.2)	-0.00 (0.06)	-0.005 (0.004)	0.002 (0.005)	0.06 (0.13)	-0.27 (0.34)
Proportion households grow cash crops	-0.6 (1.1)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.004)	-0.16* (0.09)	-0.30* (0.16)
Proportion households own cattle	-0.5 (1.2)	0.03 (0.07)	-0.003 (0.006)	-0.006 (0.006)	-0.14 (0.11)	-0.26 (0.32)
Proportion Catholic	3.4*** (1.1)	0.03 (0.08)	-0.002 (0.007)	-0.005 (0.007)	-0.28** (0.12)	-0.03 (0.38)
R ²	0.12	0.16	0.09	0.41	0.11	0.06
Root MSE	3.04	0.10	0.011	0.011	0.26	0.96
Number of observations	150	150	150	150	150	750

Table 2 Notes:

1) Huber robust standard errors in parentheses. Significantly different than zero at 90% (*), 95% (**), 99% (***) confidence. Regression disturbance terms are clustered at the zone level for Kenya, and at the ward level for Tanzania. Local ethnic diversity is ethno-linguistic fractionalization = $1 - \sum_i (\text{Proportion of Ethno-linguistic group } i \text{ in the population})^2$. Local ELF is diversity in all primary schools within 5 kilometers for Kenya, and for Tanzania, it is diversity at the village-level (based on the 2001 Village Council Survey). The data contains 84 primary schools in Busia, Kenya, and for 66 villages in Meatu, Tanzania, for all outcomes.

Table 3: Local Public Finance and Collective Action Outcomes (Tanzania)

Dependent variable	Coefficient estimate on local ELF
<u>Panel A: Public Finance Outcomes, 2001-2002 Village Council Data</u>	
Annual total local expenditures on all public goods projects, per household (USD)	3.9 (6.8)
Annual local expenditures on health and water well projects, per household (USD)	0.6 (1.2)
Total annual local tax collection, per household	0.9 (2.6)
Average number of completed local public goods project, per year	-0.33 (0.41)
<u>Panel B: Public Finance Outcomes, 2001-2002 Household Data</u>	
Average household spending on local taxes and school expenses (USD)	5.9 (10.7)
<u>Panel C: Local Infrastructure, 2001-2002 Village Council Data</u>	
Wells with normal water flow, per household	0.003 (0.007)
Total water wells, per household	0.004 (0.006)
Average road quality (scale 1-4)	-0.2 (0.4)

Table 3 Notes:

1) Huber robust standard errors in parentheses. Significantly different than zero at 90% (*), 95% (**), 99% (***) confidence. Regression disturbance terms are clustered at the ward level. Ethno-linguistic fractionalization is defined as $1 - \sum_i (\text{Proportion of Ethno-linguistic group } i \text{ in the population})^2$. Local ELF is diversity in the village for Tanzania (based on the 2001 Village Council Survey, using Village Tax Register data). The data is for 66 villages in Meatu, Tanzania, for all outcomes.

2) The same socioeconomic controls as in Table 2 are included in all regressions: average years of education; proportion formal sector employment; proportion iron roofing at home; proportion cultivates cash crop; proportion cattle ownership; and proportion Catholic.

Table 4: Community Group and Village Meeting Activity (Tanzania)

Dependent variable	Coefficient estimate on local ELF
Panel A: 2001-2002 Village Council Data	
Total community groups, per household	0.018 (0.016)
Women's groups, per household	0.005 (0.004)
Youth groups, per household	0.009 (0.010)
Water groups, per household	-0.001 (0.008)
Village meeting attendance, per household	0.53 (0.82)
Panel B: 2001-2002 Household Data	
Proportion household survey respondents who are community group members	-0.22** (0.08)

Table 4 Notes:

1) Huber robust standard errors in parentheses. Significantly different than zero at 90% (*), 95% (**), 99% (***) confidence. Regression disturbance terms are clustered at the ward level. Ethno-linguistic fractionalization is defined as $1 - \sum_i (\text{Proportion of Ethno-linguistic group } i \text{ in the population})^2$. Local ELF is diversity in the village for Tanzania (based on the 2001 Village Council Survey, using Village Tax Register data). The data is for 66 villages in Meatu, Tanzania, for all outcomes.

2) The same socioeconomic controls as in Table 2 are included in all regressions: average years of education; proportion formal sector employment; proportion iron roofing at home; proportion cultivates cash crop; proportion cattle ownership; and proportion Catholic.

Table 5: Ethnic Diversity and Social Capital in Tanzania
(World Bank Household Survey Data, 1993 and 1995)

Dependent variable	Coefficient estimate on ELF (within the survey cluster)	Number of households	Mean of dependent variable (s.d.)
Panel A: Community group memberships			
Respondent community group memberships, total	-0.25 (0.20)	545	1.56 (1.50)
Respondent non- religious community group memberships	-0.32 (0.21)	545	1.13 (1.21)
Respondent religious community group memberships	-0.01 (0.12)	545	0.45 (0.61)
Panel B: Subjective measures of trust and cooperation			
Overall trust index	0.010 (0.033)	590	0.62 (0.16)
Index rating village unity	-0.011 (0.049)	590	0.67 (0.18)
Index rating village spirit of participation	-0.001 (0.027)	590	0.53 (0.24)

Table 5 Notes:

1) Huber robust standard errors in parentheses. Significantly different than zero at 90% (*), 95% (**), 99% (***) confidence. Regression disturbance terms are clustered. Ethno-linguistic fractionalization is defined as $ELF \equiv 1 - \sum_i (\text{Proportion of Ethno-linguistic group } i \text{ in the population})^2$.

2) The data are from the 1995 Tanzania Social Capital and Poverty Survey (SCPS) and the 1993 Tanzania Human Resource Development Survey (HRDS), both conducted by the World Bank. The SCPS sampled 87 rural clusters (subsets of villages) from the National Master Sample framework maintained by the Tanzania Bureau of Statistics. Socioeconomic controls include: household head age; household head sex; household head years education; household size; an indicator for residence in the village for at least ten years; average village consumption per adult equivalent (in 1993 Tanzanian Shillings); log(cluster population); cluster-level fractionalization in household head education level; cluster-level fractionalization in household head economic activity; household consumption per adult equivalent in 1993 shillings (linearly and squared); GINI coefficient; and regional controls. The number of household observations per cluster ranges between 7 and 21. There are 46 sample clusters in all regressions above, those with complete consumption expenditure and other socio-economic controls.

3) The normalized indices in Panel B range in value from zero to one indicate how the respondent subjectively rated trust, the spirit of participation in the community, or village unity. The overall trust index is the (normalized) sum of a series of trust question, regarding trust of various types of people.

9. References

- Abdulaziz, Mohamed H. (1971). "Tanzania's National Language Policy and the Rise of Swahili Political Culture", in *Language Use and Social Change*, ed. Wilfred Whiteley, 160-178. Oxford University Press, London.
- Abdulaziz, Mohamed H. (1980). "The Ecology of Tanzanian National Language Policy," in *Language in Tanzania*, ed. Edgar C. Polome and C.P. Hill. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, and James Robinson. (2001). "Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation," *American Economic Review*, 91 (5), 1369-1401
- Alesina, Alberto, Reza Baqir, and William Easterly. (1999). "Public goods and ethnic divisions", *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 114(4), 1243-1284.
- Alesina, Alberto, and Eliana Laferrara. (2000) "Participation in Heterogeneous Communities," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 115(3), 847-904.
- Barkan, Joel D. (ed.). (1984). *Politics and Public Policy in Kenya and Tanzania (Revised)*. Praeger: New York.
- Barkan, Joel D. (1994). "Divergence and Convergence in Kenya and Tanzania: Pressures for Reform," in *Beyond Capitalism versus Socialism in Kenya and Tanzania*, ed. Joel D. Barkan. Lynne Rienner Publishers: Boulder.
- Bloom, David and Jeffrey Sachs. (1998). "Geography, Demography, and Economic Growth in Africa," *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, 2, 207-295.
- Carroll, Barbara Wake, and Terrance Carroll. (2000). "Accommodating ethnic diversity in a modernizing democratic state: theory and practice in the case of Mauritius," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23(1), 120-142.
- Castles, Steven, Bill Cope, Mary Kalantzis, Michael Morrissey. (1992). *Mistaken Identity*, pp. 139-148. Pluto Press, Sydney.
- Colley, Linda. (1992). *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*. Yale University Press: New Haven.
- Community Water Supply Management Project (CWSP). (2000). "Report of the Status of Piped Schemes in Western Province", Kakamega, Kenya, mimeo.
- Conley, Timothy. (1999). "GMM estimation with cross-sectional dependence," *Journal of Econometrics*, 92, 1-45.
- Costa, Dora L. and Matthew E. Kahn. (2002). "Civic Engagement and Community Heterogeneity: An Economist's Perspective", for the Conference on Social Connectedness and Public Activism, Harvard University, May 2002.
- Court, David. (1984). "The Education System as a Response to Inequality," in *Politics and Public Policy in Kenya and Tanzania (Revised Edition)*, ed. Joel D. Barkan. Praeger: New York.

Court, David, and Dharam Ghai (eds.). (1974). *Education, Society, and Development: New Perspectives from Kenya*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press (on behalf of the Institute of Development Studies, University of Nairobi).

Court, David, and Kabiru Kinyanjui. (1980). "Development Policy and Educational Opportunity: The Experience of Kenya and Tanzania", *University of Nairobi Institute of Development Studies Occasional Paper #33*.

Court, David, and Kenneth Prewitt. (1974). "Nation versus Region in Kenya: A Note on Political Learning", *British Journal of Political Science*, 4, 109-120.

DesForges, Alison. (1999). *Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda*. Human Rights Watch: New York.

Easterly, William, and Ross Levine. (1997). "Africa's growth tragedy: policies and ethnic divisions", *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 112 (4), 1203-1250.

Fearon, James, and David Laitin. (1996). "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation", *American Political Science Review*, 90(4), 715-735.

Fearon, James, and David Laitin. (2000). "Violence and Social Construction of Ethnic Identity," *International Organization*, 54(4), 845-877.

Glewwe, Paul, Michael Kremer, and Sylvie Moulin. (1998). "Textbooks and test scores: Evidence from a prospective evaluation in Kenya", unpublished manuscript, MIT.

Gordon, David F. (1994). "International Economic Relations, Regional Cooperation, and Foreign Policy", in *Beyond Capitalism versus Socialism in Kenya and Tanzania*, ed. Joel D. Barkan. Lynne Rienner Publishers: Boulder.

Gorman, T.P. (1974). "The Development of Language Policy in Kenya with Particular Reference to the Educational System", in *Language in Kenya*, ed. W.H. Whiteley. Oxford University Press, Nairobi.

Government of Kenya. (1965). *Kenya Population Census, 1962*. Central Bureau of Statistics: Nairobi.

Government of Kenya. (1986). *Kenya Socio-Cultural Profiles: Busia District*, ed. Gideon Were. Ministry of Planning and National Development, Nairobi.

Government of Kenya. (1994). *Kenya Population Census, 1989*. Central Bureau of Statistics: Nairobi.

Government of the United Republic of Tanzania. (1999). *Shinyanga Region Socio-economic Profile*. Dar es Salaam.

Horowitz, Donald. (1985). *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. University of California Press: Berkeley.

Kidamala, Daudi, and E.R. Danielson. (1961). "A Brief History of the Waniramba People Up to the Time of the German Occupation", *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 56, 67-78.

Koff, David and George von der Muhll, 1967, "Political Socialization in Kenya and Tanzania – A Comparative Analysis", *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 5(1), 13-51.

- Koff, David and George von der Muhll, 1971, "Political Socialization in Kenya and Tanzania – A Comparative Analysis", in *Education and Political Values: An East African Case Study*, ed. Kenneth Prewitt. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.
- LaFerrara, Eliana. (1999). "Inequality and Group Participation: Theory and Evidence from Rural Tanzania," *IGIER Working Paper #161*.
- Laitin, David. (1992). *Language Repertoires and State Construction in Africa*. Cambridge University Press.
- Mamdani, Mahmood. (1996). *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton University Press: Princeton.
- Mauro, Paolo. (1995). "Corruption and Growth," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 110(3), 681-712.
- McHenry, Dean E., Jr. (1979). *Tanzania's Ujamaa Villages*. Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley.
- Miguel, Edward, and Mary Kay Gugerty. (2002). "Ethnic Diversity, Social Sanctions, and Public Goods in Kenya," unpublished manuscript, University of California at Berkeley.
- Miles, William F.S. (1994). *Hausaland Divided: Colonialism and Independence in Nigeria and Niger*. Cornell University Press.
- Morgan, W.T.W., and N. Manfred Shaffer. (1966). *Population of Kenya, Density and Distribution: A geographical introduction to the Kenya Population Census, 1962*. Oxford University Press: Nairobi.
- Mwapachu, Juma Volter. (1975). "Operation Planned Villages in Rural Tanzania: A Revolutionary Strategy for Development", *Mbioni*, 7(11), 5-39.
- Ndulu, Benno J., and Francis W. Mwega. (1994). "Economic Adjustment Policies", in *Beyond Capitalism versus Socialism in Kenya and Tanzania*, ed. Joel D. Barkan. Lynne Rienner Publishers: Boulder.
- Ndegwa, Stephen. (1997). "Citizenship and Ethnicity: An Examination of Two Transition moments in Kenyan Politics," *American Political Science Review* 91(3), 599-616.
- Platteau, Jean-Philippe. (2000). *Institutions, Social Norms, and Economic Development*. Harwood.
- Polome, Edgar C. (1980). "Tanzania: A Socio-linguistic perspective," in *Language in Tanzania*, ed. Edgar C. Polome and C.P. Hill. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Prewitt, Kenneth, George Von der Muhll, and David Court. (1970). "School Experiences and Political Socialization: A Study of Tanzanian Secondary School Students", *Comparative Political Studies*, 3(2), 203-225.
- Putnam, Robert. (1993). *Making Democracy Work*. Princeton University Press.
- Schoenbraun, David Lee. (1998). *A Green Place, a Good Place : Agrarian Change, Gender, and Social Identity in the Great Lakes Region to the 15th Century*. Heinemann.

- Therkildsen, Ole. (2000). "Contextual Issues in Decentralization of Primary Education in Tanzania," *International Journal of Educational Development*, 20, 407-421.
- Varshney, Ashutosh. (2002). *Civic Life and Ethnic Conflict: Hindus and Muslims in India*, Yale University Press.
- Vigdor, Jacob. (2001). "Community Composition and Collective Action: Analyzing Initial Mail Response to the 2000 Census", unpublished manuscript, Duke University.
- Von der Muhll, George. (1971). "Education, Citizenship, and Social Revolution in Tanzania", in *Education and Political Values: An East African Case Study*, ed. Kenneth Prewitt. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.
- Weber, Eugen. (1976). *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*. Stanford University Press.
- Were, Gideon. (1967). *A History of the Abaluyia of Western Kenya*. East African Publishing: Nairobi.
- White, John. (1980). "The Historical Background to National Education in Tanzania," in *Language in Tanzania*, ed. Edgar C. Polome and C.P. Hill. Oxford University Press: Oxford.
- Wilson, L.S. (1992). "The *Harambee* movement and efficient public good provision in Kenya," *Journal of Public Economics*, 48(1), 1-19.