Ethnic hierarchy in the Russian labour market A field experiment

Alexey Bessudnov (University of Exeter), Andrey Shcherbak (HSE University)

ASA 2018 meeting, Philadelphia

14 August 2018

Main contributions

- Labour market discrimination varies by ethnic group
- There is no discrimination in locations with ethnically mixed population and institutionalised status of ethnic minorities
- First field experiment on discrimination conducted in Russia

Correspondence tests of racial and ethnic discrimination

- Focus on separating taste-based from statistical discrimination (is this the only possible question?)
- Often include two or at most three ethnic groups
- Lack external validity
- Usually ignore the literature on stereotypes, prejudice and group threat

Ethnic hierarchies in multiple-group systems

- Hagendoorn (1995): social distance studies show that in many Western societies Northern European groups have the highest status, followed by Southern and Eastern Europeans Asians and Africans
- We can see correspondence tests as a measure of prejudice, as reflected in hiring decisions
- Does the extent of discrimination against different groups vary?
- Oreopoulos (2011): in Canada discrimination against applicants with Greek names was about as strong as against Indians, Chinese and Pakistani
- Booth et al. (2012): in Australian applicants with Italian names had higher callback rates compared to Chinese and Middle Eastern names

Group threat and contextual factors

- Group threat literature (Blumer 1958, Quillian 1995): the size of out-groups may be associated with prejudice against them
- Contact hypothesis (Allport 1954): more contact with out-groups improves attitudes (under certain conditions)
- Little research on the effect of contextual factors in the discrimination research
- Acolin et al (2016): stronger ethnic discrimination in the rental market in French regions with larger share of ethnic minorities
- Maurer-Fazio (2012): Mongolians and Uyghurs do not get discriminaited in Inner Mongolia and Urumqi in China

Russian context

- About 80% of the population are ethnic Russians and there are multiple ethnic minorities both of indigenous and immigrant origin
- Ethnic regions where "titular" ethnic groups have instituionalised status and often constitute ethnic majority (media in local languages, teaching local languages in schools etc.)
- This allows us to study multiple groups and explore spatial heterogeneity in discrimination

Design

- Over 9,500 vacancies, nested in 320 CVs created on two job search websites (clustered design)
- 10 ethnic groups, 320 names
- Data collection: June 2017 January 2018
- Ethnicity signaled by name only; we conducted a survey to test how well the ethnic names are recognised
- Two treatments: ethnicity and gender
- Four locations across Russia: Moscow and St Petersburg (large metropolitan areas) and Kazan and Ufa (capitals of "titular" ethnic republics in the Volga region)
- Full factorial design: 10 ethnic groups x 2 genders x 4 cities x 4 occupations = 320 accounts

Ethnic groups

Ethnic group	Size in Russia in 2010 (thousand)	Region of origin
Ethnic Russians	111,017	European Russia
Armenians	1,182	Caucasus
Azeris	603	Caucasus
Chechens	1,431	Caucasus
Georgians	158	Caucasus
Tatars	5,311	Volga region
Tajiks	200	Central Asia
Uzbeks	290	Central Asia
Germans	394	Western Europe
Jews	157	Eastern Europe
Latvians	19	Eastern Europe
Lithuanians	31	Eastern Europe
Ukrainians	1,928	Eastern Europe

Locations

- 1. Moscow (12 m): Russians (86%), Ukrainians (1.3%), Tatars (1.3%)
- 2. St Petersburg (5 m): Russians (92%), Ukrainians (1.5%), Tatars (0.7%)
- 3. Kazan (1.2 m): Russians (49%), Tatars (48%)
- 4. Ufa (1.1 m): Russians (49%), Tatars (28%), Bashkirs (17%)

Contact rates by ethnic group



Contact rates by ethnic group and location



Formal test: ethnic hierarchy

	Moscow/St Petersburg	Kazan/Ufa
Jewish	-0.02 (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)
Ukrainian	-0.01(0.03)	-0.005 (0.04)
German	-0.04 (0.03)	0.04 (0.04)
Latvian/Lithuanian	-0.07** (0.03)	-0.04 (0.04)
Tatar	-0.12^{***} (0.03)	0.01 (0.04)
Tajik/Uzbek	-0.13^{***} (0.03)	-0.02 (0.04)
Chechen/Azeri	-0.13^{***} (0.03)	-0.04 (0.04)
Armenian	-0.14^{***} (0.03)	-0.03 (0.04)
Georgian	-0.15*** (0.03)	-0.04 (0.04)
Observations	5,937	3,747

Note: Linear probability model. Ethnic Russians are the reference group. Control variables: gender, occupation, city, website, research assistant. Cluster-robust standard errors in parentheses.

Interacting ethnicity and gender

	Moscow/St Petersburg	Kazan/Ufa
Southern	-0.07*** (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
male	-0.001 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)
Southern:male	-0.08^{***} (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)
Observations	5,937	3,747

Note: Linear probability model. Groups of European origin and women are the reference groups. Control variables: occupation, city, website, research assistant. Cluster-robust standard errors in parentheses.

Probability of phone contact (vs. website)

	Moscow/St Petersburg	Kazan/Ufa
Jewish	-0.11** (0.05)	-0.08* (0.05)
Ukrainian	-0.06 (0.05)	-0.001 (0.05)
German	$-0.11^{*}(0.06)$	0.06 (0.05)
Latvian/Lithuanian	$-0.17^{***}(0.05)$	-0.02 (0.06)
Tatar	-0.20*** (0.07)	-0.06 (0.08)
Tajik/Uzbek	-0.22 ^{***} (0.05)	-0.07 (0.07)
Chechen/Azeri	-0.22 ^{***} (0.05)	-0.001 (0.06)
Armenian	-0.16^{***} (0.06)	-0.03 (0.05)
Georgian	-0.17 ^{***} (0.06)	-0.02 (0.05)
Observations	1,955	1,597

Note: Linear probability model. Ethnic Russians are the reference group. Control variables: gender, occupation, city, website, research assistant. Cluster-robust standard errors in parentheses.

Probability of explicit rejection

	Moscow/St Petersburg	Kazan/Ufa
Jewish	-0.02 (0.02)	0.04 (0.03)
Ukrainian	-0.005 (0.03)	0.05 (0.04)
German	-0.03 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)
Latvian/Lithuanian	0.02 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)
Tatar	-0.004 (0.02)	0.03 (0.04)
Tajik/Uzbek	0.06*** (0.02)	-0.004 (0.03)
Chechen/Azeri	0.08*** (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)
Armenian	0.03 (0.02)	0.07* (0.04)
Georgian	0.05** (0.02)	0.05 (0.04)
Observations	3,982	2,150

Note: Linear probability model. Ethnic Russians are the reference group. Control variables: gender, occupation, city, website, research assistant. Cluster-robust standard errors in parentheses.

Findings

- Employers prefer groups of European origin over groups of Asian/Southern origin, but only in Moscow and St Petersburg
- No evidence of an ethnic hierarchy in the labour market in Kazan and Ufa
- Gendered ethnic stereotypes

Why regional differences?

- We can't prove anything with n = 4, but we can discuss possible explanations
- Ethnic structure of the population: the contact theory
- Ethnic federalism and the status of titular groups

Project description

- Funded by the British Academy (2016-19)
- Supported by the HSE Scientific Fund grant and the Laboratory for Comparative Social Research
- Thanks to research assistants: Alisa Alieva, Sergey Konontsev, Vladislav Kostin, Anastasia Roud, Pavel Savchenko, Darya Smirnova (all HSE St Petersburg students)