Ethnic hierarchy in the Russian labour market

A field experiment

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Project description

- A field experiment (correspondence test) to study ethnic hierarchies and discrimination in the Russian labour market
- Funded by the British Academy (2016-19)
- Supported by the HSE Scientific Fund grant and the Laboratory for Comparative Social Research
- Data collection: June 2017 - January 2018
- Today we report the results that are (almost) final
- Thanks to research assistants: Alisa Alieva, Sergey Konontsev, Vladislav Kostin, Anastasia Roud, Pavel Savchenko, Darya Smirnova

Study background

- Immigration to Russia from the early 1990s
- Native ethnic minorities and ethnic federalism

Research questions

- Does ethnic hierarchy exist in Russia?
- If yes what ethnic groups are at the top and at the bottom?
- Does it vary across locations with different ethnic composition of the population and insitutional arrangements for titular ethnic groups?
- Does ethnicity interact with gender?
- Does ethnicity interact with occupation?

Innovations

- Theoretical: focus on the ideas from the social psychological literature (ethnic hierarchies, group threat) rather than statistical vs. taste-based discrimination
- Methodological and theoretical: regional heterogeneity in ethnic preferences; the role of ethnic federalism
- The first correspondence study conducsted in Russia, with one of the largest sample sizes in the international literature

Ethnic hierarchy

- Studies in social psychology showed that in many societies there is a universal ethnic hierarchy where northern and western European groups have the highest status, followed by Southern and Eastern Europeans and then by Asians and Africans (Hagendoorn)
- Three components of ethnic hierarchies
  1. In-group preference: contact within the group is preferred
  2. In-group consensus: members of the ethnic group generally agree on the hierarchy of their preferences in regard to other ethnic groups
  3. Intergroup consensus: all ethnic groups generally accept this hierarchy, i.e. even members of the low status groups generally prefer contact with high status groups

Ethnic federalism

- Benefits of the titular status in national republics, including access to the labour market
- Priority given to titulars? (Martin 2001, Gorenburg 2003, Guiliano 2011)
- Both ethnic hierarchy and ethnic federalism theories predict that in-groups will be given preference
- But will the ethnic hierarchies look similar otherwise across different location?
- Influence of religion or cultural proximity?

Study design: choosing ethnic groups

- ▶ To study ethnic hierarchies we want groups with different regions of origin
- ▶ We cannot have too many groups (design limitations)

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

Signalling ethnicity

- ▶ Do people recognise ethnic names?
- ▶ We conducted a survey using a non-probablity sample recruited on the social media websites to explore this (n = 861)

Ethnic names recognition

Ethnic group	% correct	% broadly correct	% not Russian
Georgian	91	98	100
Armenian	90	96	100
Russian	88	90	12
Ukrainian	82	92	95
Jewish	72	84	99
Tatar	57	90	99
German	42	62	85
Latvian	35	65	100
Lithuanian	22	73	100
Chechen	20	83	99
Uzbek	19	91	100
Azeri	16	90	100
Tajik	12	84	99

Locations (1)

- Two locations where ethnic Russians are a majority of the population (Moscow and St Petersburg)
- Two locations with more ethnically mixed population (Kazan and Ufa)
- Must be big cities to generate enough vacancies

Locations (2)

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%)

Occupations

	Skills level	
	skilled	non skilled
Contact with customers		
regular contact	sales manager	salesperson
rare contact	computer programmer	cook

Design

- Multiple accounts created on two job search websites
- Full factorial design
- 10 ethnic groups x 2 genders x 4 cities x 4 occupations = 320 accounts
- Cluster randomised design

Power analysis (1)

- ▶ A test for proportions to compare two groups with power 0.8 at the 95% significance level
- ▶ Assuming the effect size as the difference between 35% and 25% contact rates, the intraclass correlation of 0.01 (from the pilot study) and 32 clusters (CVs) per ethnic group

```
library(clusterPower)
crtpwr.2prop(alpha = 0.05, power = 0.8, m = 32,
             p1 = 0.35, p2 = 0.25, icc = 0.01)
```

```
##  n
## 11
```

- ▶ Then overall we may want $32 * 11 * 10 = 3520$ applications

Power analysis (2)

▶ If we want to separately estimate the diference in proportions in each of the four cities / occupations

```
crtpwr.2prop(alpha = 0.05, power = 0.8, m = 8,
    p1 = 0.35, p2 = 0.25, icc = 0.01) * 8 * 10 * 4
```

```
##      n
## 21758
```

▶ Grouping two cities / occupations together

```
crtpwr.2prop(alpha = 0.05, power = 0.8, m = 16, p1 = 0.35,
    p2 = 0.25, icc = 0.01) * 16 * 10 * 2
```
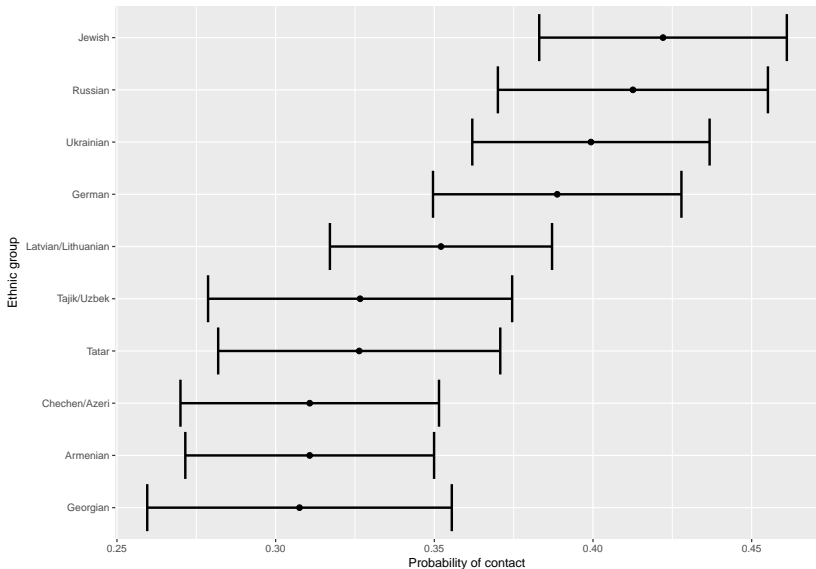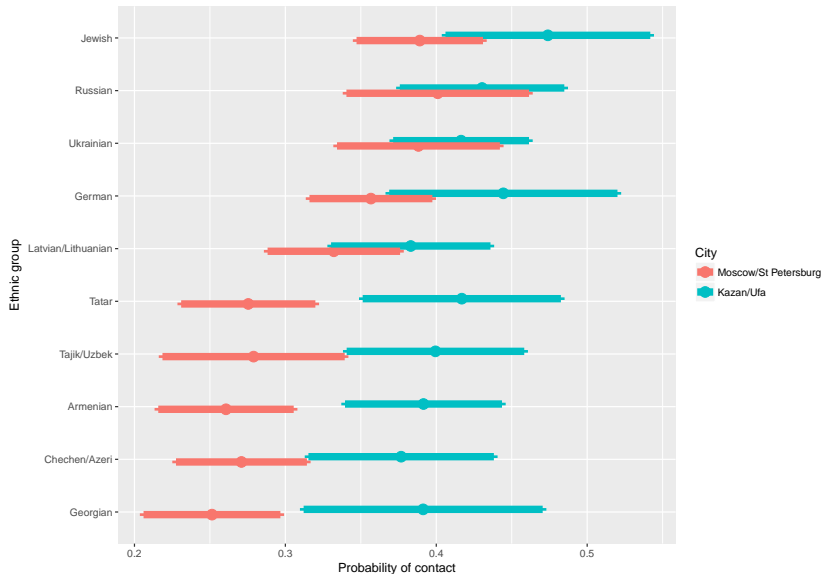
```
##     n
## 8098
```

▶ About 8,000 applications

Preliminary results: contact rates

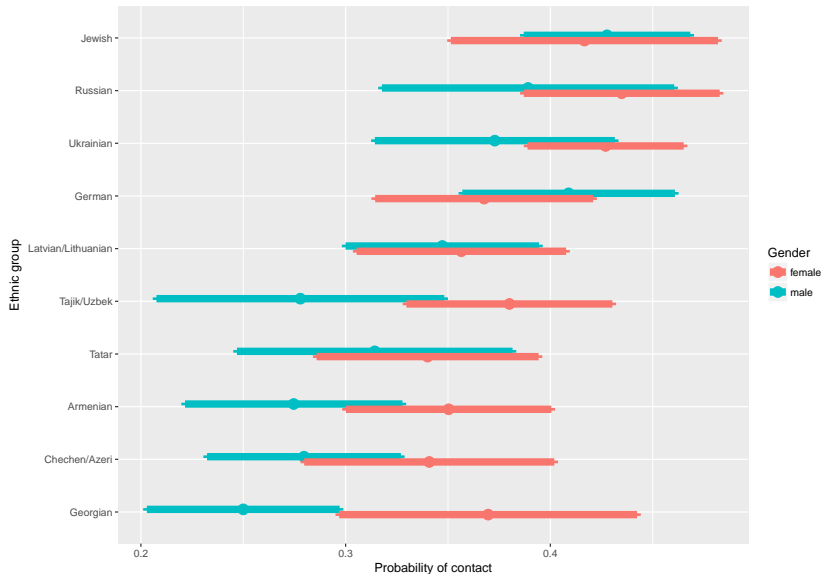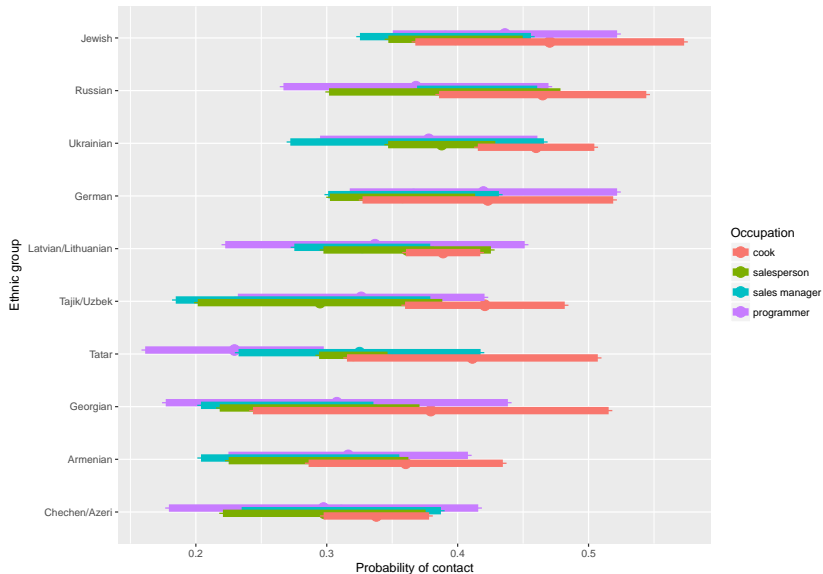| Applications	Response rate	on the phone	on the website	by email
9607	0.36	0.2	0.23	0

Contact rates by ethnic group

Contact rates by ethnic group and location

Contact rates by ethnic groups and gender

Response rates by ethnic groups and occupation

Formal test: ethnic hierarchy

	all	Moscow/St Petersburg	Kazan/Ufa
Jewish	0.01 (0.03)	−0.01 (0.03)	0.05 (0.04)
Ukrainian	−0.01 (0.03)	−0.01 (0.03)	−0.003 (0.04)
German	−0.01 (0.03)	−0.04 (0.03)	0.03 (0.04)
Latvian/Lithuanian	−0.06** (0.03)	−0.06* (0.03)	−0.05 (0.04)
Tatar	−0.08*** (0.03)	−0.12*** (0.03)	−0.004 (0.04)
Tajik/Uzbek	−0.08*** (0.03)	−0.11*** (0.03)	−0.03 (0.04)
Chechen/Azeri	−0.10*** (0.03)	−0.13*** (0.03)	−0.04 (0.04)
Armenian	−0.09*** (0.03)	−0.14*** (0.03)	−0.02 (0.04)
Georgian	−0.10*** (0.03)	−0.14*** (0.03)	−0.03 (0.04)
Observations	9,607	5,909	3,698

Interacting ethnicity and gender

	all	Moscow/St Petersburg	Kazan/Ufa
Southern	-0.05^{***} (0.02)	-0.07^{***} (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
male	-0.002 (0.02)	-0.004 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)
Southern:male	-0.06^{**} (0.02)	-0.07^{**} (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)
Observations	9,607	5,909	3,698

Probability of phone contact (vs. website)

	all	Moscow/St Petersburg	Kazan/Ufa
Jewish	-0.11^{***} (0.04)	-0.12^{**} (0.05)	-0.08^{*} (0.04)
Ukrainian	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.08^{*} (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)
German	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.13^{**} (0.06)	0.05 (0.04)
Latvian/Lithuanian	-0.12^{***} (0.04)	-0.18^{***} (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)
Tatar	-0.11^{**} (0.05)	-0.19^{***} (0.06)	-0.01 (0.07)
Tajik/Uzbek	-0.18^{***} (0.04)	-0.23^{***} (0.05)	-0.10^{*} (0.05)
Chechen/Azeri	-0.12^{***} (0.04)	-0.20^{***} (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)
Armenian	-0.11^{***} (0.04)	-0.17^{***} (0.06)	-0.02 (0.04)
Georgian	-0.10^{**} (0.04)	-0.17^{***} (0.06)	-0.01 (0.05)
Observations	3,424	1,897	1,527

Probability of explicit rejection

	all	Moscow/St Petersburg	Kazan/Ufa
Jewish	0.001 (0.02)	−0.02 (0.02)	0.04 (0.03)
Ukrainian	0.02 (0.02)	−0.003 (0.03)	0.04 (0.04)
German	−0.01 (0.02)	−0.02 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)
Latvian/Lithuanian	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)
Tatar	0.01 (0.02)	−0.004 (0.02)	0.03 (0.04)
Tajik/Uzbek	0.04* (0.02)	0.07*** (0.02)	−0.01 (0.03)
Chechen/Azeri	0.06** (0.03)	0.08*** (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)
Armenian	0.05** (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	0.07* (0.04)
Georgian	0.05** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	0.04 (0.04)
Observations	6,183	4,012	2,171

Next step

- The effect of ethnicity of HR employees, especially in Kazan and Ufa

Conclusions

- Employers prefer groups of European origin over groups of Asian/Southern origin, but only in Moscow and St Petersburg
- No evidence of ethnic hierarchy in hiring in Kazan and Ufa: the effect of ethnic composition or ethnic federalism?
- Gendered ethnic stereotypes
- Possible mechanisms: unconscious bias, avoidance of contact