

# ***Gender Discrimination in the Workplace and Work-family Conflicts in China***

**Jixin Wu<sup>1,a,\*</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>*Department of Religion, Hong Kong Baptist University, 224 Waterloo Road, Kowloon Tong, 999077, Hong Kong, China*

*a.18216587@life.hkbu.edu.hk*

*\*corresponding author*

**Abstract:** Despite the rapid development of China in the last decade, it is noticed that Chinese women are currently put in a problematic position under uneven work distribution barriers with the rapid growth and continuous shifts of society. With the widening gender gap, women are not only still expected to carry more duties in taking care of the family, but also with an expectation of contributing economic support for the family as well. On the other hand, the governmental policy indirectly reinforces the gender discrimination problem in the workplace, such as a mandatory extension of maternal leaves. This paper aims to examine the current status of gender discrimination in the Chinese hiring market and workplace through literature reviews and in-depth interviews, to better understand the potential factors contributing to the situation, then to develop potential solutions for the intense situations under an updated analysis. It is found that women are playing double roles in Chinese society, who are expected to take more duties in the family and parenting, which is considered a huge distraction from their commitment to their careers. Hence, the female labor force is often less preferred compared to the male labor force by employers.

**Keywords:** Gender discrimination, Workplace discrimination, Maternal employment

## **1. Introduction**

With the rapid development since the reform of China, women are now playing a more and more significant role in society, however, gender inequality is still persistent in Chinese society [1]. Gender discrimination in the Chinese workplace has been various studies accomplished in the past. For instance, China's rebalancing and gender inequality by Brussevich et al. examines gender inequality in China from the angle of social reformation of China to suggest a barrier in the labor market for women has increased [2]. It is also proved by data from the World Bank and the Global Gender Gap Report. "Glass ceiling" or "Sticky floor": The evidence from Chinese labor market: Semantic scholar by Tang, Y., and Scott, R. investigates the increasing gender inequality in earning differences and gender discrimination in the workplace, and the intensified "glass ceiling effect" for women [1]. Moreover, in "Good Mothers Work": How maternal employment shapes women's expectation of work and family in contemporary urban China by Zhou, Y., conducted in-depth interviews with young Chinese women to investigate their views on their mother's wage work, to examine maternal employment impact on expectations of young Chinese women about wage work and work-family conflicts [3].

This paper will investigate the contemporary double social expectation for Chinese women, the work-family conflict of being economically independent while carrying heavy maternal duties in the family, then investigate the potential reasons for gender discrimination in the workplace from Chinese gender norms under the influence of traditional Confucian values. This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 reviews the current status of gender discrimination in the Chinese labor market. Section 3 reviews various in-depth interviews for further detailed information on gender discrimination experiences in the Chinese labor market. Section 4 is a discussion and reflection of the above contents for a better understanding of the situation. Then, section 5 is meant to provide some insights on how to decrease gender discrimination in the workplace for the authority.

## **2. Current Status**

### **2.1. Widening Gender Gap and Double Expectations for Chinese Women**

With the rapid growth of China, women are now playing a more and more significant role in not only their families but also in society. Since the 1960s, the Chinese are educated by the famous saying “women hold up half of the sky ” for generations both male and female citizens acknowledge the concept of gender equality [2]. In this way, the female workforce has greatly contributed to the development of China. Even so, accompanied by the rapid growth of GDP over the past few decades, there have been gender gaps getting wider and wider. Judging by the labor force participation in China, the gender difference between males and females has almost doubled from the 1990s to 2020 [2]. According to the Global Gender Gap Report 2022, China is ranked 102nd in gender gap rankings in a total of 146 countries, dropping significantly low in comparison to its position in 2006, when China was ranked 63rd among 115 countries [4]. Moreover, the ratio of labor force participation dropped from 0.86 in 1990, while the proportion of the total female employed population dropped by 12 percent according to the World Bank Data of 2018 [5]. It is surprising to see such backward development of the growing gender gap in participation in the Chinese employment market, considering the rapid growth of the economics of China with the standard of “new standards” reformation since 2002 [1]. Hence, it is in a way an “unfinished revolution” for female active participation in the labor force market, which is not evaluated equally with the emphasis on male participation as caregivers at home [3].

Hence, the difficult situation for Chinese women in the workplace is sarcastically named the “glass ceiling effect”, as an invisible glass on the ceiling prevents women from achieving a higher level of a certain hierarchy [1]. There are various contributors to the current situation, one of which is the social gender norms and expectations, reinforced by individuals and authority.

Unfortunately, it is apparent that there are still various gender discrimination behaviors in the Chinese labor market that exist, some are even caused indirectly by the gradually shifting government policies with negligence of obstacles women face in the workplace.

### **2.2. Governmental Policy on Maternal Leave and Its Effect on Gender Discrimination**

The indirect impact of governmental policies on gender discrimination in the workplace is often ignored. As mentioned, Chinese women are now under barriers in the labor market, one of them is heavy maternal duties.

It is clear that the Chinese government is concerned about the current aging population and the total fertility rate, as proved by the renewed third-child policy which was announced last year. In other words, the government is trying to encourage fertile young women to carry out their maternal duties of giving birth to more newborns. The Chinese maternal policy took a huge turn in the 1970s when late marriage and late pregnancy were encouraged and only one child was allowed for every

couple, with the purpose of limiting population growth. By announcing the third-child policy, Chinese women are encouraged to devote more time and energy to parenthood.

The policy received quite a few backfires from the public, especially from younger women who seek a career, for adding more maternal duties and stress on women. As the saying goes, women ought to hold up half of the sky and play double duty in society and their families. While contributing a female workforce to society, Chinese women are expected to also play an important role as caring mothers for their children, which requires a great amount of time and energy. Hence, Chinese women are experiencing a post-reform landscape of intensifying gender discrimination in the labor market and reoriented gender norms from the authority, which indirectly but clearly makes emphasis on women's role at home [3]. For women who pursue a career path, the expectation of shouldering more duties as caregivers not only from a societal perspective but also from the attitude of the authority seems to be a major threatening attribute to the unsatisfying environment for Chinese women to pursue their career path without discrimination. On the other hand, it is now the "reformed" or a more "modern" social expectation for Chinese women to be qualified for both identities and to fulfill their multiple duties in society through the moralization of maternal employment, which creates an even more intense work-family conflict for Chinese women.

The policies on mandatory extended maternal leaves also put corporations, especially private companies, in an awkward place as well. Before the one-child policy was renewed, the certainty of one maternal leave was benefited by corporations, however, after the third-child policy came out, the uncertainty of potential multiple maternal leaves was no longer appreciated that one would believe the widening wage gap was a result of the renewed policy [6]. In the absence of the labor force during maternal leaves, the direct loss is not compensated to the corporations. Mandatory extended maternal leaves of female employees indicate a bigger loss for the company, and with the expectations of more babies of female employees, it is only natural for companies to prefer male employees for a more effective and stable labor force contribution. The government overlooks the need to address the need for the elimination of unequal gender division in society, while the relevant regulations promote women's role at home without encouraging the involvement of men [7].

### **2.3. Work-family Conflict from Chinese Gender Norms**

To understand this issue, we need to understand the traditional social norms in Chinese society. In ancient Chinese history, women were expected to become full-time housewives, who occupied a lower social position under the Confucius cultural social structure. In ancient times Chinese women were not granted the freedom of pursuing a career path in a feudal society. On the other hand, men were expected to be responsible for family expenses as the only source of finance for the family. Meanwhile, women were responsible for only taking care of their children and the family's internal affairs with low social status. Under Confucian doctrines, Chinese women were under strict moral restrictions that women were "subservient and undervalued" with zero places in "public life", which still shadows the gender norms of Chinese culture that women are supposed to primarily be devoted at home as caregivers [8]. Traditional values that indicate the ideology of male superiority are still observed in every aspect of life in contemporary Chinese society [8].

It is pointed out that domestic labor is invisible in the family to an extent, while the internal affairs at home are left as particular difficulties that women are responsible for [7]. While both females and males are equally expected in contributing to the labor market, the unpaid invisible labor of internal affairs is still left to women, these gender norms were neither challenged by the authority nor did men encouraged to share the household labor [7].

Nowadays, it is still common sense in Chinese culture to expect women to shoulder more duties in the family as caregivers, which is considered an incredibly huge distraction to their jobs and careers. Men are less expected to spend time taking care of their children, while women are expected to be

caring and tolerant of their children, while women are expected to take care of the child's food, clothing, study progression, and every aspect of the children's life almost independently. Hence, women are expected to be subordinate in their pursuit of careers to their spouses and shouldering domestic responsibilities at home as a priority [8].

On the other hand, with the social structure of marketization in China, mothers are given the idealization of "good mother works" and the moralization of maternal employment that such uneven distribution of work as caregivers is a huge factor resulting from social expectations for women to experiencing work-family conflicts while achieving their career goals [3]. Wage work for Chinese women is considered a choice that is taken for granted, in contemporary China young women reject the idea of becoming full-time wives, not only for a better model for their children but also because they believe choosing to stay at home is considered lowering one's standards and "getting left behind" [3]. Women are encouraged to contribute to the labor market while the authority is giving the message of encouraging more maternal duties for women at home while ignoring the less involvement of men as caregivers. Hence, the "compromising" dynamic of gender equality still exists in Chinese society [7].

Through the moralization of maternal employment and the repeated gender norms for women to shoulder more duties at home, the work-family conflicts for women are intensified from the double identities of women granted by society, while gender discrimination is post-reforming in the labor market in contemporary China, that is the very problem Chinese women need for solutions.

## 2.4. Gender Discrimination in the Labor Market

For the above reasons, most young women experience a great amount of gender discrimination ever since they graduated from universities and first entered the labor market. Transitioning from students to job-haunting graduates, young women are put in an awkward position, where they experience less mobility than men since many employers may prefer a male workforce over female employees while recruiting. First of all, we can find gender discrimination in the process of recruitment, for example, through examining the recruitment posts, we can see that more male preferences for hiring and many positions aren't even open to female applicants.

### 2.4.1. Analysis of An Example of A Job Posting

For example, one can recognize some problematic trends in this job advertisement in Figure 1.

Job Ad Example 1		
<i>A job ad on technology company Baidu's website:</i>		
Information feed reviewer		
Department: Baidu	Work location: Beijing	Number of recruitments: several
Company: Baidu	Position type: management support	Date of publication: March 16, 2017
Job responsibilities:		
Responsible for legal department information feed review work		
Maintain, analyze, and report reviewed information regularly		
Organize, categorize, investigate, and report harmful information promptly		
Give suggestions on platform tools, processes, strategies, etc.; assist in enhancing the efficiency of the platform		
Job requirements:		
Associate's degree or above, <u>men</u> , any major, have relevant work experience		
Passionate about the internet, detail-oriented and patient, strong sense of responsibility, good communication and coordination skills		
Excellent data processing, analysis, and summarization skills		
Strong ability to work under pressure, able to work on weekends, holidays, and night shifts		

Figure 1: Job advertisement for a job in a technology company [9].

The job position is only open for male applicants, with an unjust expectation that women are not qualified to fulfil the detailed job requirements, such as working overtime and taking night shifts.

According to Zhaopin, a Beijing-based online employment site, Chinese women were paid on average 23 percent less than men last year, with the wage gap widening by 1 percent between 2018 and 2017 [10]. Recent national civil service job lists included "men only," "men preferred," or "suited for men" in 13% (2017) and 19% (2018) of the job ads [9]. (Importantly, none in the 2017 list indicated "women only," "women preferred," or "suited for women," and one in the 2018 list specified a preference for women.) In 2017, the Ministry of Public Security advertised 55 percent of the positions as "men only [9]." For instance, the job description for the news department of the ministry stated, "Need to work regularly overtime, high-intensity work, only men need to apply [9]." When they are not explicitly barred, many job postings demand that female applicants have children and a spouse [9]. Such a biased view suggests that women are their families' primary sources of child care and are thus unable to be fully committed to their jobs, and accommodating maternity leave is inconvenient or costly for the firm or agency. With the extended mandatory leave announced by the government, many women were triggered, as the policy itself implies that women carry more duties in raising children than men. In a manner of speaking, more mandatory maternity leave implies the message of asking women to sacrifice their working time even more for taking care of the children, which results in a more difficult situation for young women to pursue a career.

Almost every woman would be asked by supervisors if they were married with children, or do they have any recent plans for pregnancy during and even before employment. Young women are considered "unstable" and "nonpersistent" with their career plans and they would spend a lot of time on maternity leave and taking care of their children, sooner or later after their pregnancy. In addition, with the expectation of carrying more duties at home as caregivers than male employees, female employees seem to be less committed to their job even after pregnancy. Under such circumstances, women are less compatible for corporations looking for certainty in the labor force in comparison with men, in whom the company does not need to invest maternal benefits and time in. Especially for young single women, such job requirements with gender preferences are a severe burden for them to achieve their career plans and a balance in the labor market. Meanwhile, if one is married with children with no plans for more babies, the company would still prefer male employees for expected more commitment to the job, since men are expected to carry fewer duties for raising their children and doing internal family affairs, the firms would expect male employees are more tolerant on taking business trips or over-time shifts.

These job postings reflect traditional and deeply discriminatory views that women are less physically, intellectually, and psychologically capable than men, however, employers should focus on the skills and abilities that are required for the jobs instead of gender-biased assumptions about what the employees could offer [9]. Women are less preferred by the labor market under the discriminative view that they are "inferior" to men [8].

#### **2.4.2. The Lack of Governance of Gender Discrimination**

Although Chinese laws prohibit gender bias in hiring and gender discriminatory message in advertising, the relevant regulations lack a definitive definition of gender discrimination and effective enforcement mechanisms [9]. Hence, the level of enforcement is low, and Chinese authorities rarely investigate companies that violate relevant laws regularly [9].

For instance, Luo Ying, a 30 years old woman, resigned after she reported her pregnancy to her supervisor [10]. According to Luo, her supervisor was apparently not happy about her pregnancy, but he did not verbally respond negatively to her pregnancy, instead he assigned Luo to a project which required two weeks of a business trip [10]. Then Luo resigned after evaluation, she believes her child was more important [10]. This kind of insinuating settlement of pregnant female employees is



probably more common than public awareness; pregnant female employees are often considered not as efficient to some degree as before, since it is pricy to simply fire the female employees, the corporations often take another solution, which is to assign them to a different position. The new position is either with difficult tasks with pregnancy, such as long business trips or night shifts, or a more idle job that differs from their preferred career paths.

Victims of discrimination can file complaints with Bureaus of Human Resources and Social Security for discrimination in hiring and Bureaus of Industry and Commerce for advertising discrimination, but the responses from the authority to complaints are often irregular, inconsistent, and mainly inconsequential when actions are actually being taken. The authority seldom if ever penalizes companies for discriminatory job advertisements, instead they often only require modifications on the ads [9]. According to women's rights activists, only a small percentage of companies investigated by the authorities for publishing discriminatory job advertisements have been penalized [9]. Without sufficient governance, gender discrimination is often ignored in the Chinese market, while many women experiencing gender discriminative treatment have no meaningful solutions to their situations.

### 3. In-depth Interviews

For a further investigation of the issue, various in-depth interviews with working women with children, pregnancy, or with any pregnancy plans have been conducted. Through in-depth interviews, qualitative elicit data on individuals' experiences were collected for a better analysis of gender discrimination and work-family conflict in contemporary China. When they were asked if they have experienced any gender discrimination when they were interviewed for positions, a few answered positively.

Participant A is a 29-year-old employee of a public enterprise with a 4-year-old daughter, who experienced her pregnancy in the fourth year of employment, and currently works for a state-owned company. Participant B is a 32-year-old woman, who gave birth to two children, the first in the seventh year of employment at a private corporation. She resigned from her job at the private corporation and then was hired as a teacher in a public school during her second pregnancy this year. Participant C is a 26-year-old female, currently working for a private company for the fourth year, who plans to have a child in a near future. Participant D is a 34-year-old female, who gave birth to two children but went through an abortion two years ago, and currently works for a state-owned enterprise.

To investigate the attitudes of corporations toward maternal employment, participants were asked for any experience of corporation interferences with their pregnancy plan or expressed any biased view toward their pregnancy during their career, participant A, responds, *"The supervisor asked me multiple times if I had any plans to have children since I was hired. They even have some ridiculous regulations on it... I was warned that I was not allowed for having babies in busy seasons."* Participant B responds, *"Absolutely yes. If I had children then I was basically saying goodbye to any significant promotion and raise, as many of my female colleagues did. That was part of the reason why I left the company."* Participant C responds, *"Yes... My husband and I wanted to have a child two years ago, but the plan was delayed because I realized the sacrifices that I had to accommodate for having babies. Three years ago, two of my coworkers were pregnant at almost the same time, my supervisor expressed negative views on my coworkers multiple times during their maternal leaves. They all expressed they felt they had less concentration on their career since they felt exhausted from taking care of their children. I worked very hard on my job, and I hate to lose any opportunity because of my pregnancy, so I delayed the plan to maybe another two years."* Participant D responds, *"Well, I decided to terminate my third abortion because of my work. I couldn't afford the time and energy*

*for another baby. Yes it was a surprise, but I just got promoted back then, there is no way I could just separate myself from my job for so long to take care of the baby.”*

Then, for a better understanding of the impact of maternal duties on working women, participants were asked if they experienced any work-family conflict or discriminative treatment after they had children, participant A responds, *“Sadly yes. The position that I worked very hard for was given to others because of my maternity leave, and there is nothing I could do about it. I had some difficulties in my new position because I was not even familiar with the work.”* Participant B responds, *“Yes, my last job paid me well but it requires long working hours, but since I had a baby, I couldn’t balance the schedule. Also, since I was cut off from any meaningful raise or promotion, I resigned during my second pregnancy and hopped to another public school this year, which requires fewer working hours and maternal issuance. However, my current job only pays me half my wage in comparison to the last one.”* Participant D responds, *“Yes. I had my first baby early, which is fine, but the second pregnancy probably cost me a few opportunities for better development of my career, I was about to apply for a transfer to another department with a higher salary. It didn’t succeed because I had to go through maternal leave, then it was impossible for me to get that position anymore. I worked hard after my pregnancy to get the promotion, I couldn’t just leave again knowing what damage it would have on my career.”*

Lastly, in an evaluation of the impact of household affairs on men in comparison to women, participants were asked whether they think male employees experience similar difficulties after they had children, participant A responds, *“To some degree, I guess. If they were raised to understand raising a child is not only the mother’s responsibility, they would stand up and do their work. But sadly, I seldom notice any male colleagues sacrifice their working hours for their children, but many female colleagues including myself did multiple times.”* Participant B responds, *“Yes, at least some of them. My husband carries a very positive attitude toward taking care of our babies, he would take a day off and take our child to the hospital when our child is sick. He is a responsible husband and father, but most of my colleagues from my last job share very different experiences! They sometimes had to pick up their children from school or tutor during office hours on the weekends, which causes the supervisor unsatisfactory with the situation. Even though their husbands could have been more “active”...”* Participant C responds, *“Yes, but less than women. My husband agreed to delay our plan also because he wants to spend more time on our child if he could, but he is working really hard with long-hour shifts for promotion, which requires fewer working hours. If we had a baby after his promotion, he won’t be coming home at 9 p.m. anymore so that he could be with the baby more.”* Participant D responds, *“Oh yes, my husband has to take the children to school and pick them up after school every day. He rejected a promotion for more free time. I live very far from the company, so he had to be responsible for the drives of our children, for which I am very grateful. But he is not very happy about his salary, which is almost half of mine. He argued if we had a third child, I might have to switch to another position with fewer working hours to take care of the children, which I rejected because I don’t think it is fair, and we couldn’t afford to do that. Then we agreed we aren’t going to have any more children.”*

#### 4. Discussion

From the responses to in-depth interviews, it is apparent that gender discrimination in the workplace is very common, often resulting from the social expectation of uneven domestic labor contribution toward Chinese women. It is surprising to see there are even restrictions for female employees’ pregnancy plans even in a state-owned enterprise. The gender gap has increased drastically in the past decade, and the double expectations on women from society are putting them in a difficult situation while causing obstacles for Chinese women to participate freely in a discrimination-free labor market.

For sufficient solutions to the intensifying situation, the government is required to come up with more fair-and-square solutions to reduce the gender gap in social work distribution, especially for women as caregivers at home and carrying more maternal duties in comparison with men. For instance, setting mandatory maternal leave for male employees as well, on one hand, would reduce the uncertainty of corporation loss of absence of labor force toward female employees if there is no difference between the loss of male and female labor force during maternal leaves. On the other hand, it would encourage men to break the traditional gender norms of women carrying more maternal duties than men but to participate more actively at home as caregivers. It might increase the fertility rate of China as well since the heavy burden of maternal duties is equally shared by male participants.

Lifting the unfair social expectation of women would allow them to break through the “glass ceiling” get rid of the “sticky floor”, and enjoy more freedom to pursue their career path. In this way, the female labor force is no longer hitting barriers but is more active in participating in the Chinese labor market. Last but not least, given the subtle “settlement” for pregnant female employees in the workplace, there should be more strict law reinforcement measures to assure the punishment of gender discrimination in the workplace, to eliminate gender discrimination in the Chinese labor force market.

This paper may be biased due to the various circumstances of different jobs, different times, and various geographic characteristics. The lack of quantitative data support for the topic may affect the accuracy of the outcome of this research.

## 5. Conclusion

Work-family conflicts are to a degree one of the direct contributors to obstacles for women pursuing their career path. The gender norms and the uneven social expectation toward Chinese women are forcing them to play a double role in society, being capable of contributing to the household income, as well as caring for more maternal duties as caregivers at home. The moralization of illusory put on Chinese women is not only disappointing but also damaging to society and the unfinished social reformation. In addition, the slanted attitude of the government on maternal duties, judging from the latest policies on extended maternal duties fails to address the need for the involvement of men in household affairs, intensifying the double standards for Chinese women to carry more maternal duties as caregivers in comparison to men under uneven household labor division. Hence, the uncertainty of maternal leaves of female employees is unappreciated and expensive by corporations while the heavy-duty of domestic labor damages the pursuit of their careers; the male labor force is preferred for more commitment to their job, such as being more flexible and capable of various task requirements such as working long hours in the absence of shouldering domestic responsibilities as women. Thus, Chinese women are experiencing challenges of unjust treatment in the labor market. With the backdrop of the female labor force contribution, China is in urgent need of more considerate and effective solutions for eliminating gender discrimination and widening the gender gap for a more satisfying development in the long-term perspective.

## References

- [1] Tang, Y., & Scott, R. (1970, January 1). "glass ceiling" or "Sticky floor": The evidence from Chinese labor market: Semantic scholar. pub. Retrieved September 21, 2022, from <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/%22Glass-Ceiling%22-or-%22Sticky-Floor%22%3A-The-Evidence-Tang-Scott/d35c66560c0b312a0d0bf6fc2c4be8ba418ce577>
- [2] Brussevich, M., Dabla-Norris, E., & Li, B. (G. (2022, February 4). China's rebalancing and gender inequality. SSRN. Retrieved September 18, 2022, from [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=4026314](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=4026314)
- [3] Zhou, Y. (2020, November 3). "Good mothers work": How maternal employment shapes women's expectation of Work and Family in Contemporary Urban China. Retrieved October 1, 2022, from <https://spssi.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/josi.12389>



- [4] *Global gender gap report 2022*. World Economic Forum. (n.d.). Retrieved September 24, 2022, from. <https://www.weforum.org/reports/global-gender-gap-report-2022/in-full/economy-profiles-5b89d90ea5>
- [5] World Bank Group. (2022, June). *Employment to population ratio, 15+, female (%) (modeled ILO estimate) - China*. World Bank Data. Retrieved September 20, 2022, from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.EMP.TOTL.SP.FE.ZS?end=2021&locations=CN&start=1991&view=chart>
- [6] Lyu, D. (n.d.). *The gender wage gap in China: Learning from recent longitudinal data*. Retrieved October 4, 2022, from [https://www.econ.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/Thesis\\_final\\_draft\\_Donghe\\_Lyu.pdf](https://www.econ.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/Thesis_final_draft_Donghe_Lyu.pdf).
- [7] Ji, Y., Wu, X., Sun, S., & He, G. (2017, December). *Unequal care, unequal work: Toward a more comprehensive understanding ...* ResearchGate. Retrieved October 19, 2022, from [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/315110369\\_Unequal\\_Care\\_Unequal\\_Work\\_Toward\\_a\\_More\\_Comprehensive\\_Understanding\\_of\\_Gender\\_Inequality\\_in\\_Post-Reform\\_Urban\\_China](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/315110369_Unequal_Care_Unequal_Work_Toward_a_More_Comprehensive_Understanding_of_Gender_Inequality_in_Post-Reform_Urban_China)
- [8] Lupton, B., & Xian, H. (2009, October 23). *The persistence of gender discrimination in China – evidence from recruitment advertisements*. Taylor & Francis. Retrieved October 20, 2022, from <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09585190903175647>
- [9] "Only men need to apply". Human Rights Watch. (2022, February 23). Retrieved September 23, 2022, from. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2018/04/23/only-men-need-apply/gender-discrimination-job-advertisements-china>
- [10] Cheng, S. (2019, March 8). *Women seek equality in China's job market*. chinadailyhk. Retrieved October 4, 2022, from <https://www.chinadailyhk.com/articles/80/233/161/1552009889377.html>