

# Gender-Targeted Job Ads in the Recruitment Process: Evidence from China

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The practice of explicitly requesting workers of a particular gender in job ads:

- Was commonplace in the U.S. before 1974:

**Help Wanted—Men  
Professions and Trades**

LAUNDRY, CLNG. ROUTEMAN  
LGE. PROG. CO. WITH PROVEN  
ADV. PROG. TO HELP OUR MEN.  
WILL TRAIN AMB. MARR. MAN.  
21-40. WITH GOOD RECORD FOR  
CHOICE RTE. HI SAL. PLUS  
COM. AVER. OVER \$6,000 YR  
WONDERFUL OPPTY. WITH  
OF CHICAGO'S BEST.  
RAINBOW LDY., 4327 W. Division

LAUNDRY-CLEANING RTE. MAN  
Oppty. for reliable married man, who  
needs big money fast. Good starting  
salary, rapid advancement; salary and  
commission, voc., welfare, American  
Laundry, 925 S. California-av.

**MACHINE SHOP**  
**DAYS**  
ELECTRICIAN  
AUTOMATIC CHUCKER  
W. & S. 1 AC or 2 AC  
RADIAL DRILL  
MILLWRIGHT HELPER  
TURRET LATHE  
I.W. & EYE  
INSPECTORS  
**NIGHTS**  
AUTO. SCREW MACHINE  
TURRET LATHE  
I.WARNER-SWASEY  
AUTOMATIC CHUCKER  
I.W. & S. 1 AC OR 2 AC  
ALL AROUND OPERATOR  
BECHLER OPERATOR  
Machine operators must have  
their own tools and be able

**Help Wanted—Men  
Professions and Trades**

PERSONNEL  
**PERSONNEL  
RECRUITER**  
For  
**McGraw-Hill  
SALESMEN**

Excellent opportunity for experi-  
enced Personnel Recruiter to  
recruit and interview sales ap-  
plicants for one of the world's  
largest publisher of business,  
technical and engineering mag-  
azines. Position is located in  
Chicago, but there will be  
travel to cities in 200-300 mile  
radius of Chicago.  
College graduate preferred.  
**DO NOT CONTACT McGRAW-  
HILL OFFICE IN CHICAGO.**  
Interviews will be arranged  
with you during the week of  
APRIL 30.  
If you think you are a DOER,  
send resume and salary re-  
quirements.  
**WRITE MDR 12, TRIBUNE**  
**PIPE FITTERS**  
Must be experienced pipe fitters.  
Excellent working conditions. We are  
an equal opportunity employer.  
**CAMPBELL SOUP CO.**  
2550 W. 35TH-ST.  
**PLANER OPERATOR**

**Help Wanted—Men  
Professions and Trades**

**SCREW MACHINE  
SET-UP  
OPERATE**  
2d or 3rd Shift  
Electronics manufacturer ex-  
panding production machine  
operations to include 3d shift.  
Men needed experienced in set  
up and operation of Brown-  
Sharpe screw machines. Mod-  
ern plant. Many company ben-  
efits. Automotive increases. Ap-  
ply

**STANDARD KOLLSMAN  
INDUSTRIES, INC.**  
2085 N. HAWTHORNE  
MELROSE PARK, ILL.

**SETUP MAN**  
Sheet metal. Press brake, punch  
press, layout. Reads blueprints. Top  
salary. GL 3-6923

**SHIPPING CLERK**  
Position available to young  
man with packaging and ship-  
ping experience. Air cond.  
plant. Steady employment. Ex-  
cellent company benefits.

**Help Wanted—Men  
Professions and Trades**

**WOODWORKERS**  
Expd. hand sander and cleaner for  
cabinet rooms. Must know how to  
sharpen and handle chisel. Experi-  
enced only. No others need apply.  
315 N. Racine

**WOODWORKER**  
Moulding sander. Make own block.  
Experienced only. Union shop. West  
Woodworkers Co. 310 N. Ada.

**WOOL PRESSER**  
For retail cleaning plant. QR 2-6679  
121 WELDERS (2)  
Truck Body Builders  
Penn Bodies 1301 W. Pershing-rd.

**Butlers, Chauffeurs, Housem's**  
**CHAUFFEUR—Top wages; 2 cars**  
Must include picture, full personal de-  
tails and highest ref. in rept. Exp.  
men over 40 preferred. Evanston.  
Write MBP 214, Tribune  
**CHAUFFEUR—Gardener—Houseman**  
Good salary, room and board. Top  
traveler, over 50. Must have good ref-  
erence. M. E. Wolf. FR 2-3704

**Form and Garden**  
**EXPERIENCED farmer** — Familiar  
with horses. Year around work. Non-  
drinker. Salary and quarters. Inter-  
views between 9-12 Wed. and Thurs.  
9720 S. 83th-av., Palos Hill

**Clubs, Hotels, Restaurants**  
**BAKER**  
Previous restaurant or catering ex-  
perience necessary. Excellent salary,  
liberal benefits.  
**MOUNT SINAI HOSPITAL**  
Personnel 277-3676

**BEHIND-MADE household mds.**  
Direct sales by appt. High comm.  
No age limit; car nec. Mr. Howard,  
SP 4-5079 or PI 9-1195  
**BLDG. REMODELING—Contractors**  
No exp. Will train. \$150 week  
draw. Highest commission

**Help Wanted—Men  
Salesmen**

**AUTO SALESMEN**  
WANTED IMMEDIATELY  
Exper. or Not—Will Train  
**\$450 GUARANTEE**  
IF YOU QUALIFY  
1.—Front Line Setting  
2.—Demo. Plan  
3.—Mer. Advancement  
4.—Guarantee Salary  
**SEE TOM O'HARA  
HUB FORD**  
2220 Milwaukee Chicago, Ill.

**AUTO SALESMEN**  
EXPERIENCED NEW OR USED  
For southside's largest Ford dealer-  
ship. Salary-commission-demo. Hotel.  
plus available.  
APPLY IN PERSON ONLY  
TO MR. RIPKEY  
**BURKE FORD**  
6455 S. WESTERN-AV.

**AUTO SALESMEN**  
Need 2 experienced Automobile Sales-  
men. Best deal in town for the right  
men. Salary, commission, Demo.  
Apply in person only. See  
Mr. Joe Fitzsimmons at:  
**ELMWOOD FORD**  
1823 N. HARLEM-AV.

**AUTOMOBILE—USED CAR MAN-  
AGER.** Suburban dealer. Salary plus  
comm. Phone Clearbrook 5-3500.  
**AWNING SALESMAN**  
See...  
**BEVERAGE DRIVER TRAINEES**  
For route work, 21-35. High school  
grad., 5 days. Guaranteed sal. and  
comm., \$110 min. BO 8-2000.

...for reliable married man who

...must include picture...  
men over 40 preferred

...for route work, 21-25

# CHICAGO DAILY TRIBUNE: TUESDAY, APRIL 24, 1962

**Women Personnel**

**JOB FOR ANYONE**

**YES FOR**

**WOMEN**

**WANTED**

**PERSONNEL**

**PERSONNEL**

## IMPORTANT TO YOU

At STAR you receive BOTH the most personalized and individual job attention in Chicago AND the opportunity to select the BEST available job for you.

STAR has a professional staff of highly educated and trained counselors who are always ready to individually discuss your specific job desires, abilities, and interests. You can rely on the unhurried atmosphere of our beautiful offices, where information on the best jobs in Chicago and in the surrounding area is available for your consideration. You receive prompt personalized attention, and because STAR is Chicago's largest and most modern female employment service, you have access to the largest job selection.

We invite you to come in and visit our lovely offices at your convenience and discover for yourself why STAR is the only place to go when considering a new position.

### STAR EMPLOYMENT TELEVISION

134 S. MICH. R. 1207 STATE 7-3279

## Recptn.-Secy. \$390

Your boss is the highest distributor of sat. shows more and TV films. He is out of town a lot, so he needs a reliable assistant.

**DAY** who will meet his many clients, answer phones and handle his dictation. You will also attend press parties and act as hostess. It is a smartly furnished office. He will consider a young girl if she has some work exp. Merry-hills job can be yours. See or call

## 100% FREE STENO.-SECYS.

SECY.—SALES EXEC. .... \$425  
 SECY.—MORTGAGE FIRM ... \$400  
 SECY.—7 GIRL OFFICE ... \$399  
 SECY.—RECEPTIONIST ... \$375  
 DICTAPHONE ... \$400

## GENERAL OFC.

TYPIST—LEARN SWRD ... \$330  
 TYPIST—LIKE FIGURES ... \$300  
 TYPIST-BILLER ... \$350  
 TELETYPE OPERATOR ... \$340  
 TYPIST-CITY CLEW ... \$347  
 TYPIST-RECEPTIONIST ... \$325

## BOOKKEEPERS

BOOKKEEPER-ACCT. .... \$475  
 F. C. BKKPR-TYPIST ... \$400  
 ASST BKKPR-TYPIST ... \$360  
 ACCOUNTING ... \$350  
 FIGURE CLERK ... \$380

## WABASH

202 S. State Wabash 2-5000  
 Enter 15th Floor

## DOCTOR'S RECEPTIONIST

\$400 MO. 1ST YEAR

**SOME TYPING—NO SATURDAY**

You will welcome patients, schedule appointments, answer phones, prepare no patients for simple examinations (will train). In beautiful offices of very young but successful drs. No medical exp. needed, just a warm friendly manner. \$334 mo. to start, 3 week-end vacation first year. Pay raise in 6th mo. to \$364. See or call

Sets. no exp. NO FEE. See. call me. JOHN ZERO, 1111 S. W. 8th St. Chicago 4-5688

## LA SALLE

CHICAGO'S FINEST AGENCY WHERE YOU WILL FIND THE WIDEST SELECTION OF FREE JOBS IN THE CHICAGO AREA.

## Always 100% Free

NO CONTRACTS TO SIGN

## SECRETARIES

SECY.—Office Manager ... \$450  
 SECY.—18 President ... \$431  
 SECY.—ADVERTISING ... \$375  
 EXECUTIVE SECY. ... \$420  
 SECY.—Michigan Dr. ... \$378  
 SECY.—like done ... \$325

## TYPIST CLERKS

5 Train-Dictaphone ... To \$350  
 10 Typists Gen office ... To \$375  
 7 TYPISTS—figures ... To \$400  
 2 Switchboard Typists ... \$303  
 4 Miller Typists ... \$350

## CLERICAL—FIGURES

2 F. C. BOOKKEEPERS ... \$425  
 6 FILE CLERKS ... To \$300  
 4 ACCOUNTING Clerks ... To \$275  
 3 ASST. BOOKKEEPERS ... \$325

## 7 W. MADISON

ROOM 507 CE 6-5688

## AIRLINE TICKET GIRLS

## NO TYPING

Classes now forming for personable young ladies who enjoy working with people, having week-end vacations with no flight expense, and learning all about the ever-expanding field of air-travel! May choose from Loop, Midway, and O'Hare locations after training. No typing; no college. Very high salaries and travel passes for you and your family. Greater opportunity.

...you will also attend press parties and act as hostess. It is a smartly furnished office. He will consider a young girl if she has some work exp.

...you will... in beautiful offices of very young but successful doctors.

Classes now forming for personable young ladies who enjoy working with people...

PAT V  
 22 W. A  
 KF

- Was gradually prohibited in developed countries over the past 50 years:

USA 1974

Austria 2004

China (partially) 2016:

In 2015, China's revised Advertisement Law designated fines from RMB 200,000 to 1,000,000 for any ads "carrying any nationality, racial, religious or sex-discriminating information" (Article 57).

In May 2016, China's Ministry of Industry and Information Technology issued a regulation targeting online job platforms, banning the posting of gendered job ads. In case of violations:

- 30% of the fine is paid by the website

- 70% of the fine is paid by the firm placing the ad

Since then, explicitly gendered job ads:

-have largely disappeared from the major national job boards (51job, Chinahr and Zhaopin)

[though terms like “beautiful”, “lady”, “handsome”, “gentleman”, “camgirl” and “delivery little brother” are still common].

- Is still widely used in emerging-economy labor markets:
  - At least 11 Spanish-speaking countries: Mexico, Colombia, Peru, Argentina, Ecuador, Venezuela, Guatemala, El Salvador, Uruguay, Panama, Honduras. This does NOT include gendered occupation titles.
  - In China, these ads are still be widely used in:
    - city-level job boards (XMRC, XMHRSS)
    - ads for temporary jobs (58.com)
    - campus recruitment (Yingjiesheng)
  - They are supported by Indeed.com in Brazil, Portugal, Pakistan, Mexico and India:



## Computer Operator

Manav Management Group - Faridabad, Haryana

₹1,00,000 - ₹1,50,000 a year

[Apply On Company Site](#)

[Save this job](#)

### Job Description

Subject:- Best job Opening in Faridabad

We have urgent opening for the post of:-computer operator

Post of: - Computer operator

Experience: 1- 2 Year

Salary On base: - 8k to12k

Applied Candidate: - Male only

Company profile:- Manufacturing

Experience Candidate Salary will be depend on interview

Location:- Nehar Par Faridabad

## Office Coordinator(faridabad)

Manav Management Group - Faridabad, Haryana

₹1,25,000 - ₹2,25,000 a year

[Apply On Company Site](#)

[Save this job](#)

### Job Description

We Have Urgent Requirement For The Post Of: -Office Coordinator

Post Of: - Office Coordinator

Experience: - 3 To 5 Year

Salary: - 15K To18K

Applied Candidate: - Female Only

Company Profile: - Chemical Industry

Location:-Faridabad Sec-46

Desired Qualification: - Any Graduate

### Job Description

Handling Registries Of Customers.

Knowledge Of Business Management System In General

Knowledge Of Client Business Processes / Obtaining Through Internet

Knowledge M S Office (Ms Word, Ms Excel, Ms Power Point)

Internet & E-Mailing, Comfortable To Work On Ms Excel.

English Is Must & Fluent English

To understand:

- the continued effects of gendered ads where they are used
- the effects of prohibiting them

It's useful to know:

1. how frequently, and *where* gendered ads are used
2. how they enter the recruitment process:
  - how “hard” are employer’s gender preferences?
  - do gendered ads direct workers’ job search?

Today, I'll summarize two recent papers that address these questions, using 2010 job board data from China:

Delgado Helleseter, Kuhn and Shen. "The Age Twist in Employers' Gender Requests: Evidence from Four Job Boards" *Journal of Human Resources*, forthcoming.

Kuhn, Shen and Zhang, "Gender-Targeted Job Ads in the Recruitment Process: Evidence from China", October 2018

## Paper number 1: “The Age Twist”

Using data from three Chinese and one Mexican job board, we demonstrate the following:

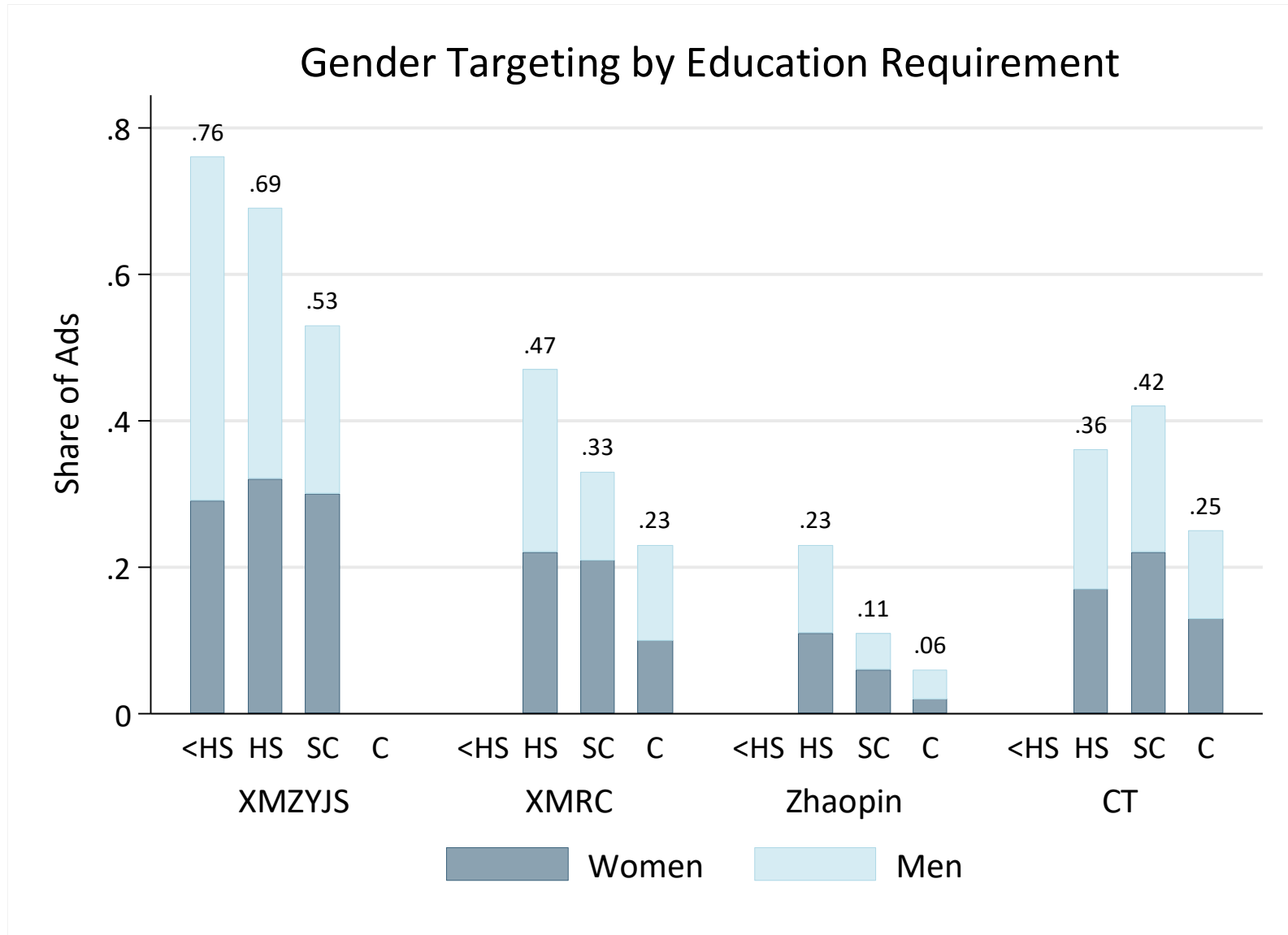
**Result 1.** Explicitly gendered job ads were **widely used** on these job boards, in a fairly ‘**symmetric**’ fashion:

Job Board	Country	Skill Level	Share of Ads Requesting Men	Share of Ads Requesting Women
Zhaopin.com	China	High	.055	.050
XMRC.com	China	Medium	.186	.199
XMZYJS.com (now XMHRSS)	China	Low	.421	.303
Computrabajo.com	Mexico	Medium	.161	.159

**Result 2—the negative skill-targeting relationship:** Gendered job ads (for both men and women), and age-targeted job ads are much more common

- on job boards catering to less-skilled workers (see above)

- in job ads requesting less education, less experience, and offering lower wages:





These patterns persist:

- for other measures of skill (experience requirements, posted wage).
- controlling for occupation\*firm fixed effects.

The most likely explanations are:

- idiosyncratic candidate quality matters more as skill requirements rise
- labor market tightness ( $V/U$ ) rises systematically with skill

**Result 3.** In predicting whether employers request men versus women, **jobs (especially job titles) matter more than firms:**

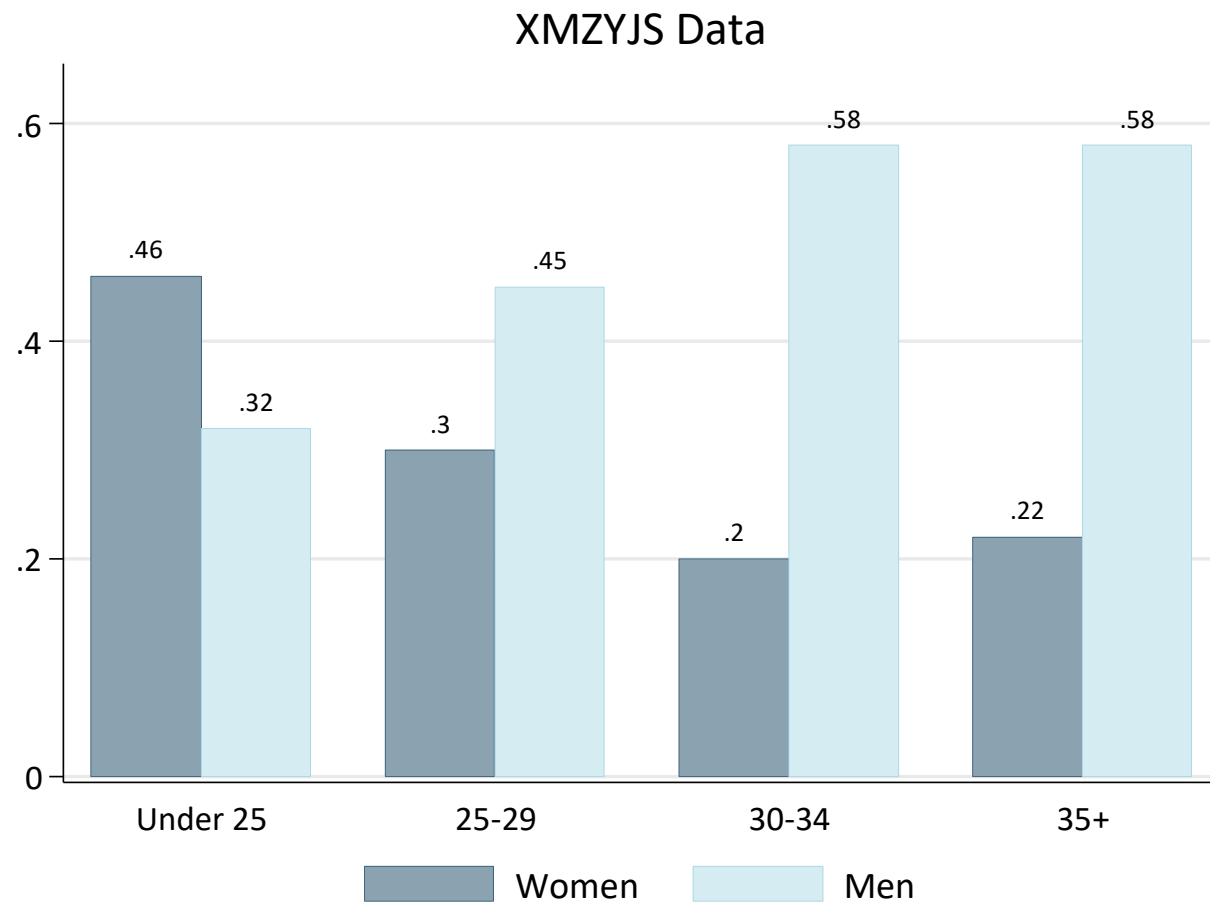
It is commonplace for the same firm to explicitly request men for some jobs and women for others.

The jobs that tend to request men versus women are largely the same across firms.

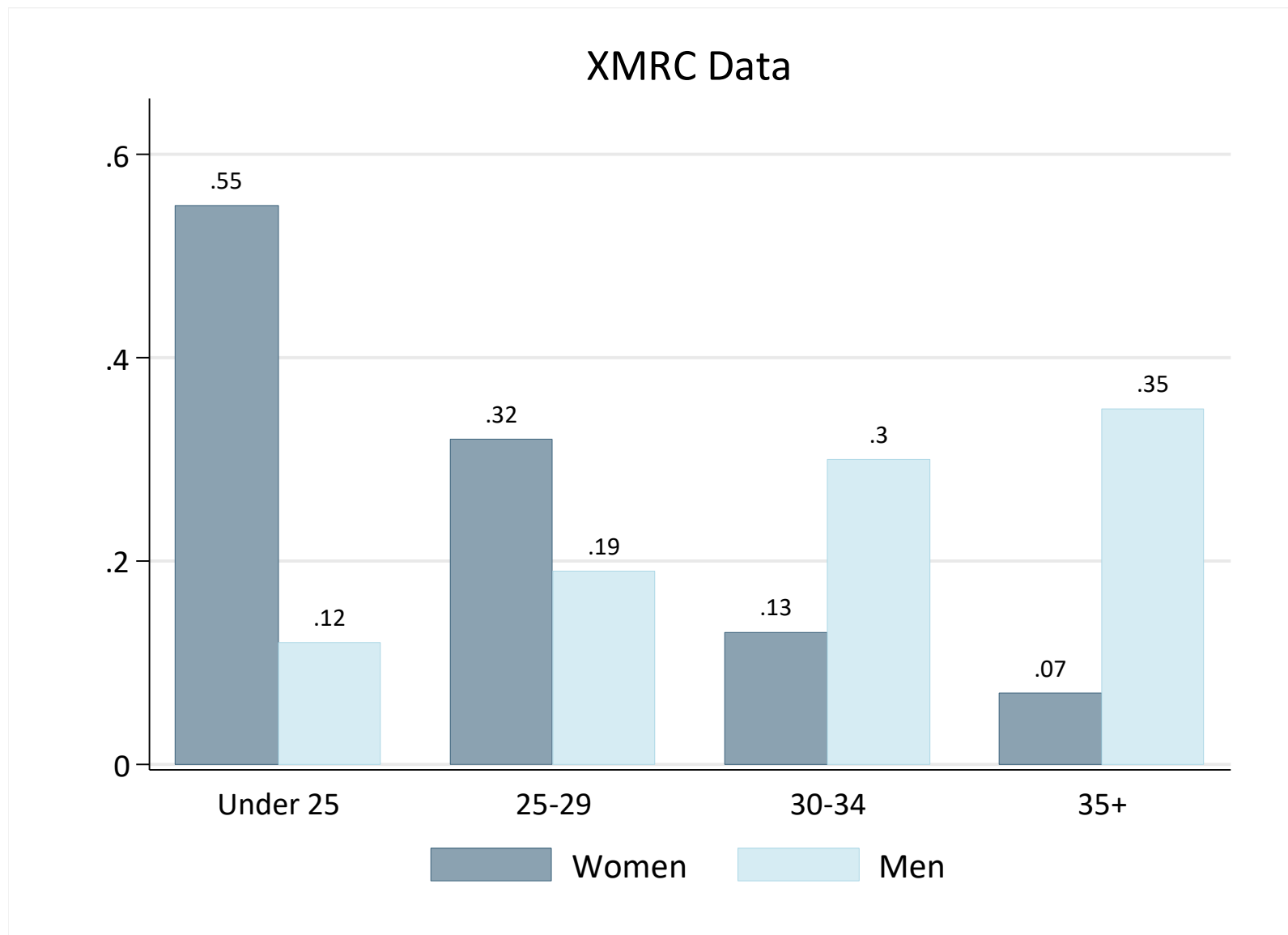
## **Result 4-- The age twist:**

As desired worker age rises between 18 and 45, employers' advertised gender requests 'flip' from strongly favoring women to strongly favoring men:

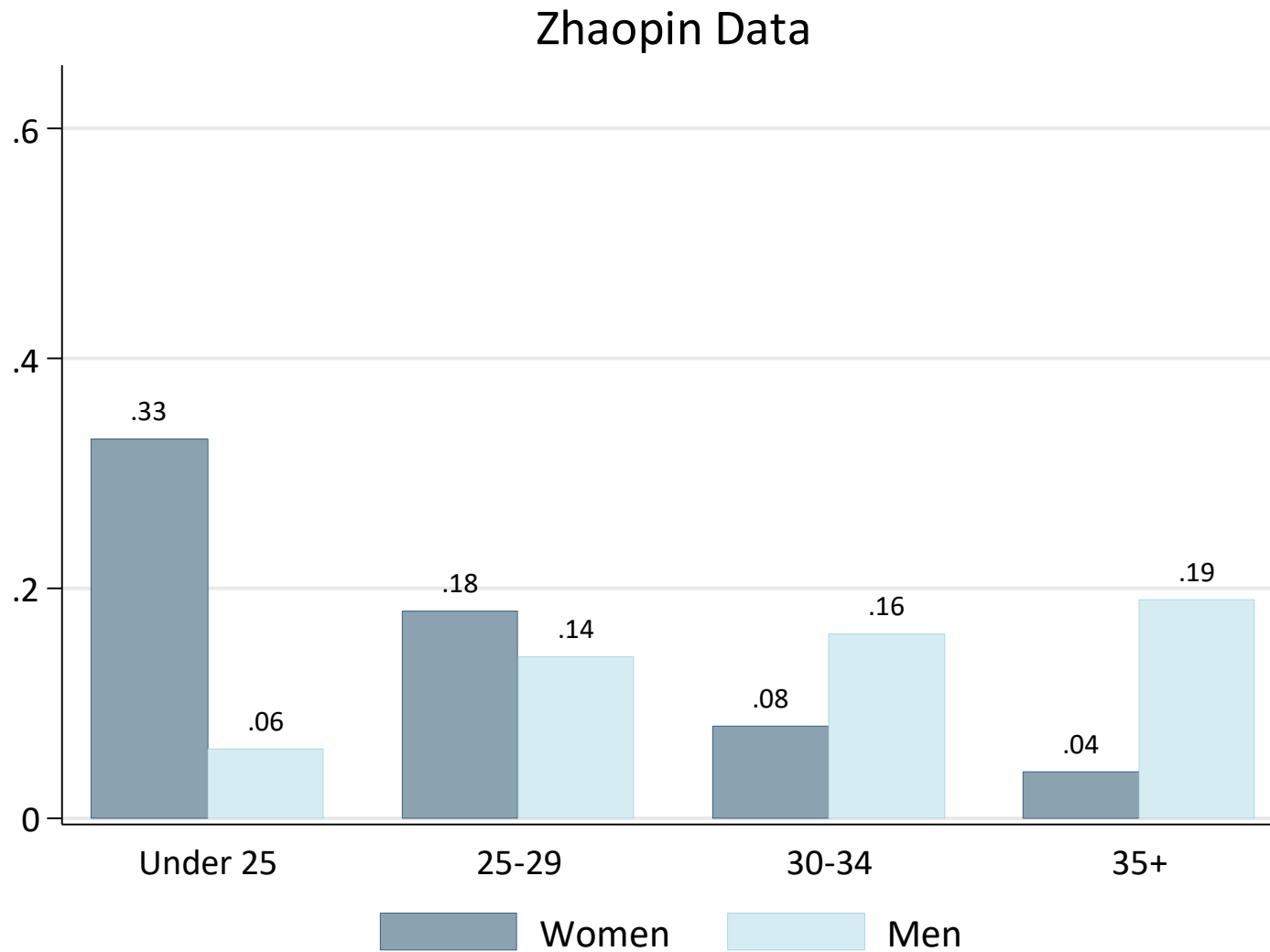
## Share of ads requesting women and men by desired age, XMZYJS data



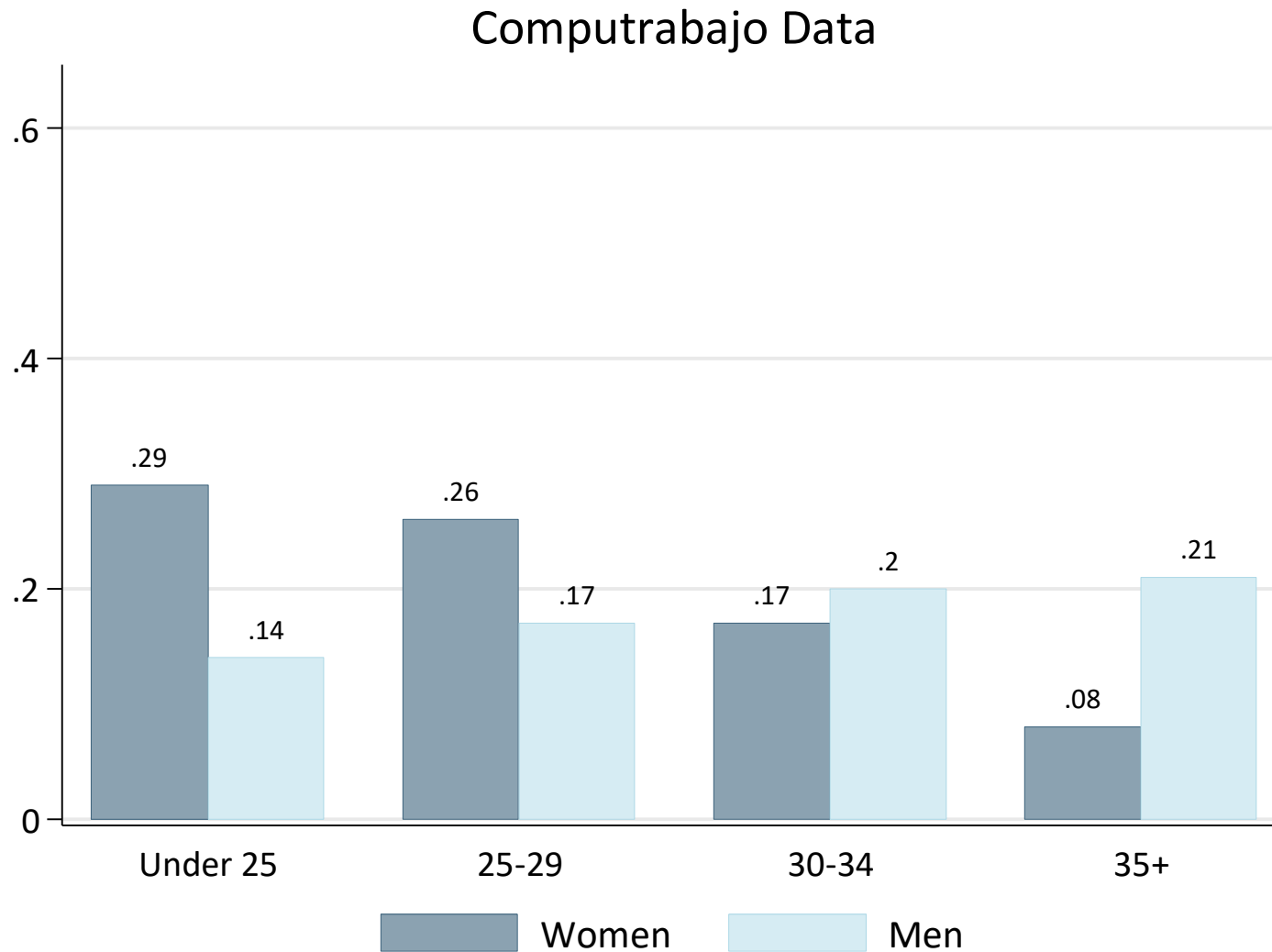
## Share of ads requesting women and men by desired age, XMRC data



## Share of ads requesting women and men by desired age, Zhaopin data



## Share of ads requesting women and men by desired age, Computrabajo data



Like the negative skill-targeting relationship, the age twist in employers' gender requests also survives controls for occupation, firm, and occupation\*firm fixed effects.



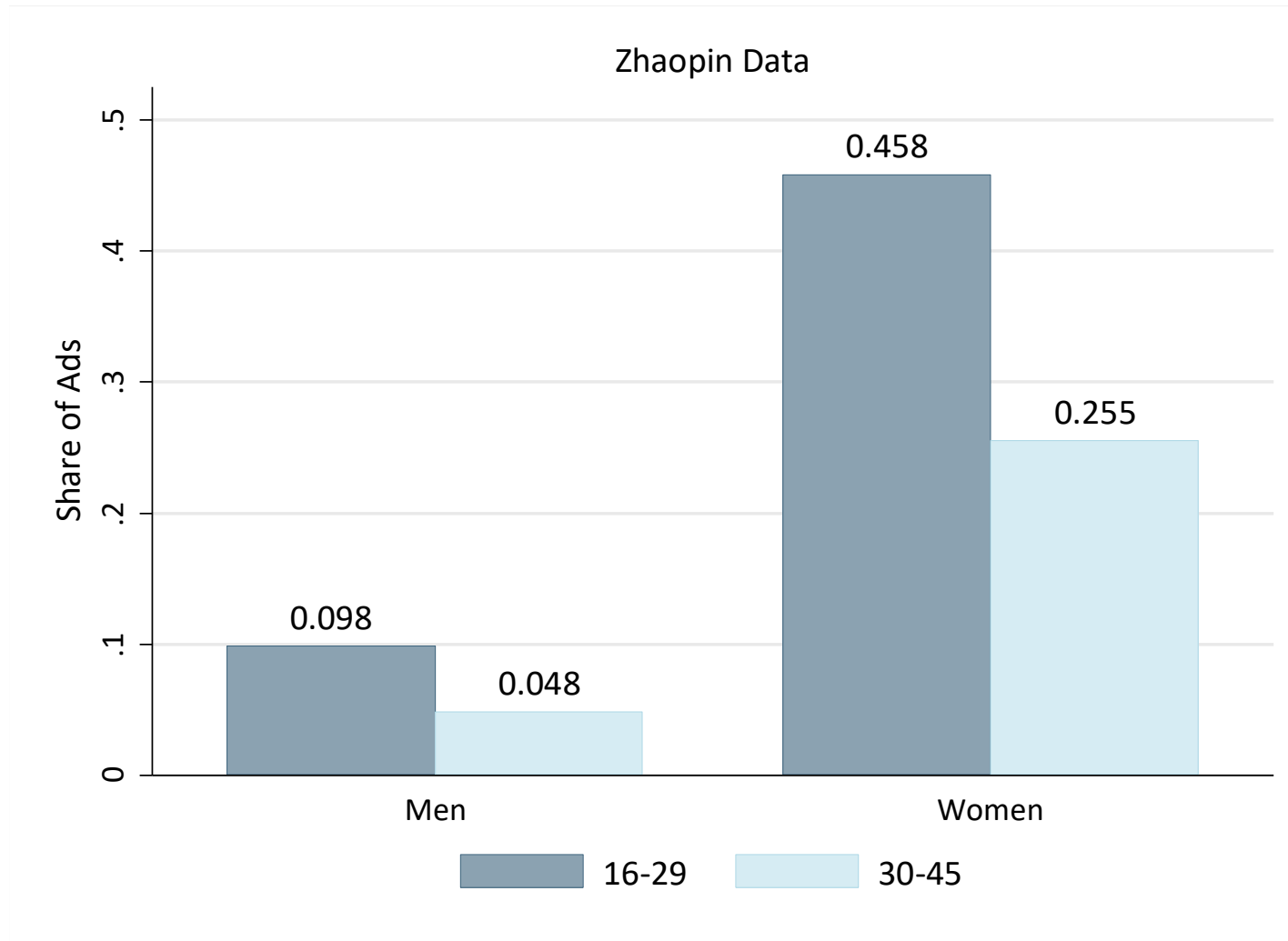
**Result 5.** Using job title information, 65 percent of the age twist can be ‘explained’ by **age-related changes in the mix of tasks** employers hire men and women for.

Of this explained portion, we can associate

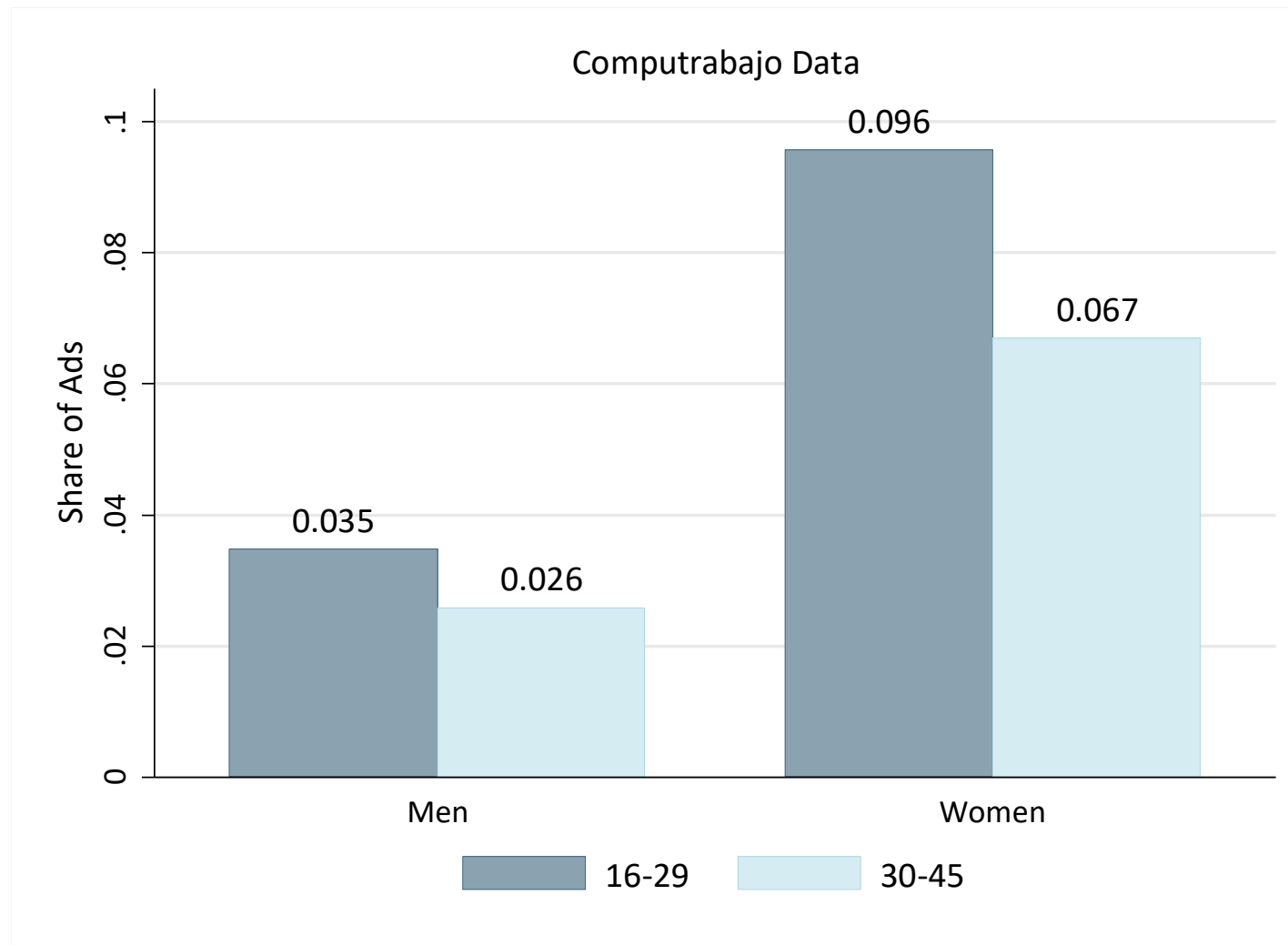
- 27% with employers’ preferences for young women in three ***‘helping’*** jobs: clerk, assistant and secretary
- 17% with employers’ preferences for young women in four ***customer contact*** jobs: front desk, customer service, teller and cashier
- 7% with employers’ preferences for young women in **administrative occupations**
- 9% with employers’ preferences for older men in **managerial jobs**

**Result 6.** Employers' frequent requests for young women are highly correlated with explicit requests for [beauty](#):

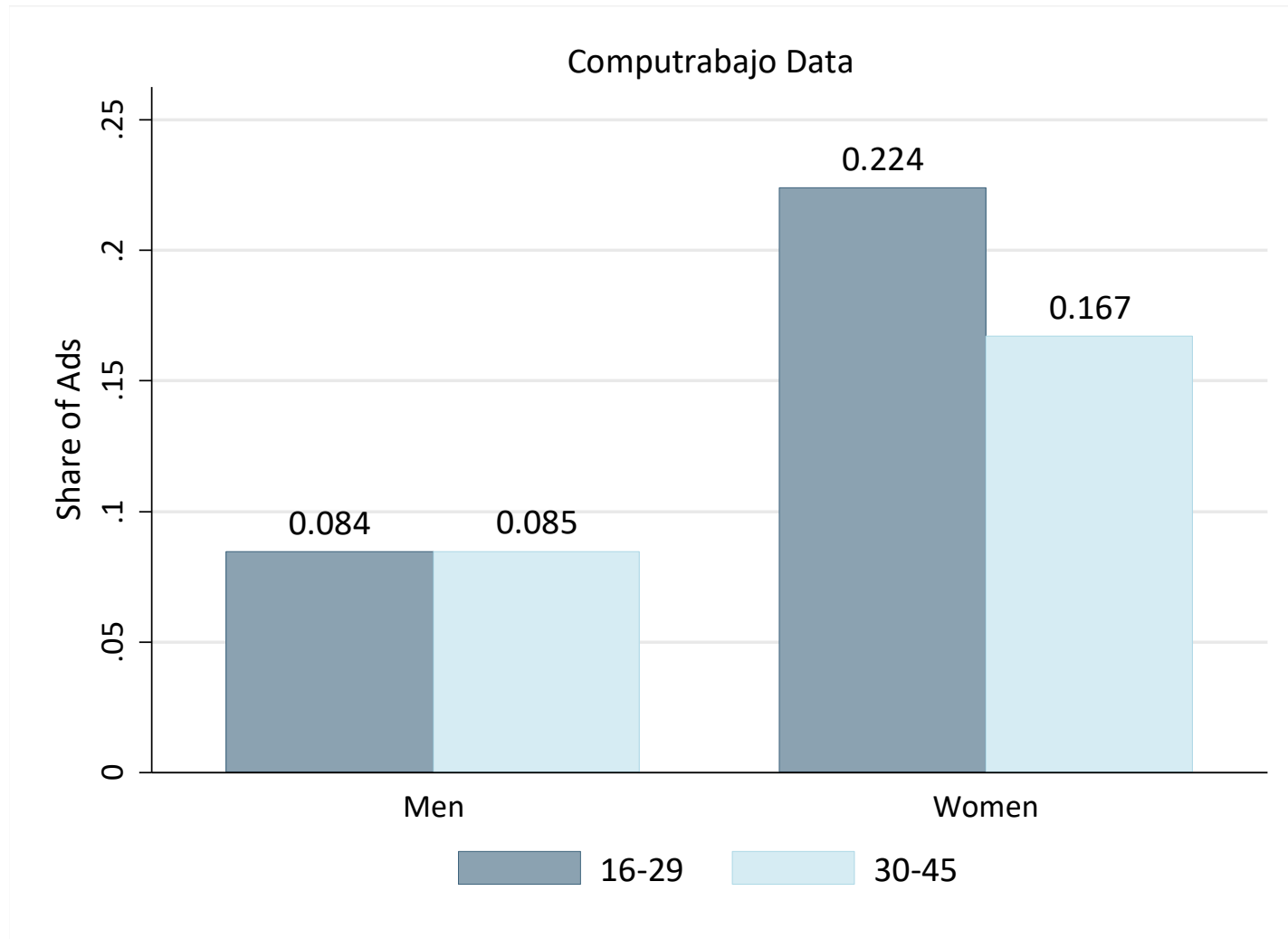
## Share of ads requesting beauty, by requested sex and age, Zhaopin data



## Share of ads requesting beauty, by requested sex and age, Computrabajo data

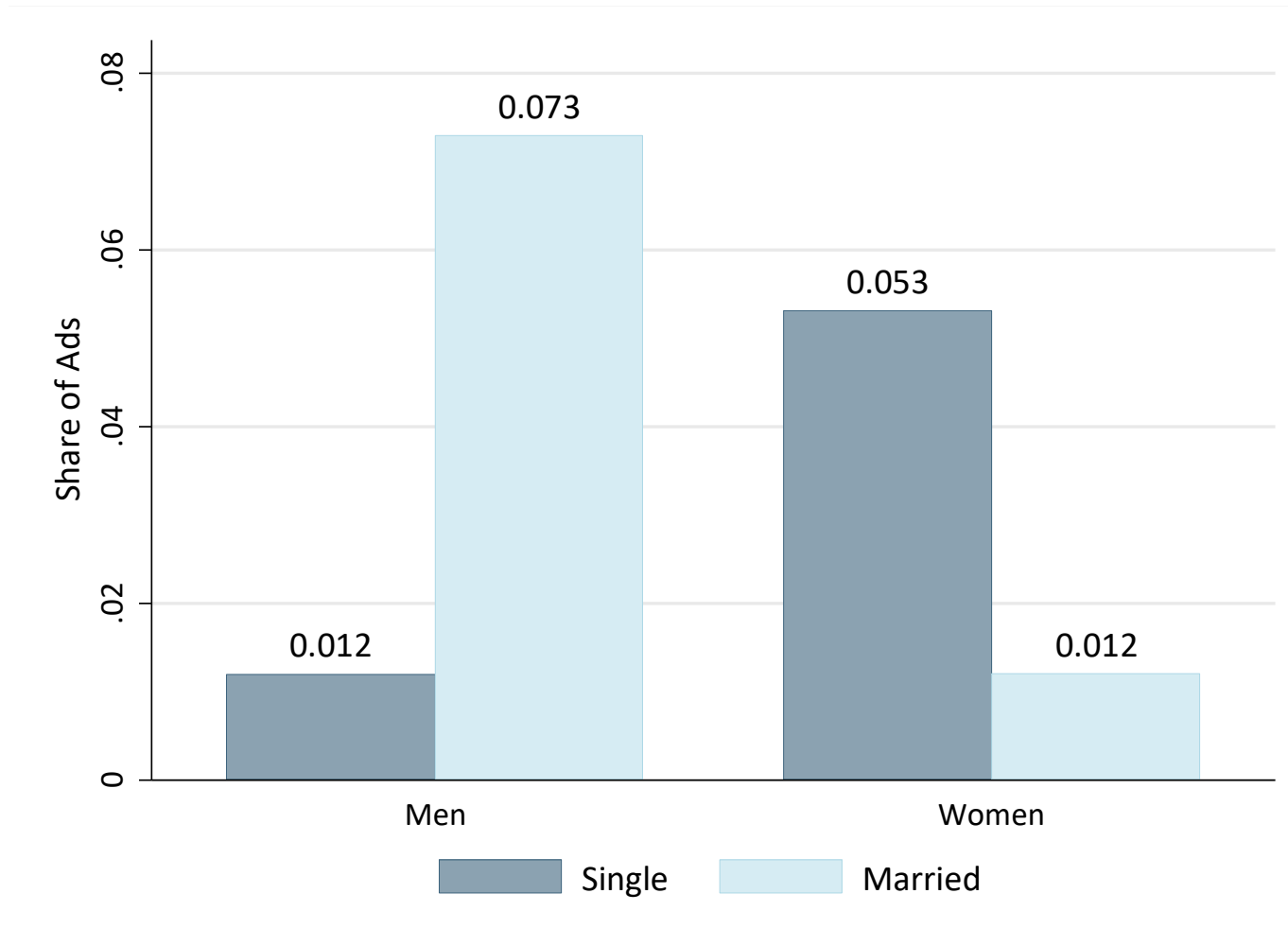


## Share of ads requesting a photo, Computrabajo data

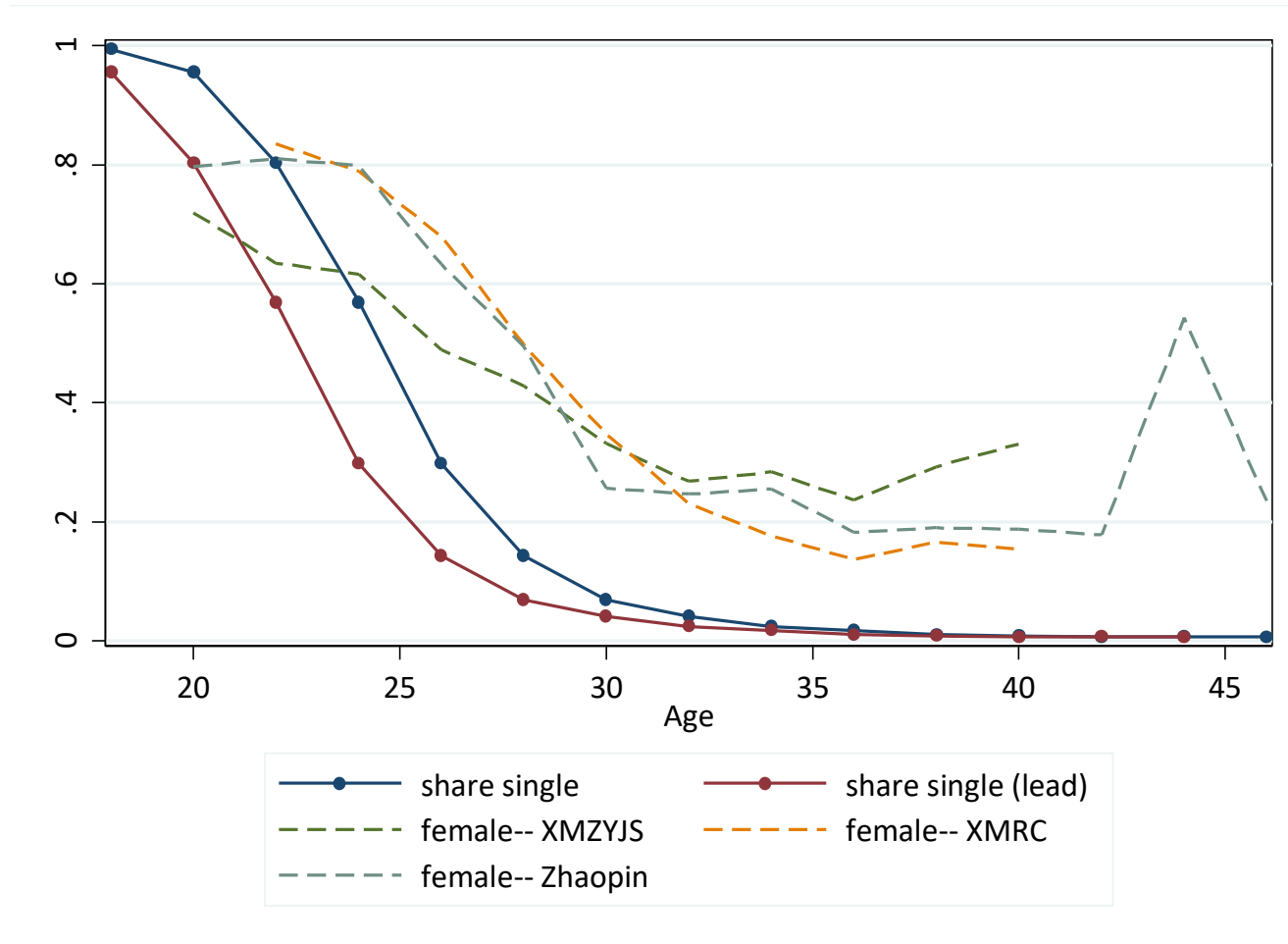


**Result 7.** The remainder (35%) of the age twist occurs within detailed job titles. It appears to be connected to **gendered employer preferences for parenthood and marital status:**

## Share of ads requesting single and married applicants, by requested sex, Computrabajo data



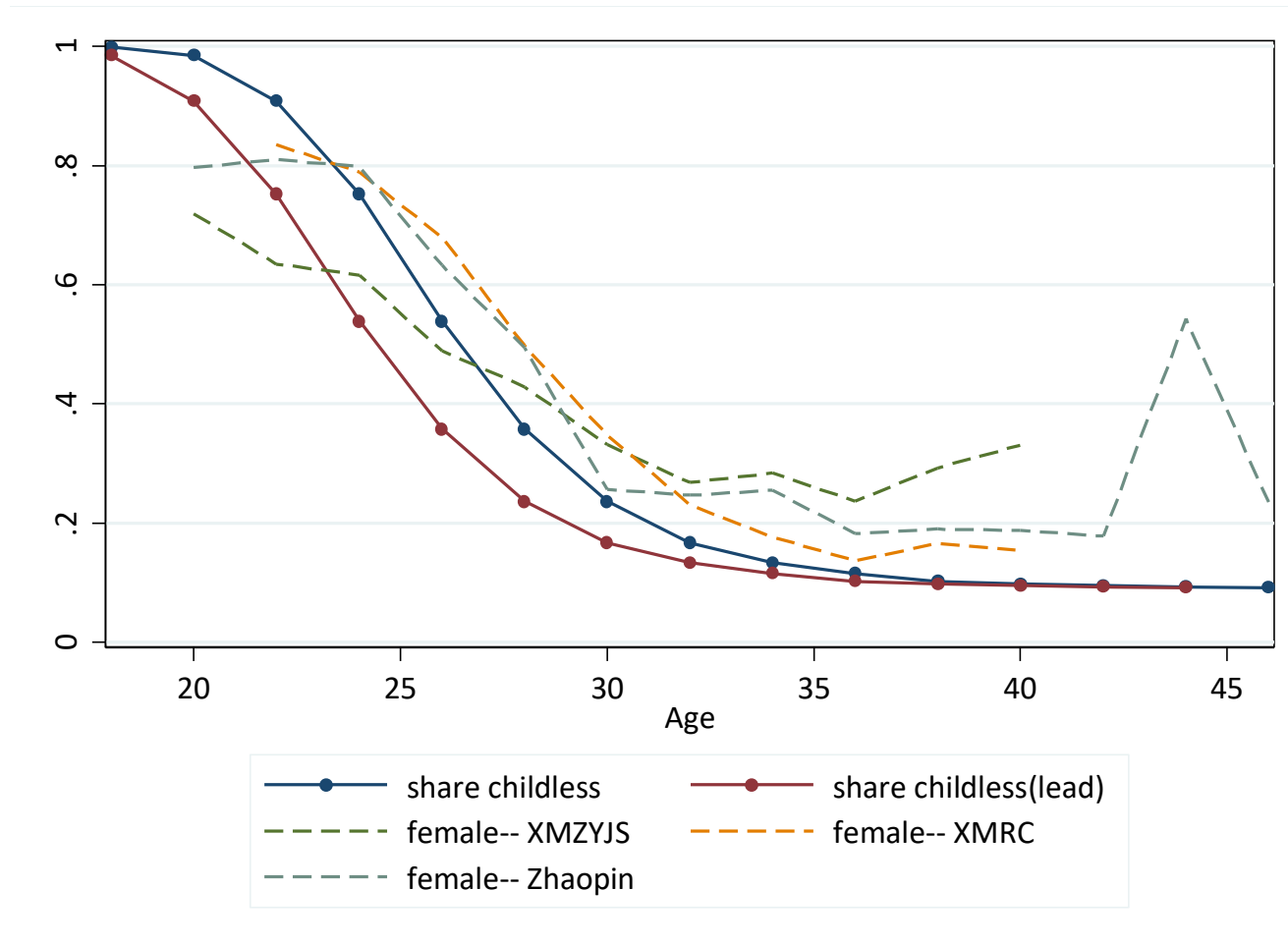
## Female Share of Gendered Job Ads versus Share of Women who are *Single*, China



**Dashed Lines** show the share of gendered job ads that request women in each job board. **Solid lines** show the share of urban Chinese women who are single at that age, or who will still be single two years later.



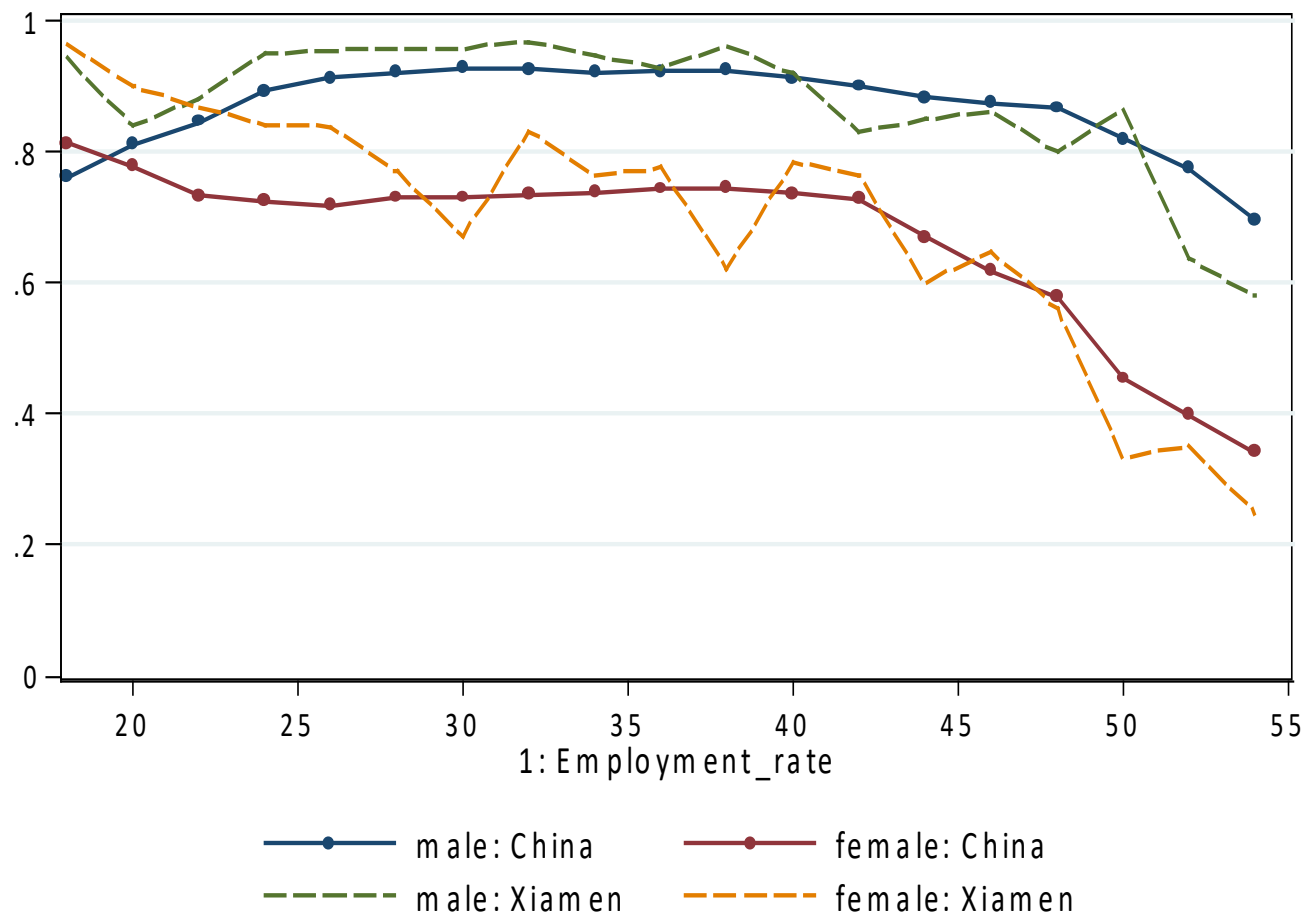
## Female Share of Gendered Job Ads versus Share of Women who are *Childless*, China



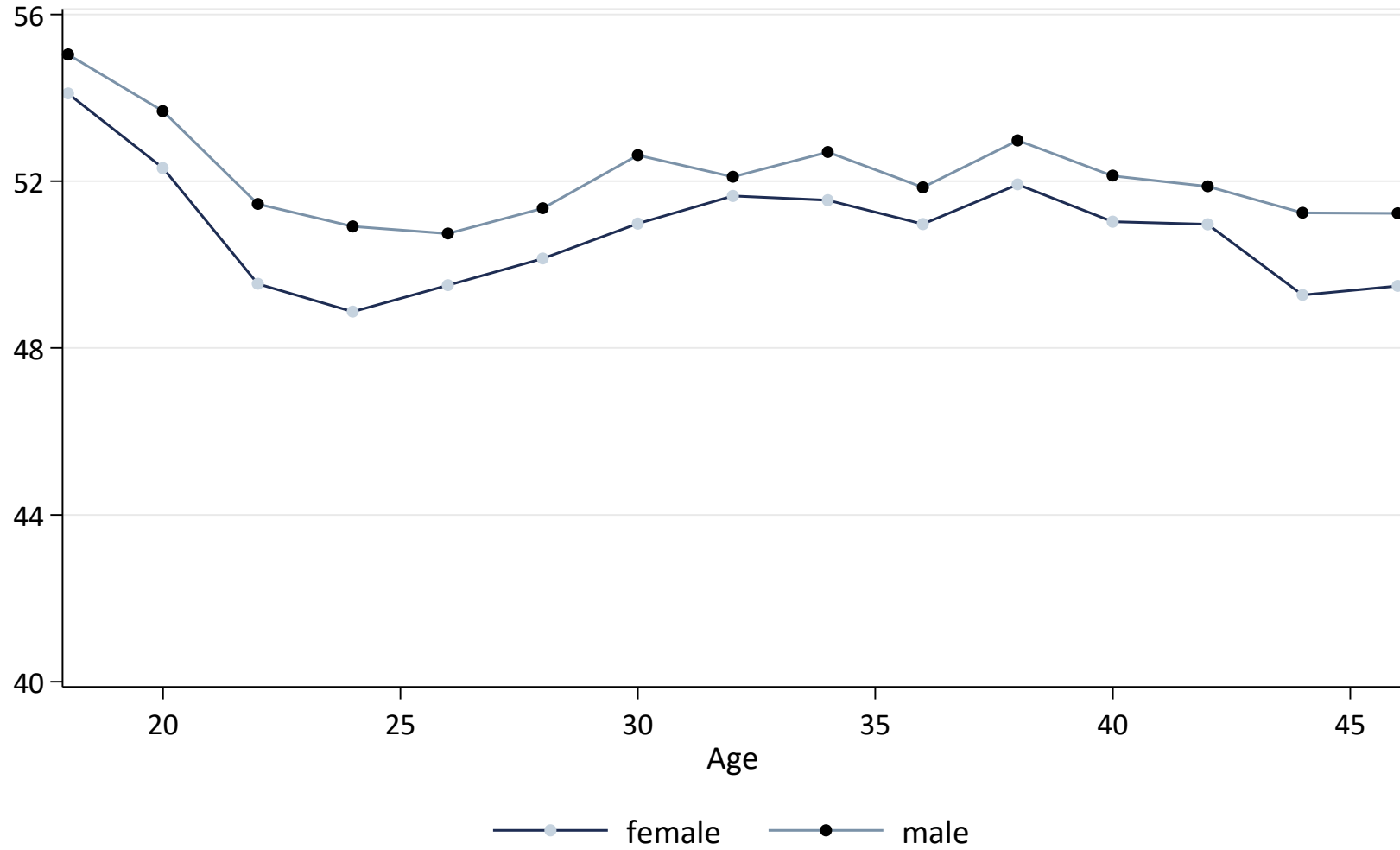
**Dashed lines** show the share of gendered job ads that request women in each job board. **Solid lines** show the share of urban Chinese women who are childless at that age, or who will still be childless two years later.

## 8. China's Age Twist does not coincide with women's labor force withdrawal, or with a decline in work hours.

### Employment Rates: China and Xiamen



**Figure A6.3: Mean Weekly Hours of the Private-Sector  
Employed Population, China**



Thus, we suspect a role for:

- cultural expectations of 'appropriate' work for men and women of different ages
  
- employers' perceptions of men's and women's relative work effort and job commitment. For example:
  - men could be becoming more reliable as they age.
  - Chinese mothers' high time commitment to their child's education could also play a role.

## Summing up the 'Age Twist':

Employers use explicit gender requests to invite young women and older men into specific jobs where –presumably—employers feel those groups are most valuable.

Chinese employers stop requesting female applicants around the age of first birth.

This 'age twist' in employers' gender requests may help to account for an apparently universal labor market phenomenon:

**-the gender wage gap widens with age.**

Gender-targeting's negative association with skill suggests that **skill upgrading may 'automatically' reduce age- and gender-based job profiling.**

## Paper number 2: “Gender-Targeted Job Ads in the Recruitment Process”

Using application and callback information from a 2010 sample of XMRC job ads, this paper asks:

Are employers’ gender requests reflected in their actual hiring choices (gender *matching*)?

And if so...

How do the requests operate?

Do requests affect where workers send their applications  
(*compliance*)?

What happens when applicants *don't* comply (*enforcement*)?

-automatic rejection ('hard' requirements, like changing rooms)?

-nothing ('soft' messages, like running shoes)?



**We provide five main *descriptive* results:**

**Result 1: *Gender-matching* is high:**

94.0 percent of callbacks to *F* jobs are female,.

96.3 percent of callbacks to *M* jobs are male.

Overall,

**94.8 percent of callbacks to gendered job ads are of the requested gender.**

## **Result 2: *Compliance* is also high:**

92.6 percent of *applications* to *F* jobs are female.

92.1 percent of *applications* to *M* jobs are male.

Overall,

**92.4 percent of *applications* to gendered job ads are of the requested gender.**

**Result 3: *Enforcement* is substantial, but far from complete:**

In jobs requesting women, a female applicant is 24.6 percent more likely to get a callback than a man.

In jobs requesting men, a female applicant is  $100 - 44.5 = 55.5$  percent less likely to get a callback than a man.

**Result 4: *Compliance* accounts for most of the gender-matching** (between employers' requests and their callback choices) on this job board:

**Contributions to gender-matching:**

Compliance: 74 percent.

Enforcement: 6 percent.

Interaction: 20 percent.

**Result 5.** Gendered job ads account for:

-50-60 percent of **gender segregation** (among successful applicants) across jobs, firms and occupations

-60 percent of the **gender wage gap**, primarily via their association with application behavior.

...and two main *causal* results:

**Result 6.** Explicit gender labels **direct workers' job search:**

Controlling for firm\* job title fixed effects, explicit gender requests still have large, highly significant effects on the gender mix of applications received.

These effects are strongest when the words in the job title do not clearly suggest a 'typical' gender for that type of work.

**Result 7:** Explicit gender request are moderately ‘hard’:

Controlling for *worker* \* job title fixed effects,

-applying to an *M* job (relative to an *N* job) reduces women’s callback chances by **44%**

-applying to an *F* job (relative to an *N* job) reduces men’s callback chances by **26%**



## Implications of this paper:

Gendered job ads appear to influence where men and women end up working.

These partial equilibrium effects, however, are consistent with a variety of consequences of a **gendered ad *ban***:

## 1. Zero effect-- Employers may find a 'work-around':

- use code words (“south” “nan” for “man”) (Human Rights Watch, 2018, p. 21).
- filter out or reject all the gender-mismatched applications (this does not replicate the search-directing role of gender labels, however).
- increased ad targeting, for example: [“Men \(only\) at work: Job ads for construction workers and truck drivers on Facebook discriminated on gender, ACLU alleges”](#)  
(here, the non-targeted groups are not even aware of the ad’s existence)

## 2. An increase in labor market frictions

Holding employers' gender preferences fixed, removing gender labels in job ads will raise labor market frictions:

- it's now harder to find the jobs where you're wanted
- and harder to avoid the jobs where you're not wanted.

### 3. A reduction in gender segregation

If employers actually *look at* a broader set of candidates and ‘like what they see’, more women will get hired in ‘men’s’ jobs, and more men will get hired in ‘women’s’ jobs (Card, Colella and Lalive, 2018).

We are exploring the possibility of studying the effects of China’s recent gendered ad ban with a national job board.

Thanks for your attention!

## Ten Most Frequent Beauty Requests, Zhaopin data

Rank	Percent	Chinese text	Translation
1	28.24	形象气质佳	good image and temperament
2	9.93	五官端正	has regular facial features
3	9.26	形象良好	good image
4	6.27	形象好	good image
5	5.26	品貌端正	well-shaped figure and decorous appearance; straight appearance
6	4.49	形象气质	image and temperament
7	4.18	形象好, 气质佳	good image and temperament
8	4.04	形象佳	good image
9	3.65	相貌端正	good appearance
10	2.18	形象气质良好	good image and temperament
Others	22.50		

[...back](#)