

# *A Framing Analysis of the Stigma on Chinese Internet towards Feminism: A Case Study on "Yang Li Incident" on Weibo*

Jiaxun Liu<sup>1,a,\*</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Guangzhou University, 230 Waihuan West Road, Guangzhou University Town, Guangzhou, Panyu, Guangdong, 51000, China.

a. 2965487184@qq.com

\*corresponding author

**Abstract:** With the increasing number and development of social media platforms, more and more women begin to express their voices on these platforms. The voices on the internet are gradually considered to stir up confrontation between men and women. These voices have also becoming the evidence of view that "feminism attacking all male people". However, there is a lot of people are gaining advantage in the chaotic situation, or some of the events should not have risen to the issue of male-female confrontation or the "feminist" agenda. The original standpoint of "feminism" is for women to pursue equality, so that women can participate in social life equally and change the male hegemony, which is the embodiment of emancipating the mind. However, on social media, "feminism" has been once stigmatized as "female terrorism". Therefore, this paper took the popular search text with the entry "Yang Li" on Weibo as an example to deconstruct how the confrontation framed and anti-framed "Yang li" and "feminism". Based on the deconstruction, the paper concluded how the "feminism" on Weibo is stigmatized and what might the "feminism" do on the Internet in China.

**Keywords:** Framing, Stigma, Internet, Feminism.

## 1. Introduction

Today, in the Internet discourse field, the contradiction of group confrontation and conflict is still very sharp. In the numerous conflicts of group antagonism, "gender role conflict" has always been an important topic with intense emotions, opposing attitudes and wide influence. A few years ago, in the speech field of Weibo, the topics of dating, marriage, child-rearing and sexual assault raised a series of voices about the relationship between the two sexes. In the recent Internet disturbances of "Yang Li Incident", "Ding Zhen Incident" and other incidents, the two opposite sides of "gender role conflict" were even allowed to engage in large-scale verbal abuse and confrontation on Weibo. Along with these issues, there is also the issue of calling feminism and feminism "women's fight". Feminism has been stigmatized and labeled on the Internet in China.

Yang Li, a well-known talk show actor in China, said on "ROCK & ROAST" that "some men can be so confident even though they look ordinary". The topic was quickly put on the hot search. Yang Li's performance also aroused a large number of female audiences' resonance on the Internet, and

gained a large number of supporters. Then she created "can a man have a bottom line?" "I will live a peaceful and happy life without a man". Her bold performance and relevant media marketing reports have pushed her to the forefront of the issue of "gender role conflict". The controversy has also been transformed into a discussion on feminism on the Internet. Yang Li herself is regarded as a symbolic "symbol of feminism". Under this topic, the feminism movement and Yang Li herself were attacked and criticized by the opponents. The attack reached its peak in March 2021 when Intel official website officials announced Yang Li as the product spokesperson, and a large number of offended male audiences boycotted it. Subsequently, a large number of women supporting Yang Li launched an internet campaign of "supporting Yang Li as the spokesperson" to resist male users opposing Yang Li. At present, the online discussion on this issue may not be as focused as it was then, but there are still conflicts. The confrontation between the two sides continues to escalate, and the image of feminism in China's Internet is also facing huge distortion and challenge.

With the development of internet technology and international feminist movement, the domestic feminist topic is getting hotter and hotter, gradually merging with the local humanistic environment, and gradually developing from "feminism in China" to "Chinese feminism". However, the stigma of feminism has become increasingly prominent due to the internet feminism blogger's incomplete understanding of feminism, the media's erroneous reports, the enhancement of women's awareness of equality and other reasons. In this regard, how to remove the stigma and label of feminism and feminism movement on the internet, so as to create a good environment for internet public opinion. How to care for and protect the vital interests of women, so as to truly promote equality and equal rights between the two sexes, and to integrate the healthy and balanced development of the relationship between the two sexes in real life. These problems will be the direction that we should study and think about.

Later in this paper, the framing theory and the social stigma theory will be used to analyze the main output views on the "Yang Li Incident" on Weibo. From the two sides' argument about Yang Li's purpose, content and feminism, this paper deconstructed how the two sides framed and anti-framed the issue. At the same time, we will also think about the opportunities and possibilities for feminism to get rid of the dilemma in the Chinese internet from the heated discussions between the two sides.

## 2. Literature Review

### 2.1. Previous Research on Stigma

For a long time, the semantic meaning of the concept of "stigma" has not been determined in archaeology. Most scholars agree that the word "stigma" originates from ancient Greece, which means the tattoos or imprints that indicate the social class, status and status of slaves, criminals, traitors and other specific groups. It has a derogatory meaning. Until the 1960s, through the explanation of sociologist Erving Goffman, stigma became an academic concept. In 1963, Goffman first explained the concept of stigma. He explicitly equated stigma with a "dishonor" characteristic that distinguished individuals from ordinary people (e.g., physical deformity, mental illness, deviant behavior, etc.). Goffman put stigma in the framing of relationship and analyzed it at the face-to-face individual interaction level. He observed that due to the influence of dishonor characteristics, the individual was not considered to be able to play a given social role or a given social function. In extreme cases, individuals or groups of individuals with such characteristics are considered to be bad people, dangerous molecules or waste[1].

## 2.2. Stigma from the Perspective of Framing Theory

Frame theory originated from sociologist Erving Goffman's book "Frame Analysis", published in 1974, which occupies an important position in the study of social movement. From his point of view, "frame" refers to an "explanatory schema" that can help people "locate, perceive, identify and mark" things that happen in their living space and in the whole world. Robert Entman believes that the framing essentially contained choices and highlights. To frame an event or a topic is to select certain aspects of the perceived reality so as to make them more prominent in the communication text[2]. Gansman believes that the framing is a kind of central organizing thought or story clue, which provides meaning for fragments of things. He divided the definition of framing into two categories. One refers to the meaning of "boundary", which can be extended to the norm of social practice, through which people can observe the objective reality. The other refers to the "structure" that people use to interpret social phenomena, in order to explain, paraphrase or comment on activities in the external world.[3]

Wang Cuimei, Doctoral Candidate from School of International Relations and Public Affairs, Fudan, mentioned in her article "Western Stigma against China and Its Response: A Perspective of Framing Theory" that the stigma in the past was attributed to the problem of the defiled. Therefore, the social psychology school has put more emphasis on the role of the defiled in the practice of stigmatizing and advocating that the defiled should provide the defiled with complete and accurate information in the right way to change the latter's biased social cognition. However, such polluters are often in a state of concealment, vagueness and even absence. It is not easy to provide comprehensive information by virtue of the individual of the polluter, let alone correct the stereotype of the polluter. Therefore, in this article, Wang Cuimei discussed stigma and framing theory together constructively. She believes that the framing theory has incomparable explanatory power in the generation, influence and response of stigma, and the frame construction of the polluter is the key to understanding the process of stigma. The process of stigmatizing the polluter follows the basic logic of this framing construction. First, it frames the image of the other polluter and its "threat" to the dominant order of the polluter. Thirdly, construct various negative discourses concerning the victims to incite the target audience to jointly suppress the victims. At the same time, Wang Cuimei proposed that the audience's frame resonance is the basic standard for assessing the impact of stigma, and that the anti-frame of the victims is an important measure in the fight against stigma[4].

## 3. The Stigma of Feminism on the Internet

The stigma of feminism in China's virtual society existed before entering the era of mobile internet. Through the inquiry, collation and content analysis of social and historical traces, we can find that the development of this phenomenon can be roughly divided into three stages: first, before 2009, it was a peaceful period, and the stigma phenomenon was relatively rare, mostly the emotional catharsis of a small number of users. Secondly, 2009-2015 is a period of conflict, and stigma begins to increase. Apart from emotional catharsis, explanations and discussions on a specific stigma begin to appear. Third, the outbreak period after 2015 is marked by the "feminists oppose calling Tu Youyou 'Mr.'" in the "Tu Youyou Incident". Since then, with social hot events as the peak of activities, there has been a significant increase in the number of voices from feminist and female perspectives in social public opinion, and the stigma of feminists and feminism has also increased simultaneously. The expansion and spread of the stigma of feminism in the virtual society not only makes feminism develop rapidly into a sub-culture in the virtual society, but also has a negative impact on the assertion and maintenance of feminism and interests in the real society[5].

In the "gender role conflict" on the internet, we can find that the audiences holding different viewpoints output their own opinions on a matter from different starting points, and complete the framing and "structure" of an event under this whole process. Moreover, it is almost impossible for

people with different views to reach a balanced state of mutual understanding. They just consume hot spots, consume themselves and eliminate the real value of discussion in the continuous emotional fermentation, and finally develop into inevitable "group polarization" within the framing.

Today, our online feminism is also facing the huge problem of being stigmatized, which is a great obstacle to the way of women's interests and rights for equality. Then the research of this article will be based on the collected online texts, and analyze them from the perspective of frame theory, and discuss how the opposing parties carry out frame and anti-frame. Thirdly, from the perspective of anti-frame, we will explore the possibility of correcting the stigma of Chinese cyber feminism.

#### **4. Methodology**

Yang Li created a series of jokes with the theme of gender issues on the Internet, and then Yang Li herself, as a symbol of "feminism symbol", caused a burst of voices on the Internet. In March 2021, when Intel officials announced Yang Li as the spokesperson, the opposition reached its peak. A large number of offended male groups boycotted Yang Li's endorsement of Intel. Subsequently, a large number of female supporters of Yang Li launched an internet campaign of "supporting Yang Li as the spokesperson" to resist the male opponents of Yang Li. In this discourse confrontation movement, male users mainly spread their views on Hupu and Zhihu, while female users used "Douban group" as a platform to spread their views and attitudes. The two sides launched a war of public opinion on Weibo, the main battleground, based on Hupu, Zhihu and Douban respectively.

In the "Yang Li" hot search, the highest degree of discussion reached 4 million, and the highest place of a single was hot search No.1. On the whole, the hot search related to "Yang Li" has a high degree of discussion and the related topics have a high frequency on the list. Therefore, this research will analyze 30 output viewpoints found from Yang Li's related hot searches. These views are all from the original Weibo or Weibo's hot comments, and all have a high number of comments. These comments demonstrate that the textual views of this article have more support from the side which is a typical view. At the same time, the discourse objects of these viewpoints are directed against Yang Li's own purpose, his own creation content, and cyber feminism itself. The views were collected from those who support Yang Li and those who oppose Yang Li. When we analyze the text, we will apply the method of case study under the condition of typicality and comprehensiveness to observe how the two sides carry out framing and anti-framing from the perspective of framing theory.

#### **5. Deconstruction of Framings**

##### **5.1. The Framing and Anti-framing on Yang Li's Purpose**

With the rapid development of the Internet, every one of us has the right to speak from the media. In addition to the anonymity of the Internet, the anonymity of the environment will make people more emotional about the purpose and content of the output, and the interpretation of it will be more diverse. In the view of the "Yang Li Incident", different voices embed herself into different framing. This paragraph will analyze the texts of the typical viewpoints of both parties from the aspect of narration of both parties' aims towards Yang Li herself.

Considering that the attitudes towards Yang Li in our selected text are not simply separated by sex, so for the sake of clarity of writing and convenience of reading, the party opposing Yang Li will be called the anti-party and the party supporting Yang Li will be called the pro-party. We analyze the attitudes and emotions of the two sides in terms of different discourse confrontation points, and how the two sides constructed and deconstructed Yang Li's framing in the agenda of the confrontation points.

After intensive reading of the selected original Weibo and Weibo commentaries, the agenda of the "gender role conflict" is mainly reflected in the following aspects.

About whether Yang Li's purpose is to stir up "gender role conflict". The opponents regard Yang Li as the initiator and promoter of "gender role conflict". Weibo ID "Tian Kong Hai Kuo Hai Tao" has published such a highly praised commentary: "I can even suspect that there is a force behind Yang's back that is engaging in gender confrontation to achieve the hidden goal!" The force behind this remark is the western anti-China force. This netizen raised Yang Li's purpose to the level of geopolitics, and also placed Yang Li on the opposite side of the nation, categorizing the "pro-Yang Li" side as the "other" without nationalist sentiments. This view is not only to use nationalist feelings to root out dissidents, but also to install a political "crime" against Yang Li's own interests. In essence, it is to expose Yang Li to a greater crisis of public opinion. Not only this netizen, but also highly praised netizens such as "Yi Ci Yuan De Cheng Zi" and "Cha Li Zi Sai Long Yong Yuan De Bu Dao De Bao Zang Fen" have the same view.

Regarding the anti-party framing, the pro-party netizen "Song Ling Lu Zhu Xi An" said: "I watched the two performances that Yang Li was most attacked. As a man, he did not feel offended, but smiled honestly. My personal experience may not explain much, but if we look at the voices that are generally directed against Yang Li, we will find that few criticisms are reflective. More criticism goes beyond its simple limit and instead loses its proper content, degenerates into incitement and being incited. No one remembers that it was a performance in the first place. " As soon as the netizen came up, he expressed that he had watched the performance and was an audience of Yang Li. Then he used his own biological gender as the biggest argument to refute the view of the same sex group, and also used his biological gender to naturally deconstruct the opposition of sex. At the same time, he said that this is his personal experience. He classified himself as a case. In fact, it is also against the anti-party framing, to make people think whether the anti-party framing discourse is only a case. In the end, he believed that most of the anti-party speeches did not reflect and did not reflect on the content of the speech, which was only a simple emotional output. The attack speech had deviated from the original content to a large extent. He believed that most of the anti-party speeches did not attack the pain point and drifted away from the real issues.

In order to deconstruct the issue of "gender role conflict", another common way for the affirmative is to entertain the issue. For example, the entertainment public account "Zheng Shi Ying Xiao Hao" published an original Weibo: "A girl (Lv Hai Zi) who makes us happy everywhere and makes us laugh. If you don't thank her, why do you want to hurt her? I really can't figure it out." The video accompanying it is a mix of all kinds of famous scenes of Yang Li. In the sentence, the words "Lv Hai Zi" are used, together with entertaining jokes and hilarious videos, to frame Yang Li's talk show into the purpose of entertainment. In essence, the adorable coding system is used to deconstruct the gender game under a serious "gender role conflict", and the non-offensive communication method is used to eliminate the "gender role conflict".

The confrontation point about "gender role conflict" is the most common discourse concentration point on the internet. This is because it is closest to the topic content of Yang Li's own talk show, so the confrontation becomes the most important and the most center. Both sides were very emotional at this point of confrontation, but the final analysis showed that no one could convince the other and no one could crush the other.

## 5.2. The Framing and Anti-framing on Yang Li's Content

Starting from Yang Li's content, this paper frames its content, and then regards whether to support Yang Li or not as one of the standards of a person's personality quality.

In the anti-party discourse, the text frame of Yang Li's content, and then the alienation and distortion of personality quality between Yang Li and her supporters. Weibo ID "Dou Ban Jiang Mian Bao"'s comment has gained a lot of recognition: "What Yang Li earns in China is the money and the flow of those people who are inexperienced or misanthropic, or have no values or even good

appearances. I really don't know how she become a hot." In this text, "inexperienced" is intended to create a younger image for Yang Li's supporters, "misanthropic" alienates each other as unstable elements in the social level, while the latter "people who have no values or even good appearances" corresponds to what Yang Li called "self-confidence" and "ordinary". This voice is actually a response to Yang Li's attack in the form of Yang Li. Its most essential purpose is to alienate opponents and attack people with different opinions. In addition, a netizen named "Tu Mi Tang Tu" said: "Yang Li is too ugly and this kind of facial features are stacked together, which is very awkward. She is a scheming person. On the media platform, one deliberately stirs up "gender role conflict", tosses the noble and excellent quality of ordinary self-confidence into the garbage bin, and then tosses the word "male" into the garbage bin. This ability to confuse black and white is also a group of garbage clapping." In this passage, he also attacked Yang Li in appearance and personality, and then intentionally led netizens to think that self-confidence and ordinary are excellent qualities, but Yang Li has smeared them. In fact, he is excusing himself for self-confidence and ordinary, and is arousing more self-confidence and ordinary men's resonance, thus uniting the sympathizers to slander Yang Li.

In order to directly fight back against the male insult, Zheng Fang also directly insulted the male. The netizen "Guan Ai Juan Fu Cheng Zhang" said: "People who abuse Ding Zhen, people who mock Cai Xukun in various comment areas, and people who abuse Yang Li are the same group that has high demand for" male identity "identification but low self-ability, so that there is no other way to obtain identification except to take the initiative to set up a common goal of hatred. In fact, self-esteem is very fragile and sensitive, vicious and boring, but also thinks it is interesting, is keen to embrace the group and be proud, and lacks at least respect and empathy for others. In this passage, the author deliberately uses the written sentence structure, uses the academic noun of "ambitious identity" to express men, and uses persuasive discourse organization to deconstruct the anti-party bias against the pro-party's low-level and entertaining output, which is essentially to eliminate the bias and gain support.

In addition to breaking away from the attack of Yang Li's content, the positive netizens also made an issue of Yang Li's performance content. The netizen "Bu Hui Xiao Sheng" said like this: "I think what Yang Li most lets the man jump the foot is her contempt, others may be more a kind of accusation, and she seems to be looking at the general ridicule of the lower creatures." This text directly echoes Yang Li's evaluation of men's "ordinary and self-confidence". Even in her words, she changed from the evaluation of men to the comparison of the status between the two sexes. She belittled men as lower creatures with more condescending remarks. Under a hot commentary on another talk show about Yang Li, netizen "Mo Hu Qiang Wei" said like this: "This satire is too advanced. I think the object being satirized may not understand at all ..." Similarly, her attitude corresponds to the "ordinary" of men in Yang Li's mouth. Again, she compares the two sexes and belittles them that they cannot understand even a piece that scolds them. This is to belittle the understanding ability of men, but also to belittle the men themselves.

At this point of confrontation, the emotions of both sides are also very intense. Each side will have its own rebuttal to the other side's statement. Both sides also have their own characteristics of saying things. As mentioned above, there is no one-sided situation. However, I think that any emotional abuse on the Internet is incorrect and can support a rational discussion of the content. However, if both parties derive from the content and make distorted insults to each other's personalities and emotional outputs, this is not desirable.

### **5.3. The Framing and Anti-framing on Online Feminism**

Finally, the two sides upgraded their discourse to the discussion of feminism. The anti-party regards feminism as an unstable factor and alienates and stigmatizes it through the "Yang Li Incident". The

positive words hoped that the opposing party would not abuse the language symbols, and the positive thought to a deeper level in the debate about the real equality of feminism and interests.

Weibo ID “Yin Song Shi Ren Song Xiaoman said:”It is no different from the Taliban. The feminists are furious with their incompetence.” In this text, feminism is compared to the terrorist Taliban, which is considered to have an extremely unstable factor and is a terrorist on the internet, thus stigmatizing it. At the same time, replacing the symbol of "feminism" with “women’s fight” distorts and stigmatizes the literal symbol of “feminism (nv quan)“. Netizen “Nan Nv Ping Quan” made such remarks: "Feminazi means extreme and militant feminism, also known as feminism Nazi. The word was coined in the 1990s to describe feminists and misogynists. Feminism lacks tolerance for dissent. Yang Li is such a representative. Because his speech and Nazi ideas have similar theory of racial superiority. Nazi feminism is different from feminism. It is not to safeguard feminism and equality between men and women, but only to fight against men and get preferential treatment. "The netizen's remarks" cut off "feminism and equality between men and women on the Internet. Even the view that "women are superior and misogynist", which does not belong to feminism, is erroneously attributed to feminism and is charged with being linked to "Nazi". The essence of this kind of speech is a fallacy that lacks understanding of the feminist theory. However, the text misuses the academic symbol-"Fermi Nazis" to make the final conclusion of online feminism, which makes it more difficult for feminism to be "rehabilitated" on the Internet in China, and makes it more difficult and long for correct feminism to be practiced and rooted in China.

The netizen “Xiao An Zong Mo Yu Ri Chang” said: "Is a standpoint to fight? Are you addicted to rubbing the heat? Obviously, this netizen thinks that the topic of "gender role conflict" is very hot, and the anti-party language is actually a response to the hot. She emphasizes that speaking is not fight, so please don't confuse concepts and abuse language symbols. However, in her words, we can see that she has been cut off from "female superiority and misogynist". Judging from this typical text, most women still do not agree with the opposition between women and men, that is, the “women’s fight” issue. There is another point of view for the debate on the internet. The netizen “Wan An Li Dia” commented: "the awakening of women's thoughts can't solve the real inequality problem, and scolding men can't help those women at the bottom. Most of the women denouncing Puxin Men actually do not really regard women as interest groups and really speak out for equality, but more to vent their emotions. Yang Li is an excellent talk show actress, but she is not a spokeswoman for feminism. Inequality is essentially a pot of social structure and productivity level, and "gender role conflict" does not bring Pareto optimality to society. Like the Renaissance and the Industrial Revolution, significant changes in the social structure cannot be achieved without an increase in productivity. In view of the unstoppable progress of science and technology, this text “My friends and I have finally reached a consensus” distinguishes women's ideological emancipation, women's equality of rights and interests and the online debate on the confrontation between men and women. In fact, it is a reminder to the public that when they see this theme, they should separate the former from the latter and have discussions at different levels. If netizens think more about social productivity, can they further promote the localization of feminism in China?

Through the analysis of the typical views of the opposing party and the affirmative party, this study finds that the arguments between the opposing party and the affirmative party are basically neck and neck, and no one can convince the other party. But perhaps as the last point of view said, the emotional expression in a closed "echo network chamber" is difficult to touch the essence. If you want to truly complete the decontamination of network feminism and promote the development of feminism and interests, it cannot be limited to network abuse. Network feminism also needs more correct guidance and more high-quality voices.

## 6. Conclusion

Based on the qualitative analysis of the two sides' texts, we can see that there are many contradictions and problems in the discourse debate between the two sides. The sensitivity of both sides to gender issues makes things lack in-depth thinking, and makes the agenda instinctively rise to the issue of confrontation between men and women. Under the framing voice, the information cocoon effect makes the attack more extreme and rises to feminism, which in turn leads to the over-discussion of feminism on the internet and eventually leads to the stigmatization of feminism. This stigma has formed a simple label, and labeled most agendas with both men and women as "feminist stigma", and finally formed a non-positive information structure like Mobius band.

According to the above analysis, we can sum up three points to find a way out for the plight of internet feminism being stigmatized: first, most typical views are still defined as a problem between men and women in the research, but we think carefully and see the final essence. This is only an internet joke told by a talk show actor. What should be discussed behind this disturbance is its entertainment nature. Originally, it was only a laugh from the king, but the two sides have no need to argue over it. In the framing of the future, can we consider not to make all things rise excessively, and not to rush to rise to "gender role conflict" after the relationship between men and women in any one thing? Sometimes this kind of urgent rise may lead to the wrong direction. In serious cases, people may even ignore the more serious problems behind it. Therefore, on the agenda, it is a basic requirement to allow an event to be discussed within its own scope. Secondly, the study found in the analysis that in the "gender role conflict", there will often be a large number of verbal abuse, which is the product of lack of in-depth thinking and purely emotional output. Even if, such an emotional output can often be supported by more people. However, the personal attack involved in the confrontation and abuse is actually a kind of network violence, a stain on the network and a cancer on the network ecological environment. Therefore, no matter in the discussion of feminism or in any different agenda topic, verbal abuse is a rejected way of output. Thirdly, the discussion on feminism itself is also reflected. Under the Chinese internet ecology, the understanding of feminism is one-sided and even wrong. The word "equality" is at the heart of all feminism. The difference between different schools is only in such issues as how to be equal, what causes inequality, and how to achieve equality. On the Internet, superiority and misogyny are mistaken for feminism. It can be seen from this that the development of feminism in China is still in an immature stage, and the practice of localization in China has not been completed. It can be said that most netizens are vague and ignorant of the core idea and content of feminism. According to their own understanding, they defined feminism as what netizens themselves believed. Therefore, when the Internet ecology chose to talk about feminism without understanding the truly academic feminism, this made the road of "decontaminating" China's online feminism a long way to go.

Perhaps only when the public places the agenda in the original field and calmly considers and speaks after mastering the correct feminist theory, can feminism be given a more suitable way of landing in China. Only in this way can China's online feminism truly remove its stigma. In order to lead both sexes to a fairer and more civilized society.

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