Dismantling Gender Blindness in the Crime/Gender Dichotomy

ANONYMOUS AUTHOR(S)

Modern feminists leverage social media for various activities whilst the Internet incurs opposite viewpoints against them. HCI researchers have explored feminist practices in computer-mediated social interfaces. However, few investigated how the feminist perspective and its confronting ideologies are framed in discussing controversial social events. The dichotomized debate around the Tangshan beating incident in China is a case that epitomizes criminal frameworks as a backlash against feminism. By collecting related posts on Weibo and analyzing them with mixed methods, we demonstrated a gender-blind ideology, where criminal discourses were endorsed, but gender discourses were marginalized and stigmatized. We argue that online gender blindness, as a patriarchal reproduction in the digital realm, conceals gender conflicts and amplifies ideological divergence. Finally, we discuss how social media could respond to sustain women's voices given the gender-blind ideology.

1 INTRODUCTION

Over centuries of struggle for women's rights, feminists and their supporters around the globe attained remarkable achievements in pursuing the envisioned equal and just world. Rooted in the long tradition of women's obedience to men, the problem of women's vulnerability and gender inequality remained severe in China. Although promoting women's rights in various fields is an officially sanctioned policy, gender oppression was universal and rarely acknowledged by Chinese officials or public media. The chained mother of eight children in Fengxian, China, was minimally reported in Chinese domestic propagation. The three women in Tianjin who accused professors of pressuring them into sex were criticized, and the event soon disappeared from public discussion. The case of "Shanghai Red House," depicted as hell for women, was reported in 2020 exclusively about gangs and corruption, with little institutional action enacted to support women and guarantee their basic rights. In another case where a former Chinese tennis player reported the former vice premier of China pressuring her into sex, Chinese media remained silent. The silence and concealment could not warn people not to do it but rather endorse it to some extent.

With the frequent reporting of women's rights incidents in China over recent years, people are adapting to the new online environment where gender issues have become a daily agenda. Chinese people are increasingly involved in debates around feminism and gender issues, concurrent with the rising popularity of feminism [46]. Many grassroots women and men became attentive to gender issues and engaged in social media for discussion. However, their voices

attracted a backlash. In the most straightforward form, people portrayed grassroots feminists as those who seek privileges over men or incite gender opposition. However, what is often overlooked, is that gender factors are usually either neglected or downplayed in discussing public events related to women's vulnerability and gender inequality, which constituted *gender blindness*. Gender blindness characterizes an ideology that does not see gender as a factor affecting things or events, such as job or education opportunities.

The gender-blind discourse constitutes our institutions and consolidates itself to be undeniable. With this dominant discourse, the women's condition would be hard to improve, and the structural inequality and marginalization would sustain. Moreover, the dominant discourse has turned Chinese social media into a breeding ground that has been penetrating and reproducing disproportionate gender bias and will negatively affect people's conception and attitudes towards women's rights in the long term. Prior work in HCI focused on designs informed by feminist agenda that is inclusive and unbiased to women's needs, and values [7, 8, 28]. Building on prior work, in this study, we challenge the notion of a neutral platform by examining whether the social platform re-enforces or refuses the gender-blind ideology. We study how controversial ideologies, in the case of Tangshan, gender blindness and its counter-narratives, were framed on social media. This furthers our understanding of the context of content moderation and other techniques applied for addressing problems of bias and inequality.

The Tangshan beating incident in Tangshan, China, incited widespread discussion on social media about social security, order and law, sexual harassment, and gender inequality. The critical gender dimension in the incident was subject to ignorance, marginalization, and objection by the online public discourse. What was the prevailing content, and how did people frame their opinions in the debate around the gender dimension in the Tangshan beating incident? We chose this incident as a case that potentially demonstrated the gender-blind ideology on Weibo[1] and tried to answer the following research questions:

- **RQ1**: What public attention and perspectives were involved in discussing the Tangshan incident?
- **RQ2**: How did the public reason and frame their viewpoints on the gender issues in the incident?

A mixed-methods approach was applied. Specifically, machine learning tools were used to answer RQ1 in scale, and discourse analysis was used to answer RQ2 in depth. We collected posts on Weibo discussing the Tangshan incident. A total of 724,446 related posts, which were published within three weeks after the incident, were collected. For answering RQ1, we first fine-tuned a language model for text classification and classified posts into three classes: (1) Crime-related, (2) Gender-related, and (3) Irrelevant or Ineffective. Next, topic modeling was conducted for each class to reveal prevailing topics. For answering RQ2, we applied critical discourse analysis with a feminist stand on the crime-related and gender-related posts to closely inspect the framing of gender blindness and its counter-framing in people's conflict discourses about gender issues in the incident.

We used a controversial social event as a case to dismantle the conflict between gender-blind framing and the counter-framing of grassroots feminists. We found that gender discussion was subject to downplay, marginalization, and ignorance by the dominant discourses on the platform. Going deeper, we found that the gender-blind ideology continued to downplay gender issues by re-framing and to oversimplify the incident. On the contrary, the counter-framing advocated the significance of gender factors and collectively pushed back against the gender-blind narratives.

By analyzing how people framed the gender-blind ideology and how the grassroots feminists produced counter-frames to resist, we demonstrated a gender-blind ideology on Chinese social media, which needs more attention from

---

[1]Weibo (stands for micro-blog in English), or Sina Weibo, is the most popular micro-blogging platform in China.

the HCI community. The gender-blind discourses could potentially shape the platform's culture, which, in turn, could shape the online discourse, continuing to penetrate inequality in the digital realm.

Please note that all the quotes presented in this work were translated into English, and identifiable information was removed. **Content Warning**: this paper contains potential sexist language that may be uncomfortable to some people.

2 RELATED WORK

2.1 Online Discourse and Collective Narratives

In the digital age, online space has been extensively used for information sharing, discussion, and communication. Users of micro-blog platforms like Twitter and Weibo post or repost content to express opinions, propagate information, organize communities, and do other activities with highly-embedded social contexts. Social media serves as a crucial channel of civic participation for a massive population [53, 69]. Works in HCI and CSCW focusing on online public discourses studied topics such as political discussion [12, 58, 67], rights of migrants and refugees [38], veterans [76], racial protest and social movement [19, 31, 34, 35, 43, 64, 65], identities and communities [25, 26].

Online discourses usually consist of conflicts. People engage in the same arena to deliver their framing of viewpoints and sometimes counter-framing in pushing back against the opposite views. In Foucault's view, discourse creates power. The mass scale and power structure carried by the online public discourses in the discussion of controversial topics related to rights and politics made us understand them from the perspective of social movement. Social movements are characterized as a type of activity where people and groups are organized to act collectively with the intent of changing society [57]. Contemporary information technologies enabled people to participate in social movements despite of physical barriers [15, 15, 20].

HCI and CSCW researchers examined how social movements are sustained by digital media [39, 66, 69], and how social media like Twitter supported solidarity and union among the people engaged in social movements [58, 59]. Due to the collective nature of social movements [49] that connect people at the same time build trust and social support [37] and often form a collective identity among the people who participated in the social movement [2, 29]. A significant factor involved in the trust building, social support, and forming of collective identity is the narrative produced by the members. People generate narratives to respond to other people's notions and actions, especially counter-narratives as the resistance to dominant notions. Counter-narratives were investigated by scholars in the context of social movements [3], political activities [21, 54], and identity and life changes of marginalized groups in online communities [26, 42]. Women's marginalized online experience was also explored from the point of toxic masculinity [47], and online harassment [10, 36]. What is missing from the prior literature is the study of how narratives and counter-narratives manifest in the debate about feminism, not to mention in a developing country where the public's awareness of feminism is premature. We wish to address the gap in this study.

2.2 Chinese Feminism and Social Media

In 1995, the United Nation's Fourth World Conference on Women was held in Beijing, characterizing the third wave of feminism in mainland China [18] and another step forward in promoting women's rights around the globe. Among the systematic critical areas of concern stated by the conference, violence against women, or sexual violence, is one of them. As defined by the World Health Organization, sexual violence includes unwanted sexual advances and sexual harassment [40]. Chinese women's disadvantages are rooted in the cultural tradition: gender stereotypes and patriarchal

ideology from Confucianism til contemporary. Nevertheless, feminist thoughts were incubating in the population, and feminist activists and grassroots feminists were harnessing the Internet to seek channels to speak up.

Online Chinese Feminism. A new generation of Chinese feminists is utilizing social media's power to face obstacles in the physical environment. Feminism groups, like Feminist Voice and Women's Awakening, were active on social media, especially Weibo, and organized offline campaigns for advocacy. They also tried to solicit alliances with mainstream journalists to facilitate more conversations and more impact on the public [68]. Although those opinion leaders in the form of feminist groups on social media were significant for the development of feminism in contemporary China, the collective awareness and enlightenment among the general public should never be ignored. As observed from many events on social media, online feminism activities and discussions could be initiated not by feminist groups but rather by people not identifying themselves as feminists [46]. Those grassroots feminists undertook a collective struggle against sexism mainly in cultural and media respect instead of political rights. Moreover, the platform's functionality, like customizing profile pictures, can facilitate self-identification and self-empowerment of women in the digital era [17]. However, because of the highly sensitive policy about social movement in China [16, 70] and a set of the dominant discourse in action [71], feminists encountered backlash and suppression by the authority. Those actions and situations brought opportunities and challenges to feminism in China. Also, suppression of feminists is not limited to China [51].

The #Metoo Movement. In 2017, the #Metoo movement, widely known as a movement of anti-sexual violence and anti-sexual harassment, commenced. The initial country is the U.S., and the movement spread quickly to other countries around the globe through the Internet. Countless people with various social, cultural, and political backgrounds share their personal and sensitive experiences of being harassed in the physical world. Those posts on social media also posed empathy and encouragement to others, which is a critical component of the success of the movement [45]. Works in the CSCW community had examined the networked disclosure mechanism [32], and the use of hashtags in the #Metoo movement to express solidarity and victimhood [56]. Apparently, universal experience and empathy are the bridge linking all the participants with sharply dissimilar backgrounds.

In January 2018, the movement started in China. It reminded the Chinese people, especially women, to recognize that sexual harassment and sexual violence against women are universal to Chinese women. Disclosures and discussions on social media significantly facilitated the public awareness of aspects of gender inequality and empowered women to struggle against inequality on an individual and collective level [44].

Backlash and Stigmatization. However, there were two sources of backlash during the #Metoo movement: censorship and misogynistic attacks [73]. The censorship was conducted by the government or the platform to control the potential risk of collective action as a gender issue is regarded as a sensitive topic. Users of the platforms adopted a variety of strategies to bypass censorship [74, 75]. The other obstacle was that some of the population with an anti-feminist stand or misogynistic inclination. And the misogynistic thoughts might even be strengthened by online feminist activism, which engenders negative opinions towards feminists [33]. The backlash from those people also links to the stigmatization of feminism in China [46].

With these in mind, we try to communicate with the prior works by answering **RQ1** - analyze the public perspectives and attention about the Tangshan incident, which raised controversies about gender issues.

2.3 Gender-Blind Framing and Counter Framing in Online Public Discourse

Gender blindness, or gender neutrality, is an ideology that discounts gender as a salient factor in how people experience inequalities daily. It is a notion derived from liberal feminism, which downplays gender differences [27]. Similar to gender blindness, color blindness is used to conceal racist ideologies and maintain the status quo that privileges White people. Bonilla-Silva argued that color blindness is the primary mechanism to frame subtle and covert racism in the contemporary U.S. Here, *framing* is defined as the way in which people deliver ideas and worldviews through utterance [41]. Bonilla-Silva articulated four color-blind racial frames [11]. They are *abstract liberalism*, *naturalization*, *cultural racism*, and *minimization of racism*, which generally argue that race is not the significant factor for social inequalities related to race. For example, the *minimization of racism* frame minifies the impacts of structural racism on the living conditions of People of Color. If People of Color challenge White privilege, they might be called "playing the race card" [11]. White people utilize the four color-blind racial frames to deny their racist ideologies at all levels of society.

Referring to color-blind racial frames, we aim to investigate how gender-blind frames were developed online during the Tangshan incident. Prior studies have explored gender-blind framing in various contexts, such as rape incidents [60], academia [55], menopause [42] etc. This work focuses on how gender-blind framing was enacted on the social media platform (i.e., Weibo) and how grassroots feminists generated counter-framing to challenge this ideology. As rode contended, technology is gendered, reflecting a dominant masculine culture [52]. The social media platform's culture shapes the public discourse and is also shaped by the public discourse. This work tried to understand the dynamics by analyzing different frames. This leads to **RQ2**: How did the public reason and frame their viewpoints on the gender issues in the incident?

3 BACKGROUND: OPINION DIVERGENCE ON A VIOLENCE INCIDENT

On June 10, 2022, a group of men assaulted four women at a barbecue restaurant in Lubei District, Tangshan. Before dawn, a drunk man named Jizhi Chen attempted to sexually harass a woman. When the act was met with resistance, Jizhi Chen became angry and, along with several of his companions, violently assaulted the four women [62].

After the surveillance video of the scene was reproduced on the Internet, it sparked widespread attention. People focused on the case's progress and called for strict punishment of the perpetrators, attention to the injuries of the female victims, and improvement of social security. As more insider information behind the case was exposed, it triggered discussions about the black and evil forces and their umbrella; such as looking for problems in the biographies of local leaders and cadres, focusing on the disposal of past cases involving black and evil in the local area, etc., driving public opinion in multiple directions. After the beating incident, Tangshan police launched an operation code-named 'Operation Thunder' to eliminate blackness, and evil [14].

At the same time, topics surrounding gender discussion also stirred up strife on the Internet. Some netizens discussed the gender violence presented by the incident. In contrast, others focused on the details of the surveillance video and accused "only women stood up for themselves among the bystanders at the scene, but not men," bringing the incident into the gender framework for discussion. Some extreme remarks rendered a bad public opinion atmosphere [50]. Meanwhile, Weibo officially blocked 265 accounts that "instigated gender confrontation." [6] When people are emotionally shocked by these brutal and violent events, the state of people is very depleted, but the phenomenon of violence is placed in an almost ungovernable state. Our society is increasingly powerless to break this cycle [30].

4 DATA AND METHODS

We collected the data by web-scraping publicly available posts from Weibo. Weibo became the online hub for communicating user-generated and official media content in mainland China after its release in 2009. [4] Weibo substitutes Twitter to be a permitted domestic microblogging site because Twitter was officially blocked from access by China's authority in 2009. [5]

4.1 Data Collection and Pre-processing

We first collected 988 unique hashtags containing the keyword "Tangshan" (the name of the city where the incident occurred) from Weibo's full-site search engine to prepare for systematically scrapping the posts. We chose the keyword "Tangshan" since the word was frequently used for discussing the event based on our knowledge. Then, the first author manually filtered out irrelevant hashtags to the event, after which the second author reviewed the result. The two authors discussed different decisions and agreed on a final list of 100 hashtags and corresponding selection criteria. Those hashtags were included in the list because each fell into at least one category below.

- Reporting incident detail and development
- Public commenting to the incident
- Response from news media, government, organisations, celebrities, witnesses, and etc.
- Latest state of the victims
- Suspects' personal information

Then, we scraped the posts from Weibo. The web crawler was developed using the Scrapy framework [2]. Posts and reposts mentioning any hashtag (or multiple hashtags) in the 100-hashtag list were collected. The top five hashtags in the list (sorted by the number of discussions displayed on Weibo) are shown in Table 1. In total, we collected 724,446 individual posts and reposts mentioning any of the hashtags and stored them in a database. The collected information of each post was completely public and accessible to normal Weibo users. The comprehensive list of information scraped contains (1) message ID, (2) user ID, (3) post/repost time, (4) post/repost IP location (disclosing province-level IP location on social media is mandatory in China [24]), (5) user's gender, (6) post text, and (7) those of the reposted posts. The time scope of the collected data spans from the first day of the report - 0 am, June 10, to three weeks later on 0 am, July 1. We then pre-processed the posts' text. Specifically, HTML tags, hashtags, links, emojis, special characters, and appended repost content were removed; punctuation, numbers, and English words were reserved. After pre-processing, only the actual original content was kept. In the end, 78,582 (12.17%) posts became empty, and the remaining 645,864 (87.83%) posts were used in the following analysis.

4.2 Content Classification and Topic Modeling (RQ1)

Two significant types of content emerged from the discussion of the incident on Weibo: (1) crime-related content and 2) gender-related content. They are distinct from each other in that the posts of them perceived and interpreted the event in distinct ways. We needed a method to classify the posts according to the content divide. Instead of manually classifying random samples from our database, we leveraged machine learning tools to classify posts at scale automatically. There are two reasons behind our employment of machine learning for classification. First, manual classification was hard to provide a macro-level description of the mass online discussion. By using machine learning, we could obtain information about its scale and temporal trend, which are necessary to capture the landscape of online conversations. Second,

---

[2]Website of Scrapy: https://scrapy.org/

Hashtag (Translated)	Discussions	Readings
#Tangshan Beating	4,060 K	4,600 M
#Men beat up women in a barbecue restaurant in Tangshan	1,241 K	2,240 M
#Public security bureau is arresting suspects in the Tangshan beating incident	1,115 K	1,770 M
#Violent attack of Tangshan girls is a nightmare for all	704 K	1,950 M
#Tangshan beating incident all 9 people arrested	682 K	2,170 M

Table 1. Top five hashtags related to the Tangshan Incident. The statistics were collected from Weibo website and the last date of collection is June 25, 2022. K=1,000; M=1,000,000.

classifying all the content instead of a small sample could facilitate our subsequent discourse analysis for RQ2. When manually classifying the posts, we found a significant portion of data was irrelevant to the event or inferior in content quality- contributing little to the substantive discussion. If we directly sample posts for discourse analysis, much time and effort would be spent identifying and filtering these low-quality content. Based on such rationale, we trained a machine learning classifier to first identify and filter out those low-quality content to facilitate our qualitative analysis and improve its comprehensiveness.

Data Annotation. We manually labeled some posts as the training set, which was used to train a natural language processing (NLP) model to classify the remaining posts. The post-coding process consisted of two phases. In the first phase, we randomly sampled 1,000 posts from our database. Two researchers independently coded the posts in an open-coding fashion to identify codes inclusively. Then, the two researchers discussed the codes and generated a preliminary coding scheme that distinguishes the classes. The coding process was iterative. The first coding's inter-coder cohen-kappa score was 0.55, the second coding's score was 0.69, and the third time was 0.93; until then, we stopped iteration. The final coding scheme defines three content classes as described in Table 2. Some posts with both perspectives were classified as of the *Crime-related* class or *Gender-related* class because they have an apparent inclination to one perspective over the other. In the sample for discourse analysis, almost all such posts were predicted as *Crime-related*, which could due to classification errors and rare occurrence of such posts. Next, each coded post was deductively assigned a label by referring to the coding scheme. In the second phase, the second author additionally sampled 3,800 posts from the database and labeled them according to the coding scheme, while the first author reviewed all the labels assigned, and they discussed together until both agreed on the decisions. By examining the labels, we found an imbalance across the three classes, so down-sampling was applied to the *Irrelevant or Ineffective* and *Crime-related* classes to balance the training data. Ultimately, a total of 2,100 labeled posts with 700 posts in each class were used for training (80%) and testing (20%) the machine learning classifier.

Content Classification. We used a fine-tuned BERT (Bidirectional Encoder Representations from Transformers) model [23] to classify posts in our database. The BERT model is a state-of-the-art machine learning model for NLP and was widely applied in various scenarios. Apart from directly using the pre-trained model, users can further pre-train the model on the task corpus and fine-tune it in a downstream task. This way of training usually yielded higher performance [61]. The model we used was based on the pre-trained BERT-WWM (Whole Word Masking) model developed specifically for Chinese text [22]. We further pre-trained the BERT-WWM model using all the posts on a Masked-Language Modeling

Class	Description
Crime-related	Posts focused on legal, criminal and social security issues around the event, including the mainstream media report.
Gender-related	Posts talked about gender differentials, gender inequality, women's rights, speaking for women, sexual harassment, gender-based violence, and sexual violence.
Irrelevant or Ineffective	Posts asking for latest states and progress, to get hot, venting emotions, spreading rumors, asking for refuting the rumors, of low-quality, were personal conjectures and questioning to the event details.

Table 2. Coding scheme for classification

(MLM) task, which was the major method used for training the original BERT model [23]. The further pre-training step, also called within-task pre-training, was useful as it tuned the BERT's network weights to fit our particular corpus. The further-trained model was then fine-tuned on a text classification task using the text of 1,680 (80% of the 2,100 labeled posts) posts. Common classification metrics were measured to evaluate our model's performance. The model achieved an average accuracy of 0.929 and a macro F1 score of 0.901 on the test set (20% of labeled posts). Finally, the fine-tuned BERT model predicted the labels of the remaining posts. We lastly explored the prediction results to have a overall sense of them. We noticed a mismatch between the hashtags people use and their actual content class posted.

Topic Modeling. Topics of the *Criminal*, *Gender*, and *Irrelevant or Ineffective* classes were extracted using the Gibbs Sampling algorithm for the Dirichlet Multinomial Mixture model (GSDMM) approach [72]. GSDMM performs better than Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) for modeling short text like social media posts because GSDMM assumes one topic for one document, which is usually true for micro-blogs. We tested different choices of iteration (n), topic number (k), and α and β value. To get the most cohesive and interpretable results, we finally chose n=30, k=4, α=.1, β=.1, for the *Crime-related* and *Gender-related* classes; n=30, k=10, α =.1, β=.1, for the *Irrelevant or Ineffective* class. Following that, we summarized each topic based on the keywords and posts of that topic by a topic name.

4.3 Discourse Analysis (RQ2)

Our qualitative method incorporated critical discourse analysis with feminist social theories similar to [42] to extract and assess emergent themes in the posts. Based on the previous content classification, we started with an inclusive thematic analysis [13] for posts of the *Crime-related* and *Gender-related* class. Since women's voices and gender topics prevailed in the discussion of the incident, we adopted a feminist theoretical stand to examine the online discourse critically.

The corpus for thematic analysis consisted of first, the 1,400 posts used in training the classifier (700 posts in the *Irrelevant or Ineffective* were excluded), and second, 1,000 additional posts randomly sampled from the two classes, resulting in a total of 2,400 posts. We sampled from the predicted classes of posts because, as mentioned previously, this made our analysis efficient and effective. The two researchers who labeled these posts performed the thematic analysis in an open-coding fashion but periodically discussed new findings and questions with other authors. Example codes included *personal experience* - usually experience of being sexually harassed, *feminist advocacy* - call for improving women's rights, *denouncement* - criticism to the abusers, *analysis* - discussion about the property of the incident, and *incident details* - telling or making conjectures about the incident details. We specifically focused on how the public

framed the gender-blind ideology and how the grassroots feminists countered gender blindness in online discourses. The gender blindness among the public was substantially reflected in their interpretation of and attitudes towards gender and feminist topics. The results of the discourse analysis with original posts were iteratively reviewed and revised by all the authors to avoid inappropriate or biased interpretations. We were critically assessing the discourses with a focus on themes and interpretation with high sensitivity, sometimes drawing connections to other events on concepts. It thus allowed us to depict the multi-facets of the framing of gender blindness and its counter-narratives.

We especially interpret the discourses from the viewpoint of feminism. Discussion about gender issues had a comparable volume with the crime-related discussion, and more importantly, gender factors were downplayed, ignored, and refuted in the crime-related discourses. The "deviant" position of gender-related discourses right corresponded with Chinese women's vulnerability and oppression experienced. A critical feminist standpoint deepened and enriched our insights, capturing a broader spectrum of presentation of the women's condition and the backlash forces. We do not deny that our theoretical stand would limit our vision, but a feminist inspection of the gender-blind framing and counter-framing was essential to the embodied conflict.

4.4 Positionality Statement

The data analysis involved iterative discussions to ensure that the researchers' positionality would not bias the data interpretation. We must acknowledge that the researchers' experiences cannot represent everyone's. We reflect on our position and privilege as scholars.

All four authors are Chinese who are interested in and practice feminist HCI research. The first author, who led the analysis, has been paying attention to gender issues, especially in China, for years. He regards himself as privileged by male identity, but might have missed nuances when analyzing the data. Both the first and the second authors are Chinese men living most of their life in China. The third author is a woman who grew up in China and has experienced gender inequalities mediated by gender-blindness in personal life and institutions. She brought her experiences into data analysis. However, as a highly educated woman, she has the privilege that might bias the data analysis. The fourth author, a Chinese man, has been conducting research on marginalized groups (e.g., rural and female users, LGBTQ+) in China for years, and he oversees the analysis based on his prior research experience.

5 RESULTS

We found that gender discussion was subject to downplay, marginalization, and ignorance by the dominant discourses on the social platform. Furthermore, the notion of gender blindness among the public was demonstrated. People with a gender-blind conception continue to marginalize feminist discourses through re-framing, oversimplification, over-generalization, and stigmatization of feminists. The counter-framing to that, however, criticized the framing and reasoning of gender-blindness.

5.1 RQ1: Public Perspectives and Attentions

In total, 645,864 posts were classified by the BERT model into three classes: (1) *Crime-related* (106,187 posts, 16.44%), (2) *Gender-related* (104,209 posts, 16.13%), and (3) *Irrelevant or Ineffective* (435,468 posts, 67.42%). The posts without original text after the pre-processing were labeled as *None* (78,582 posts, 12.17%).

Figure 1 shows the temporal trends in the number of posts of each class starting from the first day of the event until three weeks later, i.e., June 10th to June 30th. According to the temporal statistics, Weibo's discussion about this incident increased rapidly at the initial stage and gradually declined to negligible in two weeks. The incident quickly
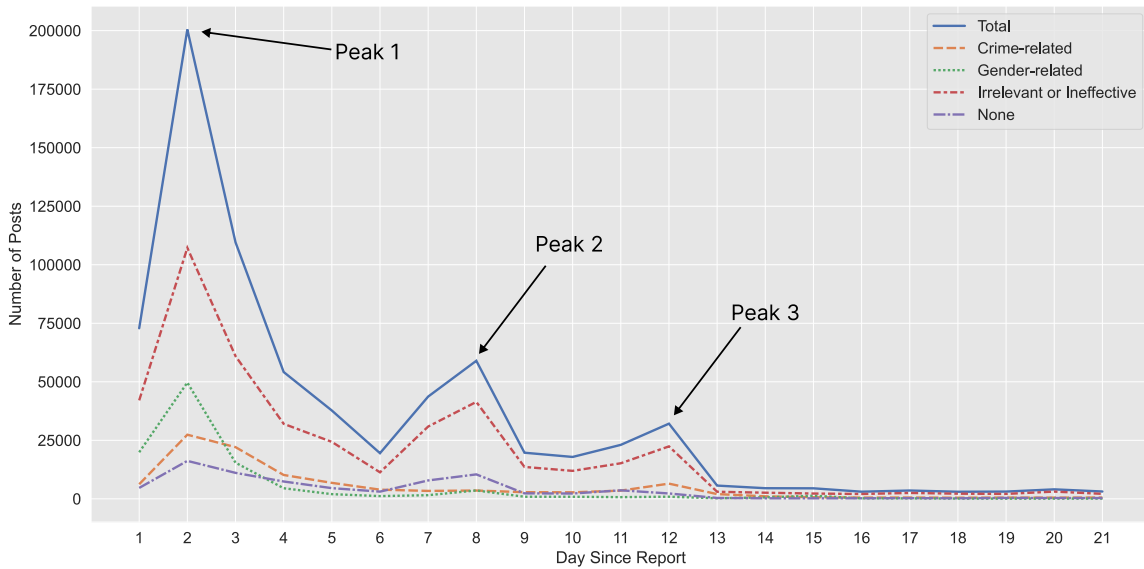
9

Fig. 1. Temporal trend of posts per day

attracted attention on the second day of the report, and the discussion reached the first peak (Peak 1 on the second day) on the second day. There are another two peaks (Peak 2 and 3) in the first two weeks. The primary discussion produced the first peak. On the eighth day (June 17th), the Tangshan government narrowed the restrictions for entering Tangshan. Another wave of discussion occurred, which resulted in Peak 2. On the day of Peak 3 (June 21st), several government officials in Tangshan were under disciplinary investigation.

Public attention shifted during the discussion in the early stage. On the first and second day since the initial report, gender topics were much more popular than the criminal ones, but they began to be opposite on the third day. The popularity of gender topics dropped significantly on the third day and remained nearly silent after that. Criminal topics surpassed gender topics throughout the following days, including Peak 2 and 3. The temporal trends manifest the dynamics of public attention and imply the possible shift in user groups: the discussion might be proposed by users with gender awareness, but the focus shifted to criminal issues when it reached wider people. We first report what people discussed about the incident in the following paragraphs.

5.1.1 Crime-related Content. There are four topics covering the majority of content in the *Criminal-related* class, as listed in Table 3. Posts in the *Criminal-related* class regard the incident as a criminal event that has little to do with gender factors. Over half of the posts talked about *Gangs and Umbrellas*. They are concerned with the social problems of gangland and associated umbrella personnel in the local governmental bureau who conceals facts about local gangs and colludes with them. The people assumed the existence of organized local gangs and questioned the ability of the local government agencies. They thought the government and public security bureau should strive to eliminate gangs in urban and rural areas. The issue of gangs subsequently raised conjectures about corruption under the assumption that only insiders could keep the gangs from law enforcement and preserve them under the strict security policy in China. Posts under this topic usually express anxiety or determination to remove illegal gangs by strict law enforcement, while the remaining posts draw more attention to the criminal facts, either about this case or other cases. The second most

significant topic was *Situation and Progress Report* in which media and grassroots users were reporting and discussing the current situation of the victims and the latest progress of the investigation. The topic of *Criminal Details and Legal Sentencing* clusters posts that report or make conjectures regarding the detailed facts of the incident or judge the criminal nature of the incident according to law. In the class of *Related Cases*, the posts describe prior criminal cases in relation to the suspects or government bureau, discussing the suspects' criminal records and the government's corruption.

Topics & Top Keywords	Example Posts
Gangs and Umbrella (56.42%) Tangshan, incident, beat, society, power, wipe out gangs, umbrella, evil, report, severally punish, hope, law, people, eliminate evil, violence, matter, nation, gangland, real name, crime	1. This is not a matter of gender confrontation or quality, but a resolute struggle between our society as a whole and the forces of darkness and evil, as well as a resolute resistance to violence that provokes the law. 2. What protective umbrella, what black and evil forces! If the officials who can't guarantee the safety of people's lives and property should resign!
Situation and Progress Report (16.87%) Tangshan, incident, beat, woman, barbecue, society, personnel, crime, June, case, beat up, video, situation, law, violence, the city of Tangshan, happen, police, journalist, suspect	1. According to the designated jurisdiction of the Public Security Bureau of Hebei Province, a case of provocation and violent assault occurred in a barbecue restaurant in Lubei District of Tangshan City, which was investigated and handled by Guangyang Branch of Langfang Public Security Bureau. 2. Tangshan woman was beaten by multiple people after she refused harassment in a barbecue restaurant, and now all nine suspects have been arrested. Subsequently, Tangshan set off a wave of real-name reports.
Criminal Details and Legal Sentencing (12.00%) Tangshan, barbecue, beat, police, personnel, case, involved, beat up, June, suspect, woman, incident, arrested, crime, violence, the city of Tangshan, circulate, public security bureau, 10th day, branch	1. And dragged the woman to the monitoring area outside the Blind area. Whether there is a continued beating or indecent behavior, we do not know, we know is that the woman to the ground after the other party is still not relieved. 2. Drunkenness is not a reason for exemption, the troublemaker beat others, and caused serious damage. He's behavior is suspected of constituting provocation and nuisance crime, intentional injury crime. In addition, the woman resisted to avoid their own more serious violence, is a legitimate defense, not criminally responsible, and will not become the perpetrator of violence to reduce the reason for sentencing.
Related Cases (7.02%) Tangshan, several punish, incident, society, conference, beat, court, work, barbecue, people, June, wipe out gangs, according to law, assault case, hurry up, consume, citizen	1. Tangshan assailant *** is the local aquaculture boss, several times became an old rogue, repeatedly restricted high consumption. 2. But the ***, which I have been reporting for years, has not only stayed put, but was also named "excellent cadres" in the "national political and legal rectification". It's mind boggling!

Table 3. Categorization of topics with examples for posts in the Crime-related class

5.1.2 Gender-related Content. Analyzing the keywords and content of the posts classified into the *Gender-related* class revealed four significant topics, as shown in Table 4. The most prominent one concerns the right and freedom of women to act and pursue beauty without limitations from gender stereotypes, discrimination, and prejudice. Many people were aware of the multitude of constraints on women's behavior, including dressing. Chinese women may be criticized as "scantily clad" in front of the public. In the case of Tangshan, the girl victims were accused for the same reason. Some

Topics & Top Keywords	Example Posts
The Rights to Act Freely and Pursue Beauty (31.06%) girl, female, protect, girl, speak out, girl, go out, barbecue, hope, society, severally punish, harassment, dressed, friends, fault, scantily clad, night, matter, resist, victim	1. You say women better not wear skirts in the middle of the night, they are wearing white T's and pants, you say girls should not go out alone in the middle of the night, they are in a group, you say girls should not go to shady places, they are in a well-lit street! They have not been wrong since the beginning! 2. After things came out my sister told me not to wear makeup to go out at night in the future, anyone is teaching girls how to protect themselves, so why can't some men with cheap hands control themselves and respect girls. Gender is not the original sin, evil is. Makeup, dress and time and place are not excuses for sexual harassment!
Anger, Anxiety, and Disappointment of Violence Against Women (28.39%) female, society, male, girl, incident, protect, matter, gender, Tangshan, hope, girl, man, speak out, violence, harass, happen, girl, beat, male, victim	1. What I am angry about is the naked harassment of women in broad daylight, what I am angry about is the unprovoked beating with physical advantage, what I am angry about is the indifference of bystanders, the silence of men. Why can't we use the words male and female, why do we have to explain that it's not feminism? 2. I lost sleep last night and woke up early today with a muddled mind because of this confusing and horrifyingly vicious event. The impact of this event on the public is that it can be very vicarious, because they are being publicly violated in the most ordinary and common state of life like each of us.
Denouncement towards the Perpetrators and Men (26.32%) girl, female, male, man, Tangshan, beat, woman, harassment, incident, girl, female, sexual harassment, speak out, protect, society, girls, video, hope, severally punish, strike up a conversation	1. Men are generally more egregious than women, see the video is a passerby female who several times rushed out but is stopped by her boyfriend. In the gang it is also a white dressed woman to persuade the fight. 2. So stop ******* saying what "girls should learn to protect themselves" bullshit, the vast majority of cases are never girls do not love themselves. It is men who are worse than animals, including but not limited to domestic violence, rape, provocation.
Anecdotal Experiences, Similar Cases, and Warnings (10.24%) girl, Tangshan, beat, speak out, incident, sexual harassment, your turn, f**k you, death penalty, suggest, tonight, female, male, Shanghai, Xi'an, subway, Fengxian, iron chain, opportunity	1. The thing that happened to people I know. A few girls playing in their own homes at night, there was a strange drunken man (a strong sports student) who knocked on the door to play hooliganism and then began to beat people. After reporting the girls instead be educated. 2. I do not believe that this kind of people will sincerely apologize, crocodile tears only. The harassment is not accomplished by violent beating. When the pursuit was not accomplished he created yellow rumors to insult the innocence of girls. Besides one is a physical injury one is a mental injury, what is the difference between this one and the Tangshan beating incident?

Table 4. Categorization of topics with examples for posts in the Gender-related class

opinions attribute the sexual harassment and the following violence to the girls' dressing and attending the barbecue restaurant at midnight. Those viewpoints were criticized by users who promote women's right to free action and not to be treated unequally in social activities. In addition, some pointed out that women's self-protection alone can not solve the problem and that men must learn to respect and protect women. In addition, the phrase "girls help girls" (the original text was in English, not Chinese) and the idea of "only girls protect girls" frequently appear in this topic and sometimes other topics as well.

Many people also expressed their *Anger, Anxiety, and Disappointment of Violence Against Women*. Unlike other social security events without sexual motives, this case was perceived and interpreted as against women. Since some female users already had mental alerts to males, this event made their worries real. It struck Chinese women's nerve not just because the victims are women but also because the place, a barbecue restaurant, is too common in China, which means the such event could happen in other daily-visiting public places.

Besides expressing fear and anxiety, some female users accused the suspects of disrespecting and insulting the victims. They were angry because the male suspects regarded the girls as an outlet for libido. The discourse also generalized to denouncement towards other men or even men as a whole. The users criticized males, especially those inclined to objectify women or show no empathy or understanding of women's circumstances.

The users also shared their *Anecdotal Experiences, Similar Cases* and broadcast *Warnings* to other women. One user mentioned that the incident reminded her to share an experience of sexual harassment that would have been "rotten in the stomach." The disclosed experiences and cases described personal stories related to sexual harassment or offensive behaviors of males towards females. Sharing cases was accompanied by warnings to other women and an appeal for social support among them. Those users warned others that such violence could befall any single woman and is not predictable at all:

> You don't send, I don't send, the next turn of the girls is our own.
>
> She is more than just her, she is us.
>
> Zhilan is me, and I am Zhilan. But all women, the same fate. (an excerpt from one of a popular Hong Kong writer's short story)
>
> If we don't speak up this time, we may not have the opportunity to speak up next time.
>
> Today if I stand by and watch, when the disaster comes to me, no one will wave the flag for me.

Those posts and their variants gained extreme popularity on Weibo and have been reposted enormous times. Fully exploring the repost practices is beyond the scope of this study. We, therefore, only report the existence of such behaviors. In general, they leveraged such narratives and people's empathy to awaken women's awareness of their vulnerable condition and, simultaneously, attempted to build social support among those sharing similar experiences or awareness.

5.1.3 Other Content. Although the *Irrelevant or Ineffective* class constitutes 67.42% of the collected posts, most of the posts had low quality or contributed little to any substantial conversations. The topic modeling clustered posts in the *Irrelevant or Ineffective* class into ten groups. The topics for most groups are: expression of shock and hopelessness, asking for follow-up and increase hotness, extreme curses to the suspects, questioning the ability of local police, and irrelevant content. We instead paid most of the attention on the *Crime-related* and *Gender-related* classes.

5.2 RQ2: Debate About Gender Dimension

The validity and importance of gender factors were in the core conflict between the criminal and gender perspectives. We report, in this subsection, the mainly deployed reasoning and narratives of the criminal and gender-related perspectives. These two views correspond with the gender blindness/feminist dichotomy: posts with a criminal perspective tend to frame the incident as unrelated to gender. In contrast, those with a gender perspective stress the cruciality of thinking about gender factors in this event. There are also opinions trying to mediate the conflicting frames and bridge the two groups, stating that they are not necessarily opposite per se. We analyze the framing of the feminist perspective and its

confronting ideologies based on the following viewpoint divide: (1) Objection to Gender Dimension, (2) Support to Gender Dimension, and (3) Bridging the Two.

5.2.1 Objection to Gender Dimension. The vast majority of posts showing a hostile standpoint against advocates of gender factors are from the *Crime-related* class (not exclusively due to the imperfection of machine learning classification). Those posters hold an inclination to ignore, deny, or downplay the significance of gender factors in perceiving the nature of and interpreting the incident. Various types of framing and narratives emerged to backlash against gender discourses, often intertwined and combined. The objection usually converged with the legitimized criminal framing or re-framed the conflict to ones other than gender. The posters also criticized the feminists as being "extreme" and inciting gender opposition. We describe how the posters frame their objection to gender dimension through the following divided categories.

Re-framing to Criminal Issues. A criminal perspective prevailed as the incident involved illegal gangs and violence against citizens. However, often the discussion was re-framed as a criminal issue, and the criminal perspective was re-appropriated to deny gender factors. Some posters emphasized that the incident was purely a social security event and that gender is unimportant. Posts of this kind often criticized gender discussion from the standpoint of law and order. Even though the gender factor was not completely denied, people would confer a priority order - criminal topics precede gender topics. One poster wrote:

> The issue of public security doesn't need to be transferred to a gender opposition. Even if there is an opposition, it is between law-abiding and law-breaking.

The poster interpreted the incident as an ordinary security event. Criminal interests here were used to disavow gender issues. Some posts might seek endorsement from criminal rules in an attempt to prove the validity of not-discussing gender:

> Tangshan beating incident is actually a gang violence, not related to gender. Gender is not the original sin. It is the violence that should be severely condemned. Whether it is male-male or male-female beating, as long as it violates the criminal law, the sentence is the same. Criminal law will not treat men and women differently.

Re-framing to the Conflict between Evil and Good. Besides denying gender-related discourses, some posters framed their viewpoints by relating to general moral values about evil and good. They claimed that "No discussion of men and women, only good and evil." to re-frame the conflict to the one between evil and good where the evil refers to the gangsters, and the good refers to the girl victims and the groups they represent. Such framing is to deduct and simply the complexity of debate since the poster also implied his/her expectation:

> I don't want to know at all how men and women are scolding each other, who is more sarcastic, and who is more murderous. Our goal is clear, it is to punish the perpetrators, not thousands of ordinary people to provoke controversy for this matter. No discussion of men and women, only good and evil.

In this post, the discussion of gender issues was referred to as "men and women scolding each other," and the tone of the discussion was "sarcastic" and "murderous." Although oral conflicts and even hate speech did appear in the debate between men and women around this incident, it comprised a small aspect of the whole. The state of discussion was thus oversimplified, exaggerated, and generalized. Therefore, such an image of gender discussion is subtle stigmatization, and the framing itself downplayed the significance of gender issues under the umbrella of an inarguable moral claim in

14

common sense. Besides, this post holds a hidden intent to cease the online debate on gender issues as "thousands of ordinary people to provoke controversy" is not desirable.

Re-framing to the Conflict between Strong and Weak. The framing could also relate to another pair of moral conflicts: the strong and the weak. Some posters claimed that the incident exposed to conflict, not between genders but between the strong and weak in society. The strong refers to people with relative power and social capital, and in the case of the Tangshan event, the men beat the women; the weak refers to the opposite, including the women victims. Similar to re-framing to conflict between evil and good, the strong/weak framing is another form of simplification and generalization in which the impact of gender factors was ignored, and details for capturing the complete picture of the event were missed. Similarly, those posts attempted to transfer the attention from gender to a more general and conservative frame. One example is as follows:

> We should pay more attention to the victims and perpetrators. Today the victims are only women. There still are other people getting hurt: may be boys, the elderly or even children. So it's not only women who will be hurt, but that the four women victims belong to a vulnerable group in front of these abusers.

This post explicitly calls for attention to crime-related frames as indicated by "victims and perpetrators." Women here were assembled with other groups into a group of the vulnerable. Thus the particularity of women's rights was ignored. Also, the post used the possibility of other groups receiving violent attacks as an argument to frame the incident, making it indifferent to other ordinary small-scale violence events. The substitution-like narrative was further explained in a later paragraph. Another typical post stated that:

> The protection is for the vulnerable, not just women; the punishment is for the evil, not men.

Although woman as a group here was classified as the vulnerable that is in need of "protection," the connotation has already shifted to the opposite. Considering the context that the validity of gender discussion was in hit debate when this post got published, it suggests an apparent intention to cease discussion about gender issues instead of supporting feminist advocacy. Some posts proposed the union of "weak" individuals to replace women in this event. An example is as follows:

> When encountering such a thing in the future, there must be a consensus, and everyone present must go together! Both men and women. At this time, it is not a matter of men and women, it is the weaker party who should unite. Unity is strength!

Women and men are both involved in facing the "strong" gangsters. "It is not a matter of men and women," through which the girl victims' particular female identity was substituted by the more general term of a vulnerable person. The frame shifted in this way.

Equal Susceptibility Between Genders. Another typical frame was based on the notion that "Violence does not discriminate between genders or among other social groups." In other words, violence could equally befall each person regardless of his/her gender and, more broadly, intersectionality. The way those posters argue for it often states that other groups would also encounter violence. For example:

> "It's not just men who commit violence against women in places we can't see, there are many men who are also victims." and "Gangs beat people regardless of gender."

15

The posts made gender an insignificant factor in front of violence by stating that violence treats everyone "equally." Some posts depicted context; below is an example:

> Even if for men, it's possible to be beaten for looking at each other. (can find the case at ***, a man was stabbed to death for looking at the other one)

Posts of this kind share an underlying assumption that women encounter violence for the same reasons and mechanisms as men. However, those posters were unaware of this assumption, which is usually false, and the assumption per se is an unconsciousness derived from patriarchal arrogance.

"People Help People": An Illusion. An English phrase "People Help People" appeared in some posts, usually to replace the phrase "Girls Help Girls." The posters envisioned a Utopian state where everyone, regardless of their identities, united together and provided mutual help in facing any crisis. One post mentioned that:

> I hope that in the face of violence, in the face of any other injustice, men and women can stand on the same position and angle to help the disadvantaged. I hope not just "girls help girls", or "boys help boys", but "people help people".

Although appealing on the surface, such a narrative did not become aware of the differences between men's and women's life experiences, the existing systematic inequality between genders, and the constraints set on women. It constitutes a gender-blind conception in which gender differences in a larger social context are effectively ignored. The idea was expressed by one post supporting "Girls Help Girls":

> Of course we don't want to repeat "girls help girls" over and over, but that's the way it is now! What we hoped should be "people help people", but during the time that girl was beaten, how many men came forward? The congenital male and female body shape and strength are irreparable. Datong (Great Harmony) is an ideal society, which is difficult to achieve in real life. No matter how advanced the status of women is, we are still unable to resist when we are subjected to male violence.

"People Help People," in most posts supporting it, is merely a misleading illusion because it often suggests ignorance of gender issues, and it will not be achieved if gender conflict is not properly resolved. In this way, the seemly prospective vision turned into a reverse ideology in the path towards itself.

Stigmatization to Feminists. Gender discussion was frequently depicted as inciting opposition between men and women in the events' discourses. Feminists are usually comprised of women, and their criticisms mostly target male privilege. The conflict of rights and interests could be easily deducted from the conflict of gender identities since the rights may not be detached from a specific gender. The opponents widely deployed such a narrative to stigmatize feminists as an unstable factor that may cause riots in society. Besides, the term "feminism" (女权 in Chinese characters) was written as "female fist" (女拳 in Chinese characters) as they are homophonic. And an image of a woman's fist was once used as a symbol of women's rights and independence. However, the "female fist" may be sarcasm towards feminists' destructive force against the existing social structure. Oversimplifying the problem of opposition between genders without being aware of their unequal states is committed again, gender blindness: factual inequality is ignored or not recognized. A narrative of this kind harvested wide popularity across the platform and was endorsed by Chinese official accounts [1].

5.2.2 Support to Gender Dimension. All posts supporting gender discussion belong to the *Gender-related* class. The posters leveraged multiple narratives and reasoning to argue the significance of gender factors. A common characteristic

16

among all the narratives supporting gender factors is that they reflected awareness and consciousness of the structural dissimilarity between genders embedded in the social and cultural context, opposite to the posts objecting to gender factors.

Sexual Motive. Based on this fact, people argued that the oral conflict and the subsequent beating originated from that man's sexual motive and sexual harassment. On the contrary, the motive was relatively less mentioned among the crime-related posts. Moreover, thus, these posts related the incident to gender by assuming that women are victims in scenarios of sexual harassment. A post implied that criticizing sexual motive is the reason behind gender discussion: "Is not the reason why this happened because of sexual harassment, the problems that arise between the genders?". Another post argued that gender factors were precedent to criminal factors:

> We CAN talk about human rights, public security, and the social system, but in this case, the root cause is sexual harassment. The physical identities of men and women are satisfied first, and then the social identities of abusers and victims are satisfied.

Here the sexual motive was regarded as the "root cause" that was based on the "physical identities of men and women" or their relations. Violence toward women due to sexual motives and gender preconception is an apparent target for criticism by feminists because it is a manifestation of objectification towards women, and women's wills would be ignored. Gender factors were argued by linking sexual motives with broader and deeper gender issues.

Women's Liberty and Rights. Proponents of the gender perspective also emphasized that the incident is a realistic representation of the undermined women's fundamental rights. This view's underlying assumption was that women's rights are constrained while men's are not. The privileged men, due to limited experience, are often unaware of their privilege and the oppression experienced by women. Such an ideology was defined as a form of gender blindness and is similar to color blindness in the issue of race. [11] Some posts made an analogy between gender blindness and color blindness, drawing their connection to argue for the necessity of involving gender perspective:

> The man's argument that this incident has nothing to do with gender is equivalent to the white American police knelt down on the black man to death, but the white man said it was just excessive police enforcement and had nothing to do with skin color. Now they say it's just a violent incident that has nothing to do with gender.

This post provided narratives in which race is assumed to take a similar role as gender in the Tangshan incident - both are situated in the confrontation with criminal frames. The post implied that if one admits race takes effect in the scenario described, he/she should also consider gender factors in the Tangshan incident. The Chinese foreign ministry spokesperson mentioned that the murder of George Floyd "reflected the severity of racial discrimination and violent police enforcement in the US." However, the Chinese government did not explicitly mention support or refutation of gender factors in the Tangshan event.

The Challenged Masculinity. The women challenged conventional male masculinity so that the violence occurred as a repress for maintaining dominance and perhaps "Mianzi (face) in front of other men." The conflict originated from the man's behavior of touching the woman's back without consent, which was fiercely criticized as sexual harassment. The woman refused the man by questioning, "What are you doing?". The man directly replied with, "I wanna f*** you." Then the woman's female friend hit the man with a beer bottle, igniting the man's outrage and violence. So one poster wrote:

The criminal was thwarted and committed violence, not to avenge for his own bodily harm, but to the vulnerable woman who challenged his masculinity.

Based on observable details, the poster thought the man's violence did not target who beat him but who was inferior to him. When being challenged, the man's reaction was not completely to fight back but to maintain his nominal superiority through violence towards the other weaker girl.

The man's reaction might also be motivated by his anxiety about losing Mianzi (face) in front of people, especially his male friends. Before the direct physical conflict between him and the woman, the man's friends had been informed of his intention and other people at the place noticed the quarrel as well. Aware of these, the man might find himself in an awkward position when the woman refuses, and only continuing aggressive actions and demonstrating masculinity would avoid him losing face. The idea was expressed in a post:

Those men still use their natural physical superiority to arm their hearts, feeling that they are strong, and the weak "should" obey them. But their superiority was resisted, their Mianzi (face) could no longer hold, so they began to resort to violence.

Men have always been accustomed to benefiting from their superiority over women. A deviated reaction of women would make men uncomfortable as their prided masculinity was challenged. Moreover, the Mianzi (face) the man sought was social respect stemmed from the structural inequality between genders in a patriarchal sociocultural system: a man who failed to seek privilege from women is disrespected as a loser and would potentially be de-listed from the male-privilege group. So one post implied the idea by saying, "In essence, such a man's anger is valued higher than a woman's fear, which is a kind of patriarchal thinking."

Challenging Equal Susceptibility Between Genders. Some posters refused the narrative that men have equal chances and reason of being harmed by others as women do. They stated that men are less likely to be sexually harassed to a severe level to fight back against the idea of equal susceptibility. Most importantly, their counter-narrative implied the qualitative differences between women and men facing the same situation:

Under normal circumstances, does a girl threaten the life of a boy? If a group of girls beat up a boy to such a serious level, then they should be scolded, and both men and women should scold them. But the fact is that under normal circumstances, boys don't get into that situation, boys who want to resist can fully protect themselves.

Usually, "boys do not get into that situation" because of reasons: "boys can protect themselves." At the same time, the girls would be more passive, which is not due to the physical differences but more importantly, the social context and relationships in which men would receive more endorsement and their actions have a higher chance of being accepted. The differences situated in the social structure are most likely to be ignored by men so that they would think gender equality was already achieved, and there is no more reason behind the girls' encounter except for their "misbehavior" on an individual level. Some posts hence implied the necessity of recognizing gender differences in terms of their social context and mechanism:

True equality between men and women should be based on the recognition of the objective inequality between men and women.

If don't resist, men may be beaten to death, but what else will women encounter besides being beaten to death? The cause of the incident has already determined the risk and degree of persecution of women.

18

The first poster advocated for facing gender inequality and not avoiding it so that efforts may attain genuine equality; otherwise, no action is needed. The second poster also implied that women may not only be regarded as the vent for men's brutality but also libido, which profoundly resulted in their inferior and vulnerable position.

Biased Media Rhetoric. The media's report did not mention sexual harassment but wrote other phrases to replace that. Among the news reports of mainstream and smaller media, "harassment" was relatively rare, and "sexual harassment" was even less. Mainly used phrases include "strike up a conversation," "chat," and "stroke the back," all are less severe than "sexual harassment." The collective framing by media was influenced by the national orientation either directly via setting restrictions on media or indirectly via self-discipline of media in facing the sensitive atmosphere. A post explained the linkage between the media frames and the national orientation in China:

> This is what the official media want to cover up, so they replace the word "sexual harassment" with neutral words such as "stroking the back" and "picking up a conversation". The official media's comment on the incident is the key reason why women continue to be angry. The institutions of public authority erased this obvious gender element, isolating it as a contingency, not by chance, but by deliberate orientation. The downplaying of the unequal power structure in this incident once again confirms the orientation of state institutions.

As this post mentioned, many users who speak to the problem of sexual harassment expressed their anger and dissatisfaction with the media's paraphrasing that downplayed the sexual factors. The criticisms against the domestic media thus constituted one of the facets of feminist advocacy in the debate.

5.2.3 Bridging the Two. Besides the dichotomized parties of objection and support to gender discussion, another group admitted the crime-related narrative while being aware of the gender issue. Almost all the posts were found in the *Crime-related* class. Some posters thought that criminal and gender perspectives are not necessarily exclusive, and in principle, both problems can be solved without conflict with each other. The frame of crime should not be hostile to gender perspective but to admit it, at the same time, attention to criminal issues is necessary. In some of those posts, the unequal condition between genders was partially recognized. One post wrote as follows:

> The nature of the vicious wounding incident is not "hatred to women", but "gangs oppressing people", which is common and not so closely related to gender. However, this is not to say that gender is not related to this vicious wounding incident - the weak social status of women and the contempt for women that have permeated the culture are one of the many reasons, and it is also universal and cannot be ignored by the criminal nature one bit! Sweeping away the soil and protective umbrella that breeds underworld forces from the system, and ideologically sweeping away the misconception that bullying the weak (women) is not a big problem are both indispensable (the latter is also the same when it is replaced by migrant workers and the elderly)

Such an idea thought that the problems of security and gender inequality were not competing or exclusive. However, each was one of the reasons and should be accountable for the violence against the girls. It proposed eliminating the illegal gangs and umbrellas and admitted the necessity of "ideologically sweeping away the misconception" towards women. Nevertheless, the nature of the incident was interpreted as a criminal event, re-framing the conflict between strong and weak. It still leans toward the criminal framing though the two perspectives were both mentioned. Other posts usually have a clearer stand stating that criminal and gender issues were both indispensable and crucial in this event, and gender inequality should not be refused or downplayed out of any excuse.

6 DISCUSSION

When exploring our data initially, we found a mismatch between the hashtag's meaning and the content posted with that hashtag. There were many hashtags similar to "Girls Help Girls," but none of them gained popularity. However, those phrases appeared frequently in the posts of the Gender-related class. Meanwhile, proponents of gender discussion mainly used the top-listed neutral hashtags such as "#Tangshan Beating" to publish their posts even though the actual content was closely related to "#girls help girls." A possible explanation would be the policy enforcement set by either Weibo or the corresponding government bureau. The hashtags with an apparent feminist stand could be limited or censored to control the trend of online public opinions, and specifically, feminist opinions. Alternatively, it may also be due to the self-discipline of Weibo users to avoid publishing posts too "aggressively" when facing the sensitive atmosphere of the Chinese Internet.

Another possible reason is that people select which hashtags to use largely based on the popularity and ranking of the hashtags. Weibo has multiple lists of trending topics, hashtags, and supergroups. As demonstrated by our hashtag list in Table 1, "neutral" hashtags ranked higher than others in terms of the number of discussions and reads. Users would tend to use hashtags with more popularity in their posts, making the hashtags even more dominant. On the contrary, the marginalized hashtags might receive even fewer attention. The social platform then might involve guiding public opinion to align with the mainstream narrative. Throughout this process, gender issues could be effectively downplayed, but the mainstream framing would be amplified because of the "richer get richer" phenomenon [48].

Social platforms and HCI researchers should pay attention to gender-blind ideology and respond to it. Gender blindness is usually misleading because of its gender-neutral or gender-in-differential framing on the surface. People may have a high probability of being misled by the illusive "gender equality." Re-framing, oversimplification, and over-generalizing are common manifestations of gender blindness observed in this study, as demonstrated in the *Results* section. The phenomena link to the special politics in China, where public opinions and platforms align with the national will, which could be rarely seen in western countries.

We admit that directly improving the status quo of Chinese social platforms is difficult; understanding the extant gender-blind discourses is essential for studying and improving social media. When people notice such ideologies, people in charge will be able to recognize them and conduct moderation.

Compared to gender discrimination, stereotypes, and sexism, gender blindness is too subtle and covert to be identified and addressed effectively. Those properties also made the gender-blind ideology long-lasting and vibrant among the population. This work provided an instance of identifying and analyzing gender-blind notions using critical discourse analysis. Future content moderation and bias detection of online platforms should be aware of the covert gender-blind notions and apply rules or methods to push back against them.

Social platforms should also support the vulnerable and marginalized groups by protecting their voices from marginalization again if inequality or oppression is recognized between them and the dominant. Although women were constructing social support as a resistance to the dominant notion of gender blindness, the group was fragile and not organized, coincidental with networked activism on digital media [9, 63]. Also, their support was limited to the symbolic level, i.e., utterances in the posts instead of practical actions. Nevertheless, it implied a design space for establishing social support among women, which could be the future direction of inquiry.

7 LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE WORK

Our work's limitation unfolds into two parts. First, for platform limitation, we could only scrap a subset of all posts due to the limitation set by Weibo, like displaying only 1,000 posts for each hour, but more posts got published during that hour, and we could not precisely measure the loss. Also, focusing on one microblogging platform made the data consistent and comparable; undoubtedly, it is prone to the risk of limited generalizability to other platforms. Second, for censorship by Chinese authorities, posts on Weibo might be censored based on aspects including content sensitivity, language, and word usage, IP location, and user records. Trace of content censorship was found that some sensitive posts were blocked from access via web clients, and previously visible posts were later marked as "deleted by the author."

Although we noticed the need for social support among women through social platforms, we did not investigate it in depth. Future work following this line of inquiry could be: (1) analyzing the social collaboration network of the women users to uncover the dissemination mechanism behind and understand the relation and influence dynamics; and (2) interviewing people who participated in such activities about their life experiences and opinions regarding the gender-blind notions in online spaces and physical world as well. The deep inspection may imply the design space supports women's needs and values.

8 CONCLUSION

By employing computational methods and critical discourse analysis on a controversial social incident, we dismantled the framing of gender blindness in the online debate, and its counter-framing emerged from grassroots feminists. The notion of gender blindness enacted itself through various strategies, including re-framing, oversimplification, stigmatization, and biased propagation. We also inspected how Chinese grassroots feminists engaged in social media to push back against gender blindness, speak out for their rights, and construct social support among women under the slogans like "Girls Help Girls." This work contributed to an early empirical study of the covert notion of gender blindness on Chinese social media, which continues to penetrate gender bias in the digital realm. We call for more attention from academia and industry to online gender blindness, similar to color blindness to some extent. The equal and just online environment we envisioned could only be achieved if we strive to address the multiple facets of bias and inequality.

REFERENCES

[1] 2022. China Communist Youth League lashes out at 'malignant tumour' feminism. https://www.scmp.com/news/people-culture/gender-diversity/article/3174419/china-communist-youth-league-lashes-out Section: News.

[2] Robert Ackland and Mathieu O'Neil. 2011. Online collective identity: The case of the environmental movement. *Social Networks* 33, 3 (July 2011), 177–190. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socnet.2011.03.001

[3] Ban Al-Ani, Gloria Mark, Justin Chung, and Jennifer Jones. 2012. The Egyptian blogosphere: a counter-narrative of the revolution. In *Proceedings of the ACM 2012 conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work (CSCW '12)*. Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA, 17–26. https://doi.org/10.1145/2145204.2145213

[4] Shanshan An. 2021. Chinese social media user behaviour report 2020. *Media* 23, 14 (July 2021), 19–22.

[5] David Bamman, Brendan O'Connor, and Noah Smith. 2012. Censorship and deletion practices in Chinese social media. *First Monday* 17, 3 (March 2012). https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v17i3.3943

[6] Zao bao. 2022. 265 Weibo accounts banned for inciting gender antagonism. Retrieved Jun 12, 2022 from https://web.archive.org/web/20220612020828/ https://www.zaobao.com.sg/realtime/china/story20220612-1282149

[7] Shaowen Bardzell. 2010. Feminist HCI: taking stock and outlining an agenda for design. In *Proceedings of the SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems (CHI '10)*. Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA, 1301–1310. https://doi.org/10.1145/1753326.1753521

[8] Shaowen Bardzell and Jeffrey Bardzell. 2011. Towards a feminist HCI methodology: social science, feminism, and HCI. In *Proceedings of the SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems (CHI '11)*. Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA, 675–684. https://doi.org/10.1145/1978942.1979041

21

[9] W. Lance Bennett and Alexandra Segerberg. 2015. The logic of connective action: digital media and the personalization of contentious politics. *Handbook of Digital Politics* (May 2015), 169–198. https://www.elgaronline.com/view/edcoll/9781782548751/9781782548751.00020.xml ISBN: 9781782548768 Publisher: Edward Elgar Publishing Section: Handbook of Digital Politics.

[10] Lindsay Blackwell, Tianying Chen, Sarita Schoenebeck, and Cliff Lampe. 2018. When Online Harassment Is Perceived as Justified. *Proceedings of the International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media* 12, 1 (June 2018). https://ojs.aaai.org/index.php/ICWSM/article/view/15036 Number: 1.

[11] Eduardo Bonilla-Silva. 2018. *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the United States.* Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

[12] Javier Borge-Holthoefer, Walid Magdy, Kareem Darwish, and Ingmar Weber. 2015. Content and Network Dynamics Behind Egyptian Political Polarization on Twitter. In *Proceedings of the 18th ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work & Social Computing.* ACM, Vancouver BC Canada, 700–711. https://doi.org/10.1145/2675133.2675163

[13] Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke. 2006. Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3, 2 (Jan. 2006), 77–101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa Publisher: Routledge _eprint: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa.

[14] Liu Caiyu. 2022. Tangshan launches special campaign against crimes in wake of brutality in restaurant. Retrieved Jun 12, 2022 from https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202206/1267916.shtml

[15] Manuel Castells. 2015. *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age.* John Wiley & Sons. Google-Books-ID: MzDOCQAAQBAJ.

[16] Peter Chai. 2022. A Short Review of Social Movements in China. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4097672

[17] Jiang Chang, Hailong Ren, and Qiguang Yang. 2018. A virtual gender asylum? The social media profile picture, young Chinese women's self-empowerment, and the emergence of a Chinese digital feminism. *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 21, 3 (May 2018), 325–340. https://doi.org/10.1177/1367877916682085 Publisher: SAGE Publications Ltd.

[18] Ya-chen Chen. 2011. *The Many Dimensions of Chinese Feminism.* Palgrave Macmillan US, New York. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230119185

[19] Munmun De Choudhury, Shagun Jhaver, Benjamin Sugar, and Ingmar Weber. 2016. Social Media Participation in an Activist Movement for Racial Equality. In *Tenth International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media.* https://www.aaai.org/ocs/index.php/ICWSM/ICWSM16/paper/view/13168

[20] Michael D. Conover, Clayton Davis, Emilio Ferrara, Karissa McKelvey, Filippo Menczer, and Alessandro Flammini. 2013. The Geospatial Characteristics of a Social Movement Communication Network. *PLOS ONE* 8, 3 (March 2013), e55957. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0055957 Publisher: Public Library of Science.

[21] Clara Crivellaro, Rob Comber, John Bowers, Peter C. Wright, and Patrick Olivier. 2014. A pool of dreams: facebook, politics and the emergence of a social movement. In *Proceedings of the SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems (CHI '14).* Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA, 3573–3582. https://doi.org/10.1145/2556288.2557100

[22] Yiming Cui, Wanxiang Che, Ting Liu, Bing Qin, and Ziqing Yang. 2021. Pre-Training With Whole Word Masking for Chinese BERT. *IEEE/ACM Transactions on Audio, Speech, and Language Processing* 29 (2021), 3504–3514. https://doi.org/10.1109/TASLP.2021.3124365 Conference Name: IEEE/ACM Transactions on Audio, Speech, and Language Processing.

[23] Jacob Devlin, Ming-Wei Chang, Kenton Lee, and Kristina Toutanova. 2019. BERT: Pre-training of Deep Bidirectional Transformers for Language Understanding. In *Proceedings of the 2019 Conference of the North American Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics: Human Language Technologies, Volume 1 (Long and Short Papers).* Association for Computational Linguistics, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 4171–4186. https://doi.org/10.18653/v1/N19-1423

[24] Joy Dong. 2022. China's Internet Censors Try a New Trick: Revealing Users' Locations. *The New York Times* (May 2022). https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/18/business/china-internet-censors-ip-address.html

[25] Bryan Dosono and Bryan Semaan. 2019. Moderation Practices as Emotional Labor in Sustaining Online Communities: The Case of AAPI Identity Work on Reddit. In *Proceedings of the 2019 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems (CHI '19).* Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA, 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1145/3290605.3300372

[26] Brianna Dym, Jed R. Brubaker, Casey Fiesler, and Bryan Semaan. 2019. "Coming Out Okay": Community Narratives for LGBTQ Identity Recovery Work. *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction* 3, CSCW (Nov. 2019), 154:1–154:28. https://doi.org/10.1145/3359256

[27] Philomena Essed, David Theo Goldberg, and Audrey Kobayashi. 2009. *A Companion to Gender Studies.* John Wiley & Sons. Google-Books-ID: ZPgYDTa9P84C.

[28] Casey Fiesler, Shannon Morrison, and Amy S. Bruckman. 2016. An Archive of Their Own: A Case Study of Feminist HCI and Values in Design. In *Proceedings of the 2016 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems (CHI '16).* Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA, 2574–2585. https://doi.org/10.1145/2858036.2858409

[29] Cristina Flesher Fominaya. 2010. Collective Identity in Social Movements: Central Concepts and Debates. *Sociology Compass* 4, 6 (2010), 393–404. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9020.2010.00287.x _eprint: https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1751-9020.2010.00287.x.

[30] Made for Minds. 2022. Interview: Chinese public despairs at the lack of solutions to gender-based violence. Retrieved Jun 14, 2022 from https://www.dw.com/zh/%E5%B0%88%E8%A8%AA%E4%B8%AD%E5%9C%8B%E5%85%AC%E7%9C%BE%E5%B0%8D%E6%80%A7%E5%88%A5%E6%9A%B4%E5%8A%9B%E4%BA%8B%E4%BB%B6%E7%84%A1%E8%A7%A3%E6%84%9F%E5%88%B0%E7%B5%95%E6%9C%9B/a-62120418

[31] Deen Freelon, Charlton D. McIlwain, and Meredith Clark. 2016. Beyond the Hashtags: #Ferguson, #Blacklivesmatter, and the Online Struggle for Offline Justice. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2747066

[32] Ryan J. Gallagher, Elizabeth Stowell, Andrea G. Parker, and Brooke Foucault Welles. 2019. Reclaiming Stigmatized Narratives: The Networked Disclosure Landscape of #MeToo. *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction* 3, CSCW (Nov. 2019), 96:1–96:30. https://doi.org/10.1145/

3359198

[33] Xiao Han. 2018. Searching for an online space for feminism? The Chinese feminist group Gender Watch Women's Voice and its changing approaches to online misogyny. *Feminist Media Studies* 18, 4 (July 2018), 734–749. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2018.1447430 Publisher: Routledge _eprint: https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2018.1447430.

[34] Sarah J. Jackson and Brooke Foucault Welles. 2015. Hijacking #MYNYPD: Social Media Dissent and Networked Counterpublics. *Journal of Communication* 65, 6 (Dec. 2015), 932–952. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12185

[35] Sarah J. Jackson and Brooke Foucault Welles. 2016. #Ferguson is everywhere: initiators in emerging counterpublic networks. *Information, Communication & Society* 19, 3 (March 2016), 397–418. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2015.1106571 Publisher: Routledge _eprint: https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2015.1106571.

[36] Shagun Jhaver, Sucheta Ghoshal, Amy Bruckman, and Eric Gilbert. 2018. Online Harassment and Content Moderation: The Case of Blocklists. *ACM Transactions on Computer-Human Interaction* 25, 2 (March 2018), 12:1–12:33. https://doi.org/10.1145/3185593

[37] Dinna Khairina and Endah Triastuti. 2021. Trust-Building and Social Support in the Online Social Movement Among Victims of Sexual Violence. Atlantis Press, 99–106. https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.210531.012 ISSN: 2352-5398.

[38] Aparup Khatua and Wolfgang Nejdl. 2021. Struggle to Settle down! Examining the Voices of Migrants and Refugees on Twitter Platform. In *Companion Publication of the 2021 Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work and Social Computing*. ACM, Virtual Event USA, 95–98. https://doi.org/10.1145/3462204.3481773

[39] Yong Ming Kow, Yubo Kou, Bryan Semaan, and Waikuen Cheng. 2016. Mediating the Undercurrents: Using Social Media to Sustain a Social Movement. In *Proceedings of the 2016 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems (CHI '16)*. Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA, 3883–3894. https://doi.org/10.1145/2858036.2858186

[40] Etienne G Krug, James A Mercy, Linda L Dahlberg, and Anthony B Zwi. 2002. The world report on violence and health. *The Lancet* 360, 9339 (Oct. 2002), 1083–1088. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(02)11133-0

[41] George Lakoff. 2014. *The all new don't think of an elephant!: Know your values and frame the debate.* Chelsea Green Publishing.

[42] Amanda Lazar, Norman Makoto Su, Jeffrey Bardzell, and Shaowen Bardzell. 2019. Parting the Red Sea: Sociotechnical Systems and Lived Experiences of Menopause. In *Proceedings of the 2019 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems (CHI '19)*. Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA, 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1145/3290605.3300710

[43] Daniel Le Compte and Daniel Klug. 2021. "It's Viral!" - A Study of the Behaviors, Practices, and Motivations of TikTok Users and Social Activism. In *Companion Publication of the 2021 Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work and Social Computing (CSCW '21)*. Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA, 108–111. https://doi.org/10.1145/3462204.3481741

[44] Zhongxuan Lin and Liu Yang. 2019. Individual and collective empowerment: Women's voices in the #MeToo movement in China. *Asian Journal of Women's Studies* 25, 1 (Jan. 2019), 117–131. https://doi.org/10.1080/12259276.2019.1573002 Publisher: Routledge _eprint: https://doi.org/10.1080/12259276.2019.1573002.

[45] Lydia Manikonda, Ghazaleh Beigi, Huan Liu, and Subbarao Kambhampati. 2018. Twitter for Sparking a Movement, Reddit for Sharing the Moment: #metoo through the Lens of Social Media. https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.1803.08022 arXiv:1803.08022 [cs].

[46] Chengting Mao. 2020. Feminist activism via social media in China. *Asian Journal of Women's Studies* 26, 2 (April 2020), 245–258. https://doi.org/10.1080/12259276.2020.1767844 Publisher: Routledge _eprint: https://doi.org/10.1080/12259276.2020.1767844.

[47] Adrienne Massanari. 2017. #Gamergate and The Fappening: How Reddit's algorithm, governance, and culture support toxic technocultures. *New Media & Society* 19, 3 (March 2017), 329–346. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444815608807 Publisher: SAGE Publications.

[48] M. E. J. Newman. 2001. Clustering and preferential attachment in growing networks. *Physical Review E* 64, 2 (July 2001), 025102. https://doi.org/10.1103/PhysRevE.64.025102 Publisher: American Physical Society.

[49] Rafael Obregón and Thomas Tufte. 2017. Communication, Social Movements, and Collective Action: Toward a New Research Agenda in Communication for Development and Social Change. *Journal of Communication* 67, 5 (Oct. 2017), 635–645. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12332

[50] Honeybee Opinion. 2022. Online secondary public opinion triggered by the Tangshan barbecue restaurant beating incident. Retrieved Jun 17, 2022 from https://www.163.com/dy/article/HA2Q9E0L05380BXK.html

[51] Sonia Núñez Puente, Sergio D'Antonio Maceiras, and Diana Fernández Romero. 2021. Twitter Activism and Ethical Witnessing: Possibilities and Challenges of Feminist Politics Against Gender-Based Violence. *Social Science Computer Review* 39, 2 (April 2021), 295–311. https://doi.org/10.1177/0894439319864898 Publisher: SAGE Publications Inc.

[52] Jennifer A Rode. 2011. A theoretical agenda for feminist HCI. *Interacting with Computers* 23, 5 (2011), 393–400.

[53] Bryan Semaan, Heather Faucett, Scott Robertson, Misa Maruyama, and Sara Douglas. 2015. Navigating Imagined Audiences: Motivations for Participating in the Online Public Sphere. In *Proceedings of the 18th ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work & Social Computing (CSCW '15)*. Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA, 1158–1169. https://doi.org/10.1145/2675133.2675187

[54] Bryan C. Semaan, Scott P. Robertson, Sara Douglas, and Misa Maruyama. 2014. Social media supporting political deliberation across multiple public spheres: towards depolarization. In *Proceedings of the 17th ACM conference on Computer supported cooperative work & social computing (CSCW '14)*. Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA, 1409–1421. https://doi.org/10.1145/2531602.2531605

[55] Tanu Shukla, Madhurima Das, and Virendra Singh Nirban. 2022. The Persistence of Gender-blind Phenomena in Indian Science Academia. *Journal of International Women's Studies* 24, 1 (2022), 31.

[56] Ellen Simpson. 2018. Integrated & Alone: The Use of Hashtags in Twitter Social Activism. In *Companion of the 2018 ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work and Social Computing (CSCW '18)*. Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA, 237–240. https://doi.org/10.1145/3272973.3274064

[57] David A Snow. 2004. Framing processes, ideology, and discursive fields. *The Blackwell companion to social movements* 1 (2004), 380–412.

[58] Kate Starbird and Leysia Palen. 2012. (How) will the revolution be retweeted? information diffusion and the 2011 Egyptian uprising. In *Proceedings of the ACM 2012 conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work (CSCW '12)*. Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA, 7–16. https://doi.org/10.1145/2145204.2145212

[59] Bogdan State and Lada Adamic. 2015. The Diffusion of Support in an Online Social Movement: Evidence from the Adoption of Equal-Sign Profile Pictures. In *Proceedings of the 18th ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work & Social Computing*. ACM, Vancouver BC Canada, 1741–1750. https://doi.org/10.1145/2675133.2675290

[60] Laurie Cooper Stoll, Terry Glenn Lilley, and Ray Block Jr. 2021. The effects of gender-blind sexism on rape myth acceptance: Results from a nationally representative study. *Journal of interpersonal violence* 36, 11-12 (2021), 5838–5859.

[61] Chi Sun, Xipeng Qiu, Yige Xu, and Xuanjing Huang. 2020. How to Fine-Tune BERT for Text Classification? http://arxiv.org/abs/1905.05583 arXiv:1905.05583 [cs].

[62] toutiao. 2022. Tangshan beating incident barbecue restaurant is not open tonight. Retrieved 11 June 2022 from https://www.toutiao.com/article/7107963036262072847/

[63] Zeynep Tufekci. 2017. *Twitter and Tear Gas: The Power and Fragility of Networked Protest.* Yale University Press. Google-Books-ID: x7S_DgAAQBAJ.

[64] Zeynep Tufekci and Christopher Wilson. 2012. Social Media and the Decision to Participate in Political Protest: Observations From Tahrir Square. *Journal of Communication* 62, 2 (April 2012), 363–379. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2012.01629.x

[65] Marlon Twyman, Brian C. Keegan, and Aaron Shaw. 2017. Black Lives Matter in Wikipedia: Collective Memory and Collaboration around Online Social Movements. In *Proceedings of the 2017 ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work and Social Computing (CSCW '17)*. Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA, 1400–1412. https://doi.org/10.1145/2998181.2998232

[66] Morgan Vigil-Hayes, Marisa Duarte, Nicholet Deschine Parkhurst, and Elizabeth Belding. 2017. #Indigenous: Tracking the Connective Actions of Native American Advocates on Twitter. In *Proceedings of the 2017 ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work and Social Computing (CSCW '17)*. Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA, 1387–1399. https://doi.org/10.1145/2998181.2998194

[67] Morgan Vigil-Hayes, Nicholet Deschine Parkhurst, and Marisa Duarte. 2019. Complex, Contemporary, and Unconventional: Characterizing the Tweets of the #NativeVote Movement and Native American Candidates through the 2018 U.S. Midterm Elections. *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction* 3, CSCW (Nov. 2019), 1–27. https://doi.org/10.1145/3359205

[68] Bin Wang and Catherine Driscoll. 2019. Chinese feminists on social media: articulating different voices, building strategic alliances. *Continuum* 33, 1 (Jan. 2019), 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1080/10304312.2018.1532492 Publisher: Routledge _eprint: https://doi.org/10.1080/10304312.2018.1532492.

[69] Volker Wulf, Kaoru Misaki, Meryem Atam, David Randall, and Markus Rohde. 2013. 'On the ground' in Sidi Bouzid: investigating social media use during the tunisian revolution. In *Proceedings of the 2013 conference on Computer supported cooperative work (CSCW '13)*. Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA, 1409–1418. https://doi.org/10.1145/2441776.2441935

[70] Guobin Yang. 2009. *The Power of the Internet in China: Citizen Activism Online.* Columbia University Press. Google-Books-ID: 91u5ccRbuzoC.

[71] Guobin Yang. 2018. (Un)civil Society in Digital China| Demobilizing the Emotions of Online Activism in China: A Civilizing Process. *International Journal of Communication* 12, 0 (May 2018), 21. https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/5313 Number: 0.

[72] Jianhua Yin and Jianyong Wang. 2014. A dirichlet multinomial mixture model-based approach for short text clustering. In *Proceedings of the 20th ACM SIGKDD international conference on Knowledge discovery and data mining (KDD '14)*. Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA, 233–242. https://doi.org/10.1145/2623330.2623715

[73] Siyuan Yin and Yu Sun. 2021. Intersectional digital feminism: assessing the participation politics and impact of the MeToo movement in China. *Feminist Media Studies* 21, 7 (Oct. 2021), 1176–1192. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2020.1837908 Publisher: Routledge _eprint: https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2020.1837908.

[74] Jing Zeng. 2020. #MeToo as Connective Action: A Study of the Anti-Sexual Violence and Anti-Sexual Harassment Campaign on Chinese Social Media in 2018. *Journalism Practice* 14, 2 (Feb. 2020), 171–190. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2019.1706622 Publisher: Routledge _eprint: https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2019.1706622.

[75] Jinman Zhang and Nadia Caidi. 2019. The Sensitive Period, Big Vs, and the Diaspora: A Brief Account of #MeToo in China. In *Proceedings of the 10th International Conference on Social Media and Society (SMSociety '19)*. Association for Computing Machinery, New York, NY, USA, 224–232. https://doi.org/10.1145/3328529.3328563

[76] Jiawei Zhou, Koustuv Saha, Irene Michelle Lopez Carron, Dong Whi Yoo, Catherine R. Deeter, Munmun De Choudhury, and Rosa I. Arriaga. 2022. Veteran Critical Theory as a Lens to Understand Veterans' Needs and Support on Social Media. *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction* 6, CSCW1 (April 2022), 133:1–133:28. https://doi.org/10.1145/3512980