

Zhiduan Jiang

Msc in Media and Communication

Thesis MKVN13 - May 2017

Supervisor: Joanna Doona

Examer: Helena Sandberg

**The sleeping feminism awareness in China
– Through the case study of Girls' Day and
Women's Day**



LUND
UNIVERSITY

Abstract

This thesis aims to explain how Chinese females' are aware of their identities and feminism in a new media age. The study will answer the question through the case study of Girls' Day and Women' Day. The approach I adopt to solve the problem is qualitative research. More specifically, I will use semi-structured interviews to gain data and then utilize coding and summaries. Identity is a key concept in the study; I believe that the way Chinese females present themselves can reveal their ideas about feminism and gender issues. Through in-depth interviews, the interviewees revealed their real attitudes and ideas on their identities and feminism.

From the analysis of the coding and the context from the interviews, I found that Girls' Day is a new festival that distinguishes Chinese females into two groups: girls and women. At the same time, the popularity of Girls' Day leads to the rejection of the identity label "woman", which is essentially the stigmatisation of feminism. Under the double suppression from both the traditional patriarchal culture and the ignorance and avoidance from the governors, Chinese feminism is marginalised. The reason that Chinese females lack awareness of feminism is mainly because they acquire little information and knowledge about gender equality on a regular basis. In addition to the absent of reports on gender discrimination in the media, new media helps businesses spread the wrong messages about gender and use happiness from material objects to hide the true problem of gender inequality. The purpose of the study is to reveal the relationships among feminism, consumerism, and new media. Girls' Day is a case that the media has been used to attack feminism, but there might be more consumption-based festivals using sugarcoating to disguise their real purpose that is to make profits or to suppress females. If females indulge in the entertainment and consumerism society and by into the illusion of gender equality, they will instead end up with faux-feminism.

Keywords: feminism, identity, consumerism, new media, girl, woman.

Acknowledgements

During the whole process of the research, I received a lot of help and encouragement from many people. I first would like to thank my supervisor Joanna Doona, who gave me a lot of advice as well as encouragement.

I would like to thank Maria, Mikeal and Carina who helped me proof read my writing and modify it to a better work. I want to thank all my interviewees who shared their ideas and stories with me to help me realise the research.

I would also like to thank my boyfriend Max. It is you who supports me all the time and cheer me up when I am frustrated. I want to thank my friends as Linnea, Alfonso, Kevin, Lars, Roy and other friends. I will remember every encouragement, every comfort word and every hug from you.

Finally, I would like to thank my grandmother and my parents. Without your tutoring and support, I would not have had the chance to finish my study.

Thank you.

Table of contents

Introduction	6
1.Backgrounds	6
2. When women’s Day confronts Girls’	7
3. The structure of the thesis	9
Literature review	10
The approach to figure out the puzzle	15
Analysis.....	19
Chapter 1 From girl to woman, from Women’s Day to Girl’s Day	19
1.1 The questions of Girls’ Day.....	19
1.2 Woman or Girl: The mistake of translation and the ambiguous concepts.....	24
1.3 Who am I: self-identity in the modern China	26
1.3.1 Identity: the performance of self.....	27
1.3.2 The formation of identity.....	31
1.3.3 The truth of stigmatisation and the awareness of feminism.....	33
1.3.4 Identity as a feminist and the awareness of feminism.....	34
Chapter 2 Feminism in China.....	36
2.1 The ceremonial Women’s Day and marginalised feminism	36
2.1.1 Post-feminism and faux-feminism.....	36
2.1.2 Undermined and marginalised Chinese feminism.....	37
2.2. Is feminism nowhere in China?.....	41
2.2.1 The negative reality	41
2.2.2 Feminism confronts Socialism.....	44
Chapter 3 Chinese females in media time and consumer society	47
3.1. The Media’s role in the celebration of Girl’s Day	47
3.2 Media and identity formation.....	49
3.2.1 Gender discrimination in media	49
3.2.2 New media time and identity formation	52
3.3 The challenge from consumer society.....	54
3.3.1 Consumer society surrounds Chinese females	54

3.3.2 New media: the accomplice of consumerism	56
Conclusion:	58
How should we understand Girls' Day?	58
So how should Chinese females form their identities in a new media time?	59
How will feminism develop in China?.....	61
Reference	64
Appendix	70
1. Introduction of Interviewee	70
2. Consent Letter.....	71
3. Interview Questions	72
4. Coding Tablet.....	75

Introduction

1. Backgrounds

It has been one hundred and eight years since the first Women's Day was held in New York (Wikipedia, 2017), and seventy-five years have passed since the first time that Chinese people celebrate Women's Day. As an international festival, International Women's Day was created to commemorate the movements for women's rights. During the long history of fighting for women's rights and gender equality, International Women's Day has played an important role in remembering significant feminists efforts for their living, educating, working, etc. Furthermore, it helps to teach modern day people the value of gender equality.

However, there might be another festival for women in China nowadays, which is called Girls' Day. Girls' Day is a recent apparition, but it is rather popular among young Chinese females. As the new day becomes famous, the supporters and opponents voices of Girls' Day come thereupon. Some young girls greatly welcome this festival because Girls' Day is separate from "mid-aged women's festival", i.e. International Women's Day. Online retailers are glad to make use of the day to advertise and sell Beauty products, clothes, and bags as well as other recommended goods. The opponents, on the other hand, they argue that abandoning Women's Day is abandoning the fruit of the fight for women's right. On Girls' Day 2016, Chinese feminist Li Sipan published an article on WeChat¹ disputing against using Girls' Day to replace Women's Day. Li regards the permission and celebration of Girls' Day as a betrayal of Women's Day, which leads to the public discussion of Women's Day disappearing (Li, 2016).

Therefore, to understand both the praises and critiques that result from the new phenomenon that is Girls' Day, it is necessary to know the background of the new Internet festival.

¹ A popular social media in China.

2. When women's day confronts Girls' Day

Girls' Day was first celebrated at Seoul National University on 7 March 1984 (Baidu, 2016). It then spread to Chinese universities and became a day for female students to get a special treat from their male classmates. The date of Girl's Day is March 7th every year, one day before Women's Day, which hints girls are younger than women are. In 2012, the students from the two most famous Chinese universities Beijing University and Tsinghua University hung dozens of banners though their campus to compete in showing their compliments to female students. The banners contains slogans like: "you are the apples of our eyes", "to the fifth floor that we have never been to, Happy Girls' Day to female students in Yuanpei College"²(Tsinghua, 2012).

Today, not only Chinese universities' students celebrate Girls' Day, but other females also have started to celebrate this new day. A famous reality show star Fan Tiantian posted a Weibo³ post with the topic #Girls' Day replaces Women's Day# in 2016, which gained a lot of attention. "Girls' Day replaces Women's Day" became a hot topic on Weibo and the number of posts with the title has exceeded 32 000 (Weibo, 2017).

Moreover, some businesses have shown a big interest in using this day to sell products. Some young women ask their partner to buy gifts in Girls' Day while retailers are advertising a lot of sales and discounts. For instance, a famous shopping website Nuomi is the earliest Chinese online retailer that advertised discount information for the day of March 7th from 2014. One film ticket was only 3.7Yuan (CNY), and some hotels and restaurants only charged 37% price on that day (Weibo, 2014). The data in 2015 shows that the film tickets sold though Nuomi on Girls' Day is six times more than it was at the same date in 2014, which raised 193 million Yuan in the box office (Weibo, 2015).

Compared to Women's Day, Girls' Day was born and grew alongside entertainment and consumption. The reason that Girls' Day has become a hot topic is not only because it stands for an exciting and cost-effective carnival. The preference of the label "girl" to "woman" encouraged its popularity as well. (In this thesis, "label" is an important

² Translate from Chinese.

³ A popular Chinese social media, similar to Twitter.

concept that means a brief description of certain identification. I use the word “label” to describe one or a group’s identity. Other words like appellation, title, and calling all mean the same in this study.)

When International Women’s Day was introduced to China, “woman” was translated as “妇女”(fu nü). In the ancient Chinese dictionary, the word “妇” means married women, while “女” means unmarried women (Xu Shen, 1963). The translation should thus cover all females. However, in practice, the usage of “妇女” (woman) refers to married women. Many young Chinese women especially young unmarried women refused to call themselves “woman” or being called that by other people. Women’s Day is a festival that uses “women” also sounds “out of fashion”, and “absent of femininity” (Gao, 2017). Besides, some suggest using labels like “Queen’s Day”, “Females’ Day” or simply using “Girls’ Day” instead of “Women’s Day” (Ibid, 2017).

However, this holiday is dividing Chinese females into two different groups: girls and women; one means young females while the other refers to old females. The popularity of Chinese Girls’ Day is evidence that Chinese females prefer the label “girl” instead of “woman”. More than that, the dislike of the label “woman” has resulted in the rejection of Women’ Day, but even more, it leads to the rebuff of feminism. Then I have to ask: Why “girl” sounds more enjoyable than “woman” does? Should Chinese female celebrate March 7th or 8th according to their age? Is it meaningless to celebrate Women’s Day anymore? Should Girls’ Day become an official day in China? What is the result of the decline of Women’s Day in China? How will Chinese feminism ideas develop?

I did not realise there was the problem when I heard of Girls’ Day for the first time. However, I feel that the Chinese women’s representation of themselves, their opinions on the two labels, their ideas and thoughts concerning feminism and gender issues in Chinese culture are all compelling subjects to study further. Therefore, all these questions encourage me to research more about the new festival and about Chinese women’s current acknowledge of feminism.

3. The structure of the thesis

In the following section, I will use three chapters to disclose my analysis. The first chapter starts with a famous challenge to Girls' Day. Then, I will explain the two key concepts in the study, namely the labels "girl" and "woman". The two identity labels stands for the different identities of Chinese females and how they represent themselves. The reasons behind how Chinese females form their identities will be explained by using Goffman, Erikson and Forsh's research. The two identity labels also reveal Chinese females' awareness of feminism; therefore, I will also explain the relationship between the identity labels and feminism awareness.

In the chapter two of the analysis, I will use McRobbie's theory of post-feminism and the concept feminism undone to analyse the current situation of Chinese feminism, hence to disclose the reason that why Chinese females have little acknowledgement of gender equality and the result of suppression from patriarchal Chinese culture. As to why feminism is marginalised, I will explain from a systematic level the natural conflicts between communism and feminism.

Chapter three will use the first two chapters to explain that the emergence of Girls' Day and the stigmatisation of "woman" as well as feminism is not simply a coincidence. Media plays an important role in spreading the new festival and in helping businesses erode the awareness of feminism in Chinese females. In a consumer society (by Baudrillard), business and material products fill people's lives and create the illusion that happiness is material. By knowing that consumerism is making use of gender stereotypes and prejudices to sell products, and knowing how media is powerful in Chinese females' lives, we can understand why Girls' Day gaining supporters as well as opponents.

Research questions:

1. How should we understand the identity of Chinese females related to facing Girls' Day?

2. How is Chinese feminism's situation and why is marginalised now?
3. How should we understand the issues of Chinese female in a consumer society and a new media age?

Literature review

Girls' Day is a complicated phenomenon that involves several research directions. To introduce the analysis part properly, this chapter will provide an overview of the literature that relates to the study. Several concepts are involved in the research; they are identity, stigma, feminism undone, media and consumerism.

Identity is the centre

Girls' Day and Women's Day share a common object—female; and the two festivals were both created in the name of appreciating females. “Girl” and “woman” stand for two identity labels. The definitions of “girl” and “woman” is a debated topic. The main disagreement focuses on the legal definition as well as traditional, popular opinions' about two labels.

In the book *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Goffman has defined identity as the performance of self (Goffman, 1978). He thinks that individual would manage their behaviours in a calculating way to leave a particular impression on the audience, and their actions will influence how others define the situation (Ibid). Moreover, one needs to perform with the “equipment”, which is called “setting” by Goffman. At the same time, “appearance” and “manners” are necessary in order to understand and predict the performer's action. Goffman's theory uses the performance on the stage as an excellent metaphor that can be used to analyse identities of Chinese females today.

If we say that Goffman's performance theory provides a method to disarticulate each part of identity, then how they performance is realised needs to be known too. The formation of identity is essential if we want to figure out the difference between how

“girl” and “woman” perform and why they perform in a certain way. Erikson believes the identity begins from “selective repudiation and assimilation of childhood identification and their absorption into a new configuration” (Erikson, 1968: 159). Similarly, from the psychological aspect, Forsh thought that self consists of two components: an object of knowledge and contemplation, as well as an experiencing subject. Knowledge and experience of self are the two essential elements to form the identity. Goffman’s setting and manners are close that Ericson and Forsh had too. Josselson and Harway regard social location as the root of identity, and such that that historical position would be to show in one’s identity (Josseleson & Harway, 2012).

Focusing on the identity’s roots, Leung has said Chinese culture is dominated by patriarchy ideas and Confucianism has been the central ideology for thousands of years in China. She summarised Chinese family as “patriarchal, patrilineal, and patrilocal” (Leung, 2003:306). In this kind of cultural background, females are the attachment to males rather than independent individuals. Yao has researched the typical images that Chinese females are represented in media; they are the good wife, complaint woman, sexy beauty, rich lady and independent women (Yao, 2015). In her investigation, only a small part of females have the independent characteristic. Yao’s research proved what Leung argued, Chinese society remains patriarchal.

Besides the performance theory, Goffman also provides a good research about stigma.

He thinks stigma refer to “an attribute that is deeply discrediting” (Goffman, 2009:13). In this study, stigma has very close relationship with identity. According to Goffman, there are three types of stigma: abominations of the body, blemishes of individual character, and tribal stigma of race, nation and religion (Ibid: 14). The later two types will prove helpful in the study to analyse the identity label “woman”.

Feminism in China

Women’s Day is a festival that is set to commemorate the previous women’s movement. It is feminists’ monument. Zhou has published an article that explains the development of feminism and women’s movement in China. Zhou emphasised that women’s

movement is a necessary part of the modern Chinese revolution, and “the celebration of Women’s Day is an important ceremony to fight for equal rights and independence” (Zhou, 2011 56). However, the popularity of Girls’ Day brought the public dislike of Women’s Day. Not only was the calling “woman” is stigmatised, but feminism is also being stigmatised.

Even though post-feminism is a debatable topic and there is no clear definition of it. I would like to borrow McRobbie’s ideas about post-feminism and feminism undone. She developed the ideas from Budgeon’s two ways of understanding post-feminism: a backlash against second wave feminism and anti-feminism. According to McRobbie, post-feminism is not a simple “question of backlash against the seeming gains made by feminist activities and campaigns in an earlier period” (McRobbie, 2009:1). Braithwaite thinks that post-feminism is caused by consumption culture, and Showden criticised that postfeminism does not focus on politics but individual’s pleasure (Braithwaite, 2002). On that basis, McRobbie proposed the concept faux-feminism, which develops with revitalised freedom, is a substitute for feminism. She thinks the notional form of equality, concretised in education and employ moment and through participation in consumer culture and civic society covers what politics must offer, and it is what Stuart Hall may regard as “a new form of sexual contract” (McRobbie, 2009:2).

In China, Liu has come up with an idea similar to McRobbie’s faux-feminism. Liu argued, the superficial rights and the guarantee of females’ position do not mean that patriarchal ideas disappear, on the contrary, women’s self-awareness retrogrades gradually, and as she said, the situation in China might be worse than the western world (Liu, 1995). Adkins writes that modernisation seems to provide more chances and agency to women but essentially is a kind of “re-traditionalisation”.

McRobbie uses re-traditionalisation of patriarchy to disclose a key concept in her book, that is feminism undone. Not only in the western world, but also in China, feminism undone is an appropriate idea to explain Chinese feminist situation. In the book *Modern Feminist Thought*, Whelehan introduced some basic thoughts on the conflict between feminism and communism, and it seems feminism is naturally incompatible with socialism and communism. The reason, which he found, is that feminism primarily

concerned with women's life is the result of unequal patriarchy, and that is not welcomed by Marxist economy structure (Whelehan, 1995). In socialism or communism society, all human beings share the same value and have the same rights, in another word, all men and women are equal. Liu's agrees on that, but she said that even common idea thinks that after the establishment of Chinese new government, "liberating women" has reached; the women's problem seems disappeared because the subject has been abrogated (Liu, 1995). Marxist feminist has concluded that patriarchy and familism ideas have already permeated in the labour system that affects females' individual lives of females. Also, Barrett emphasised that "In assessing the factors which might account for the position of women as wage labourers it is impossible to escape the conclusion that family structure and the ideology of domestic responsibility play an important part' (Barrett 1988:157). Even though Whelehan argues that modern feminism is closer to high-educated women, but it is not mainstream, it remains marginalised (Whelehan, 1995).

The discrimination against Chinese women is shown in media vividly because media is a mirror of the lives of Chinese females that can reflect their images (Yao, 2015). Huang has summarised three points that have led to the gender discrimination in Chinese mass media (Huang, 2002). Firstly, mass media is facing the mass audience, which means it needs to cater to the masses psychology, including their prejudice and ideas about gender. Second, mass media work is increasingly commercialised. Lastly males are still in the power centre that they control the source of information. With the development of media, new media has become the main source of information for Chinese audiences. Bird said that is "media saturation", and individuals are experiencing media "in non-predictable and non-uniform ways" (Bird, 2003:5).

In the case of Girl's Day and Women's Day, Li is the first to criticise Girls' Day as an invasion of feminism in the new media platform. She argued that Girls' Day separates young females from older females, which caters to heterosexual view that young females are more sexually attractive than older females. Besides, it implies the canonization of virginity. As a result, Girls' Day replaces the "rights" in Women's Day with "relationship". The last concern is that it transforms consumption and presumption into habit and tradition, which accentuates gender stereotypes and prejudices (Li, 2015).

There are some studies on Girls' Day, but they mainly focus on the university students. Yan regards the emergence of Girls' Day as feminism has developed so well, and discrimination of girls in job recruitment widely exist. At the same time, the university girls are at the moulding time of their psychology, and Girls' Day caters to their requirement of feeling special and cared for (Yan, 2010). Zeng also studied Girls' Day from the psychological side; she claims both the individual's need and group pressure contributes to its popularity. Moreover, if universities can guide female students in a proper way, Girls' Day can be beneficial (Zeng, 2013). Very few scholars criticised the negative effects of Girls' Day. Besides Li, Nan has mentioned that Girls' Day is a discrimination of Women's day. The research on the other sides of Girls' Day needs to explore.

Consumerism with Chinese female

Consumerism is another key concept in this study. Baudrillard's book *Consumer Society* discloses the truth of modern society. In the book, he says that our society is surrounded by objects (Baudrillard, 2017). Smart also agrees that "our consuming interest is continually cultivated, our appetites stimulated, by the relentless generation of newly designed consumer objects whose signs now litter the multiple screens on and through which we live our smart-phoned, i-padded, internet and digitalised lives" (quoted in Baudrillard, 2017:4). In addition, Baudrillard believes people's requirement of materials objects becomes a natural propensity to happiness (Baudrillard, 2017).

In a consumer society, Chinese females are portrayed by old images but also have new images. Han is the representative for the research on Chinese females' image under the influence of consumerism in new media time (Han, 2014). She writes that new media changes the managing way of traditional media and creates more opportunities for advertisements. The ability to create new symbols and meaning make new media a crucial medium and the rights to speech has influenced the whole communication. In such a condition, when it comes to the females' image, specifically, the out looking becomes the consumption wish of Chinese females. New media makes the advertisement friendlier, and creates an illusion image for the females' imagination (Ibid). Also, the immediacy, interactivity, initiative and accuracy of new media (Lei,

2016) leads consumption occupying an important part of Chinese females.

In short, Girls' Day is a complicated case that relates to many aspects of the theory. Cross subjects are necessary, and the combination of the western theories and Chinese local studies can help us understand the case better. The studies in the literature review will lead and support to the whole thesis, and in next chapter, I will introduce how the study is realised.

The approach to figure out the puzzle

Faced with the various questions and a complicated situation, I started to think and plan how I could solve the problem caused these issues. Some people may think quantitative data strongly support the percentage of how many Chinese females use “girl” or “woman” as a label, or how do new media influence Chinese females think about it. Effect studies help with the research on what the impact of media generates for modern society (Jensen, 2013). However, the scale of the specific statistic cannot reveal the deep reasons why some females prefer being called girls and celebrating Girls' Day, what are their true feelings about women's position nowadays, etc. This is ultimately what I am interested in and wondering about. Bazeley has explained that qualitative research will “focus on the qualities of the things more than their quantity” (Bazeley, 2013:3). Also, the data which is collected from qualitative research has “well-grounded, rich descriptions and explanation of processes in identifiable local contexts”. According to Miles and Huberman (Miles and Huberman, 1994:1). Therefore, I have chosen qualitative research to interpret the whole story.

The primary recourse of the research would be the content from the interviews while other textual materials including journals, news reports, posts on Weibo and advertisements will be referred to. The semi-structured interview is the core method to collect data. I believe that personal description and narrative can be vivid evidence of The Chinese females' real ideas and experiences for this topic. Therefore, I designed a pilot interview, which includes questions like: how and when did you learn about Girls'

Day? Do you prefer being called woman or girl, why? What is the difference between the label of “woman” and “girl”? etc. All interviews were taken in Chinese, but the content I quoted in the thesis is translated into English by me.

The pilot interview was conducted with a young male. The interviewee is a male friend who knows much about Girls’ Day and feminism. He provided his experience of the topic and gave me some suggestions for the interview. After the pilot interview, I adjusted the questions to concentrate on the key issue better.

To keep the research objective, I have avoided of recruiting my close friends and family members. I posted recruitment information on my WeChat page and asked some of my friends to recommend their friends to accept the interview. An individual point I need to explain is that when I was looking for average Chinese females to join in the research, I contacted some female influencers on Douban⁴ who have many context posted about feminism. Because I believe that those feminist influencers have a clear standing on the topic Girls’ Day and Women’s Day, they can contribute to the research with a valuable angle. Eleven interviewees have been interviewed for the study in total, and three of them stated that they are public feminists. Limited because of geographical reasons, most of the interviews were conducted through video calls on Skype, and only one was conducted as face-to-face interview.

Bazeley believes that qualitative analysis is case-oriented (Bazeley, 2013). To understand different women’s attitudes, experiences, knowledge and ideas relating to Girls’ Day and Women’s Day, hence to understand why the label of “woman” or “girl” matters, it is necessary to have a variety of interviewee backgrounds. The interviewees are aged from 17 to 52; I believe different ages will mean that they have different social experiences and knowledge through various time periods. Moreover, the interviewees are from two different countries, six cities (both big cities and small towns are included). Every interviewee has different job or major, and none of them has social relations with the other interviewees in real life. All interviewees have voluntarily participated in this research. They were told about the condition of the study and signed the consent letters.

⁴ A Chinese community website.

The only adolescent interviewee's parents have been informed and permitted her to attend. The brief backgrounds of the interviewees are as follow⁵:

Interviewee 1: female, 27, student, studies and lives in Sweden. She has over 6000 followers on Douban.

Interviewee 2: female, 27, UI (User Interface) designer, Shanghai.

Interviewee 3: female, 19, university student, Nanjing.

Interviewee 4: female, 32, employee of a tobacco company, married, has one daughter, Mangshi.

Interviewee 5: female, 52, civil servant, single mother, has one son, Mangshi.

Interviewee 6: female 33, IR (invest relation) Director, Beijing.

Interviewee 7: female, 17, high school student, Kunming.

Interviewee 8: female, 25, restaurant owner, married, has a son, Mangshi.

Interviewee 9: female, 48, journalist and editor in a forecasting company, married, has a son, Kunming.

Interviewee 10: female, 28, graphic designer, Beijing, has over 7500 followers on Douban.

Interviewee 11: female, 32, lawyer, Shanghai, has over 15 000 followers on Douban.

After interviewing, transcripts have been made. From the eleven interviews, or in another words, from the eleven cases, the transcripts provieds the empirical data that should be used as the focus of the study. My interviewees have told me a lot about their personal feelings and experiences concerning Women's Day and Girls' Day, but also narrated their suffering of being a female in China. Their points of view matter, not only because they are the basis for understanding the subjects that gender issues come from (Harper, 1992:141), but also help with gathering the complex and multiple causalities into a condensed answer by developing the explanatory theory (Byrne, 2009).

The following analysis step in the research is known as open coding. Coding is an important and necessary step because it "provides a means of purposefully managing, locating, identifying, sifting, sorting, and querying data" (Bazeley, 2013). Through coding, the common codes which share the same interpretation or point to the same

⁵ See appendix 1.

meaning were put together into a graphic. According to the transcript, the codes could be divided into nineteen categories. They are: labels/ image/background/experience, feeling/attitude/opinions, knowledge of feminism, activities, social relationship, linguistic, location, societal situation, cultural habit, institution, systematic attitude, new media using comment, new media using habit, traditional media, business, consumption, and gift.

Coding is a necessary but also a stepping stone for further analysis. Saldaña has stated that “a theme is an outcome of coding, categorization, and analytic reflection” (Saldaña, 2009 p13). After classifying the codes into categories, I obtained six themes that could be used to identify content and meaning, which are: identity, culture, politic, media and economy. These themes helped me sift through the messy clues of thousands of codes in order to figure out the common points of the Chinese females’ self-representation. There is a concern that thematic analysis is not reliable enough to justify or support a comprehensive model (Bazeley, 2013). However, if we regard analysing the interviewee’s individual experience as what Husserlian or Heidegger, etc. said about phenomenological analysis, then the thematic analysis can explain the significance of personal experience and reveal the essence of the phenomenon. In the following part, I will use the themes to lead the analysis and to quest the substance of the support and resistance to Girls’ Day.

In this study, I am primarily interested in the content that the interviewees say. By analysing what they mean, I can elaborate on the denotative and connotative meanings of their self-identity and acknowledgement of their gender’s issues. By summarising the different opinions from the interviewees, we can find the common problems of contemporary Chinese feminism in the new media time.

Analysis

Chapter 1 From girl to woman, from Women's Day to Girl's Day

1.1 The questions of Girls' Day

When many females are celebrating the new festival Girls' Day, the famous Chinese feminist Li Sipan published her opponents of Girls'. She claimed that Girls' Day invading the rights of Chinese females (Li, 2015), and she believes that there are three main sins of Chinese Girls' Day. The first sin is that Girls' Day separates young females from older females, which caters to the heterosexual view that young females are more sexually attractive than older females. There, it implies the worship of virginity. One interviewee told that some of her friends are already married, but they insist calling themselves "girl". When asked about the difference between woman and girl, she used the example of girls having more chances to hang out with men (interviewee 4, 32). For the men, a young, married girl is more likely to become their girlfriend while the married woman is already fixed in love and relationship. Another interviewee explicitly pointed out that when a female is too old to use "girl" as the label, "woman" becomes a "have to" choice, and it is the preference from the patriarchal society (interviewee 1). Using sexual attraction and fertility to define a female or a group of females is unclad mockery to the females who have less sexual appeal, and it is a kind of reproduction worship. Moreover, it is incompatible with society, which marks itself as "harmonious and civilised".

There are two contrary opinions on this point. One is that some approve of Girls' Day because it is a festival that cares about female university students and provides a platform for them to express themselves (Zhang, 2013). Through a series of activities on Girls' Day, female university students can pay more attention to their body, moral, intelligence, abilities and mental health. From this perspective, Girls' Day indeed draws the attention of female students toward themselves, and it makes male students notice

the gender issue and understand more about females. Other supporters even argue that if the girls are reluctant to use the label “woman”, how could it be possible to persuade them to approve and celebrate Women’s Day (Yan, 2010)? One interviewee has introduced her experience of Girls’ to me; she said:

“I am working in the girls’ rights department, and our work is to protect girls’ rights. Now we have changed the name to the public relationship and manners department, but we still have the activities to prepare some gifts for female students, and, during the activities, we would arrange male students to protect girls, help them... Our activities will last three days, from March 6 to March 8, but we use Girls’ Day as the name. It is probably because our university is specialised in science and engineering that we don’t have many girls, so we care a lot of Girls’ Day.”

(Interviewee 3, 19, student)

According to her description, Girls’ Day activities are important events in her school and various games, treats, and gifts are welcomed. The school organises the celebration from an official standing, which means an informal festival gets the approval and permission from an official, systematic level. However, it is contrast to what Li argued, namely that Girls’ Day is a retrogression of feminism. Yao also expressed his concerns about Girls’ Day. He warned that the intended praise and service from male students, which takes the form of hanging banners with slogans in the university campus, is the impulsive result of hormone (Yao, 2016). One interviewee has mentioned her feeling after seeing the slogans:

“Very disgusting. I don’t remember exactly what it said, but I can remember I felt very uncomfortable. Those slogans are full of sexual implication. How disgusting!”

(Interviewee 1, 25, student)

I think the direct antipathy of the interviewee is a first proof of the adverse effect of the activities on Girls’ Day. In depth, as Yao worried, the students (both male and female) who grow up and live in a patriarchal environment will not take gender problem seriously (Yao, 2016). Moreover, the school and the society as a whole would ignore or even connive that the unequal gender culture is the profound cause of gender insult

words (Ibid). If the young university students accept the idea that young females deserve special treats and attention, once they get older, they might have to sustain an already formed aversion towards their age.

The second sin of Girls' Day is that it replaces the "right" in Women's Day with "relationship". The typical practice is that boys should be nice to girls. Females ask their boyfriends or husbands to pay the bill, or buy gifts for them during the festival. More than one interviewee shared their experience of receiving presents and being treated to a feast.

"My husband usually would buy me gifts... like Valentine's Day, my birthday, and... and the festival that everyone cares about, that everyone would give gifts, if he doesn't give me the gift that he would be embarrassed."

(Interviewee8, 25, restaurant manager)

Definitely, I have received (gifts). Sometimes it's roses, sometimes is jewellery, and this, hmm, or some decorations. Also a meaningful dinner."

(Interviewee 9, 48, media worker)

Gift giving and dinner treating is a common social habit in China. It is based on four motives: social need, face culture, gift culture and Confucian culture (Xie, 2010). It is true that the festival treating indicates the social relationship between Chinese males and females, and the interviewees emphasised that gift giving connects them with their boyfriends, colleagues, etc. However, not all treats can function without the social relations. More than one interviewee expressed that they would not accept a treat or gifts if they were not close friends. As one interviewee said, "if I have dinner with a male and he paid this time, then I will pay next time to make it balanced" (interviewee 6).

"The boring, sexual praise from males and the collective, performing well is a trick. It feels like young females only require the cheap, formalised treat" ⁶(Li, 2015). She said,

⁶ Translate from Chinese.

“and it covers the real need of females” (Ibid, 2015). On this point, I agree partially with her idea, since it lacks evidence to prove that the women’s real requirements on the gender issue are covered by men’s treat.

As far as I can see, the fact that some females indulge in males’ enjoyment is an admission that girls or females are weaker than males therefore they deserve a treat or need to be cared. Long-term pleasure and community customs would cultivate a relationship in which females are dependent on men. Similar to what Li said, the third sin of Girls’ Day is that it transforms consumption and presumption into habit and tradition, which emphasises gender stereotypes and prejudice. She pointed out that Girls’ Day seldom appreciate the intelligence of girls, and boys do not regard girls as the competitive peer but rather as a gentleman’s good mate. Li regards it as a stodgy worldview from straight men that protects the gender prejudice that girls are weak. “It not only cannot change the discrimination and isolation of females but also intends to dress it in a sugar coat”⁷ Li said (Li, 2015).

On one side, the girls who enjoy the gifts, praise and special treatment from their male schoolmates might regard it as normal and habitual behaviour. In the future, they might require their male friends and colleagues to do the same things. In addition, it might cultivate a pattern among young Chinese girls to define social relationship through materials and voluntarily being cared for by males. On the other hand, the boys who were used to winning favours from females by giving them gifts or paying bills probably suppose that females only require material treats and thus ignore their real feelings. Even worse, some males might think that they can use the material gifts to buy love and respect in return. This might sound like an idle threat, but according to some interviewees, some premonitory cases have already happened.

Interviewee 1 mentioned her cousin’s story:

“My cousin would post anything about any festival, you know, to urge her husband to buy gifts for her. She thinks that her husband should buy gifts for her on special days.”

⁷ Translate from Chinese.

Her cousin uses festivals as a reason to require material treats from her husband, which to a degree is emotional kidnapping. From interviewee 8, the situation is worse. She insists that gender equality should not be based upon income, but her experience is opposite to what she thinks:

“Because I got pregnant and then gave birth to my son, I didn’t work for two years, the situation was very terrible. Because I have been a housewife for two years, I didn’t earn money at that time. Sometimes, when we have a quarrel, he (my husband) would say, you stay at home every day, you eat my food and use my money, why do you still have many complaints. He thinks that taking care of the kid and doing the laundry are women’s duties.”

In this situation, paying the bills is not a way for the man to show love for the interviewee, but more like a way to ensure his rank in the family by means of income. It is a sad story where the woman’s rights and dignity are deprived because of the unfair economical situation. It is the misunderstanding of women’s needs and distortion of Chinese females’ images. Unfortunately, some Chinese women have accepted this play and have performed according to what the patriarchal director wants.

Chinese females are represented as “weak”, “consumer guided” girls, queens, or Goodness, etc. Their presentation and performance has already been discussed in this chapter. In the following part, I will interpret the issue of how and why Women’s Day is fading in China now, and what this means for feminism.

Two key concepts of the arguments about Girls’ Day and Women’s Day are the two labels—“Woman” and ‘girl’. The misunderstanding, denial, and acceptance of the two labels display the importance to understand them. Dai has stated that label stands for a certain identity, a role in particular social relations in human society; it also reflects the culture and the relationship in that cultural environment (Dai, 1996). The label is not only a basic tool of communication but also indicate the subjects’ identity and the culture in which the communication happens. To understand how Chinese female undertake the label, why they matter in the discussion about Girls’ Day in China, and how they matter in Chinese feminism in new media time, etc. we need to have a careful

look at them.

1.2 Woman or Girl: The mistake of translation and the ambiguous concepts

As introduced above in the background, Women's Day was translated as “妇女节”, and the word “妇女” refers more to a married woman in common speech, and sometimes it also refers to old females. In an English dictionary, the explanation of “woman” is similar to the Chinese definition. It is easy to confirm from the interviews: “woman is big age, girls are small age” (Interviewee 2); or “marriage is a turning point, unmarried should be the girl, after getting married, especially when someone has kid, she should be called woman” (interviewee 3). At the same time, the same interviewees showed their dislikes towards the label “woman”. “I won't use ‘woman’. I am a woman, doesn't it sound very weird? Ha-ha. And the woman in China should mean the one who is married. I am not married; I am a girl” (interviewee 2).

The labels “woman” and “girl” primarily indicate the demographic distinction of females by their ages or marital status. After perennial usage and evolution of the words, the linguistic meanings of the two labels were fixed, and people have tended to have a habitual sense for the label under in certain situations. Using “woman” to call a female who has a child is correct, while calling a seventeen-year-old female student “girl” is not wrong. However, there is a trend of detesting and avoiding being called “woman” among young interviewees. The interviewees who are not very young in age also appreciate “girl”. There are several examples:

“If I wish my female friends ‘Happy Women's Day’, I guess they will hate me.”

(Interviewee 3, 19, student)

“Girl sounds more enjoyable than woman. Maybe because I am married, and have a kid, I think that being a girl is very enjoyable.”

(Interviewee 8, 25, restaurant manager)

The preference of “girl” to “woman” obviously reflects on the creation and popularity

of Girls' Day. The common opinion is that Chinese Girls' Day started in the 80s at Shandong University (Baidu, 2017), and the reason behind starting the new festival was that some female students were reluctant to call themselves women. They use the date that is one day earlier than Women's Day to express that girls are younger than women are. From a linguistic aspect, a "girl" means a young female, usually, younger than a woman. However, there is no strict rule or definition of the age of "girl" or "woman" in real life. The difference of age is an ambiguous perception. Not did only one of the interviewee regards marriage as the boundary to distinguish the two groups, for them, "30 years (female) could also use 'girl' if she is unmarried" (interviewee 6).

Another argument surrounding the definition of 'girl' and 'woman' is the conflict between social custom and legal provision. Chinese Criminal Law is the only legal provision that has an explicit age line when dealing with practical cases. According to the Judicial Interpretation of Chinese Criminal Law in 1999, the "woman" in the crime of abduction and trafficking means females over fourteen years old. The conception of the judicial interpretation provides the reference of Chinese courts to convict the guilt of criminals. The definition of "women" in legislation differs from the linguistic meaning. Concerning normal females, some insist in delineating woman as a married or not young image while some might follow the legal interpretation. Thus, the age of Chinese to from fourteen to marriage is an arguable range.

Despite that, some interviewees showed their understanding that using different label is an individual's choice; the current denial and the current denial and avoidance of the neutral label "woman" makes it perjorative. The depreciation of Women's Day or imaging to replace Women's Day by Girls' Day is "evidently stigmatising 'woman'"⁸(Yao, 2016). Yao argued that "replacing Women's Day by Girls' Day" divides Chinese females into two groups based on their age and sexual attraction (Ibid). Based on this condition, popular opinions display an obvious prefers towards the young, attractive group, and Chinese people are accustomed to it. Through asking the opinions on the labels "woman" and "girl", more than one female verified the custom.

⁸ Translate from Chinese.

“If two females, I feel, if they are both beautiful, one is unmarried, and the other is married. For the guys, they prefer to contact the single woman and to ask her out. You can’t ask a married woman out often, and public opinions won’t allow it.”

(Interviewee 4, 32, tobacco company employee)

In her opinion, young female means girls that are more attractive to males. At the same time, there is certain limitation or restriction of Chinese female in social activities. They have less freedom and opportunities in the social situation than girls. In addition, the preference towards the young female influences other aspects of females’ lives as well, e.g. work.

“If you lose your job and try to find a new job, the employer would require that you must be unmarried, you should be younger than a certain age. If your are of old age, they won’t want you.”

(Interviewee4, 32, tobacco company employee)

The in-depth cultural reason that people prefer young females, to older females is that males are controlling the right to judge women’s value, to make the rules and to establish the system. Linguist Sapir has promoted the “Sapir—Whorf Hypothesis”, which regards language as the result of the culture, and language cannot exist without culture. Culture is the aggregation of social habit and belief that can decide our life organisation (Sapir, 1985). Under a patriarchy society, as a part of Chinese language and cultural products, label inherits the societal custom and belief. And the label unavoidably reveals that the Chinese women are suppressed by men. The superiority of being a “girl” has led to the dislike and denial of the label “woman”. Hence, it engenders Girls’ Day.

1.3 Who am I: self-identity in the modern China

Even though Girls’ Day and Women’s Day applies to both groups of females since there is no clear division of the two groups, the scope of the application of Girls’ Day and Women’s Day are not fixed either. In the research, the interviewees’ attitudes

toward the two festivals, their acknowledgement of Women's Day and Girls' Day, and their description of Chinese gender issues disclosed their self-identity in this topic and how they present themselves.

1.3.1 Identity: the performance of self

Goffman has argued that when an individual appears in front of other people, his actions will influence how others define the situation. Sometimes, the individual will act in a certain way to make a calculating impression on others. They initially and consciously express themselves in a particular way according to the tradition of their group or social status requirements (Goffman, 1978). In the case of Girls' Day and Women's Day, Chinese females have their individual choice of which festival they want to celebrate, more precisely, they can perform their identities either as women or as girls. Once they have located themselves in either group, they will act according to the traditional rules or the social requirements of being a girl or a woman.

At first, from the interviews, we can see that all interviewees have a clear image of girls and women, and they have ideas about which group that they belong. For example, girls should be represented like this:

“I'm definitely a girl. And I think the girls at my age are like, hmm, you don't need to wear very special clothes, how to say, girls just need to wear comfortable and loose sports clothes, make their hair tied up, that's enough”

(interviewee 7, 17, student)

While women are represented like this:

“I call myself a woman. With the growing of age, I sometimes would say ‘the auntie like me’, anyway, just call me old aunt. Well, madam also suits me”.

(Interviewee 9, 48, media worker)

As previous analysis indicated, since there is no strict definition of the age of woman

and girl, choosing which label to use is based not only on the individual's age but also on her choice. Interviewee 2 said that she would use both words depending on the situation:

"I think it depends on the situation. Sometimes, it sounds weird if I call myself a girl because "girl" is more cute and girlish. But "woman" makes people feel mature and sensible like I have experienced much, so I am going to tell you something Bala Bala. It's different, so, depends."

(Interviewee 2, 27, UI designer)

"It depends on the situation," the interviewee does not only know that the label has a different image in her mind but also that it stands for different behaviours and presentations. As she said, in the situation when she wants to persuade someone or be reliable, she would call herself a woman. "Woman" owns characteristics like mature, sensible, experienced, while girls tend to be naive, energetic, innocent, and less responsible.

Goffman uses "performance" to refer to the actions that an individual makes in a given situation in front of the observers (Goffman, 1978). He then uses the "setting" to refer to the expensive equipment that is necessary to complete the performance. Related to "setting", he states that the "personal front" to refer to the left part of equipment, he says, "personal front" is the item that "we most intimately identify with the performer himself and that we naturally expect will follow the performer wherever he goes" (Ibid: 14). When Chinese females get involved in social activities, they inevitably need to play a specific role in the family, school, company, and society. The occasion provides the "setting" in which they can play out their roles but at the same time limit their performance in the "setting". "Appearance" can indicate to tell the performer's social status and the individual's ritual state, as Goffman regards, and "manner" can help us predict the next motion of the role. In the context, "woman" and "Girl" are two different roles that Chinese females can play. If we regard "woman" and "girl" as two kinds of appearances: young/unmarried and old/married, then the habitual behaviours for Chinese girls and women could be the manners. For the audience or the "observers", by which I mean ordinary Chinese people, we are accessed to know how females would

perform by judging their appearance, because she needs to behaviour should matches her identity. For the female, she would perform and behave based on the identity that the identity that she has chosen for herself i.e. she would follow the “manners” according to her “appearance”.

As the teenager Interviewee 7 said: “I think high school students should be like students. My classmates have bought some makeup products, but I don’t like that. I think I am good-looking without makeup.” In her eyes, a female student should be simple clothes—this is a common opinion about teenagers. More than that, there are other manners for both girls and women in China. Goffman thinks that people usually expect a consistency in appearance and manners, and he mentioned that we expect a coherence among the settings, appearance and manners. Taking the interview as an example, several interviewees preferred to be called a girl than a woman, but they admit that identifying them as women is reasonable. The word “Woman”, which is both a label and an identity, has now been stigmatised. As described before when people mention or use “woman” in communication, it contains more negative than neutral meaning. “Woman” reminds people of mid-age, rural woman, who are married and senile. It implies being conservative and unenlightened. In contrast, “girl” portrays young, pretty, innocent image (Nan, 2016).

Self-identity does not always correspond to the social rules, or the “settings”. One interviewee states that she regards herself as non-binary, but she has to respond to other people calling her “woman” or “lady”. She said:

“My psychological world might be very uncommon. To most people, gender is a tool to define them, and it also defines me. I think I am a non-binary because I think, we don’t have to use the stereotypes of gender, age, ethics to define someone. It should be based on himself, the individual... how one wants to define himself is very free, his words, hobbies, career, working ability, his love, the one who loves him and so on.”

(Interviewee 10, graphic designer)

Her ideas reveal that self-identity is more than gender and age; it is a combination of different concepts of a person. I found that during the interviews, the interviewees

usually would bring up their personal backgrounds to explain the reason for their opinions, or use their experience as proof, e.g. “My job is lawyer” (Interviewee 11), or “I have worked in the Women Association” (Interviewee 5), “gender studies is my bachelor’s major”(Interviewee 1), etc. Education, career, experience, location, age and so on are all elements that indicate the self-identities of the interviewees. These different titles, experiences, educations and family positions mix together to constitute the whole image of a person. Nowadays, Chinese females are carrying multiple identities. In this study, I am not going to go deep into other identities of Chinese female but focus on the most fundamental and common aspect—gender.

Goffman said that people perform in multiple ways that constitute a part of social drama (Goffman, 1978); here, the drama and stage theory work as a metaphor when researching symbolic interaction. The identity performance is impression management (Ibid). Therefore, the way Chinese females present themselves is a way of expressing their identities, in order to make an impression in the audience’s mind. There are two questions that every interviewee has been asked, and they are: how do you describe yourself, and how do other people describe you? They provided a variety of answers for their self-description, like hesitant, positive and calm, reliable, out-going girl, housewife and so on. The comments from their friends, family, members, colleagues are diverse too. The image or the impression that the interviewees tried to perform was more than a simple gender definition, an age range of group or marriage status. Their personality, job and other elements construct the whole image of a female. Moreover, the way the audiences unscrambled an individual interviewee’s performance includes many aspects.

“Girl” and “woman” stand for two different identities. They stand for different impressions and special roles in the drama of Chinese females’ social interactions. I have discussed the distinction of “girl” and “woman” before, yet I need to emphasise that the two identities overlap and correspond with each other. The “woman” can be the subsequent identity of “girl”, but they can also co-exist at the same time for one female. In my opinion, the identity “girl” is not superior to “women” because “girl” and “woman” both refer to a female. Wagner has said that the modern construction of identity relates to both the individuals and the social world (Wagner, 1994), and it is not

as simple as it was before for an individual to be a part of a collective identity (Harway, 2012). However, Harway argues even though the individualised identity is complicated, people tend to simplify it to limited categories and identify themselves by single aspects (Ibid). As interviewee 10 said above, there are various ways to define someone, but in the debate concerning Girls' Day and Women's Day, Chinese females' identities are limited to "girl" and "women" in the gender category. The direct result of simplifying a female either as a girl or as a woman is that it ignores the variety of different individuals. It neglects the speciality of each female, which does not seem to correspond to the requirement of individualisation in modernity. Gender is the most direct and common category to identify someone by, but it is not always correct representation of that person.

1.3.2 The formation of identity

From the interviews, some reports, advertisements and studies, I found that the view that girls and women are equally appreciated is just a myth. In reality, "girl" is superior to "woman". Let me take the interviewees as examples first. The interviewees' opinions on the "girl" are as such: anti-traditional, polite and elegant, free and fewer duties, better than a woman; on the other hand the associations with women are mature, square dancer, more responsibilities, taking care of family, etc. More than one married interviewees indicated that they are women now, but they prefer to be a girl. In short, a part of the interviewees prefer the identity "girl".

I have explained the literal difference between "girl" and "woman", and I have disclosed what the interviewees think about the two identities above. Now I want to go back to the start of the formation identity to analyse why gender matters in constructing Chinese females' identity, and how it results the idea that girl is better than woman. Erikson believes that "identity formation begins where the usefulness of identification ends. It arises from the selective repudiation and assimilation of childhood identifications and their absorption into a new configuration" (Erikson, 1968: 159). By that, he means that identity formation is a selective process that preserves certain parts of childhood into adulthood. Forsh regards self as a psychological structure, which

consists of two components: an object of knowledge and contemplation, and an experience subject (Forsh, 1991). Using Goffman's theory, the identity is as a performance of self that includes front stage and back stage. We can then combine Erikson and Forsh' points to learn that the formation of identity is a dynamic process. The process is the selection what one has experienced and learned over a long period of time, during the process one can express oneself more or less in front of others.

In the formation of Chinese females' identities, their knowledge and experience cooperate when deciding how to perform themselves. Going back to the coding, their experiences include three main aspects: education, family life, and work. By interacting with their classmates, teachers, colleagues, and family members, the interviewees keep strengthening their "proper appearance" under the guidance of manners. In addition, the knowledge they learned from observing, imitating and drawing conclusions of others made them remember and use new manners, i.e. update their knowledge of how to present oneself. No matter what experience or knowledge one owns, they both come from the precondition: Chinese society. More specifically, in the study, the way Chinese females cultivate the ideas of identity and how they express it are all based on a patriarchal Chinese culture. Josselson and Harway have emphasised that "identity is rooted in social location and therefore always reflects the social and historical period in which it is formed and evolves" (Josselson & Harway, 2012: 8). Therefore, we need to unearth the cultural and societal reasons as to why Chinese females dislike woman identity.

The masculine value system has functioned over thousands of years in Chinese society, and the male element is always dominant in unequal relationships. Confucianism has been the core value of the Chinese political and familial system, and it is a typical patriarchal ideology. As the basic unit of society, the Chinese family has been "patriarchal, patrilineal and patrilocal" (Leung, 2003; 360). Women were dependent on males, and it was necessary for her father, or husband to provide the existing materials and accommodations for her and her family. The married woman had to follow her husband's opinion. They had no right to decide in big family chores. Even though, as

Chinese governors have announced, “the liberating women has been reached”⁹(Zeng, 1997:21), some ideas stay as inconspicuous habit and tradition, and they are seldom critiqued. Leung explained that Confucian defined Chinese women by attaching them to men, and it leads to the secondary position for women (Ibid). Despite this, “woman” as a dependent identity in the traditional view is not welcome by modern days young females who were educated to be independent and free.

Media is a mirror that reflects real Chinese females’ image. According to research about the Chinese females’ image in recent years (Yao, 2015), several of new Internet catchwords about Chinese females have emerged, such as the leftover woman, spicy mum, green tea bitch, etc. In movies and TV series, the female’s image is more divers as females represent the consumer more and more. Yao summarised five kinds of the female images in media, including “good wife, querulous woman, sexy beauty, rich lady and independent woman”. She has claimed that modern Chinese females seem to have various new images, but essentially their media images are still presented as being traditional, following and dependent (Ibid).

As I mentioned in the background, Girls’ Day is highly appreciated in Chinese universities. I have to admit that these young Chinese females’ appeal to a new and independent identity is worth praising. It matches what Erikson and Forsh think about the identity updating, and even more, it reflects the identity transformation of a group. Free expression and performances about the young females’ identities reveal the awakening of Chinese females.

1.3.3 The truth of stigmatisation and the awareness of feminism

I am concerned that this over-covered and breaking identity statement does not only insult other “old”, “not beautiful” and married women, it also deconstructs the work of feminism. By using mocking and belittling ways to deny the identity of “woman” and then build the identity of “girl”, Girls’ Day challenges Women’s Day openly and

⁹ Translate from Chinese

directly. Girls' Day is not the first to stigmatise the identity of the woman, but it rationalises the stigmatisation of Chinese women and feminism.

In the ancient perception of stigma, Greeks thought that stigma manifests itself as the bodily signs that are unusual or bad from the moral status of the signifier, or that it is the bodily signs of physical disorder and holy grace (Goffman, 2009). Goffman believes stigma refers to "an attribute that is deeply discrediting" (Ibid: 13), and a language of relationships is necessary. Stigma can cause people certify whether someone else is normal or not, and then to evaluate the credit of themselves. According to Goffman, there are three types of sigma: abominations of the body, blemishes of individual character, and tribal stigma of race, nation and religion (Ibid: 14). When I mention the stigma of Chinese women, I refer to a combination of the later two types.

First of all, the age, virginity and appearance have become characteristic that can be judged or critiqued. Old women are not annoying; married women are not attractive, and ugly women are guilty. By being in contact with these kinds of opinions, an individual woman can be inculcated with a malformed aesthetic, which essentially is the preference of patriarchal views. Secondly, the Chinese society as a whole has bound women with traditions and morals, which try to keep the old relationship between women and men, thus retaining women's suppression and attachment to men. No matter what individual female or female group there may be, stigmatising females is a trick and attack from proud patriarchy. After being critiqued and laughed at, Chinese females submit to the label "woman", and gradually abandon the independent and free identity to cater to men's requirements.

1.3.4 Identity as a feminist and the awareness of feminism

I have mentioned that among the interviewees, three of the females have thousands of followers on Douban. They label themselves as feminists. When asking the questions about Women's Day and their knowledge about feminism, "are they feminists or not" is also included. I regard feminist as a unique identity in this research is because of the debate about Girls' Day and Women's Day, in fact, is the debate about feminism in

China.

Some interviewees regarded themselves as feminists when they were asked the questions. Besides them, all interviewees told that they have heard of “feminism” but have no much idea about it. From the interviews, I found that all interviewees agree with gender equality because they have been told or taught that they have the same rights as Chinese men. However, some of them have very little knowledge of feminism while some have positively and actively work towards about gender equality. On the topic of the awareness of feminism, the interviewees can be put into three types: 1. heard about feminism but do not acknowledge that there is inequality; 2. heard about feminism and realised there is a problem but have not taken any action; and the last kind, feminists. Asking them about the thoughts on feminism reveals the reality of feminism in China, that is feminism is a popular item but not a practised issue in daily life. Feminism has more of a symbolic meaning than a guiding significance.

It seems that simple ideas and basic awareness on the concept of feminism are common. Zeng has argued that feminist ideas are rooted in Chinese traditional culture, and that a large amount of literately works contains feminism awareness (Zeng, 1997). However, he also stated that Chinese authors rarely announce their identity as feminists. Some of the interviewees in the study represent a typical group of Chinese females: they have roughly acknowledged gender equality, but they barely relate themselves to feminism and feminists. Concerning topics like who should pay the bill if you have dinner with a man, or who should be the leader in the family, many of the interviewees said that they would share the bill and man and woman have an equal position in the household. I can say that the interviewees and a certain portion of Chinese females are equipped with the embryo of feminism awareness.

However, I am not very confident about the growth of feminism. From realising the existence of discrimination to expressing the wish to be independent, fighting for women’s rights is a long journey. To a degree, transitioning from an awareness of the women identity to becoming a feminist is like the contingency rather than the plan.

The three feminist interviewees have different backgrounds and life experiences, yet all

of them felt that inequality is happening on or around them, and all they are motivated to learn more about feminism. It is not necessary for someone to experience sexism in order to become a feminist. As interviewee 11 said, she had the best education during her childhood and her family cares a lot for her. But she feels that she is a natural feminist, and she had already started to read Beauvoir in primary school. It is not necessary for someone to experience sexism, discrimination or unequal treatment in order to become a feminist. An interviewee suffers from domestic violence, but she said feminism is very far from her. As a result, the feminist is a precious identity that only few Chinese females can possibly gain.

Chapter 2 Feminism in China

From the above part, we have the idea that the conflict concerning Girls' Day and Women's Day focuses on the two labels "woman" and "girl". The way a female uses and chooses labels is related to her self-identity and representation. In the process of flattering the "girl" and stigmatising the "woman", the interviews reveal that the popular culture and new media is focusing Chinese females through a quasi-feminist standing, which is a kind of faux-feminism. In this part, I will dig into the reasons for the eroding of Chinese feminists' gains from a sociological angle. Moreover, I will also explain where Chinese feminism can go from here.

2.1 The ceremonial Women's Day and marginalised feminism

2.1.1 Post-feminism and faux-feminism

The firm argument from Li provides the inspiration for this research, that the prosperity of Girls' Day signifies the fading or decay of Women's Day. From the interviews, unclear ideas about Women's Day and feminism is a very common situation, but we cannot easily conclude this is the extinction of feminism. I would rather prefer to regard the phenomenon as feminism being marginalised.

Here, I must refer to McRobbie's idea about "post-feminism" to explain my argument. As it has been introduced above, post-feminism is not simply anti-feminism but a different kind of opponent, which differs from direct backlash. McRobbie also pointed out that feminism is facing the situation where the result that feminists gained in the 1970s and 1980s are now being eroded in British political culture (McRobbie, 2009). She thus proposed the concept "feminism undone". Under modernisation, it operates protractedly, and it is beneficial for young women. To this extent, we can regard it as a substitute of feminism, which by her is called "faux feminism" (Ibid, 24).

On a different note, the development of Chinese feminism is occurring in a socialist society. Therefore, we need a particular angle to understand Chinese feminism; the environment, opportunities and resistance for feminism. Similarly, Chinese feminism is facing the same threats of being undermined. One of the most symbolic issues is the forgetting or stigmatisation of Women's Day or the stigmatising of Women's Day. I need to clarify one precondition, that is, the retrogression of the knowledge about feminism and Women's Day in China happens on the nongovernmental level. In addition, the fact that the meaning of Women's Day fades from the memories of normal Chinese females does not mean the disappearance of the celebration. Borrowing the idea from McRobbie, I think that contemporary Chinese feminism is turning into her proposed "post-feminism" status. More specifically, the illusion of quasi-equal experience makes Chinese females have the "faux-feminism" cognition. In the following parts, I will analyse my view.

2.1.2 Undermined and marginalised Chinese feminism

To understand why I assert that Chinese feminism is undermined, we need to first have a glimpse at the truth. Among the interviewees, except the three feminist interviewees and the one who has worked for the Women's Federation, the remaining females have no clear ideas about Women's Day, including its origin, history and current meaning. Several interviewees indicated that Women's Day is irrelevant to their daily life, and they have barely paid attention to the festival. Just as one interviewee said, "Women's Day is not important to me" (Interviewee 8). However, the tradition of celebrating

Women's Day continues in China despite the fact that individuals do not have much interest in it. Several interviewees indicated that they had celebrated Women's Day somehow:

“My last employer would give every female staff a rose or an apple on March 8th; then we can have half a day off.”

(Interviewee 2, 27, UI designer)

“It is usually celebrated by my company. They would organise some activities, or give us some cash, gifts, have a dinner together.”

(Interview 4, 32, tobacco company employee)

Other interviewees have a similar experience. There was a common point from all the interviewees when they described how they celebrate the day, which is that the various activities are all hosted by an institution rather than individuals, such that the celebration of Women's Day becomes more ceremonial than practical. From my interviewees, I found that these females are equipped with the basic understanding of Women's Day, but they have shown little concern about the underlying connotation of the day. Women's Day is a spokesman for a day's leave from work/study, some shopping cards/cash/gifts from the employer (Interviewee 6), a rose, or a dinner. The ceremonial meaning surpasses its symbolic meaning, which makes Women's Day an empty shell named by “feminism”.

To elaborate Women's Day has significant influence from Chinese history, which created the base for its social position in modern Chinese culture. In 1924, the Chinese publicly celebrated Women's Day for the first time (Zhou, 2011). Before that, some revolutionaries had discussed and learned about women's movement in a small group. As a part of the Modern Chinese workers' movement, it supported and promoted the liberation of the whole oppressed group. “The celebration of Women's Day is an important ceremony to fight for equal rights and independence”, Zhou said, “it combines with national revolution and become an essential part for liberating Chinese women and constructs women's collective memory” (Ibid: 56). It is appreciated that from an institutional and systematic level, Women's Day still has a place in political life.

However, the forgetting of the history behind the day and feminism's work by single females make the celebration of Women's Day only in name.

McRobbie has proposed disarticulating feminism to find the reason that eroded the fruit of feminism's fighting through modernisation (McRobbie, 2009). McRobbie regards disarticulation as a force that acts against the progress of feminism, and it functions through accusing feminism for brimming with "anger and hostility towards men" (Ibid: 26), and lessening the possibility and solidarity are its stock –in-trade.

As mentioned before, in the debate of Girls' Day and Women's Day, Chinese females are divided into women and girls by the "dispersal Strategy" (Ibid). The distinctions between the two festivals make the two labels incompatible which in return it defuses the alliance of Chinese females. When a portion of Chinese girls rejects to celebrate Women's Day and feel shameful for being a part of mature females, the split and hostility among females make the fight of previous feminists meaningless.

It is reasonable that females can choose the label by themselves. And in modern Chinese society, any female's right should be respected. Antony Giddens has used sociological analysis on social transformations in later modernity. He and Beck share the argument that new second modernity inspired people to live depending more on individual's own will rather than "traditional structure of class race and sex" (McRobbie, 2009: 43). By being more reflexive, individuals can plan their life stories, cogitate the risk and opportunities, and in short, decide upon their own lives. Nowadays, Chinese females are provided with these chances too. All of my interviewees indicated that their family provided them with access to education, purchasing products, entertainment and marriage. It reminds me of Ulrich Beck and Elizabeth Beck-Gernsheim's analysis on "Individualisation and Women" (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2001) and their praise of the remarkable feminism. They claimed that the women's movement lacks attention in sociology and that the struggle in feminism is overlooked (Ibid).

China established the market economy in the 1990s. Since that until now, China have had three National Investigations about the position of Chinese women in society. According to the report of the third investigation, Chinese women have much more

freedom in purchasing expensive products, undergoing further studies, etc. (NBS of the PRC, 2010). The market economy provides similar possibilities for women's liberation as capitalism does, especially for young Chinese females who were born and raised in a consumer society. They have already been exposed to the consumerism atmosphere for a long time. Abundant media products and modern lifestyles make them pay more attention to material enjoyment but forget or ignore some unfair truths. Individualisation helps Chinese females to realise their dreams and perform to their full abilities. Therefore, when feminists appear with harsh critique, they are regarded as inharmonious noise. Many people regard gender equality as something that has been reached. However, individualisation of Chinese women does not necessarily prove that Chinese females are completely equal to males. I agree with what Adkins argued, reflexivity, which is a consequence of modernisation, gives more chance for choice and agency to women, but this kind of "de-traditionalisation" leads to the patterns of gender "re-rationalisation"(Adkins, 2002) or "re-instatement" coined by McRobbie (McRobbie, 2009). It is actually is a new version of patriarchal power.

There is a classical argument from the Chinese feminist scholar Huiying Liu written in 1995. At that time, she proposed the crude ideas about the "re-traditionalisation" phenomenon in China. The superficial rights and the guarantee of females' in society position does not mean that patriarchal ideas disappear; on the contrary, women's self-awareness retrogrades gradually, as she said, and the situation might be worse than in the western world (Liu, 1995).

In short, through the decline of the influence of Women's Day, we can find that the essential problem is that Chinese females are not sufficiently aware of the tricks from the patriarchal society. Chinese feminism was suppressed by traditional societal rules and opinions before, and now, it is being marginalised by the illusion of post-feminism from modernisation. In the following part, I will explain the fundamental reason behind why feminism is so hardly accepted in China.

2.2. Is feminism nowhere in China?

2.2.1 The negative reality

The self-representations and identities from analysis above display that the lack of the awareness of feminism not only results from the poor individual acknowledgement of feminism but also from the absent alertness of unequal treatment. Nevertheless, it is unfair to blame the gender inequality predicament only on the normal individual entirely. Whelehan noted that the modern feminist is closer in image to highly-educated women, but they still “remain marginalised” (Whelehan, 1995:13). To elaborate the three online feminist interviewees have shown more acknowledge of feminism, and they have very clear standing on the gender topic. For example, one interviewee said that her major is gender studies while another told me she had accepted the best education resource since primary school. Education equips them with the knowledge and abilities to comprehend gender problems. However, not all female intellectuals can become a feminist or realise the gender problem. As one interviewee said, “I think it’s very equal now”(Interview 6). It is coincidence that some women shift from a normal, unconscious female into a conscious feminist.

A key question emerges here. How could we make the woman who lacks feminism ideas become conscious feminist? Who is responsible for hindering feminism ideas to spread and develop in China? I think this study catches a glimpse.

In the book *Modern Feminist Thought*, Whelehan introduced some basic ideas about the conflict between socialism and communism. It seems feminism is naturally incompatible with socialism and communism. He found that feminism primarily cares about women’s life as the result of unequal patriarchy, and a belief that is not welcomed by Marxist economy structure (Whelehan, 1995). In a socialist or communist society, all human beings share the same value and have the same rights, in another words, all men and women are equal.

In the early Chinese revolution in the beginning of the last century, Chinese feminism

movement was a necessary part of the whole social system revolution. Liberating labour women effectively backed a series of movements to liberate the Chinese labouring people. Some key leaders of women's movements, like Xiang Jingyu, Deng Yingchao, and Cai Chang, etc., worked in the Chinese Nationalist Party Central Women department (Zhou, 2011). After the establishment of the People Republic of China, Chinese women owned the same right to politics, education, and more aspects of life as men did. "Women hold up half the sky" is the most famous motto of the success of liberating Chinese labouring women. In this degree, not only gender equality but also the individuals' equality should have been achieved, at least theoretically.

More than one interviewee believes that the Chinese men and women are equal now, or at least, they believe that they barely feel any apparent discrimination of females. "Not very obvious now, and it's modern society, some girls are more dominant than boys, (they are) just like the iron lady", the 19-year-old interviewee said. However, I agree more with the view that even though that all Chinese females have gained the same rights in economy and politics, they are still suffering various discriminations and oppression by emotion, family and daily life (Zeng, 1997). One interviewee listed four aspects of gender inequality in China:

"If you let me say, I must say the first is the domestic violence and unequal marriage, or marriage exploitation, including sexual exploitation. It is not totally domestic violence, I think, it's more about sexual violence, especially from men to women. Then it is a procreation problem. Women undertake all the cost of reproduction; I can say that Chinese men bare barely anything from it. Thirdly there is different pay for the same work. Our impressive rate of employment has slid downward, which exacerbates the situation. Oh, I forgot the most primary side is the existing right since many females were born... No, they don't even have a chance to be born."

(Interviewee 10, 28, graphic designer)

To be more concrete, one interviewee described her experience of domestic violence:

"My husband cheated on me when my son was one year old. We discussed the problem; he apologised, I forgave him then we made up. Until I found he contacted the woman

again, we quarrelled again, and they broke again.

-- Have you thought about divorce? Or are you worried that your son would lose his father?

Yea, I have thought about that, but my husband didn't want it. If I say I want to divorce, he beats me, then I am afraid to mention it. Then the divorce was put off, put off, until now."

(Interviewee 8, 25, restaurant manager)

Then she told me more about her suffering.

"I have tried to divorce with my husband once; we even got to the local processing hall. There were many people that day. I wanted to process, and he rejected. I insisted I want to divorce, and then he slapped me in the face in front of hundreds of people. I ran to the police counter and told the police my husband just beat me. The policeman looked at me calmly, just at that moment, my husband caught me and slapped me again. He asked me again, 'Do you want to divorce?'. I said, yes, I want. Other people were watching by the side, I spoke to them, please help me. But everyone was just watching, and I had my son on my arms. At that moment, I really felt how indifferent people are."

(Interviewee 8, 25, restaurant manager)

On one hand, Chinese women are equal to Chinese men in politics, law and economy according to the Chinese Constitution. On the other hand, the unequal treatment of women is also objective in Chinese society. Thus, when domestic violence happens, Chinese use the "domestic" thinking mode to deal with the problem, which means that domestic violence is treated as something that would not affect social order and women's rights. Therefore, gender inequality is "very common", as interviewee 8 said. Engles has stated that the family is comparable to capitalism on a micro-level. The man's role is the capitalist while the woman's position in the marriage is as proletarian. Once class division is abolished, the inequality would disappear (Engels, 2010). Under socialistic state system, Chinese feminists face the fact that either they get involved with the social system by an equal identity compared to men, or they have nothing to do with

its existence or extermination (Weleham, 1995).

2.2.2 Feminism confronts Socialism

The gender equality has been reached in China only on a macro level. If Chinese feminists clearly state the unequal gender reality as a collective, analysable issue, then it would be a conflict with class-theory-based Marxism. According to classical Marxists, grouping women into a separate camp is a split and an attention shift in a No-gender-difference political system (Welehan, 1995). Therefore, the voice of Chinese feminism is gradually decreased. As stated in the interviews, there are two main reasons that lead to Chinese females' apathy for gender issues.

The first is the official prohibition of spreading information of certain gender issues. It includes the blocking of a feminist social media account called "the voice of feminism."

"The biggest challenge now is that we might not have any voice. You might know that 'the voice of feminism' has been blocked for a while, and many feminists' social accounts have been blocked too."

(Interview 10, 28, graphic designer)

"I think that the most pioneer feminist groups are 'the voice of feminism' and 'new media women'... they were pretty active in online discussion about offline activities. But if you are going to host a feminist activity, you will need to take pictures or gather some people, and this would make some departments very nervous. Even though we just sit and discuss our opinions, it made them tense."

(Interviewee 1, 25, student)

The second is the lack of mainstream media reports on the gender issue. In the interviews, all females confirmed that new media is an important resource of information. The time spent on using new media ranges from one hour to the whole day, including using a computer and a smartphone. However, the mainstream media news in their daily life concerning gender issues or women's rights is lacking. Not only did

some interviewees seldom pay attention to the news reports, but the female who read news also found that news of gender issues are rarely published.

“I usually would look through the news on Baidu before I go to sleep, but I don’t specifically search for anything, just read the news that they recommend on the first page.”

(Interviewee 4, 32, tobacco company employee)

In the 60’s, Joseph Klapper came up with the Agenda Setting theory. He emphasised that mass communication is not a must and a necessary condition to cause audience effects, but rather it gets involved with many elements and works with these elements (Klapper, 1960). Moreover, Zucker believes that if the audience has less prior-knowledge of a certain subject, they will rely more on news media (Zucker, 1978). Former scholars have performed various of studies on the Agenda setting theory and its effects. If the media uses agenda setting mode to arrange what context their audience can get, they can use the strategies like repeating news reports to grab the audience’s attention. At the same time, they can ignore or avoid certain topics to prevent the audience from coming in contact with ideas about certain social issue, such as women’s rights and the gender issue. The absence of mainstream reports on feminism in China has isolated normal females from an unequal reality, and it made Chinese feminism become marginalised from all social topics.

Essentially, the core problem what Chinese feminism is facing is the resistance of patriarchy rather than socialism or communism. Liu has stated that after the establishment of the new Chinese government, “the liberation of women” has been reached; the women’s problem has disappeared because the subject has been abrogated (Liu, 1995). She said, “Feminine consciousness as an independent social conscious has been replaced by ‘class consciousness’ and ‘revolution consciousness’, and then disappeared”(Ibid: 91). Liu believes that the puzzle of liberating women is covered by the reality of class liberation. “The patriarchal family system has collapsed, patriarchy remains” Liu explained, “the only change in the social revolution is that country superseded the position of father” (Ibid).

What did several interviewees mentioned is on a systematic level, but they also have the attention and love from their parents, they have access to high education, and they can choose their job. But they also have been through some subtle discrimination.

“When we choose our major in high school, nobody told me not to choose literature, but all teachers would say, don’t choose science. The boys are learning slowly now, but they will learn fast soon. He didn’t tell you that you are not brilliant, but he would say boys would be more successful than girls, girls finally need to depend on men.”

(Interviewee 1, 25, student)

“Sometimes, it happens unconsciously. Like several days ago, I went to the smoking room on the fourth floor in our company. I was smoking during lunchtime. Then two mid-aged men came in. The first thing they did when they saw me was to smile. Then one said: ‘Wow, there is a beauty smoking’. I feel this is very rude.”

(Interviewee 2, 28, UI designer)

The Marxist feminist has concluded that patriarchy and familism¹⁰ ideas have already permeated in the labour system that affects females’ individual life. As Barrett noted, “In assessing the factors which might account for the position of women as wage labourers it is impossible to escape the conclusion that family structure and the ideology of domestic responsibility play an important part” (Barrett 1988:157). Chinese females are facing a variety of subtle discrimination or insults because of their gender in situations like school or the office room. More profoundly, the experiences that the interviewees have lived through reveals that Chinese females are facing a society or a social atmosphere in which women’s behaviour and abilities can be judged or denied by authoritative individuals or groups.

¹⁰ Famlism or famlialism is an ideology that puts priority to family.

Chapter 3 Chinese females in media time and consumer society

When I chose the case of Girls' Day, I have already chosen the background of the whole story: modern China. More specifically, I wanted to put together the puzzle of Chinese females' identity and their gender awareness in a mediapolis world, which is built upon materials. Silverstone has defined mediapolis as "the mediated public space where contemporary political life increasingly finds its place" (Silverstone, 2007:31), and he thinks the materiality of the world is built upon "electronically communicated public speech and action"(Ibid). The emergence of Girls' Day is the result of popular culture, but there is an inseparable relationship between the development of new media, consuming society and the living status of Chinese females. In this chapter, I will present analysis from media, especially the new media's angle and consumerism angle in order to explain the reason what forms current identity of Chinese females, and what influences their recognition of feminism.

3.1. The Media's role in the celebration of Girl's Day

As mentioned previously, Girls' Day first emerged at Chinese Universities. Owing to its new and grand celebration on campus, the hot topic attracted the attention of many media. If you search "Girl's Day" on Google for news reports, you will get a million's results (Google, 2017). For some interviewees, university experience made them familiar with this new festival. Since Girls' Day is a new apparition, the older interviewees stated that they did not know much about it, but they use the searching engine and read the news to know it. One interviewee is a teenager girl; she said she knew Girls' Day from fiction, while a mid-aged interviewee have heard of Girls' Day from the social network. Various media's first function the source of information for Girls' Day, and it builds the connection between different women and between Chinese females with the outside world. David Gaultlett thinks that because of the sociality and the inner driving force of communication make people want to change their ideas and get a connection (Andrejevic, Mark, et al., 2014). Build upon the inspiration of others,

he said, media production works as participation in a conversation (Ibid). As the interviewees said, through the social network, fiction, and news report, they got to know what is happening on other females, and what Girls' Day is about.

First, media expands the influence of Girls' Day. More than one interviewee has indicated that when they see reports about Girls' Day from TV or news websites, they feel that it is a big, interesting event, albeit unofficial. When it comes to social media, some interviewees have described they have seen their friends' pictures and words about Girls' Day, Which helps them start interacting by learning about and spreading word about the Day. As one girl said, "I saw that some senior students posted the pictures bout Girls' Day activities and banners, then I started to learn about the festival" (Interviewee 3). Combine with the traditional news report and online social network; media plays an important role in spreading Girls' Day.

Secondly, through the introduction and spreading of Girls' Day, Media helps to build Chinese females' knowledge of their identity. As one interviewee has said, if she had known Girls' Day earlier, she would have been glad to celebrate the day and has been proud of her girlhood at that time (Interviewee 4). For this point, I will explain more in next part.

Thirdly, media works as a tool for business. As I introduced above, Girls' Day gradually becomes a shopping festival and many online retailers provide sales and discount on 7th of March. Girls' Day became a big sales day since 2014. The popular internet company Baidu started the discount activity throughout China, and they have sold movie tickets, karaoke tickets and other products for 3.7 Yuan (CNY). This activity is aiming to competing with the online retailer Ali on 8th of March (Zhong & Li, 2014). As presented by Baidu and Ali, several online retailers have invested millions of Yuan in commercial and discount activities for Girls' Day and Women's Day. The advertisements appear on most kinds of media, such as web advertisements, Weibo, WeChat, metro station posters, radio and TV. As some interviewees said:

"I have seen many (advertisements) online, like Tmall, Vip.com".

(Interviewee 4, 32, Tobacco company employee)

“I just saw an advertisement on the metro today, it is about encouraging women to shop, I don’t feel very comfortable about that”.

(Interviewee 11, 32, lawyer)

In short, media plays an instrumental role in celebrating Girls’ Day, but I will explain more about its role in a Chinese consumer society, and how this relates to the identity of Chinese females and Chinese feminism.

3.2 Media and identity formation

I have claimed that identity formation is an updating process that people undergo to refresh their identity through the acquisition of new knowledge and personal experience. As a big resource of information and a platform to present the self, media provides various widespread ideas about identity knowledge, such as the images of females, current fashion trend, morals to be followed and so on. Through the interviews, I found that media mainly worked on two separate sides in the formation of Chinese females’ identities. The first is continuous gender discrimination of females; the second is enlightening their awareness of feminism.

3.2.1 Gender discrimination in media

Even though “media saturation” sounds like a cliché Bird emphasised that because the current human society is accompanied by media, we individuals are experiencing media “in non-predictable and non-uniform ways” (Bird, 2003:5). All interviewees indicate that they spend a significant amount of time on different kinds of media every day, including newspapers, smartphones, computers, magazines, books, and posters, etc. Among all media, new media, which I mean Internet, is the most commonly used. Social networks stand for a big portion of the time they use the Internet. The interviewees also stated that they gained a lot new information online. As a ubiquitous “tools”, “companion”, “entertainment”, and “habit” (as termed by the interviewees),

media does not only fill every second of a relaxing moment and working days, but also helps to form Chinese females' identities.

As Hall and Paul Du Gay has described, identities are fragmented more and more nowadays and reconstructed across multiple discourses, practices and positions (Hall and Paul Du Gay, 1996). Their ideas can be combined with Goffman's theory that self or identity is expressed through the performance. Through multiple discourses, practices and positions, the acknowledgement of identities by Chinese females is refreshed and changed. Media, as the biggest and most frequently used information resource, provide new knowledge of identity to Chinese females, but also strengthen and weaken their existing identities. I have summarised media's role in the spreading Girls' Day, but meantime, media has expanded and deepened the stigma of Women's Day, the woman identity and feminism.

Huang has summarised the reasons for gender discrimination in mass media (Huang, 2002). I believe her opinions could be borrowed to explain the discrimination towards women in modern media, because the stigmatisation of Chinese women in mass media is a variant of gender discrimination.

At first, Huang argues that mass media is facing the mass audience, which means it needs to cater to the masses psychology, including their prejudices and ideas about gender (Ibid). I have said that the discrimination against women is an unenlightened idea that has remained in Chinese society until now. When constructing the image of "woman" and "girl", media uses the regular language mode, which has been grown in patriarchal Chinese culture, and it makes the language we are in contact with mass media patriarchal as well. Women are a subcategory in the Chinese social psychological discourse. Working as the gatekeepers of information, media use stereotypes to describe girls and women. Through the use of patriarchal language on media, the impression of "woman" being inferior "girl" has deepened.

In addition, feminism is stigmatised through media. There is a research aimed at understanding how feminism is stigmatised in three mainstream newspapers in China (Yang, 2014). Yang collected 222 reports that directly mentioned about feminism or

feminists. According to Yang, different media have different strategies and standings when reporting news about women and feminism, but in general, all three newspapers labelled feminism as “aggressive”, “indifferent”, “impulsive” and “ambitious”¹¹(Yang, 2014:105). Feminists were described as mighty and unfriendly. We can find similar proof in the interview. One interviewee said she reads the newspaper every day, and uses Internet a considerable amount. She felt that feminism is “too aggressive”. She added, “the world until now has its reason, sometimes I think the gender model is reasonable. Women should pay attention to the family more” (Interviewee 9). Therefore, in this kind of situation that feminism is unwelcome in media, how can ordinary Chinese females praise it?

Second, mass media work is being increasingly commercialised. The need for profits block the way of enlightenment (Huang, 2001), and media transforms everything into products; in particular, they make women commercialised and objectify women. But it is not only present in mass media; social media is filled of various kinds of advertisements. All of the interviewees said it is very common for them to see the advertisements, and some of their friends even use social networks to sell products. One interviewee commented on a poster she saw in the metro:

“The advertisement writes, ‘if you treat your man tough, he will be nice to you’. This advertisement is encouraging women to spend their men’s money. And ‘don’t let the kid decide your lifestyle if you want to be beautiful, just dress up’. I think the commercial talks about two points I strongly disagree with. First, it doesn’t tell women to be independent but to live on their men. Second, it makes me feel that women’s value is giving birth, and that women only care about makeup, consuming and kids”.

(Interviewee 11, 32, lawyer)

In a consumerist society, business interests would lead every aspect focus on commerce. To sell more products, business makes media become an accessory with them. On the other hand, profound knowledge, beneficial social issue and obvious gender inequality will be concealed and neglected.

¹¹ Translate from Chinese.

Finally, societal institutions are the main source of information for mass media, and these institutions usually are close to the nation's power centre. It means that the information from mass media displays a blunt gender reality; females can either make their voice heard on the sidelines or find a male spokesman to do the speaking for them. I have discussed what happens when feminism confronts socialism before; the former is unavoidably suppressed by the national system. Thus, the reports found on mass media need to satisfy the requirements of the politics from the government and the patriarchal system. Particularly in China, not only is the media under the surveillance of the government, but private media usage is also being restricted. One interviewee said that her personal social network account had been found by her boss that her boss then stopped her from posting controversial words (Interviewee 11). It is not hard to imagine that how you behave and perform your identity will be limited if the idea expression is restricted.

3.2.2 New media time and identity formation

Based on the studies of mass media, new media has some new characters that influence the performance and formation of Chinese females' identities. The crucial point is that new media is replacing traditional media gradually; it becomes intertwined with the lives of Chinese females. Not only one interviewee indicated that they spend much time surfing online, including reading news, chatting with friends, working, etc. One interviewee even said, "When I am awake, I am 'online' all the time" (Interviewee 11). It seems online information is their main source of new knowledge. The Internet world is like the real world for them, which is one thing that constructs their worldview and impression of their gender group. The new media in the research is not only Internet media or digital media but rather a new media environment that combines traditional media context with new technologies (Dai, 2016). It includes online news agencies, like news websites; self-media such as Weibo and blog; and also the social networks like WeChat.

One typical character is the image of "women" in new media, which gives the audience

a reference of what a woman is like now. Former research has shown that the females' images on the Internet are constituted by the traditional patriarchal standard. There are mainly two kinds of images of women: fashion consumer and family caretaker. The value of females is thus either the beauty of outward appearance or the ability to do family chores (Zhong, 2003). The platform and equipment of information have changed quickly, but the traditional ideas of a woman's job and values remain as before. Therefore, even though modern days Chinese females are in contact with new information every day, they only get more and more hints of the old, traditional identity impression.

The woman's image is mainly shown in news and advertisements. One interviewee has talked about her experience of advertisement in previous section, and as for the news report in the new media, the reality does not seem optimistic neither. For example, Dai has proposed the polarisation of report on about females'. Compared to traditional media, new media is more complicated, which is indicated by the polarisation of female's news reports. Dai concluded that the news about females are more on Internet media and that the news are mainly about non-politics, sexual and legal topics. Chinese females in the news are shown as victims, which relates to rape and prostitution cases. The polarisation is a new expression of patriarchy ideas in Chinese journalism, as Dai said, females become the target that satisfy men's peeping needs. Dai's arguments are aimed at the news reports that show negative images of women that are intentionally stigmatised and that suppress females' identity. However, in addition to the negative reports, the absence of attention from the female audience to gender issues is another problem. More than one interviewee has said that they do not care much about society news, because the interviewees, who care about news, felt they seldom find news that covers women's problems. When female audiences acquire information from media, they just keep receiving the old identity impression.

However, I have mentioned that the Chinese females I have spoken to have some basic awareness of feminism, and that new media plays an important role in spreading the ideas of gender equality. One important factor that contributes to gender equality is the convenience that new media provides possibilities to learn about gender-specific knowledge. There are several interviewees that indicated that they had not heard of

Girls' Day before I sent interview invitations to them. they researched it online and came across information about Girls' Day. At the same time, they also have the opportunity to come into contact with some feminist ideas. For instance, the social networks help spread the ideas from one to another, which affects some females by a new method that is based on social relationships. One interviewee said:

“I shared the articles and opinions with some of my friends online, and they started to learn about gender inequality is around them. I think they have improved much”.

(Interviewee 10, 27, graphic designer)

Another interviewee said that, she loves tennis, and that her idol is Li Na. Through her personal Weibo account, she knows more about her idol's efforts, and it encourages her much to work hard (Interviewee 9). Otherss experience and presentation could influence Chinese females in performing themselves. New media does not only provide the fixed females images but can also spread new, equal identities to Chinese females. Hence, it will cultivate their awareness of feminism more and more.

3.3 The challenge from consumer society

During the process of identity formation and spreading of feminism, Chinese females unavoidably will come across some challenges. In addition to the suppression of the feminist ideology from the political system, commerce is also a big enemy to Chinese females' identities and awareness of equality. When consumerism confronts media, especially new media, Girls' Day sales attract more attention from media, which makes Girls' Day more influential. At the same time, free willing of consumption makes females feel more free and equal, at least to some extent.

3.3.1 Consumer society surrounds Chinese females

Baudrillard's book *The Consumer Society* described a profusion world where we human beings are surrounded by objects (Baudrillard, 2017). Smart also agrees that “our consuming interest is continually cultivated, our appetites stimulated, by the relentless

generation of newly designed consumer objects whose signs now litter the multiple screens on and through which we live our smart-phoned, i-padded, internet and digitalised lives' (Smart, 2017:4). Indeed, it is not only capitalist countries like America, France and so on that are full of objects and products; after the establishment of the market economy, Chinese society has also been labelled as profusion and high-growth products society. For example, the volume of trade on Single's Day¹² in Taobao¹³ was over 103 billion Yuan (equal as 15 billion dollars) last year (BBC, 2016). Consuming has become a big part of Chinese people's daily life, especially for Chinese females. Every interviewee indicates shopping as a hobby or habit. Besides for necessities of life, they regard gifts as an important part of life too, and shopping makes them happy.

“Lipsticks and makeup products, and clothes, I buy them pretty frequently. Some items that you need to use daily, I will buy until it has almost run out. I will buy several boxes of facemasks at one time. And, since I am a Gemini, I have a strong curiosity, I would never let myself wear the same clothes in the same week”.

(Interviewee 2, 27, UI designer)

Another interviewee thinks that even though if she does not buy products every time she shopping, simply watching and checking out the products make her happy enough.

“Different from others, I don't have a very specific target when shopping. I just hang around, not necessarily to buy something, but more to feel the beauty and enjoy the process”

(Interviewee 5, 52, civil servant)

Baudrillard has argues the discourse on needs is based on a simple rule: “the natural propensity to happiness” (Baudrillard, 2017: 69). In a “society of production”, people's purchase of happiness equals the needs of products. Baudrillard believes that in modern society, the myth of happiness derives from equality. To demonstrate egalitarianism, Baudrillard said, happiness must be measurable to be the tool (Ibid). Being actual and sensible, products like makeup, clothes, jewellery, etc. satisfied the interviewees. Some

¹² An internet festival, which is on 11th November every year.

¹³ A popular Chinese shopping website.

of them regard shopping as necessary, while gifts is fun for relationships and life. I believe that a significant function of consuming in the every day lives of Chinese females and their identity formation is that it provides the basic and concrete feeling of well being to them. As Baudrillard said, “the demands of equality and must... always signify with ‘regard’ to visible criteria” (Ibid: 69). By paying the bills and buying products, not only one interviewee thinks that they have the ability to afford their living cost and material needs, which proves that their position has improved. Moreover, profusive materials make Chinese females have the illusion that a good material situation equals equality in gender issues.

3.3.2 New media: the accomplice of consumerism

I have introduced some discount and sale activities of Girls’ Day in the introduction. More than one interviewee told me that they had seen the advertisements about Girls’ Day online. Here, I want to add that commerce gives Girls’ Day the meaning of shopping for females, which is a total business trick, but more than that, that Women’s Day cannot avoid the commercial utilisation neither. Once one opens the website, or searches for anything on Women’s Day through Baidu, he or she will see the shopping link under the searching box. Advertisements are everywhere, and as Baudrillard said, “the medium is imposing a whole system of segmentation and interpretation of the world upon us” (Baudrillard, 2017:141), and the world is a consumer society. Han has summarised the characters of females’ image in the consumerism culture, and further she thinks that many websites and online retailers create the cyberspace that full of the beauty standards for women. The result of this is that Chinese women pays too much attention to single, distorted aesthetics, so that they interpret the identity of women as to be only a beauty.

The immediacy, interactivity, initiative and accuracy of new media (Lei, 2016) leads to a convenient shopping environment. Shopping online is a common choice among the interviewees. Lei said that in the new media environment, the influencer of the Internet would lead to the consumption of particular products. As interviewee 2 said, “some bloggers give me many suggestions about the colours of lipstick”. “Any time” and “any

place” are the advantages of online shopping. Baudrillard says, “the technological process of mass communications delivers a message-consumption message” (Baudrillard, 2017:141). The continuous message of consumption from new media distracts the attention of Chinese females from more valuable things and directs to pure consumption. The message by Baudrillard is about the world of commodity. Through subconscious or intentional message delivery of products; media becomes the accomplice of consumerism. For some interviewees, receiving gifts makes them happy. The requirement of gifts from their boyfriend/husband is rationalised as a life ritual. It makes Chinese females build their happiness on material objects and ignore signs of inequality in the relationship; men can buy love and respect from women, and thus the independence of females is corrupted.

Social networks expands the requirement of products and vanity contributes to the females cognition of well-being. Several interviewees shared their experience of posting pictures of the gifts that they received. They believe that showing the gifts satisfied their vanities and made them happy. The social network plays the key role in this gift showing game. The need for communication is accomplished by social networks today. Not only are the ubiquitous advertisements and products recommendation articles stimulating Chinese females’ eagerness to shop, their social net is full of the performance of consumption. The escape of the business’s web seems impossible. On this basis, what I can see is that consumerism is invading feminism. Some website use “Goddess” and “queen” to replace the label of “woman” in order to attract older female consumers. One interviewee commented that the misuse of the labels on women is materialising women. The meaning of Women’s Day is obscured by the happiness of shopping to the extent that I cannot require Chinese females to envisage the unequal reality or even guard Women’s Day and feminism.

Conclusion :

This study aims to provide understanding of the identities of modern Chinese females in the new media age through the debates of two festivals – Girls’ Day and Women’s Day. The two key labels are core concepts of identity formation in previous studies. By interviewing eleven Chinese females, I learned about their thoughts on the two festivals, how they use the two labels “girl” and “woman”, and how they gain knowledge and form their identities, especially from media.

How should we understand Girls’ Day?

Girls’ Day is a new festival that becomes increasingly famous. Compared to Women’s Day, Girls’ Day successfully attracts the attention and love of young Chinese females through its interesting activities, such as special treats from the male. The popularity of Girls’ Day leads to a quasi-reasonable aversion to Women’s Day. Some females think that Girls’ Day is more fashionable and entertaining while Women’s Day is irrelevant to them.

Firstly, we saw from the previous chapters that Girls’ Day is a new festival that produces much discussion. It is a result of young, popular culture, which can trace back to the university campus. Because of the entertaining feature of the Girls Day, the festival becomes a hot topic in media, especially in new media. For most Chinese females, new media has three functions when it comes to Girls’ Day topic. The first is being a source of information; the second is allowing Chinese females to refresh their knowledge of their identities, and the third is cooperating with the business, which builds a dense consumption atmosphere.

Secondly, Girls’ Day discloses the truth that Chinese society is a consumer society, and that Chinese females have fallen into the trap of consumption. Special treats and gifts from males is a core idea of Girls’ Day. Receiving gifts becomes shared and reasonable.

Moreover, shopping is not only a necessity of life routes but also a hobby and habit for Chinese females. The profusion of objects surrounds Chinese females so that they are cultivated the thinking mode: gifts are the fun of life. In the consumer society, receiving gifts provides the interviewees with what Baudrillard said: “measurable happiness” (Baudrillard, 2017). Showing the gifts through social networks satisfies their vanities of daily communication.

Thirdly, Girls’ Day has stigmatised Women’s Day by belittling the label of “woman”, and corrupted the fruit of what feminists worked for. To expand the publicity and influence of Girls’ Day, online retailers have put much effort into marketing. Other aspects of media, male students, etc. have emphasised the difference between girls and women. More than that, some offensive words belittle “women” as unattractive, old, and rude people. Under the double attacks from consumerism and patriarchal opinion leading, some of the interviewees or a part of Chinese females have started to doubt their identities as women, hence to yield to the superficial and patriarchal rules.

We need to remember that the celebration of Girls Day is just an epitome of a re-traditionalisation of patriarchy (Liu, 1995) and that Girls’ Day sales or discounts is nothing more than a marketing strategy. What we need to pay attention to is that the new festival is resulting in a retrogression of feminism, hindering the formation of an independent identity of Chinese females.

So how should Chinese females form their identities in a new media time?

The dislike of Women’s Day reflects the current problem that young Chinese females detest being called a “woman”. The distinction between the two labels is essentially the a debate on the two identity labels: women and girl. The arguments surrounding the two identification labels result from their unclear definition. Familiar concepts of “girl” and “women” do not totally correspond to the legal definition, which triggers some misunderstanding. Besides that, choosing which label to define females is casual and free. The usage of the two labels follows social habits, but it is not compulsory.

The crucial difference between the two labels is age. Even though, according to Zhou,

“woman” is a label that contains political meaning (Zhou, 2011). But for ordinary Chinese females, “woman” is an identity label that belongs to the same category as “girl”. Goffman has defined identity as the performance of self (Goffman, 1978). “Girl” and “woman” stand for different identity, and they have different performing ways. From the interviewees, we learn that they share the same general ideas about the behaviours, outward appearance, and social status of “girl” and “women”. At the same time, they have their understanding of two identities. But regardless of the understanding they have of “girl” and “woman”, the interviewees’ ideas on performing suit what Goffman has raised about “setting”. By caring about “appearance” and “manner”, the two identity labels remain on the stage, i.e. in the Chinese culture.

Furthermore, the interviewees carry multiple identities that constitute a part of the social drama. The interviewees have different jobs, educational backgrounds, locations, etc.; however, gender is still their primary identity and performance of self. To understand why the two identity labels would be subject to different attitudes by Chinese females, the process of identity formation needs to be known.

Combining Erikson, Forsh and Goffman’s theory of identity formation, we can summarise identity formation in a brief way, which is, s a selected result of one’s long-term experience and knowledge, through performing of front and back stage self, so that the self gets expressed in a setting stage. Chinese culture and society are the soil of identity formation, and the performance of self needs to fit the cultural and societal rules as well.

“Girl” and “woman” represent two age ranges of females, but also stand for the different lifestyle and social behaviour modes. The preference of “girl” reflects the truth that Chinese society appreciates the young females more and that the Chinese family is “patriarchal, patrilineal and patrilocal” (Leau, 2003:360). Even though it is the modern age and China is a totally different society compared to the feudal age, the discrimination and suppression of women has never disappeared. Moreover, the embedded gender inequality influences many aspects of Chinese people’s daily life, especially the lives of Chinese females.

The two sources of identity formation, experience and knowledge, are gained through the everyday life of Chinese females. When we cannot avoid the patriarchal social system that organises the family structure and construct the social habits, the knowledge of identity becomes necessary. However, as the primary method to obtain information and new insights, media does not seem to be good choice, because the message that is spread by mass media and social networks is also following a gender discrimination mode.

On one hand the mass media produces gender discrimination. Huang has pointed out the widely existent gender discrimination in mass media. On the other hand, the current social network also strengthens the old way of thinking. The displaying of gifts on social networks leads to a happiness performance to satisfy the females' vanity. Close social relationship has a bigger influence on the gender issue, for example, peer pressure or psychological comparison. Males' material wealth, like gifts or a big meal, can convince the females are being cared and loved. Gradually, females depending more on their partners becomes a trend or even a ritual. On this basis, being dependent coincides with the fading of the awareness of feminism. The identity formation of Chinese females' is moving toward a faux-feminism direction.

How will feminism develop in China?

The advocacy for Girls' Day leads to the abandonment of Women's Day. From the identity formation angle, it is the abandonment of "woman" identity by a part of young Chinese females. From the sociology angle, it reflects a forgetting and retrogression of feminism in China. Distinguishing young females from older females primarily separate people in the same gender group. Gradually, the fading of Women's Day in celebration and practice leads to the indifference of feminism.

I need to emphasize that the indifference of feminism from some Chinese females is not the end of feminism in China. It only reflects the sad reality that Chinese females have no consciousness of the problems surrounding their gender. Through the study of knowledge and personal experience, the identity of modern Chinese females still follows the patriarchal path such that the process of identity formation acquiesce and

connive the ideas and activities suppressing of women. Whelehan has said, “Consciousness raising was a central process in politicizing the personal: not only was it intended to awaken women to the injustices of their secondary social position, but they were encouraged to reassess their personal and emotional lives, their relation to their families, their lovers and their work” (Whelehan, 1995:13). In the study, all of the interviewees have rough ideas of Women’s Day and feminism, and are consciousness of their identity and social position. However, the whole procedure in understanding their female identity and the reality of females’ lives is not finished yet. The lack of feminism and gender equality awareness is due to several aspects.

The first is that feminism is marginalised in Chinese public space; including systematic side and media reports. According to classic Marxists, feminism naturally conflicts with communism since communism is antipathy with a no gender politic system (Whelehan, 1995). Chinese governors cannot sustain separating Chinese females as a special camp. Therefore, the voice of feminism is blocked frequently. As for media reports, Huang has criticised that the mass media is catering to popular cultural prejudice, which is essentially a dominant patriarchal tradition. As a result, the primary source of information is controlled by societal institutions, and females’ voice are either marginalised, or they need to depend on male spokesmen. At the same time, Huang pointed that mass media is commercialised.

In fact, it is not only mass media that is commercialised but also new media, which includes social networks. Girls’ Day is marked as a shopping festival by online retailers and the advertisements about online shopping for Girls’ Day are everywhere. Besides the consumption associated with Girls’ Day, females receive gifts from males as a regular custom. Baudrillard has explained the society of profusion objects, which can be used to explain what Chinese society is facing. Consumerism is surrounding the society, and for Chinese females in particular, consumption is a habit and hobby from which they gain happiness and the feeling of control. However, under the kidnap of fascinating advertisements and the attacks of sugar-coated patriarchy, Chinese females are confront with the identity formation problem. They cannot escape the patriarchal ideas. Hence, their awareness of feminism is nipped by fake kindness. Most of the interviewees remain in an unclear position of gender equality, and the road to reaching the moment

of awaking moment is long.

Reflecting back on the study, I suppose that some questions about Chinese females' identity issues and predicament have been answered. However, it is not the end of the study of this topic and its direction. Identity formation is related to various aspects, such as how other people interpret the female image and how females have been influenced to adjust and re-shape their identity, have not been discussed detail in this thesis. In addition, how Chinese males view the two labels "girl" and "woman", and what their attitudes toward feminism and gender issue are worthy researching. Since new media is becoming a core source of information for people now, we can also explore the questions such as new media's positive influence on gender issues, and how Chinese feminism can use new media to develop.

Finally, I want to finish this thesis by quoting one of the interviewees. I asked her if she had significant limitations because of her gender and ideas; she shared the lines from the TV series True Detective with me. I think it resembles feminism in China. Some feminists are working continually to enlighten the dark sky of the world of gender equality. Just as the series said, "You know, you're looking at it wrong, the sky thing. Once there was only darkness, if you ask me, the light is winning."

Reference

Adkins, Lisa. "Revisions Gender and Sexuality in Late Modernity." (2002).

Andrejevic, Mark, et al. "Participations: Dialogues on the participatory promise of contemporary culture and Politics." *International Journal of Communication* 8 (2014): 1089-1106.

Baidu, 2017, Girls' Day, [online], Available at:
http://baike.baidu.com/link?url=rnIZ6Ij8ZiHEHkxirQSS9UoBIBmP18W6EpNltEx1UKWcLlo-PnDzlJD6OJfG11DCgpaCPGAEXfN4N_u_WfSwl_, [Accessed, 7 April 2017]

Barrett, Michèle. "Women's Oppression Today the Marxist/Feminist Encounter." (1988).

Baudrillard, Jean. *The consumer society: Myths and structures*. Sage, 2017.

Bazeley, Patricia. *Qualitative data analysis: Practical strategies*. Sage, 2013.

BBC, The volume of trade on Single's Day in China broke 100 billion, [Online], Available
at: http://www.bbc.com/zhongwen/simp/china/2016/11/161111_alibaba_singles_day_e-s hopping_2016, [Accessed 30 April 2017]

Bird, S. Elizabeth. *The audience in everyday life: Living in a media world*. Psychology Press, 2003.

Braithwaite, Ann. "The personal, the political, third-wave and postfeminisms." *Feminist theory* 3.3 (2002): 335-344.

Byrne, David. "Case-based methods: Why we need them; what they are; how to do

them." The SAGE handbook of case-based methods (2009): 1-10.

Engels, Friedrich, and Tristram Hunt. The origin of the family, private property and the state. Penguin UK, 2010.

Erikson, E. H. (1968). Identity, youth and crisis. New York:Norton.

Frosh, Stephen. "Identity crisis: Modernity, psychoanalysis, and the self." (1991).

Giddens, Anthony. Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age. Stanford University Press, 1991.

Goffman, Erving. Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity. Simon and Schuster, 2009.

Goffman, Erving. The presentation of self in everyday life. Harmondsworth, 1978.

Google,[online], Available at:

https://www.google.se/?gfe_rd=cr&ei=idEcVoS0C6Or8weL95DoAw&gws_rd=ssl#q=%E5%A5%B3%E7%94%9F%E8%8A%82&tbm=nws. [Accessed 28th April 2017]

Hall, Stuart, and Paul Du Gay, eds. Questions of cultural identity. Vol. 126. London: Sage, 1996.

Harper, Douglas. "Small N's and community case studies." What is a case (1992): 139-158.

Hetherington, Kevin. Expressions of identity: Space, performance, politics. Sage, 1998.

Jensen, Klaus Bruhn, ed. A handbook of media and communication research: Qualitative and quantitative methodologies. Routledge, 2013.

Josselson, Ruthellen, and Michele Harway. "The challenges of multiple

identity." Navigating multiple identities: Race, Gender, culture, nationality, and roles (2012): 3-11.

Klapper, Joseph T. "The effects of mass communication." (1960).

Leung, Alicia SM. "Feminism in transition: Chinese culture, ideology and the development of the women's movement in China." *Asia Pacific journal of management* 20.3 (2003): 359-374.

Li Chong, Tsinghua University, [Online], Available at:http://www.tsinghua.edu.cn/publish/thunews/9650/2012/20120308150529157875483/20120308150529157875483_.html, [Accessed 7, April 2017]

Li Sipan, WeChat, [Online], Available at:http://mp.weixin.qq.com/s?__biz=MjM5NTUxOTc4Mw==&mid=402407253&idx=1&sn=5a3aa2c6bddc865956d01d0787321f6b&scene=2&srcid=0307VCSuo8bt0SbnpSrPJEGn&from=timeline&isappinstalled=0#wechat_redirect, [Accessed 7, April 2017]

McRobbie, Angela. *The aftermath of feminism: Gender, culture and social change*. Sage, 2009.

Miles, Matthew B., and A. Michael Huberman. *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. sage, 1994.

National Bureau Statistic of the People Republic of China, 2010, [Online], Available at: http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/tjgb/qttjgb/qgqttjgb/200203/t20020331_30606.html. [Accessed, 21 April 2017]

Saldaña, Johnny. *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Sage, 2009.

Sapir, Edward, and David Goodman Mandelbaum. *Selected writings of Edward*

Sapir in language, culture and personality. Vol. 342. Univ of California Press, 1985.

Silverstone, Roger. *Media and morality: On the rise of the mediapolis*. John Wiley & Sons, 2007.

The Supreme people's Court of PRC (1999)1094 conference, (2000)-1

Wagner, Peter. *A sociology of modernity: Liberty and discipline*. Routledge, 2002.

Weibo, [Online], Available

at:http://www.weibo.com/nuomiwang?is_search=1&visible=0&is_all=1&key_word=%E5%A5%B3%E7%94%9F%E8%8A%82&is_tag=0&profile_ftype=1&page=2#1491684616763, Accessed, 8 April 2017]

Weibo, [Online], Available

at:http://www.weibo.com/p/1008086effb55e8d1269d99559810559a7a894?k=%25E5%25A5%25B3%25E7%2594%259F%25E8%258A%2582%25E5%258F%2596%25E4%25BB%25A3%25E5%25A6%2587%25E5%25A5%25B3%25E8%258A%2582&from=526&_from_=huati_topic, [Accessed, 8 April 2017]

Whelehan, Imelda. *Modern Feminist Thought: From the Second Wave to Post-Feminism*. NYU Press, 1995.

Wikipedia, [Online], Accessed at:<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Douban>, [Accessed 10, April, 2017]

Wikipedia, [Online], Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Singles%27_Day, [Accessed 10, April 2017].

Zucker, Harold G. "The variable nature of news media influence." *Communication yearbook 2* (1978): 225-240.

戴蓓芬. "新媒体语境下女性新闻两极化的实质." [The truth of the polarization of

female news in new media]. 传媒观察 3 (2016): 28-31.

戴昭铭. 文化语言学导论. [Introduction to cultural linguistics]. 语文出版社, 1996.

东汉, and 许慎. "说文解字." [Shuo Wen Jie Zi: Analytical Dictionary of Characters] (1963).

高富强. "三八"妇女节为什么不能称作女人节 [Why can't we call March 8th as Females' Day?]. 中国妇女报, 2017-03-07(A03).

韩洁颖. 新媒体环境下消费主义文化对女性形象塑造的影响. [How consumerism culture influenced in forming females' images in new media time] MS thesis. 上海外国语大学, 2014.

黄菡. "试析大众传播中性别歧视的成因." [Analysis about the reason of gender discrimination in mass media]. 妇女研究论丛 2 (2002): 58-62.

雷思齐. "新媒体对女性消费行为的影响." 传播与版权 2 (2016): 117-118.

刘慧英. 走出男权传统的樊篱: 文学中男权意识的批判. 生活·读书·新知三联书店, 1995.

南储鑫. 变味的“女生节”掩盖性别平等初衷 [Girls' Day covers gender equality]. 中国妇女报, 2016-03-09(A01).

谢灿辉. "基于文化层面的中国式送礼行为分析." [The analysis of Chinese gift giving from cultural aspect] 企业导报 2 (2010): 246-246.

闫安. "新世纪校园“女生节”文化生成的社会学分析." [The sociological analysis of the reason how Girls' Day emerges in new century]. 出国与就业 8 (2010).

杨雨柯. "激进的女权标签——女权主义如何在媒介平台被污名化." [Aggressive

feminism label—how feminism is stigmatised in media]. 新闻与传播研究 B12 (2014): 94-109.

姚鹏. “三七”“三八”之争的文化隐喻[The meaning of March 7th and March 8th]. 中国妇女报,2016-03-10(A02).

姚雪. 从我国近五年流行语中看传媒女性形象变化.[The changes of females' images in media within recent 5 years]. MS thesis. 北京印刷学院, 2015.

曾艳兵. 女权主义与中国女性意识[Feminism and Chinese females' gender awareness]. 台州师专学报,1997,(01):16-24+36.

曾珍. "大学“女生节”现象的社会心理学思考." [social psychological analysis of Girls' Day]. Journal of Hubei University of Economics (Humanities and Social Sciences) 10.10 (2013).

钟丹丹. "浅析当代大学生对媒体中女性形象的认知." [How current university students interpret females' images in media] 新闻界 5 (2003): 15-16.

衷敬锐, 李丹, 糯米改姓百度, 首战造“女生节”阻击阿里[Nuomi created Girls' Day to compete with Ali], 重庆商报, 20140307-B17

周蕾. 革命、仪式与性别——国际妇女节的传入与国民革命时期的国际妇女节 [Revolution, ceremony and gender—the introduction of international Women's Day and the Women's Day in National Revolution]. 妇女研究论丛,2011,(02):56-63.

Appendix

1. Introduction of Interviewee

Interviewee	Gender	Age	Job	Marriage situation	Location	Interview time
1	Female	27	Student	Unmarried	Malmö, Sweden	2017.02.17
2	Female	27	UI designer	Unmarried	Shanghai, China	2017.02.18
3	Female	19	Student	Unmarried	Nanjing, China	2017.02.21
4	Female	32	Employee of a Tobacco company	Married, has a daughter	Mangshi, China	2017.03.04
5	Female	52	Civil Servant	Divorced, has a son	Mangshi, China	2017.03.04
6	Female	33	IR director	Unmarried	Beijing, China	2017.03.05
7	Female	17	Student	Unmarried	Kunming, China	2017.03.05
8	Female	25	Restaurant manager	Married, has a son	Mangshi, China	2017.03.06
9	Female	48	Journalist and editor	Married, has a son	Kunming, China	2017.03.06
10	Female	28	Graphic designer	Unmarried	Beijing, China	2017.03.09
11	Female	32	Lawyer	Unmarried	Shanghai, Beijing	2017.03.18

2. Consent Letter

访谈同意书

本人自愿参与由瑞典隆德大学（Lund University）传播与媒体学院硕士研究生姜之端进行的毕业论文研究：新媒体时代中国女权主义思想的进步与退—关于女生节的案例研究。我本人明白该采访所得的资料和数据将仅用于姜之端硕士毕业论文的研究，不会用作其他用途。我被告知且明白其他事项：

1. 我本人参与此项研究为自愿且不会被给予报酬。我可以在任何情况下暂停或者终止采访且不受到任何惩罚。如果本人选择退出采访，不会受到任何个人及组织的阻止。
2. 我明白改次采访的内容是关于女权主义意见领袖在中国新媒体的相关问题，采访形式为如果本人在采访中感到任何生理或心理的不适，我有权拒绝回答该问题或者暂停，甚至终止采访。
3. 我明白此次采访由隆德大学的学生姜之端进行，时长约为 40 分钟至一个小时。采访过程中，采访者可以进行笔记记录。同时我也明白采访过程会被录音，并且录音会被整理为书面形式以便用于分析和论文撰写。如果本人不想采访过程被录音，那么该采访即为无效。如果访谈者有研究需要希望进一步了解和补充部分访谈内容，本人将视情况提供更多信息。
4. 我明白在采访及本次研究中，本人的真实姓名不会呈现在最终论文中，任何组织和个人无法通过本次采访和研究得知本人真实身份信息情况。
5. 我充分明白且被告知该采访及研究的相关问题，自愿参与此研究。
6. 我持有此双方签字认可的同意书一份。

受访者签名：

采访日期：

采访者签名：

采访日期：

3. Interview Questions

To audience:

1. Media using habit

What kinds of media do you use most? (cite 3)

How long do you spend time online?

What kinds of topics or information do you care most when you are using Internet?

Could you introduce some of you favorite bloggers/ celebrities / accounts? What kind of context do they usually post? Why do you like them?

Have you followed or known some feministic account or bloggers?

2. Girls' Day

Do you know about Girls' day?

When and how do you know that?

Have you celebrated Girls' Day? How did you celebrate it?

What's your opinion about Girls' Day?

Have you see any Girls' day's information/ post/ commercial? Where did you know those information about the day?

Have you said "Happy Girls' Day" to other female? Have you been wished from others in Girls' Day?

Did you ever post anything about girls' Day in social network?

Have you seen any slogan banners in university campus? Can you give me some examples? What do you think of the university students motions about the girls' day?

Have you heard or experienced some Girls' day's special treat? How about that?

What do you feel about the special treat in Girls' Day?

Do you think females deserve the special treat from males? Like pay for bills, gifts?

Have you seen any Girls' Day's sale commercial? Have you shopped for the special discount? What do you think of the discount? Do you think that id different from new year discount or Christmas discount?

(The same questions about Women's day)

What is the difference between women and girls? Do you think the word "girl" is better than "women"? why?

Do you use woman or girl more often in life? In which situation? How do you call other female?

Do you prefer be called women or girl? Why?

Have you accepted male (female)'s present? For which reason?

Do you expect male's gift in Girls' day or in other days? And why?

3. More general about feminism:

Do you think it's equal for Chinese men and women nowadays? What do you think is gender equality? Could you explain it?

Have you felt discriminated or been treated differently because of your gender?

Could you share the experience?

Do you know about feminism? How did you know about it? what do you think of feminism?

(if the interviewee said he/she followed some opinion leaders:

how do you know this blogger/ feminist? What does he/she usually post on his/her blog/ micro-blog?

Do you agree with her opinions? why?

Have you ever post or communicate your personal ideas about gender equality online or with your friends? What did you do ?

To influencer:

1. media using

Which media do you use to post your opinions about feminism?

What do you usually do on that media? (writing article, reposting...)

How often do you use new media tools to post feministic ideas?

Why do you choose the media as your platform/ tools?

2. About feminism

When and how did you know about feminism or gender equality issues?

Why do you start to spread/ post feministic information and your opinions?

Is that because of your own experience or...?

What do you expect when writing your opinions or sharing feministic information?

More people to know or...?

When and how do you know Girls' Day?

What do you feel when you know it at the first time?

I saw that you posted/ wrote the article to critique this day, but many girls are still enjoy the special treat from male, what do you think about it?

How do you comment about Girls' day's discount and online retailer sale?

Do you think females can or should accept males' gifts and treat? If they accept, does it mean they depend themselves on material satisfaction?

What do you think is the main reason that many female are asking for better treatment, do you think their request are reasonable or ...?

What's your definition of girl and woman?

According to your posts/ article, why do you against Girls' Day so much?

Have your provided any help to the campaign "Against Girls' Day"? Do you think that more female will realize the problem?

Do you think that Chinese women are equal as Chinese men nowadays? If not, can you explain it and give me some examples?

What do you think is the most difficult part for everyone has the awareness of feminism?

In the micro-blog/ we-chat/ Douban, you got more supports/ critics from the comments? Will you replay to them or discuss with them?

How about your followers' identities? More women or men? Old or young age?

Education background?

What do you think cyberspace as a place/tool to spread feminism? More free or more critiques?

What kind of misunderstanding have you met as a feminist or famous blogger?

What do you think of Chinese rustic feminism?

4. Coding Tablet

Theme	Category	Codes
Identity	Appellation of women/girl	Dislike being called girl, old lady, old woman, I am a woman, feminism bitch, feminism cancer, avoid using woman, woman and girl sounds different and has different meanings, girl is cuter while woman is more mature, women means married, little girl, beautiful girl, appellation stands for manners, any appellation can be used if one wants, girls are female students, woman is mid-aged, different way under special situation, habitual/ common calling, generation/age matters, women = mid-aged female, has kid, girl is more enjoyable than woman, girls is a hard-to-reached appellation, young student is girl, confidence decides the using and feeling, just a symbol and calling way, doesn't matter at all, misuse of appellation, shows psychological problems, labor women, I am a famous feminist,
	Image	Anti-traditional, anti-pressing, community identity, dance square dance, beautiful, not a feminist, girls should be polite and elegant, before/after marriage, girls are young female, different from mid-aged women, girls are free and has less duties, woman has more responsibilities, women take care of family, manly women: do men's job, has personal hobbies, like literature and art, sports clothes and high tail hair, being girls is better than being a woman, good-temper, after 35 years old, both good performance in career and family, love life, women match with men, not an opinion leader, over 20 years old, has family, mature in body and mental world, asexualist, define sb by his ability and characteristics, not virgin female, born feminist, independent, completed, mature, working, in school, man can be feminist
	Background/ experience	Academic background, have education, response, before bachelor, sociology student, propaganda, have done research, study gender issue, contacts with western feminism ideas, similar experience calls understanding, unawareness phenomena, teachers' educating leads to misunderstanding, male feminists less than female feminists, many people are asking for help, personal experience is precious, know girls' day from others, being joked by some men's behaviour,

		<p>girls' rights department becomes PR department, emphasize on Girls' day rather than women's day, less females students gain more attention, educated by teacher, friends spread feminism ideas, opinion leader about feminism, girls are bad luck of a family, never celebrated girls' day, conflicts between two generation, less promoting chance than male colleague, division of work role in career, worked in the women's federation, less contacts leads to less knowledge, women's day does not cover students, educate young girl of certain behaviour ways, widely exists practical life problems, work affect the interest and attention, heard of girls' day, family's influence, no experience of unfair treatment, know about girls' day in fiction, girls' day is an enjoyable day, sacrifice private time after having kid, husband's ignorance, life style changes after having kid, need to take care of family and business, totally unequal with my husband, cannot divorce, no family support, consist hurt from husband, different education to son and daughter, no personal experience of being discriminated, saw or heard some unequal cases, indirectly influenced, current environment force me to care, the sense of work responsibility, being blocked in social network, super sad of other's suffering, mild feminist no aggressive test, personal social behavior being limited,</p>
--	--	--

	Feeling/ attitude/ opinions	<p>Feels different, to know the things happen around, negative self-inspect, disagreement is discussion/ progress, support & against & doesn't care, not totally agree but will read, no special interest, no idea about a new day before, women are old females, women have responsibilities to themselves, Chinese men and women are unequal, girls deserve special treatment: protection/ gifts, strong against being called "woman", gender unequal things exists, prefer son than girl, girls have duty of protecting themselves VS parents need to surveillance, young female is not a total independent individual, man and women should be equal and work hard, no private time and life, married women has less chance of social, women's day is similar to girls' day, Girls day is just in china, confirm the function of girls' day, too many festival is confusing, gender inequality is widely exists, cannot be avoided, yield to common habit, the gap between daily life and theoretical knowledge, Women's day is not an important festival, Girls' day is not formal festival, absent of feeling, Women's day does not suit girls, girls' day is interesting and fresh, girls deserve wishes and gift in special days, women's day are mid-aged women's day, annoy about being called women, young girl felt very equal, should be the same in family duties, being limited no freedom, does not care about women's day, strong prefer of beauty, women's day does not related to life, did not feel discriminated much, celebration is an excuse of entertainment, Girls' day does not help with women's right, women's day suits all ages women, admit women's grade in family life, no choice, the moment to take action, change happens if you take action, resistance of women's day, girls' day is absurd, women are stigmatized, various representation of one, stigmatizing of women need to solve, division of opinions, indecent conception, hate and against of Girls' day, strong opponent, not a shame, people need to show sympathy, advocate of women's day, some people absent of merci, cannot be absolutely negative, some ideas are ridiculous, different opinions about social issue,</p>
	Knowledge of feminism	<p>Know too less, don't think about it, can't learn from school, update, misunderstanding of feminism, formal subject, gender study, easy access, restricted in habitual thinking mode, absent of criticize life phenomena, objective communication, dis-label and objective, focus on content, kol is anti-</p>

<p>Awareness</p>		<p>democratic, opinions should be equal, enlightening people to think to criticize, refuse blind following, slut shaming, know about Women's day but refuse to celebrate, have their own understanding of feminism, some feminism naturally is egoism, reproductive rights belongs to both man and woman, no clear idea about the origin of Women's day, women's day is mom's day, misunderstand feminism is women over men, feminism is Matriarchal society, work and motion distinguished by gender, ambiguous knowledge of women's day, big woman idea, girls day shows the opponent of women, women's day is for every female, countryside women has limited knowledge of feminism, employment situation celebrate women's day, education and knowledge relate to the awareness of feminism and female rights, ambiguous knowledge, depends on individual's understanding, textbook feminism and current feminism, people's general idea, changes from time to time, better now, men are absent of it, anti-pressing, no good knowledge, doesn't know about women's day's origin, respect need discussion not only follow, women's day is for improving women's position and rights, ambivalent feminism, keep learning, double effects, improved women rights, too much, gender division has its reason, no need to insist too much, gender equality stays in verbal level, gender is a historical problem, gentle man rules are unequal care, very clear ideas about feminism, historical meaning, very hard and sacred, part of personal sense,</p>
<p>Activities</p>		<p>Change online name, communicate with school, show banner, broadcast, online to offline, want to write about gender issue, reflection of education, attend in feminism activities, write down personal experience, let other people understand, blog reflects the political participation, readings lead to think, difficulties from online to offline, attention to gender issue is basement, real action is very precious, activities mean pressure and challenge, different actions all help, different focus of female rights, share my knowledge to others, keep writing, repost depends on the audience, involved in girls' day celebration, ambiguous education ideas: follow social rules or insist equal, vanity showing, educating son to protect and care female, write comment and spread, successful action encourage more attention, influence friends and relative's conception, big courage, doing with belief, avoid debatable topics and discussion, read feminism</p>

		works, write legal articles, contact other woman, donate,
Culture	Social relationship	Our group, more people, other people, comment from others, her husband, gifts show the close relationship, human no compulsory responsibility to others, display of affection, similar value and thinking can communicate, generation gap about marriage and relationship, girls' day becomes official celebration in universities, senior students influence junior students, mutual gift giving, friends commendation is important, paying bill depends on relationship, friends are more important than parents in some ideas, sacrifice personal social net when women have kids, leads to different appellation, more practical topics in social, follow social interaction rules, topics are fragments and practical, friends cannot help much with domestic violence, less contact with friends, respect in relationship needs mutual understanding, showing gift is common social ways, friend's experience influenced much, influence friends and relative's conception, age and generation differ the topics,
	Linguistic	Derivation, political vocabulary, language and tone are personal habit, women use cursing words are unwelcome, women's' day are translated/ imported stuff,
	Location	Our school, other schools, university campus, school has lectures about feminism, small town absent of popular information, girls' day posters are everywhere in the university campus, border area, countryside women know less, knowledge gap between rural women and urban women, north east people are very androcentric, our locals are better, different places split in gender issue, some places are better,
	Society situation	Women's social position worse, ranking falling, more attention arise, less benefits and rights for women, revolution history, deny reality, unequal gender structure, common problem exists, social environment affects personal destiny, cannot change old ideas now, condition is getting better, girls day is more and more popular, Girls' day is a trend, atmosphere of celebrating women's day, development of gender knowledge, women's day celebrating is not compulsory and very popular, ignorance and indifference of domestic violence, androcentrism, audience indifference, workplace has more competition and conflict, men has advantages in working, passive atmosphere of gender issue in

		China, negative news show more frequently, current issue influenced widely, materializing women and stigmatized them, equal women's value with their age/outlooking/sexuality, the trend is better, habitual misunderstanding, gender problem: domestic violence, marriage exploiting, etc., publicly discuss virginity, high education background can also discriminate women, strong woman case exists, spotlight character, ignore the truth, males declaim responsibilities, situation is terrible,
	Cultural habit	Sexual meaning, patriarchy society, preference of young females, shopping helps becoming beautiful, feminism is women overwhelm than men, women still need to depend on men, gender equal has reached, gifts stands for partner's love, not compulsory of gift, indirect hints of gift, common ideas about feminism: stronger, more independent than men/ focus on career, male employee has different work from female, discrimination of gender, women should be domestic, social opinions presses married women, discrimination of married/ old women in employment, gender division in work, young female also get influenced, a day off in Women's day for student (because female teachers get a day off), women have more family duties, women's day is different festival from traditional festival, paying bill is appreciated, domestic violence is domestic issue, gather and just watch habit, women should take care of family shores and kids, showing gift provides inside satisfaction, minorities habit, special requirement to women, man has advantage in inherit wealth, gender angle and habit, women has more responsibilities in production, unequal salary, living right of female, women need be cared, stereotype: women only care beauty, expectation of woman: mild, gentle, lollowing,
Politics	Institution	School, relate department, company tradition, government has fixed activities for women's day, local women's federation emphases, government and official department is more equal in gender issue, government is important force to improve women's rights, school education about Women's day, family environment and atmosphere decrease feeling of unequal truth, domestic unequal, police ignore domestic problem, government commit member, some department surveillance, the court broke laws,
	Attitude	Gender already equal form official statement, serious atmosphere, personal

		<p>experience with political issue, keep a tradition of treating females, rules and policy about women's day, special treat from company, women's day as a common festival, ritual activities but necessary, various activities to unite/educate/treat women, stop feminism opinions spreading, employment afraid of improper public speech, try to cover the truth, clear up some hot topic, suppressing feminism, emphasize women go back to family, sparkplug traditional value,</p>
Media	New media using comment	<p>, big influence, resource, very effective, gain much knowledge, click times, communicating ways, no-structured, vanward represents, comments, discussion, lead to other article, influence, communication with internet users, externalize emotion, different using goal, anonymous internet, supply more knowledge, learn about different angels, platform function, various opinions can communicate and discuss, supporting from interaction, release negative mood, more active mode, more audiences, start of caring every female, more relative chance, more challenge and blaming, daily media resource, new ideas and acceptance, independent and special blogger, sharing experience makes people feel real, other's idea cannot decide people's thinking, without internet- without new knowledge, daily habits, social media is important, interest leads using ways, work requirement, read what is recommended, habitual news resource, performance platform, , highly involved, 90% resource, internet culture stigmatize women's day, limited information circle, some influence, a big chance, free expressing, more audience, challenge, more critiques, bigger influence, spreading fast, campaign division, extreme ideas confront, privacy being invaded,</p>

	<p>New media Using habit</p>	<p>Social network, follow, new information, write blog, by interest making friends online, web portals are popular, provide information of new things, no contact after work, work intention of using searching engine, limited time of internet using, no target information requirement, instead old shopping ways, no target information requirement, instead old shopping ways, specific follow subject and celebrities, post various context and pics, detailed browse, picky in choosing information, use more to express opinions, all-day online, changes of media, being controlled or restricted,</p>
	<p>Traditional media</p>	<p>Main stream, no reports of female rights, no reading books, watching TV news, knowledge resource, TV program as hobby, textbook is major resource, model influence of fashion, absent of women issue report, a necessary method, traditional media “get online”, improper TV program trigger discussion, speaking right was monopolized,</p>
<p>Consum erism</p>	<p>Business</p>	<p>Commercial, won't buy, lip stick economy, economy downturn, buy luxury but not too expensive stuff, higher income than women, happiness relates to materials, the trick of shopping, disvalue your value, force you shopping, terrible commercial and attitude, females' business value is important, depreciate women, insulting way, naked women attract attention, fast selling, limited version strategy, economy can be problem in relationship, many advertisements on girls' day, commercial speculation, income does not influenced family position, being criticized by no income, commercial spread new information, marketing target, everywhere, trigger consuming willing, Chines economy does improved, some commercials make comfortable, encourage female to consume male, dispel women's other value, does not make sense, sale is normal activity, against misguiding shopping, recommendation article is meaningless,</p>
	<p>Consumption</p>	<p>Vanity, flaunt wealth, wish list, no waste, surprise, choose right products, care the other's feeling, single effort, reasonable and fixed requirement, paying proves his love, comparison with friends, minimalism, decrease needs, personal choice, recommendation, choose appropriate products, sensible, compare behavior, waste energy and time, chasing beauty, festival means shopping, shopping under certain situation, personal shopping habits, pay attention in daily</p>

		<p>life about price, shopping behaviour depends on the products, internet information is shopping reference, final decision made by consumer themselves, equal in paying bill, boy should pay more, online shopping is important way, shopping is a hobby, shopping doesn't necessarily mean buying stuffs, the enjoyment from shopping (various satisfaction from products, online information guides shopping willing, consuming is a way of celebrating, economy condition matters, age affects consuming choice, shopping habit change with age, specific prefer of brand and products, price matters, a complicated issue, women's shopping may be family behavior, corrupt and low interest, deserve criticized,</p>
	<p>Gifts</p>	<p>Gifts can be a burden, catalyzer of happiness, stands for love, let you feel happy, satisfies vanity, a way of expressing love, a common social phenomenon, feel being loved when getting gifts, delight life, necessary in holiday, no specific requirement, mutual giving, using husband's money to buy his gift, stop accepting gifts, never ask for gift, showing gifts satisfied social expectation, necessary for girls in girls' day, gift is a form but content matters, mutual gift giving, gift stands for ceremonial sense, all have gift receiving experience, required gift or positive giving, more from husband to wife, gift giving may have other reason, situation and relationship define the behaviour, gift is not necessary represent of love.</p>