Reports, Trends and Debates Upon Chinese Mainland Gender-stigmatized Issues: A Literature Review 2000-2020

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ABSTRACT
In China, research mostly focuses on the stigmatized who are highly representative to a relatively less marginal or minor group in the society such as low-income rural migrant workers in cities. The perceptions of the stigma of diverse conditions are subjected to vague and personalized characteristics. The online environment gives rise to more problems on stigma-related research with its traits of anonymity, uncertainty, and low traceability which is especially true in China with the poor administration of online information back to about 2016 and before. This research focuses on three specific female groups in China, the “Fu girls”, female PhDs, and the “Green Tea Bitch”. Based on the analysis of the audience, the “Fu girls” comments, the research points out the connection between Boy’s Love television, literary works as well as a gender issue. The analysis of a former paper with the same subject, female PhDs, on social media is demonstrated, and the research wraps up a network archaeology study about the word “Green Tea Bitch”. Chinese traditional patriarchal ideology builds the foundation of its society, which leads to the unavoidable tremendous amount of paper discussing from a patriarchal perspective. The study indicates that the female groups lose the right to speak or stand out in online environments, yet they are the subjects of specific situations or topics that denote the overall unequal right to express between genders in China, somehow proves the long-existing male gaze.

Keywords: Social Stigma, Chinese Female, Gender Study.

1. INTRODUCTION
The discussion of stigma can be referred back to Erving Goffman’s (1963) famous book Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity, back then stigma has been described as an “attribute that is deeply discrediting” and reduces the bearer “from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one” [1]. There have been discussions and researches of stigma ever since, as stigma is an effect so powerful and far-ranging. Yet to give out a specific definition of this word can be hard since this word is widely used by scholars from a variety of different field. Link’s conceptualization is widely accepted which suggested that stigma exists when the five interrelated components converge: tagging, prototyping, status loss, social segregation, and social discrimination [2]. With this conceptualization, most studies are concerning ethnic and gender minorities, for example, North American prejudice researchers have long focused on Black–White intergroup relations [3]. There are also studies done on the health and disparities caused by stigma. Studies employing the minority stress framework have concluded that exposure to a variety of these stressors is related to a multitude of mental health problems including mood and anxiety disorders, subthreshold depressive symptoms, substance misuse, and suicide ideation, as well as lower levels of psychological and social well-being [4].

In western countries, there have been many pieces of research on stigma over the past decades, but in China, the research on stigma appeared to be a topic that has not gotten that much attention. Early stages of discussions on stigma are mainly around minority groups, such as the...
individuals who have AIDS or “Rural migrant workers in cities” [5, 6]. With years of development, more researches have been added to this field. Yet they are mostly still concerning very specific groups, such as teachers “Self-made men” and such [7, 8]. Yet all these researches have formed around Link’s conceptualization, and focusing on the groups that are either less in numbers, or very low on social status. The stigma and discrimination against these people are solid, yet the researches can have little effects since the bearer often suffers the stigma and stereotype from their multiple characteristics, and the influence of stigma can only be observed from the perpetrator side since the perpetration is solid yet the action of receiving and reacting to the perpetrations are vague. Also, the bearers are groups of people who have distinct characteristics and the discriminations come right from their traits. Yet the stigma that originated from the internet is more generalized and discriminates on people who have very vague traits, the effect of this phenomenon is that the tags and discriminations against individuals are accepted by more people than expected, which could cause greater problems than conventional stigmatization.

Some scholars have been doing researches on stigma on the internet. Zhang has stated that the traits of modern communication have led to the appearance of generalization-stigma, as the bearer of stigma has expanded, from the traditional groups such as ethnic and gender minority groups to the generalized groups. Since people’s cognition are formed by the virtual “facts”, therefore, once a negative impression of a group has been established, the perpetration of stigma can happen [9]. The internet can weaken some factors contributing to Link’s conceptualization. Since people are anonymous on the internet, the status and power differences are reformed, people that are traditionally considered with power shares the same say as others. Therefore, they can be the bearer of stigma sometimes, which is also true to the people with higher status. This research gives examples of the proceeding situations. Green Tea Bitch is used to describing models, who often have power, and “Female PhDs” who are conventionally considered with higher social status are also the ones that people discriminated against.

2. THREE NOTIONS OF CHINESE MEDIA ENVIRONMENT BASED SOCIAL STIGMA

2.1. Green tea’s influence and transformation

The word “Green tea” (hereinafter called “GT”) that this article currently uses refers to “Green tea Bitch” (hereinafter called “GTB”) which seemed to have its origin from the movie “Green tea” which describes a woman who constantly goes on blind dates with different kinds of men and always orders a cup of green tea when dating with them [10]. There is no solid evidence stating that the word comes from this movie or anything connected to it. This word is first known to the public in February 2013, when “Several Tricks Remain”, a Weibo Verified User (verified users are mostly celebrities) chooses this word commenting on the appearance of a girl, describing her as “seemed to be innocent, sentimental most times, yet who knows how many boyfriends you have got” [11]. A similar definition of this word can be found later on Douban under a post on 1st April 2013 titled: “How to Identify GTB”. This post also listed 24 specifications of a “GTB” yet there are only a few responses to this post, and the specifications in the post are rarely used now.

The word becomes widely spread when a local social activity named “Feast of the sea” took place, in Southern China, April 2013. In this event, some famous models are accused of being involved in prostitution and the word GTB was used to describe them. For they look pure from the outside yet are doing prostitute work for the rich during that event. The word then became widely spread and was used to describe women of all sorts, people ask: “Help me to Identify if this is a GTB” and then gives a description of the actions of a woman. Viewers of this post will give their opinions below. At this period, the definition of this word is unsettled and caused lots of discussions. The unrestrained usage had not only let lots of people know the meaning and the definition of “GT” but also caused some girls to protest against this word on street. A Chinese report shows that the earliest public protest took place on the 11th of April, 2013 [12].

In the year, 2014, the word “Green tea” is shown to the public again which a new meaning, and this time it is connected to a woman Zhang Zetian, also known as the “Milk tea sister” who is now the wife of the CEO of a successful company. People use this word as an insult, indicating that “Milk tea sister” has the same characteristics as GTB. The meaning of this word is also shifted from “doing prostitution work” to “cheat on her boyfriend” at that time. Yet if this woman is indeed cheating or if this is just a libel remains unknown, no matter the truth, the marriage of the Milk tea sister attracts so much attention that makes the word and its new meaning even more popular.

From that time, appearance is eliminated from the list of specifications of if a woman is a GTB, the specifications focused more on actions and behaviors of the individuals. This means, to be a GTB, the woman no longer has to be pretty. The meaning of GTB at this moment is vague, so lots of posts were titled: “Please tell me if she is a GTB”, and most of the time people will get a positive answer for that question. At this period, people cite less on the original posts that are seen as the creation of this word, so this is the time that the meaning and definition of this word changed significantly. From posts titled “Confused, Is This Green Tea? What Shall I do?” and such a similar kind, an opposite meaning of GTB is
also implied by some feminists or those who disapprove of the discrimination on the female by GTB labeling.

People started to develop a newer and more positive meaning of this word, someone even mentioned that she would like to be such a character. There are four groups concerning GTB on Douban, and three of them are positive. “Why people dislike GTB?” gains some content producers’ attention. Under that post, it can be concluded that several points of the definition, which includes pretty, high EQ, good at pretending and also preference to the men who already have a girlfriend. (yet the poster stated that she would not want to be such a person).

We can clearly see how this word changed, prostitute work is no longer involved, instead, liked the ones who already have a girlfriend is added to the list. The meaning of “looks innocent, yet doing prostitute work” is augmented to “good at pretending”. And as they are good at pretending, there is a saying that men are unable to identify a GTB from other girls, this leads to two other intensions of GTB, which makes the word expresses more inclusive meanings.

Apart from this, articles and videos concerning how to identify GTB were booming, which all gives out certain detailed actions and expressions used by the GTB. The expressions they use are: “I am so stupid, unlike your girlfriend, and I envy her wisdom.”

Another intension of this word is developed since men think themselves sometimes in trouble to identify GTB, and as GTB was considered to be the ones who especially liked the men who already have a girlfriend, the image of GTB suddenly changed to “the hinder of family integrity”.

Through time the word Green Tea Bitch turns into Green tea, which seems less insulting, yet the intensions remained the same. People tagged someone GT when seen the sort of expressions listed above. Eighteen years past and among those insulting words that were once popular through the “Feast of the Sea”, yet the only GTB remains. This phenomenon can be explained through three factors. Firstly, Green Tea is itself is a word with a positive meaning, unlike other discriminating words against women, GT refers to a type of tea that is liked by lots of Chinese. This is why that this word of stigmatization has its vitality throughout all these years, many people have been discussing this topic, yet very few women who felt insulted has stood out to shout against it. By eliminating “Bitch” from GTB, GT gets another booming of popularity, it’s discriminative nature can be even ignored in this time, this is why GT becomes acceptable for both men and women to discuss on a daily basis. Secondly, the meaning and intentions of GT are still vague, sometimes it is the synonym of debauched woman, while in other circumstances it means the type of expression listed above. It is not a direct insult to any type of people, so the stigma within this word is successfully hidden. Thirdly, there are some positive aspects of the word. No matter how the word evolves, the intension of “high IQ” and “successful is seducing men” is always included. The perpetration of stigma is wrapped in this positive meaning which makes it more acceptable, for some women even showed the will of being a GTB. The positive aspects would make people be noticed the women while they hate them since these women get what people wanted through disregarded actions.

Last but not least, the capital behind the formation of this word should also be noticed. Throughout the history of this word, “being pretty” is a major concern, as Jean Baudrillard stated, the interpretation of the consumer body is an important part of the consuming actions nowadays, and by using this word to create some sort of anxiety, more cosmetics can be sold [13].

2.2. LGBT culture and the female imagination influenced

Boy’s Love television and literature works are new popularity in China’s market. Boy’s Love works mean the romantic relationship between gay, which refers to cartoons, novels, movies and television works after entering into the Chinese market. Famous Boy’s Love works include novels like “Saye” and “Camouflage Slag”, films like “Farewell My Concubine” and “Call Me by Your Name” and Television work like “The Untamed”.

The relationship between gender identity and LGBT identity is worthy of explaining. By analyzing the development of Boy’s Love works like “Call Me by Your Name” and “Saye”, the gender issue under the LGBT shows a similar transformation in the development of Green Tea.

“Call Me by Your Name” describes the romantic attraction between Timothee Chalamet and Armie Hammer, which composites issues like music, books, sunshine, summer, conversation, and no smartphone. The thumbing up data of comments collected in Douban (A Chinese version of Rotten Tomatoes) contains quite long passages. One writes: “Delicate, beautiful, lazy, with floating life if the dream of the breath. While most of us wait until adolescence to put our unenlightened sexual awakening into practice, the movie offers a unique “boyhood” in gay cinema. This boy Timothee Chalamet was the most beautiful thing in the world, and his every smile, from his toes to his hair, drove people crazy. Call me by your name, cause You’re MINE at this moment”, or “Too much-staying power, intoxicated in the emotional and audio-visual atmosphere of the film can not extricate themselves. A long shot under a statue, a late-night date touch, a late-night dance with a stranger outside a church. In the end, all the utopian beauty was frozen in the Italian town in the summer of the early 1980s, just like the hot, pure and secret desires and
emotions my father said, as well as the one I had tried my best to explore, love, lose and break my heart, no longer” [14]. Both the two comments received over eight thousand likes. 56.4% of 541469 individuals give five points (The highest level in the rating system for DouBan), and more than 170000 audience writes their feelings, cognition, and understandings on the DouBan Website, which demonstrates the popularity of this gay film in China. Compared to Call Me by Your Name, “Saye” is a local Chinese novel about hope and salvation between Cheng Jiang and Fei Gu, two LGBT youths. From the supporting data collected in Zhihu, 9886 individuals comment, and the comprehensive score for “Saye” is 93%. Saye’s content in Zhihu gains more than 18 thousand thumbing up data, comparing to other answers of other popular novels which also describes the love between heterosexual, only gain less than 100 thumbing up data.

In “Call Me by Your Name” and “Saye”, the protagonists are gay (LGBTQ stigmatized group), and one person in each couple undertakes a female character, though his biological gender is men. Boy-Love novels’ writers are usually female, and their audiences are also females. From the beginning, “Boy’s Love (BL) culture although as a subculture with obvious minority characteristic, but with its unique aesthetic characteristic to attract many audiences. In a consumerist society, women have become an indispensable consumer subject, and their needs and hobbies have never been taken seriously by producers, which also creates opportunities for the spread of BL artwork” [15].

For further explanation of popularity in BL artwork, Gay are protagonists, which means men are consumed objects for audiences. In traditional Chinese movies or television works, which describe the romantic heterosexual relationship, women are the ones who are usually saved by men, or play as a consumed object. The transfer of consumed identity encourages women to pursue gender equality and their unprecedented initiative though most of the television works in the market are aimed to gain profits from consumers. Moreover, Gay as LGBT identity is a sensitive and private topic comparing to the relatively sensitive atmosphere in China. Therefore, more audiences are attracted due to novelty. The audiences are tired of similar description in a heterosexual romantic relationship, some of them can even guess the rest of the plots after reading parts of that literature work or watching a few episodes of the television works. Audiences are not familiar with homosexual love expression, so they start to follow Boy-Love with interest and purpose of entertainment. The last reason is about peer pressure or observational learning. Most female audiences are after the 90s or 00s, which means students are a large part of consumers in the Boy’s Love works market. Their daily conversations include discussion about highly recommended Boy’s Love novels. To fit in with the group, those girls who do not know about Boy’s Love works chose to read the novels, which inspires the spread of Boy’s Love artwork. The females for Boy’s Love works are defined as “Fu Girl” who likes the novels or television works of the romantic relationship between gay. To satisfy “Fu Girl” needs to better enjoy the romance, Boy’s Love works’ characters are usually men who “Fu Girl” like, for example, possessive ad mature man coupled with young boy. The characters’ writers created usually have an appealing appearance, excellent academic achievement in high school or graduating from top universities in China.

However, the true gay group is not as glamorous as gay described in novels and television. According to a national survey of LGBT students in Mainland China, though the majority feel safe living and learning at school, more than 85% of students have mental health problems, and more than 40% of students feel depressed, even have suicidal thoughts. Meanwhile, LGBT students report experiencing bullying, discrimination, and other negative events in school. The description of gay in Boy’s Love television works to drown out the real voices of the gay community in real life. The Top and bottom theory are also popular in Boy’s Love novels. Attacking is the identity distinction between two boys in Boy’s Love culture. Reportedly, “attacking belongs to the actor in the sexual relationship and receiving belongs to the subject in the sexual relationship” [16]. Actually, attacking is usually defined as man characters, and receiving is usually defined as woman characters in a heterosexual sexual relationship. However, with the continuous expansion of BL culture, this classification standard has been unable to meet the needs. “Attack is the ACG field of the Boy’s Love special noun, should not be used in the reality of gay men, they have an attack by a similar special noun, that is, 1 and 0, now the BL culture of the relationship between the attack is more common that is: attack for 1, by 0.” With the further promotion of Boy’s Love culture, some people will also apply the attack to real gay men. However, “Fu Girls” define attacking and receiving in a gay sexual relationship due to their satisfaction, they ignore that it is not necessary to create so-called top and bottom, or gender identities like man character (attacking actor) and woman character (receiving subject) in traditional Chinese culture. In a gay’s relationship, two men can both act as attacking actor, or eliminate the concept of attacking or receiving, which exists in a heterosexual relationship and works as stigma toward gay relationship, for example, “out of respect for the gay men, the 2-D world and the 3-D world should make a clear distinction, do not let the 2-D world nouns created by the women to replace the 3-D world gay men themselves created proper nouns.”
The dichotomy is manifest when analyzing the relationship between Elio and Oliver, because of their special identities—two men—audiences would always distinguish their woman and man characters like normal Boy’s Love work, which forms a receiving character and attacking character. Elio is the representation of the image of a fragile boy, delicate features and erotogenic and obscure expression, while Oliver is more mature, sedate and intelligent. Audiences can straightforwardly indicate Oliver as attacking one (man character) and Elio as receiving one (female character). However, some audiences who love Call Me by Your Name express that they feel lost after watching it, and they can hardly choose a specific word to describe the movie about passionate gay love. It is expressed whether the classification of LGBT is meaningful when considering Call Me by Your Name. Though the movie’s content is about the relationship between two men, Elio and Oliver do not receive others’ stigmatization or discrimination due to their gender, and Elio’s parent also support their relationship (“Look, you had a beautiful friendship, maybe more than friendship. I envy you. In my place, most parents would hope the whole thing goes away. Pray for their sons to land on their feet, but I am not such a parent”) Without prejudice from others, creating an absolutely idealized world (utopia), Elio and Oliver eliminate their concern of gender. They are the same gender, but their relationship is as same as heterosexual. Therefore, the discussion about attacking and receiving actor in a homosexual relationship is meaningless. By contrast, from Milk Hotel’s perspective, Call Me by Your Name eliminates the concept of top and bottom not only because of the story setting but also because of pure romance in Oliver and Elio’s relationship, “Waiting” is emphasized in Call Me by Your Name. After Oliver deliberately avoids Elio for a few days, Elio sits down at his desk, deliberates, rips up the explicit and passionate cues or interactions as lovers which is not related to gender identity defined in gay man’s sexual relationship. To conclude, Call Me by Your Name breaks stereotype toward Boy’s Love as the artistic value induces people to ignore gender or identification of man character or woman character in Elio and Oliver relationship.

Heads may be numbered or unnumbered (“1 Introduction” and “1.2 Numbered level 2 head”), with no ending punctuation. As demonstrated in this document, the initial paragraph after a heading is not indented.

2.3. Social stigma on female doctors

Female PhD candidate students are always showing up in the public with the singlehood characteristic. Accompanying with the first use of “Leftover women” on social media in February 2006 at “Fashion: COSMOPOLITAN” magazine, the domestic media start to use female PhDs including both students and degree holders with negative meanings. Gradually, the public approves the idea tacitly, and the negative meanings behind the phrase “female PhDs” become a social agreement.

The consensus that the higher the academic qualification females receive, the more difficult it is for them to get married in China, is popular. A PhD degree used to be a normal word without negative connotation in Chinese society. From the traceable online information, the earliest context related to the negative connotation of female PhDs originated from a post on the Ask Sina platform with the heading “The Reason why I want a wife with a PhD degree”. This question was posted on October 1, 2005. And the poster added extra information with a list of advantages of marrying a woman with a PhD degree and clarify the purpose of the post, that is, to ask “why is it so hard for female PhD to get married nowadays”. There were three answers in total under the post, and they got posted on October 1 and 4, 2005. Two of them first referred to the word “female PhD” including degree holders and candidates, with biased ideas under the word and explained the negative connotations in the society. All the answers defined the word by pointing out similar features, for example, either that he has the same six-pointed star but doesn’t wear it very often, because his mother says they are discreet Jews, but after this conversation, Elio wears a six-pointed star necklace. Imitation caused by love and adoration is normal when Elio is defined as a lover for Oliver. Socrates said in the Symposium, “I have dressed to walk with a young man of great bearing.” Through imitation, lovers attempt to connect temperamentally, turning the images of the relationship into an entity, blending with each other, fully projecting themselves onto each other. Therefore, when discussing the romantic relationship between Oliver and Elio, gender is not significant as audiences have satisfied the feelings of watching two individuals falling in love, and their nervous and implicit cues or interactions as lovers which is not related to gender identity defined in gay man’s sexual relationship. To conclude, Call Me by Your Name breaks stereotype toward Boy’s Love as the artistic value induces people to ignore gender or identification of man character or woman character in Elio and Oliver relationship.
not good looking and unattractive or cold-blooded with little concern on relationship and much concern on academic work”. In the following years, similar questions related to the social stigma to Chinese female PhDs appeared frequently across different platforms such as to the End of the World Forum from 2006-2010.

Before October 1, 2005, researching female PhDs in Chinese, only results in a normal definition of the term which is the combination of gender and an academic degree. Plus, other associated information didn’t mention any negative connotation reported in the post and answers mentioned above.

With the increasing number of papers in domestic taking female PhDs as subject, the concern on female PhDs’ mental well-being is brought to a new socially concerning level. However, most of the papers are biased or too judgmental over the topic, resulting in unreliable conclusions or non-persuasive and powerful conclusions. Study of Female Doctors’ Impression of Social Media is a journal published on China Youth Study in 2011, wrote by Yang. Yang used the content analysis method to systematically interpret the images of female PhDs including both candidates and degree holders in the news reports of mass media in recent three years. She found the results showed that half of the news reports in the mass media were positive about female doctors, focusing on their marital status and career. While positive media images mainly focus on excellent quality and ability, negative media images focus on the difficulty in finding a lover, difficulty in getting married and relationship-related deception, relationship-related suicide, and relationship-related crime. Yang points out the revelation behind her work is about the social labels of female doctors from four aspects: academic degree crisis, personal value, social role conflict, media, and public cognitive bias.

There are significant problems in Yang’s paper. The timeline and online traceable source are insufficient. She offers vague timing of the emergence of negative connotation behind the phrase, female PhDs including candidates and degree holders by saying “whenever the exact time is, a new idiom populates in the society”. Moreover, the paper introduces the stigma via an idiom that comparing females with different levels of degree with different characteristics in a popular Chinese martial art novel called Swordsman. Yet the novel is not known for all Chinese, which may confuse the definition of stigma to female PhDs. With the subjective perception of the characters in the novel, people also come up with distinct perceptions on the analogy in the introduction in the paper.

Besides, Yang brings up the existence of stereotypes and explains them, while she unclearly clarifies why there are such general public stereotypes and media stereotypes to female PhDs. She offers the information and asserts the news types with little conclusion about this significant phenomenon on news in social media. Male and female are put on different spots when they acquire the title of PhD degree holders or students. The news content implies the gender opposition in China and specifies it in a precise identity.

What’s worth mentioning is that although Yang mentions the stigma of being cruel, lack emotional intelligence, odd, and boring, etc. is due to female PhDs’ academic degree they acquired or are studying for instead of their gender, the word “Bo Shi”, which means the PhD degree holders or candidates doesn’t indicate a sense of superiority or alienation to help isolate PhDs in the society. The PhD degree itself does not have a negative connotation in society. Conversely, if a man has a PhD degree, he will only be considered an intellectual and diligent person. Almost all the traits about male PhD degree holders and candidates are positive in the society comparing with the female. This contradicts Yang’s view and leads to a new problem in the paper.

Yang categorized the news in social media based on positivity, negativity, and the topic. However, she failed to point out that all the reports she found had commonality. All the reports are unrelated to the mental well-being of female PhDs. This in a way shows that the news assumed Chinese female PhD candidates and degree holders were mentally healthy even though they were stigmatized. Besides, Yang only mentioned the compatible relationship between public opinion and reports’ stereotypes, but she did not notice the public group was made up of different genders and people of different ages. What’s more, the news is biased since they were all elaborated in a male-favored way. Yang noted the news that depicted negative images of female PhDs major focusing on suicide, sexual anomie (deregulates the conjugal bond), getting cheated, difficulty in employment.

3. CONCLUSION

This study has presented the complete discussion toward social stigma of gender issue by selecting issues to deal with three main conceptions, which are media audiences, qualified intellectuals and gender appeal. Online comments of Boy’s Love television and literature works, analysis of audiences, which are called “Fu girls”, explain the association between gender issue and Boy’s Love television and literature works. The conclusion about researches on the discrimination of female online such as three specific discrimination categories: the discrimination by tagging, social norm-based discrimination, algorithm-based discrimination. Introduction of social stigma toward “female PhD” with the explanation of the process, the appearance of negative connotation between the woman and academic degree and current limitations of research. The paper identifies the majority of researches associated with gender issue is based on traditional gender consciousness dominated by
male privilege. The finding is that social stigma toward woman is the common sense and normality for the whole society. The online discussion of rigorous gender awareness problems or professional theoretical analysis of woman rights is limited. Though the discussion has included feminism clarification, some marginal groups like LGBTQ or women who lose rights for expressing their requirements toward gender problems are highly stigmatized. In the future, whether online debating or discussion toward gender topic could be based on gender-equality condition remains a question. More studies ought to add, collect, integrate more network archaeological studies of stigma toward woman, and separate the online information into different dimensionalities such as time period of certain events and the percentage of fake-rational information.

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