

Framing #MeToo movement in China
A Content Analysis of *China Women's News Coverage*

by

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Abstract

Grounded in the framing theory, this article examined a differential study by content analysis. After the #MeToo movement rapidly trended in at least 85 countries including China, many people's life and mind have been changed. The purpose of this study was to explore the frames used in the news coverage in *China Women's News* referring to sexual harassment/assault and to examine how far the sense of gender equality has been changed in China especially after the #MeToo movement began. The sample came from the online database of a total of 546 relevant coverage from 2014 to 2020 in *China Women's News* without duplicated, by separately using the search terms "MeToo movement", "sexual harassment", "sexual assault", and "gender equality". The study examined these frame content by conducting a comparative analysis before and after the #MeToo movement began in China. Results of the content analysis show statistical significance followed the two-step procedure. Future research suggestions and implications are provided based on these findings.

Chapter One:

Introduction

Origin of the #MeToo Movement

The #MeToo movement, also known as #WoYeShi, #Mi Tu, and #Rice Bunny (pronounced also as “MeToo” in Chinese), is the first spontaneous mass social media movement against sexual harassment and sexual assault in China (Riley, 2018; Lin & Yang, 2019). According to mainstream media news reports, the phrase #MeToo was first tweeted by an American actress Alyssa Milano on October 15, 2017, to expose sexual assault allegations against a famous American producer Harvey Weinstein. And soon after, this phrase quickly and virally has been spread as a rallying cry on social media to attract public attention and awareness about the magnitude of social problems with sexual harassment and assault against women by calling for and encouraging sexual-assault victims to reveal their own individual assault experiences (Huang et al., 2018; Moore, 2019). The term “Me Too” was initially introduced by an African American female activist and sexual harassment survivor, Tarana Burke, nearly a decade ago. The term was intended to express the empathetic position “I see you, I hear you, I understand you, and I’m here for you, or I get it” to other victims, as well as to help and heal victims who survived sexual assault and sexual harassment by creating empathy, bonds, and solidarity among these women with like experiences (Santiago & Criss, 2017; Moore, 2019, p.4).

The profound and powerful impact of this social media movement might be reflected by the following data: the phrase #MeToo had been retweeted more than 500,000 times within the first 24 hours after Milano’s post; on Facebook, the hashtag #MeToo was even used in 12

million posts by more than 4.7 million accounts by the end of October 16, which means 45% of users of Facebook saw this hashtag was used by their friends (CBS News, 2017; Moore, 2019). Combined with mainstream news media reporting other than social media accusations, this movement rapidly spread beyond the scope of Hollywood to dozens of other languages, at least 85 countries, including China.

According to Orientalism proposed by Edward Said, if people want to know more about a real Orient world, it is better to acquire information from the Orientals rather than the Western Orientalist (Said, 1978). In this case, although feminism or the #MeToo movement is worldwide, the specific Chinese experiences against gender inequality and sexual assault should be discussed under and within its own specific cultural and social context.

This article is structured as follows. Chapter Two is the literature review which provides the historical, cultural, and social contexts for Chinese gender inequality. This includes a look at Confucianism, and patriarchy, as well as son preference, and the “One-child policy” as they occurred in chronological order. The Chapter also outlines the #MeToo in Mainland China. The Chapter Three addresses the literature on Feminist Theory and provides the theoretical framework for the origin and evolution of the Framing Theory. Chapter Four identifies the purpose of this study and rationalizes the use of and explains the method used--content analysis method. This research defined 32 frames based on a coding scheme, and then explained the relationship with media context and social phenomena by manageable data, followed by Pearson’s chi-square (X^2) test and the pairwise z-test. In the final chapter of this thesis, the valuable findings and significance of this study have been concluded, and the limitations and further research have been proposed in the end.

Chapter Two:

Literature Review

Historical, Cultural, and Social Contexts of Gender Inequality in China

Confucianism and Patriarchy in China

A keyword referencing Chinese feminism theories is Confucianism or patriarchy, which deeply roots in Chinese value judgment of society and even profoundly influences its neighboring countries, Japan, and South Korea. Therefore, in this part, the study of the history of Chinese feminism cannot be isolated from the development of feminism in Japan and S. Korea, since they are interrelated and interact with each other.

In Confucianism, there are the three cardinal guides (三纲), the ruler guides his subject(s); the father guides his son(s); and the husband guides his wife(s), which is the fundamental framework of Chinese ethics that has lasted over 2,000 years. From this perspective, it is obvious to see women's secondary or submissive status in a patriarchal family system. "Three Obedience" (三从), which is seen as "the three cardinal guides" for women, governed women's behavior under Confucian ethics. Considering the definition of "Three Obedience" provided by Leung (2003), a girl obeys her father before marriage, obeys her husband after marriage, and obeys her son as a widow. Similarly, a popular saying goes that, "a married daughter seems like water spilled on the ground" (嫁出去的女儿, 泼出去的水) (Greenhalgh, 1985, p.271). Although adult women are valuable and empowered by their economic contributions to their families, this fact still cannot increase unmarried girls' status in their families.

Japanese socialist Ueno Chizuko claimed that “in a patrilineal society, people commonly have son preference” (Ueno, 2011, p.81). The theoretical causes of son preference in patrilineal society will be elaborated on in the next section.

Son Preference in Patrilineal Countries

In the rigid Chinese patrilineality logic, as men undertake the most productive tasks outside the household, and women devote to these assigned reproductive roles within the household, a strict and exclusive social order has been constructed, which only involves men (Greenhalgh, 1985). Under this provision, women are the means and biological reproducers within this patrilineal system. Consequently, only men are involved in patrilineality and lineage and can pass the most productive assets, women probably received a small share of inherited property usually in the form of a dowry when they got married (Greenhalgh, 1985; Das Gupta et al., 2003).

Women’s reproductive roles are dramatized by Sung in 1976, “Only men are able to produce the ‘seed’ of their kinship systems. Women are fertile ground’ that receive the ‘seed’ and ‘help’ men finish their social reproduction. Only when a woman has fulfilled this function by bearing a male child is her position in her husband’s family secure” (p.189). Naturally, after taking this view into account, the position that “raising a daughter was basically akin to watering another man’s garden” has been taken for granted by the public (Rai, 1992; Leung, 2003, p.361).

Socialists provide more detailed explanations referring to women’s secondary status from a socioeconomic point. In a broad sense, raising sons has strong economic incentives, which ensures that parents can benefit more from raising sons than daughters in a patrilineal system. Discrimination toward women derived from different roles and functions in the patrilineal

system, under this provision, different parent-child contracts were decided by different durations of a family membership. From the parents' perspective, sons are long-term members of this lineage because of their social reproduction role, while daughters are temporary members whose contracts can sustain until their marriage. For parents, the benefits of investing in sons come from the fact that male descendants can not only take care of them in old ages but also their social reproduction roles of lineage. In turn, by increasing investment, parents ensure their adherence to this contract. Moreover, the temporary membership of girls in families means a lower return on investment for this family. Therefore, parents prefer not to waste investment in unmarried girls and expected them to pay back earlier than their brothers in the "feminine" tasks of housework (Greenhalgh, 1985). In a word, return on investment led to parents' favoring sons over daughters. Probably this is the reason why even the net expenses on a son's marriage are estimated to be 3-4 times higher than a dowry that parents spend for their daughters. Even with this, the conception of son preference means that even the small share of expenses on daughters such as dowry costs feels like a net spending or sunk cost for their parents (Das Gupta et al., 2003).

Because of the size of China, son preference shows differences from region to region. Thus, in some of the non-Han minority regions and groups (such as Tibetan people in Western China, and the Dai people in Yunnan) where there are less rigidly Confucian or patriarchal influences, as well as bordering cultural influences, there is also little or no son preference (Das Gupta et al., 2003). In traditional Tibetan society, the main productive activities are agriculture and husbandry. Since men of Tibet become Buddhist monks, grazing, or doing business outside, women must take the greater responsibility for productive and reproductive roles as well as activities. Moreover, in the highland area, the survival rates of female babies are higher than that

of infant boys. The average lifetime of women is longer than that of men. Because of these, Tibetan people show daughter preference. However, because of their belief in Buddhism, becoming a Buddhist monk is an honorable thing for their family. In general, Tibetan people do not show a single-gender preference, which also represents their lesser gender discrimination in property inheritance. On the other hand, other minorities in Guangxi province, still show strong son preference even more than Han (Das Gupta et al., 2003; Yang & Wang, 2008). The property inheritance rights of the Oroqen people who live in northern China, generally still belong to men. The Pumi people in Yunnan, although culturally being influenced by Tibetan Buddhism, do not provide women with property inheritance rights when they split their properties. Furthermore, urban parents show less son preference with the result that parents depend more on the child living close to them rather than gender (Das Gupta et al., 2003).

“One-child policy” in China. In the 1970s, faced with the huge pressure of a population of 900 million, the government put in place the “family planning policy” (计划生育), which is also known as the “one-child policy” (独生子女政策), to slow population growth. In 1978, “family planning” was first written in the Constitution. In the mid-1980s, to alleviate the contradiction between rural production and reproduction, the “one-child policy” was modified to allow rural couples a second child if the first one was a daughter (Yuan, 2016). After the 1990s, multiple minority autonomous regions (Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, Tibet Autonomous Region) and provinces (Yunnan, Qinghai, and Hainan) gradually implemented “two-child policy” (二胎政策) until 2015. On 27 December 2015, the “two-child policy” was passed as a new policy and comprehensively implemented with effect from January 1, 2016 (Yuan, 2016).

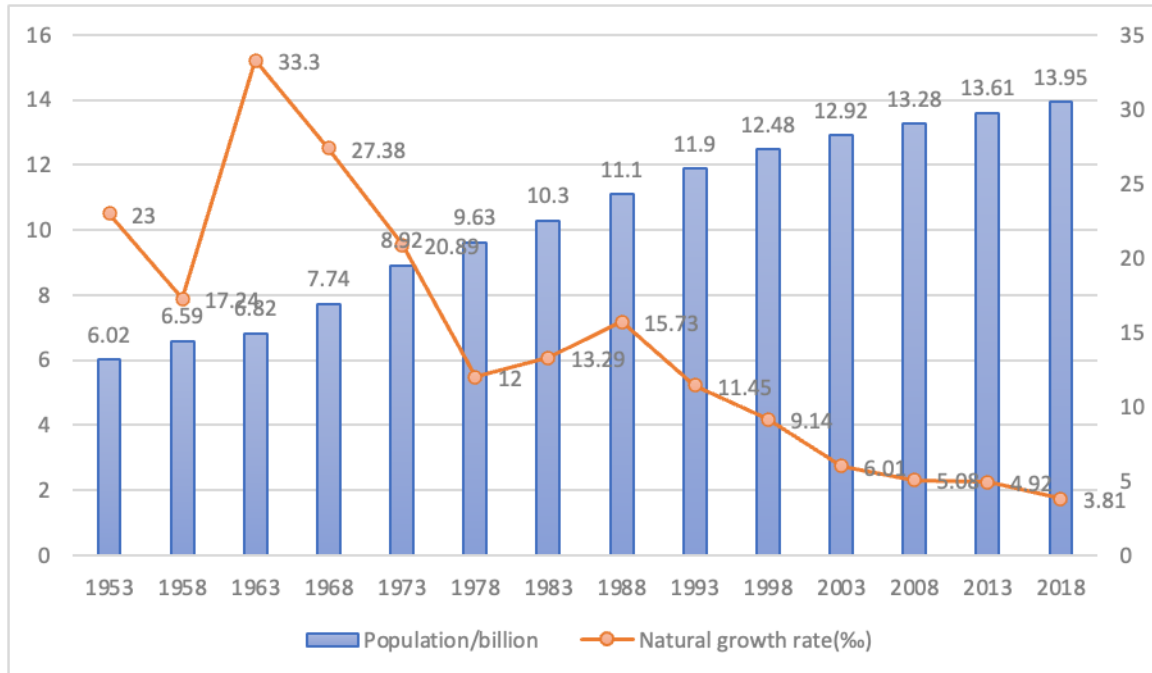


Figure 1

China Population Growth.

Note. This figure shows how China's population growth (1953-2018), date from United Nations Population Division, *World Population Prospects: 2019 Revision* (2019).

Although the population growth was controlled with the family planning policy (Figure 1), the traditional son preference culture could not easily disappear with the slogan of “fewer and later births without sex preference” (少生、晚生、生男生女都一样). A major concept of traditional culture rooted in the word of Mencius “There are three things which are unfilial, and to have no posterity is the greatest of them” (不孝有三, 无后为大), which is essentially the reason for son preference in Northwest India and South Korea (Mencius, 391-308/2009). In these countries, having a son is a natural social reproduction function. This is the corollary of the fear of the end of one’s family bloodline without reproduction, or the fear of letting down the ancestor, or the fear of one’s afterlife in the absence of sons (Das Gupta et al., 2003). As a result of this fear, in the wake of the “family planning policy”, not only in rural areas, but also in many

small and medium-sized cities, there have been a large number of abandoned female babies, forced abortion, and forced ligation. According to the data from Family Planning Statistics in 2017, there were 53,858,376 female sterilizations, which do not include 112,729,378 intrauterine devices (IUD), 420,499 birth control implants, 1,766,654 pill/injections, 38,970,295 condoms, 316,822 diaphragms, and others 808,591 (Department of Population Employment Statistics National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2019). Therefore, the sex ratio at birth (SRB) data in 2007 reached 1.17 compared with 1.03 to 1.07 in general, in some places such as Hainan, and Guangdong provinces, the SRB data even exceeded 1.3. However, this would inevitably lead to serious social issues and judicial difficulties such as gender crimes, mercenary marriages, the abduction and sales of women, prostitution, and whoring, and others. On the other hand, “family planning policy” or “one-child policy” was considered to make great contributions to gender equality and higher education popularization, which accelerated the development of these things.

According to the data offered by UNICEF, the SRB represents the number of males born for every 100 females (2020). Without intervention, more males are born than females because of biological reasons, a natural sex ratio at birth ranges from 103 to 107 male births for every 100 female births (UNICEF & UN Women and Plan International, 2020). In China, the SRB data 1.13 in 2017 down from 1.17 in 2007 after a ten-year drop, and the S. Korea data 1.055 in 2017 down from 1.142 in 1992 (Figure 2). The figure shows that the SRB of those two countries sharply increased after 1985, when sex-selective technology was widely applied. However, as far back as the 1980s, only Japan showed a different tendency in son preference. This does not mean that gender equality in Japan has increased. In Japan, on the one hand, the high costs of education for raising sons reduced people’s confidence in their male lineage. On the other hand, the fear of an aging society caused people to expect their daughter, rather than the daughter-in-

law, to look after them in their old age. In Ueno’s (2011) view, the above factors pushed the role of daughters to change from being “production resources” to “consumption resources”, leading Japan to enter a daughter preference age. Because Japanese parents do not expect to recoup their parenting investment, parents could enjoy raising daughters. On the contrary, in societies where children are “production resources”, son preference still prevails. The Japanese example also illustrates that the high returns of raising sons are the fundamental incentive for son preference in a patrilineal society.

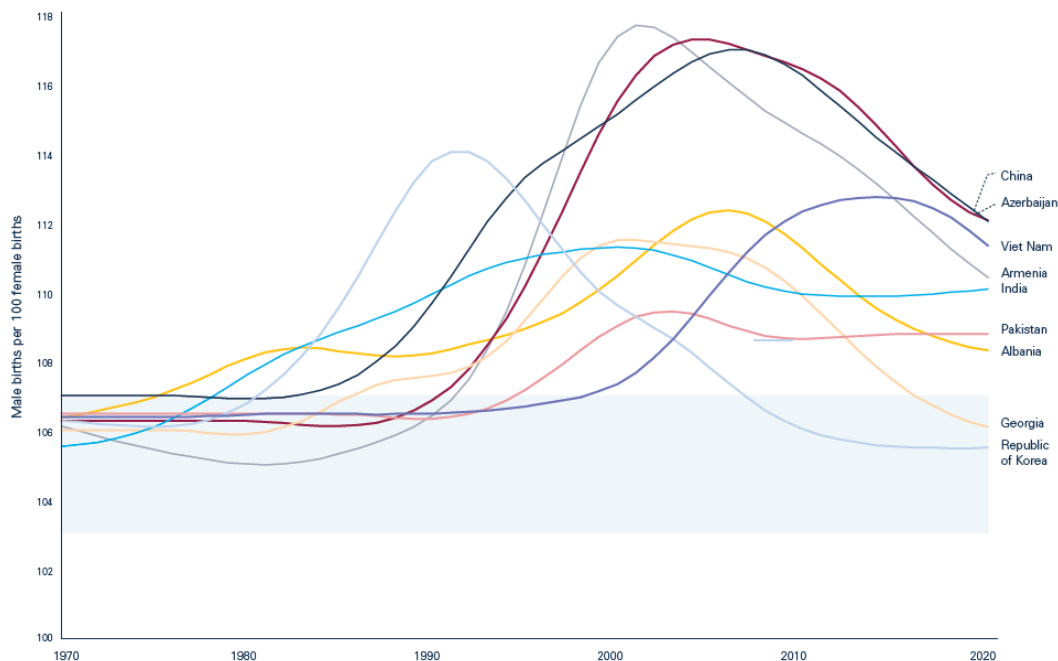


Figure 2

Sex Ratios at Birth in Select Countries, 1970–2020

Note. This figure shows how the SRB curve has been fluctuating after 1970, from *A new era for girls* (United Nations Children’s Fund, & UN Women and Plan International, 2020).

Gender Equality in Modern China

In feudal times, under prevailing Confucian or patrilineal influences, most people believed “too much learning does not become a virtuous woman”, or “the good woman is an

illiterate one” (女子无才便是德). The lesson of the modern Chinese sexual order is learned and transferred from the experience of modern Japan (Ochiai & Akaeda, 2012). Japanese women's education received careful attention in the Meiji Restoration.

In August 1872, Gakusei, the education system order, was published in Japan, which reflected the gender equality principle in primary education. Until 1907, the female primary-school attendance rate reached 96.14%, compared to the male enrollment rate of 98.53%. At the same time, in China, after a series of wars shocked by foreign powers, the advanced and reform-minded elites awoke to the need to begin a national, cultural, political, and educational reform movement, the Hundred Day's Reform (Li & Hu, 2013). Although this reform failed, it is safe to say there are relics of the reform movement. For instance, educational and technological modernization, institutional reform patterned on the model of Japan, and other western powers, to a huge extent motivated revolutionary forces within China and laid the most far-reaching foundations regarding social consequences. Reformative elites such as Liang Qichao, whose illiteracy was inspired by western ideologies, realized that China's weakness began with women's deficiency of learning ability (Li & Hu, 2013). They recognized the significant role of a mother in her children's education. Therefore, they proposed giving careful attention to female education for self-strengthening. In 1907, the Qing government established a female school in order to cultivate “an enlightened mother and wife” (贤妻良母). Consequently, the aim of women's education was for national save-demand needs, rather than to promote gender equality through female education (Egami, 2017).

To some extent, as proclaimed by an Oxford University historian Rana Mitter, the May Fourth Movement, also known as the New Culture Movement in Beijing, 1919, shaped China's momentous twentieth century. The early twentieth century was an age forcing people to question

and rethink social aspects, which also reflected in literary works and social movements within which women movements flourished (Leung, 2003). Leaders of the New Cultural Movement believed that China's weakness was mainly because of traditional Confucian ethics. Consequently, they advocated using democracy, science, and anti-traditional minds to replace the old one, which profoundly shaped and affected China's political and cultural views. The women's political movement in the early years of the Republic of China, initiated by advanced women such as Tang Qunying between 1912 and 1913, was the first large-scale women's rights movement in China (Chen, 1994; Egami, 2017). They accelerated the process of Chinese women's political participation directly into the stage of a practical struggle, which people had never seen in Asian countries. At that time, women gained opportunities for civilian education and higher education (Bao, 2005). Moreover, the spirit of women's liberation with its enormous influence shook the foundations of the feudal patriarchal system which dominated China for thousands of years and achieved the first comprehensive awakening of feminism (Yan, 2014).

In the Provisional Constitution of the Republic of China, there was no provision for women's political participation, even in the absence of female members, the CNP led by Song Jiaoren deleted the "equality between men and women" clause in the guiding principle of the United League of China (Chen, 1994). The gender equality in political participation rights was realized and achieved by CPC earlier, Mao mentioned in the "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan" (湖南农民运动考察报告) in early 1927 that, Chinese men are subjected to three kinds of powers: political power, clan power, and theocratic power. As for women, besides the three powers mentioned above, they are also subjected to men (husband) (Mao, 1960, p.12). Therefore, this assertion set the tone for the Chinese women's movement, which integrated women's emancipation and proletarian liberation into a joint force to fight

against the bourgeoisie, and the feudal bureaucracy (Huang, 2018). The 6th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (中国共产党第六次全国代表大会) held in Moscow in 1928, led to the confirmation and adoption of the Constitution of the Communist Party of China and several other resolutions, which included a Resolution on the Woman's Movement. The CPC believed that women's emancipation should be accompanied by labor emancipation. Only the proletariat that had gained power could be truly emancipated. Their goals for women's emancipation included the following parts: (1) helping women to obtain ordinary voting rights and all political rights as well as freedoms; (2) protecting the interests of women workers and child workers; and (3) breaking the constraints of all etiquette and custom in the old society. In this period, “an enlightened mother and wife” (贤妻良母) were denied as the remnants of the feudal thought, whereas women were appealing for individual emancipation from the traditional patrilineal kinship system. At this time, “new family” and “romantic love” were proposed, which were absolutely distinguished from “traditional extended family” and “arranged marriage”, not only based on the equal relationship among parents, descendants, and other members of this kinship family, but also based on the premise of gender equality alongside monogamy. Both the Resolution on the Woman's Movement and the Jiangxi Chinese Soviet Republic Marriage Regulation (CSR, 1931-1934) provided the legal foundation of free choice of marriage and divorce, love-based conjugal families, gender-equal punishment in adultery, and an end to polygamy, as well as establishing women inheritance rights, which are the fruits of the first women's liberation movement in China (Leung, 2003; Yuan, 2017).

At that time, the principle of gender equality was first introduced to encourage women to become actively involved and participate in political and socio-economic activities, based on the physical position of women. CSR pointed out the orientation of female liberation is to motivate

women to devote themselves to the state-building process (Lin, 2018). However, Confucian or patrilinear nature, such as “distinguished gender roles as outer-men and inner-women” (男主外女主内), did not fundamentally change (Egami, 2010).

Gender Equality in the People's Republic of China

Gender equality in the Mao era. The All-China Women's Federation's (ACWF) (中华全国妇女联合会) is a national women's rights organization founded in 1949 under the leadership of the CCP, whose responsibility is to protect women's and children's rights and interests, to promote gender equality and women's all-round development (ACWF, 2020).

The New Marriage Law (中华人民共和国婚姻法), also known as First Marriage Law, was the first civil law passed one year after the People's Republic of China was founded on May 1, 1950 (Leung, 2003). It was a radical change from traditional Confucian ideologies and existing patriarchal marriage customs.

When the People's Republic of China (PRC) came into being, the patriarchal marriage customs and Confucian ideologies still widely prevailed, countless couples were entangled and struggled with their unfortunate marriages even alongside their families. Therefore, on April 30, 1950, “the circular of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Central Committee to all the party concerning the assurance of implementation of the marriage law” indicated that “Proper implementation of the marriage law will not only liberate the Chinese men and women, especially women, from thousands of years of barren and backward old marriage system, but also establish a new marriage system, new family relationships, new social life, and New social ethics to promote the development of political, economic, cultural, and national defense in new-democratic China.... Take the publicity and organization of the works in terms of ensuring the

correct implementation of the Marriage Law as one of the most, and top priority current and frequent tasks” (Kang, 2019, p.31).

The design and implementation of the First Marriage Law were pushed by Mao’s ideology that “Women hold up half the sky” (妇女能顶半边天), whose foundational theory derived from Engels, and whose material guarantee was ensured by the Land Reform Law, which was published one month after the First Marriage Law.

Mao emphasized the importance of women in the productive process, as well as acknowledging their contributions to revolutionary and socio-economic activities. Moreover, the Land Reform was used to protect inheritance, regardless of gender. Leung (2003) concluded during Mao’s era, women’s liberation was achieved in the following aspects: “the replacement of private property by collective production, women’s participation in the public productive process, the socialization of domestic labor and child-rearing, a state-supported women’s movement, the damage of family as a productive unit, the acknowledgment of women’s rights to challenge male, women’s independence by paid labor” (p.363). In a broad sense, Mao used Engels and Marxist feminism as a basis to replace traditional patriarchal customs vertically from the country’s superstructure system and legal system, yet the above efforts merely suppressed traditional factors rather than to fundamentally change them. Mao acknowledged women’s productive contribution and encouraged gender division in labor by considering their own features based on per capita GDP at that time.

During the Cultural Revolution, from 1966 to 1976, because policies shifted to an emphasis on class difference and against feudalism, de-genderization was remolded as gender equality. Mao announced “Whatever men comrades can accomplish, women comrades can too” to call for masculinization of women (Leung, 2003; Yang & Yan, 2017). Thus, women were

valued, but this was on the basis of standards used to judge males, while women's characteristics were repressed.

Gender equality in the Deng era. The Chinese economic reform led by Deng Xiaoping started in 1978 and turned to a “socialist market economy” (社会主义市场经济) (Leung, 2003). However, as Engels and Marxist feminism claimed that “Only when women earn income through work can they be independent of men, can they no longer be dependent on the family and get rid of family-based patriarchy; and only under the socialist system, domestic labor and child-rearing are socialized and supported by the state. Women can truly achieve liberation” (Lenin, 1986, p.21). In the history of the development of feminism in China, women's emancipation always was incorporated into the collective responsibility of the state construction. The tasks and goals of women's liberation have been changing along with China's political situation.

After the reform and opening-up (改革开放), the introduction of urban private enterprise and the implementation of the household responsibility system led to market logic such as efficiency and productivity gradually dominating society. Previously, the rights and interests of women protected by the state, such as equal employment, medical care, and land ownership, were challenged. Labor regarded as a female obligation has become a right that women must strive for. Consequently, because socialist modernization focused on economic and capital accumulation at first rather than women's development, women were denied access to productive resources and advanced technologies to lower their productivity (Norris, 1992; Leung, 2003). Since the 1980s, after China entered the global market system, capital logic has reshaped gender relations, and working women who are located at the intersection of stratum and gender face the danger of being marginalized. In a word, women's emancipation and the political

revolution have two different origins, and sometimes they have been mutually exploitative relationships. When the political revolution was successful, women had to face the dual duties of both public production and family responsibility by themselves again.

Leung wrote, “Women’s equality depends on what the needs of the collective perceived by the state” (2003, p.368). Although there are “family policies” that can protect women from apparent discrimination in their workplaces, in fact, because of poorly implemented measures and the lack of effective monitoring mechanisms, many enterprises lack the enthusiasm for executing women’s employment policies, so that these protections brought and increased potential discriminatory actions against women in issues ranging from hiring, wages, opportunities, to access-specific occupations to some extent (Leung, 2003).

As Lombardo and Meier (2008) suggested, “due to the lack of competence in ‘family policies’, the labor market agenda created an opening for dealing with certain family-related matters. But the same labor market agenda blocked gender equality goals” (p.8). In 1988, China implemented an optimized labor mix, stripping surplus employees of factories and mining enterprises, and about 70% of those fired were female employees. Since the 1990s, companies have generally adopted discriminatory practices against female employees in many aspects, including employment, salaries, and promotion. Women not only find it difficult to find a job but also suffer discrimination in benefits and treatment everywhere. In the 1990s, when state-owned enterprises were restructured, women were the first to be affected. A large number of women workers were laid off and left unemployed. Besides, labor is re-gendered. Married women support agriculture and rural communities and families. Young unmarried girls scramble to enter foreign joint venture factories in coastal economic development zones, working overtime in a toxic and non-medical environment making matters worse.

The ACWF second survey of the status of women in 2001 showed that from 1990 to 1999, the ratio of urban women to men's wages fell from 77.5 to 100 to 70.1 to 100, and in rural areas from 79 to 100 to 59.6 to 100. The decline in women's social status naturally affects their decline in the family. As more and more women in cities are forced to leave the workplace and return to their families, there are more and more laid-off women workers among the urban unemployed. Although women who returned home no longer went out to work hard, their psychological stress and pain increased exponentially. Without economic independence, they lost their equal status in society and the family (Leung, 2003). Work is an important way for women to keep in touch with society, and it is also one of the basic forms of women's participation in social development. Women who are still working are also degraded, not only are they forced to accept discrimination with low wages and benefits, but also, they are subjected to various types of sexual harassment.

On the other hand, social customs cannot properly treat talented professional working women, their promotions are often misinterpreted as being obtained via some improper behaviors. Most men cannot support gender equality since working women threaten their patriarchal authority, as well as the value of their labor power, and wages. Governments at all levels have largely withdrawn from the social welfare field of enterprises, such as canteens, nurseries, and kindergartens. Because of this, women had to leave the workplace and go home with their children. They were expected to be responsible for their domestic roles such as reproduction and high standard, exhausted raising children. At the same time, when they were able to work, they were also considered to be troublemakers by employers because of maternity and parental leave. Lombardo and Meier (2008) proposed that the shortage of affordable childcare and “the ineffective reconciliation of work and care are not seen as a problem in

themselves but as an obstacle to women's increased participation in the labor market" (p.13). Under this heading, the long-critiqued social role of "an enlightened mother and wife" has been reiterated, "Actively play the special role of women in family construction and promote the model of the era of an enlightened mother and wife and filial piety in the new era" (*People's Daily*, 2013).

In rural areas, after the implementation of the Household Contract Responsibility System (家庭联产承包责任制) after 1978, peasant families generally required male laborers to undertake heavy physical work, coupled with the collapse of the rural welfare system and the "Household Enjoying the Five Guarantees" system (五保户) (The five-guarantee object refers to the elderly, the disabled, and the minors who have no working ability, no source of living, cannot support or support in law in the countryside, or have legal support, but have no supportability) during the people's commune, the elderly families of peasant families could only rely on their support (MacFarquhar & Fairbank, 1991). Sons, married women, and divorced women cannot be treated fairly in the fields of responsibility, rations, and land compensation, so the social status of women in rural areas has declined significantly.

The '90s was considered the golden age of the women's movement. Theorist Li Xiaojiang started the "Women Research Movement" (妇女研究运动) with "Human Progress and Women's Liberation" (人类进步与妇女解放) as the first theoretical article on women's research since 1949, which was published in 1983. Women's Studies Institute of China (WSIC) (妇联妇女研究所) was established in 1991, as a national level institution specializing in theoretical and empirical research on women and gender issues, ranging from the history, laws and regulations and policies related to women's issues, as well as comparative studies between China and other countries (Liu, 2015).

Active participation in women's activities of the United Nations has also promoted the process of protecting women's rights and interests in China. For example, after signing “the Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women” at the Third World Conference on Women in 1985, the Chinese government further improved the laws and regulations that protect women's rights and interests, as well as passing the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Rights and Interests of Women (中华人民共和国妇女权益保障法) in the 5th Session of the 7th National People's Congress (第七届全国人民代表大会第五次会议) in 1992, which provided a powerful legal weapon to further improve women’s social status and protect women’s basic rights and interests. According to this law, women have the following six legal rights (Federation, A. C. W. S., 1992): equal political rights with men, equal cultural and educational rights, equal labor rights, equal property rights, equal personal rights, and equal marriage and family rights.

In the same year, “Journal of Chinese Women’s Studies” (妇女研究论丛) sponsored by the ACWF and WSIC, was published as a national professional academic journal specializing in gender studies. In 1994, the ACWF was granted the UNICEF Maurice Pate Award (UNICEF,1994). And then in 1995, the ACWF awarded the UNESCO King Sejong Literacy Prize for their past literacy work and began to work as a non-governmental organization, in the same year (UNESCO, 1998).

Gender equality in the Jiang era. The 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women (第四届世界妇女大会) Action for Equality, Development, and Peace, was considered to enter a new phase of Chinese women’s work. At the welcoming ceremony of the Fourth World Conference on Women, President Jiang Zemin suggested for the first time " We will consider the equality between men and women as a basic national policy to promote our social development", and

then in 2005, “the equality between men and women” was acknowledged from a legal perspective by the 2005 Amended Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Rights and Interests of Women (“*People’s Daily*”, 1995). After the conference, participants reached a consensus, the Beijing Declaration (北京宣言) and Platform for Action (行动纲要), that “to advance the goals of equality, development, and peace for all women everywhere in the interest of all humanity” (UN Women, 1995). In the Beijing Declaration, “women’s rights are human rights” was reaffirmed and documented (UN Women, 1995). Meanwhile, the importance and significance of “achieving the full and effective implementation of the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women” was acknowledged and restated several times (UN Women, 1995). Although the Fourth World Conference on Women was passed 15 years before, the work and spirit of the conference have been continued and documented in another way, that is every Five-year Review and Appraisal, Beijing+5, and beyond. Since then, legislation referring to China’s gender equality and the empowerment of women has entered a new stage. The country has successively amended the Constitution of the People's Republic of China (宪法), the New Marriage Law (婚姻法), the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Rights and Interests of Women (妇女权益保障法), the Compulsory Education Law of the People's Republic of China (义务教育法), the Organic Law of Village Committees (村民委员会组织法), and the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China (刑法). China also passed the Labor Contract Law of the People's Republic of China (劳动合同法), the Employment Promotion Law of the People's Republic of China (就业促进法), the Social Insurance Law of the People's Republic of China (社会保险法), and Special Rules on the Labor Protection of Female Employees (女职工劳动保护特别规定), to protect women’s rights and

interests (Xue, 2015). However, there are also some problems. For instance, the lack of effective monitoring mechanisms, a legislation strategy for ensuring gender equality, and the lack of knowledge in terms of social gender and the change of traditional gender ideas in mainstream media professionals.

Education and Empowerment

In *Half the Sky: Turning oppression into opportunity for women worldwide*, Kristof and WuDunn (2010) illustrated the profound significance of women's education in the words:

“This is not a tidy world of tyrannical men and victimized women, but a messier realm of oppressive social customs adhered to by men and women alike. Women themselves also absorb and transmit misogynistic values, just as men do. As what we said, laws can help, but the greatest challenge is to change these ways of thinking. And perhaps the very best means of combating suffocating traditions is education” (Kristof, & WuDunn, 2010, p.66).

China has the potential to become a model for liberal progress through the development of opportunities for female education. Thus, Kristoff & WuDunn (2010), also raved that “All that said, no country has made as much progress in improving the status of women as China has. Over the past one hundred years, it has become—at least in the cities—one of the best places to grow up female” (p.170).

In light of the data provided by *China Women's News* and *Global Gender Gap Report 2020*, “China has virtually closed the educational gender gap, with both sexes achieving universal literacy” (World Economic Forum, 2019), available figures show that the share of women attending tertiary education is larger than the share of men. According to the definition of

the Gender Parity Index (GPI) offered by UNESCO, a country is on the way to achieving gender equality when the value of a GPI gets closer to one. As Figure 3 shows, the educational attainment score of China looks like equal to the average, which was 0.957 in 2006, and 0.973 by 2020.

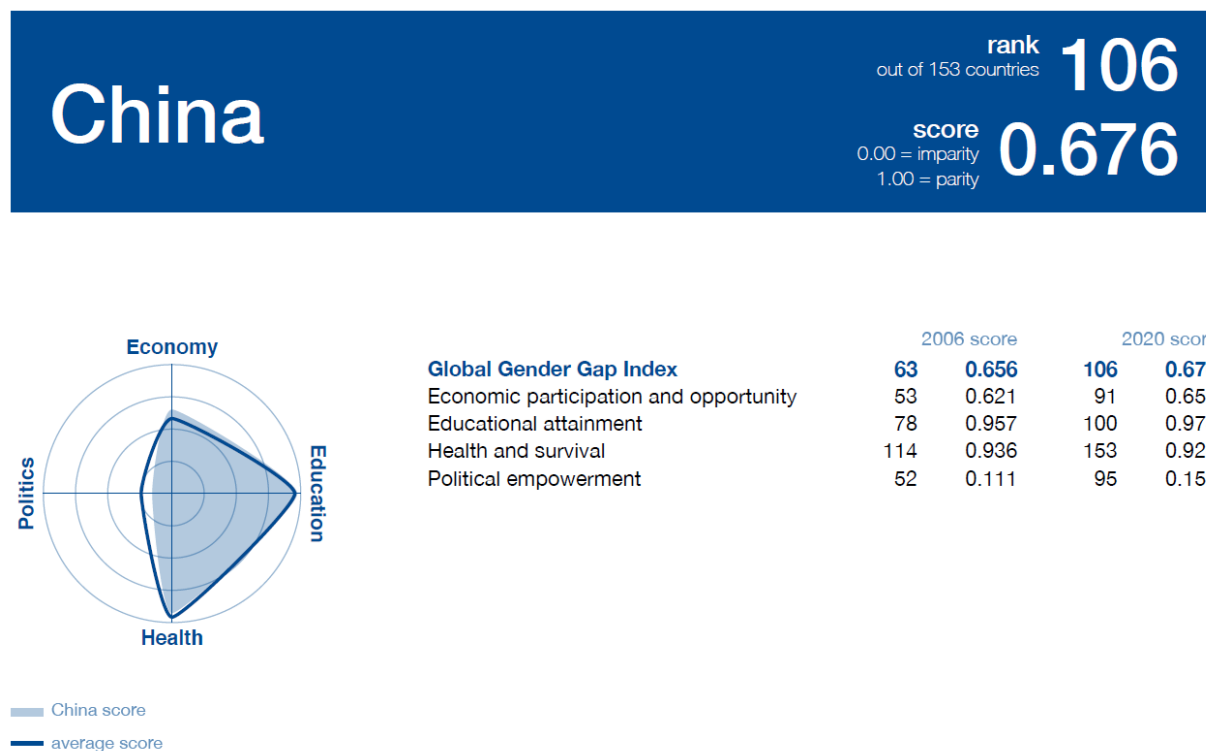


Figure 3

China GPI value

Note. This figure shows how China GPI value changes from 2006 to 2020, retrieved from World Economic Forum, *Global Gender Gap Report 2020* (2019).

In 2014, the net enrollment rate of boys and girls in primary school was 99.8%, achieving the UN Millennium Development Goals ahead of schedule. In 2014, the proportion of female students in junior high schools and senior high schools was 46.7% and 50.0%, respectively; the proportion of female students in undergraduate and master's degree students in regular colleges and universities was 52.1% and 51.6%, respectively, and the proportion of female doctoral

students was 52.1% and 51.6% respectively. The sixth national census showed that in 2010, the average number of years of education for women among the population over 6 years old reached 8.4 years, 1.3 years higher than 10 years ago, and the gap with men was 0.2 years smaller than 10 years ago (SCIO, 2015). In addition to the low enrollment rate of rural girls, Chinese women have equal opportunities to receive education at all levels.

#MeToo in Mainland China

As Siefkes-Andrew and Alexopoulos (2019) stated before, “sharing, commenting, and reposting stories via social media allows users to see stories about people similar to themselves, in similar places, and experiencing similar events” (p.746). The characteristics of social media provide conveniences for the #MeToo movement, born of accident and necessity.

Previous research generally considered the Beihang scandal as the start of #MeToo movement in China, and the hero of this issue, a graduated female doctoral student, Luo Xixi was considered a “whistleblower” in sexual harassment issues in places ranging from academia to NGO organizations, media, and journalism, even as well as religion (Huang et al., 2018; Lin & Yang, 2019). On January 1, 2018, Luo, under her real name, accused her former assistant-doctoral tutor, an associate dean of the Postgraduate School of Beihang University, Chen Xiaowu, of sexually harassing her 12 years before. She also accused him of harassing other Beihang female students over the past decade (Huang et al., 2018). Within days, this issue quickly and fully attracted people’s attention and became widely known on Weibo, one of the biggest and most popular SNS in China. As a result of this, Beihang University announced Chen’s dismissal and also canceled his Yangtze Scholar membership. Meanwhile, Beihang promised it would set up a mechanism for the prevention of college sexual harassment by

referencing Luo and other students' advice. A stone arouses one thousand overlapping waves, victims were encouraged by this event to reveal their experiences with the #Mi Tu (#MeToo) hashtag on social media. As these scandals were exposed, they were included many issues that had happened a few decades ago. Luo and the #MeToo movement kindled a spark of hope for victims to heal the trauma, to fight against sexual harassment, and to appeal for gender equality.

In this study, the Beihang scandal is still considered as the start of the #MeToo movement in China like most previous research did so. The above-mentioned prevention mechanism for on-campus sexual assaults in higher education had started several years before, which was first proposed in 2014, in a Xiamen University doctoral tutor seduction case (China Daily, 2014). Even dating back two decades ago, Shen Yang, the former Deputy Director of Peking University's Chinese Department, Chairman of Nanjing University's School of Literature, Linguistics Department, and the Yangtze River Scholar, had been accused of sexual harassment which ended with the suicide of his undergraduate student Gao Yan (Cadell & Shepherd, 2018). The experience and death of Gao were deeply rooted in the heart of her classmates. Over the decades following her death, her classmates and friends still devoted themselves to provide support, including legal aid for sexual harassment survivors. They also provided support for victims of the #MeToo movement in China. Indeed, the #MeToo movement has provided multi-level approaches to protect gender equality and fight against sexual harassment.

Chapter Three:

Theory Foundation

Feminist Theory

Marxist-socialist feminists (e.g., Malos, 1980; Young, 1980; Holmstrom, 1982; Jaggar, 1983; Gimenez, 2005) suggested that patriarchal capitalism is based on and always came with gendered division and gender oppression (Stacks, Salwen, Eichhorn, 2009).

In Engels (1884/2010) theory, patriarchal family or monogamian family are the productions of the development of the private property, which rigidly ensure inheritance merely among male offspring of the family, at the same time, also ensuring women's secondary position in the family. Therefore, the proletarian housewives became open or concealed "domestic slaveries" (p. 72). However, in a capitalist society, the situation of women did not improve, but got even worse with the rise of industrial capitalism. Even though industrial capitalism and the socialization of household tasks are premises for women's liberation, which brought women into the social workforce and acknowledged their economic contributions ("*Proletarian Revolution*", 1989). With women and children entering in the social workforce, the value of labor power and wages was reduced, while not only did women's supplementary income not make up the deficit of one family's total wages, but they were still required to undertake dual duties of both public productions and family responsibilities (MacKinnon, 1989). On the other hand, capitalist law protects men's inheritance first rather than women's in monogamy. Engels (1884/2010) indicated that considering the similarities between workers and women, if these two groups wanted to fight for their social equality, they needed equality under the law. Andersen and Hysock (2008) also

suggested in their book, *Thinking about Women+ Mysearchlab: Sociological Perspectives on Sex and Gender*, that in a capitalist society, the people who own the means of production are the people who decided what the ruling ideas were. In a word, men hold the means of production and decide the social ruling ideas, which serve not only capital profits, but also men's interests, and vice versa (Andersen & Hysock, 2008).

Because of these, in order to achieve women's liberation, eliminate structural inequality, Marxist-socialists focus on overhaul capitalism and the patriarchal system to establish a communistic society and encourage women to participate in public economic productions, which is different from liberal feminist theory that does not change but reform existing system (Stacks, Salwen, Eichhorn, 2009).

Origin and Evolution of The Framing Theory

The First Stage of The Framing Theory (1974-1990)

Today, the framing theory is widely used in social science, such as mass communication, psychology, economics, and sociology. The term "frame" was first proposed by an English philosopher, social scientist, and visual anthropologist, Gregory Bateson (1955/1972), as a cognitive psychology concept, which refers to the frame's function and definition to help receivers understand the message within this frame (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015). In this definition, frame, as a meta-communicative language, has a double function: including factors within and excluding those without (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015).

This concept was later introduced in sociology by sociologist and social psychologist Erving Goffman in 1974 and finally applied to communication studies. Goffman (1974)

indicated that through the selection and salience process, frameworks as a “mental schema”, which reflect the interpretative social environment surrounds people, and helps them to “locate, perceive, identify, and label” to understand what is happening around them (p.21). In Goffman’s opinion, the importance and significance of the frame are that it can provide the foundation and framework for understanding the background information of the events.

Four years later, Tuchman (1978) used the picture to explain the frame concept by analogy, which is a more efficiently organizing device used by journalists to net, sort, and transmit information. A similar definition was soon offered by Gitlin (1980) who described a frame as “persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse” (p.7).

In the late 1980s, Gamson and Modigliani (1989) proposed another definition, in this case, a frame, as “a central organizing idea or storyline for making sense of what is at issue”, is encompassed with “interpretative packages” to characterize issues, working together with arguments, information, symbols, metaphors, and images (p.143).

Between 1974 and 1990, the frame theory became an integral part of communication studies.

The Second Stage of The Frame Theory (1990-2000)

During this time, the emphasis on theory research not only enriched the framing theory in detail but also had shifted to the debate between agenda-setting and framing theory. Some scholars saw framing as an extension of the agenda-setting theory (e.g., McCombs & Shaw, 1972; McCombs, Shaw, Weaver, 1997; McCombs, Llamas, Lopez-Escobar, et al., 1997). Others, however, suggested that although the framing theory complemented the agenda-setting theory,

they were still two distinct theories (e.g., Price, Tewksbury, Powers, 1997; Kim et al., 2002). These differences in perspective around framing underlined the inaccessibility and applicability distinction (Scheufele, & Tewksbury, 2009; Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015).

American media, public, and international affair scholar Entman (1993) warned that the lack of clear definitional boundary of the framing theory would lead to difficulty in explaining how frames are created and constructed, how frames are represented in texts, and how they influence public awareness. The result has been split into two different research approaches: frame building and frame setting, which is further developed by communication scholar Scheufele (1999) and will be discussed later.

Selection, salience, and four locations. Entman (1993) described the essential components of the framing theory: selection, salience, and four locations of the framing in the communication process in the article *Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm*. According to the definition offered by Entman (1993), “To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (p.52). There are two important links located in the framing process: selection, and salience. As the name suggests, in the selection process, specific content or fragmentary details (rather than the whole event) will be chosen to reflect the whole picture of a certain event. Entman (1993) emphasized and explained the salience process. He wrote that salience means “making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences” (p.53). Because frames embedded in texts and salience resulted from interactions between texts and receivers, accordingly, by enhancing salience, receivers are more able to perceive, discern, process, and store this information in their memory. Entman (1993)

also indicates that an unillustrated or obscure text can be salient, as long as text customizes receivers' existing frames of their belief systems.

Entman (1993) suggested that in the communication process, frames have at least four locations: communicators, text, receiver, and culture. Communicators decide the communication content, and they framed news in accordance with their belief systems or schemata. The text contains frames that are usually identified and manifested, but not limited by "certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that reinforce clusters of facts or judgments" (Entman, 1993, p.52). Third, frames guide the receiver's thinking and the conclusion that he or she reaches, which reflects frame or framing intentions more or less. Finally, Entman (1993) defined culture as "the stock of frames, or common frames and thinking of most people in a social grouping" (p.53).

Frames can work in any of these four locations to construct the argument about an issue and its causation, evaluation, and solution by selection and salience. The function of frames not only "offers a way to describe the power of a communicating text" (Entman, 1993, p.51), but also "determines whether most people notice, how they understand and remember an issue, as well as how they evaluate and choose to act upon it" (Entamn, 1993, p.54). Therefore, frames have four functions: defining problems (determining causal agents, costs, and benefits, measured by commonly shared cultural values), diagnosing causes (identifying the causality of events), making moral judgments (evaluating causality and effects), suggesting remedies at the end (justifying and offering a possible solution and predicting likely outcomes).

Frame building. As we mentioned above, in light of different research approaches, framing studies can be divided into two groups: frame building and frameset, which was comprehensively illustrated in Scheufele's (1999) article *Framing as A Theory of Media Effects*.

Scheufele borrowed the concepts from agenda-setting studies to explain the process model of framing research by allocating frames to frame building and frame set, based on examining frames as dependent variables or independent variables.

In the process of frame building, the definitions referring to this concept usually focus on how frames emerge, are created, or modified: and also, how frames have been established in societal discourse, and how to select frames or some aspects of the certain issue as well as to highlight or concentrate them in the news content (Scheufele, 1999; de Vreese, 2005; Scheufele, & Tewksbury, 2009). Frame building refers to the structural quality factors of frames, which involve internal (editorial policies, news values) and external elements, and takes place in “a continuous interaction between journalists and societal elites and social movements”, finally highlight and manifest these frames in the texts (de Vreese, 2005, p.52). In this case, frame building effects potentially are influenced by several aspects, which often come from: practices of journalists (which generally derive from organizational pressures and constraints, professional routines, and ideological, or political orientations of journalists); external pressures (from interest groups, government bureaucracies, and other political or corporate actors); and cultural contexts (such as societal norms and values) (Tuchman, 1978; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Scheufele, & Tewksbury, 2009). Further studies by Colombini et al. (2016), and, O’Boyle and Li (2019) also suggest the political influences of frames, meaning that media ideology is shaped by the prevailing hierarchies and power relations approaching as much as possible to their interests and objectives. Thus, they suggest, frames reflected the orientations and solutions of interest groups for certain social issues. Moreover, because of the implicitly cultural roots of frames, the context-dependency of frames has been further refined by Snow and Benford (1988) as “narrative fidelity”, and by Gamson and Modigliani (1989) as “cultural resonance”. Because

journalists unconsciously rely on the cultural familiarity of common shared frames, frames, without commonly shared cultural roots, will not create effective communication effects. Scheufele and Tewksbury (2009) defined cultural or societal commonly shared familiarities of frames as “a frame refers to something resident in the surrounding culture, and the presence of the frame essentially invites audiences to apply the information and meanings within which the culture has imbued the frame” (p.23). In other words, frames resonate with their surrounding culture. Frame building is a highly subjective and initiative process.

Frame setting. While frames are researched as independent variables in the frame setting process, it mainly focuses on framing effects or the interaction between media frames and receivers’ prior knowledge or predispositions that are also known as “primary framework” (Scheufele, & Tewksbury, 2009; de Vreese, 2005, p.52). The frame setting process aims to investigate “the extent to which and under what circumstances audiences reflect and mirror frames made available to them”, which reflects the applicability feature of the frame (de Vreese, 2005, p.52; Scheufele, & Tewksbury, 2009). Accordingly, researchers will predict, conceive, and measure framing effects on both the macro-level (societal level) and micro-level (individual level). On the societal level, frames prefer to shape and influence their audiences from the following aspects: political socialization, decision-making, and collective actions (de Vreese, 2005, p.52). Instead, on the individual level, where most framing effects occur, frame setting is used to predict and explain a huge number of individual effects that have emerged under certain frames. In the process of frame setting, studies mainly associate with the connection and interaction between media and audiences within cognitive and affective aspects. Tewksbury et al. (2000) also concluded that framing effects concern not only affective or attitudinal effects but also interpretative outcomes. Moreover, a strongly effective frame does not need supporting

arguments, instead, it can merely be created and developed based on its cultural meaning, norms, and values (Scheufele, & Tewksbury, 2009; p.19).

Frame Studies in the 21st Century

In the 21st century, research on framing has been gradually shifting from debate involving the agenda-setting theory and the framing theory to more conceptual and methodological unification, as well as moving more attention upon empirical or reorganizable developments.

Ferree et al. (2002) defined the frame as a “thought organizer” for their receivers, which affects how audiences perceive a specific interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution by selecting and emphasizing different aspects of a certain issue topic. On the contrary, journalists help their audience to understand and simplify reality by promoting different frames (McQuail, 2003; Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015).

Strong frames vs. weak frames. Chong and Druckman (2007) said that the strength of frames differs and can be measured. To compare the relative strength of frames, there are three varied factors: frequency (the number of time that frames are mentioned and repeated by media); accessibility (information or frames that have already been approached and understood by individuals before, which strongly interact with repetition); and relevance (whether frames are specifically related to the matter at issue rather than peripheral issues).

Specific frames vs. generic frames. Unlike generic frames that can be flexibly applied with broader content, specific frames can only be used for some specific or particular topics of social issues. Examples include frames of labor disputes, US national budget deficits, women’s movements, “gains vs. loss frames (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979), episodic vs. thematic frames (Iyengar, 1991), strategy vs. issue frames (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997), or human interest,

conflict, and economic consequences frames (Price et al., 1997)” (de Vreese, 2005; Scheufele, & Tewksbury, 2009, p.28).

Empirical Identification of Frames

Researchers within the communication studies field often use inductive and deductive approaches in order to identify and test frames found within texts or media.

Deductive method. Under the deductive method, content analysis decreases the difficulty and complexity of these studies, because of the ease of using many samples and of replicability (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000; Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015). A common strategy in content analysis is to analyze and quantify certain meanings, relationships, and even cultures within these contexts, by coding, decoding, summarizing, and analyzing. According to the different needs and orientations of studies, content analysis is split into two types in general: conceptual analysis, and relational analysis.

Inductive method. Because of the difficulty of finding explicit frames in texts, Van Gorp (2007) recommended framing devices or reasoning devices to discover explicit or implicit terms, metaphors, examples, descriptions, arguments, images, and arguments in the text. Then, researchers should find associations among these, and consequently name these associations whose names have to be abstract and general enough (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015).

Chapter Four:

Research Questions

Purpose of the Study

Previous research examined how media frame women's movements (Terkildsen & Schnell, 1997); how the Australian television framed sexual assault victims (Waterhouse-Watson, 2012); how mainstream news media texts characterize reporting sexual harassment in the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia (McDonald & Charlesworth, 2013); how the spiral of silence affects social media expression in #MeToo movement (Huang et al., 2018); how American newspapers frame campus sexual assault, causes, and solutions, from 1992 to 2014, to figure out why #MeToo is different for campus sexual assault (O'Boyle & Li, 2019); how media coverage reflected campus sexual assault cases under the framework of attribution and framing theory (Siefkes-Andrew & Alexopoulos, 2019); how #MeToo movement has empowered Chinese women both at individual and collective levels and motivated them to fight against sexual harassment (Lin & Yang, 2019).

By using framing as the theoretical framework, the purpose of this study is to explore the frames used in the news coverage in *China Women's News* referring to sexual harassment/assault, and to examine how far gender equality has developed in China especially after the #MeToo movement began.

In order to figure out the frames used in these reports and the level of gender equality in China, some hypotheses and research questions have been proposed.

Research Questions

RQ1: How did media attention of the *China Women's News* shift over time to sexual harassment crime under study?

RQ2: What is the relative salience of the frames used in the news coverage in the *China Women's News*?

RQ3: Is there a difference in the saliences of the frames in the articles reported in the *China Women's News* before and after January 3, 2018, when the #MeToo movement began in China?

Chapter Five:

Method

Content Analysis

Research using content analyses has evolved over a half-century, from Berelson (1952), Kerlinger (1973), Krippendorff (1980), Weber (1990), to Stempel (2003), and Riffe et al. (2019). Berelson's (1952) definition included important features of content analysis—"content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (p.18). Later, Kerlinger's definition (1973) emphasized the importance of content analysis to explore the relative emphasis or frequency of various phenomena rather than to infer theoretical concepts (Riffe et al., 2019, p.19). According to Krippendorff's (1980) definition, "content analysis is a research technique for making replicative and valid inferences from data to their context" (p.21). Meanwhile, Riffe et al. (2019) suggested that Krippendorff's definition implied "quantitative content analysis is reductionist", which infer the communication phenomena themselves by reducing phenomena to manageable data (Riffe et al., 2019, p.18). Compared with previous definitions, Riffe et al. (2019) proposed a more specific and detailed definition, "Quantitative content analysis is the systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication, which have been assigned numeric values according to valid measurement rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical methods, to describe the communication, draw inferences about its meaning, or infer from the communication to its context, both of production and consumption" (p.19).

Because a content analysis can be equipped with many samples and, also, its easy replicability, it is selected to be an appropriate quantitative method in this study to examine how sexual harassment/assault and gender equality are framed in the news coverage, and how these frames evolved over time, especially after #MeToo movement started (January 1, 2018) in China.

Data Sources

Data are collected from the most-authoritative women news sources—*China Women's News*. *China Women's News* is the only daily women's newspaper distributed nationwide. Thus, it is the most popular and authoritative newspaper on women-related issues. *China Women's News* was founded in 1984, hosted by the All-China Women's Federation's (ACWF) (全国妇联), whose goal is to protect women's and children's legal rights and interests, so as to promote gender equality and women's all-round development. On July 18, 2004, *China Women's News* and Beijing Haoyishikong Company (北京好易时空公司) jointly launched China's first mobile newspaper—*China Women's News*-MMS Edition. As the country's first mobile newspaper, this MMS newspaper overcame the shortcomings of short message capacity and a single format, realized the interaction between users and reporters (Zhang, 2015). The official WeChat account of *China Women's News* ranks in the top 5% of the country, with the latest 13.68 million estimate value. The number of followers on *China Women's News* Weibo account increased from 570,000 in early 2017 to 12.11 million today. In 2017 there were 22 articles with more than 5 million views, among which 9 had more than 10 million views (China Academic Journal Electronic Publishing House, 2019).

A total of 546 relevant coverage published in Chinese during 6 years from 2014 to 2020 is collected from *China Women's News* database without duplication, by separately using the

search terms “MeToo movement” with 4 news stories, “sexual harassment” with 131 articles, “sexual assault” with 261 reports, and “gender equality” with 150 news that are randomly selected from the pool of 403. This period includes the key events which profoundly affected the development of the #MeToo movement in China—the accusation of sexual harassment by Luo’s former assistant-doctoral tutor on January 1, 2018.

Frame Definitions

To clarify the coding scheme, the frame definitions used in this study refers to the variables offered by previous research (such as gender discrimination, language biases, economic equality frames) and the Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI). SIGI divided indicators into five principal aspects to evaluate gender inequality: family code (power to make a household decision, such as financial inheritance), son preference (gender bias), ownership rights (property access), physical integrity (social participation freedom, dress freedom), and civil liberties (laws banning rape, sexual harassment, and domestic violence). In addition, frames of this study are guided from the framework of the four frame functions: defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments, and suggesting remedies, and thus classify frames of this research into four main types: (a) problems, (b) effects, (c) responsibilities, and (d) suggested solutions.

“Problems” Frames— “Lack” Set of Frames

News articles that contain causal agents or causes referring to sexual harassment/assault and gender equality are coded as problem-framed coverage. These frames emphasize the weakness and difficulty to specify the judicial standard and the penalty disposes of sexual harassment/assault in order to fill up the legislative lack in the current Chinese laws. These

frames show the imperfect legislation and law enforcement as well as legislation lag with respect to the topic of sexual harassment/assault.

1. *“Legal lack” frame.* This frame includes such keywords and phrases as “the specific regulations”, “defects existed in present civil law”, “inefficient management”, “legislative lack”, “uncleared legal interpretation”, “the limit of law”, and “the free discretion of judges”.

2. *“The lack of government supervision” frame.* This frame refers to the lack of government supervision and attention so that the social public has insufficient awareness to participate in sexual harassment/assault events.

3. *“The lack of public guardianship system” frame.* This frame contains such keywords and phrases as “left-behind children”, “single-parent children”, “disabilities”, “rural-urban migrant workers' children”, “the imperfect procedural guarantee in children protection”.

4. *“The lack of the prevention mechanism for sexual harassment/assaults in employing units and educational institutions” frame.* This frame focuses on clearing and emphasizing the duty and responsibility of employing units and educational institutions in providing appropriate sexual harassment/assaults prevention mechanism for their staff or students (e.g., clarifying the subjective position and its responsibility of employing units and educational institutions in protecting people against sexual harassment/assault).

5. *“The lack of family guardianship” frame.* This frame emphasizes the importance of family supervision in preventing sexual harassment/assault (e.g., emphasizing the subjective position and responsibility of family guardianship, the guardians must perform their guardianship duties and custodial and foster rights for minor children in accordance with the present civil law).

6. *“Sex/gender education” set of frames.* This frame focuses on the lack and lag of sex/gender education (e.g., due to the lack of formal, scientific, and systematic sex education, students are ignorant of the dangers of premature sex).

6.1. *“The lack of sex/gender education” frame.*

6.2. *“The lack of the authoritative, nationwide textbook that specializes in sexual harassment/assault prevention” frame.*

“Effects” Frames

News coverage that refers to how social awareness and public attention is affected by the above-mentioned problem-related frames are coded as the effects-framed report.

1. *“The difficulties of adducing evidence and evidence collection” frame.* It is difficult to adduce and collect evidence because of defects that existed in present civil law and the lack of government supervision as well as the prevention mechanism for sexual harassment/assaults in employing units and educational institutions (e.g., due to the high concealment of sexual crime, evidence preserving is often the difficulty in such cases).

2. *“The lack of self-protection awareness and the weak legal consciousness” frame.* This frame focuses on the lack of self-protection awareness and the weak legal consciousness of sexual harassment/assault victims because of the lack of family guardianship and sex/gender education.

3. *“Making concessions to avoid trouble” frame.* This frame mainly shows sexual harassment/assault victims preferring to be quiet to avoid trouble, for several reasons such as the lack of government supervision and family guardianship (e.g., the main reason why the girl in

that issue did not come forward to identify the involved teacher is mainly that she is afraid of public opinion pressure from the society).

“Responsibilities” Frames— “National and Cultural Responsibilities” Set of Frames

This frame stresses the importance of preventing sexual harassment/assault and a deepening awareness of gender inequality needed to change social and cultural handicaps. These frames which identify the causality of these events and analyze the relationship between national and cultural responsibilities and sexual harassment/assault issues are coded as responsibility-related frames.

1. *“Traditional culture responsibility” set of frames.* This set of frames focuses on how traditional culture profoundly shapes and affects people’s attitudes and recognitions of sexual harassment/assault issues without realizing these effects.

1.1. *“Victim blaming” frame.* This frame emphasizes the audience tendency to prefer to blame victims after they see allegations of sexual harassment/assault reported by news media (e.g., under the traditional gender norms, the sexually assaulted women are stigmatized for violating the gender norms of "chaste", bear a sense of stigma, and it is difficult to speak out the fact of the victimization. There are two sides, both of which reflect the negative effects of traditional gender characteristics).

1.2. *“Dressing blaming” frame.* In this frame, the audience prefer to blame victims for their inappropriate dressing and behavior. In their view, the victim contributes to the causality of sexual harassment/assault issues because of the victims' inappropriate dressing.

2. *“National culture responsibility” frame.* This frame focuses on disclosing the reason why audiences prefer to condemn victims and the national culture responsibility in sexual

harassment/assault events (e.g., the culture of sexual shame and the atmosphere of condemning the victim are some of the important reasons for the silence of the victim).

“Solutions” Frames

These frames focus on justifying and offering possible solutions, including government-specific actions, legislations, and policies, as well as social international cooperation, have been proposed and/or are being implemented to deal with sexual harassment/assault allegations.

1. *“Perfecting legislation” frame.* This frame shows possible solutions proposed in perfecting legislation and setting up the civil administrative supervisory system (e.g., because traditional methods cannot suppress the emergence of sexual harassment/assault, public power coercive intervention has become an effective way to curb sexual harassment/assault in countries around the world, and legal means must be used to solve this problem).

2. *“Reducing the rate of crimes” set of frames.* The key point of this frame is to focus on various ways to reduce the rate of crimes in, such as emphasizing the high cost and risk for crimes and strengthening the strict enforcement according to the civil laws and other policies to protect minors and women, in order to break the spiral of social silence and to help victims who should have the courage to speak out.

2.1. *“Reducing the rate of crimes by increasing the high cost and risk for crimes” frame* (e.g., strengthening the judicial protection of sexual harassment/assault crimes gradually and perfecting the legal protection system of sexual harassment/assault).

2.2. *“Reducing the rate of crimes by strengthening the strict enforcement of laws” frame* This frame highlights the enforcement of existing laws to prevent sexual harassment (e.g., the support of public opinion and the positive measures of relevant departments are a great

encouragement to the victims, to help form a high-pressure situation of sexual harassment in the whole society, so that encourage more people to speak out).

3. *“Victims’ benefits protection” set of frames.* This set of frames include various proposed possible solutions, especially in victims’ rights and benefits protection aspects.

3.1. *“Protecting the victim’s legal rights” frame.*

3.2. *“Protecting the victim’s rights by publicity encouragement” frame* (e.g., media is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it is indispensable for leading advanced gender culture, spreading the values of gender equality, and implementing the basic national policy of gender equality; on the other hand, media is also copying gender stereotypes which has a negative impact. With the advent of the new media era, this dual function has been zooming in).

3.3. *“Increasing rights protection awareness by strengthening publicity and education” frame* (e.g., knowing how to collect evidence and protect legal rights by strengthening publicity and education).

3.4. *“Providing economic compensation for victims” frame* (e.g., all expenses incurred by the victim due to medical examination, identification, or treatment shall be covered by the medical insurance to help alleviate victims’ economic burden).

4. *“Realizing the basic national policy of gender equality” frame* (e.g., the most important thing in anti-sexual harassment is to recognize gender equality, otherwise men will use their dominant position to bully women. Sexual harassment is a form of bullying).

5. *“Social responsibility” set of frames.* This set of frames focus on several proposed possible solutions, especially in the social responsibility aspect.

5.1. *“Social participation” frame* (e.g., sexual harassment protection is the responsibility of the whole society).

5.2. *“NGO cooperation” frame* (e.g., sexual harassment protection needs to unite all forces that can be united to popularize relevant knowledge).

5.3. *“International communication and cooperation” frame*. This frame contains such keywords and phrases as “international cooperation”, “the United Nations”, “international communication”, and “international collaboration”.

6. *“Empowerment” set of frames*. This set of frames focus on several proposed possible solutions, especially in the empowerment aspect.

6.1. *“Women empowerment” frame* (e.g., in order to end the sexual harassment for women, we need to advocate and create a new culture of equality and empower women with equal rights as men have).

6.2. *“Legal empowerment” frame* (e.g., protecting women’s rights according to laws).

6.3. *“Political empowerment” frame* (e.g., we need to empower all women, let them speak out, and let their rights be respected).

7. *“Equality” set of frames*. This set of frames focus on several proposed possible solutions, especially in the equality aspect.

7.1. *“Rights and benefits equality” frame* (e.g., calling on governments to address discriminatory social norms and practices, promote gender equality, change early marriages, arranged marriages, and other forms of violence against women, and strengthen accountability for women’s rights).

7.2. *“Educational equality” frame* (e.g., women in China basically have equal access to education at all levels).

7.3. *“Economic participation equality” frame* (e.g., generally speaking, the improvement of education level will bring about an increase in employment opportunities and income).

7.4. “*Equal Pay for Equal Work*” frame (e.g., income is an important indicator reflecting the equality results of education and employment, and also as an indicator of labor value and social justice).

7.5. “*Social advantages/welfare equality*” frame.

Coding Scheme

In this research, data is examined to see whether it is related to the research questions at first. And then, these data will be evaluated for the absence or presence of each frame through “yes/present” or “no/absent” questions in every single news article. Total counts for the “yes/present” answers to the questions show the prevalence of each frame.

Date of Publication

In this study, the author collected successive 7 years (from 2014 January 2nd to 2020 September 2nd) articles in the *China Women’s News* according to their date of publication, and thus the date of publication is categorized into the year 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, and 2020.

The Type of Frames Collected from the Articles in the *China Women’s News*

“Problems frames”, “Lack set of frames”, “Legal lack”, “The lack of government supervision”, “The lack of public guardianship system”, “The lack of the prevention mechanism in employing units and educational institutions”, “The lack of family guardianship”, “Sex/gender education set of frames”, “The lack of sex/gender education”, “The lack of authoritative, nationwide textbook”; “Effects frames”, “The difficulties of adducing evidence and evidence

collection”, “The lack of self-protection awareness and the weak legal consciousness”, “Making concessions to avoid trouble”; “Responsibilities frames— National and cultural responsibilities set of frames”, “Traditional culture responsibility set of frames”, “Victim blaming”, “Dressing blaming”, “National culture responsibility”; “Solutions frames”, “Perfecting legislation”, “Reducing the rate of crimes set of frames”, “Reducing the rate of crimes by increasing the high cost and risk for crimes”, “Reducing the rate of crimes by strengthening the strict enforcement of laws”, “Victims' benefits protection set of frames”, “Protecting the victim's legal rights”, “Protecting the victim’s rights by publicity encouragement”, “Increasing rights protection awareness by strengthening publicity and education”, “Realizing the basic national policy of gender equality”, “Providing economic compensation for victims”, “Social responsibility set of frames”, “Social participation”, “NGO cooperation”, “International communication and cooperation”, “Empowerment set of frames”, “Women empowerment”, “Legal empowerment”, “Political empowerment”, “Equality set of frames”, “Rights and benefits equality”, “Educational equality”, “Economic participation equality”, “Equal Pay for Equal Work”, and “Social advantages/welfare equality”.

Chapter Six:

Results

Intercoder Reliability

In mass communication research, intercoder (or interrater) reliability is often used as a standard method of content analysis for validating subjectively coded data. According to its definition offered by Lombard, Synder-Duch, & Bracken, it is “a measure of the extent to which independent coders reach the same coding decisions in evaluating the characteristics of messages” (2002, p. 587). In this context, assessing the intercoder reliability of the present study should follow several steps. First, 10% of reports (58 articles) were randomly selected from the pool of 546. And then the author (coder 1) with a second coder who is also a Chinese graduate student (coder 2) in Mass Communication at USF coded the same 58 news articles following the previously mentioned coding scheme. Finally, the validity of intercoder reliability was assessed by analyzing the percentages of coding agreement between coders and Krippendorff's Alpha.

Krippendorff's alpha (α) is generally considered the most reliable measure of intercoder reliability. The general form of the measure is: $\alpha = 1 - Do/De$, where Do is observed disagreement and De is expected disagreement based on an interpretation of chance. According to Krippendorff (2011, p. 1), “when observers agree perfectly, observed disagreement $Do=0$ and $\alpha=1$, which indicates perfect reliability. When observers agree as if chance had produced the results, $Do=De$ and $\alpha=0$, which indicates the absence of reliability.” To interpret alpha, Krippendorff (2004, p. 241) suggests that “It is customary to require $\alpha \geq .800$. Where tentative conclusions are still acceptable, $\alpha \geq .667$ is the lowest conceivable limit.” Table 1 shows that all

but one of the 19 coding categories generated alphas greater than or equal to .80, indicating a high level of intercoder reliability.

Table 1

Intercoder Reliability

Coding Category	% Agreement between coders	Krippendorff's Alpha
Legal lack	100.00%	.9822
The difficulties of adducing evidence and evidence collection	100.00%	1.0000
The lack of the prevention mechanism in employing units and educational institutions	100.00%	1.0000
The lack of government supervision	100.00%	.9822
Victim blaming	100.00%	1.0000
Dressing blaming	100.00%	1.0000
National culture responsibility	100.00%	1.0000
Perfecting legislation	100.00%	1.0000
Reducing the rate of crimes by increasing the high cost and risk for crimes	100.00%	1.0000
Reducing the rate of crimes by strengthening the strict enforcement of laws	100.00%	1.0000
Protecting the victim's legal rights	96.55%	.8621
Protecting the victim's rights by publicity encouragement	81.03%	.7624
Increasing rights protection awareness by strengthening publicity and education	100.00%	1.0000
Providing economic compensation for victims	96.55%	.8621
Realizing the basic national policy of gender equality	100.00%	1.0000
Social participation	98.28%	.9302
International communication and cooperation	100.00%	1.0000
Women empowerment	100.00%	1.0000
Legal empowerment	94.83%	.9266

In this study, with respect to reporting the #MeToo movement, gender equality, and sexual harassment/assault issues in China are discussed as a case study to examine the newspaper's narrative differences at different developing processes. The analysis of reports in the *China Women's News* shows how media attention shifted within the whole developing stages

that the author selected and researched, and compares frames used in each stage of reporting sexual harassment/assault issues in China. The research explored the relative salience of the frames used in the news articles, and which differences in the salience of the frames are found in different developing stages. Three research questions guided the data collection and analysis using SPSS.

RQ1: How did media attention of the *China Women's News* shift over time to sexual harassment crime under study?

Without duplication, a total of 546 relevant articles published in Chinese during the six years from 2014 to 2020 was collected from *China Women's News* database, by separately using the search terms “MeToo movement” with 4 news stories, “sexual harassment” with 131 articles, “sexual assault” with 261 reports, and “gender equality” with 150 news stories that were randomly selected from the pool of 403. The first research question asks how media attention of the news articles in the *China Women's News* concerning the above-mentioned topics shifted over within the whole developing stages. Figure 4 presents the distribution of the collected sample from 2014 to September 2, 2020 and shows a general reducing trend in media attention to sexual harassment/assault and gender equality issues from the beginning to the end. Two major surges appeared separately in 2014 and 2018, and two waning stages followed the waxing stages which reached the lowest point in 2020 because of insufficient coverage collected in less than one year. By observing the rises and declines in the number of stories referring to the sexual harassment crime reported by the *China Women's News*, it is obvious that an inner media attention cycle naturally showed during the above stages.

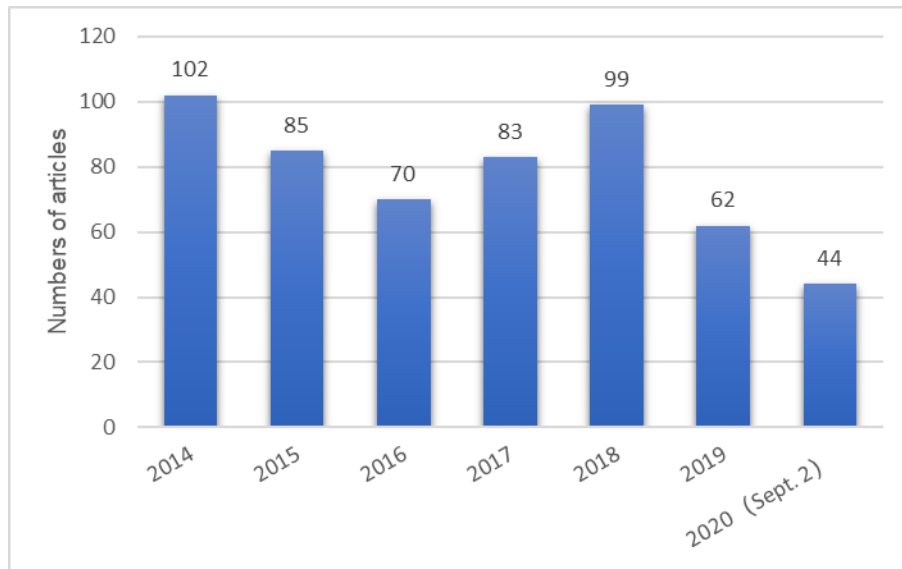


Figure 4

Distribution of the Media Attention from 2014 to 2020 September 2nd

Note. This figure shows how media attention distribution of the *China Women’s News* coverage fluctuated within 2014-2020, data collected from *China Women’s News*.

Downs (1972) proposed the dynamics of the “issue-attention cycle” in 5 phases, which refers to the ups and downs of attentions that an issue receives either from media or the public (Shih, Wijaya, & Brossard, 2008). Downs also stated that despite the difference among the inner characteristics of every single individual issue, most issues are still displayed in accordance with the following sequence: the pre-problem stage, alarming discovery and euphoric enthusiasm, realizing the cost of significant progress, the gradual decline of intense public interest, and the post-problem stage. Downs (1972) indicated in the first stage—the pre-problem stage, the issue has not yet entered the mainstream, which only is noticed by some experts or interest groups. And then, people usually enthuse about “solve the problem” or “do something effective” within a relatively short time, after the issue is aware by the public (Downs, 1972). However, as long as people begin to realize how difficult and how costly it will be if they want to solve this problem,

the intensity of public interest in this issue will gradually decline. Finally, in the post-problem stage, “new institutions, programs, and policies have been created to help solve the problem”, both major and minor aspects of the issue are prevalent and widespread in society (Downs, 1972, p.41). Although Downs’s statement has been challenged by the following scholars, especially in the case of that whether the issue-attention cycle is due to reporting strategies or the intrinsic characteristics of the issue, the cyclical nature of media attention has been clearly demonstrated (Shih, Wijaya, & Brossard, 2008, p.147).

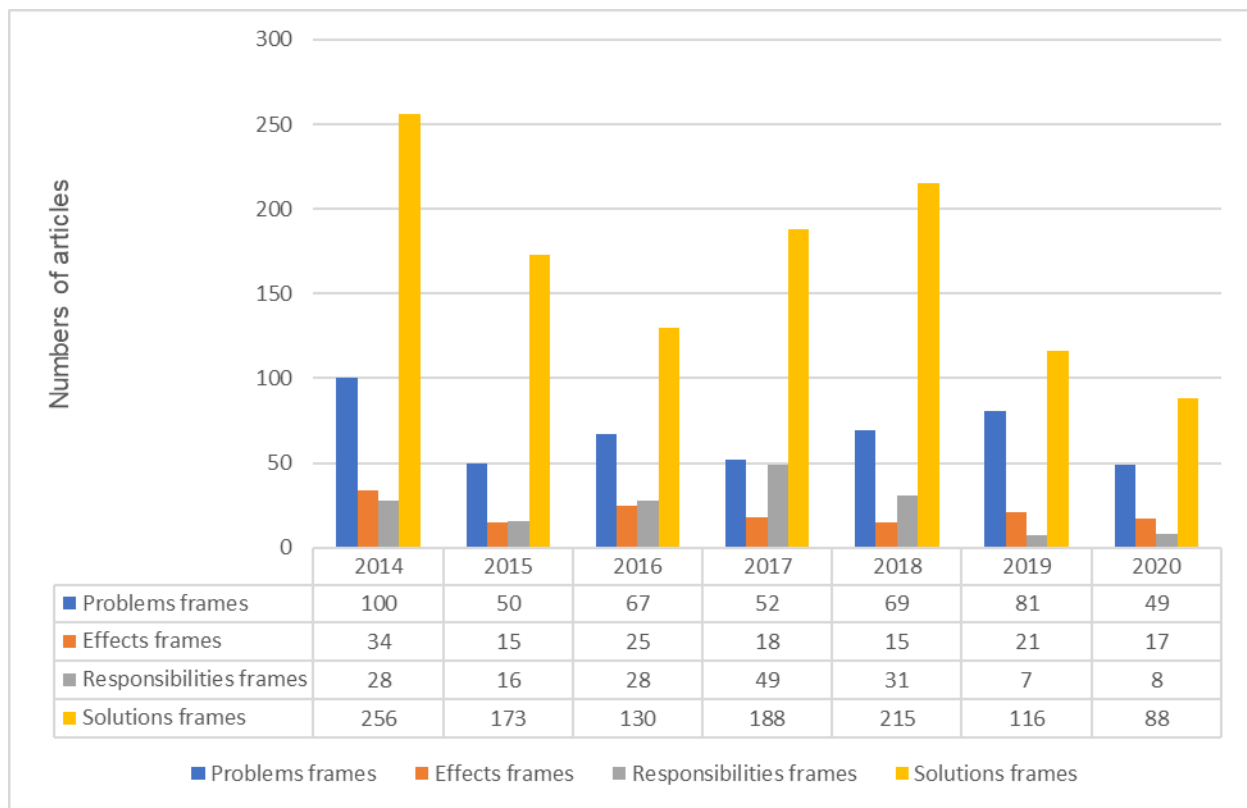


Figure 5

Media attention distribution in different groups of frames

Note. This figure shows how media attention distribution in different groups of frames shifted within 2014-2020, data collected from *China Women’s News*.

As above mentioned, in this study, frames are divided into 4 groups: (a) problems, (b) effects, (c) responsibilities, and (d) suggested solutions, based on their functions. Figure 5 shows how media attention distributes in each different group of frames.

According to Figure 5, it is evident that “solutions frames” and “problems frames” are relatively higher than the other two frame groups since they have relatively more sets of frame and sample sizes under each frame-group. By observing Figure 4 and Figure 5, a complete media attention cycle has not been shown in this study. Since there is not the pre-problem stage, in this case, media attention reached its first peak in 2014 because of the Xiamen University doctoral tutor seduction case and declined afterward, and then peaked in 2018 after the #MeToo movement prevailing in China.

In 2014, except for the data of “responsibilities frames”, the other frame groups are maximal in this stage (see Figure 5). At that time, some problems such as “legislative lack”, “the lack of public guardianship system for rural-urban migrant workers’ children”, “the lack of gender education”, and “the lack of the prevention mechanism for sexual harassment/assaults in employing units and educational institutions” were all represented, and several solutions which refer to “gender inequality in socio-economic participation”, “privacy protection for sexual harassment/assault victims”, “strengthening public power intervention timely and effectively”, and “setting prevention mechanism for on-campus sexual assaults in higher education” were more prevalent especially after the Xiamen University doctoral tutor seduction case happened. Moreover, international NGO speakers indicated that gender inequality roots in that girls and women are deprived of their educational opportunities, which leads to a lack of equal economic participation for women to realize their financial independence as well as to dominate their fortune. On the other hand, gender inequality is also a source of violence for women. The

speaker also indicated that gender equality in the workplace is win-win for employer and national development since lots of waste in human resources results from the fact that only half the productive potential of global women is utilized (Kristof, & WuDunn, 2010). It is safe to say that, in 2014, people were aware of the evil of gender inequality and sexual harassment, they also tried to propose some effective solutions to solve these problems. Recent years, the authors of China mainstream media did not attribute the greatest reason for gender inequality and sexual harassment to traditional culture or national culture.

The enthusiasm and public interest were ebbing away after people realized how costly and difficult it was to solve these multi-dimensional social problems. The media attention given to these frame groups entered a waning stage in 2015-2017. “Problems frames” and “effects frames” received relatively low coverage in 2015, although the media attention of “problems frames” and “effects frames” rose in 2016 compared with the data about them separately, in 2015 and 2017, the decline in “solutions frames” and the amount of press coverage made this stage look like a waning stage, rather than a waxing stage (see Figure 5). Amounts of “responsibilities frames” coverage peaked in 2017 since people were aware of the profound and invisible effects of national culture for shaping social gender inequality consciousness.

In 2018, because of the worldwide prevailing #MeToo movement, sexual harassment, especially sexual harassment/assault, and gender equality issues in higher education were elevated to national prominence, which resurfaced again in public view and recaptured public interest. Lots of solutions in the form of laws and policies were proposed and many social nongovernmental organizations, as well as some social nonprofit groups developed that were also devoted to solving gender inequality in the workplace and sexual harassment/assault issues in the higher education field. After the “responsibilities frames” peaked in 2017 (see Figure 5),

people also realized that the costliness and difficulty of work against sexual harassment required the participation of all members of society to participate, rather than being the responsibility of some NGO groups or some experts. Therefore, it is necessary to recognize that anti-sexual harassment efforts need to not only, change the current conservative atmosphere but also to set in place prevention mechanisms for women protection and to create a harmonious and promising social atmosphere for women that offers greatest security, empowers them with economic independence and helps them to realize self-worth.

In 2019, “problems frames” saw their peak since 2014, mainly related to “taking notice of male sexual harassment/assault issues” and “stressing the responsible subject role of schools in protecting minors” (see Figure 5). Meanwhile, the amount of press coverage concerning the “responsibilities frames” was minimal with its relatively low-level emphasis. One year later, because of the limited sample size, representations of all of the frame groups waned, and particularly “problems frames” and “solutions frames” which had their lowest level of representation over the entire period.

RQ2: What is the relative salience of the frames used in the news coverage in the *China*

Women’s News?

According to the classification, frames in this study were divided into 4 groups (problems, effects, responsibilities, and solution frames) with a subsection on 32 different frames, the results show that all 32 types of frames were presented more than once among these selected news articles from 2014 to September 2020 (see table 2).

Table 2*Crosstab: Frequency and percentage of all frames in the selected China Women's News**coverage*

Frame	Valid Percent	
	Yes	No
Problems frames		
Lack set of frames		
Legal lack	11.5	88.5
The lack of government supervision	10	90
The lack of the public guardianship system	9.5	90.5
The lack of the prevention mechanism in employing units and educational institutions	18.6	81.4
The lack of family guardianship	10.5	89.5
Sex/gender education set of frames		
The lack of sex/gender education	13.1	86.9
The lack of authoritative, nationwide textbook	4.1	95.9
Effects frames		
The difficulties of adducing evidence and evidence collection	6.2	93.8
The lack of self-protection awareness and the weak legal consciousness	14.4	85.6
Making concessions to avoid trouble	3.5	96.5
Responsibilities frames— National and cultural responsibilities set of frames		
Traditional culture responsibility set of frames		
Victim blaming	10.3	89.7
Dressing blaming	2	98
National culture responsibility	13.8	86.2
Solutions frames		
Perfecting legislation	34.4	65.6
Reducing the rate of crimes set of frames		
Reducing the rate of crimes by increasing the high cost and risk for crimes	11.4	88.6
Reducing the rate of crimes by strengthening the strict enforcement of laws	5.5	94.5
Victims' benefits protection set of frames		
Protecting the victim's legal rights	12.6	87.4
Protecting the victim's rights by publicity encouragement	7.3	92.7
Increasing rights protection awareness by strengthening publicity and education	22.2	77.8
Realizing the basic national policy of gender equality	15.5	84.5
Providing economic compensation for victims	5.4	94.6
Social responsibility set of frames		
Social participation	20.4	79.6
NGO cooperation	10.3	89.7
International communication and cooperation	1.8	98.2
Empowerment set of frames		
Women empowerment	7.4	92.6

Table 2. (Continued)

Legal empowerment	10.2	89.8
Political empowerment	3.5	96.5
Equality set of frames		
Rights and benefits equality	7.3	92.7
Educational equality	5.8	94.2
Economic participation equality	6.1	93.9
Equal Pay for Equal Work	3.3	96.7
Social advantages/welfare equality	4.6	95.4

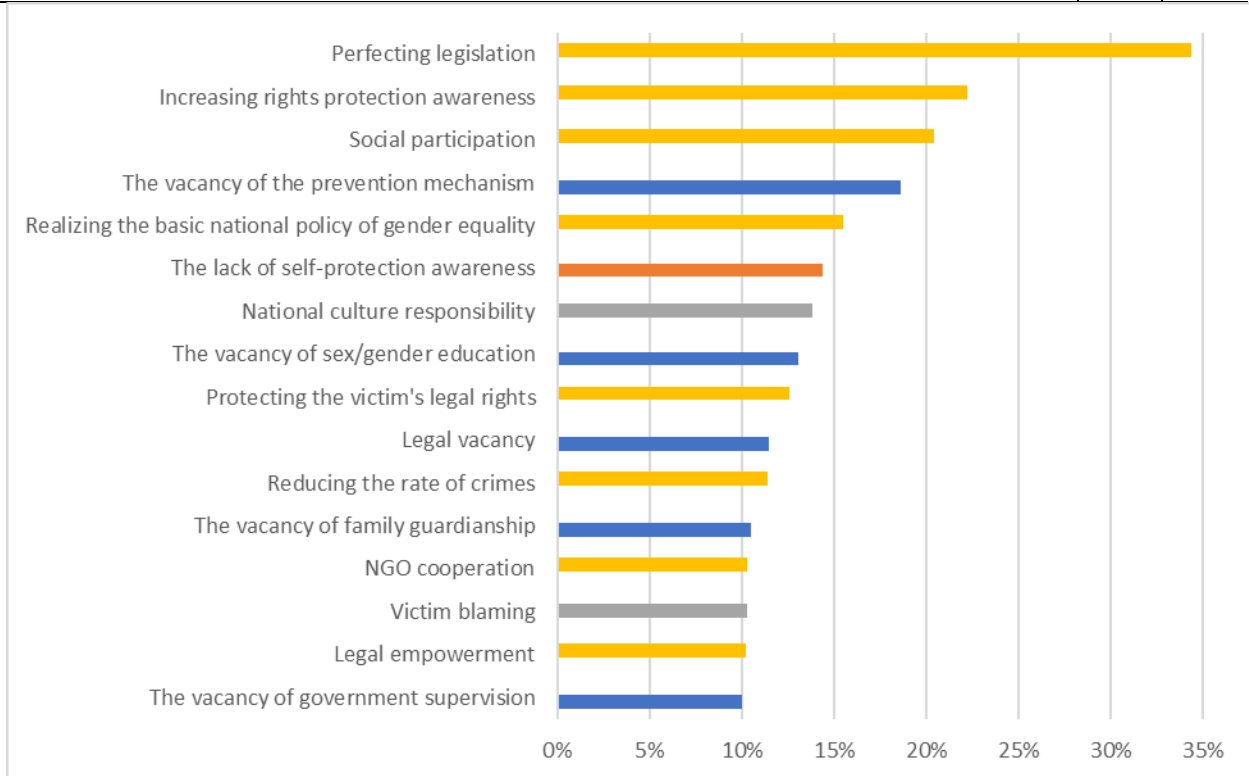


Figure 6

Distribution of 16 frames whose percentage over 10% (out of 32) in different group color

Note. This figure shows distribution of 16 frames whose percentage over 10%, out of total 32 frames, data collected from China Women’s News.

According to Figure 6, the most often presented frameset was the “solution frame” group (50%), followed by the “problems frame” (31.25%) and “responsibilities frame” group (33%), with the least utilized frame being in the “effects frame” group (6.25%). However, considered

with unbalanced frame ratio of each frame groups, 7 subframes under the “problems frame” group, which represents 21.88% of all 32 frames, 3 subframes separately under both “effects frame” group and “responsibilities frame” in 9.375%, and the most popular frame-group “solutions frame” has 19 subframes, with 59.38%. After considered the proportion of each frame-group, the most utilized frame-group over 10% frequency was “problems frame”, with 71.34% (5 subframes out of 7 frames), followed by the “responsibilities frame” group in 66% (2/3), and the “solutions frame” group in 42.1% (8 subframes out of 19), as well as the “effects frame” group with the least distribution in 33%.

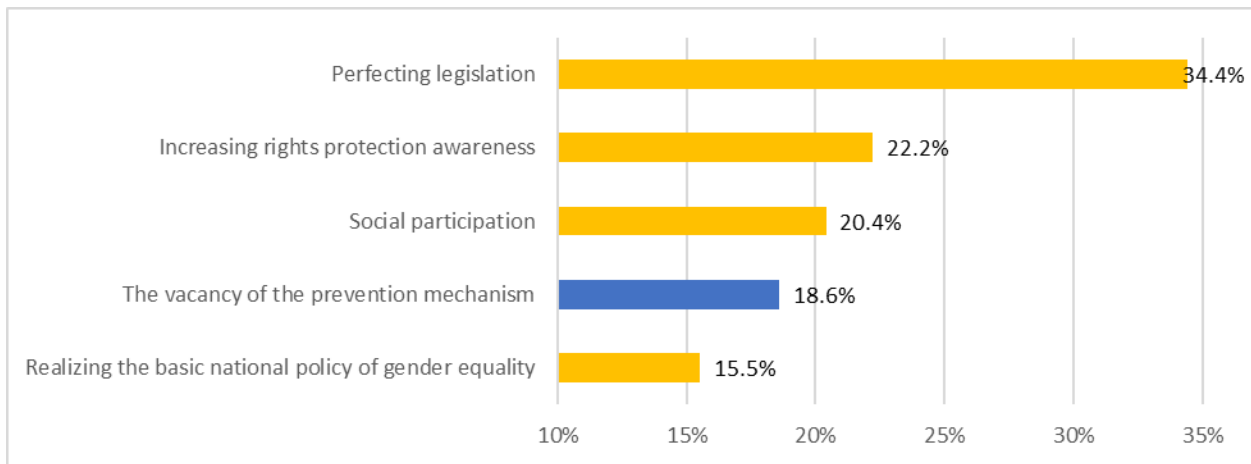


Figure 7

Distribution of frames whose percentage over 15% (based on a sample of n=546)

Note. This figure shows distribution of frames whose percentage over 15%, out of total 32 frames, data collected from *China Women’s News*.

According to Figure 7, it is obvious that the most utilized frame is the “Perfecting legislation” frame among all the frames, which under the “solution frames group”, appears over 30% (34.4%) of the whole selected articles, with an article number of 188. This frame refers to perfecting legislation and setting up the civil administrative supervisory system, since only if the

countries enact specific laws or policies to say “no” to sexual harassment, to clearly define responsibilities from the legal perspective, to ensure that laws are put in place, observed, so that the legality of sexual harassment intervention system/civil administrative supervisory system can be proved.

The reasons why this frame was prevalent in the coverage of the *China Women's News* are, first the imperfectness of the relative law in China women protections, which has significant improvements still to be made. A news story published on February 3 in *China Women's News* noted “in terms of women’s protection, it still has much room for progress from a legal perspective” (Xiao, 2016).

Secondly, in order to solve the chronic malady of national culture problems, it is sensible to start with changing the laws. Only improving the intractable social and cultural handicaps from the legal level is the most effective way to solve the problem from the root cause, rather than it can only be a palliative improvement like “the knee-jerk reflex task”. As the CCP did in 1950, the passage of the First Marriage Law was a radical change from traditional Confucian ideologies and existing patriarchal marriage customs, which liberated the Chinese men and women from a thousand-year-old barren and backward marriage system. A good example of this frame is found in the following paragraph of the January 10 news edition of *China Women's News*:

The most effective way to prevent sexual harassment is to perfect legislation, impose sanctions on sexual harassers, and increase the illegal cost and risks of sexual harassment crimes. The radical of the legislation lies in showing cultural respect for women, which requires the society to reach a consensus from top to bottom, and collectively say "no" to sexual harassment (Jiao, 2017).

In another report on July 24, the author suggested: “the foundation of preventing sexual harassment is to restrict power, and it is recommended to introduce a third-party intervention” (Huang, 2018). Previously, practicable solutions also proposed in a January 3 article of *China Women's News*, with the fierce discussion and reflection of the Beihang Chen Xiaowu scandal, that:

First, "put power in a cage." Colleges should ensure equal gender ratios in allocating resources and power, avoid excessive concentration on single-sex or a group of people, and establish prevention, correction, and accountability mechanisms to strengthen effective supervision. Second, refine the relevant laws and regulations to clarify the scope of sexual harassment, the subject of responsibility, the content of obligations, and the provisions on accountability. Third, strengthen gender equality education and anti-sexual harassment education in the whole society, and build a general environment for gender mainstreaming. In short, dealing with the issue of sexual harassment in colleges requires a concerted effort from society and cohesion of awareness of gender equality (Mo, 2018). Moreover, the prevalence of this frame can be attributed to the characteristics of *China Women's News*.

As mentioned before, *China Women's News* is the most popular, authoritative, and the only daily distributed nationwide women-related newspaper, hosted by the All-China Women's Federation (ACWF). Besides, the ACWF is a national women's rights organization founded in 1949 under the leadership of the CCP, and then in 1995, began to work as a non-governmental organization (UNESCO, 1998). Therefore, *China Women's News* possesses the characteristics both of an official newspaper and of an NGO organization to participate in legal rights and interest's protection of women and children, gender equality promotion, and women's all-round

development as well. For this reason, *China Women's News* needs to focus more on system construction like perfecting legislation to play its social and political role.

The second most quoted subframe is “increasing rights protection awareness by strengthening publicity and education” under the “solutions frame” group, in 22.2% of all publicans (n=546). This frame focuses on strengthening publicity and education to enhance people's awareness, such as knowing how to collect evidence and protect legal rights. A story referring to the discussion of the Xiamen University doctoral tutor seduction case dated July 17 offered some specific advice in this case:

People must know how to collect evidence, such as audio and video recordings, original chat records, written agreements, guarantees, etc., and then seek help from school discipline inspection, public security organs, women’s federations, and other departments or groups to protect your legal rights and interests (Wu, 2014).

On November 25, a news article from Xinhua News Agency was reposted, which proposed that “strengthening publicity and preventing crime can find out the rules through big data analysis and other methods” (Huang, 2014). On the post of November 7, Ding stated that “to protect children, the most important thing is to "combine prevention and treatment", especially to raise the awareness of prevention among children and their parents” (2016).

The third most popular theme among the articles collected from *China Women's News* was “social participation”, under the “solutions frame” group in 20.4%. This frame pays more attention to social responsibility and, like “sexual harassment protection, is considered to be the responsibility of the whole society”. In this case, the reporter realized that to prevent the occurrence of sexual harassment in hotels, restaurants, and other occasions, it depends on the soundness of the law, the improvement of corporate management, and the improvement of

quality of the whole people. They also suggested it is good for the healthy and sustainable development of enterprises by encouraging enterprises to incorporate work to protect women into the corporate social responsibility management system as an important part of risk management. It should be noted that men also have the responsibility to participate in this, because “sexual harassment protection is the responsibility of the whole society”. A good example is a story on November 8, with the headline “To Deal with Sexual Harassment, Please Don't Be a Silent Onlooker”:

Men do not be silent onlookers. We need to empower all women, let them speak up, let their rights and their bodies be respected, and bring criminals to justice and receive the punishment they deserve.... As Martin Luther King Jr said: “the greatest tragedy of this period of social transition was not the strident clamor of the bad people, but the appalling silence of the good people” (Jia, 2017).

Followed by the fourth presented frame in the articles collected from *China Women's News* coverage— “The lack of the prevention mechanism in employing units and educational institutions”, which belongs to the “problems frame” group in 18.6% of all publications. This frame focuses on clearing and emphasizing the duty and responsibility of employing units and educational institutions in providing appropriate sexual harassment/assaults prevention mechanisms for their staff or students. To deal with this problem,

“Realizing the basic national policy of gender equality” with the least frequency 15.5% among the top 5 frames, which under the “solutions frame” group focuses on deepening awareness of gender equality and implementing a policy of gender equality. For example, a news story published on September 13, 2014, in *China Women's News* noted:

The most important thing in anti-sexual harassment is to recognize gender equality, otherwise, men will use their dominant position to bully women. Sexual harassment is a form of bullying (Zhou, 2014).

In light of the above analysis, it is evident that the most used frame group of the top 5 frames is the “solutions frame” group in 80% (n=5). “The lack of the prevention mechanism in employing units and educational institutions” frame is the most utilized one among the “problems frame” group, and the only one non- “solutions frame-group” among these top 5 frames.

RQ3: Is there difference in the saliences of the frames in the articles reported in the *China Women’s News* before and after January 3, 2018, when the #MeToo movement began in China?

In order to answer RQ3, each comparison frame followed a two-step procedure: Pearson’s chi-square (X^2) test and the pairwise z-test. First, Pearson’s Chi-square test was used to test against the null hypothesis that the distribution of frames is the same before January 03, 2018, and after. If the Chi-square test results in a p-value smaller than .05, it means there is strong evidence to indicate that there is a difference between these two stages. Second, following a significant Chi-square test, a set of pairwise z-tests of difference in proportions were conducted to specifically show which particular frames significantly differed in these two stages.

Table 3

Crosstab: Distribution and frequency of all frames in two time periods

Frame			Time		Total
			Before 2018/01/03	After 2018/01/03	

Table 3. (Continued)

Problems frames					
Legal lack	Yes	Count	31a	28a	59
		% within Time	10.80%	12.40%	11.50%
	No	Count	256a	198a	454
		% within Time	89.20%	87.60%	88.50%
The lack of government supervision	Yes	Count	24a	30b	54
		% within Time	7.70%	13.10%	10.00%
	No	Count	288a	199b	487
		% within Time	92.30%	86.90%	90.00%
The lack of the public guardianship system	Yes	Count	25a	26a	51
		% within Time	8.10%	11.30%	9.50%
	No	Count	283a	205a	488
		% within Time	91.90%	88.70%	90.50%
The lack of the prevention mechanism in employing units and educational institutions	Yes	Count	51a	47a	98
		% within Time	17.00%	20.60%	18.60%
	No	Count	249a	181a	430
		% within Time	83.00%	79.40%	81.40%
The lack of family guardianship	Yes	Count	5a	22a	57
		% within Time	11.20%	9.50%	10.50%
	No	Count	278a	209a	487
		% within Time	88.80%	90.50%	89.50%
The lack of sex/gender education	Yes	Count	36a	35a	71
		% within Time	11.60%	15.20%	13.10%
	No	Count	274a	195a	469
		% within Time	88.40%	84.80%	86.90%
The lack of authoritative, nationwide textbook	Yes	Count	12a	10a	22
		% within Time	3.90%	4.30%	4.10%
	No	Count	299a	221a	520
		% within Time	96.10%	95.70%	95.90%
Effects frames					
The difficulties of adducing evidence and evidence collection	Yes	Count	16a	17a	33
		% within Time	5.20%	7.40%	6.20%
	No	Count	290a	213a	503
		% within Time	94.80%	92.60%	93.80%
The lack of self-protection awareness and the weak legal consciousness	Yes	Count	45a	33a	78

Table 3. (Continued)

		% within Time	14.40%	14.30%	14.40%
	No	Count	267a	198a	465
		% within Time	85.60%	85.70%	85.60%
Making concessions to avoid trouble	Yes	Count	11a	8a	19
		% within Time	3.60%	3.50%	3.50%
	No	Count	297a	223a	520
		% within Time	96.40%	96.50%	96.50%
Responsibilities frames					
Victim blaming	Yes	Count	35a	20a	55
		% within Time	11.60%	8.70%	10.30%
	No	Count	268a	209a	477
		% within Time	88.40%	91.30%	89.70%
Dressing blaming	Yes	Count	7a	4a	11
		% within Time	2.30%	1.70%	2.00%
	No	Count	302a	226a	528
		% within Time	97.70%	98.30%	98.00%
National culture responsibility	Yes	Count	45a	27a	72
		% within Time	15.20%	11.90%	13.80%
	No	Count	252a	199a	451
		% within Time	84.80%	88.10%	86.20%
Solutions frames					
Perfecting legislation	Yes	Count	98a	83a	181
		% within Time	33.00%	36.20%	34.40%
	No	Count	199a	146a	345
		% within Time	67.00%	63.80%	65.60%
Reducing the rate of crimes by increasing the high cost and risk for crimes	Yes	Count	37a	22a	59
		% within Time	12.90%	9.60%	11.40%
	No	Count	249a	208a	457
		% within Time	87.10%	90.40%	88.60%
Reducing the rate of crimes by strengthening the strict enforcement of laws	Yes	Count	18a	11a	29
		% within Time	6.00%	4.80%	5.50%
	No	Count	284a	218a	502
		% within Time	94.00%	95.20%	94.50%
Protecting the victim's legal rights	Yes	Count	35a	32a	67
		% within Time	11.60%	14.00%	12.60%
	No	Count	268a	196a	464
		% within Time	88.40%	86.00%	87.40%
Protecting the victim's rights by publicity encouragement	Yes	Count	13a	26b	39
		% within Time	4.30%	11.30%	7.30%
	No	Count	292a	204b	496

Table 3. (Continued)

		% within Time	95.70%	88.70%	92.70%
Increasing rights protection awareness by strengthening publicity and education	Yes	Count	74a	43a	117
		% within Time	24.90%	18.70%	22.20%
	No	Count	223a	187a	410
		% within Time	75.10%	81.30%	77.80%
Realizing the basic national policy of gender equality	Yes	Count	48a	35a	83
		% within Time	15.70%	15.20%	15.50%
	No	Count	258a	195a	453
		% within Time	84.30%	84.80%	84.50%
Providing economic compensation for victims	Yes	Count	17a	12a	29
		% within Time	5.50%	5.20%	5.40%
	No	Count	292a	217a	509
		% within Time	94.50%	94.80%	94.60%
Social participation	Yes	Count	59a	50a	109
		% within Time	19.20%	22.00%	20.40%
	No	Count	248a	177a	425
		% within Time	80.80%	78.00%	79.60%
NGO cooperation	Yes	Count	39a	17b	56
		% within Time	12.50%	7.30%	10.30%
	No	Count	273a	215b	488
		% within Time	87.50%	92.70%	89.70%
International communication and cooperation	Yes	Count	7a	3a	10
		% within Time	2.30%	1.30%	1.80%
	No	Count	304a	227a	531
		% within Time	97.70%	98.70%	98.20%
Women empowerment	Yes	Count	23a	17a	40
		% within Time	7.40%	7.50%	7.40%
	No	Count	287a	211a	498
		% within Time	92.60%	92.50%	92.60%
Legal empowerment	Yes	Count	35a	20a	55
		% within Time	11.30%	8.70%	10.20%
	No	Count	275a	210a	485
		% within Time	88.70%	91.30%	89.80%
Political empowerment	Yes	Count	10a	9a	19
		% within Time	3.20%	3.90%	3.50%
	No	Count	301a	221a	522
		% within Time	96.80%	96.10%	96.50%
Rights and benefits equality	Yes	Count	18a	21a	39
		% within Time	5.90%	9.10%	7.30%

Table 3. (Continued)

	No	Count	286a	209a	495
		% within Time	94.10%	90.90%	92.70%
Educational equality	Yes	Count	14a	17a	31
		% within Time	4.50%	7.40%	5.80%
	No	Count	294a	213a	507
		% within Time	95.50%	92.60%	94.20%
Economic participation equality	Yes	Count	17a	16a	33
		% within Time	5.50%	7.00%	6.10%
	No	Count	290a	214a	504
		% within Time	94.50%	93.00%	93.90%
Equal Pay for Equal Work	Yes	Count	7a	11a	18
		% within Time	2.30%	4.80%	3.30%
	No	Count	304a	219a	523
		% within Time	97.70%	95.20%	96.70%
Social advantages/welfare equality	Yes	Count	17a	8a	25
		% within Time	5.50%	3.50%	4.60%
	No	Count	294a	222a	516
		% within Time	94.50%	96.50%	95.40%

As mentioned above, a total of 546 relevant articles were collected between 2014 and 2020 from *China Women's News* database without duplication. This period includes the key events which profoundly affected the development of the #MeToo movement in China—the accusation of sexual harassment by Luo's former assistant-doctoral tutor on January 1, 2018. The first day Luo's issue was reported by *China Women's News* is January 3, 2018. Therefore, in this study, January 3, 2018, was considered as the key benchmark to separate these two time periods: before the Luo's issue was reported (2014 - January 2, 2018) and afterward (January 3, 2018 – September 2020).

As shown in Table 3, after a series of z-tests, there is a significant difference in the distribution of three frames: the lack of government supervision, protecting the victim's rights by publicity encouragement, and NGO cooperation frame.

“The lack of government supervision” frame belonged to the “problems frame” group and concentrated on the lack of government supervision and attention so that the social public has insufficient awareness to participate in sexual harassment/assault events.

Table 4

Crosstab: The lack of government supervision

		Time		Total	
		Before 2018/01/03	After 2018/01/03		
The lack of government supervision	Yes	Count	24a	30b	54
		% within Time	7.70%	13.10%	10.00%
	No	Count	288a	199b	487
		% within Time	92.30%	86.90%	90.00%
Total		Count	312	229	541
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

* $p < .05$.

The pairwise z-test (Table 4) indicates that both before January 3, 2018, and after, whether or not this frame was present, there is a significant difference in the distribution of this frame across the two stages, which is also demonstrated by the Chi-square test result ($X^2 = 4.299$, $df = 1, 541$, $p = .038$). Before January 3, 2018, the distribution percentage of this frame is 7.7%, and after Luo’s issue report was first published, the distribution of this frame increased to 13.1%. An article posted on April 17, 2018, referring to the fact that journalists at *The New York Times* and *The New Yorker* won the Pulitzer Prize for their stories revealing the scandal of Harvey Weinstein, mentioned that:

To protect women's rights and promote women's status, aside from continuing to speak out in the media and the Internet, we also need to establish and perfect related legal mechanisms to allow the whole society to participate (Chen, 2018).

The significance of the “protecting the victim’s rights by publicity encouragement” frame’s distribution in different two time periods has been demonstrated by a series of z-tests (Table 5), which is also verified by its counterpart Chi-square test result ($X^2=9.621$, $df= 1,535$, $p=.002$). This frame focused on how to use media to promote gender equality and women's protection.

Table 5

Crosstab: Protecting the victim’s rights by publicity encouragement

		Time		Total	
		Before 2018/01/03	After 2018/01/03		
Protecting the victim’s rights by publicity encouragement	Yes	Count	13a	26b	39
		% within Time	4.30%	11.30%	7.30%
	No	Count	292a	204b	496
		% within Time	95.70%	88.70%	92.70%
Total		Count	305	230	535
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

* $p < .05$.

As Table 5 shows, the distribution of presented “protecting the victim’s rights by publicity encouragement” frame before January 3, 2018, was 4.3%, and after that increased to 11.3%. The difference in the distribution of this frame can be explained by the fact that people realized the significant and profound role of media in disseminating the values of gender equality, especially after the #MeToo movement happened on social media. A good example is a report dated March 21, 2015, with a headline “‘Gender Equality and Media Responsibility’ seminar held in Beijing” which read:

The active and effective participation of the media is indispensable for leading advanced gender culture, disseminating the values of equality between men and women, and

implementing the basic national policy of gender equality. The media is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it provides women with various conveniences in life and works; on the other hand, the media is also copying gender stereotypes, which has a negative impact on women. With the advent of the new media era, this dual function has been magnified. Therefore, make good use of the media, and the use of the media is both a challenge and an opportunity for women's work (Liu, 2015).

The data published on September 25, 2015, also showed that: “In the media, the proportion of women appearing as news subjects only increased to 24%, while 46% of stories reinforced gender stereotypes, and only 6% of stories changed gender stereotypes” (Cai, 2015). That might have been the reason why the significance showed the difference in the distribution of this frame during these two times.

Unexpectedly, unlike above mentioned two frames, even though there was a significant difference in the “NGO cooperation” frame distribution before and after January 3, 2018 ($X^2=3.855$, $df= 1,544$, $p=.05$), the presented frequency of this frame was not increasing but declining. The “NGO cooperation” frame encourages NGO cooperation or other social organizations to actively participate in expanding gender equality and women protection works in various fields to achieve women's benefits all over the world and help each other in the meanwhile. A set of pairwise z-tests (Table 6) revealed that before and after January 3, 2018, the frequency of this frame distribution declined from 12.5% to 7.3%.

Table 6*Crosstab: NGO cooperation*

		Time		Total	
		Before 2018/01/03	After 2018/01/03		
NGO cooperation	Yes	Count	39a	17b	56
		% within Time	12.50%	7.30%	10.30%
	No	Count	273a	215b	488
		% within Time	87.50%	92.70%	89.70%
Total		Count	312	232	544
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

* $p = .05$.

Chapter Seven:

Discussion

Results of the content analysis answered the three research questions proposed before:

Two major surges appeared during the whole media attention cycle separately in 2014, because of the Xiamen University doctoral tutor seduction case and declined afterward, and then peaked in 2018, after the #MeToo movement became popular in China. The enthusiasm and public interest fluctuated after people realized how costly and difficult it was to solve this problem. Consequently, the frequency of each frame group distribution did go up and down with enthusiasm and public interesting fluctuating, and media attention shifting. “Perfecting legislation” frame under the category of “solutions frames group” appeared in *China Women’s News* with the most presented frequency, 34.4% of all the collected publications, which resulted from the specific characteristics of *China Women's News* and the imperfectness of the relative law in China women protections. In this study, only 3 frames (out of 32 frames) have been confirmed with statistical significance following Pearson’s chi-square (X^2) test and the pairwise z-test, which are “the lack of government supervision”, “protecting the victim’s rights by publicity encouragement”, and “NGOs cooperation”. Besides, the former two showed an overall upward trend before and after the key point (January 3, 2018), whereas the distribution of the “NGOs cooperation” frame unexpectedly decreased after that time.

Additionally, except for the three frames mentioned before, other frames, as Table 3 shows. Had no statistical significance but did have distribution differences before and after January 3, 2018. For example, the “lack of sex/gender education” frame increased from 11.60% to 15.20%, the “victim-blaming” frame declined from 11.60% to 8.70%, the “national culture

responsibility” also decreased from 15.20% to 11.90%. After January 3, 2018, the newspaper paid more attention to the “protecting the victim's legal rights” frame (11.60% to 14.00%), and less to the “increasing rights protection awareness by strengthening publicity and education” frame (24.90% to 18.70%). Among the “equality framesets”, it is clearly noted that the distribution difference of the “rights and benefits equality” increased from 5.90% to 9.10%, and the “educational equality” from 4.50% to 7.40% (Table 3).

The Disparities in Women/Men in Workplace

“More broadly, it’s generally accepted that one of the reasons why East Asia has prospered in recent decades is contributed to educated-female and women labor participation rate growth” (Kristof, & WuDunn, 2010, p.143). Generally speaking, the improvement of education levels will bring about an increase in employment opportunities and increase in employment income, as mentioned as previous *education and empowerment* part. According to the definition of Demographic Dividend, which is provided by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), “A country with both increasing numbers of young people and declining fertility has the potential to reap a demographic dividend” (2016). In this case, theoretically, the Chinese economic take-off came from the mutual interaction of the following factors: one-childbirth control policy, high educational attainment, high levels of female labor force participation. And China’s economic growth is also affirmed by Homi Kharas, a World Bank and Brookings Institution economist who has worked on these issues, in chapter 12 of *Half the sky*:

“By employing them in export industries, the countries got foreign exchange which could be used to buy needed capital equipment. The young women saved much of their money or sent it back to relatives in the village, raising national saving rates. On the one hand,

they had good jobs and income-earning opportunities, they delayed marriage and childbearing on the other hand, lowering fertility and population growth rates. Consequently, a major factor in East Asia’s economic boom was the contribution of its young peasant female labor force” (Kristof, & WuDunn, 2010, p.171).

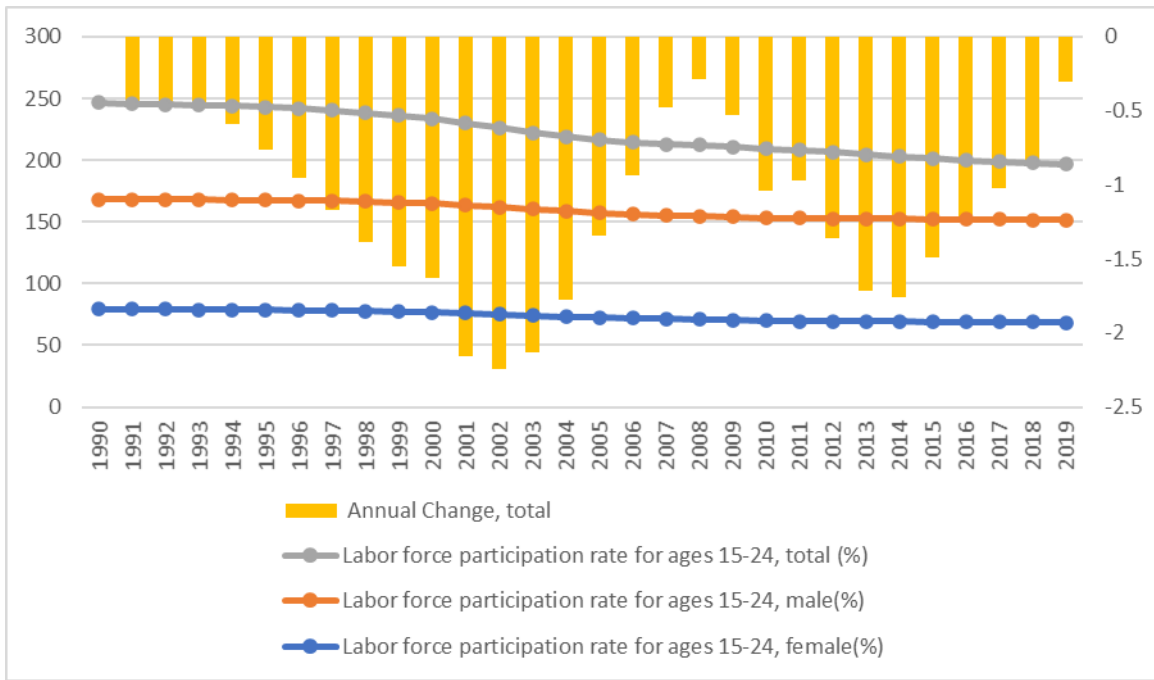


Figure 8

China labor force participation rate for ages 15-24, female and total (1990-2019)

Note. This figure shows how China labor force participation rate changed separately for ages 15-24, female and total, data collected from database: World Development Indicators (World Bank, 2021).

However, according to the World Bank data (Figure 8), although the labor force participation rate of both men and women has declined over the past 20 years, the employment rate of women has declined even more: the employment rate of the interviewed urban female labor population between 18 and 64 years old was 76.3% in 1990 (90.0% for men), 63.5% (81.3% for men) in 2000, and 60.8% (80.5% for men) in 2010. The survey also shows that among the employees in urban units (regular employment), the number and magnitude of the

decline in women has been greater than that of men. In 2002, the absolute number of women employed in urban units decreased by 17.33 million compared with 1995, a decrease of 29.4%. To bear the negative impact of inequality in employment opportunities brought about by economic restructuring in a higher proportion. If the position of the educated in the labor market is used as a standard to measure the outcome of education, it can still be seen that the equality of educational opportunities does not naturally bring about the equality of educational outcomes.

Since China implemented economic reforms, the pattern of high men's income and low women's employment income has prevailed and is constantly expanding. The general improvement of women's education level has not naturally translated into their equal status in the labor market and equal recognition and return of their labor value. Studies have shown that factors such as the distribution of family time, the employment policy of the labor market, and the structural transformation of the labor market are the main reasons for the gap between women and men in career development. Excessive housework responsibilities and a shortage of social resources to support career development make women more vulnerable to the negative effects of the economic transformation process.

In the current employment policy, the employment and retirement policies of national leaders at 70 years old, ministerial leaders at 65 years old, and people under the deputy ministerial level at 60 years old have been implemented. Compared with men, women in China are divided into more retirement levels. In addition to national and ministerial women's retirement levels, while directors and bureau-level cadres can retire at the age of 60, female civil servants below the division level retire at 55, and other female workers retire at 50. The policy actually resulted in female civil servants' employment rights being restricted for 5 years

compared with their male counterparts, while general female workers' rights are restricted for 10 years (Ding, 2014).

Consequently, increasing the labor participation rate of women must not only start from the women themselves, but also start from the reform of the social security mechanism, comprehensively improve the early childhood education mechanism, and change the gender employment concept.

NGOs Cooperation

Another thing that needs to be recognized in this study is the decline of NGOs cooperation frequency in *China Women's News*. The NGOs cooperation frame has not been increasing but declining, which can be explained by the fact that two generations of feminists have been adopting different media strategies. Long-standing women NGOs prefer to cooperate with the official media to influence government policy, while young feminists pay more attention to the market-oriented or commercialized media to arouse public attention and naturally bring about policy responsiveness. Most young feminists were born between 1970 and 1990, into "one-child" families, who adopt the "making news" strategy to turn social problems into news stories. Meanwhile, that young feminists resorted to making new stories on market-oriented media, is a good way to not only express the pressure of public opinion but also to reduce political pungency and avoid news censorship, since 2014, media control has intensified (Li, & Li, 2017). At this point, the decline of NGOs cooperation can be explained that young feminists and #MeToo movement activists mostly used social media as their major tool for news agenda-setting and self-expression, unlike the media strategies proposed by long-standing NGOs. Consequently, if the shifting relationship between the movements and media has been placed in

its specific historical context, the decrease in the frequency of NGOs cooperation frame might come from different media strategies and media era characteristics by the different generation feminists.

Men Protection

Last but not least, male protection at the legislative level gained public attention after 2018. Under the traditional gender norms, the sexually assaulted women are stigmatized for violating the gender norms of "chaste", bear a sense of stigma, and it is difficult to disclose the fact of the victimization. There are two sides, both of which reflect the negative effects of traditional gender temperament. Under this heading, Liu (2018) proposed that: the phenomenon of sexual harassment has not been effectively curbed, one of the reasons is that national legislation is flawed-the adoption of a single-sex protection model ignores the reality that men also encounter sexual harassment. Failing to reveal the nature of gender discrimination contained in sexual harassment and therefore not being included in the anti-discrimination laws and regulations; the lack of a definition of sexual harassment makes the judicial system lack the standard of determination; the employer's obligation to prevent sexual harassment is too general and the lack of legal responsibility for not fulfilling this obligation makes it difficult to implement. No special agencies are responsible for accepting and investigating sexual harassment complaints and other responsibilities. Victims have to choose between forbearance or litigation and paying a higher price; the cases listed by the Supreme Court are usually not named as sexual harassment, forcing the plaintiff of sexual harassment to have to "sue by the name"; special evidence required for sexual harassment litigation. The lack of rules makes it difficult for the plaintiff of sexual harassment to win the lawsuit; the lack of punitive compensation liability

provisions, the winners get very low civil compensation. All this removes any incentive for victims to bring actions since there is no system in place to punish and redress these issues effectively and in a way that would ensure their dignity.

As previously mentioned, “If people want to know more about a real Orient world, it is better to acquire information from the Orientals rather than the Western Orientalist” (Saïd, 1978). At this point, the significance of this study is to offer the world a content analysis study of China’s most popular, authoritative, and the only daily distributed nationwide women-related newspaper—*China Women’s News* as detailed as possible and taking into consideration its historical and socio-cultural context to better understand the women’s movement in China. Meanwhile, it is a good opportunity to show how quickly Chinese gender equality work has progressed, how the situation of women has changed in recent years, how public awareness about these issues has subtly changed. and which aspects of gender equality and women protection still need to be improved in the future. All of this was examined by exploring media framing.

Chapter Eight:

Conclusion

The #MeToo movement, as the first spontaneous mass social media movement against sexual harassment and sexual assault, started by an American actress Alyssa Milano's Tweet post on October 15, 2017, and then rapidly has been trending in at least 85 countries including China. In this thesis, a quantitative study was done on the online newspaper coverage of the *China Women's News* and examined by content analysis as the method to collect and analyze data. As the result of the analysis, the dominant frame is the "perfecting legislation" frame in 34.4% of all the collected online publications, from among 188 articles found. It might have happened because of the nature of *China Women's News*, which, as the most popular, authoritative, and the only daily distributed nationwide women-related newspaper, hosted by the All-China Women's Federation (ACWF). As mentioned before, the media strategies of these long-standing women NGOs are to change the opinions of people in charge so that to influence government policy and law-making (Li, & Li, 2017). Moreover, because of the characteristics of the *China Women's News*, media professionalism demands them to be "neutral and balanced". Naturally, as the result of attitude analysis, there are only a few articles with negative descriptions. For this reason, it is difficult to use attitudes or tones of the description as one kind of frame to analyze in this study. By examining the distribution and frequency of all frames before and after January 3, 2018, there are only three frames that show statistical significance followed Pearson's chi-square (X^2) test and the pairwise z-test: "the lack of government supervision", "protecting the victim's rights by publicity encouragement", and "NGOs cooperation". Among these three frames, the former two showed an overall upward trend, while

the frequency of the “NGOs cooperation” surprisingly decreased after January 3, 2018, which can be explained by the different media strategies and characteristics of different generation feminists.

Two more noteworthy findings in this study are the relationship and interaction with Demographic Dividend and the reason for labor force participation rate drop, which also involved an industrial restructuring of the Chinese labor market, as well as men’s protection from legal perspectives.

Grounded in the framing salience as the theoretical framework of this study, there are not too many significant differences demonstrated by the coverage in *China Women’s News* especially before and after 2018, additionally, most of the frames show minor changes after the #Me Too movement happened. Moreover, due perhaps, to the half official media characteristic of *China Women’s News*, there are not too many news reports directly related to the #Me Too movement. Instead, the reports are more often focused on legal perspective and policymaking concerning women protection and women's movement.

Limitation Buried and Future Direction

The limitations of this study are that:

1. Although this study tried to explain the sophisticated and tangled relationship among Demographic Dividend, education with empowerment, Confucian ethics and patriarchal cultural norms, the reason of Son Preference in Patrilineal Countries, and the “one-child policy”. However, these social problems are too intricate to figure out in this study. We have only just scratched the surface, there are so much more issues that need to be dealt with in the future.

2. In this study, there were too many frame types, which directly led to the data sample is divided into a small portion, so that influence the result and significance of this study. Therefore, in the future, research should try to collect these segments into a new bigger frame.

3. This study only examined one type of newspaper in China, which was not convincing. After taking this view into account, cross-countries research, or comparative studies need to be considered in the future.

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Appendix A

Content Coding Scheme

I. General

Coded By _____

Story Number _____

II. Publication year of the Article

2014 2015 2016 2017 2018 2019 2020

III. Report Frames

Frame	Yes/Present	No/Absent
Problems frames		
Lack set of frames		
Legal lack		
The lack of government supervision		
The lack of public guardianship system		
The lack of the prevention mechanism in employing units and educational institutions		
The lack of family guardianship		
Sex/gender education set of frames		
The lack of sex/gender education		
The lack of authoritative, nationwide textbook		
Effects frames		
The difficulties of adducing evidence and evidence collection		
The lack of self-protection awareness and the weak legal consciousness		
Making concessions to avoid trouble		
Responsibilities frames— National and cultural responsibilities set of frames		
Traditional culture responsibility set of frames		
Victim blaming		
Dressing blaming		
National culture responsibility		
Solutions frames		
Perfecting legislation		

Reducing the rate of crimes set of frames

Reducing the rate of crimes by increasing the high cost and risk for crimes

Reducing the rate of crimes by strengthening the strict enforcement of laws

Victims' benefits protection set of frames

Protecting the victim's legal rights

Protecting the victim's rights by publicity encouragement

Increasing rights protection awareness by strengthening publicity and education

Realizing the basic national policy of gender equality

Providing economic compensation for victims

Social responsibility set of frames

Social participation

NGO cooperation

International communication and cooperation

Empowerment set of frames

Women empowerment

Legal empowerment

Political empowerment

Equality set of frames

Rights and benefits equality

Educational equality

Economic participation equality

Equal Pay for Equal Work

Social advantages/welfare equality

Appendix B

Z-Test Results Table List

“Problems” frames

Table A1. “Legal lack” frame.

Legal lack					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	59	10.8	11.5	11.5
	No	454	83.2	88.5	100
	Total	513	94	100	
Missing	System	33	6		
Total		546	100		

Table A2. “The lack of government supervision” frame.

The lack of government supervision					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	54	9.9	10	10
	No	487	89.2	90	100
	Total	541	99.1	100	
Missing	System	5	0.9		
Total		546	100		

Table A3. “The lack of public guardianship system” frame.

The lack of public guardianship system					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	51	9.3	9.5	9.5
	No	488	89.4	90.5	100
	Total	539	98.7	100	
Missing	System	7	1.3		
Total		546	100		

Table A4. “The lack of the prevention in employing units and educational institutions” frame.

The lack of the prevention in employing units and educational institutions					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	78	14.3	14.4	14.4
	No	465	85.2	85.6	100
	Total	543	99.5	100	
Missing	System	3	0.5		
Total		546	100		

Table A5. “The lack of family guardianship” frame.

The lack of family guardianship					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	57	10.4	10.5	10.5
	No	487	89.2	89.5	100
	Total	544	99.6	100	
Missing	System	2	0.4		
Total		546	100		

Table A6. “The lack of sex/gender education” frame.

The lack of sex/gender education					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	71	13	13.1	13.1
	No	469	85.9	86.9	100
	Total	540	98.9	100	
Missing	System	6	1.1		
Total		546	100		

Table A7. “The lack of textbook that specializes in sexual harassment prevention” frame.

The lack of textbook that specializes in sexual harassment prevention					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	22	4	4.1	4.1
	No	520	95.2	95.9	100
	Total	542	99.3	100	
Missing	System	4	0.7		
Total		546	100		

“Effects” frames

Table B1. “The difficulties of adducing evidence and evidence collection” frame.

The difficulties of adducing evidence and evidence collection					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	33	6	6.2	6.2
	No	503	92.1	93.8	100
	Total	536	98.2	100	
Missing	System	10	1.8		
Total		546	100		

Table B2. “The lack of self-protection awareness and the weak legal consciousness” frame.

The lack of self-protection awareness and the weak legal consciousness					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	78	14.3	14.4	14.4
	No	465	85.2	85.6	100
	Total	543	99.5	100	
Missing	System	3	0.5		
Total		546	100		

Table B3. “Making concessions to avoid trouble” frame.

Making concessions to avoid trouble					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	19	3.5	3.5	3.5
	No	520	95.2	96.5	100
	Total	539	98.7	100	
Missing	System	7	1.3		
Total		546	100		

“Responsibilities” frames

“Traditional culture responsibility” set of frames.

Table C1. “Victim blaming” frame.

Victim blaming					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	55	10.1	10.3	10.3
	No	477	87.4	89.7	100
	Total	532	97.4	100	
Missing	System	14	2.6		
Total		546	100		

Table C2. “Dressing blaming” frame.

“Dressing blaming					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	11	2	2	2
	No	528	96.7	98	100
	Total	539	98.7	100	
Missing	System	7	1.3		
Total		546	100		

Table C3. “National culture responsibility” frame.

National culture responsibility					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	72	13.2	13.8	13.8
	No	451	82.6	86.2	100
	Total	523	95.8	100	
Missing	System	23	4.2		
Total		546	100		

“Solutions” frames

Table D1. “Perfecting legislation” frame.

Perfecting legislation					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	181	33.2	34.4	34.4
	No	345	63.2	65.6	100
	Total	526	96.3	100	
Missing	System	20	3.7		
Total		546	100		

Table D2. “Reducing the rate of crimes by increasing the high cost and risk for crimes” frame.

Reducing the crime rate by increasing the high cost and risk for crimes					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	59	10.8	11.4	11.4
	No	457	83.7	88.6	100
	Total	516	94.5	100	
Missing	System	30	5.5		
Total		546	100		

Table D3. “Reducing the rate of crimes by strengthening the strict enforcement of laws” frame.

Reducing the crime rate by strengthening the strict enforcement of laws					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	29	5.3	5.5	5.5
	No	502	91.9	94.5	100
	Total	531	97.3	100	
Missing	System	15	2.7		
Total		546	100		

“Victims' benefits protection” set of frames.

Table D4. “Protecting the victim's legal rights” frame.

Protecting the victim's legal rights					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	67	12.3	12.6	12.6
	No	464	85	87.4	100
	Total	531	97.3	100	
Missing	System	15	2.7		
Total		546	100		

Table D5. “Protecting the victim’s rights by publicity encouragement” frame.

Protecting the victim’s rights by publicity encouragement					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	39	7.1	7.3	7.3
	No	495	90.7	92.7	100
	Total	534	97.8	100	
Missing	System	12	2.2		
Total		546	100		

Table D6. “Increasing rights protection awareness by strengthening publicity/education” frame.

Increasing rights protection awareness					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	117	21.4	22.2	22.2
	No	410	75.1	77.8	100
	Total	527	96.5	100	
Missing	System	19	3.5		
Total		546	100		

Table D7. “Providing economic compensation for victims” frame.

Providing economic compensation for victims					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	29	5.3	5.4	5.4
	No	509	93.2	94.6	100
	Total	538	98.5	100	
Missing	System	8	1.5		
Total		546	100		

Table D8. “Realizing the basic national policy of gender equality” frame.

Realizing the basic national policy of gender equality					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	83	15.2	15.5	15.5
	No	453	83	84.5	100
	Total	536	98.2	100	
Missing	System	10	1.8		
Total		546	100		

“Social responsibility” set of frames.

Table D9. “Social participation” frame.

Social participation					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	109	20	20.4	20.4
	No	425	77.8	79.6	100
	Total	534	97.8	100	
Missing	System	12	2.2		
Total		546	100		

Table D10. “NGO cooperation” frame.

NGO cooperation					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	56	10.3	10.3	10.3
	2	488	89.4	89.7	100
	Total	544	99.6	100	
Missing	System	2	0.4		
Total		546	100		

Table D11. “International communication and cooperation” frame.

International communication and cooperation					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	10	1.8	1.8	1.8
	No	531	97.3	98.2	100
	Total	541	99.1	100	
Missing	System	5	0.9		
Total		546	100		

“Empowerment” set of frames.

Table D12. “Women empowerment” frame.

Women empowerment					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	40	7.3	7.4	7.4
	No	498	91.2	92.6	100
	Total	538	98.5	100	
Missing	System	8	1.5		
Total		546	100		

Table D13. “Legal empowerment” frame.

Legal empowerment					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	55	10.1	10.2	10.2
	No	485	88.8	89.8	100
	Total	540	98.9	100	
Missing	System	6	1.1		
Total		546	100		

Table D14. “Political empowerment” frame.

Political empowerment					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	19	3.5	3.5	3.5
	No	522	95.6	96.5	100
	Total	541	99.1	100	
Missing	System	5	0.9		
Total		546	100		

“Equality” set of frames.

Table D15. “Rights and benefits equality” frame.

Rights and benefits equality					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	39	7.1	7.3	7.3
	No	495	90.7	92.7	100
	Total	534	97.8	100	
Missing	System	12	2.2		
Total		546	100		

Table D16. “Educational equality” frame.

Educational equality					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	31	5.7	5.8	5.8
	No	507	92.9	94.2	100
	Total	538	98.5	100	
Missing	System	8	1.5		
Total		546	100		

Table D17. “Economic participation equality” frame

Economic participation equality					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	33	6	6.1	6.1
	No	504	92.3	93.9	100
	Total	537	98.4	100	
Missing	System	9	1.6		
Total		546	100		

Table D18. “Equal Pay for Equal Work” frame.

Equal Pay for Equal Work					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	18	3.3	3.3	3.3
	No	523	95.8	96.7	100
	Total	541	99.1	100	
Missing	System	5	0.9		
Total		546	100		

Table D19. “Social advantages/welfare equality” frame.

Social advantages/welfare equality					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	25	4.6	4.6	4.6
	No	516	94.5	95.4	100
	Total	541	99.1	100	
Missing	System	5	0.9		
Total		546	100		

Appendix C

Chi-Square (X^2) Test Results Table List

Table E1. Before 2018/01/03 vs. After 2018/01/03

				Time	Total
				Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08
Perfecting legislation	Ye s	Count	31a	28a	59
		% within Time	10.80%	12.40%	11.50%
	No	Count	256a	198a	454
		% within Time	89.20%	87.60%	88.50%
Total		Count	287	226	513
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00 %

$X^2 = .313$, $df = 1,513$, $p = .576$

Table E2. The lack of sex/gender education.

				Time	Total
				Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08
The lack of sex/gender education	Yes	Count	36a	35a	71
		% within Time	11.60%	15.20%	13.10%
	No	Count	274a	195a	469
		% within Time	88.40%	84.80%	86.90%
Total		Count	310	230	540
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = 1.502$, $df = 1,540$, $p = .220$

Table E3. The lack of authoritative, nationwide textbook.

			Time		Total
			Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08	
The lack of authoritative, nationwide textbook	Yes	Count	12a	10a	22
		% within Time	3.90%	4.30%	4.10%
	No	Count	299a	221a	520
		% within Time	96.10%	95.70%	95.90%
Total		Count	311	231	542
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = .075$, $df = 1,542$, $p = .784$

Table E4. The lack of public guardianship system.

			Time		Total
			Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08	
The lack of public guardianship system	Yes	Count	25a	26a	51
		% within Time	8.10%	11.30%	9.50%
	No	Count	283a	205a	488
		% within Time	91.90%	88.70%	90.50%
Total		Count	308	231	539
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = 1.518$, $df = 1,539$, $p = .218$

Table E5. The lack of family guardianship.

			Time		Total
			Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08	
The lack of family guardianship	Yes	Count	35a	22a	57
		% within Time	11.20%	9.50%	10.50%
	No	Count	278a	209a	487
		% within Time	88.80%	90.50%	89.50%
Total		Count	313	231	544
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = .390$, $df = 1,544$, $p = .532$

Table E6. The lack of self-protection awareness and the weak legal consciousness.

			Time		Total
			Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08	
The lack of self-protection awareness and the weak legal consciousness	Yes	Count	45a	33a	78
		% within Time	14.40%	14.30%	14.40%
	No	Count	267a	198a	465
		% within Time	85.60%	85.70%	85.60%
Total		Count	312	231	543
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = .002$, $df = 1,543$, $p = .964$

Table E7. Making concessions to avoid trouble.

			Time		Total
			Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08	
Making concessions to avoid trouble	Yes	Count	11a	8a	19
		% within Time	3.60%	3.50%	3.50%
	No	Count	297a	223a	520
		% within Time	96.40%	96.50%	96.50%
Total		Count	308	231	539
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = .005$, $df = 1,539$, $p = .946$

Table E8. Victim blaming.

			Time		Total
			Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08	
Victim blaming	Yes	Count	35a	20a	55
		% within Time	11.60%	8.70%	10.30%
	No	Count	268a	209a	477
		% within Time	88.40%	91.30%	89.70%
Total		Count	303	229	532
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = 1.117$, $df = 1,532$, $p = .291$

Table E9. Dressing blaming.

			Time		Total
			Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08	
Dressing blaming	Yes	Count	7a	4a	11
		% within Time	2.30%	1.70%	2.00%
	No	Count	302a	226a	528
		% within Time	97.70%	98.30%	98.00%
Total		Count	309	230	539
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = .183$, $df = 1,539$, $p = .669$

Table E10. The lack of the prevention mechanism in employing units.

			Time		Total
			Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08	
The lack of the prevention mechanism in employing units and educational institutions	Yes	Count	51a	47a	98
		% within Time	17.00%	20.60%	18.60%
	No	Count	249a	181a	430
		% within Time	83.00%	79.40%	81.40%
Total		Count	300	228	528
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = 1.119$, $df = 1,528$, $p = .290$

Table E11. The difficulties of adducing evidence and evidence collection.

			Time		Total
			Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08	
The difficulties of adducing evidence and evidence collection	Yes	Count	16a	17a	33
		% within Time	5.20%	7.40%	6.20%
	No	Count	290a	213a	503
		% within Time	94.80%	92.60%	93.80%
Total		Count	306	230	536
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = 1.063$, $df = 1,536$, $p = .303$

Table E12. The lack of government supervision.

			Time		Total
			Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08	
The lack of government supervision		Count	24a	30b	54
		% within Time	7.70%	13.10%	10.00%
	No	Count	288a	199b	487
		% within Time	92.30%	86.90%	90.00%
Total		Count	312	229	541
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = 4.299$, $df = 1,541$, $p = .038$

Table E13. Legal lack.

			Time		Total
			Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08	
Legal lack	Yes	Count	98a	83a	181
		% within Time	33.00%	36.20%	34.40%
	No	Count	199a	146a	345
		% within Time	67.00%	63.80%	65.60%
Total		Count	297	229	526
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = .604$, $df = 1,526$, $p = .437$

Table E14. Reducing the rate of crimes by increasing the high cost and risk for crimes.

			Time		Total
			Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08	
Reducing the rate of crimes by increasing the high cost and risk for crimes	Yes	Count	37a	22a	59
		% within Time	12.90%	9.60%	11.40%
	No	Count	249a	208a	457
		% within Time	87.10%	90.40%	88.60%
Total		Count	286	230	516
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = 1.431$, $df = 1,516$, $p = .232$

Table E15. Reducing the rate of crimes by strengthening the strict enforcement of laws.

			Time		Total
			Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08	
Reducing the rate of crimes by strengthening the strict enforcement of laws	Yes	Count	18a	11a	29
		% within Time	6.00%	4.80%	5.50%
	No	Count	284a	218a	502
		% within Time	94.00%	95.20%	94.50%
Total		Count	302	229	531
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = .338$, $df = 1,531$, $p = .561$

Table E16. Protecting the victim's rights by publicity encouragement.

			Time		Total
			Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08	
Protecting the victim's rights by publicity encouragement	Yes	Count	13a	26b	39
		% within Time	4.30%	11.30%	7.30%
	No	Count	292a	204b	496
		% within Time	95.70%	88.70%	92.70%
Total		Count	305	230	535
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = 9.621$, $df = 1,535$, $p = .002$

Table E17. Increasing rights protection awareness by strengthening publicity and education.

			Time		Total
			Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08	
Increasing rights protection awareness by strengthening publicity and education	Yes	Count	74a	43a	117
		% within Time	24.90%	18.70%	22.20%
	No	Count	223a	187a	410
		% within Time	75.10%	81.30%	77.80%
Total		Count	297	230	527
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = 2.904$, $df = 1,527$, $p = .088$

Table E18. National culture responsibility.

			Time		Total
			Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08	
National culture responsibility	Yes	Count	45a	27a	72
		% within Time	15.20%	11.90%	13.80%
	No	Count	252a	199a	451
		% within Time	84.80%	88.10%	86.20%
Total		Count	297	226	523
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = 1.110$, $df = 1,523$, $p = .292$

Table E19. Realizing the basic national policy of gender equality.

			Time		Total
			Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08	
Realizing the basic national policy of gender equality	Yes	Count	48a	35a	83
		% within Time	15.70%	15.20%	15.50%
	No	Count	258a	195a	453
		% within Time	84.30%	84.80%	84.50%
Total		Count	306	230	536
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = .022$, $df = 1,536$, $p = .882$

Table E20. Legal empowerment.

			Time		Total
			Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08	
Legal empowerment	Yes	Count	35a	20a	55
		% within Time	11.30%	8.70%	10.20%
	No	Count	275a	210a	485
		% within Time	88.70%	91.30%	89.80%
Total		Count	310	230	540
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = .022$, $df = 1,540$, $p = .882$

Table E21. Educational equality.

			Time		Total
			Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08	
Educational equality	Yes	Count	14a	17a	31
		% within Time	4.50%	7.40%	5.80%
	No	Count	294a	213a	507
		% within Time	95.50%	92.60%	94.20%
Total		Count	308	230	538
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = 1.964$, $df = 1,538$, $p = .161$

Table E22. Economic participation equality.

			Time		Total
			Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08	
Economic participation equality	Yes	Count	17a	16a	33
		% within Time	5.50%	7.00%	6.10%
	No	Count	290a	214a	504
		% within Time	94.50%	93.00%	93.90%
Total		Count	307	230	537
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = .459$, $df = 1,537$, $p = .498$

Table E23. Equal Pay for Equal Work.

			Time		Total
			Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08	
Equal Pay for Equal Work	Yes	Count	7a	11a	18
		% within Time	2.30%	4.80%	3.30%
	No	Count	304a	219a	523
		% within Time	97.70%	95.20%	96.70%
Total		Count	311	230	541
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = 2.635$, $df = 1,541$, $p = .105$

Table E24. Rights and benefits equality.

			Time		Total
			Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08	
Rights and benefits equality	Yes	Count	18a	21a	39
		% within Time	5.90%	9.10%	7.30%
	No	Count	286a	209a	495
		% within Time	94.10%	90.90%	92.70%
Total		Count	304	230	534
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = 1.992$, $df = 1,534$, $p = .158$

Table E25. Social advantages/welfare equality.

			Time		Total
			Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08	
Social advantages/welfare equality	Yes	Count	17a	8a	25
		% within Time	5.50%	3.50%	4.60%
	No	Count	294a	222a	516
		% within Time	94.50%	96.50%	95.40%
Total		Count	311	230	541
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = 1.186$, $df = 1,541$, $p = .276$

Table E26. Political empowerment.

			Time		Total
			Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08	
Political empowerment	Yes	Count	10a	9a	19
		% within Time	3.20%	3.90%	3.50%
	No	Count	301a	221a	522
		% within Time	96.80%	96.10%	96.50%
Total		Count	311	230	541
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = .190$, $df = 1,541$, $p = .663$

Table E27. Women empowerment.

			Time		Total
			Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08	
Women empowerment	Yes	Count	23a	17a	40
		% within Time	7.40%	7.50%	7.40%
	No	Count	287a	211a	498
		% within Time	92.60%	92.50%	92.60%
Total		Count	310	228	538
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = .000$, $df = 1,538$, $p = .987$

Table E28. International communication and cooperation.

			Time		Total
			Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08	
International communication and cooperation	Yes	Count	7a	3a	10
		% within Time	2.30%	1.30%	1.80%
	No	Count	304a	227a	531
		% within Time	97.70%	98.70%	98.20%
Total		Count	311	230	541
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = .653$, $df = 1,541$, $p = .419$

Table E29. Protecting the victim's legal rights.

			Time		Total
			Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08	
Protecting the victim's legal rights	Yes	Count	35a	32a	67
		% within Time	11.60%	14.00%	12.60%
	No	Count	268a	196a	464
		% within Time	88.40%	86.00%	87.40%
Total		Count	303	228	531
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = .728$, $df = 1,531$, $p = .394$

Table E30. Providing economic compensation for victims.

			Time		Total
			Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08	
Providing economic compensation for victims	Yes	Count	17a	12a	29
		% within Time	5.50%	5.20%	5.40%
	No	Count	292a	217a	509
		% within Time	94.50%	94.80%	94.60%
Total		Count	309	229	538
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = .018$, $df = 1,538$, $p = .894$

Table E31. Social participation.

		Time		Total	
		Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08		
Social participation	Yes	Count	59a	50a	109
		% within Time	19.20%	22.00%	20.40%
	No	Count	248a	177a	425
		% within Time	80.80%	78.00%	79.60%
Total		Count	307	227	534
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = .633$, $df = 1,534$, $p = .426$

Table E32. NGO cooperation.

		Time		Total	
		Before 2017/11/08	After 2017/11/08		
NGO cooperation	Yes	Count	39a	17b	56
		% within Time	12.50%	7.30%	10.30%
	No	Count	273a	215b	488
		% within Time	87.50%	92.70%	89.70%
Total		Count	312	232	544
		% within Time	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%

$X^2 = 3.855$, $df = 1,544$, $p = .05$