For Better or for Worse for Females?:
A Content Analysis of Gender-Motivated Comments on Social Media Platforms

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ABSTRACT

This research investigates the function of social media as a virtual space that facilitates different expressions of social norms relating to gender. To do this, I conducted a content analysis of the comments below 200 vlogs (or video blogs) produced by female vloggers on two social media platforms- YouTube and Bilibili. From my study, I discovered that in online platforms, gender takes shape in three different forms: emphasis on women's physicality, expressions of sexual desire, and a focus on women in female roles. These patterns illustrate that (1) social media can facilitate continued articulations of gender ideologies and inequality and (2) the anonymity features of internet users assure that online communities provide a platform for users to engage in expressions of gender inequality and gender violence. This research contributes to gender studies by extending analysis of gender to other social spaces, such as the internet. Through this research, I offer an empirical study to show how the anonymity of social media protects commenters from being punished and therefore, underscores the significance of different social space that has emerged with technology. Lastly, this research offers insight into certain deficiencies of rules governing the online community and provides valuable information to enact policy reforms that monitor cyberbullying and create a safer virtual experience for users.

Keywords: gender inequality, social media, anonymity, female vlogger, online comments

1. INTRODUCTION

The advent of social media and User-Generated Content platforms have enabled an alternative expression outlet about gender-related topics. On the one hand, social media as a public sphere[1] gives voice to women who have been disadvantaged throughout history. Women feel free to stand up for their rights and fight against gender inequality through social media. On the other hand, by shielding users' real identities, social media also encourage users' participation in reflecting real-life sexism and gender inequality. We tend to indulge in the imaginations about the omnipotent freedom that cyberspace offers. But according to our observation, words about misogyny and sexism are also freely spreading online. Such conflicts naturally raise the question: Is the gender ideology replicated, challenged, or reinforced in virtual space? To be more precise, is social media a better place to practice gender equality for females? In order to answer this question, I conducted a content analysis of the comment

sections on two large User-Generated Content platforms. And by doing so, I discover that gender is present and operating in social media. I argue that social media is a platform that not only enables gender to continue but also enables gender to continue without punishment.

By looking at social media, I gain insight not only into ideas about women but how these ideas are communicated online. My research draws data from the content analysis of comments on two social media platforms- YouTube and Bilibili. I reviewed the comments made on the 200 videos by female vloggers to see how gender works in social media platforms. Three patterns emerge- physicality, sexual desire, and gender roles- and they are embodied in the online interaction between commenters and vloggers. These patterns also influence and discipline the gender display of female vloggers. According to the findings, the three patterns underscoring gender-related comments prove that although social media platforms provide many opportunities for gender equality, they can also be places that limit the freedom of females' expression.

This research brings gender study into the context of social media. Some scholars used to believe that gender display in online communities is the same as in real life. Specifically, people's attitudes towards women on social media platforms are merely the reflection of gender perceptions in the real world. But through this research, I argue that the anonymity of social media platforms intensifies the expression of gender perceptions. Because

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[1] Public Sphere: A domain of social life where public opinion can be generated and discussed, according to Media Studies 101: https://opentextbc.ca/mediastudies101/chapter/habermas-public-sphere/

of the unbalanced distribution of power in social media, it prevents female vloggers from being judged on their capacities as their male counterparts are. This led to further reinforcement of female stereotypes creates future obstacles for females to fight for gender equality via social media.

2. METHOD

I started data collection in November 2019 and finished at the beginning of December 2019. I spent a total of 50 hours collecting data. To search for vlogs, I used the keyword "vlog". After typing the keyword into the search engines on YouTube and Bilibili, I sorted the videos by "view count". I chose the 100 most viewed vlogs made by female vloggers on both platforms, so the overall scale of my data is 200 videos. I reviewed all the comments below each vlog and selected more than 200,000 pieces. To organize data, I copied necessary information and comments related to female vloggers and exported them into Excel. The three most salient patterns of comments are identified as: Sexual Desire, Physicality, and Gender Roles. Having identified these patterns, I conducted further content analysis of comments within each pattern.

My research data are based on content analysis of the comments below vlogs found on two platforms - YouTube and Bilibili. Vlog is the abbreviation of "video blog", which is technically easy to make and upload. Social media enables vlogs to become one of the most popular ways for people to record and share their lives. In typical vlogs, vloggers face the camera informally, film their daily experiences, talk about themselves, and interact with their audiences. The platform YouTube was founded in 2005 and has become one of the largest UGC (User-Generated Content) platforms around the world. The scale of YouTube is still expanding with 2 billion monthly active users in May 2019, according to YouTube CEO Susan Wojcicki [1]. Similarly, born in 2009 and based in China, Bilibili is a younger video sharing platform and targets mainly the younger generation of Chinese. According to its second-quarter financial report in 2019, monthly active users on Bilibili surpassed 110 million, indicating a 30% increase from the same period in 2018. [2] The majority of users on Bilibili are Chinese, and their commonly used language is Mandarin Chinese. Comparatively, YouTube owns more international user groups with English prevailing in both the video content and the comments.

These cultural differences show that users of the two platforms have diverse viewing habits and tend to express their ideas differently. Therefore, I hypothesized that comments would also indicate significant distinctions in gender-related issues. However, the findings in my research contradict this hypothesis, showing that the similarities in terms of gender far outweigh differences on YouTube and Bilibili. The audiences on both platforms tend to focus on female vloggers' gendered identity than any other identity. For example, in a well-edited travel vlog, commenters rate male vloggers for their ability to conceive and edit their vlog content. Still, for female

vloggers, commenters prioritize women's appearance over their skills. Such comments recur below almost every vlog with an emphasis on gendered patterns constituting female identity and characteristics.

As an effective method to analyze texts, content analysis can compress natural texts into systematic forms of information so that the data can be categorized and quantitatively studied. Content analysis has been used to analyze video content, text content, and comments posted on social media. It has also been applied in gender preference studies, for example, to compare differences in online education between male and female students. Because content analysis is particularly useful for unveiling trends and patterns in large volumes of empirical data [3], it offers a way to study the expressions, opinions, and attitudes particularly showcased on social media platforms. But, by applying content analysis, our inferences are merely confined to the content of the texts, therefore, reliability and/or validity issues can never be fully resolved [4]. One explicit limitation of this type of method has to do with vloggers' ability to select and delete comments. For example, comments on YouTube that relate to gender issues are often deleted. A travel vlog on YouTube viewed 5,288,029 times has only 801 pieces of comments, while another video viewed by 5,268,849 times has 11,205 comments. The considerable gap in the numbers of comments might suggest that the former vlogger has carefully reviewed and edited her comment section. Further, my data collection may entail some omission subject to the automatic recommendation function, that is, the platforms do not display a complete list of all videos. Nonetheless, the data collection has an impressive insight into how gender operates on social media- it contains responses to various types of vlogs and comments on the female vloggers of different races, countries and classes.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1. Social Media as Hostile Space to Gender

Sociological scholars have long discussed online gender inequality. Understanding these discussions would help us establish a preliminary overview of the possibility for social media to challenge or reinforce gender stereotypes. The discussion diverges in terms of social media's function. Some scholars believe social media will provide a place for women to advocate their equal rights and other feminist claims, such as women can redefine media content. This is because women users outnumber men, and women are more active than men on most social websites. [5] Blakley's work indicates that social media enables women to redefine their gender roles in virtual space. This helps women gain equality in real life. She identifies a direction for how to address female struggles online but does not show how the ideal function of social media is attainable in practice. Szostak [6] argues that although

YouTube does not operate as the perfect Habermasian public sphere, the video she investigates into- "Girls on YouTube"- indicates the democratic potential for women. For example, in her study of the video responses to the video "Girls on YouTube", she finds that both male and female interviewees realize gender inequality. Therefore, she regards online interactions on social media as positive to gender equality, but she also admits that inequality still exists. These works show that gender equality may be realized in virtual space, but we also see a contradiction at the same time. Despite the opportunities to combat gender inequality, gender stereotypes, and gender discrimination still persist and take place throughout different forms present in social media. These works do not fully capture how the online community fosters changes in terms of increased respect for women's rights.

Other scholars analyze the persistence of gender discrimination in social media. They believe gender stereotypes and biases are disseminated through online interactions via social media. These researchers have observed the effects that online gender discrimination has on women politicians. For example, Dhrodia [7] argues that online gender inequality is the mirror of those in real society. In her content analysis, 25,688 out of total 900,223 messages sent to women MPs[2] are abusive. Diane Abbott, the first black female MP elected to Parliament, has been targeted and received more discrimination and abuses. Abbott concludes that online abuse against women has a chilling effect on female political participants- they may be driven off from platforms like Twitter by fierce criticism, or they have to exclude themselves from political activism. Similarly, Barker and Jurasz [8] argue that the phenomenon of online violence against women hinders women's political participation. The male politicians of right-wing parties in Brazil and the United States demonstrate incendiary and patriarchy with their political ideologies, which leaves the female politicians less space to get by on social media platforms. Such studies convincingly exposed the existence of internet sexual violence aimed at female politicians. While they demonstrate gender inequalities in social media related to politics, they leave the discussion on the cultural and social aspects behind. Do people oppose women politicians due to their gender status as women or their professional identity as female politicians? There is a shortage of social media studies that inquire explicitly about social and cultural understandings of gender. As such, my research offers an insight to fill this gap. Wotanis and McMillan [9] have investigated an active female Internet influencer and measured the hostile gendered response she received. They find that the female YouTuber receives more negative reactions than her male counterparts, noting that some of the comments are sexually aggressive. However, their research only concentrates on a single case. Although this vlogger adopted some strategies and made her condition better, this does not mean the strategies always take effect. Therefore,

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[2] MP: Member(s) of Parliament

my research investigates a broader range of vloggers to reveal gender inequalities in operative across different vlogging contents.

3.2. Gender Display and Gender Discipline

My research indicates the distinctive patterns of gender display that emerge online comparing to real life. According to West and Zimmerman [10], gender display is achieved by situational interactions in which we perform gender that is also recognized as gender-conforming by others. Therefore, people's behavior is considered as appropriate or inappropriate based on whether it meets the criteria of gender. However, one's gender is not defined but is designed in relation to circumstances, although in most cases, "others" designate us an "identifiable" gender identity. To see how West and Zimmerman's work plays out empirically, I look at female vloggers' video content and the comments they receive. By doing so, I show how West and Zimmerman's argument that gender is situational and performed is realized in social media. Looking at the patterns of online comments, we find that online gender display renders legitimate or more extreme performances that inscribe women as women rather than encourage changes against gender scripts. For example, the comments that communicate sexual desire are bringing women down by sexual imagination and sexual violence that are not normal to be spoken out in real life. In this way, social media emphasizes and intensifies female vloggers' gendered identity.

Michael Foucault's [11] work provides feminists with concepts of subject, norms, and power. If we take the online interpretation of gender as a kind of social norm, we will find that social media functions like the Panopticon, according to Foucault. A Panopticon consists of a central tower and an annular building which is divided into cells. Foucault argues that prisoners are not regulated by the police in the tower but by the sense of constant surveillance. In this way, the architectural design of the Panopticon ensures that power functions automatically. The difference is that users on video-sharing platforms play the roles of prisoners and guards at the same time because of the blurred distinction between disseminator and audience. There is no apparent source of the power that is spreading across platforms to regulate users. Still the power is generated via online interactions between the vloggers and their audience, monitoring every user. Female vloggers are regulated by such invisible power of the comments. At the same time, as users, they also have to internalize such understandings of gender by complying with gender expectations in order to slot into online communities.

These findings provide us with a theoretical framework of gender display and gender policing. This research further pushes theories in the domain of virtual space where people are granted opportunities to hide their real identities- whereas West and Zimmerman's work only discussed gender display in real life. At the same time, the research extends Foucault's Panopticon model to explain

how gender disciplining occurs on social media platforms when the boundary between the role of being seen and the role of seeing in "prisons" are blurred. My research offers empirical evidence for online female gender display and the discipline of females by social media.

4. PHYSICALITY, SEXUAL DESIRE, AND GENDER ROLES: DOMINANT PATTERNS OF SOCIAL MEDIA COMMENTS

In order to examine the role of social media and gender, I look specifically at the comments below the videos produced by female vloggers on YouTube and Bilibili. There are three dominant patterns in these comments- physicality, sexual desire, and gender roles- what this communicates about is the understanding of females and gender roles in society. In the following section, I will examine in detail each of the patterns, and through this, demonstrate how gender discourse and understandings are discussed in the online community.

The existence of gender patterns online shows that social media is a crucial platform paving the path for different expressions and regulations of gender. Social media provides users with anonymous experiences, and that anonymity could encourage violent gender expressions. Online anonymity frees commenters from taking responsibility for their statements and protects them from being punished. In this way, commenters can always be psychologically relieved even though they have posted sexually offensive words in public. By analyzing typical comments of these patterns, we can see how social media as a platform that allows gender stereotypes to thrive on instead of limiting it.

4.1. Physicality

Physicality is most common in all the three patterns. Commenters mostly leave remarks on the external traits of female vloggers such as the face, physique, voice, clothing, and other body features. The concern for physicality indicates the objectification of women when the audience "gazes" at female bodies. Gender gazes motivate vloggers' disciplining of their bodies and character. By espousing norms relating to women's appearances, female vloggers adapt their appearances to normative aesthetics because they have the sense of being surveilled.

Comments that try to push female vloggers to look like the commenters' image of "women" should be considered as reinforcing gender stereotypes, whether positively or negatively. Some comments are generalized compliments applying "beautiful", "pretty", and "gorgeous" to describe female vloggers on YouTube. However, findings show that commenters tend to relate female vloggers' appearances to their achievements. For example, a commenter states: "Julia, your eyes are beautiful! Thank

you for your video." Even though the commenter wants to show appreciation for the vlogger's video, he or she emphasizes the irrelevant fact that the woman has beautiful eyes. This comment links females' physical beauty rather than abilities with the quality of videos offered and puts the former ahead, thereby, it makes the facts that relate to the vlogger's capacities such as organizing content, utterance, and editing tricks unimportant. Social media platforms regard these comments as compliments instead of bias, but they ignore that commenters are treating women as Barbie dolls.

Other comments are critiques and scrutiny that are directed at female vloggers' physical "defects"- or at least the commenters perceive these as defects. For example, a commenter on Bilibili says, "Your face is too big." In another video belonging to the same vlogger, someone else commented: "You are thinner and look more beautiful than before." In China, people do not avoid giving negative remarks on someone else's appearance if they are close friends or families. However, that does not mean the receiver does not mind. Commenters on Bilibili position themselves as acquaintances to the female vloggers, which gives them a sense of power to interfere and regulate females' bodies. Another example is: "Try to talk naturally. You're absloutly (absolutely) fake". Despite, the vlogger trying to keep a sweet and sexy voice in her video, she still suffered from criticism. This example highlights what West and Zimmerman consider performances of gender- making use of actual behavior that can be performed in specific situations to produce recognizable enactments of masculinity and femininity. The vlogger on YouTube exhibits femininity, believing that it would emphasize her femaleness, only to be disrupted by comments that reject this particular performance of femininity. It indicates that according to online social norms, women should be cute but cannot be "too cute" and that social media leaves limited space for women to act.

Vlogs, as short videos recording daily life, cut down the distance between vloggers and their audiences, provide the viewers with the lens of gender to compare the vloggers with normative females and a safe place to speak out. Positive comments that reward women for being skinny and negative comments that disdain women who are overweight are both examples of how the image of women is constructed and communicated online. In this way, they narrow the significance of females while further reinforce gender stereotypes that have existed in real life. The invisible scrutiny of physicality objectifies female bodies. The power that disciplines female bodies is sheltered in the social media platforms and operates through online interactions between female vloggers and their commenters.

4.2. Sexual Desire

Statements involving sexual desires for women are rare in real life because people would try to avoid such statements when talking in person or would behave in a "civil" manner. However, social media facilitate the expression of

sexual desire. This study finds that explicitly sexual statements appear more frequently on Bilibili due to Bilibili's more flexible policies compared to Youtube. Although there are specific policies against pornographic content in videos, YouTube has a special rule against gender harassment in both videos and comments, which grants female vloggers more ability to delete sex-related comments. Bilibili does not practice such policies related to gender.

Some commenters show their eagerness for sexual intimacy with the vloggers explicitly. On Bilibili, a commenter said, "The bed seems so big so I guess you wouldn't mind if we slept together" while another commenter from YouTube said more directly: "I want you for a night. You will remember it for lifetime." These two comments both indicate a particular sexual desire for female vloggers by directly expressing the desire to have sex with the female vlogger. Sexual desire may also be expressed ambiguously. One commenter on Bilibili implicitly revealed his sexual attraction to a female vlogger by declaring "dopamine is the criminal" and a YouTuber said something similar: "Waaa!aaaaaaaw so nice you make me hot". The commenters hide their intention of sexual desire, implying that the women "make" them have sex impulses. Comments also cast blame on the women and further suggest that sexual violence is due to women's behavior. Sexual dominance signals the belief that women are subordinated to men rather than being equal.

Commenters sometimes also imagine having sex with female vloggers or even other females appearing in the video. They directly call or imply that female vloggers are their girlfriends or wives. They involve themselves in imagined ownership to the women's bodies. For example: "This is not my sister, this is my wife. She is too cute to be my sister." He appreciates the beauty of the vlogger and would like to take possession of her physical beauty by declaring his ownership. These extreme expressions of gender ideologies communicate ideas that women are submissive to men, which are based on gender inequality in real life. Both YouTube and Bilibili take action to set rules on lewd comments, but the boundary between harassment and jokes remains ambiguous. Many implied that sexual statements are harmless even though they are bringing women down in essence. Based on this view, what social media platforms should do is to protect the liberty of comments to express sexual desire freely. Commenters also tend to distort the intention of female vloggers deliberately. A female vlogger showed her daily routine in her vlog and told the audience she would take a shower after. It is as simple as a notice, and she does not show any details of her bath at all. But there is a statement saying: "Wwish I was with her in the shower". The commenter ignores the woman is just recording her life and interprets her behavior as an invitation for him. Extreme examples like this show that sexually aggressive and misogynistic languages are present. This phenomenon takes place especially when female vloggers display their figures in their videos. For instance, in a dance video, the female vlogger wears a short skirt and tries to exude

sexiness. One commenter states: "I'm envious of those who have fucked her". Further comments define this vlogger into a passive role in sex. Even though she never shows she has romantic relationships in her video, the audience still imagines her to be sultry and sexually promiscuous. Sometimes such comments also involve violent languages, for example: "she looks so bitchy, want to hit on her body, rape her and see her cry". The commenter interprets the vlogger's appearance as pretending to be delicate and thinks her behavior in the video is over-dramatic. These all contradict his assumptions about "good girls". By calling her a "bitch" and showing his contempt for women, he expresses sexual violence in an explicit way, by positioning himself as dominating women's bodies. Furthermore, it is also a demonstration of what he believes he will do to subordinate women who do not conform to his perception of women's roles in society.

The comments of sexual desire reveal the objectification of women. They communicate the idea that women's bodies are there for men to take and, to some degree, serve the mirror of society. Besides, extreme expressions of sexual violence are just one example of the existing dominance that men have on women. The sexual abuse manifests online but has a root in real life, characterized by sexual assault. Comments like the "rape" indicate that sex is a way to exercise the punishment for men to discipline women for deviating from their roles. Furthermore, anonymous nature can embolden people to act out violence because they know they are not going to be punished. That speaks to the danger of social media and gender violence.

4.3. Gender Role

Gender roles are the practices and characters women should perform. A gender role can be a concrete role like a girlfriend, wife, mother or an unspecific role like "lady" and "good cooker". In the former case, commenters exhibit particular fascination concerning women's relationship to men. They impose gendered identities such as girlfriend, wife, and mother on female vloggers. It is vulnerable for women as long as they are placed within the framework of gender identities, they are put in the discourse as subordinate to males. The fixed roles confine females to traditional roles such as homemakers and further suggests women are socially, economically and emotionally dependent. This viewpoint denies women's success and competitiveness in other. It reflects the long-standing stereotype that women must be successful homemakers before they can be recognized for professional success.

Female vloggers who involve themselves with romantic relationships easily incur comments claiming that they are inferior to their male partners. For example, a comment below a giving-birth vlog says: "You have the best boyfriend ever.... this is so emotional, i couldn't stop crying. you are such a strong woman... congrats for your baby boy." The female vlogger records the whole process

of giving birth to her first baby, revealing the tremendous hardship women undergo during childbirth. But many comments focus, instead, only on her boyfriend who accompanies with her during labor and even emphasize the contributions made by the boyfriend. In this comment, we can see that the commenter values the presence of the boyfriend more than the vlogger's experience, and only afterward does the commenter focus on women's experience of labor. Such comments show how men are freed from the responsibilities of childbirth and so when a man extends help to her partner undergoing labor, he is rewarded. This shows that the burden of childbirth that is placed on women is one that ignores how dangerous and painful delivery is and further adopts childbirth as a "taken-for-granted fact" of women's existence.

Gender inequality can also be reflected in the economic subordination of female vloggers. A female vlogger uploaded a video about trying expensive food and received comments like "Jing Hanqing (her boyfriend) treats her really well. He ate a bottle of spicy sauce in his own video but let his girlfriend hang out to eat expensive food. She lives much better than him." Her boyfriend is a vlogger who makes videos about trying untraditional foods and has his own channel. There is a noticeable difference in each vlogger's respective channel. Both the female vlogger and her boyfriend are in the same occupation and earn money by making vlogs. However, commenters interpret their relationship as unequal and claim that the female vlogger is financially supported by her boyfriend. If the woman tries delicious food in her video and her boyfriend eats terrible food, it must be because her boyfriend gives her his earnings, which suggests the man loves and supports the female vlogger. Commenters could not consider that the female vloggers can earn their own money. This manifests assumptions about women as economically dependent on men and casts women into the role of the demanding partner.

Such comments are not only made by male commenters but by females as well. Comments on Romee Strijd's vlogs show concerns about her romantic relationship, while the content of her video that shows her work as a model is ignored. Comments consist of statements such as: "Romee is lovely. Her boyfriend is also lovely", "Next video should be about how you and Gary meet" and "When you guys will get married!!I'm waiting for it!!". These comments are all from female commenters. This indicates that women internalize these gender roles and play a part in perpetuating gender inequality and limiting themselves to certain roles. These comments indicate how patriarchal assumptions and gender inequality are so wide-spread that women themselves are participants in ensuring that gender ideologies continue.

Social media platforms enable the continued surveillance of women into gender roles as a mother. Sometimes women's identities as a mother are elevated to the supremacy of other identities. There is a comment about Kylie Jenner, stating: "No matter how much u HATE Kylie she is an amazing mother." Another comment below the same video says: "I love how Kylie is so busy but takes the time to take care of her baby, and doesn't just throw the child with some random butt nanny." The former one suggests that the mother's identity is above everything else, and the commenter can forgive all the shortcomings of the vlogger for being a good mother. The latter demonstrates the female vlogger should be acknowledged because she takes care of her child in person, and the commenter suggests that is what all the women should do. By emphasizing and praising women's roles as mothers, such comments justify the labor division within the family whereby women should stay at home and take care of the children. Following this idea, women's identities are confined to the house. Patriarchy operates through the labor division because men benefit from this division, such as freedom from housework, and as such, they need to keep the division fixed. Another statement below a giving-birth vlog proclaims: "And that's the beauty of women, smiling in such pain," which romanticizes giving birth, highlights motherhood as the most important, and alienates women who do not give birth or do not want to. By proclaiming that women's roles as mothers are supreme above all other identities, this roots women in particular roles.

These female roles actually carry a purpose to maintain men's power over women. By complying with gender roles, women are subject to the gender hierarchy that does not question men's dominance. Commenters are communicating the narratives of heterosexual relationships and homemakers that regulate vloggers to female roles in most cases. Females' lives make sense to these commenters only when they attune to certain female roles. And these gender roles even outweigh women themselves. They lost their virtual territory of self-expression - each behavior is being interpreted within the framework of fixed gender roles. Some female vloggers exercise their ability to question the hierarchy but are rejected by the commenters.

5. CONCLUSION

Through this empirical study of how gender is perceived in social media, I identified three patterns of comments in which gender is operative. By identifying them, I contribute to the existing literature where not only gender replicates real life in social media, but online users can act out and communicate gender inequality. To be specific, firstly, this research contributes by extending gender display to virtual space. I adopt and expand West and Zimmerman's notion of gender that is situational and is recognized in relationships in real life. By analyzing the comments on social media, I find online gender display does not simply replicate real life but further impair gender understandings. This is because statements targeted at women without control can be violent and dangerous. Secondly, this research communicates and offers an empirical study of how gender plays out in virtual space. Thirdly, I show how the virtual world is one that not only allows for gender inequality to persist- it opens up opportunities for gender inequality to continue without punitive punishment. And the disadvantaged situations of

females have resulted from the anonymity of social media. However, these findings are based on two video-sharing platforms, but there are other types of social media featuring pictures, texts, or other forms of information. They are also confined to the cultural backgrounds of platforms.

As is mentioned, the three dominant patterns in the comment sections are physicality, sexual desire, and gender roles. By examining these patterns, I find that the audiences tend to influence the gender display of female vloggers by expressing their expectations of what females ought to look like and how they should behave like the "ideal woman"- slim, tender, and caring. Audiences' evaluation of female vloggers is accompanied by assumptions of women's subordination to men socially and economically. But commenters do not recognize the complexity of the female vloggers' identities and roles. Rather, comments are focused on how vloggers excel in gender roles like the role of the mother or girlfriend. When women act in accordance with these roles, they are rewarded. For instance, the example earlier about assumptions regarding women's financial situations communicate the idea that women are economically dependent on men even though she earned enough money by making vlogs by herself. As a result, female vloggers and their bodies are objectified by the commenters. The anonymity of social media has also encouraged extreme gendered comments which involve sexual harassment and sexual violence. This demonstrates there exit patriarchal power and logic in social media, setting both males and females in particular roles. And by internalizing and practicing these concepts, it limits female vloggers' freedom of expression to persist.

The demands on females discussed in this study are closely related to the social realities and social tragedies that occur around us. In South Korea, for example, two young female idols committed suicide after suffering from depression. The vicious comments and fake news about their private lives were spreading throughout social media, such as the curses on one of them who advocated a feminist campaign of not wearing bras. The deaths shed the light that the presence of malicious comments afflicts and torments women- they can have tangible, real effects on individuals. By realizing these effects, we can contribute to some changes in the current social media environment. Besides, this research also reveals some deficiencies in rules governing the online community and provides suggestions for the policymakers to draft legal reforms that prevent cyberbullying. Just like the deaths in South Korea enabling Sulli's Law- about cyberbullying and the protection of the bullied- to be mentioned and emphasized at the council, both the social media platforms and the legislature should take action to punish those who are responsible for online violence.

Future researches could adopt a similar approach to other social media platforms and explore whether the results could be popularized. Given the secrecy surrounding the gender of users on social media, we cannot know who is exactly gazing on these female vloggers- are they males or females? This prevents us from speculating on the intentions and motivations of commentators based on their gender identity. We are looking forward to studies that use the methods of interviews or focus groups to learn more about how men and women look at women's gender performance as well as the reason for them to make such comments.

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