Social media and internet public events

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ABSTRACT

Contemporary China is experiencing deeper reform and social transformation. The newly born social media have participated in the historical process of China's reform and social change. Based on the existing literature of social media and internet public events, this article aims to study China's internet public events through the perspective of social transformation theory, especially theories of the civic society and public sphere. This study has used case study to explore the role that social media play in social change in China through in-depth analysis of 57 typical cases. We found that social media are not only an important information source and means for online civil mobilization, but also provide citizens an open and free space for discussion of internet public events. The impact of social media in promoting social change was reflected in the supervision of governmental, judiciary and other public power; maintenance of justice and protection of disadvantaged groups; attracting the government's attention, urging governmental information publicity and investigation of the events, and promoting social management innovation and institutional change. Social media are a helpful force in the construction of internet public sphere and civil society of contemporary China. Meanwhile, it is necessary to be cautious that social media is also likely to be a breeding ground for nationalist and populist discourses.

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1. Introduction

Social media have opened up a new space for information exchange and opinion expression. They not only bring about profound changes in the field of public opinion, but also become an important driving force to promote social change. The relationship between social media and social change is an important issue. Internet public events are an ideal starting point to explore such a relationship. In this article, we will examine some typical Internet public events in the Chinese context to explore the impact of social media on social change.

2. Literature review and research questions

Social media and internet public events have become a hot academic research area in China and Western countries along with the concept of Web2.0 started in 2004. From the perspective of social media based on bibliometric analysis, it shows

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that changes in the number of papers published in this field are consistent with the trend of Price Curve (Xu et al., 2014; Tang and Ye, 2015). The themes of research in the West are varied, including social media users, the technological basis, the application of social media in different fields, privacy, trust, and risk (Shen et al., 2013). Social media research in China mainly focuses on the marketing function, social media as a "platform," how social media disseminate information, and study of the micro-blog empirically (Tang and Ye, 2015). There exist differences in the research about social media between China and Western countries, mainly in the perspectives of analysis and focuses by different scholars. Lin (2013) pointed out that the themes of social media research by Chinese and Western scholars are similar substantively except the emphases.

From the perspective of internet public event, Chinese and Western scholars show a significant difference: the ways of conceptualization and application of theoretical framework. Western scholars, mainly by using the theories of social movements and collective behaviors, take the Internet as a new mobilization resource for studying how social organizations use the Internet to mobilize, or explore how social media promote social movements or collective behaviors. For example, Garret (2006) reviewed the relationship between social movements and new ICTs (information and communication technologies) along three interrelated factors: mobilizing structures, opportunity structures and framing processes. Some scholars are concerned with the use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) for protest purposes and the impact of low, leveraged costs of online activism on participation (Earl and Kimport, 2011).

In China, the conceptualization of "Internet Public Events" varied among scholars. From 1999 to 2010, concepts like "Internet Events," "Internet Mass Events," "Internet Public Events," and "New Media Events" have been produced in the Chinese academic circle. Some scholars have extended the concepts such as "Internet Collective Acts" or "Internet Collective Behavior," drawn from "Collective Behavior" or "Collective Action" in the Western context. However, the dominant concept is "Internet Mass Events," an extension of "Mass Events." Due to the influence of Mass Events on social stability, prevention and control of mass events by the government has become an important task to maintain social stability. Accordingly, the majority of "Internet Mass Events" studies regard them as social crises which must be responded positively, handled timely and controlled effectively. Certainly, there are a few studies to explore this issue under the theoretical framework of civil society and public sphere (Dong, 2016).

Linking Social media to Internet public events/ Internet mass events, "social management" is an interdisciplinary field of research. From the perspective of social management, it is an important issue whether Internet mass events, when treated as social crises, have the same implications as mass events. Dong (2015) showed that most of the "internet mass events" should be named as "internet public events". Netizens discuss and express their opinions on an event because the topic is public, which relates to the interests or values of netizens themselves. Netizens express their views to form a controversial issue, so as to form an internet public event that arouses public concern and prompts the relevant governmental departments to take appropriate measures. The concept of internet public event not only shows the impact of Internet media in social relations, and also shows the inherent nature of the event. The concept of internet public events helps to avoid preset value judgments as in the concept of "internet mass incidents," and reflects the neutrality and objectivity of academic research.

Social media emerged in the period when China has been deepening reforms and social transformations. As a new platform of communication, social media provide people with a new space for communication and expression. A variety of prominent societal problems have increasingly inspired people to exchange information and express their views in the internet space. Opinions gather rapidly and become a strong public voice, promoting the solution of societal problems. This process constitutes the sensational "Internet public events" when the common interests and values are violated in these events. In general, internet public events have shown the following features: Firstly, the events involve public affairs and public interests directly or indirectly; therefore, they can be called "public events." Secondly, netizens actively participate in the discussion of these events that forms internet public and internet public opinions; Thirdly, the process of events is mainly a public opinion process which may lead to collective behaviors and proper solutions in the end (Li and Dong, 2012).

Internet public events might be just an insignificant phenomenon in the human history, but they might also become an important force if they can promote social change in a specific historical period. In fact, once an Internet public event is formed, it will be a part of the process of China's reform and social transformation, and has noticeable influence. How to describe and establish the role and impact of Internet public events? A popular slogan from public opinion academics is "Attention is powerful, onlookers change China" (Xiao, 2010). Due to the various opinions in the cyberspace and a strong forum of public opinion, people have a chance to make their own judgments and choices, to help resolve the issue properly, and to make the situation work in an optimum way. As a commentator argued, "the Internet onlookers are not only spawning a variety of hot events, but also becoming an important means to present social problems altogether and solve them properly" (Zhang, 2012).

As an integral part of the Internet media, what role do social media exactly play in the occurrence and development process of internet public events? How these events promote China's reform and social change? The existing literature is limited to intuitive perceptions through examples and experiences, but did not give answers with rich theoretical thinking. Starting from the perspective of Internet public events, this study aims to explore the relationship between social media and China's reform and social change.

Table 1
Three Theoretical Models of Development Sociology.

Subject	Modernization theory	Developmental theory	Transformation theory
Origin	Traditional society	Undeveloped society	Socialist Society
Vicissitude Type	Tradition–Modern	Tradition–Modern	Tradition–Socialism–Modernor Tradition/Socialism–Modern
Political basis	Traditional of civil society	Colonial society or tribal society etc.	Totality Society
Economic basis	Market economy	Market and traditional economy	Redistributive Economy
International environment	Domination	Subordination	Opposition and Integration
Mechanism of inequality	Market	Market, traditional economy and international order	Market and Redistribution
Vicissitude mechanism	Growth of modernity factor	External stimulus and internal response	Social Transformation

3. Theoretical framework

As mentioned above, the studies of Internet public events, especially Internet mass events by Chinese scholars, are different from Western scholars in conceptualization and theoretical frameworks. More importantly, the practical context of the Internet public events in China is quite different from Western countries. Therefore, the first question to answer regarding Internet public events should be about the research perspectives, the context of theories, and theoretical frameworks.

Since the end of the 20th century, China is in the process of deepening reform and social transformation. Studies on social development and social transformation showed that two major academic traditions have formed already. One is the *Modernization Theory* based on modern developed countries, another is *Developmental Theory* based on Latin America, Africa and some countries and regions in East Asia. Sun (2005) believed that the two academic traditions constitute the main themes of development sociology, but also limit the perspectives of development sociology. We should pay attention to the actual process of social transformation, capturing the real practice logic which functioned in real life, in order to further understand the fundamental changes in the social processes (Sun, 2002). Compared with Western countries and developing countries, regardless of the starting point or the logic of development that relate to structural limitations in reality, the social transformations occurred in China, the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in the last 20 years of the 20th century have unique features obviously. For this reason, Sun (2005) put forward a third theory in development sociology named *Transformation Theory*; its specific connotations are summarized in Table 1.

The transformation theory regards the process of social transformation as the revival of civil society. As an opposite concept of the political state, civil society is not only quite macroscopic and also a complex theory. Cohen and Arato (1992) interpreted "civil society"as a sphere of social interaction between economy and state, composed above all of the intimate sphere (especially the family), the sphere of associations (especially voluntary associations), social movements, and forms of public communication. They emphasize the difference between civil society and the State or markets, pointing out that democracy can go much further on the level of civil society than on the level of political or economic society (Cohen and Arato, 1992). Sun (2005) argued that the civil society as a new social force has begun to form in China through the reform and transformation process after more than twenty years, particularly with the gradual development of market economy.

The rising and development of social media interact with the formation of civil society in contemporary China. At the same time, the occurrences of Internet public events can be regarded as the result of social media interaction with the civil society. However, the concept of the transformation theory and the civil society theory are on the macro-level, which may pose difficulty if they are to be directly used as a theoretical framework. Therefore, they are but only macro-level perspectives to study the social context of Chinese Internet public events.

Then what is a better theory to explain the internet public events than the theory of civil society? The answer lies in *public sphere*, a basic element of civil society. Habermas (1999) has pointed out that the public sphere is "'between' or 'outside' the market economy and the administrative state, but 'relevant' to both," which are the basic elements of civil society. It means that the public sphere, a concept which relies on and grown with civil society, is different from civil society and political state (Zhao, 2002). As access to the Internet becomes more widespread, scholars have discussed the relationship between New Media and civil politics from "the future of teledemocracy" (Becker and Slaton, 2000) to "the prospects of online deliberative forums extending the public sphere" (Dahlberg, 2001). They found that participation on the Internet exerts a positive influence on political participation, even independent of civic participation, more and more citizens will be able to take advantage of this mobilizing force (Weber et al., 2003). Habermas (1996) posited that public sphere can best be described as a network for communicating information and points of view (i.e., opinions expressing affirmative or negative attitudes); the streams of communication are filtered and synthesized in the process in such a way that they coalesce into bundles of topically specified public opinions. Taylor explained about it more clearly: the public sphere is a common space in which the members of society are deemed to meet through a variety of media: print, electronic, and also face to face encounters; to discuss matters of common interest; and thus to be able to form a common mind about these (Taylor, 2004). In other words, the concept of public sphere means a social interaction space that takes public interests as content, equal participation of the free public as

form, and rational discourse or criticism as purpose. The essence of public sphere is "a space" where publics express their wishes and participate in public affairs (Yang, 2011).

The basic form of Internet public events is netizens' discussion around a public event on the internet, and express opinions and judgments through discussion. Some internet public events might produce collective actions in reality. Therefore, the internet public event is only a subset of the public sphere, a particular form. By using the public sphere as a theoretical framework to study internet public events is appropriate and also has broad theoretical implications. The framework can help this study to explore the role social media play in promoting China's social change and transformation in a theoretical approach.

4. Method

As Habermas (1996) pointed out, public sphere cannot be conceived as an institution and certainly not as an organization. It is not even a framework of norms with differentiated competence and roles, membership regulations, and so on. Although it permits one to draw internal boundaries, outwardly it is characterized by open, permeable, and shifting horizons. Therefore, it is more appropriate to use qualitative analysis rather than quantitative studies to study internet public events with public sphere as a theoretical framework. This study will use the case study method.

As a research method, case study is an important part of qualitative research that often integrates various technologies and means to collect data. With detailed description and in-depth analysis of the background and process of the events/behaviors which related to particular units of society (individuals, groups, organizations, communities, etc.), case study is able to present a relatively complete picture of the case and the research object and carry out interpretation, judgment, and evaluation (Wang, 2007). According to the number of cases used in a study, case study can be divided into a single case study and multiple case studies. This paper will use the method of multiple case studies.

According to Zhou (2004), quantitative research should comply with the logic of "statistical induction" and case study with "analytic induction." Therefore, the importance and typicality of the case should be considered sufficiently when we select cases in the study. Otherwise, the results of case study may deviate largely. Till now Chinese scholars have not yet established a complete database of Internet public events. Zhong and Zeng (2014) have collected and listed 182 important internet events (internet public events) during 2001 and 2012. It is a relatively comprehensive collection, but the importance and typicality of cases listed vary.

Considering the scale and representativeness of the sample, this study chooses academic articles published in China Social Sciences Citation Index (CSSCI) journals from China National Knowledge Infrastructure (CNKI) as the samples, and then selected those highly notable cases. From 1999 to 2010, there appeared 15 main concepts including: "Internet event", "Internet emergency", "Internet mass incidents", "new media event", "online mass incidents", "Internet public opinion event", "Internet group behavior", "discourse event", "Internet hot events", "Internet public events", "Internet collective action", "Internet group event", "Internet media event", "Internet cluster behavior", and "network media events" (Dong, 2016).This study used those concepts as the keywords to search through "theme" and "precision" from CSSCI journals in CNKI, the result shows that 97 relevant papers have been retrieved from the CNKI until August 30, 2015.

The 97 CSSCI academic papers are the samples this study selected. We read each of these 97 academic papers and listed the cases of Internet public events mentioned or discussed by the authors. A rule of case selection is that the cases selected for this study should be mentioned at least three times in CSSCI Journals. According to this standard, this study has extracted 57 cases. The 57 cases are in the table as follows in order of frequency (see Table 2).

From the time when the cases occurred, these cases last from 2003 to 2012 and the year between 2008 and 2009 is the most concentrated that there were more than 10 cases. Not any case has been collected in recent years (2013–2016) because the samples are taken from published academic articles in CSSCI journals, which need a long process from writing to publication.

To check carefully the 57 cases of Table 2, it is easy to find that the Lhasa riots on March 14 and Xinjiang's 5th July incident are not included in the category of "Internet Public Event" in this study because they are minority rebellions. The Jia Junpeng Phenomenon, Sister Feng, Brother "Sharp", Sister Furong are typical internet hype or internet public relations, strictly speaking, do not belong to the "Internet public events"; Aids Girl and Salt Rush after Tsunami in Japan are Internet rumors, strictly speaking, also do not belong to "Internet Public Events". But in a broad view, the Internet hype and the Internet rumors can be seen as some kind of internet public events. This study uses typical Internet Public Events as cases for analysis.

The logic of this study is to restore the process of occurrence, development, and ending of each case. This study focuses on the interaction between social media and Internet public events in order to figure out the role of social media in Internet public events, and then discusses the impact of social media in promoting Chinese reform and social change.

5. Social media and Internet Public Events

According to Kaplan and Haenlein (2010), social media is a group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and that allow the creation and exchange of user generated content. In

Table 2
Summary of the Valid Internet Public Events in academic papers in CSSCI (in Descending Order of Frequency).

No.	Event	Time	Frequency
1	Yunnan "hide-and-seek" case	2009	30
2	Deng Yujiao case	2009	29
3	Super-Expensive-Cigarette Director	2008	24
4	"My dad is Li Gang"	2010	23
5	Drag racing case in Hangzhou	2009	22
6	anti-PX project by Xiamen residents	2007	20
7	South China tiger photos	2007	19
8	Guizhou Weng'an County protest	2008	15
9	Guo Meimei scandal	2011	15
10	Sun Zhigang case	2003	15
11	Carrefour boycott	2008	12
12	Speak for "who"	2009	12
13	Yao Jiaxin case	2011	11
14	Chinese official in "diarygate"	2010	10
15	Hubei Shishou riot	2009	10
16	Chongqing coolest nail household in history	2007	10
17	High-speed train derailing accident in Wenzhou	2011	8
18	Run Run Fan	2008	8
19	Jia Junpeng phenomenon	2009	8
20	Luo Caixia case	2004/2009	8
21	Cat abuse	2006	8
22	Shanghai entrapment of illegal cabbie	2009	8
23	Sister Feng	2009/2010	7
24	Shanxi brickyards slave labor case	2007	7
25	Scandal of Tongxu	2006	7
26	"Brother Watch"	2012	7
27	Edison Chen's sex photo scandal	2008	7
28	Qian Yunhui case	2010	7
29	Xu Ting ATM withdrawals case	2006–2008	6
30	Harbin police beat student to death	2008	5
31	A thoracotomy for proving pneumoconiosis	2009	5
32	Head of Liyang Sanitation Bureau arranged illicit meetings with his mistress on Weibo	2011	5
33	The election of Zhou Senfeng as the youngest mayor	2009	5
34	Brother "Sharp"	2010	5
35	Qihoo v. Tencent	2010	4
36	Aids girl	2009	4
37	Garbage incinerator project in Panyu	2010	4
38	Guizhou Xishui Chinese official's child prostitution case	2007–2008	4
39	The failure of Green Dam project	2009	4
40	Salt rush after tsunami in Japan	2011	4
41	Sanlu's tainted milk scandal	2008	4
42	Problematic vaccine in Shanxi	2010	4
43	Self-immolation of Tang Fuzhen	2009	4
44	Tang Jun academic fraud	2010	4
45	Wangshi's donation in Wenchuan earthquake	2008	4
46	Xiao Yueyue event	2009	4
47	Self-immolation in Yihuang	2010	4
48	"69 jihad" online	2010	3
49	Sister Furong	2004	3
50	Huang Jing naked death case	2003	3
51	March 14: The Lhasa riots	2008	3
52	Nanjing Peng Yu case	2006	3
53	Shou Shou scandal of naked photos	2010	3
54	Lingbao Wang Shuai event	2009	3
55	Xinjiang "7.5" incident	2009	3
56	Yang Jia attacking polices in Shanghai	2008	3
57	The most arrogant wife of regimental commander	2009	3

Note: The frequency of internet public events refers to the amounts of academic paper which focused on them in CSSCI papers from CNKI.

general, social media include forms such as Blog, Weibo (a Chinese style Twitter), BBS, SNS, Podcast, Wiki and Content-community.

In order to find out what role social media play in internet public events, this study analyzes the process of 57 selected cases, included the three stages of forming, developing, and solving. Through the analysis and synthesis of these cases, this study finds that social media have three main functions regarding the impact on internet public events. Firstly, being the first information source in the formation process of internet public events; secondly, triggering a large number of comments, dis-

Table 3
Functions of social media in internet public events.

Type of Function	Frequency	Percentage
First information source	31	54.4
Triggering comments, discussions and forwarding	45	79.0
Network mobilization and organizing offline collective action	20	35.1

Note: There may be more than one function that social media act on each internet public events, so the sum of frequency is larger than the total number of selected cases.

Table 4
Media types first reported internet public events.

Media type	Frequency	Percentage
Social media	31	54.4
Traditional media	18	31.6
Network media	8	14.1

cussions and forwarding; thirdly, a platform for internet mobilization to make internet public events from online to offline interaction. The frequency and percentage of each function in the 57 cases are shown in the table below (see Table 3).

5.1. The first information source in the formation process of internet public events

As a progress of public opinion, internet public events are usually triggered by some surprising sources. In contemporary China, the information sources mainly include three types of media: traditional media, network media and social media. Due to the institutional structure of China's media, the traditional media are used to be cautious to some negative news related to the government, officials, and state-owned enterprises. Network media mainly refer to news channel of websites run by the traditional media and commercial portals. Compared with the traditional media, network media are in a relatively relaxed status of regulation, but still under strict constraints. The traditional media and network media may keep silent when sensitive events suddenly happened in China, which provides social media with an opportunity to cover the events in the first time. Sometimes the traditional media may blockade or hide information even after the events happened. In this situation, social media become the only space and the first information source that people can tell or know the truths.

In terms of the 57 cases analyzed in this study, more than half of the first information source are from social media, the frequency of the first information source from social media is 1.7 times as traditional media and 3.9 times as network media, the specific statistics are shown in the Table 4 below. In the period of this study, social media represented by micro-blogs and blogs have gone beyond the traditional media and network media as an important channel of communication during the formation of internet public events. And the further expansion and diversity of social media also promote internet public events to spread faster, disseminate wider and influence greater publics.

The internet public event "*My dad is Li Gang*" was first disclosed on TianYa (a famous Internet forum in China) by netizens while Hebei University (scene of the event) and the local media kept silent on the day when the event happened. And the traditional media were obstructed by the local government when they attempted to report this event after social media disclosed it. The local public security bureau claimed that they would not accept any interviews except the CCTV (China's most authoritative official television) and would not accept any supervision from other administrative regions. Therefore, the investigative journalist Wang Keqin started to disclose information on his own micro-blog and called for witnesses to provide clues (Li and Xia, 2011). Due to the widespread information on micro-blogs, a heated discussion was aroused on the Internet. Then the traditional media had to follow the report under the pressure of public opinion. The "*Drag racing case in Hangzhou*" is another example: the local newspaper, radio and television did not report this accident promptly. On the contrary, it was the local netizens who reported this accident in the famous forum "19th Floor" at first place, with a post titled "Innocent Pedestrian Hit 5-meters-high from Ground, the Rich Accident-maker takes the driveway as the F1 circuit," and received over 140,000 replies that triggered a heated debate online (Zhu et al.,2010). Till then, the traditional media began to follow up this incident.

At the same time, the occurrence and development of internet public events cannot be separated from the cooperation between traditional media, network media and social media. Some internet public events are firstly released by traditional media and network media and then spread further online. However, the frequency of the first information source from social media is higher than the sum of the traditional media and network media, which means social media play a more important role in the formation of internet public events than traditional media and network media.

5.2. Providing indispensable platform for public opinions and debate so as to form internet public events

In this study, 45 cases, accounting for 79.0% of all the sample cases, caused a large number of comments, discussions and forwarding on social media in the selected internet public events, showing that social media is the most important platform

for discussion in the formation process of internet public events. Public affairs and public interests are always directly or indirectly involved in Internet public events, which will undoubtedly stimulate the enthusiasm of the people with its strong publicity. Social media happened to provide such a platform for free speeches and discussions which is conducive for the public to exchange views. As in the *Guo Meimei scandal*, Guo showed off on micro-blog her identity of "general manager of China Red Cross Commercial," and led to people's severe doubt of the credibility of the Red Cross charity organization. Social media brought about a heated public debate about Guo's real identity and the problems of Chinese charity system.

Different areas of knowledge could be involved in each Internet public event, and social media provide a platform for speech and expression of expertise from various backgrounds of knowledge. People who initiated such discussions are mainly university professors or professionals. They provide powerful intellectual support for the public to further understand the event, and they often become the "opinion leaders" who lead the development directions of the events, making a positive impetus effect. In the *"South China tiger photos"* scandal, Fu Dezhi, a researcher of the China Science Institute of Botany, by using his knowledge on plants, provided evidence that the photo was faked (Ye, 2007).

In the discussion of Internet public events, people created a special form of expression on social media, that is, *hot (popular) words online*. Publics express their views and opinions by creating a playful style of expression such as internet hot words and short scripts. In the 57 selected cases in this study, *Hot words online* include "hide and seek," "My dad is Li Gang," "push-up," "70-yard speed," "three heads," "Tiger Zhou," "Walking Movement," "The coolest nail holdout," and "speak for whom." These popular hot words with features of folklore language are more likely to arouse the public to protest social injustice, and lead to strong resonance among the public.

Social media not only possess the key timing of information release, but also play a key role in digging deeper information. The netizens often use the "human flesh search" (an all-round search process) to seek further event-related information, thus leading to the development of the online events. In the *"Super-Expensive-Cigarette Director"* event, netizens disclosed a series of details regarding the extravagant living of an official through "human flesh search": his cigarettes are up to 1500 yuan, wearing a Vacheron Constantin watch worthy of 100,000 yuan and driving Cadillac for commute. The exposure from the netizens drew attention from the government, and further investigation resulted in his removal from office and in jail for accepting bribes.

Social media also act as a rumors carrier during the discussion process of internet public events (accounting for 21.05% of the total number of cases). In the *"high-speed train derailing accident"* in Wenzhou, there were rumors spreading like "the actual number of deaths" and "the differentiated amount of compensation for the foreign victims". However, social media look more like a "facts finder" and "truth restorer" in internet public events (accounting for 45.61% of the total number of cases). In the *"South China tiger photos"* event, specialized forums were set up on the Chinese web sites such as "XITEK.com" and "Tianya.com" for the growing online discussion to identify the authenticity of the Tiger in the photo, and even two groups were formed online based on their distinct views and positions about the photo, including the "Real-Tiger group" and the "Faked-Tiger group" (Fang, 2009). Each group launched a lot of rational discussions from the technical perspectives, and finally revealed the fact that "the Tiger Photos are faked," which reflects a public spirit "the truth will become more clear with more discussions."

5.3. Providing important means for internet mobilization and further online-offline interaction

In addition to being information source and a platform for public discussion, social media also played the role of a carrier and tool for online mobilization in some Internet public events. Especially in the events that involve public interests, people not only actively use social media to disclose information and discuss but also took advantage of social media for online mobilization, so as to build a connection between online and offline discussions. This means that people gain support from public opinion online, take real collective actions offline, extend the power of the Internet to the social reality, and further strengthen the power of the Internet of public opinion through practical actions.

For example, in the *"anti-PX project by Xiamen residents"* event, the so-called "walking movement," actually a pretest action against the PX projects, is the result of internet mobilization. It was first started from a well-known media professional named Lian Yue, who continuously posted serious articles on his blog including articles like "Xiamen people should do so!" telling people to inform each other of the risks of the PX project by using blogs and forwarded articles online. His appeal resonated with the local residents. Furthermore, Wu Xian, a local resident, launched a "QQ" group called "Return blue sky to Xiamen." Xiamen people used social media like "QQ" to mobilize and call for members of the group to protest on streets with banners written "Against PX, Protect Xiamen" and yellow ribbons. On June 1, 2007, thousands of Xiamen people "walked" on the streets as planned online and this action became an environmental March with a broad impact that forced the government finally to relocate Xiamen PX project.

Social media is also a convenient channel and tool for intertwined online and offline mobilization. The public use social media to actively mobilize online and organize collective actions of protest, even set up various "voluntary associations" to maintain social fairness, justice and the interests of disadvantaged groups. In the *Qian Yunhui case*, the public organized three "civic investigation groups" spontaneously: "Wang Xiaoshan Observation Mission," "Xu Zhiyong Observation Mission," and "Yu Jianrong Observation Mission." These groups went to Zhai Qiao village, the site of the event, to investigate the truth in three ways: criminal detection; safeguard legal rights and officials. Among them, the "Yu Jianrong Observation Mission" also established "Civic Observation Mission" on micro-blog to report the progress of the event. In *Cat abuse,* more than 2000 neti-

zens spontaneously organized a "Chinese anti-slaughter Alliance" and called for people to discuss and find information in order to promote the legislation for protecting small animals during the NPC & CPPCC conferences (Chen, 2006).

6. Impact on promoting social change

With the participation of social media, internet public events largely propagated in contemporary China. From a macroscopic view, the emergence of these internet public events is the result of social change in contemporary China interacted with the technology of information and communication. From a microscopic perspective, the development processes of internet public events have generated some degree of impetus to social change in China, resulting in remarkable achievements. Base on the analysis of the 57 selected cases, the impact of internet public events on promoting social change is shown in the following four aspects.

6.1. Supervisions of the government, judiciary and the other public power by public opinions have become normalcy

After the concept of "public opinion supervision" has been proposed explicitly in 1987, Chinese media have made progress, and brought about the waves of public opinion supervision represented by the "Focus" and "Southern Weekend" in the early 1990s and various Metropolitan Daily around the country in the late 1990s (Dong, 2015). Then, social media opened up a new channel and space for the public to engage in public opinion supervision anywhere and anytime. In terms of the interests demand of internet public events, in the 57 typical cases we analyzed, nearly half of them are the supervision of the government, the judiciary and other public power sectors, accounting for 26 events and 45.6% of all the cases shown in the following table (see Table 5).

In these internet public events, citizens' public opinion supervision of the public power through social media are diverse: for examples, the case *South China tiger photos* reflects citizens' doubts about the integrity of the government; *Drag racing case in Hangzhou*, *Yunnan "hide-and-seek"* case questions the impartiality of law enforcement; *Deng Yujiao case* exposes the extravagant and dissipated lives of grassroots officials; the case *speaks for whom* reflects the arrogance of power; the *my dad is Li Gang, Yao Jiaxin cases* questioned the arrogance among the second-generation of officials and the rich ostensibly, in fact, it is the protest against the wealthy who ignored social justice; *Shanghai entrapment of illegal cabbie* exposed the bad habits of malignant enforcement in the public power sector.

In these internet public events related to public power supervision, those involved in official corruption and sex scandals resulted in public attention and civic engagement. From the *Super-Expensive-Cigarette Director, "Brother Watch"*, *Chinese official in "diarygate"*, *Head of Liyang Sanitation Bureau arranged illicit meetings with his mistress on Weibo and the Guo Meimei scandal*, the essence of public opinion supervision is clear from the name of these cases. Public opinion supervisions driven by internet public events are very effective. The pressure from the public will urge the local government to investigate the officials involved in the case as soon as possible and make corrupt officials receive punishments they deserved.

6.2. Maintenance of justice and protection of disadvantaged groups become rational consciousness

Qiu et al. (2015) pointed out that "justice-driven is one of the categories of collective behaviors. Individuals who participate in this type of behaviors want to restore justice in the social, moral, and political domains." Our study also found that internet public events aim at "maintaining justice" in China. According to the above table, 36 internet public events, accounting for 63.16% of the total cases take "maintaining justice" as the interests demand (including the maintenance of social justice, self-interests and national interests). The reason is that preserving the legitimate rights and maintaining social justice and equity are an important demand of citizens when monitoring political and economic power.

These internet public events for maintaining justice are not only closely related to the legal rights of citizens (e.g., in the *Salt rush after tsunami in Japan* and the *anti-PX project by Xiamen residents*), but also involved the legitimate rights and interests of others or disadvantaged groups. For example, the *Sun Zhigang case* reflected the pursuit of citizens' rights and liberty and the maintenance of the rights to life; the *Chongqing coolest nail household in history* reflected citizens' concerns about the rights of private property like housing; the *Yunnan "hide-and-seek"* case, *Deng Yujiao case*, *Drag racing case in Hangzhou*, *My dad is Li Gang* and *Yao Jiaxin case* reflected citizens' fights for human dignity and right to life of disadvantaged groups.

In recent years, China's internet public events not only greatly promoted people's awareness of their rights and social equality, but also led to collective actions that aimed at safeguarding social fairness and justice, which are the prototypes of non-governmental organizations and professional associations. The essence revealed from these cases are in common with the "civil society" that Cohen wrote about, which can be seen as the sprout of the "civil society" in Chinese-style.

6.3. Attracting the government's attention, urging governmental information publicity and investigation of events show effectiveness

In the 57 internet public events, more than half of the cases successfully attracted the attention of the government and other public power sectors with the help of social media. Among them, some internet public events led to a wave of public opinions in social media and made the local governments that intended to block or hide information had to make informa-

Table 5
Interests demand of internet public events.

Type of interests demand		Frequency	Percentage
Supervision by public opinion	Supervision of the public power (government & judiciary)	26	45.6
	Supervision of commercial strength	8	14.0
	Supervision of public figure and organization	4	7.0
Maintenance of justice	Maintenance of social equity	27	47.4
	Maintenance of personal rights and interests	7	12.3
	Maintenance of national interests	2	3.5
Internet Hype		5	8.8

Note: Each internet public event may have more than one interests demand so that the sum of frequency is larger than the total number of cases.

tion accessible to the public. For example, in *Yunnan's "hide-and-seek" case*, the public security bureau in Jin Ning county explained that the death of Li Qiaoming after being detained is due to blindfolding and accidentally hitting the wall after he was kicked by inmates in the same prison room when they were playing a "hide and seek" game in the courtyard of the detention center (Shangguan, 2009). The incredible answer given by the local police is very dissatisfying and absurd to the public so that the phrase "hide and seek" rapidly become an internet hot phrase, then the public began to use "hide and seek" to make sentences to ridicule the information opacity of the government. Under the pressure of public opinion, the Yunnan propaganda department began to organize netizens and the communities to participate in the fact-finding of "hide and seek" event. Another example is *anti-PX project by Xiamen residents*, starting from March 2007, "Lian Yue" as a representative of netizens utilized blogs, forums and other social media to question the government's PX project for depriving citizens' rights to know, and asked the government to disclose information and solicit public opinions. Facing netizens' discussions and doubts, the Xiamen government responded in a press conference on May 30th, announced to postpone the PX project and launch the "public participation" program to fully listen to public opinions (Liu and Zhou, 2007).

Discussions about internet public events in social media made the local governments bear the pressure of public opinion; however, it provided the local governments an impetus to investigate the events, solve problems and restore the truth so that their work was more efficient in dealing with the issues. Like the case *Head of Liyang Sanitation Bureau arranged illicit meetings with his mistress on Weibo* happened in 2011, it took only three days from the exposure of the event in social media to the dismissal of the relevant official. Another example is *the most arrogant wife of regimental commander*. The behavior that irrationally relied on the power of "the wife of regimental commander" (Yu and her husband Chen) was exposed by netizens on 7th October, facing the huge internet public opinions, the corps she belonged to rapidly responded: the Corps Information Office first released "the dismissal decision to Yu and Chen" on the same forum on 12th October rather than in a traditional media outlet. The rapid response obtained recognition from netizens. According to the descriptions by Zhang Nan from the Corps Information Office, "the event was first exposed in the forum and netizens are mostly concerned about it, so we decided to release the decision at the forum and informed them in the first place (Li, 2009)."

6.4. Promoting social management innovation and institutional change shows initial effectiveness

Qiu et al. (2015) pointed out that unlike social movements, justice-driven online collective behaviors in China are usually not organized and sustainable efforts to promote long-term social change in accordance with a certain cause or ideology. Instead, they tend to end when the participants are satisfied with the handling of the specific triggering event. In the 57 internet public events we study, 11 of them eventually led to change of government policy or introduction of new policies, even laws. From this perspective, China's internet public events have played an important role in promoting social management innovation and institutional change.

On 17th March, 2003, a university graduate Sun Zhigang was sent to Guangzhou City shelters by police due to lack of a temporary residence permission. The next day, he was sent to a Guangzhou treatment and accommodating station where he was beaten to death. Sun Zhigang's tragedy triggered a strong public opinion in the community and set off a heated discussion about China's detention and repatriation system. Eventually, it led to the abolition of the *Deportation and Accommodating Ordinance for Urban Vagrants and Beggars* which was carried out since 1982, and replaced with the new regulation of *Management and Ordinance for Urban Vagrants and Beggars without the Aid*. Some other events in our sample also led to similar results. For example: the *self-immolation of Tang Fuzhen* event and the *self-immolation in Yihuang* event led to adding the accountability of local government officials related to the S*tate-owned Land on the Housing Levy and Compensation Ordinance*, The *Shanghai entrapment of illegal cabbie event* let to the release of The Opinion of *Shanghai People's Government on Further Standardize and Strengthen Municipal Administrative Enforcement* and *The Law Enforcement Code of Conduct for Shanghai Law Enforcement Office*rs.

In addition, a major impact of the internet public events in promoting the social management innovation is to bring about the democratization of government decision-making. Before making a decision, the government can know the trend of public opinion through online forums, microblogs and other social media. Then it can acquire suggestions from the public through social media and consult with the public to reach a consensus before making decisions. After the event of the

anti-PX project by Xiamen residents, the local government opened two online public forums and fully listened to the views, then made a decision to relocate the project.

7. Discussion

The occurrence and development of internet public events cannot be separated from the internet media, as well as the traditional media. The internet media include network media such as portal websites and social media that was the focus of this study. Thus, media that participated in internet public events can be divided into three types: the traditional media, network media, and social media. We found that all the three types of media have taken part in internet public events as the first information source in different events. In the occurring and developing process of internet public events, one kind of media reported the event firstly, and then another type of media joined the process to report it, which promoted the development of internet public events through the influence of media. Next we will discuss the three kinds of scenarios in detail.

Firstly, the traditional media (newspapers, radio or television) gave the first voice on the events, then the network media and social media participated in one by one. During the *Sun Zhigang case* in 2003, the *Southern Weekly* firstly reported "*The death of Sun Zhigang shelter – a 27-year-old university student suddenly died three days after arrested on the streets of Guangzhou, an autopsy showed that he was beaten seriously before the death*", on 25thApril, and published a comment "*Who should be responsible for the non-normal death of a citizen.*" On the same day, *Sina* (a famous website in China) reprinted it and led to a heated debate, which made netizens angry about the event. On that evening, Sun Zhigang Memorial website was built and titled *Sun Zhigang, you are swallowed by the darkness.* Two hours later, the number of website visitors exceeded 3000. On 26th April, the website was renamed *Heaven does not need a Temporary residence permit.* At 10:40, 28th, April, the visits of the website exceeded 20,000 times, which made a wide range of social influence.

Secondly, the network media released news in the first place, then social media actively joined, and the traditional media at last. The *Yao Jiaxin case* occurred in 2010, and a website named *HuaShang* firstly released a news story "*junior student stabbed victim 8 times after crashing, due to he found the victim was reciting the license plate number*", the *HuaShang* website had exposed the crime that Yao Jiaxin hit and stabbed the victim and released another article "*First sentencing date of Yao Jiaxin case delayed, lawyers said it's passion killings*" on 23rd March, 2011. Two days later, social media were involved in this news. Zhang Xian from Xi'an posted a strong appeal: *If the murderer is not killed, no tolerance!* on micro-blogs and blogs. And Zhang Xian also posted a series of messages on blogs including *a petition of villagers who signed for asking death penalty to Yao Jiaxin*, attached with the villagers' signed photos that appeal for a death penalty to Yao Jiaxin. On 1st, April, Ying Li, a junior sister apprentice of Yao Jiaxin commented at Renren Online (SNS), "If I were him (Yao Jiaxin), I also would have stabbed... Why don't you think how shameless the victim was, who was trying to remember the number of the license plate?" Her comments caused great anger among netizens. On 3rd, April, *Nanfang Daily* published an article entitled *Junior sister apprentice of Yao Jiaxin give nonsense words which angered a batch of netizens, experts said its very distressed*, the involvement of traditional media made *Yao Jiaxin case* a focus of public opinion.

Thirdly, social media covered the issue in the first place, leading to the participation of the traditional media and network media. On February 26th, 2007, a post entitled *Chongqing coolest nail household in history* appeared in *SoHu* news (a famous website in China). The post illustrated a picture: a small two-story house is standing alone in the center of a huge pit whose depth is more than ten meters, the small building was crumbling on the foundations that already dug barely. This post was spread widely in QQ, TianYa and other websites. On 8th March, *The Nanfang Metropolis Daily* published a report titled *the most Holdout in the history suddenly appear online.* On 19th March, a CCTV program *Chinese Law Report* broadcast *the most Holdout in the history,* the program announced: the two-story house still stands in the center of a ramshackle construction site in Chongqing from 2004 to the present when other houses had been relocated more than three years ago. It became a unique scene in the local communities. Since then, a variety of media followed up, which made *Chongqing coolest nail household in history* an internet public event.

It is obvious that the occurrence of internet public events owes to the participation and interaction of traditional media, network media and social media. The communication theories in the West explained the nature and characteristics of this kind of participation effects as "intermedia agenda setting" (Severin and Tankard (1997), which Chinese scholars called "media agenda interaction" (Dong and Chen, 2006). Due to the "intermedia agenda setting," internet public events have turned to be a "public opinion aggregated" phenomena and an important force in constructing the Internet public sphere of China with the participation of various media.

The analyses of these 57 cases show that the corruption of power, violation of ethics and public security are the top three reasons of triggering internet public events, which account for more than 70% of the total. Actually, except the malignant illegality, the top five inducements are basically all related to the public power, public ethics and public interest which all belong to the typical problems of public sphere (see Table 6 for more details). Combined with the interest demands of the 57 internet public events shown in Table 5, public opinion supervision and maintenance of justice are the expression of citizens' public opinions and fights for rights, which are exactly the expansion and reflection of Internet public sphere. In terms of the results, there have been some positive outcomes, including indictment of the involved officials and individuals, accountability to involved organizations and people and changing or adopting new policies (see Table 7 for more details). All these aspects showed the power of internet public opinion surrounding internet public events. Therefore, social media and internet public events have helped with the construction of China's internet public sphere.

Table 6
Inducements of the 57 internet public events.

Inducement	Frequency	Percentage
Corruption of power (abuse of public power, embezzlement, malpractice, Malignant law enforcement, damage of credibility and miscarriage of justice)	23	40.4
Violation of ethics (deviation from social morality)	12	21.1
Public security (traffic, environment, food, medicine)	6	10.5
Agrarian issue (land acquisition and demolition)	3	5.3
National security and interest	3	5.3
Malignant illegality	5	8.8
Others	5	8.8

Table 7
Results of the 57 internet public events.

Ending	Frequency	Percentage
Sentencing to the involved people	25	43.9
Dealing with related officials (suspension, removal, dismissal, punishment, etc.)	18	31.6
Accountability to involved organizations and people (compensation, apology, etc.)	11	19.3
Changing or adopting new policy	11	19.3
Events turned to be calm	8	14.0

Undoubtedly, the Internet public events showing great power of public opinion is due to the rapid development of social media. As mentioned before, social media, network media and traditional media have all played an important role in the Internet public events. It is difficult to quantify what kind of media is the most influential. However from the perspective of new media's role of empowerment, the influence of social media is revolutionary and dominant. The Cornell Empowerment Group defines empowerment as "an intentional, ongoing process centered in the local community, involving mutual respect, critical reflection, caring and group participation, through which people lacking an equal share of valued resources gain greater access to and control over those resources" (Cornell University Empowerment Group, 1989). Chinese scholars further explained, "empowerment means a process that people take practical action to interact in society through communication, active participation in the decision-making process, and to change their disadvantage or to enhance the power and ability through this process so that the social practice state of the power structure of the entire society change as a result (Liang and Liu, 2013)."

From the essence and the operation mechanism of traditional media, network media, and social media, it is social media that effectively complete the empowerment process that citizens participate in social affairs, discuss public interests, and maintain social justice. Benefiting from the social media, citizens in China can provide the newest information directly on social issues with common interests, express their real thoughts and wishes, activate the operation of all media including traditional media, and form internet public events that have positive impact on contemporary Chinese society.

However, some scholars hold different views on Chinese internet public events. Lin (2015) pointed out that China's Internet is neither a battlefield for the public to fight against the ruling power, promoting China to become the largest democracy body in the world, nor a democratic tool or a monitoring tool of the ruling power as the pessimists are worried about the current situation. To some extent, China's Internet has not only avoided its role of being the battlefield for the people to fight against the ruling power, but also failed to act as a bridge between the public and the government. It seeks to bypass the power bloc and the communication system under government control, leading to an alternative, subaltern, and resistant public communication space. For such a multiple, informal, non-consensus alternative public sphere, the Chinese style term of "Jianghu" – literally means "Rivers and Lakes" – could be an imaginative metaphor for the alternative, subaltern, and resistant space, rather than an official sense of "Miaotang" – literally means "temple" – or other concept like "square" in ancient Greece.

Indeed, there are still many deficiencies of the Internet public sphere in contemporary China, and the negative impact of social media also cannot be ignored. Examining the 57 cases in this study, we found two situations of internet public sphere in contemporary China that show such negative impact.

Firstly, social media enable a channel and space for nationalist sentiment to express easily. In the *Carrefour Boycott* event that occurred in 2008, an article entitled *shocked! Paris government turned out to be the murder of the Olympic torch,* published on TianYa BBS on 9th April, sensationally described that the Paris city government took all kinds of hostile actions in the relay process of the torch. During the discussion, the netizens "waterfalls Ming Kum" first proposed the idea of "Carrefour boycott". He said, "Due to Sarkozy's performance, I would not go to Carrefour in a month, haha"; netizens "a dove flew" then said, "Carrefour's largest shareholder made a big donation to the Dalai Lama, we should boycott Carrefour now". It is the discussion and mobilization of netizens that led to a *Carrefour Boycott* event, which led to vent nationalist sentiments.

Secondly, social media can easily become a breeding ground for populist sentiments. Under the domination of populist sentiments, people often easily believed in rumors. While rumors and populist sentiments interacted with each other, and made people blindly believing and taking action, which ultimately leads to destructive group events. On 17th June,

2009, a chef of a hotel in ShiShou, Hubei died incidently. As the local government lagged in releasing information, rumors spread everywhere. More than 500 related posts were spreading in the BaiDu BBS, which spread the rumors that the victim was abused and murdered. In addition, the onlookers set roads barricades at Dongyue Hill Road and Eastern Avenue, Shishou City on 19th June, and this blocked traffic and caused crowds screaming. On 20th June from the morning to the night, part of the crowd repeatedly clashed with police. On the 20th morning, the situation began to deteriorate. Some people set fire in the hotel, and incited some of the onlookers to attack the police officers and fire fighters. The event led to a number of injuries on the police, and many of the firefighting vehicles and police cars were smashed, causing a serious social unrest.

Generally speaking, the internet public sphere in contemporary China has not yet reached the paradigm of "bourgeois public sphere," described by Habermas as "open to all citizens, citizens are free to gather and free to express." However, a majority of Internet public events in the 57 cases of this study showed constructive meanings. It can be said that due to social media, the history of Internet public sphere and the civil society in contemporary China has begun to take shape. Social media has turned to be an important force in China's social change and transformation. To get a better understanding of the impact and influence of social media in contemporary China, we need more comprehensive, multidimensional, and in-depth studies in the future.

Acknowledgements

Appendix A

57 selected cases of Chinese Internet Public Events.

Time	Case	Chinese translation
2003	Sun Zhigang case	孙志刚事件
2003	Huang Jing naked death case	黄静案/黄静裸死事件
2004	Sister Furong	芙蓉姐姐事件
2004/2009	Luo Caixia case	罗彩霞被人冒名顶替上大学
2006	Cat abuse	虐猫事件
2006	Scandal of Tongxu	铜须门事件
2006	Nanjing Peng Yu case	南京彭宇案
2006–2008	Xu Ting ATM withdrawals case	许霆案/许霆ATM取款案
2007	Anti-PX project by Xiamen residents	厦门PX事件
2007	South China tiger photos	华南虎事件/华南虎照事件
2007	Chongqing coolest nail household in history	重庆最牛钉子户
2007	Shanxi brickyards slave labor case	山西黑砖窑事件
2007–2008	Guizhou Xishui Chinese official's child prostitution case	贵州习水嫖宿幼女案
2008	Super-Expensive-Cigarette Director	周久耕事件/南京天价烟/天价烟局长
2008	Guizhou Weng'an County protest	贵州瓮安事件
2008	Carrefour boycott	抵制家乐福事件
2008	Run Run Fan	范跑跑事件
2008	Edison Chen's sex photo scandal	艳照门事件
2008	Harbin police beat student to death	哈尔滨警察打死人
2008	Sanlu's tainted milk scandal	三鹿奶粉/三鹿毒奶粉
2008	Wangshi's donation in Wenchuan earthquake	王石捐款事件/王石捐款门
2008	March 14: The Lhasa riots	拉萨 3·14 打砸抢烧事件/3·14 藏独事件
2008	Yang Jia attacking polices in Shanghai	杨佳袭警案
2009	Yunnan "hide-and-seek" case	云南"躲猫猫"事件
2009	Deng Yujiao case	邓玉娇事件
2009	Drag racing case in Hangzhou	杭州飙车案/70 码事件
2009	Speak for "who"	"替谁说话"事件/"你是不是党员"
2009	Hubei Shishou riot	石首事件/湖北石首事件

Appendix A (*continued*)

Time	Case	Chinese translation
2009	Jia Junpeng phenomenon	贾君鹏事件
2009	Shanghai entrapment of illegal cabbie	上海"钓鱼执法"事件
2009	A thoracotomy for proving pneumoconiosis	开胸验肺事件
2009	The election of Zhou Senfeng as the youngest mayor	全国最年轻市长/史上最年轻的市长门/年轻官员周森锋提拔事件
2009	Aids girl	艾滋女事件
2009	The failure of Green Dam project	绿坝事件/绿坝软件事件
2009	Self-immolation of Tang Fuzhen	唐福珍自焚事件
2009	Xiao Yueyue event	小悦悦事件
2009	Lingbao Wang shuai event	灵宝王帅事件/灵宝贴案
2009	Xinjiang "7.5" incident	新疆 7·5 事件/7·5 疆独事件
2009	The most arrogant wife of regimental commander	最牛团长夫人
2009–2010	Sister Feng	凤姐事件
2010	"My dad is Li Gang"	李刚门事件 /"我爸是李刚"
2010	Chinese official in "diarygate"	广西来宾局长日记门/广西烟草局长日记门/广西局长日记门/来宾局长韩峰日记门/
2010	Qian Yunhui case	浙江钱云会案/浙江乐清村民遭碾压事件/乐清村长案
2010	Brother "Sharp"	犀利哥事件
2010	Qihoo v. Tencent	3Q 大战
2010	Garbage incinerator project in Panyu	番禺大石垃圾焚烧厂事件
2010	Problematic vaccine in Shanxi	山西疫苗事件/山西问题疫苗
2010	Tang Jun academic fraud	唐骏学历门
2010	Self-immolation in Yihuang	宜黄拆迁自焚事件
2010	"69 jihad" online	6.9 圣战事件/六九圣战事件
2010	Shou Shou scandal of naked photos	兽兽艳照门
2011	Guo Meimei scandal	郭美美事件/郭美美炫富事件
2011	Yao Jiaxin case	药家鑫事件/西安药家鑫案
2011	High-speed train derailing accident in Wenzhou	7.23 动车事故/温州动车事故
2011	Head of Liyang Sanitation Bureau arranged illicit meetings with his mistress on Weibo	溧阳卫生局长微博开房/局长微博直播开房/谢志强微博开房门
2011	Salt rush after tsunami in Japan	抢盐风波
2012	"Brother Watch"	微笑局长/陕西名表哥/表叔

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