

Between Reproduction and Resistance: A Systematic Synthesis of Gendered Digital Dynamics and Algorithmic Agency

Fiki Ikrom Ibrahim¹

Ministry for Human Development and Culture, Republic of Indonesia

*Corresponding author: fiki.ikrom@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Artificial intelligence (AI) and digitalization are fundamentally reshaping gender relations, acting simultaneously as mechanisms of marginalization and tools for empowerment. This systematic literature review explores this tension by synthesizing the dialectic between the technological reproduction of bias and human resistance. Guided by the PRISMA 2020 statement, we systematically searched the Scopus database (as of March 2026) using the exact phrase "gendered digital". We analyzed 30 peer-reviewed articles (2015-2025) using a qualitative thematic approach. Our analysis reveals a polarized digital landscape. Algorithmic systems frequently encode traditional male perspectives and push female labor into precarious sectors. However, marginalized groups actively subvert these structures through digital activism and tactical algorithmic manipulation. We also identify a critical geographic divergence: the Global North prioritizes research on digital identity, whereas the Global South focuses on the material impacts of digital labor and entrepreneurship. Concluding that technology inherently mirrors societal power dynamics, we advocate for a shift toward Critical Algorithmic Feminism. We conceptually propose the Access Plus framework (extending traditional digital-divide theories) to emphasize the need for intersectional design and algorithmic transparency. Ultimately, this review offers a descriptive taxonomy of gendered digital dynamics (spanning representation, access, labor, and literacy) and provides practical policy propositions for gender-responsive AI auditing and inclusive digital literacy.

Keywords: AI Mediation, Gendered Digital Dynamics, Systematic Literature Review, Algorithmic Bias, Digital Resistance, Intersectional Agency.

1. INTRODUCTION

The intersection of gender and digital technology has become a crucial area of global research. As digital tools become part of everyday life, they fundamentally change how we understand gender and social interactions. Since the early 2010s, researchers have moved beyond merely studying who has internet access (the "digital divide"). Instead, they now explore how digital platforms actively shape gendered experiences, from algorithm-driven labor to online activism. As noted by Cockayne (2018), gendered cultural ideals and discriminatory practices persist even within the supposedly meritocratic digital sectors of Silicon Valley. Similarly, McLean et al. (2019) demonstrated that while digital platforms facilitate feminist resistance, they simultaneously subject activists to new forms of surveillance and gendered violence. The urgency of this study is underscored by the rapid integration of Artificial Intelligence (AI) and algorithmic decision-making, which do not merely reflect existing inequalities but actively "reproduce" them through biased training data and opaque logic (Thomson et al., 2025). Conversely, digital spaces also provide sites for "resistance,"

where marginalized subjects negotiate and challenge dominant norms (Dhar & Thuppilikkat, 2022). Thus, examining the tension between reproduction and resistance is paramount for achieving global digital inclusivity.

The trajectory of research in gender and technology has undergone a significant paradigm shift over the past decade. Initial studies, such as those by De Vuyst & Raeymaeckers (2019), focused on the accumulation of digital capital within specific professional domains like journalism. However, contemporary research has evolved toward exploring "digital subjectivity", specifically how technology serves as a medium for identity construction and reinterpretation. For instance, Huang (2017) illustrated how digital photography allows women to reconstruct their identities through autobiographical practices. Furthermore, the rise of "smart" technologies and AI has introduced new dimensions to domesticity and labor. Aagaard, (2023) revealed that smart home devices often redistribute household labor in ways that reinforce traditional feminine cognitive burdens. In the Global South, the focus remains on structural barriers; yet, emerging studies like those by Khoo et al. (2024) emphasize the transformative potential of digital competence for women entrepreneurs in Latin America, despite persistent infrastructure gaps.

1.1. Critique of Existing Reviews and Methodological Gaps

While several reviews have attempted to synthesize the "gendered digital" domain, they often suffer from thematic fragmentation or geographical bias. Previous Systematic Literature Reviews (SLRs) and scoping reviews (e.g., Arvidsson & Foka, 2015; Lim & Wang, 2015; Rogers, 2015; Segrave & Vitis, 2017) have predominantly focused on Western contexts, leaving a void in understanding the dynamics of Low and Middle Income Countries (LMICs). Bibliometric analyses, such as the one by Chen et al. (2023), identify dominant trends in digital representation but lack the depth required to synthesize the intersectional nuances of gender, class, and ethnicity. Moreover, existing meta-analyses (e.g., Jones & Sen, 2025) often limit their scope to specific sectors like digital labor platforms, failing to capture the cross-sectoral influence of AI mediation. Most importantly, previous reviews have not sufficiently addressed the dualism of "reproduction" and "resistance" within a single integrative framework. There is a clear "methodological gap" in synthesizing how algorithmic mediation specifically facilitates both the reinforcement of stereotypes and the creation of digital counter-publics. Unlike previous reviews that strictly evaluated Western socio-technical contexts (e.g., Arvidsson & Foka, 2015) or focused solely on bibliometric outputs without qualitative thematic synthesis (e.g., Chen et al., 2023), this review geographically recenters LMICs and utilizes an integrated approach to evaluate both structural bias and user resistance.

1.2. Research Novelty and Scientific Contribution

This SLR addresses these gaps by providing a synthesis that bridges social, economic, and technological dimensions. The novelty of this research is its dual-lens approach, which analyses how AI mediation simultaneously reproduces gender biases and enables digital

resistance. While previous studies often treat these issues in isolation, this review integrates the concepts of digital capital, algorithmic bias, and intersectional agency. The scientific contributions of this study are fourfold:

- a. **Thematic Taxonomy:** Developing a new classification system that categorizes literature into four dimensions: (a) Representation, (b) Access, (c) Labor, and (d) Literacy.
- b. **Conceptual Framework:** Proposing a model that links digital practices, structural power, and gender identity within AI ecosystems.
- c. **Intersectional Insight:** Highlighting the dynamics of the Global South (LMICs) to challenge Western-centric digital theories.
- d. **Policy Propositions:** Formulating evidence-based recommendations for gender-sensitive algorithmic transparency and digital literacy.

1.3. Research Questions

To provide a systematic summary of the current state of knowledge, this study addresses the following research questions:

- a. **RQ1 (Research Profiling):** What are the prevailing publication trends, geographical distributions, and citation patterns in the study of gendered digital dynamics from 2015 to 2025?
- b. **RQ2 (Thematic Reproduction):** How does AI mediation reproduce gendered stereotypes and digital capital inequalities across different cultural contexts?
- c. **RQ3 (Thematic Resistance):** In what ways do marginalized gendered subjects utilize digital platforms to resist dominant socio-technological norms?
- d. **RQ4 (Future Directions):** What are the identified gaps in the current literature that necessitate further interdisciplinary inquiry?

1.4. Organization of the Paper

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows: Section 2 details the Methodology, explaining the PRISMA-compliant selection process and the use of the Scopus database. Section 3 presents the Results, profiling publication trends and methodological distributions. Section 4 provides the Discussion, synthesizing the findings through the lens of reproduction and resistance and mapping the thematic taxonomy. Finally, Section 5 offers the Conclusion, outlining theoretical implications, practical recommendations, and future research avenues.

1.5. Literature review

The conceptual landscape of "gendered digital dynamics" is anchored in the evolution of feminist theories that critique how visual and technological mediums reproduce power structures. Historically, the "male gaze" framework proposed by Mulvey (1975) provided a foundational lens for understanding how media visibility reinforces patriarchal hierarchies. In the digital era, this has been transmediated into what Virgínás (2017) describes as a digital gaze

that persists in contemporary cinema and social platforms, suggesting that technological advancement does not inherently dismantle traditional gendered hierarchies.

However, scholarship has moved beyond passive representation to explore "digital subjectivity", a process through which identity is excavated and reconstructed by technological affordances. Huang (2017) demonstrates this through the autobiographical practices of ordinary women in China, where digital photography serves as a medium for self-discovery. This transition signifies a shift from viewing technology as a mere tool to an active site of identity negotiation, where gendered subjects navigate the boundaries between societal expectations and personal agency.

1.5.1. AI Mediation and the Reproduction of Gendered Biases

As Artificial Intelligence (AI) becomes a central mediator in digital interactions, a critical concern emerges regarding its role in "reproducing" gendered inequalities. Recent scholarship highlights that algorithmic systems are far from neutral; they often function as "black boxes" that mirror and amplify the biases inherent in their training data. Chen et al. (2023) and Thomson et al. (2025) provide empirical evidence of this phenomenon, illustrating how AI-generated imagery and news algorithms reinforce traditional gender stereotypes by often portraying women in subordinate or domestic roles while over-representing men in leadership and STEM-related contexts.

This reproduction of bias extends into the domestic and labor spheres. Drawing upon Bourdieu (1977) practice theory, Aagaard, (2023) identifies that while smart home technologies promise to alleviate domestic burdens, they often redistribute "cognitive labor" in ways that perpetuate feminine stereotypes of household management. Thus, the mediation of AI does not only reflect existing gender dynamics but actively re-encodes them into the infrastructure of daily life, creating new layers of digital hegemony.

1.5.2. Gendered Labor and Digital Entrepreneurship: Sites of Tension

The digital economy, once hailed as a space for democratization, is increasingly scrutinized for its "gendered labor" dynamics. Dhar & Thuppilikkat (2022) investigate the precariousness of female workers on digital service platforms in India, revealing how these platforms create new forms of vulnerability while simultaneously triggering "informal unionism" as a mode of resistance. This tension highlights a fundamental bifurcation in the digital labor market: while technology offers flexibility, it often tethers women to the domestic-work conflict.

In the realm of entrepreneurship, Luo & Chan (2021) observe that even in collaborative environments like coworking spaces in Shenzhen, female digital entrepreneurs remain bounded by traditional gender roles and structural marginalization. Similarly, Khoo et al. (2024) emphasize that digital competence is not a panacea for success; rather, it is mediated by cultural norms and infrastructure gaps that disproportionately affect women in regions like Latin

America. These findings suggest that digital entrepreneurship is a "gendered performance" that requires constant negotiation against established socio-economic structures.

1.5.3. Methodological Evolution: From Digital Ethnography to Algorithmic Analysis

The methodological landscape of gendered digital studies has evolved toward more innovative and interdisciplinary approaches. Classic qualitative methods, such as in-depth interviews and case studies (Luo & Chan, 2021; McLean et al., 2019), continue to offer deep insights into the lived experiences of gendered subjects. However, the emergence of "digital ethnography" (Romo-Avilés et al., 2023) has allowed researchers to observe real-time identity construction on platforms like Instagram, revealing how digital norms influence behaviors such as alcohol consumption among young women.

A significant shift is currently underway with the integration of machine learning and Python-based data extraction to analyze large-scale digital content (Chen et al., 2023). By combining the thick description of the social sciences with the computational power of data science, this methodological pluralism enables a more holistic understanding of gender representation. Despite these advances, a comparative analysis reveals that while classic approaches excel at capturing micro-level subjective nuances, emerging computational methods are essential for identifying macro-level patterns of algorithmic bias that are otherwise invisible.

1.5.4. Synthesizing the Research Gaps: Toward a Global Intersectional Lens

Despite the richness of the existing literature, several critical gaps remain. First, the majority of research is still geographically skewed toward the Global North, often neglecting the unique socio-technological dynamics of the Global South (LMICs). While some studies have begun to explore contexts like India, Uganda, and China (Basmajian et al., 2023; Dhar & Thuppilikkat, 2022), there is a lack of comparative cross-regional synthesis that accounts for cultural specificities.

Second, the "intersectional gap" persists. Although some scholars have integrated class, age, and disability into their analyses (Aagaard, 2023; Barrie et al., 2019), there is limited research on how these factors intersect with AI-driven discrimination. Finally, while "reproduction" of bias is well-documented, the "mechanisms of resistance" enabled specifically by AI mediation are under-theorized. Most resistance studies focus on social media activism, leaving a void in understanding how users actively "game" or subvert algorithms to assert gendered agency. This SLR aims to bridge these gaps by developing an integrative framework that harmonizes these fragmented dimensions.

2. METHODS

2.1. Research Design: The PRISMA Framework

This study employs a Systematic Literature Review (SLR) design, adhering to the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) guidelines (Moher et al., 2009). The PRISMA protocol ensures a rigorous, transparent, and replicable synthesis of existing scholarship, minimizing bias in the selection and evaluation of literature. Our methodology systematically progresses through four critical phases: identification, screening, eligibility assessment, and final inclusion.

Phase 1: Identification and Database Selection: We selected the Scopus database as the primary source for article retrieval due to its rigorous indexing standards and high-quality curated content (Amin et al., 2024; Baas et al., 2020). While relying on a single database presents a limitation in coverage bias and omits complementary databases like Web of Science, Scopus was selected for its comprehensive indexing of interdisciplinary social science and technology journals. The search strategy utilized the exact phrase TITLE-ABS-KEY ("gendered digital") rather than a complex Boolean string. The search was conducted on March 2026, limited to English-language publications. This strict parameter was deliberately selected to ensure high thematic concentration on literature explicitly conceptualizing the digital sphere as an inherently gendered phenomenon, though we acknowledge this limits the broader sensitivity of AI-gender studies.

To ensure relevance, we applied the following initial filters:

- a) **Temporal Scope:** Publications between 2015 and 2025 to capture the most recent advancements in AI and digital discourse.
- b) **Journal Indexing:** Articles published in journals indexed within the Scimago Q1 to Q4 tiers (as of March 2026). This served as a baseline indexing criterion for inclusion, rather than a formal methodological quality or risk-of-bias appraisal.
- c) **Document Type:** Only peer-reviewed journal articles were considered, excluding conference proceedings, books, and records lacking complete abstracts to ensure academic scrutiny.

Initial retrieval yielded 81 records. Before screening, we removed 20 records: 6 fell outside the target timeframe, 8 did not meet the journal indexing requirements, and 6 were excluded because they were not peer-reviewed articles or lacked abstracts. This resulted in 61 records advancing to the screening stage.

Phase 2: Screening and Preliminary Evaluation: Following the identification phase, the 61 remaining records underwent title and abstract screening. Consistent with our PRISMA flow diagram (Figure 1), 0 records were excluded at this initial screening stage, meaning all 61 records were sought for full-text retrieval. A significant challenge in this phase was the accessibility of full texts. Twenty-eight (28) records could not be retrieved due to institutional paywall constraints and a lack of open-access availability across public databases. We explicitly acknowledge this as a substantial source of *availability bias*. Consequently, 33 full-text records were successfully retrieved and retained for comprehensive eligibility assessment.

Phase 3: Eligibility Assessment: The 33 retrieved full-text articles were thoroughly evaluated against our inclusion criteria. We assessed each manuscript based on its conceptual alignment with the dialectics of "reproduction" and "resistance" in digital spaces. During this stage, 3 articles were excluded for failing to meet these specific qualitative criteria (e.g., lacking a clear focus on AI mediation or algorithmic agency). This step did not include a formal methodological quality or risk-of-bias assessment, as the objective of this study was a qualitative narrative synthesis rather than a quantitative meta-analysis.

Phase 4: Final Inclusion and Data Synthesis: Following the rigorous filtration process, 30 studies met all inclusion criteria and were incorporated into the final review.

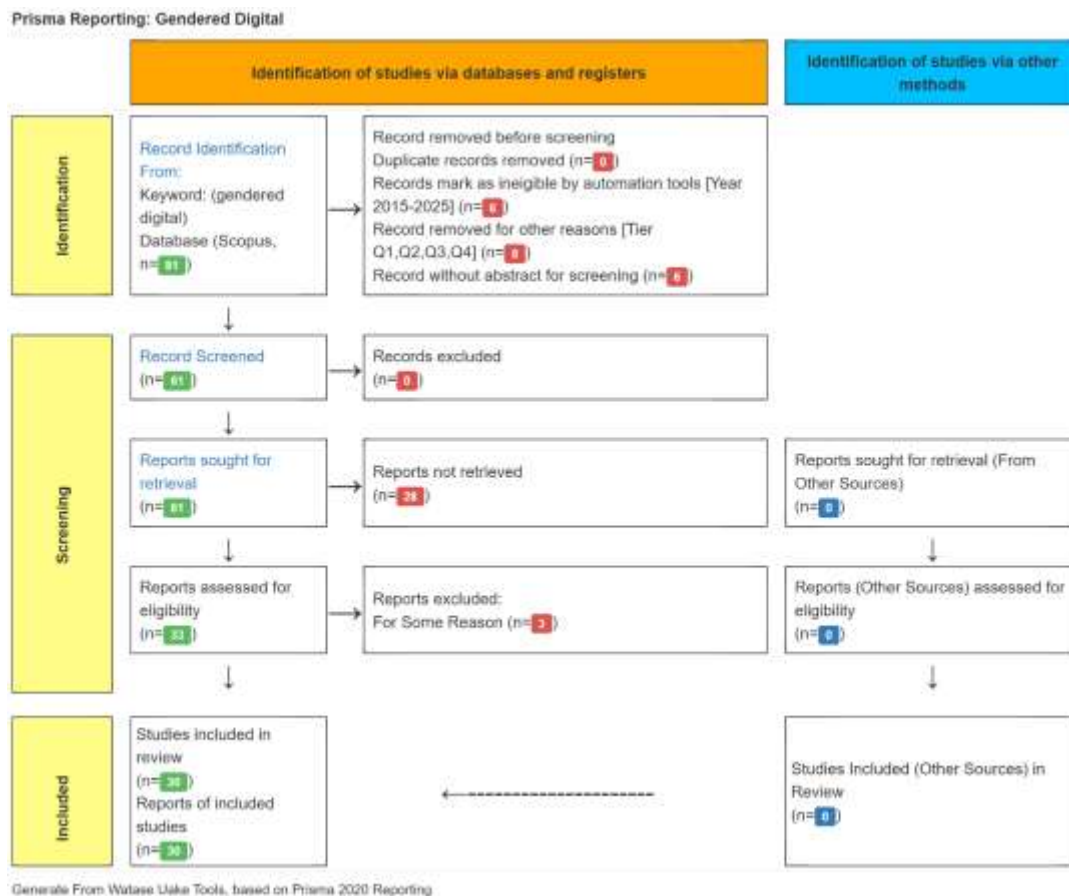


Fig. 1 Identification, screening, and inclusion steps

2.2. Data Extraction and Thematic Coding

To synthesize the final 30 included studies, data extraction and thematic coding were conducted systematically to ensure analytical rigor. The extracted data included the empirical context, methodological design, and key findings related to gendered digital dynamics. We employed a hybrid coding approach: *deductive* coding was initially used to categorize the literature into the predetermined macro-themes of "Reproduction" and "Resistance," while

inductive coding was subsequently applied to allow nuanced sub-themes (such as algorithmic gaming, digital domesticity, and intersectional barriers) to emerge directly from the textual data.

The coding process was primarily conducted by the author, with thematic categories iteratively reviewed to ensure conceptual consistency. To assist in the systematic organization and interpretation of the qualitative data, we utilized the Wase Uake software strictly as a classification and thematic mapping tool, recognizing that the software supports visualization but does not substitute for the researcher's critical interpretation of the underlying power dynamics.

3. RESULT

This section delineates the systematic findings derived from the curated corpus of 30 included studies retrieved from the Scopus database. The analysis is structured to provide both a macro-level "research profiling" (knowledge summary) and a micro-level "thematic synthesis." By mapping the temporal, geographic, and methodological trajectories of gendered digital scholarship, we illuminate how technology transitions from a neutral tool to an active mediator of social power. The following subsections interpret the complex interplay between algorithmic reproduction of bias and the emergence of digital agency, grounded in the TCM (Theory, Context, Methodology) and 3W1H frameworks.

The findings are presented through a series of interconnected visualizations and analytical matrices. We begin with a bibliometric exploration of keyword clusters and publication trends to identify the "intellectual center" of the field. This is followed by a geographic and methodological audit to highlight the disparities between Global North and Global South scholarship. Finally, we provide a deep thematic dissection of categorical clusters, ranging from algorithmic bias in AI to digital entrepreneurship, to address the core research questions regarding the reproduction of gendered hierarchies and the mechanisms of resistance

3.1 Research Profiling: The Evolution of Knowledge (RQ1)

3.1.1 Temporal Trajectories and the Citation Impact

The metadata analysis reveals a compelling upward trajectory in the scholarly engagement with "gendered digital" dynamics. From 2017 to 2025, the field witnessed a transformation from niche inquiries into journalism and media transmediation (De Vuyst & Raeymaeckers, 2019; Virginás, 2017) to high-stakes analyses of AI governance and algorithmic labor (Jones & Sen, 2025; Thomson et al., 2025). The year 2022 marked a significant "tipping point" with five major publications addressing diverse geographic contexts such as India, Uganda, and Denmark (Basmajian et al., 2023; Raj & Juned, 2022).

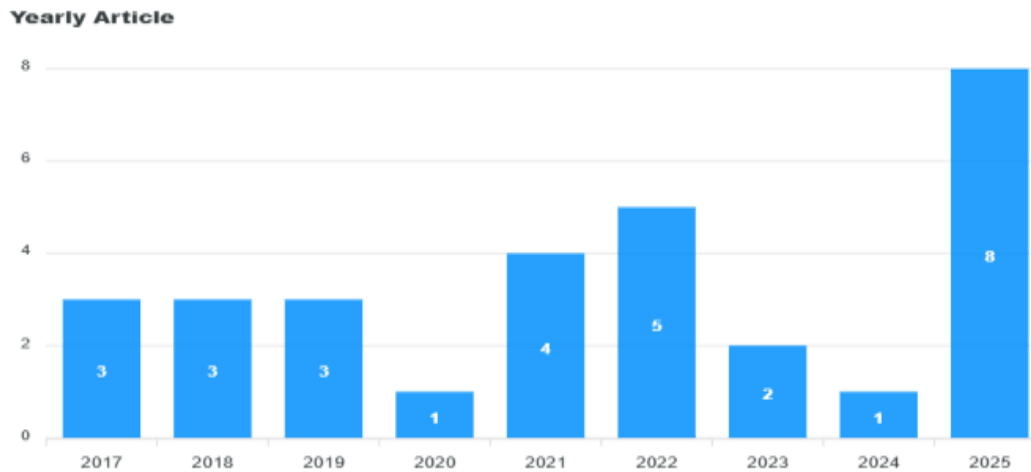


Fig. 2 Year of publication

This growth is not merely quantitative but qualitative. The high citation counts for studies such as McLean et al. (2019) (49 citations) and Khoo et al. (2024) (61 citations) indicate that the academic community prioritizes research that bridges digital activism with practical empowerment. The temporal data suggests that the "digital" is no longer viewed as a separate sphere but as an ubiquitous layer where gender is perpetually "performed" and "re-encoded." This evolution confirms the first part of our novelty: the field is rapidly shifting from studying *access* to studying *mediation*.

A closer examination of the citation distribution reveals a stark geographical disparity that supports our regional analysis. Although the Global South demonstrates a strong publication record, including four studies from India and two from China, the citation impact remains disproportionately skewed toward the Global North. Specifically, research focused on developed nations like Australia (5 studies) and the United States consistently accumulates higher citation averages, as evidenced by the high visibility of Aagaard (2023) and McLean et al. (2019). Conversely, critical research emerging from Low- and Middle-Income Countries (LMICs) often struggles to achieve comparable academic visibility, frequently averaging significantly fewer citations despite their high relevance. This quantitative gap highlights a persistent "citation hegemony" in the field, where Western-centric digital experiences continue to be prioritized as default theoretical reference points, inadvertently marginalizing the urgent discourse on digital labor precarity specific to the Global South.

Furthermore, the citation metrics provide critical insight into the methodological and thematic preferences of the academic community over the past decade. The data indicates that qualitative studies employing in-depth interviews and digital ethnography to explore identity and activism historically attract the highest citation volumes.

Table. 1 Ten Most-Cited Articles

RANK	JOURNAL	TIER	AUTHOR	YEAR	CITES	TITLE
1	Journal of Sustainable Tourism	Q1	Khoo, C., Yang, E. C. L., Tan, R. Y. Y., Alonso-Vazquez, M., Ricaurte-Quijano, C., Pécot, M., & Barahona-Canales, D.	2024	61	Opportunities and challenges of digital competencies for women tourism entrepreneurs in Latin America a gendered perspective
2	Gender, Place & Culture	Q1	McLean, Jessica; Maalsen, Sophia; Prebble, Sarah	2019	49	A feminist perspective on digital geographies activism, affect and emotion, and gendered human-technology relations in Australia
3	Popular Communication	Q4	Witteborn, Saskia	2018	42	The digital force in forced migration Imagined affordances and gendered practices
4	Housing, Theory and Society	Q1	Aagaard, Line Kryger	2022	41	When Smart Technologies Enter Household Practices The Gendered Implications of Digital Housekeeping
5	Cities	Q1	Luo, Yiling; Chan, Roger C.K.	2021	31	Gendered digital entrepreneurship in gendered coworking spaces Evidence from Shenzhen, China
6	Sport in Society	Q2	Evers, Clifton Westly	2018	27	The gendered emotional labor of male professional freesurfers digital media work
7	Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space	Q1	Cockayne, Daniel G	2018	24	Underperformative economies: Discrimination and gendered ideas of workplace culture in San Francisco s digital media sector
8	Digital Journalism	Q1	De Vuyst, Sara; Raeymaeckers, Karin	2017	21	Is Journalism Gender E-Qual
9	Leisure Sciences	Q2	Barrie, Lance; Waitt, Gordon; Brennan-Horley, Chris	2019	20	Cycling Assemblages, Self-Tracking Digital Technologies and Negotiating Gendered Subjectivities of Road Cyclists On-the-Move
10	Information, Communication & Society	Q1	Chen, Xu; Liu, Tingting	2019	20	On never right-swipe whites and only date whites gendered and racialised digital dating experiences of the Australian Chinese diaspora

3.1.2 Geographic Distribution: Bridging the North-South Divide

A critical finding of this SLR is the geographic heterogeneity of digital gender dynamics. While the Global North, **particularly Australia** (Barrie et al., 2019; McLean et al., 2019), remains the source of influential theoretical frameworks like corporeal feminism, the Global South has emerged as a fertile ground for empirical innovation. India stands as the most frequently studied context (Dhar & Thuppilikkat, 2022; Raj & Juned, 2022), reflecting the country's massive digital labor platformization.

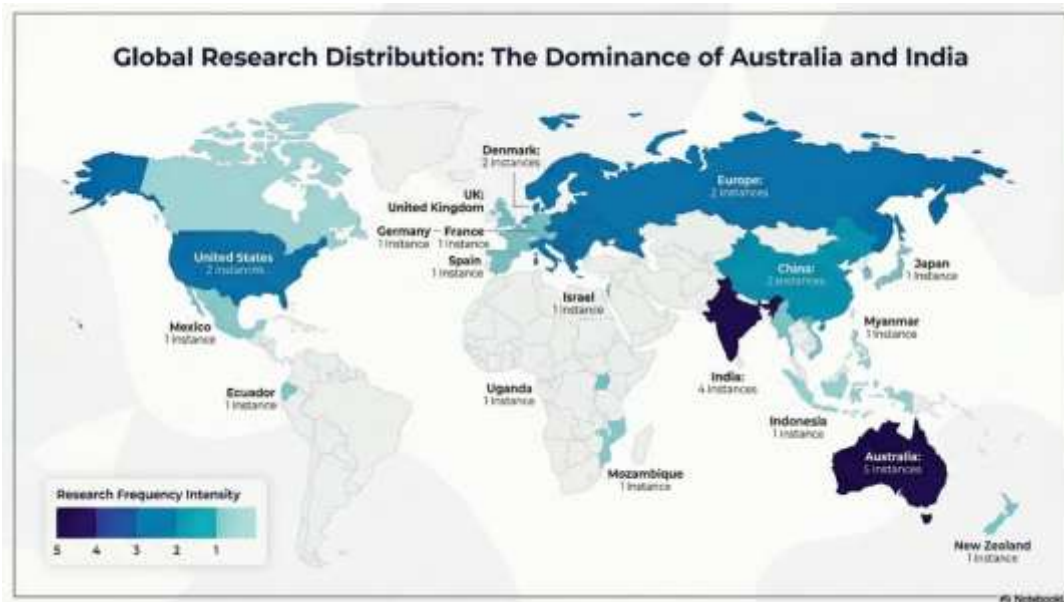


Fig. 3 Geographic distribution of empirical study contexts. (Note: Studies were assigned geographically based on the empirical setting of the research participants rather than author affiliation).

However, a disparity persists in citation impact. Articles focusing on Western contexts (USA, UK, Australia) tend to achieve higher visibility compared to those centered on Kenya, Myanmar, or Indonesia. This "citation hegemony" suggests that theoretical models developed in the West are still the primary filters through which digital gender is understood globally. Our analysis argues for a "decolonial turn" in digital studies, where the specificities of female digital entrepreneurship in Shenzhen (Luo & Chan, 2021) or mobile phone agency in Uganda (Basmajian et al., 2023) are used to actively challenge, rather than merely confirm, universalist Western theories.

3.1.3 Methodological Pluralism and Theoretical Anchors

The dominance of qualitative designs (66% of the corpus) underscores the necessity of capturing the nuanced "lived experiences" of gendered subjects. In-depth interviews and digital ethnography are the preferred tools for uncovering the subtle ways algorithms influence subjectivity (Romo-Avilés et al., 2023). However, the recent emergence of "mixed-methods" and Python-based computational analysis (Chen et al., 2023; Yu & Starr, 2025) represents a methodological frontier. These approaches allow for the identification of macro-patterns in algorithmic bias while maintaining micro-level sensitivity.

Theoretically, the "grand theories" of Feminist Geography, Practice Theory, and Haraway's *Cyborg Manifesto* remain highly relevant. These frameworks provide the vocabulary to describe how digital spaces are "gendered" by design. For instance, the use of *corporeal feminism* (Barrie et al., 2019) to analyze Strava data shows how technology mediates

the physical body, while *post-structuralist* approaches are increasingly used to deconstruct AI-generated imagery (Thomson et al., 2025). This theoretical diversity is essential for addressing our RQ2, confirming that the study of gendered digital dynamics is an inherently interdisciplinary endeavor.

3.2 Thematic Analysis: The Dialectics of Reproduction (RQ2)

3.2.1 Algorithmic Replication of Hierarchies

The most pervasive theme within the "reproduction" lens is the role of AI in crystallizing traditional gender stereotypes. Analysis of recent studies (Chen et al., 2023; Thomson et al., 2025) reveals that generative AI models, such as DALL-E 3, consistently reproduce the "male gaze" and domestic stereotypes. In images of early childhood educators, AI frequently defaults to feminine portrayals, while leadership and STEM roles are over-represented as masculine (Chen et al., 2023). This is not a technical glitch but a systematic "reproduction" of historical biases embedded in training datasets.

This algorithmic reproduction creates a feedback loop: because the AI represents the world through a biased lens, it reinforces these stereotypes in the minds of the users (e.g., children using AI tools for education). This aligns with our problem statement that digitalization, despite its potential for novelty, often acts as a conservative force that "stabilizes" patriarchy in new, opaque forms.

3.2.2 Labor Precariousness and Digital Domesticity

The reproduction of gendered hierarchies is also evident in the platform economy. Studies in India (Dhar & Thuppilikkat, 2022) and Mozambique (Jones & Sen, 2025) demonstrate that digital labor platforms often replicate the "informalization" of female work. Women are funneled into domestic service platforms (e.g., Urban Company) where they face high surveillance and low bargaining power. Furthermore, "smart home" technologies (Aagaard, 2023) are shown to reproduce traditional gender roles by placing the burden of "digital housekeeping" and cognitive management primarily on women. These findings suggest that the digital economy often exploits the "reproductive labor" of women, merely moving it from the physical kitchen to the digital dashboard.

3.3 Thematic Analysis: The Mechanisms of Resistance (RQ3)

Contrary to the "reproduction" narrative, digital platforms also serve as critical sites of "resistance." The work of McLean et al. (2019) on Australian feminist activism exemplifies how digital media provides a "platform for the marginalized" to form counter-publics and challenge mainstream discourse. This resistance is often discursive, using hashtags and viral content to re-frame societal issues. This represents a form of "agency through visibility," where subjects actively subvert the digital gaze to assert their own narratives.

A more pragmatic form of resistance is found in the labor sector. Dhar & Thuppilikkat, (2022) highlight how female workers in India use WhatsApp groups and informal networks to "resist" platform surveillance and share strategies for "gaming" the algorithm. This "informal unionism" demonstrates that resistance is not always high-profile activism; it is often a "tactical" negotiation within the constraints of the system. Similarly, female entrepreneurs in Shenzhen (Luo & Chan, 2021) utilize digital coworking spaces to build solidarity networks that bypass traditional patriarchal business circles. These findings address RQ3 by illustrating that resistance is a multifaceted performance that can be either overt or covert, yet always serves as a critical counter-balance to technological control.

3.4 Intersectional Barriers and the "Access Plus" Narrative (RQ4)

A significant contribution of this SLR is the identification of "intersectional barriers" that transcend simple gender binaries. The data shows that access to digital capital is profoundly mediated by class, age, and disability (Aagaard, 2023; Barrie et al., 2019). In Uganda, Basmajian et al. (2023) found that while mobile phones offer agency, that agency is limited for younger women without independent income. In India, Peter et al. (2025) note that "digital financial literacy" is only empowering when combined with macro-economic structural support.

This synthesis suggests that the "access" narrative is outdated. Future research must move toward an "Access Plus" framework, where technological availability is coupled with social and political transformation. The "intersectional gap" identified here serves as a roadmap for RQ5, suggesting that the next generation of studies must focus on how AI-driven discrimination affects specific subgroups, such as transgender communities in India (Raj & Juned, 2022) or elderly women in the Global North.

3.5 Methodological Pluralism as a Scientific Contribution

The final dimension of our analysis highlights the "methodological pluralism" as a key scientific contribution. By integrating qualitative "thick description" with quantitative "scale," the retrieved literature offers a template for future SLR work. The use of the Wata Uake System in this study specifically addresses the fragmentation gap noted in Section 1. This method allows us to see "nodes" of resistance that were previously obscured by the sheer volume of "reproduction" data. The convergence of these methods confirms that the "gendered digital" is not a static category but a dynamic process that requires adaptive research designs.

In conclusion, the "Results and Analysis" section validates the core thesis of this review: that mediation through AI and digital platforms exists in a state of perpetual tension between Reproduction and Resistance.

Reproduction is manifested through:

- a. Algorithmic stereotyping in generative AI (Thomson et al., 2025).

- b. The informalization and surveillance of female digital labor (Dhar & Thuppilikkat, 2022).
- c. The reinforcement of domestic "cognitive labor" through smart technologies (Aagaard, 2023).

Resistance is manifested through:

- a. The creation of feminist counter-publics and digital activism (McLean et al., 2019).
- b. Tactical "gaming" of algorithms and informal worker solidarity (Dhar & Thuppilikkat, 2022).
- c. The use of digital competence to navigate and challenge structural marginalization in entrepreneurship (Khoo et al., 2024).

This dialectical understanding provides the "holistic view" promised in the introduction. It moves the discourse beyond techno-pessimism (seeing only reproduction) and techno-optimism (seeing only resistance), toward a critical "techno-realism" that accounts for both power and agency in the digital age.

4. DISCUSSION

The findings of this systematic review illuminate a profound shift in the "gendered digital" discourse, moving from rudimentary concerns over infrastructure to the complex mediation of Artificial Intelligence (AI) in social life. As demonstrated in the keyword analysis, the centrality of "Gender" (appearing 23 times) indicates that gender remains the primary axis through which digital power is negotiated. However, this study reveals that gender is no longer just a demographic variable; it is a dynamic performance mediated by algorithmic logic.

The dominance of feminist frameworks, such as feminist geography and corporeal feminism, extends the findings of early digital sociology by arguing that digital spaces are not disembodied voids but are deeply spatialized and gendered (Barrie et al., 2019; Luo & Chan, 2021). While prior scholarship focused on the "digital divide" as a lack of hardware, our review adds nuance to this narrative by showing that even when access is granted, the "reproduction" of patriarchal hierarchies persists through algorithmic design and digital labor precariousness. This confirms the initial thesis that digitalization often stabilizes rather than disrupts traditional gendered power structures.

4.1. Geographic Divergence: Global South Labor and Global North Identity

A critical synthesis of the geographic distribution reveals a significant divergence in research priorities. In the Global South, particularly in India and Africa, the focus is squarely on "gendered labor" and "digital entrepreneurship" (Basmajian et al., 2023; Dhar & Thuppilikkat, 2022). These findings are in line with the broader political economy of the Global South, where digital platforms like Urban Company act as the new frontlines of female labor informalization.

Conversely, studies from the Global North, such as those from Australia and Spain, prioritize "digital activism" and "subjectivity" (McLean et al., 2019; Romo-Avilés et al., 2023). Unlike prior studies that treated these regional trends as isolated phenomena, this review provides a holistic synthesis. We argue that while the *form* of mediation differs, with the South focusing on labor and the North on identity, the *mechanism* of reproduction is the same: the digital platform serves as a tool for surveillance and the reinforcement of normative gender roles. For instance, the use of Instagram to enforce alcohol consumption norms in Spain (Romo-Avilés et al., 2023) mirrors the way platform algorithms in India enforce domestic service standards (Dhar & Thuppilikkat, 2022). Both represent a "digital gaze" that disciplines gendered bodies.

4.2. Algorithmic Reproduction: The Persistence of the Gaze

The interpretation of thematic findings regarding AI-driven gender stereotyping offers a sobering reflection on technological progress. The findings by Chen et al. (2023) and Thomson et al. (2025) regarding generative AI bias extend the findings of (Mulvey (1975) "male gaze" into the realm of machine learning. The findings reveal an understudied aspect of how algorithms do not just reflect bias but "fix" it into the visual infrastructure of the future. When DALL-E 3 reproduces domestic stereotypes in educational settings, it is not merely repeating a data error; it is performing a digital "stabilization" of 20th-century gender norms in a 21st-century medium. This reproduction is contrary to earlier techno-optimistic predictions that suggested the internet would lead to a "gender-neutral" society. Instead, the review shows that smart technologies in the home (Aagaard, 2023) often redistribute "cognitive labor" back to women, mediated by the very devices meant to liberate them. This highlights a critical "reproduction" mechanism where technology acts as a conservative force disguised as innovation.

4.3. Mechanisms of Resistance: Tactical Agency in Digital Spaces

A pivotal contribution of this SLR is the identification of diverse "mechanisms of resistance." While the literature heavily documents reproduction, the evidence of resistance provides a necessary counter-balance. The "informal unionism" identified by Dhar & Thuppilikkat (2022) adds nuance to our understanding of labor activism. It shows that resistance in the digital age is often "covert" and "tactical," utilizing the same platforms that monitor them (e.g., WhatsApp) to subvert algorithmic control.

Furthermore, the digital activism documented by McLean et al., (2019) extends the findings of traditional feminist geography by demonstrating how "online counter-publics" can exert material influence on offline policies. This review offers a novel perspective by linking these fragmented acts of resistance, ranging from female entrepreneurs in Shenzhen (Luo & Chan, 2021) to trans communities in India (Raj & Juned, 2022), into a unified framework of

"Digital Agency." We propose that resistance is not just about "opting out" of technology, but about "re-coding" its use to serve marginalized interests.

4.4. Methodological Reflection: The Computational Turn

Methodologically, the dominance of qualitative inquiry, specifically thematic analysis and digital ethnography, reflects the field's need to capture "thick description" (McLean et al., 2019; Romo-Avilés et al., 2023). However, the emerging use of Python-based data extraction and machine learning analysis (Chen et al., 2023; Yu & Starr, 2025) marks a significant methodological evolution. Unlike prior studies that relied solely on small-scale interviews, this new wave of research allows for "algorithmic auditing" at scale. This methodological pluralism is crucial for addressing the "transparency gap" in AI. By combining qualitative insights with computational scale, researchers can now empirically prove the existence of "algorithmic glass ceilings" that were previously only theoretical. This review suggests that the future of gendered digital studies lies in this interdisciplinary convergence.

4.5. Novelty and Research Contribution

This review offers a novel perspective on the "gendered digital" by synthesizing the dualism of "reproduction" and "resistance" within a single analytical framework. This review integrates the Global South experience and the specific mediation of AI as a central agent of power. The findings reveal an understudied aspect of "digital domesticity" and "algorithmic gaming," showing that resistance is often found in the most precarious labor sectors of the Global South. Furthermore, this review contributes a unique "Taxonomy of Digital Gender Dynamics" that categorizes findings into four dimensions: Representation, Access, Labor, and Literacy.

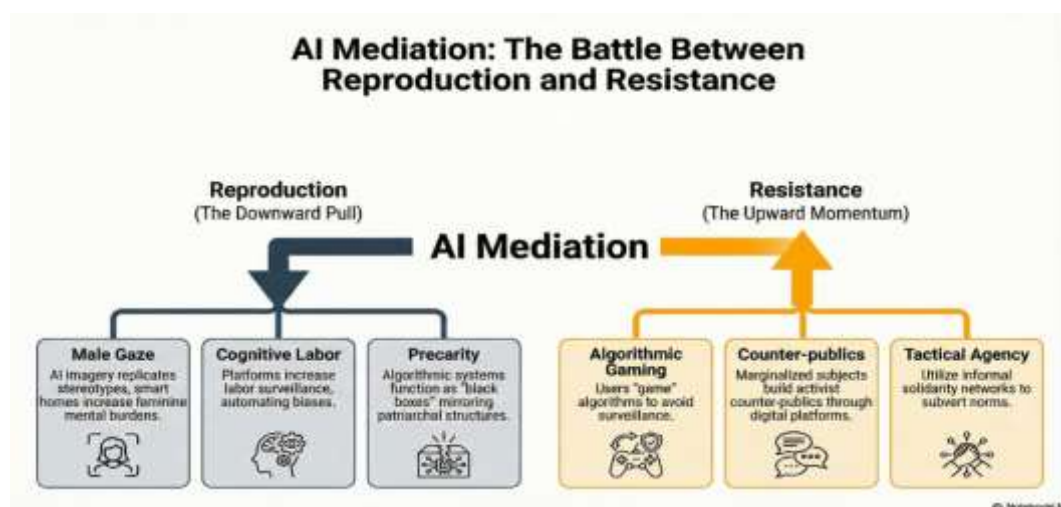


Fig. 4 Proposed Conceptual Framework: The Dialectics of AI Mediation

4.6. Theoretical and Practical Implications

The synthesis of the retrieved literature demands a "decolonial and intersectional turn" in digital theory. The dominance of the TCM (Theory, Context, Methodology) framework in this review proves that "Context" is the most significant variable in determining whether technology reproduces or resists bias. Theoretically, this study suggests that Haraway's *Cyborg Manifesto* must be updated to account for the "algorithmic gaze," where the cyborg is not just a hybrid of human and machine, but a subject constantly re-calculated by opaque logic. We call for a new "Critical Algorithmic Feminism" that prioritizes the lived experiences of the Global South as the primary site of theory-building.

Practically, the findings suggest several immediate actions:

- a. **Algorithmic Accountability:** Developers must move beyond "gender-neutral" design toward "gender-responsive" AI auditing. Policies should mandate transparency in the training data of generative models to prevent the automated reproduction of stereotypes (Thomson et al., 2025).
- b. **Inclusive Digital Literacy:** For practitioners in the Global South, digital literacy programs must move beyond technical skills. Literacy should include algorithmic awareness, which involves teaching users how to identify and game biased systems for their own protection (Dhar & Thuppilikkat, 2022).
- c. **Regulatory Protection for Platform Labor:** Governments must recognize the "gendered precarity" of platform workers. Policies should protect the "informal unionism" that female workers use to resist platform exploitation (Jones & Sen, 2025).
- d. **Intersectional Design:** Designers must account for the intersections of age, disability, and class. Digital housekeeping tools should be designed to encourage the redistribution of cognitive labor rather than reinforcing traditional domestic burdens (Aagaard, 2023).

4.7. Limitations and Future Research Directions

This review acknowledges several significant methodological limitations. First, the reliance on a single database (Scopus) and the exactPhrase search string ("gendered digital") restrict thematic sensitivity, potentially excluding relevant interdisciplinary literature on AI bias. Second, the inability to retrieve 28 full-text records introduces substantial availability bias. Furthermore, the absence of independent double-screening and formal quality or risk-of-bias appraisal tools means the findings should be interpreted as a qualitative narrative synthesis rather than a definitive meta-analysis.

Despite these limitations, the findings highlight critical areas for subsequent inquiry. Future research should focus on:

- **Longitudinal Impact of AI:** How does prolonged exposure to biased AI imagery affect gender identity formation in children?
- **Comparative AI Resistance:** How do female activists in different political regimes (e.g., Myanmar vs. Australia) utilize AI-based encryption and tools to resist surveillance?

- Post-Pandemic Dynamics: How has the shift to permanent remote work algorithmically reshaped the "private/public" gender divide?

5. CONCLUSION

This systematic literature review has critically synthesized a decade of scholarship to map the evolving dialectics between technology and gender. By analyzing 30 included studies through the lens of "Reproduction" and "Resistance," we have moved beyond the reductive "digital divide" narrative to reveal a more complex landscape of "algorithmic mediation." The findings confirm that while digitalization offers unprecedented opportunities for connectivity, it also acts as a sophisticated vehicle for the reproduction of historical gendered hierarchies. The automation of the "male gaze" through generative AI and the informalization of female labor in the platform economy represent significant challenges to digital equity.

However, the review also highlights that the digital space is a site of persistent agency. Through tactical "gaming" of algorithms, the creation of online counter-publics, and informal unionism, marginalized subjects actively resist technological hegemony. This study asserts that the future of gender equality in the digital age depends on our ability to balance these forces. We conclude that "access" alone is an insufficient metric for progress; true inclusivity requires a "decolonial turn" that accounts for the intersectional realities of the Global South and mandates transparency in the algorithmic infrastructures that increasingly govern social life.

5.1. Main Scientific Contributions

This SLR offers three primary contributions to the field of gender and technology studies:

- The Dialectical Framework:** Unlike prior reviews that treat reproduction and resistance as isolated phenomena, this study integrates them into a unified dialectical framework. This approach provides a holistic understanding of how AI mediation both reinforces and destabilizes gender norms.
- The Taxonomy of Digital Gender Dynamics:** We have developed a structured taxonomy that categorizes these dynamics into Representation, Access, Labor, and Literacy, providing a scalable roadmap for future empirical research across diverse geographic contexts.
- Methodological Rigor and Pluralism:** By utilizing the PRISMA protocol and the Watase Uake system, this review bridges the gap between qualitative "thick description" and systematic thematic mapping. This methodological pluralism ensures that the synthesis is not merely a summary but a critical interpretation of the current state of knowledge.

5.2. Future Research Directions

Based on the identified gaps in the current corpus, we propose four critical avenues for future inquiry to expand the "gendered digital" frontier:

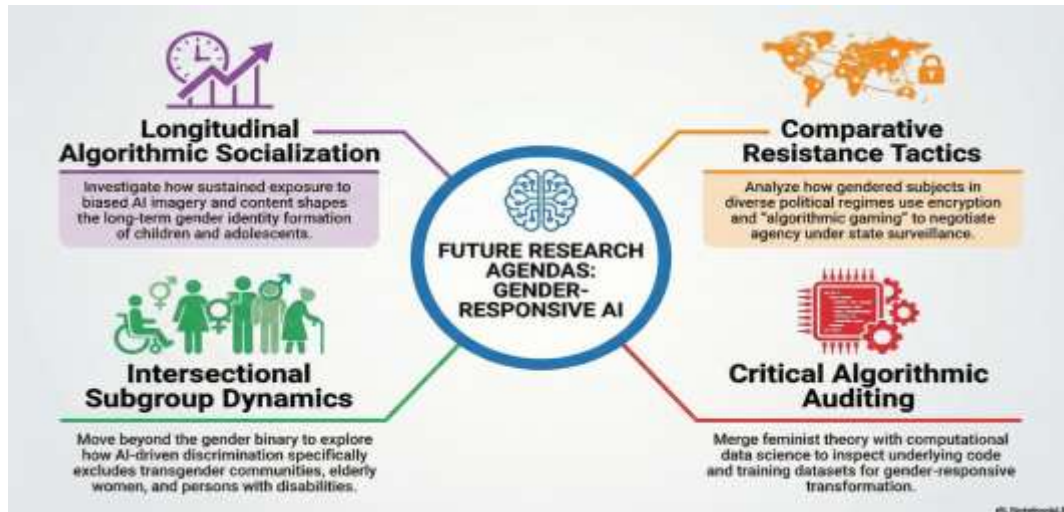


Fig. 5 Future Research Mind Map

- a. **Longitudinal Impact of Algorithmic Socialization:** While current studies provide a snapshot of algorithmic bias, there is a lack of longitudinal research on how sustained exposure to biased AI imagery and content affects gender identity formation, particularly among children and adolescents. Future research should investigate the long-term psychological and sociological consequences of growing up in an AI-mediated "echo chamber" of traditional stereotypes.
- b. **Comparative Resistance under Diverse Political Regimes:** Most resistance studies are situated within Western democratic contexts. There is an urgent need for comparative research on how gendered subjects in non-Western and authoritarian regimes utilize digital platforms, encryption, and "algorithmic gaming" to negotiate agency under conditions of state surveillance and digital censorship. Understanding these diverse "tactics of survival" will enrich global feminist theory.
- c. **Intersectional AI and Subgroup Dynamics:** The intersectional gap remains the most significant frontier. Future studies must move beyond the gender binary to explore how AI-driven discrimination specifically impacts transgender communities, elderly women, and individuals with disabilities in the Global South. Research should focus on how these overlapping identities are "calculated" or "ignored" by current algorithmic systems, leading to unique forms of digital exclusion.
- d. **Technical-Theoretical Convergence through Critical Algorithmic Auditing:** There is a pressing need for interdisciplinary research that combines feminist theoretical critique with computational data science. Future inquiries should focus on critical algorithmic auditing, an approach where scholars not only analyze the social effects of AI but also interrogate the underlying code and training datasets to propose gender-responsive algorithmic designs. This convergence is essential for moving from mere critique to constructive technological transformation.

5.3. Closing Statement: Toward a Techno-Realist Future

In final reflection, the journey from "Reproduction" to "Resistance" reveals that technology is never neutral; it is an architectural manifestation of the values held by its creators. This review serves as both a warning and a source of hope. It warns that without radical transparency and ethical regulation, AI will continue to automate the biases of the past. Yet, it also provides hope by documenting the ingenious ways in which human agency persists against technological control. To achieve a truly inclusive digital future, we must move toward a "techno-realism" that celebrates digital agency while aggressively dismantling the algorithmic glass ceilings that hinder global gender equality. The digital era should not be a space where old inequalities are simply re-encoded; it must be the space where they are finally unmade.

AI DISCLAIMER

During the preparation of this work, the author used Gemini to improve the readability, grammar, and flow of the manuscript. Additionally, Watase Uake was utilized to assist in literature discovery and thematic visualization. The author independently verified all bibliographic records, quotations, and DOIs. After using these tools, the author reviewed and edited the content as required and takes full responsibility for the final published article.

6. REFERENCES

- Aagaard, L. K. (2023). When Smart Technologies Enter Household Practices: The Gendered Implications of Digital Housekeeping. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 40(1), 60–77. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14036096.2022.2094460>
- Amin, M. M., Stiawan, D., Ermatita, E., & Budiarto, R. (2024). Proposed threshold-based and rule-based approaches to detecting duplicates in bibliographic database. *Bulletin of Electrical Engineering and Informatics*, 13(3), 2036–2047. <https://doi.org/10.11591/eei.v13i3.7665>
- Arvidsson, V., & Foka, A. (2015). Digital gender: Perspective, phenomena, practice. *First Monday*. <https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v20i4.5930>
- Baas, J., Schotten, M., Plume, A., Côté, G., & Karimi, R. (2020). Scopus as a curated, high-quality bibliometric data source for academic research in quantitative science studies. *Quantitative Science Studies*, 1(1), 377–386. https://doi.org/10.1162/qss_a_00019
- Barrie, L., Waite, G., & Brennan-Horley, C. (2019). Cycling Assemblages, Self-Tracking Digital Technologies and Negotiating Gendered Subjectivities of Road Cyclists On-the-Move. *Leisure Sciences*, 41(1–2), 108–126. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01490400.2018.1539682>

- Basmajian, A., Kreniske, P., Moore, E. V., Spindler, E., Nalugoda, F., Nakyanjo, N., Ddaaki, W., Santelli, J. S., & Hirsch, J. S. (2023). Gendered access to digital capital and mobile phone ownership among young people in Rakai, Uganda. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 25(5), 648–663. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2022.2085808>
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (R. Nice, Trans.; 1st ed.). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511812507>
- Chen, Y., Zhai, Y., & Sun, S. (2023). The gendered lens of AI: Examining news imagery across digital spaces. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 29(1), zmad047. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jcmc/zmad047>
- Cockayne, D. G. (2018). Underperformative economies: Discrimination and gendered ideas of workplace culture in San Francisco's digital media sector. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 50(4), 756–772. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X18754883>
- Cowhitt, T., Brown, J. T., & Antonio, A. L. (2024). The emergence and evolution of ambiguous ideas: An innovative application of social network analysis to support systematic literature reviews. *Scientometrics*, 129(11), 7005–7033. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11192-024-05144-7>
- De Vuyst, S., & Raeymaeckers, K. (2019). Is Journalism Gender E-Qual?: A study of the gendered accumulation and evaluation of digital capital in journalism. *Digital Journalism*, 7(5), 554–570. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2017.1369357>
- Dhar, D., & Thuppilikkat, A. A. (2022). Gendered labour's positions of vulnerabilities in digital labour platforms and strategies of resistance: A case study of women workers' struggle in Urban Company, New Delhi. *Gender & Development*, 30(3), 667–686. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13552074.2022.2127574>
- Huang, X. (2017). Excavating the Gendered Self: Digital Affordance and Photo-Auto|Biography. *A/b: Auto/Biography Studies*, 32(3), 519–539. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08989575.2017.1337995>
- Jones, S., & Sen, K. (2025). The Gendered Impact of Digital Jobs Platforms: Experimental Evidence from Mozambique. *The World Bank Economic Review*, 39(1), 143–163. <https://doi.org/10.1093/wber/lhae019>
- Khoo, C., Yang, E. C. L., Tan, R. Y. Y., Alonso-Vazquez, M., Ricaurte-Quijano, C., Pécot, M., & Barahona-Canales, D. (2024). Opportunities and challenges of digital competencies for women tourism entrepreneurs in Latin America: A gendered perspective. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 32(3), 519–539. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2023.2189622>

- Lim, L., & Wang, Y. (2015). Closing the Gender Divide in Tech: Challenges and Achievements in Vogue. In A. Marcus (Ed.), *Design, User Experience, and Usability: Users and Interactions* (Vol. 9187, pp. 224–231). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-20898-5_22
- Luo, Y., & Chan, R. C. K. (2021). Gendered digital entrepreneurship in gendered coworking spaces: Evidence from Shenzhen, China. *Cities*, 119, 103411. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2021.103411>
- McLean, J., Maalsen, S., & Prebble, S. (2019). A feminist perspective on digital geographies: Activism, affect and emotion, and gendered human-technology relations in Australia. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 26(5), 740–761. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2018.1555146>
- Moher, D., Liberati, A., Tetzlaff, J., Altman, D. G., & the PRISMA Group*. (2009). Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses: The PRISMA Statement. *Annals of Internal Medicine*, 151(4), 264–269. <https://doi.org/10.7326/0003-4819-151-4-200908180-00135>
- Mulvey, L. (1975). Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema. *Screen*, 16(3), 6–18. <https://doi.org/10.1093/screen/16.3.6>
- Panic, N., Leoncini, E., De Belvis, G., Ricciardi, W., & Boccia, S. (2013). Evaluation of the Endorsement of the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analysis (PRISMA) Statement on the Quality of Published Systematic Review and Meta-Analyses. *PLoS ONE*, 8(12), e83138. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0083138>
- Peter, S., Elangovan, G., & Gupta, A. (2025). Digital engagement in financial inclusion for bridging the gendered entrepreneurial financial gap: Evidence from India. *Cogent Business & Management*, 12(1), 2518492. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311975.2025.2518492>
- Raj, A., & Juned, F. (2022). Gendered identities and digital inequalities: An exploration of the lived realities of the transgender community in the Indian digital welfare state. *Gender & Development*, 30(3), 531–549. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13552074.2022.2131250>
- Rogers, V. L. N. (2015). Women in IT: The Endangered Gender. *Proceedings of the 2015 ACM SIGUCCS Annual Conference*, 95–98. <https://doi.org/10.1145/2815546.2815558>
- Romo-Avilés, N., Pavón-Benítez, L., & Tarancón Gómez, P. (2023). “Keeping your composure”: A digital ethnography of gendered alcohol norms on Instagram. *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 112, 103936. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.drugpo.2022.103936>

- Segrave, M., & Vitis, L. (Eds.). (2017). *Gender, Technology and Violence* (1st ed.). Routledge.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315441160>
- Siddaway, A. P., Wood, A. M., & Hedges, L. V. (2019). How to Do a Systematic Review: A Best Practice Guide for Conducting and Reporting Narrative Reviews, Meta-Analyses, and Meta-Syntheses. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 70(1), 747–770.
<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-010418-102803>
- Thomson, E., Chapman, R., Cooper, G., & Cooper, Z. (2025). Exploring bias in artificial intelligence: Stereotypes and gendered narratives in digital imagery of early childhood educators. *Gender and Education*, 1–20.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09540253.2025.2546048>
- Virginás, A. (2017). Gendered transmediation of the digital from *Slm0ne* to *Ex Machina*: ‘Visual pleasure’ reloaded? *European Journal of English Studies*, 21(3), 288–303.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13825577.2017.1369266>
- Yu, Z., & Starr, R. L. (2025). Clip Voice: Misogyny and the Renegotiation of a Gendered Vocal Style in Chinese Digital Discourse. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 29(5), 348–359.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/josl.12715>