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국제학석사학위논문

**The Influence of Netouyo and Changing
Shape of Japanese Demonstrations:
Hate Speech of Zaitokukai**

넷우익의 영향과 일본 시위의 형태 변화:
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요코 칸노

**The Influence of Netouyo and Changing
Shape of Japanese Demonstrations:
Hate Speech of Zaitokukai**

A Thesis Presented By

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To

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Abstract

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This thesis investigates the correlations between the changes of Japanese recent demonstrations using the model of HateSpeech of Zaitokukai and the influence of Netouyo. The main purposes are finding the changes of Japanese demonstrations featuring HateSpeech, analyzing the factors of the changes, and providing the causes or ways that Netouyo is involved in those factors. The thesis firstly the backgrounds of the issues that striking HateSpeech held by Zaitokukai has been rising with the basic definitions of it as well as that of netouyo, then moves to the analysis that should be applied to the test of the hypothesis and the previous research, so that the academic findings is lead at the last.

To accomplish the main purposes, the thesis is focused on the characteristics of HateSpeech itself as well as Zaitokukai that make it different from existing demonstrations. Also, the particularities of Netouyo compared to existing conservative ideology and nationalistic netizens is significant portion of the research since it is essential to reveal one of the main purposes; providing the causes or ways that Netouyo is involved in those factors.

Since the accurate data interpretation of the internet users could be obscure, the comprehensive data analysis using the qualitative research data as well as the quantitative ones from the varied standings are used as the analysis of this thesis. The comparative research in order to pronounce the originalities, differences and characteristics of Zaitokukai and Netouyo is also adopted to make the uniqueness of them clearer.

Keywords: Zaitokukai 在特会 (Zainichi Tokken wo Yurusanai Kai 在日特権を許さない会), Netouyo ネットウヨ (Internet Uyoku ネット右翼), Japanese demonstrations, Netizen,

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List of Abbreviations

Netouyo: Internet Uyoku=The right wing

Zaitokukai: 在日特権を許さない市民の会(“not allow Zainichi privilege “ civil association)

I. Introduction

1. Background of the Issue

Recent years, the offensive anti-Korean living in Japan demonstrations HateSpeech has been outraged, and often get criticized from domestic and also international societies. The demonstration itself is not always very extraordinary issues in Japan considering from the view of the historical approach. In 1950s and 60s, the labor union demonstrations or the students activities had been spread, and in 70s and 80s the main demonstrations were the peace demo against the Vietnam War. During 1990s, those movements seemed to be calmed down a little but in the beginning of 2000s, they occurred again as the anti-Iraq War. After it, the Japanese demonstrations have been developed in both sides of the left and the right. Those demonstrations have been different from the past ones in the view that normal citizen without belonging to the common associations also are joining the activities.

However, HateSpeech of Zaitokukai (在日特権を許さない市民の会) still has the big presence among those demonstrations. Zaitokukai has just established not over for 10 years, and its existence appears bigger and bigger in recent years with the well known offensive anti-Korean demonstrations HateSpeech. Even though the numbers of the members that have joined to HateSpeeches are not as big as that of the

anti-nuclear power demonstrations or anti-Iraq War demonstrations, the impression and the reactions from the domestic and international societies are even more huge.

The uniqueness of HateSpeech of Zaitokukai is that their connections and big supports from Netouyo(ネット右翼). The presence of Netouyo has also been getting louder in these past years. It is well known that Zaitokukai called out the demonstrations and actually the big portions of the members of Zaitokukai is Netouyo as well. It could be said that HateSpeech of Zaitokukai is largely pushed up by the influence of Netouyo. It is getting more common that some associations or someones with particular ideology try to call out the participants for the demonstrations or supporters on the Internet. Actually it could be counted as one of the most outstanding changes for the demonstrations in recent years, not only in Japan also in any other countries. However, HateSpeech of Zaitokukai's differences and characteristics are still pronounced and they can be regard as the important changes of the shape of Japanese demonstrations. Since the existences of Netouyo and Zaitokukai are both comparatively new, the previous research or data based analysis are not plentiful, but taking the academic research towards both Netouyo and HateSpeech of Zaitokukai would lead the new findings for the facts that Netouyo influences effectively on HateSpeech of Zaitokukai and shapes its forms and the real conditions of demonstrations whose characteristics are unique even compared with other newly showing up Japanese demonstrations.

2. Main Purposes of the Research

Three main purposes are set on starting the research.

- Find the changes of Japanese demonstrations using the model of HateSpeech of Zaitokukai
- Analyze the factors of changes
- Provide the reasons and ways Netouyo is involved to the factors

3. Research Questions

Based on the set main purposes, the research questions should be created to accomplish the research. To proceed the research with clear goals, the research questions should be concrete and something that can be investigated.

The first purpose is “Find the changes of Japanese demonstrations using the model of HateSpeech of Zaitokukai”, so the uniqueness and the characteristics of HateSpeech as well as Zaitokukai should be featured to achieve to make the conclusion for the purpose. As HateSpeech of Zaitokukai is also one of the demonstrations that embodies the new forms of Japanese demonstration, the common characteristics of current Japanese demonstrations that are called out on the Internet also should explained to some extent in this thesis, but here the main focus should be the characteristics of Zaitokukai since it is used as the model. Therefore the points

that make HateSpeech of Zaitokukai different from others should be well observed and analyzed.

Secondary, “Analyze the factor of changes” and “Provide the reasons and ways Netouyo is involved to the factors” are two main purposes, so the connections between Zaitokukai and Netouyo should be explained. Netouyo itself also has something special elements that make it different or unique from other conservative groups no matter if it is on the internet or not. Those elements could be the tips to explain how Netouyo can be the main supporter for HateSpeech and Zaitokukai.

In research questions, those points above should be considered and well organized together to smoothly keep being investigated, so that they could lead the investigator eventually reach to the answers of the main purposes that are set in this thesis. Therefore, the research questions should be like below.

- What are the characteristics of HateSpeech of Zaitokukai that make it different from the existing demonstrations?
- How does Netouyo contribute to HateSpeech of Zaitokukai by its influence?

As the hypothesis to answer to those research questions, those that below could be set.

- Japanese demonstrations from past are mainly from Labor associations and students extreme groups, so they shared common social backgrounds based on their claims.
- However, Zaitokukai's Hate Speech is supported by different backgrounds people who gathered via Internet. They do not share the common backgrounds in the real world.
- Netouyo provides Zaitokukai's events power by the population and the speed of information sharing. On the internet, the social back grounds are invisible, so it's easy for various people to unit.
- As Zaitokukai is apealing via its home page, Netouyo easily take a look at its activity or events

However, those are hard to state as the big differences between normal demonstrations that are called out on the internet. Therefore, the hypothesis should be just testify pivot that the investigations should go along, at the same time, the originalities of Netouyo itself and HateSpeech itself should be observed and analyzed as well.

The research questions should be analyzed by collecting the statistic data of the recent Zaitokukai's demos and the past right wing demos; the number of participants who joined, the frequencies that they had demos, and the results or reactions from the societies. Also by comparing the data, and summarize the

differences to make it clear what are the differences and how it is different, so that the influences of Netouyo could be revealed. Referring to the previous research and books about Netouyo and hate speech demos to analyze the correlations between Netouyo's rise and the hate speech demos, and how Netouyo influence them is also the efficient way. To research the international news and reactions for Zaitokukai's hate speech demos to observe the impact of it is also should be counted as the ways of analysis.

II. Analytical Framework

In the analytical framework part, firstly the basic information about Netouyo and Zaitokukai would be explained by order, then the social backgrounds of when they were born would be stated, after that the originalities or characteristics of Netouyo and Zaitokukai as well as that of the ordinary demonstrations that are called out on the internet.

1. Basic Information

1.1 < Netouyo >

The word Netouyo/Net Uyoku is from “Internet Uyoku=the right wing”. The word was spread from Japanese biggest BBS *2channel* from 2000s, and there was the word *J uyoku*(J is considered Japan and Junk) that seemed to be the former word of Netouyo. The word Net Uyoku showed up for the first time on the public newspaper at 2005 in Japan(Sankei Newspaper’s column by Toshinao Sasaki on May, 8, 2005), then after that it started being picked up by media. It was even nominated as *the most popular word of the year prize* that is held by YouCan on 2012.

What’s the definition or characteristics of Netouyo? The definition for the

word is pretty confusing because the word is still very new, then the analysts and media use it in their own interpretation. In the wide sense, the word expresses the people who advocate the right ideology on the internet unlike the right wing groups that are doing particular activities in the real life. In short, Netouyo simply should be used for describing the persons who shows ideology of the right wing on the internet. The word itself is not considered honorable words, because people use the word in more offensive or insulting term to call those who advocate very offensive or exclusive idea especially about China and Korea on the internet. In addition that some analysts insist that Netouyo's advocacy is out of the traditional right wing ideology, so it should be defined in more specific sense. Even some right side notable people do not admit Netouyo as the decent right wing group, and judge it just as extremists holding up the right wing ideology and attacking other East Asian countries to dispel their gloom.

These are some interpretations of Netouyo from the notable people or media.

“1. Their political knowledge has been acquainted on the Internet 2. They are exclusive 3. They are different from the original conservatives or right wing”
(SAPIO)

“Nationalist, exclusive, blind haters and the believers of Abe. Holding up patriotism as excuse and dispel their gloom. Believe only what they want to believe.” (Yoshinori

Kobayashi)

“Anti-Korea, anti-mass communication, anti-elite, holding up patriotism and act aggressively on the Internet” (Kouichi Yasuda)

Because of those negative images media or analysts have for Netouyo, the internet users who are called Netouyo themselves don't really take it as the honor term, they often, therefore, try not to admit themselves as Netouyo. They often complain that people use the word Netouyo to label others when they don't agree with their idea. The writer Naoki Momota states that we can't have healthy discussion as long as we simply label those people. Columnist Takashi Odajima predicts that the word and status Netouyo will acquire the citizenship in several years just like the word Otaku, that is usually translated as the nerd in wide sense, did in recent years (Nikkei Business Newspaper ; A Piece of Keiku)

The way to define or sample the people as the Netouyo is vary. Some analysts take the supporters of extreme right side politician Toshio Tamogami as Netouyo, some sees most members of Zaitokukai is Netouyo and the other thinks basically internet users who have something to say about politic issues on the biggest BBS of Japan “2channel” are all Netouyo.

Anyway, the biggest and clearest characteristic of Netouyo is their existence is only observed on the internet. We are not supposed to use the word Netouyo for the people who join particular right wing activities in the real life. The people who join

right wing activities in the real life could overlap with the people who claim the right wing ideology on the internet, however, anyway the word should only be applied to the people who seem to advocate the right wing ideology, especially anti-Korea and China feeling strongly, on the internet. That was the common definition for Netouyo, and that is why it has made people surprised that it seemed that Netouyo has started openly getting involved in the real demonstrations like HateSpeech of Zaitokukai. Nowadays, Netouyo is not hidden groups that only can be seen on the internet.

1.2 < Zaitokukai >

Next, the basic information would be introduced here. Zaitokukai stands for Zainichi Tokken wo Yurusanai Shimin no Kai(在日特権を許さない市民の会) that means the civic association that does not allow the privileges for Zainichi people.

Zainichi 在日 originally means the foreign residents of Japan, but normally they use it only for Korean people living in Japan. What they call Zainichi Tokken is the privileges, that what they say, that allow Zainichi people live easier in Japan. From the 1990s, those talks about privileges of Zainichi people has been spread by the right wing sided people, and it has been getting over-embellished by those Netouyo on the internet from 2000s. Some of the stories about the privileges are turned out lies, fakes or misunderstandings nowadays, like “Zainichi people do not

have to pay for water or gas” “It is easier for Zainichi people to receive the public assistance”, but the biggest one that Netouyo and Zaitokukai accuse of is “special permanent resident”. That has the long historical roots from the era of Japanese-rule in Korea. Taking a look at the historical backgrounds of the procedure of making that rights, it does not always seem to be the privilege, however, that one is the biggest motivation for Zaitokukai.

It was established on 2007 by social activist Sakurai Makoto, who was also the chairman of the association. He retired on November 2014, and they accepted Yasuhiro Yagi as the new chairman. Sakurai literary has raised up Zaitokukai for 8 years.

The number of members is 15352 now. The men is 13177, the women is 2170. They also have 341 members who live outside of Japan according to their official homepage. On the homepage, they have the map for the attributions of the members in Japan.

Zaitokukai uses the most of the social networks. People can join it via its Internet official homepage. It also has Twitter, NicoNico (video based social media site) official accounts, and regularly announces the news or calls out the get together to its members. In the homepage, the contents are abundant with BBS, activity calendar, photo sharing space, and so on.

They also have the each branch offices over the all districts of Japan. The

association system is organized with the leading structures by executives. About the top executives, you can see their names as well as the backgrounds on the homepage.

They started street activity from 2009. According to the calendar of the official homepage, the demonstrations or seminars are held periodically in any districts. Especially in the Kanto districts, their schedule is packed. The places they hold the demonstrations are mostly the Korean towns, or the towns that have many Korean residents or has the meaningful relations with Korea. The number of people who join the demonstrations are from dozens to hundreds.

Since the demonstration of Zaitokukai has shown its presence bigger and bigger, nowadays there even is the groups that could say anti-HateSpeech demonstrations. Sometimes they confront each other and physical fights also occurred, then several persons were arrested.

On 2010, UN gave the advice to Japan for arranging the policy or law to legislate those HateSpeech that even disturbs the school life of some Korean elementary schools in Japan. There are always the conflicts between the freedom of speech, so making the law legislations look still have long way to go, but on 2014, the Court sentences Zaitokukai as the guilty for disturbing the classes of a Korean school, so the stream might start being changed from now on.

2. Social Backgrounds of the time when Netouyo and Zaitokukai show up

As shown the previous, Netouyo and Zaitoku arose almost at the same time, the middle of 2000s. Actually, the mood towards Korea is not always persistent one, in Japan there have been shifts as the time passes. From 1996 to 2002, there were the movements to try to create the good relations with Korea inside of Japan. From 2002, because of the abduction issues by North Korea, the image towards North Korea has been getting bad. On 2002, Korean drama and pop-artists started their activities in Japan, so Korean culture especially in those arts sides were in fashion. However, around that time, gradually the anti-Korean feeling has started settling down as the anti-existing media feeling that the mass media doesn't broadcast the bad side of Korea, it is controlled by Korean, and so on. Huruura Tsuneya the commentator and writer of Japan is famous for the latest research and studies about Netouyo, and states that World Cup of 2002 was the turning point for the internet users. While they had the World Cup, among the existing media, there was the unspoken rule that they shouldn't criticize Korea, according to Huruura's opinion, and the atmosphere caused some internet users distrust the existing media. They started sharing the negative information of Korea that the existing media don't broadcast to the public. These internet users formed the basis of Netouyo back then. From 2005, the SNS started increasing its power.

3. The characteristics

3.1 < Ordinary demonstrations that are called out in the Internet >

Talking about the ordinary demonstrations that are called out in the Internet, there are about 4 concepts that can be seen as the common characteristics. Those are not very particular ones for HateSpeech of Zaitokukai, but still should be stated here.

- Easiness (anywhere and anytime)

Anyone, anytime and from anywhere, they can take a look into the announcements for the events to join.

The demonstrations holders are appealing on the Internet, so the hurdle to join them is low for Internetusers.

- Information Speed (quickly hold plans)

Because of the population and the advantages for internet access, the internet users are good at sharing or spreading the informations. Therefore, the demonstrations holders can quickly or flexibly make the events or change the plans.

- Invisibility (social status is invisible)

On the internet, they don't have to care about their social status and the gap between others, so that helps them to get together easier without troublesome

feelings.

That is why those participants have the various backgrounds people in their demonstrations.

- Solidarity (unit as the members of internet superiority)

Even though they don't share common social backgrounds, they share strong solidarity as the believers of internet superiority. That solidarity is succeeded for Zaitokukai members, and that could lead aggressive insulting on the Hate Speech, just like on the internet.

3.2 < Netouyo >

Firstly, the characteristic that makes Netouyo different from those existing conservative/right wing is that it is more appropriate to describe them as anti-Korea/China ideologists rather than nationalists. That is why some analysts do not agree to call Netouyo as political Uyoku=right wing. What Netouyo reacts are in the big portions, only the issues around Korea or China. Japan also holds territorial issues with Russia, and U.S army residents in Okinawa has been the controversial issues for long time among the Okinawa people, however, Netouyo barely shows the strong curiosity or concern to those issues. They normally only react intensively to the topics that are related to Korea or China. In a view they dependent on Korea and China.

Secondary, one side of their differences from other offensive netizen is that Netouyo is strongly anti-existing media. Their intense trust on the internet is in proportion to the distrust for the existing mass media. This is not the common tendency for the so-called nationalistic netizen like 憤青 of China for example. As Furuya said in his books, the deep roots of Netouyo is anti-existing mass media that eventually connects to anti-Korean feeling though.

The third striking characteristic that makes Netouyo feel specialty to their position in Japan is that the distance between some politicians. Nowadays it is not strange that some politicians also have their account on Twitter or Facebooks where they can communicate with nations in closer distance. The news that Prime Minister Abe shared the link of the summary site of 2channel gave the confusion to the society. There are a lot of 2channel summary sites in Japanese internet world now, and some of them are holding strong conservative ideology. Of course Netouyo residents in those sites. Not only the Prime Minister Abe, also Satsuki Katayama is famous for the politician who doesn't hide the fact she accesses to those conservative 2channel summary sites. Some of those sites did spread the fake information. She followed the fake information and misunderstood the situations, so some strongly criticize that politicians access to those underground social communication sites. However, for Netouyo, this could be kind of the confidence or backups for what they say in the internet world.

3.3 < Zaitokukai >

Zaitokukai is not the only one associations that are doing anti-Korean demonstrations, however it is always the symbolic and controversial one. The first characteristic of HateSpeech of Zaitokukai is its strongly offensive and indiscreet ways to express hatred to Korean. The words they hold in their cards are too aggressive even could say “kill them” that could be threat. This attitude, however, could be seen as kind of bashing market strategy. Being strange, being loud, and being hated could let attention keeps staying on you. When Sakurai was Chairman of Zaitokukai, he never hesitate to have the interview or open discussions with the politicians. Stating “Active Conservative=行動する保守” he dares to commit to confront with anyone who is against him. Before he established Zaitokukai, he was in 主権回復を目指す会 lead by Shuhei Nishimura and he admitted the way Nishimura had the demonstrations influenced him a lot. While Nishimura gradually shifted milder course, Sakurai still remained to the same style and they went to the different ways.

The second characteristic that Zaitokukai holds is that Sakurai originally has got a lot of followers and believers among Netouyo. When the Netouyo contents started blooming around 2005 (ex. チャンネル桜), Sakurai took the lead in

spreading his own view to Korea and 在日特権 in his own blogs or anyother social media contents (不思議の国の韓国, Doronpa の独り言) or joining the discussion TV programs, and getting believers. He himself contributed to lead the stream for Netouyo. Among Netouyo, he has been regarded as the charisma about anti-Korean stream. Therefore it could be said like that he rode on the wave of the stream that he also contributed himself and established the Zaitokukai, so from the beginning Zaitokukai holds specialty for Netouyo.

HateSpeech of Zaitokukai also has the difference from those Chauvinism of European countries. The research done by Higuchi Naoto professor of Tokushima University (2014, posted on Asahi Newspaper) shows that out of 34 activists of Zaitokukai, 22 persons are white color, and 30 persons are regular employees unlike the common thoughts for Chauvinism that members are basically economically disabled. That could lead the idea that the solidarity and motivation of being anti-Korean is not economic, it is more like the victim feeling for post-war regime that they think Japan had been too patient to other East Asian countries.

III. Main Findings

After this analysis for both Netouyo and HateSpeech of Zaitokukai as well as the real self of Zaitokukai, now findings by the analysis could be lead here. The findings as the connections and factors that Netouyo has the influence on shaping the style of hateSpeech of Zaitokukai are all below,

- The charisma of Sakurai among Netouyo. As explained in the previous chapter, Sakurai had the connections with Netouyo from the beginning, therefore Zaitokukai always can get backups or supports by Netouyo in the view of opinion or human powers. Sakurai's charisma among Netouyo is the big assets for Zaitokukai compared to other civic associations.
- The way Zaitokukai is broadcasted by media stimulates Netouyo's anti-existing media feeling. The more mass media bashes some particular thing, the more Netouyo supports it. Not only for the political issues, but also for anything else. They have the tendency to supports anything that mass media bashes, and bashes anything that mass media praise. Zaitokukai's aggressive and offensive HateSpeech makes it striking than other groups, so the mass media broadcasts it as the infamous symbols of Japan's shifting to the right, and it provokes Netouyo's justice that they feel it is the very proof that Zaitokukai is doing right thing.

- The ties between some politicians and Netouyo give it power to act big. Some politicians see Netouyo as the huge supporters of them especially when they would like to get the votes from the young people, pleasing Netouyo is the way. As social communication system has been developed, it is natural that more politicians start using those social media as the way to appeal to the nations, and on the internet, making friends with Netouyo is the easiest way to do good.

IV. Concluding Remarks

After the analysis of the research questions, the differences of HateSpeech of Zaitokukai could be said as like followings,

The profiles of the participants of the HateSpeech, and that stands for the motivation for the demonstrations or anti-Korean is not based on the economic agony.

The extremely aggressive and offensive ways to keep bashing on the HateSpeech is also the big differences and characteristics.

The tie between Netouyo because of the charisma of Sakurai is also the uniqueness, since that charisma has begun from the time before Zaitokukai was established and it has kept pushing up the progress of Zaitokukai.

As for the causes and ways Netouyo has contributed are just like what explained in Findings part, the way Zaitokukai is broadcasted by media stimulates Netouyo's anti-existing media feeling, in addition that recent dependence from some politicians also has the huge meaning for Netouyo to achieve more power to get involved in those HateSpeech in the real society, not only in the internet world.

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국문초록

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본 논문은 재특회의 헤이트 스피치의 모델을 사용해 최근 일본의 시위 형태 변화와 네티우익의 영향의 연관성을 연구하였다. 본 논문의 주목적은 헤이트 스피치를 특징으로 하는 일본의 시위 형태 변화를 찾는 것 이다. 변화의 요소를 분석하고, 네티우익이 그 요소에 관여하는 원인이나 방법을 제공하였다.

주요 목적을 달성하기 위해, 논문은 기존의 시위에서이 다른 만들헤이트 스피치 자체뿐만 아니라 재일 특권을 용납하지 않는 시민 모임의 특성에 초점을 맞추고 있습니다. 네티우익 이러한 요인에 관여 원인 또는 방법을 제공하고; 또한, 보수적 인 사상과 민족주의 네티즌 기존에 비해네티우익의 특이성은 주요 목적 중 하나를 나타 내기 위해 필수적이기 때문에 연구의

중요한 부분이다.

인터넷 사용자의 정확한 데이터 해석 모호 할 수 있기 때문에, 정성 연구 데이터뿐만 아니라 다양한 스탠딩에서 정량적용 사용하여 광범위한 데이터 분석이 논문의 분석으로서 사용된다. 독창적, 차이와 제일 특권을 용납하지 않는 시민 모임과 네티우익의 특성을 발음하기 위해 비교 연구는 또한 명확하게 그들의 고유성을 만들기 위해 채택된다.