Forging Hate Speech Differently:

A Comparative Analysis of Japan and Korea

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Forging Hate Speech Differently:

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Abstract

Forging Hate Speech Differently:

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Hate Speech expresses and incites hatred against a person or a group of individuals on a basis of particular features such as race, nationality, gender, religion, and sexual orientation. With the development of the Internet communication today, hate speech has expanded into cyberspace. Following the precedents in America and Europe, far-rightists in Japan and Korea also began to spread hate speech over the Internet.

Netouyo in Japan and 'Ilbe' in Korea are both known as far-right hate speech groups on the Internet. Netouyo is known to primarily target the Korean and the Chinese - foreign groups, while 'Ilbe' is known to mainly target females, people from Jeolla

province, and leftists - domestic groups. The purpose of this paper is to compare hate speech of Netouyo and 'Ilbe' and then explain how the two groups distinctively selected their targets.

For the comparative analysis, comments of hate speech were collected from the two groups' websites and classified according to each target and the developmental stages of hate speech. Frequently appearing keywords were also selected and counted to analyze contents of hate speech in the framework of the integrated threat theory.

From this analysis, it was shown that Netouyo's hate speech is more frequent than 'Ilbe's while 'Ilbe's hate speech is more severe in terms of the levels of hate speech than Netouyo's. Moreover, it was observed that the two hate speech groups both had negative stereotypes of their targets but perceived contrasting kinds of specific threats from the targets, which led them to select distinctive targets.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Research Background

Hate speech is defined as speech that expresses and incites hatred against a person or a group of individuals on a basis of particular feature such as race, nationality, gender, religion, and sexual orientation (Parekh, 2012). Though it has consistently been argued whether hate speech should be legally regulated at the expense of freedom of speech or not, it is still evident that hate speech undermines a public good since it harms the sense of inclusiveness, security, and dignity which should be equally assured for everyone (Waldron, 2012).

Remembering the history of inhumane discrimination and genocide, international law has interpreted hate speech as serious violation of human rights, although each country employs a different approach due to the lack of a consistent definition among and within states, uniform enforcement, and a sense of legal obligation (Cohen, 2014). There are well-known provisions from international law that are said to be engaged with hate speech without referring to the word 'hate speech' (Ghanea, 2013).

The Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), while describing the right to freedom of expression, provides a basis for restriction of the right when it is needed for 'respect of the rights and reputation of others'. Also, the Article 20 prohibits 'any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility, or violence'. Moreover, the Article 4 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination

(ICERD) requires the state parties 'to punish by law all dissemination of ideas based on racial superiority or hatred, and incitement to racial discrimination'.

While conventional hate speech was mainly created and spread in written or printed forms, hate speech in cyberspace has been constantly increasing with development of the Internet communication (Delgado & Stefanic, 2014). Hate speech in cyberspace tends to easily extend the scope of its followers and targets, as shown in the examples of American and German neo-Nazis in the 1980s (Timofeeva, 2003). A few decades after that, the phenomenon also appeared in East Asian countries – Japan and South Korea, which will be discussed in this thesis.

In the case of Japan, far-right internet users began to form a hate speech group on the website '2ch (2channel)' from the late 1990s (Lee, 2013). Their targets were mainly people from Korea and China in East Asia, since they were regarded as possessing anti-Japan attitude (Kim, 2011). This online group was named as 'Netouyo' in 2005, which means 'right-wingers (uyoku) on the Internet (netto)' (Hwang, 2014). Until today, they have been aggressively delivering ultra-nationalistic ideas and hate speech against the Korean and the Chinese.

About 6-7 years after 'Netouyo' appeared in Japan, far-right internet users in South Korea also started, from the early 2010s, to spread languages of hatred on the website named 'Ilbe'. 'Ilbe' is an abbreviation of the Korean word meaning 'a warehouse of the most popular postings everyday'.

Named after the website in which they act, the users are called as 'Ilbe' or 'Ilbe-chung (the Korean word for a bug)'. Unlike their counterparts in Japan, the users of 'Ilbe' target

their domestic citizens. The main targets of 'Ilbe' are females, people from Jeolla province (Southwest region of the Korean peninsula), and leftists (Kim, 2014).

The two online hate speech groups, Netouyo and 'Ilbe', share their political and ideological background as an essential characteristic. They both internalized far-right and ultra-nationalistic values, which is well reflected in their postings and comments on each website. Their extreme logics are repeatedly justified and maintained through the languages of their hate speech.

Despite this common aspect, however, the two groups differ from each other in selecting their targets of hate speech. Netouyo of Japan mainly attack the Korean and the Chinese, covering each people's culture, history, and politics. On the other hand, 'Ilbe' of Korea concentrate on their domestic targets such as females, people from Jeolla province, and leftists.

Paying attention to this discrepancy between the two hate speech groups, this thesis will seek to explain how and why the two groups differentiated in choosing their targets, while they are both based on ultra-nationalistic and far-right ideology. To achieve this purpose, this thesis will compare the texts of each group's hate speech and figure out, under the integrated threats theory, how each group posited their targets.

1.2. Research Questions

By examining the cases of 'Netouyo' in Japan and 'Ilbe' in Korea, this thesis will seek to answer the two research questions. The first question is how the two groups differ in the specific characteristics of their hate speech. The second question is why

the two hate speech groups, despite the same political and ideological background, differ in their target selection.

The first research question will be answered by analyzing actual postings and comments from the two websites, '2ch' of Japan and 'Ilbe' of Korea. The second question will be examined by the integrated threat theory, one of the conflict theories within sociology. Seeking an answer to the first question will also contribute to answering the second research question, which is the main purpose of this thesis.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Hate Speech

Foundational studies on hate speech have been mainly conducted in the Western academic world. Due to the long history of racism and religious conflicts, hate speech has been a significant issue in terms of discrimination and equality. Also, hate speech has been taken very serious regarding Holocaust denials by far-rightists and neo-Nazis.

Conceptualization and regulation of hate speech is at the center of many researchers' interests. Cortese (2006) in his book discussed hate speech related to religion, race, ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation. Presenting the stage-developmental model of hate-speech severity, he examined different cases of hate speech on various media such as radio, newspapers, TV shows, and websites. Emphasizing that prevention is better than treatment, he asserted that hate speech should be rejected and prohibited.

Yong (2011) argued that 'hate speech' is distinguished into four categories – 'targeted vilification, diffuse vilification, organized political advocacy for exclusionary and/or eliminationist policies, and other assertions of facts or values that construct an adverse judgment on a racial or religious group'.

Pointing out that there is a distinction between speech that is covered and protected by the freedom of speech, and between speech that is regulable and should be regulated, his analysis presented that the first category is not covered by the freedom of speech, the second and the third are covered but not protected, while the fourth is protected by the freedom of speech.

Cohen (2014) pointed out in his Comment that the international norms for restricting hate speech have not yet assumed customary international law status. His analysis referred as the cause to the lack of a consistent definition, the lack of uniform enforcement and the selective prosecution of hate speech laws.

Sorial (2015) suggested in her article that the concept of incitement should be more broadly interpreted to prevent different forms of hate speech from evading legal regulations. She also claimed that freedom of speech should not justify hate speech as normal debates or discovery of truth since everyone is given equal civil rights not to be oppressed and discriminated.

Perception of hate speech was also studied in terms of how people evaluate human right values and harms of hate speech. Cowan, Resendez, Marshall, and Quist (2002) examined through their experiment with participants of 160 students that priming of freedom of speech led participants' attitudes and values to advocating freedom of speech, whereas priming of equal protection led their attitudes and values to considering the harm of hate speech. The study also stated that prevalent hate speech builds a social atmosphere which makes it possible for hate crimes to occur.

Downs and Cowan (2012) analyzed the factors influencing a person's judgment on the importance of freedom of speech and the harm of hate speech. Their study with 210 student participants found that the importance of freedom positively correlates to intellect, individualism, and separate knowing, and negatively correlates to right-wing authoritarianism, while the perceived harm of hate speech positively correlates to intellect and liberalism. The study also found the gender differences, in which men

judged freedom of speech as more important than women did while women perceived a greater harm of hate speech than men did.

2.2. Hate Speech in Cyberspace

With the development of the Internet and increasing online hate speech, some researchers turned their eyes to cyberspace. Still considering the essential features of hate speech, they examined special characteristics of cyberspace and how they contributed to the new type of hate speech. They also tried to suggest solutions of hate speech on the Internet.

Timofeeva (2003) explained that hate speech in cyberspace derives from the prejudices that have long existed in society. She also noted that American and German neo-Nazis started to utilize the Internet for spreading their propaganda in the 1980s.

In the study she mainly compared two different legal approaches to online hate speech of Germany and the Unites States. She presented that Germany employs strictly regulatory policies due to the country's modern history, while the United States prioritizes freedom of expression on the ground of the First Amendment of the Constitution.

Banks (2010) pointed out that qualities of the Internet – anonymity, immediacy and global nature – have made it a useful tool for extremists and hatemongers to spread hate by forming different hate groups and participating in hate activities online. He articulated that unilateral legislation and multilateral efforts are not effective for reducing online hate speech and that it is needed to minimize the harm of online hate

speech by combining legal efforts and technological approaches.

Erjavec and Kovacic (2012) also mentioned that the Internet's interactivity, anonymity, and perceived credibility increasingly provides an effective method for spreading bias and hate speech. Their study focused on hate speech shown in the comments on the Slovenian news websites.

They examined the discourses within the comments and conducted online interviews with the producers of hate speech to figure out their values, beliefs, and motives. Through the study, it was found that the producers mostly rearticulate the meaning of news articles, motivated by authoritarian personality, thrill, and fun.

Delgado and Stefancic (2014) claimed that the Internet produces unlimited hate speech since the Internet is not able to employ the two control strategies – social contact and confrontation. As the Internet tends to isolate individuals from one another and fails to remind them of standard values, it is more likely for them to engage in hate speech. They suggested unmasking, group condemnation, and economic sanctions as practical approaches to hate speech on the Internet.

2.3. Netouyo in Japan

As a representative hate speech group on the Internet, Netouyo have been analyzed by Japanese and Korean researchers after they appeared in the late 1990s and were named in 2005 after the words 'internet' and 'uyoku (far-right)'. Netouyo's hate speech is mainly motivated by xenophobia against the Korean and the Chinese (Yamaguchi, 2013).

Kim (2011) pointed out that the website '2ch' was the origin and the home base of Netouyo, analyzing systemic features of the website. She revealed that Netouyo's hatred against Korea and China is based on the perception about the two countries as being anti-Japan. She also claimed that Netouyo's hate speech is emotional and escapist, being implicitly encouraged by the Japanese government, media, and market.

Koichi (2012) reported and analyzed Zaitokukai, the association of citizens against the special privileges of Zainichi Koreans, which is a representative organization that stemmed from Netouyo. In the book, he revealed that Zaitokukai extended its influence by letting the participants feel a sense of confidence and belonging. He also pointed out that Zaitokukai encouraged ordinary and introverted people to resort to anger and hatred.

Lee (2013) pointed out that Netouyo have expanded its space and subjects, influencing the relationships between Korea, Japan, and China. The researcher noted that Netouyo were formed by modern factors – history conflicts in East Asia and domestic issues in Japan – while it was grown by post-modern factors such as communication technologies and globalization.

Yamaghuchi (2013) focused on the 'Action Conservative Movement' that was motivated by Netouyo's xenophobic and ultra-nationalistic discourses. He analyzed how the Internet communication and media are connected with the movement. He emphasized in his analysis that online communication directly contributed to activation and expansion of the movement.

Hwang (2014) addressed Netouyo's anti-Korea sentiment and movements,

analyzing the discourses delivered by the major powers of the Japanese press. He revealed that both conservative and liberal media disregarded Netouyo in terms of their reporting coverage but they eventually contributed to the creation of Netouyo by providing them with provocative and aggressive reports.

These studies on Netouyo consistently note that Netouyo's hate speech is mainly targeted at the Korean and the Chinese. Positing Korea and China as anti-Japan countries that endlessly bother and harm Japan, Netouyo's ultra-nationalism is expressed and reinforced through language of hatred.

2.4. 'Ilbe' in Korea

Built in 2011, 'Ilbe' had gained attention due to its violent and abhorrent language. In that time, however, 'Ilbe' was regarded as a trivial and minor case of abnormal Internet users. It was after the presidential election in 2012 that 'Ilbe' was interpreted as reflecting symbolic negative features of the Korean society (Kang, 2013). Based on this idea, several researchers studied 'Ilbe' and its hate speech.

Han (2013), to explain reasons of the misogyny by 'Ilbe', listed four social and cultural conditions of the Korean society. First, the imbalance of a sex ratio was regarded to produce men incapable of relationships with women. Second, the conscription system of Korea was mentioned as operating to a male disadvantage for job competition.

Third, the decreasing birthrate and preference for high-income husbands was

regarded to encourage men to condemn women as irresponsible and calculating. Lastly, he mentioned that lookism and according monetary opportunities for pretty women provoked men to fury. Based on these four conditions, he concluded that Korean males resorted to blaming females for producing reverse discrimination against males.

Kang (2013) pointed out that 'Ilbe' have constructed its own identity through defining its enemies – females, democratic activists, people from Jeolla province, North Korea, and immigrant workers. These enemies characterized 'Ilbe' as misogynic, patriarchal, far-right, region-discriminatory, and racist. He illustrated that 'Ilbe' assert that they were victimized by these enemies and convert that feeling into hatred.

Jeong (2013) claimed that young people in their 20s are expressing through 'Ilbe' their frustrations with the Korean society's harsh competition. He also pointed out that 'Ilbe' blame social minorities for enjoying excessive privileges and encroaching on ordinary people. He concluded that isolated and fragmented youths of 'Ilbe' should be communicated with society and taken care of their frustrations.

Kim (2014) analyzed the structure of 'Ilbe's enthusiastic hatred and the implicit emotions. His study reveals that the social reality infuses 'Ilbe' with anxiety and fear, making them otherize and hate leftists, women, and people from Jeolla province. He also pointed out that these 'others' are described as exploiters or hypocrites, becoming the objects of cynicism.

Park (2014) suggested that 'Ilbe' should be analyzed based on three factors: Korea's political culture, Internet culture, and socioeconomic instability. According to his analysis, 'Ilbe' were created out of hatred against certain politicians, sensationalism

on the Internet, and loss of social solidarity.

Yang (2014) claimed that 'Ilbe' should be understood as parasites, bugs, and ghosts. He described 'Ilbe' as parasites that live off women, leftists, and people from Jeolla province. By attacking these targets, 'Ilbe' produce, consume, and reproduce controversies in order to consistently create negative entropy. He also pointed out that 'Ilbe' willingly accept 'Ilbe-chung (bug)', the critical epithet for them and disguises themselves as political minorities. He also describes 'Ilbe' as invisible ghosts that are difficult to analyze and define.

Existing studies on 'Ilbe' commonly point out that 'Ilbe's hate speech is primarily targeted at females, people from Jeolla province, and leftists. Based on a prejudice that these people are demanding or enjoying rights without fulfilling duties, 'Ilbe' claim that the targets are ignorant and immoral (Kim, 2014).

Focusing on that the two hate speech groups share their spatial feature and ideological background, some researchers tried to compare Netouyo (or Zaitokukai) and 'Ilbe'. As an example, Lee (2013) analyzed Netouyo and 'Ilbe' based on the reports by the Korean newspaper Kyounghyang.

According to this analysis, the two groups commonly share sentiments of hatred and produce their own Internet subcultures. They also consistently reinforce their distorted logics and ideologies through the Internet. They claim that their identities are patriotic while many of them are aging from high-teens to 30s.

On the other hand, the two groups are distinctive from each other in several aspects. First, Netouyo actively engage in offline activities while 'Ilbe' rarely take group

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actions. Second, Netouyo's activities are organized by the hierarchical system while 'Ilbe' refuse to have any leader.

However, this comparison focused on systemic and comprehensive aspects rather than the targets of the two hate speech groups. It was not addressed why, despite the common political and ideological background, the two groups selected their targets distinctively. Since each group's targets also reflect essential features of their hate speech, this thesis will seek to compare and explain how the two groups differently selected their targets of hate speech.

3. Analytical Framework

3.1. Methodology

3.1.1. Comparative Analysis

This thesis aims to examine the two cases of online hate speech groups – Netouyo in Japan and 'Ilbe' in South Korea, and explain determinants of their different targets. In order to do so, this thesis conducted a comparative analysis of the hate speech texts contained in postings and comments on each group's website.

For the case study of Netouyo in Japan, hate speech texts were sampled from the website '2ch', which is referred to have been the main ground of far-right activists in the Japanese cyberspace from the late 1990s (Lee, 2013). For the case study of Ilbe in South Korea, hate speech texts were sampled from the website 'Ilbe' that appeared in 2011 and aroused social attention regarding its harshness and aggressiveness (Han, 2013).

As the premise of the comparative study, it is posited that the primary targets of Netouyo are the Korean and the Chinese while the targets of 'Ilbe' are females, people from Jeolla province, and leftists. This premise is based on existing researches on Netouyo and 'Ilbe' (Kim, 2011; Kim, 2014). Upon the premise, the sample texts were limited to those containing hate speech against the posited targets. This thesis focused on analyzing the contents and contexts of the two groups' hate speech.

Based on the texts from each website, different characteristics of the two groups' hate speech will be addressed first. Significant factors such as targets, keywords, levels of hate speech will be examined. Next will be analyzed how each group selected their

targets distinctively.

3.1.2. Levels of Hate Speech

In order to classify levels of the hate speech texts, 'the four-stage developmental model of hate speech severity' proposed by Cortese (2006) was utilized. He developed the model to distinguish a level of intentional discrimination against minorities. As Figure 1 shows, the model postulates four stages of hate speech, each of which represents discrimination level from the least to most severe.

Stage 1 Unintentional Discrimination
(Offending Minorities, But Not on Purpose)

Stage 2 Conscious Discrimination
(Intentionally Denigrating Minorities)

Stage 3 Inciting Discriminatory Hatred
(Generating Feelings of Hatred for Minorities)

Stage 4 Inciting Discriminatory Violence
(Encouraging Violence Against Minorities)
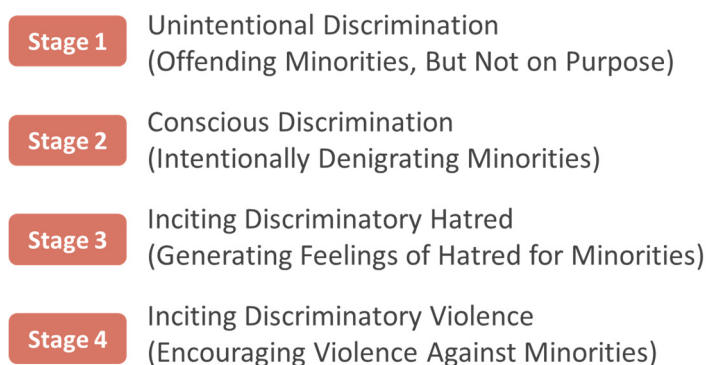
Figure 1. The four-stage developmental model of hate speech severity (Cortese, 2006)

Stage 1, the least severe, contains unintentional discrimination that offends minorities without purpose. Disrespectful and insensitive remarks to minorities fall under this category. Stage 2 presents conscious discrimination and purposely derogates minorities. It may include evidently discriminatory statements to and disparaging description of the

targets.

Stage 3 is spoken to invoke abhorrent sentiments and incite discriminatory hatred against minorities. Creation and use of contemptuous epithets may fall under this stage. Expressing explicit hatred against minorities can also be classified as the stage 3. Stage 4, the most severe, incites and stimulates discriminatory violence against minorities. This stage of hate speech is regarded as the most severe level, as it may actually lead to criminal behaviors – hate crime.

3.1.3. Data and Resources

Table 1. Data and Resources

	Netouyo	**'Ilbe'**
Website	www.2ch.net	www.ilbe.com
Targets	(1) The Korean (2) The Chinese	(1) Females (2) Jeolla (3) Leftists
Sample	20 Postings 18,582 Comments	30 Postings 36,149 Comments
HS Comments	4,214 Comments	3,707 Comments
Boards	'East Asia News' 'China'	'Daily Best'
Basis	1,001 Comments (The Maximum)	Highest 'Likes'
Time Span	July 2012 – March 2015	

Table 1 shows the data and resources. From the Japanese website '2ch (www.2ch.net)' and the Korean website 'Ilbe (www.ilbe.com)', 10 postings per target of hate speech and accompanying comments were examined. As premised ahead, the Japanese website '2ch' was regarded as having two main targets of hate speech - the Korean and the Chinese - and the Korean website 'Ilbe' was regarded as having three main targets - females, people from Jeolla province, and leftists.

Accordingly, 20 postings and 18,582 comments from '2ch' were examined and 4,214 comments were screened to be collected as hate speech data. 30 postings and 36,149 comments from 'Ilbe' were examined and 3,707 comments were screened to be collected as hate speech data. Throughout this thesis, comments of hate speech collected as the data will be expressed as 'HS comments'. Each HS comment was classified again by its target and level of hate speech.

Data from '2ch' were collected from the boards 'East Asia News' and 'China', in which hate speech against the two targets is known to appear the most frequently. (Kim, 2011). Data from 'Ilbe' were collected from the board 'Daily Best', to which the most popular postings are moved every day. The time span was set from July 2012 to March 2015 for both websites since the board 'Daily Best' of 'Ilbe' was saving the postings written from June 2012.

In '2ch', bulletin boards are run in the form of threads, on which the users write responding comments under a specific topic. When a thread gains up to 1,001 responding comments, the thread disappears on the list and is saved in the past log warehouses. In 'Ilbe', on the other hand, users can click either on 'to Ilbe (likes)' or 'democratize

(dislikes)' about a posting. When a posting gets many likes, the exact number of which is unknown, the posting appears on the 'daily best' board.

Due to this systemic difference, postings from '2ch' were randomly selected on the 1001-comment basis, while postings from 'Ilbe' were selected in order of the number of likes. For the postings of '2ch' targeted at the Korean, all of the 10 postings were from the board 'East Asia News' as its postings are mostly about Korea.

For the postings targeted at the Chinese, 9 of the 10 postings were from the board 'China' and the other one was from the board 'East Asia News', as postings on the board 'China' are more intensively targeted at the Chinese. As postings targeted at the Chinese rarely have up to 1,001 comments, 7 of the 10 postings were selected among those having largest numbers of comments.

3.2. Integrated Threat Theory

This thesis employed the original threat model of the integrated threat theory as an analytical framework to examine and compare the cases of hate speech by Netouyo in Japan and 'Ilbe' in Korea. Through the theoretical model, this thesis will explain which type of threats were recognized by each hate speech group and how the threats affected each group's attitude toward its targets.

The integrated threat theory is used to explain the role of threat in intergroup relations. This theory is an evolved version by W. G. Stephan and C. W. Stephan (2000) of group threat theory which basically addresses that perceived threats to an ingroup lead its members to possess and express anti-outgroup attitudes (Blalock, 1967).
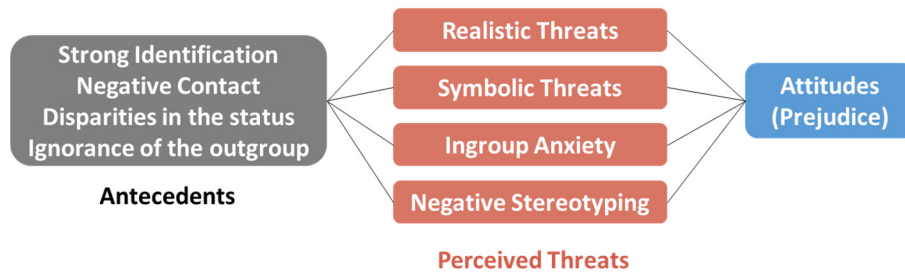
Figure 2. Original threat model of the integrated threat theory (Stephan and Renfro, 2002)

The original threat model explains the mechanism of the antecedents, the four types of threats, and prejudiced attitudes as the result of the threats (See Figure 2). The four threats consist of realistic threats, symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotyping, while the antecedents include strong identification with one's ingroup, negative contact with the outgroup, disparities in the status of the two groups, and ignorance of the outgroup.

Realistic threat is defined as negative effects produced by competition with an outgroup for scarce and tangible resources, such as political and economic power and physical well-being (Stephan, W. G. & Stephan, C. W., 2000). Symbolic threat refers to non-tangible threat to the ingroup's values, beliefs, and social order, caused by conflicts of intergroup interests (Stephan & Renfro, 2002).

Intergroup anxiety is a type of threat caused by anticipation of negative consequences in the procedure of intergroup relations. The negative consequences can be psychological outcomes, behavioral outcomes, evaluations by the ingroup and outgroup members (Stephan & Renfro, 2002). Negative Stereotypes, the fourth type of threat, can

become threats since they let the ingroup expect that the outgroup will behave in harmful ways to the ingroup's welfare (Stephan & Renfro, 2002).

To analyze the cases of Netouyo and 'Ilbe' in the framework of the integrated threat theory, the four antecedents will be first addressed in both cases. Next, specific types of threats will be searched and explained within the texts of each group's hate speech. Through this approach, this thesis will show how the two groups differ in the characteristics of their hate speech and selection of the targets.

4. Case Studies

4.1. Netouyo in Japan

4.1.1. Overview

Netouyo were noticed and conceptualized by public from 2005, as an online hate speech group against Korea and China (Lee, 2013). The website '2ch (2channel)' has been known as the main ground of Netouyo after it was established in 1999 (Kim, 2011). '2ch' is also one of the biggest websites in Japan operating numerous topics of bulletin boards.

As mentioned in the part 3, Netouyo's hate speech texts were collected from the website '2ch'. Based on the premise that Netouyo's hate speech is mainly targeted at the Korean and the Chinese, 10 postings per target and accompanying HS comments were collected.

The postings were not necessarily containing hate speech, but addressing sensitive issues regarding Japan or the country's relationship with Korea and China. The topics covered different issues of history, culture, economy, and politics. Specific topics of the collected postings are as follows.

Out of the 10 postings regarding Korea, three were about historical issues, two were about Zainichi Koreans, another two were about the Olympics, one was about Korean students assaulted in Australia, another one was about the national ranking of global favorability, and the other one was about sales of a Japanese product in Korea.

Out of the 10 postings regarding China, two were about international marriage with Chinese women, another two were about national characteristics of China, and each of the other six was respectively about an episode of Chinese eating a dog, Senkaku Islands dispute, criticism about the Chinese way of international development, the relationship between China and Japan, the alleged collapse of China, and a repetitively posed issue of 'China vs. Netouyo'.

Out of a total of 18,582 comments accompanied by the 20 postings, 10,010 comments were from the postings about Korea. The other 8,572 comments were from the postings written about China.

The analysis of HS comments was conducted based on targets and levels of hate speech. Since a comment on the posting about Korea could contain hate speech either against the Korean or the Chinese, each HS comment was classified by the comment's target.

As for the levels of hate speech, a HS comment was rated as stage-2 when it plainly denigrated or attributed negative characteristics to the Korean and the Chinese. A HS comment was rated as stage-3 when it contained insulting epithets of the foreigners or abhorrently denigrated them. A HS comment was rated as stage-4 when it directly spoke for elimination and violence against the Koreans (especially the Zainichi) and the Chinese.

4.1.2. Analysis by Target

1) Target-of-posting Analysis

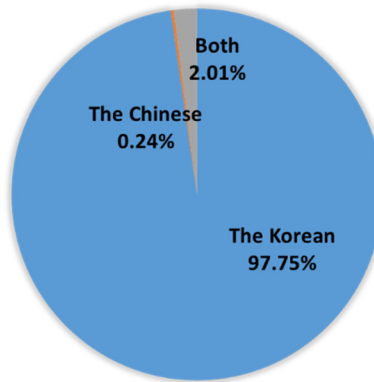Figure 3. Target-distribution of the HS comments from the postings about Korea

From the analysis of the postings about Korea, it was found that 2,485 (24.83%) out of 10,010 responding comments contained hate speech against the Korean and the Chinese. Out of the 2,485 HS comments, 97.75% was targeted at the Korean while 0.24% was targeted at the Chinese and 2.01% was targeted at both (See Figure 3).
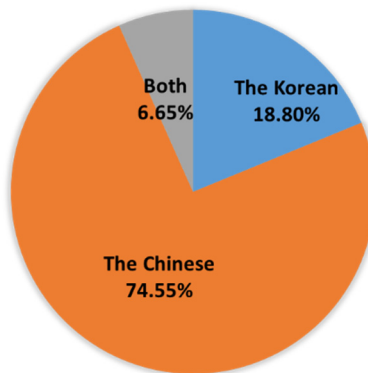
Figure 4. Target-distribution of the HS comments from the postings about China

From the analysis of the postings about China, it was found that 1,729 (20.17%) out of 8,572 responding comments contained hate speech against the Korean and the Chinese. Out of the 1,729 HS comments, 74.55% was targeted at the Chinese while 18.80% was targeted at the Korean and 6.65% was targeted at both (See Figure 4)

This target-of-posting analysis of '2ch' shows three points. First, more responding comments contain hate speech when a posting is about Korea than about China. Second, a target of HS comments is more consistent with that of the posting when its topic is about Korea than about China. Third, the two targets are intertwiningly recognized and attacked in the HS comments.

2) Target-of-hate-speech Analysis

Figure 5. Target-distribution of the whole HS comments (Netouyo)
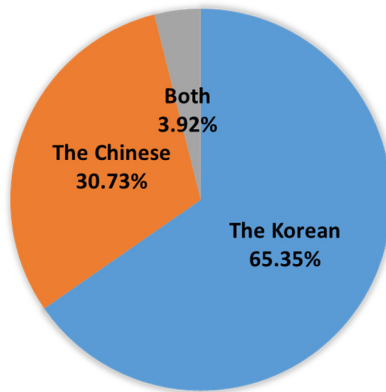
From the overall target-of-hate-speech analysis, it was found that 4,214 (22.68%) out of a total of 18,582 comments of '2ch' contained hate speech. Out of the 4,214 HS comments, it was found that 65.35% was targeted at the Korean, 30.73% was targeted at the Chinese, and 3.92% was targeted at both (See Figure 5).
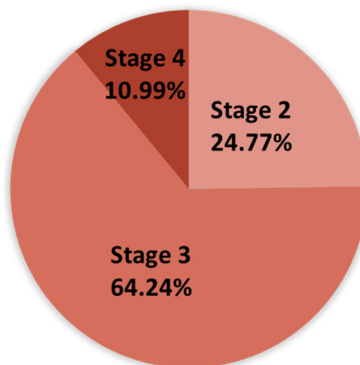

Figure 6. Level-distribution of Netouyo's HS comments
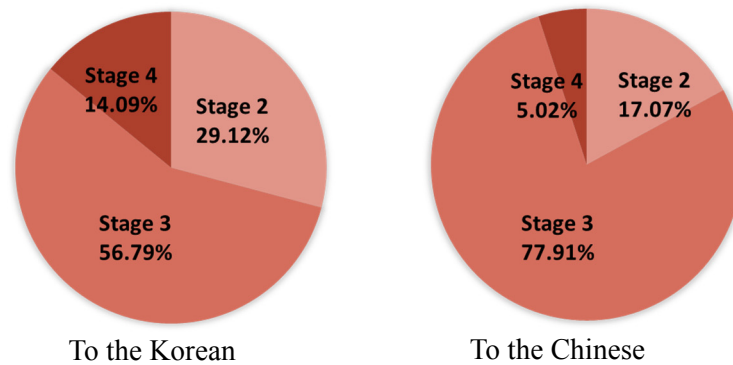
Figure 7. Level-distribution of Netouyo's HS comments by target

As for the levels of hate speech, out of the 4,214 HS comments, it was shown that 64.24% corresponds to stage 3 while 24.77% corresponds to stage 2 and 10.99% corresponds to stage 4 (See Figure 6). Individually by target, hate speech to the Korean showed higher rate of stage 2 and 4 (29.12% and 14.09%) than hate speech to the Chinese did (17.07% for stage 2 and 5.02% for stage 4). Hate speech to the Chinese showed higher rate of stage 3 (77.92%) than hate speech to the Korean did (56.79%) (See Figure 7).

This overall analysis also shows two things. First, Netouyo in '2ch' produce HS comments to the Korean more than twice those to the Chinese. Second, stage-3 hate speech is the most frequent among the HS comments written on '2ch'. Third, hate speech to the Korean is closer to both extreme ends of hate-speech severity than that to the Chinese is.

4.1.3. Contents Analysis

Within the texts of the HS comments, it is noticeable that certain epithets or expressions repeatedly appear to call or describe the targets of hate speech. Therefore, several keywords for each target were selected from the HS comments as highly symbolic and frequent ones. The keywords were employed to analyze and understand the contexts of hate speech.

From the Netouyo's HS comments, five keywords were selected as highly symbolic and frequent ones for each target. For the Korean, 'Chung (a taboo epithet for the Korean)', 'crime (or criminal)', 'prostitute', 'cockroach', and 'parasite' were selected as keywords. For the Chinese, 'Si-Nazis (a compound word of 'Sina' and 'Nazis')', 'Chankoro (an insulting epithet for the Chinese)', 'crime (or criminal)', 'prostitute', and 'cockroach' were selected as keywords.

Table 2. The selected keywords and their frequencies (Netouyo)

	For the Korean				
Keywords	Chung	Crime/Criminal	Prostitute	Parasite	Cockroach
Frequency	331	125	64	51	48
	For the Chinese				
Keywords	Si-Nazis	Chankoro	Crime/Criminal	Prostitute	Cockroach
Frequency	126	82	44	36	29

Table 2 shows the selected keywords and their frequencies. In the HS comments targeted at the Korean, 'Chung' appeared a total of 331 times independently to call

the Korean or combined with different insulting expressions. 'Crime (or criminal)' appeared a total of 125 times to denounce the Korean as vicious and threatening. 'Prostitute' appeared a total of 64 times mainly to slander comfort women from Korea and deny Japanese responsibility for the issue.

'Parasite' appeared a total of 51 times, being mostly used to condemn Zainichi Koreans as undeservedly enjoying welfare provided by the Japanese government and inflicting mischief on the Japanese society. 'Cockroach' appeared a total of 48 times, to describe the Korean as dirty and hideous.

In the HS comments targeted at the Chinese, 'Si-Nazis' appeared a total of 126 times to condemn China as an imperialist and invasive country. 'Chankoro' appeared a total of 82 times to call the Chinese, independently or with other insulting words.

'Crime (or criminal)' appeared a total of 44 times also to denounce the Chinese as dangerous and treacherous. 'Prostitute' appeared a total of 36 times mainly to disdain Chinese women or blame them for marriage fraud. 'Cockroach' appeared a total of 29 times, to disparage China's large population or describe its people as dirty.

Based on the implicit meanings of the selected words, HS comments containing these words were rated mainly as stage 3 (or higher). Therefore, the analysis of these keywords present not only Netouyo's perception of but also the way they incite discriminatory hatred for the Korean and the Chinese.

As for the Korean, it is shown that Netouyo employ four main strategies to incite hatred. First, the most frequent way is habitually insulting them with abhorrent

words such as 'Chung' and 'cockroach'. Second, it is the second most frequent way to define them as a danger by labeling them as criminals or being liable to commit crime.

Third, Netouyo emphasize that Zainichi Koreans enjoy excessive profits at the expense of the Japanese, while not contributing to the Japanese society. Fourth, Netouyo attempt to deny or rationalize the comfort women issue by dismissing them or general Korean women as prostitutes.

As for the Chinese, Netouyo employ three main strategies to incite hatred. First, Netouyo frequently call China as 'Si-Nazis' to condemn the country's territorial dispute and international development as Chinese imperialism. Second, Netouyo also frequently call the Chinese as 'Chankoro' or 'cockroach' to insult and arouse abhorrence of them. Third, Netouyo label the Chinese also as a danger to the Japanese society by describing them as cruel criminals or matrimonial swindlers.

4.2. 'Ilbe' in Korea

4.2.1. Overview

'Ilbe' originated from the Korean website 'DC-inside' which is one of the biggest websites in Korea with numerous bulletin boards of various topics covering social, cultural and political areas. When extreme contents of high rankings were deleted by the website's manager, some users resisted the measure and created another space to save those extreme contents (Kim, 2014). The new website gained the name of 'a

warehouse of the most popular postings daily', which has been called as the abbreviation 'Ilbe'.

Established in 2011, the website 'Ilbe' began to get public and media spotlight in Korea as there appeared severely senseless or immoral contents. Among those were reporting of sucking a baby bottle product at the factory, saying that it feels like a woman's breast, and describing a coffin from the picture of Gwangju Massacre as a parcel of Hong-eo (Chun, 2014). Heong-eo is fermented fish which is unique local food of Jeolla province. The word is used in 'Ilbe' as an epithet of people from Jeolla province.

As mentioned in the part 3, 'Ilbe's hate speech texts were collected from the website 'Ilbe'. Based on the premise that 'Ilbe's hate speech is mainly targeted at females, people from Jeolla province, and leftists, 10 postings per target and accompanying HS comments were collected.

The postings from 'Ilbe' were mostly containing hate speech, either groundlessly attacking the targets or addressing controversial issues regarding them. Topics of the collected postings are as follows.

Out of the 10 postings regarding females, three were about vanity of females, another three were about female colleagues at work, two were about female users of the website, one was about paying on dates, and the other one was a pornographic and incestuous cartoon.

Out of the 10 postings regarding people from Jeolla province, three were slandering the people based on a case of crime happened in the region. Another three

were slandering or disparaging the targets based on the region's political hue. Another three were generally denigrating the targets, and the other one was about attacking people from the region in an online game.

Out of the 10 postings regarding leftists, five were about the sinking of the Sewol in 2014, three were to hold leftist politicians up to ridicule, one was about slandering a leftist politician who's the current mayor of Seoul, and the other was about posting hand-written posters against leftists' same way of the movement.

Out of a total of 36,149 comments accompanied by the 30 postings, 14,137 comments were from the postings about females. 10,196 comments were from the postings written about people from Jeolla province, and the other 11,816 comments were from the postings about leftists.

The analysis of HS comments was also conducted based on the targets and levels of hate speech. Since a comment on the posting about a certain target could contain hate speech against two other targets, each HS comment was classified by its target. Though many of 'Ilbe's comments contained swear words seemingly against the targets, those comments were not included since they did not specify the object.

As for the levels of hate speech, a HS comment was rated as stage-2 when it plainly denigrated or attributed negative characteristics to females, people from Jeolla province, and leftists. A HS comment was rated as stage-3 when it contained insulting epithets of the three targets or abhorrently denigrated them. A HS comment was rated as stage-4 when it directly spoke for elimination and violence against the three targets.

4.2.2. Analysis by Target

1) Target-of-posting Analysis

Figure 8. Target-distribution of HS comments from the postings about females

From the analysis of the postings about females, it was found that 2,070 (14.64%) out of 14,137 comments contained hate speech to females, people from Jeolla province, and leftists. Figure 8 shows the target-distribution of HS comments from the postings about females.

Out of the 2,070 HS comments, 95.51% was targeted at females. 1.35% was targeted at people from Jeolla province, 1.06% was targeted at leftists, and 1.06% was targeted at both females and people from Jeolla province. Percentages of comments on other combined targets were very low.
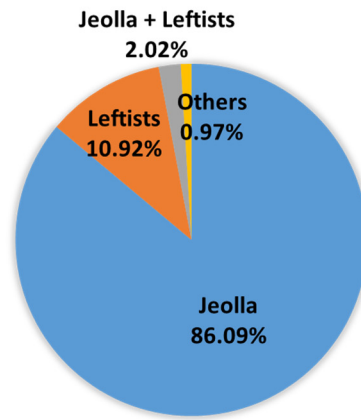
Figure 9. Target-distribution of HS comments from the postings about people from Jeolla province

From the analysis of the postings about people from Jeolla province, it was found that 1,236 (12.12%) out of 10,196 comments contained hate speech against females, people from Jeolla province, and leftists. Figure 9 shows target-distribution of HS comments from the postings about people from Jeolla province.

Out of the 1,236 HS comments, 86.08% was targeted at people from Jeolla province while 10.92% was targeted at leftists and 2.02% was targeted at both people from Jeolla province and leftists. Percentages of HS comments against females or other combined targets were very low.
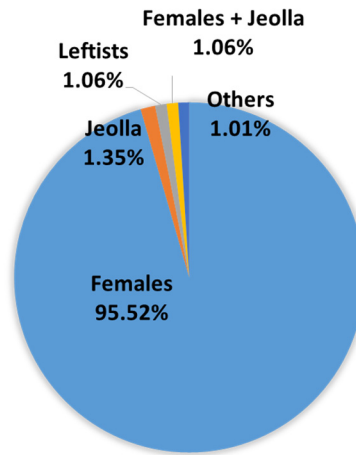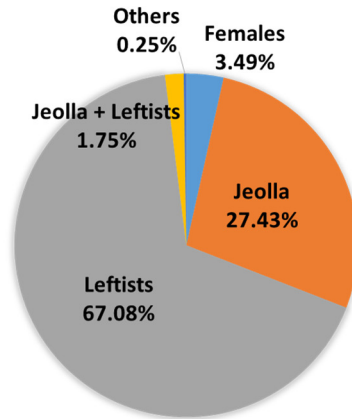
Figure 10. Target-distribution of HS comments from the postings about leftists

From the analysis of the postings about leftists, it was found that 401 (3.39%) out of 11,816 comments contained hate speech against females, people from Jeolla province, and leftists. Figure 10 shows target-distribution of HS comments from the postings about leftists.

Out of the 401 HS comments, 67.08% was targeted at leftists and 27.43% was targeted at people from Jeolla province. 3.49 was targeted at females and 1.75 was targeted at both people from Jeolla province and leftists. Percentages of comments on other combined targets were very low.

This target-of-posting analysis of 'Ilbe' shows three things. First, females, as a topic of a posting, invoke the most HS comments followed by people from Jeolla province and leftists. Second, a target of HS comments is the most consistent with that of the posting when its topic is about females, followed by people from Jeolla

province and leftists. Third, the three targets are intertwiningly recognized and attacked in the HS comments.

2) Target-of-hate-speech Analysis
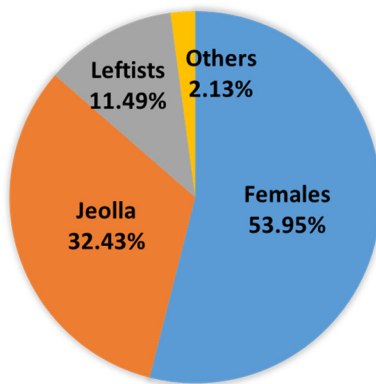
Figure 11. Target-distribution of the whole HS comments ('Ilbe')

From the overall target-of-hate-speech analysis, it was found that 3,707 (10.25%) out of a total of 36,149 responding comments contained hate speech. Out of 3,707 HS comments, it was found that 53.95% was targeted at females, 32.43% was targeted at people from Jeolla province, and 11.49% was targeted at leftists. Percentages of comments on combined targets were very low (See Figure 11).
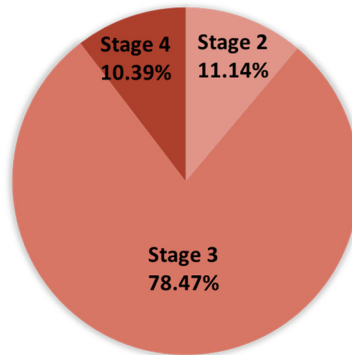
Figure 12. Level-distribution of 'Ilbe's HS comments

To females

To people from
Jeolla province

To leftists
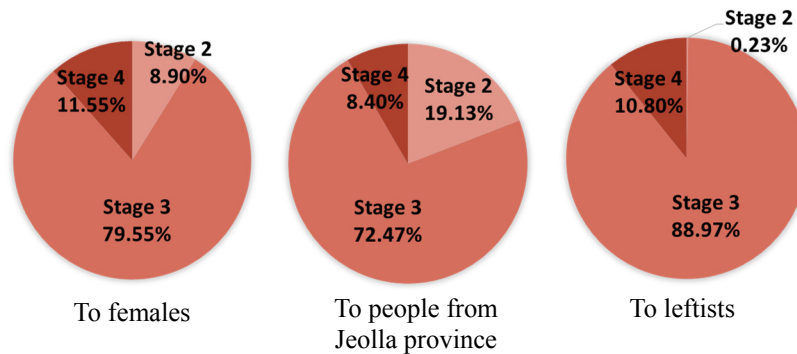
Figure 13. Level-distribution of 'Ilbe's HS comments by target

As for the levels of hate speech, it was shown that out of the 3,707 HS comments, 78.47% corresponds to stage 3, 11.14% corresponds to stage 2 and 10.39% corresponds to stage 4 (See Figure 12). Individually by target (See Figure 13), hate speech to females showed the highest rate of stage 4 (11.55%) compared to the other targets. Hate speech to people from Jeolla province showed the highest rate of stage 2 (19.13%). Meanwhile, hate speech to leftists showed the lowest rate of stage 2

(0.23%) and the highest of stage 3 (88.97%) compared to the other targets.

This overall analysis also shows three things. First, stage-3 hate speech is the most frequent among the HS comments written by users of 'Ilbe'. Second, HS comments to females comprise more than half of all the HS comments by 'Ilbe'. Third, HS comments to leftists comprise the smallest portion but are more intensely concentrated on severe stages of hate speech (stage 3 and 4), though hate speech to females showed the highest portion of stage 4.

4.2.3. Contents Analysis

From the HS comments of 'Ilbe', 2-3 keywords were selected as highly symbolic and frequent ones for each target. For females, selected as keywords were 'Kimchi-nyo(n) (a compound epithet of Kimchi, Korean traditional food, and 'Nyo(n)', a word disparagingly meaning females)', words with a prefix 'Bo- (referring to female genitals)', and 'Samilhan (an acronym meaning that females should be beaten once in three days)'.

For the people from Jeolla province, 'Hong-eo (an epithet of people from Jeolla province since the word means fermented Skates, local food of the area with very unique scent)' and 'seven-o-colck (used as an epithet of the province since it points to the geographical direction of the area)' were selected as keywords. For the leftists, 'left-zombie', 'left-reds' and 'reds' were selected as keywords. 'Reds' was regarded as a keyword since the word refers to communists, being of which is regarded as a crucial crime in Korea.

Table 3. The selected keywords and their frequencies ('Ilbe')

	For Females				
Keywords	'Bo-' words		Kimchi-nyo(n)		Samilhan
Frequency	842		326		41
	For People From Jeolla Province			For Leftists	
Keywords	Hong-eo	7-o-clock	Left-zombie		(Left-) reds
Frequency	488	26	184		82

Table 3 shows the selected keywords and their frequencies. In the HS comments targeted at females, words with a prefix 'Bo-' appeared a total of 842 times to directly call females or describe female characteristics abhorrently. 'Kimchi-nyo(n)' appeared a total of 326 times to denigrate general Korean females or condemn them as selfish and extravagant. 'Samilhan' appeared 41 times to express intense hatred against females and assert the alleged standard position on them.

In the HS comments targeted at people from Jeolla province, 'Hong-eo' appeared a total of 488 times to call them in an abhorrent way. 'Seven-o-clock' appeared a total of 26 times to disdain the province as a separate region from Korea.

In the HS comments targeted at leftists, 'left-zombie' appeared a total of 184 times to describe leftists as extremely obsessed by their propaganda and gnawing away at the country's welfare. 'Left-reds' and 'reds', taken together, appeared a total of 82 times to denounce leftists as stained with communist ideas.

Based on the implicit meanings of the selected words and expressions combined

with them, HS comments containing these words were rated as stage 3 or 4. These keywords reveals 'Ilbe's perception of their primary targets and how they incite discriminatory hatred or violence against the targets.

As for females, 'Ilbe' employ three main strategies. First, overall female identity is symbolically condensed into female genitals. Behaviors of females are consistently concluded to have derived from that identity. Females are called by the name of female genitals, which shows that they are not regarded as personal and sensible beings.

Second, 'Ilbe' label Korean females as self-centered and full of vanity by repeatedly asserting that they are obsessed with buying luxuries and looking fancy. It is also alleged that females undeservedly want to achieve superiority over males in different ways – in family, at school, and at work.

Third, referring to the two aspects addressed ahead, 'Ilbe' claim that females should be controlled and restricted in a violent way. 'Samilhan' is an acronym of the old Korean saying, 'females should be beaten once in three days'. Through this, it is shown that Ilbe's attitude toward females is rooted from the long history of male chauvinism in Korea.

As for people from Jeolla province, it is shown that 'Ilbe' employ two main strategies to incite hatred. First, 'Ilbe' describe them as having a peculiar and absurd mindset by identifying them with the region's local food that smells too unique for strangers to eat. Second, the whole Jeolla province is dismissed as an isolated and foreign community which is essentially different from the mainland.

As for leftists, 'Ilbe' employ two strategies. First, 'Ilbe' illustrate leftists as lunatic and destructive just like zombies, by claiming that they narrow-mindedly stick to irrational agendas. Second, 'Ilbe' dismiss leftists as communists that try to deny legitimacy of the current government and infuse the Korean society with communist values.

5. Discussion

In this part, hate speech by Netouyo and by 'Ilbe' will be compared based on the analysis done in the part 4. First, rates and levels of hate speech by each subject will be compared. Second, contents and contexts of hate speech will be interpreted and comparatively examined in the framework of the integrated threat theory.

5.1. Comparison of the Data

Table 4. Comparison of the main figures from the two cases

	Netouyo	'Ilbe'
Frequency of HS Comments	22.68%	10.25%
Stage 2	24.77%	11.14%
Stage 3	64.24%	78.47%
Stage 4	10.99%	10.39%

Table 4 shows comparison of the main figures from the two case studies. In the case of Netouyo, the rate of HS comments was more than twice that in the case of 'Ilbe'. Stage-2 and stage-4 hate speech was more frequently seen in the case of Netouyo, while stage-3 hate speech is more frequent in the case of 'Ilbe'.

These figures present several points. First, Netouyo engage in hate speech more frequently than users of 'Ilbe' do. This might be due to that the plain swear words were not counted as HS comments while many comments of 'Ilbe' briefly expressed hatred

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through swear words. Nevertheless, it can be stated that Netouyo deliver specific and direct language of hate speech more frequently than 'Ilbe' do.

Second, it is presented in both cases that stage-3 hate speech is the most frequently used type of hate speech while stage-4 hate speech is used the least. Meanwhile, the rate of stage-3 hate speech is 14% higher in the Ilbe's case and the rate of stage-4 hate speech is similar to the Netouyo's case.

Third, it is shown that stage-2 hate speech is used by Netouyo more than twice as frequently as by 'Ilbe'. In other words, relatively speaking, hate speech by Netouyo is more evenly dispersed into three levels while hate speech by 'Ilbe' is more concentrated on stage-3.

From these points, it is explained that both groups are engaged in hate speech mainly in the way of inciting discriminatory hatred against their targets. Also, the level of Netouyo's hate speech is less severe in an overall sense, while they are relatively more obsessed with spreading hate speech than their Korean counterparts do.

5.2. Interpretation of Threats

Based on the contents of hate speech analyzed in the part 4, each group's hate speech will be interpreted in terms of the integrated threat theory by W. G. Stephan and C. W. Stephan (2000). Through this interpretation, explained will be the mechanism in which the two groups differentiated from each other in setting their direction of hatred.

5.2.1. Antecedents

	Netouyo	**'Ilbe'**
Strong Identification	Far-right and ultra- nationalistic stances	
Negative Contact	- Historical/territorial Disputes - Individual Experiences	Individual Experiences
Disparities in the Status	- Japan's Economic/Political Power - Statuses within Japan	- Male chauvinism - Old Discrimination Against Jeolla province - Conservative Government
Ignorance of the Outgroup	The Internet environment	

Figure 14. The antecedents of threats in the two cases

Before identifying the four types of threats, the antecedents of threats will be examined first (See Figure 14). According to the theory, the antecedents include (1) strong identification with one's ingroup, (2) negative contact with the outgroup, (3) disparities in the status of the two groups, and (4) ignorance of the outgroup. For both Netouyo and 'Ilbe', the ingroup is oneself and the outgroups are the targets of hate speech.

In the case of Netouyo, (1) is explained by Netouyo's political background which is far-right and nationalistic. Considering the historical and territorial disputes between Japan and Korea/China, (2) is easily found. Those disputes are essentially based on historical intentions of each country's government. Also, the Japanese' everyday experiences with Zainichi Koreans or Chinese immigrants could contribute to building

negative perceptions of them.

For (3), Japan's economic and political power on the international level can be the grounds. Also, the statuses within Japan can be regarded as the disparities. Still, the disparities between the Japanese and the Korean and those between the Japanese and the Chinese could differ, since Zainichi Koreans have a relatively higher status than other Koreans or Chinese do. (4) can be explained by the characteristics of the Internet environment in which unreliable rumors abound.

In the case of 'Ilbe', (1) is also explained by 'Ilbe's far-right and nationalistic stance. For (2), it is ambiguous to specify negative contacts though it is assumed that unpleasant experiences with the targets necessarily happen since everyone may encounter uncomfortable females or leftists in everyday life, considering the population of the target groups.

(3) is shown from the long history of male-dominated society, discrimination against Jeolla province from the old past, and the rule by a conservative party now and for longer periods of the past. (4) can also be explained by the Internet environment in which groundless rumors are spread.

5.2.2. Threats

Among the four types of threats, Netouyo and 'Ilbe' are shown to have perceived different combinations. The threats can be inferred from the strategies each group employs to incite hatred against the targets as well as the contents of the HS comments.

In the case of Netouyo, realistic threats and negative stereotypes are found. As for

realistic threats, labeling the Korean and the Chinese as (potential) criminals shows that they are regarded as harmful for economic and physical security of the Japanese. Condemning Zainichi Koreans as enjoying privileges also shows perception of economic loss of the Japanese. The aggressive attitude towards the comfort women issue and territorial disputes reflects threats to Japanese political power and economic resources.

Abusive epithets such as 'Chung', 'Chankoro', 'prostitute' and 'cockroach' are the very example of negative stereotypes. Labeling the Korean and the Chinese as criminals also contributes to building negative stereotypes. Based on these negative stereotypes, Netouyo expect that the Korean and the Chinese will harm the general welfare of the Japanese.

In the case of 'Ilbe', symbolic threats and negative stereotypes are found. As for the non-tangible symbolic threats, labeling Korean females as full of vanity leads 'Ilbe' to regard females as degrading intrinsic values of true human. Perceiving them as wanting to predominate over males shows that females are regarded as threats to the existing male-dominated society. It is also shown that leftists are considered as threatening the country's social order and values by defaming the government and spreading communist ideas.

The insulting epithets contribute to negative stereotypes of the targets. The negative stereotypes are formed and reinforced by repetitive use of words such as 'Kimchi-nyo', the compounds with the prefix 'Bo-', 'Hong-eo', and 'left-zombies'. Based on the stereotypes, 'Ilbe' expect that females, people from Jeolla province, and leftists will

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harm the Korean society.

From this interpretation in the framework of the integrated threat theory, it is illustrated that Netouyo and 'Ilbe' perceive different kinds of threats from the targets of hate speech, though they both have negative stereotypes of the targets. While Netouyo recognized realistic threats related to Japan's politics and economy, 'Ilbe' focused more on symbolic threats related to the values and order of the Korean society. This difference is estimated to have influenced distinctive selection of the targets of each group's hate speech.

5.3. Hate Activities on the Street

5.3.1. Netouyo in Japan

Extending from spreading hate speech through the Internet, Netouyo and 'Ilbe' are also engaged in hate activities in the reality. In the case of Japan, Netouyo operate as an information-provider that produces and influences anti-Korea/China discourses. The xenophobic discourses came out of the Internet and appeared on the streets from the mid-2000s (Yamaguchi, 2013).

As Yamaguchi's study explains, the phenomenon was named as the Action Conservative Movement by the participants themselves. He also notes that The Group That Seeks Recovery of Sovereignty (GSRS) and the Association of Citizens against the Special Privileges of Zainichi Koreans (Zaitokukai) are among the most active and famous groups.

The GSRS started the movement in 2006, presenting that their most urgent and crucial task is fighting against Chinese invasion of Japan, according to the group's official website. Zaitokukai was established in 2007, condemning Zainichi Koreans as enjoying unreasonable privileges undeservedly (Koichi, 2012). Both groups are operated systemically, in terms of their membership and organization of activities.

These two groups have held lectures, marches and demonstrations against Korea, China, and people from the countries. Their voices are recognized as hate speech against foreigners as the ideas and logics reflect the exactly same with those of Netouyo. Their activities on the street are documented in detail on their official websites.

Recent cases of the GSRS's activities include an 'anti-Thursday' demonstration against Korean comfort women victims demonstrating on Thursdays, and a denouncing demonstration against the Chinese invasion of Senkaku Islands.

Recent cases of Zaitokukai include a demonstration around a North Korean school to give hate speech and disrupt classes, and a demonstration speaking for the severance of a diplomatic relation with Korea. Both groups' demonstrations are held individually or by groups of people, usually with the Rising Sun flags and placards of hate speech.

5.3.2. 'Ilbe' in Korea

By contrast, 'Ilbe' of Korea did not produce any specific activity group that is systemically organized and operated. This might be due to the 'Ilbe's pattern to avoid intimacy among users and maintain the individualized and horizontal forum (Kim, 2014).

Meanwhile, 'Ilbe's hate speech come up in the reality in different forms than demonstrations affiliated with Netouyo. 'Ilbe's activities are usually done individually, through disturbing feminist or leftist occasions. Either revealing 'Ilbe's identity or not, the user of 'Ilbe' intervenes in an occasion and insult the participants with the language and actions of 'Ilbe'.

Despite the culture to avoid assembling, however, there recently was a significant event called 'a binge strike at Gwanghwamun Plaza'. This was held in 2014, against the hunger strike by the bereaved of the dead from the sinking of the Sewol. The number of participants was estimated by the police as about 100, combining the users of 'Ilbe' and the members of a conservative youth association.

Although the participants defined the binge strike as an effort to reclaim the Gwanghwamun plaza, the strike actually aimed to ridicule and disrupt the hunger strike by the bereaved (Yang, 2014). The binge strike was carried out in the forms of individually hanging around the bereaved with a hotdog in hands or gathering to eat pizzas altogether.

After this binge strike, the participants of 'Ilbe' wrote about their experiences on the website. The postings also gained many 'likes', appearing on the list of the board

'Daily Best'. According to the postings and the comments, the participants satisfiedly said that the strike was conducted just like a 'festival'. They also commented that the festive strike helped them become confident and proud as a young patriot.

6. Conclusion

From the comparative analysis, the two research questions were answered. First, the two hate speech groups' similarities and differences were shown from the analysis of the HS comments. Their hate speeches were similar or different from each other in degrees of target-concentration, distribution of the hate speech levels, and the strategies employed to incite hatred.

Second, it was presented that different kinds of threats were playing as momentum for each group's hate speech against the targets. The threats on which each group focused influenced who they chose to discriminate and hate. Since each group's major values differed at critical times of their home countries, each group's hate speech was targeted at different directions.

From the analysis, it is notable that hate speech can be more severe when certain languages effectively incite hatred against targets. Those languages are mostly rooted from a society's long-standing prejudices. These prejudices combine with current situations of the society to blame and marginalize the targets.

Therefore, in order to deal with hate speech in Korea, it would be necessary to alleviate old prejudices that are not consistent with concepts of the modern democracy. As long as the unreasonable prejudices remain, they will be repeatedly utilized to produce, spread, and justify hate discourses.

Moreover, it is also notable that hate speech in the Korean case is more deeply engaged in everyday life. It can be due to that the targets are not 'minor' in the sense of their

populations and that symbolic threats can be arbitrarily perceived from any type of behaviors. Meanwhile, the current hate speech to the targets should not be dismissed as plain stereotypes or moderate arguments.

Additionally, out of the different features of the two groups' hate activities, it is shown that 'Ilbe' accept their behaviors as thrilling amusements to insult the targets as bizarrely as they can, while Netouyo try to deliver specific and definite messages about social issues in the form of a social movement.

To conclude, it is evident that the online hate speech should not be dismissed as trivial. Although hate speech on the Internet is selectively accessible and does not offend the targets in the face of them, its abhorrent language easily penetrates into ordinary people. Moreover, it crucially attacks the defenseless targets once it is reproduced in the real world, since its language and logic unimaginably impoverish human dignity and equality.

This study has several limitations. First, only one website for each group was selected to be analyzed while there are more sources such as news websites, blogs, and social network services. Second, long-term variation in the contents and contexts of hate speech was not addressed since the study was conducted out of a relatively small size of samples, compared to the scale of the whole data.

Therefore, further research is recommended for larger samples ranging longer periods and covering more sources. Broader insights will be possible if information is provided about how each group's discourses have changed and how different online spaces contribute to producing hate speech.

Third, the analysis of hate speech severity was relatively ambiguous, especially of the

most severe stage of inciting violence, since the study mainly addressed online hate speech. Therefore, further research of relationship between violent online hate speech and actual violence also could be conducted. Its implications will help to recognize and prevent hate crimes motivated by hate speech on the Internet.

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요약(국문초록)

헤이트 스피치는 어떤 개인 또는 집단에 대하여 인종, 국적, 성별, 종교, 성적 지향 등과 같은 특징에 기반한 혐오를 표현하고 조장하는 발언을 뜻한다. 오늘날 인터넷 기술의 발전으로 인해 헤이트 스피치는 사이버 공간으로 확장되어 왔다. 미국과 유럽 극우세력의 사례에 이어, 동아시아에서도 인터넷을 통해 헤이트 스피치를 전파하는 사례가 등장하였다.

특히 일본의 넷우익과 한국의 일베는 각 국가 내 인터넷 상의 극우 헤이트 스피치 집단으로 알려져 있다. 넷우익은 주로 외국인 집단 중 한국인과 중국인을 주요 대상으로 하며, 일베는 주로 내국인 집단 중 여성과 호남, 그리고 진보세력을 주요 대상으로 삼는다. 이 논문의 목적은 넷우익과 일베의 헤이트 스피치를 비교하고 두 집단의 혐오가 어떻게 다른 방향으로 향하였는지 설명하고자 하는 것이다.

비교 분석을 위하여, 각 집단의 웹사이트에서 헤이트 스피치를 포함하는 댓글을 수집한 뒤 그 대상과 헤이트 스피치 수위에 따라 개별 댓글을 분류하였다. 또한 통합 위협 이론의 틀에 따라 헤이트 스피치의 구체적 내용을 분석하기 위하여 각 집단에서 빈번하게 나타나는 키워드를 선정한 후 그 빈도와 의미를 함께 살펴보았다.

이러한 비교 분석을 통해, 넷우익이 일베보다 더 높은 빈도로 헤이트 스피치를 행하는 반면 일베의 헤이트 스피치 내용이 넷우익보다 심각한 수위에 해당한다는 점을 알 수 있었다. 또한, 두 집단 모두 헤이트 스피치의 주 대상에 대하여 부정적 고정관념을 지니고 있으나 동시에 서로 다른 종류의 위협을 인지함으로써 구별적인 혐오의 대상을 선정하였음을 알 수 있었다.

주요어: 헤이트 스피치, 극우, 넷우익, 2채널, 일베, 통합 위협 이론

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