

Web of Hatred: An Analysis of Online Hatred in South Korea

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Senior Honors Thesis  
Communication Studies  
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

April 11, 2016

Approved:

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### **Acknowledgements**

This project has been one of the most enjoyable activities at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. However, it would not have been possible without the support from UNC communication studies professor Michael Palm and professor Michael Waltman. Special thanks to professor Palm, who guided me throughout almost my entire days at Carolina. Without his support, I would not have completed nor begin this project. Also, I would like to thank professor Waltman for supplying me the useful concepts and theories that fits perfectly to my research. Finally, I would like to thank my parents for believing in me and always supporting me in the best way possible.

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## Introduction

Since the early 2000s, online hatred has been prevalent in the Korean society. At the period, it was more of an anger towards specific individuals who conducted deeds that deviate from social norms. One representative example is a woman labeled as “dog poop woman”. In 2005, one woman brought her dog to the subway. During her journey to the destination, her dog pooped on the subway floor. Encountering unexpected disaster, she ran away without cleaning the mess. This incident was photo captured by a fellow subway rider and gained massive attention from the public. When the photo was spread online, Internet users were furious about the incident and named her as dog poop women.

This type of anger was prevalent throughout the society, especially towards celebrities that conducted social deviation such as drunk driving and gambling. In later days, such anger developed into hatred as people began to generalize inappropriate actions or thoughts to specific identities. One example is people who love having expensive items and food, but do not have ability to purchase expensive goods. To possess their desired items, these people rely on men. These characteristics were combined with gender identity and eventually produced a hate expression “kimchi women”.

In later days, internet users over-generalized this hate expression to entire Korean women, despite beginning as hatred towards women with specific characteristics. Similar to over-generalization, online hatred has been evolving throughout the years. First, the extent of hate became more severe, especially by a well known community named Ilbe. This community is one of the many bulletin board based communities in South Korea. Some perceive Ilbe as an online right wing organization and it is infamous for their severe hate speech. For instance, Ilbe users claim fish ate the dead bodies of the Sewol ferry incident and now became fish cakes.

Moreover, the range of hate increased vastly as well. In the past, hate targets were limited to few identities such as haters' opposite political groups and women. However, these days, every Korean is target of hatred. From mom bugs, law school bugs to elderly bugs and Korean men bugs, internet users imprudently use the word bug to express their hate. Consequently, online hatred evolved vastly in several years and it is becoming a serious issue in South Korea.

To analyze this issue, I conducted a research that purposes to explore well known online hate expressions in South Korea and identify the cause of such hatred. To achieve this goal, I selected infamous online community, Ilbe as a case study. The main reason for such selection is their bountiful number of hate targets and severe hate expressions. In the first two chapters, I give detailed analysis of Ilbe's hatred through analyzing the highly advocated posts on Ilbe. The first chapter focuses on analyzing hate expressions and identifying the cause of Ilbe's hatred. On the other hand, the subsequent chapter is devoted to how Ilbe spread their hate to other Korean internet users. In this process, I applied Whillock's hate stratagem to analyze the hate spread. Moreover, using the fourth characteristic of hate stratagem, I discuss about the purpose of Ilbe's hate. Based on overall results of Ilbe research, I further analyze online hatred in South Korea and provide three different types of hate based on the causes of hatred. Moreover, I also claim that online hatred in South Korea is haters' expressions of social grievances. By identifying the reasons and defining online hatred, this research will assist those who attempt to reduce prevailing online hatred or prevent further evolution of online hatred in South Korea.

## **Chapter 1: Logic of Hatred**

### **The Core of Ilbe's hatred: Ilbe's Authoritarian Patriotic View**

This chapter focuses on identifying the cause of Ilbe's hatred. During the procedure to find the cause, the first clue noticed was right wing groups in South Korea. These organizations have been existing since the 20th century and some currently well known organizations are National Action Campaign for Freedom and Democracy in Korea, Federation of Patriotic Organizations and Korea Parent Federation. Similar to Ilbe, these right wing organizations possess hatred towards the left wing groups. What differentiates them from Ilbe is that the extent of the hate expressions is far less extreme to catch huge attention from the society. Moreover, while Ilbe focuses their actions on the Internet, these right wing organizations conduct their actions by hanging banners, taking part in press conferences and protesting against the left wing groups. Most recently in December 2015, Federation of Patriotic Organizations had a press conference stating they will sue 53 organizations that participated in a public protest that demands the government to protect the rights of LGBTQ, conduct a deeper investigation about the Sewol ferry incident, abolish the national security law and government designation of textbooks (Kim Hui-jun).

Although some may claim these right wing organizations are more official and different from Ilbe, the type of hate towards left wing groups is similar. Also, they both have similar reasons for hatred. Such claim is based on both Ilbe and the right wing groups referring themselves as "patriotic conservatives". This title identifies themselves as patriotic organizations with the purpose of improving and protecting the nation. Focusing on this characteristic during the analysis, I identified that there is a keyword "nation" that relates all the groups. To be more specific, the hate targets are seen as citizens against the nation, disobeying the nation and not contributing to the nation. Thus, the negative influence towards the nation is the commonality among the hated groups.

However, this common characteristic among the groups are simply Ilbe's perception. The ultimate cause of Ilbe's hatred comes from the Ilbe community itself. More specifically, the hate is generated from Ilbe possessing authoritarian patriotism. Based on Lummis and Westheimer's definition, authoritarian patriotism is an unconditional support for the nation and valuing the nation above the citizens. I assert that all the hate towards the out-groups are generated by Ilbe's authoritarian patriotic view. Therefore, it is the authoritarian patriotism that causes Ilbe's hatred and I will elaborate on such assertion with the analysis of commonality among the groups.

### **Logic of Hatred**

By analyzing hate towards the targeted groups, one major commonality I identified is the nation. First, Ilbe users see the left wing groups as supporters of North Korea. More specifically, they claim the left wing groups are threats to South Korea as they advocate North Korea, the major enemy of the nation. Second, the families of Sewol ferry victims are seen as people who disobey the nation due to their protest and rejection of government's suggestions. Third, Ilbe users claim Korean women lack the ability to contribute to the nation as women are incompetent economically and physically. Not only that, some have significant vanity and relies on men to fulfill it. Thus, these groups are seen as threats, refuseniks and free riders of the nation. Consequently, Ilbe views these hate targets as negative influences to the nation and this is the crucial factor of Ilbe's hatred.

However, some may claim the cause of hatred is the Saenuri party- the major Korean right wing party- instead of the nation, since Ilbe is known as a right wing group. Although such claim might seem reasonable, several posts from Ilbe differentiate the two and proves the nation as the cause. A post supported by thousands of Ilbe users presents a picture of a person from the Saenuri party assaulting a police officer. Then, the writer mentions "whoever

stands up to or look down on the governmental authority should be beaten with a club” (Kim Ilsŏngtae cpa). In other words, the writer is stating even the Saenuri party should be criticized if they look down on governmental authority. This claim presents the idea that the governmental authority is more important than the right wing party.

Moreover, Ilbe users even criticized the current right wing president Park Keun Hye, when she suggested building a park that symbolizes peace between South and North Korea. Ilbe severely criticized this suggestion as it occurred in the period that two Korean soldiers lost their leg and arm to the North Koreans (Chwajomsugŏgi).

As a result, although Ilbe is a right wing community, these two posts show Ilbe users' tendency to prioritize the governmental authorities such as police and army over the right wing party. Consequently, the core component that connects the groups is the nation. More specifically, targeted groups are gaining hatred as Ilbe considers them as negative influences; each group harming, disobeying and not contributing to the nation.

However, viewing the groups as negative influences is only Ilbe's perception towards the groups. Therefore, the ultimate cause of hatred is the component embedded in the Ilbe community. More specifically, I believe it is Ilbe's authoritarian patriotism that creates perception about the groups. There are two elements that generated the idea that Ilbe possesses patriotism. One is Ilbe's view of the groups related to the nation and the other is Ilbe labeling themselves as conservative patriots. Lummis defines patriotism as “the love that binds a people together” (37). Unlike such definition, Ilbe's love is misplaced towards the governmental authority. In other words, it is “misplaced love of the institutions that dominate the people” (37). Lummis calls such patriotism as authoritarian patriotism. To further elaborate on the concept, authoritarian patriotism is a belief that the nation is superior to others and involves “resigning one's will, right of choice, and need to understand to the



authority” (Westheimer; Lummis 37). Thus, it is an unconditional support to the nation and believing that the nation is above the rights of the citizens.

These characteristics of authoritarian patriotism can be further seen from Ilbe's perceptions about the out-groups. First, the Democratic party is seen as the adherents of the North Korea due to their political actions such as sunshine policy and attempt to abolish the national security law. However, there are legitimate reasons why the Democratic party conducted these political actions. The sunshine policy purposed to create a cooperative relationship between South and North Korea. In this way, 40 agreements were made between the two nations from 1998 to 2002 (Pearl Jinju Kwon, 107). Moreover, South Korean citizens separated from their family due to the Korean civil war had an opportunity to meet their family in North. Thus, despite eventual failure of the sunshine policy, there were numerous benefits and legitimate purpose. Similarly, although the national security law purposes to catch spies from North Korea, it violates citizens’ privacy rights. Therefore, the Democratic party wants to abolish the security since they prioritize the citizens’ rights above the governmental authority. In Ilbe’s authoritarian patriotic view, the nation is above the citizens and thus concludes the Democratic party as a negative influence to the nation.

Similarly, families of Sewol ferry victims and Gwangju Democratic movement victims protested for their rights. However, Ilbe saw the protests as disobedience and riots toward the nation. Thus, Ilbe’s view about the citizens’ rights are underrated compared to the governmental authority. Not only that, one highly supported Ilbe post criticizes the Gwangju Democratic movement victims for obtaining a higher amount of rewards compared to the Korean civil war participants (Nomuhyōn'gaessangnomsaekki). From this post, it is stated the former soldiers obtain \$150 every month. However, this information is clearly a fault of the governmental authority since the reward is granted by the nation. Such unquestioning loyalty

towards the governmental authority presents the characteristic of authoritarian patriotism: unconditional support to the nation.

Additionally, this unconditional support can be further seen from their hatred towards women. Ilbe believes Korean women are incompetent as women lack the military obligation. However, it is the nation's decision to exclude women from the obligation. Also, when it comes to economical incompetence, it is true that Korean women generally earn less salary. Such tendency is due to various systematical reasons such as employers pressuring to quit when female workers become pregnant. Although, changing employers' minds is the primary solution to economical incompetence, sufficient change in the law can restrict improper behaviors of employers. Thus, all these problems may be resolved by the governmental authority making policies or changing the law. However, the unconditional support for the nation prevents Ilbe users see the faults of the nation and blames Korean women as a negative influence.

To conclude, the evidences clearly present Ilbe's authoritarian patriotism. Such ideology made the nation as a priority for Ilbe and view the world in the same sense. As a result, the authoritarian patriotic view generated the perception that hated groups are negative influences to the nation. In the subsequent section, I further look at Ilbe's hate expressions about these hate targets in detail. Through the analysis of hate expressions, I will explore and explain the components of out-groups that Ilbe users view as negative influences to the nation.

## **Analysis of Hate Expressions**

### **1) Left Wing Groups**

The representative hate targets of Ilbe are left wing groups, families of Sewol ferry victims and Korean women. Among these major targets, none is hated as much as left wing

groups. These groups can be generally divided into three. Although the name differs throughout the history of Korean politics, one of the three is the major liberal party known as the Democratic party. Interestingly, hate expressions about this party are more focused on the representative figures rather than the entire Democratic party. Some of the figures are the former presidents Kim Dae-Jung, Roh Mu Hyun and current Democratic politicians such as Moon Jae In and Ahn Chul Soo.

Especially, former president Roh Mu Hyun has been a frequent target of Ilbe users. They have not only called him “Noala” due to his resemblance of koala, but also created songs, photos and games related to him. Their enthusiastic creation of contents may generate misunderstanding that Ilbe is a fan of the president. Similarly, in the United States, there are segments of president Obama's speech put together to create a full popular song sung by Obama. Unfortunately, while production structure is similar, the purpose of the contents made by Ilbe is to humiliate deceased president. For instance, the smartphone game ‘Sky Unzi’ resembles the president Roh committing suicide. Also, contrary to president Obama versions of songs, the president Roh versions do not follow the lyrics of the original song. Rather, Ilbe users attempt to insult the president by connecting speech segments to make him state Ilbe words such as "kimchi women" and "Unzi" (Nöllūmnöllūmnöllūmnöllūm).

Some may claim it is common for a president to receive criticism and hatred from the adherents of the other political side. Indeed, current right wing president Park Keun Hye and previous president Lee Myung Bak have been targets of hatred as well. Mostly, such criticism comes from faults or incapability of the president that are determined from the view of a specific side. Likewise, the main cause of hatred towards the president Roh Mu Hyun and Kim Dae Jung can be seen from examples of hate speech targeting the whole Democratic party.

Ilbe calls the entire Democratic party as "the Reds" and "left wing Reds". Both terms categorize the left wing groups as communists and spies of North Korea. Thus, by such name-calling, Ilbe users want to label the left wing groups as advocates of North Koreans. Mostly, these expressions were created due to the political acts conducted by the former presidents Kim Dae-Jung and Roh Mu Hyun. A well known political act at the period was "Sunshine policy" that intended to generate a more friendly relationship between South and North Korea. However, Ilbe users contend that the Democratic party and the former presidents had a different purpose. In one of the most supported posts on Ilbe bulletin board, there is a claim that Kim Dae-Jung and Roh Mu Hyun attempted "incapacitating the National Intelligence Service (NIS), legalizing the Korean Teachers & Educational Workers' Union, supporting North Koreans financially and assisting nuclear weapon development" (Ujubaegyöngboksa). Furthermore, the writer extends the claim by stating those actions made almost possible to have a "North Korean style revolution in South Korea", since former president Kim and Roh also attempted to abolish national security law (Ujubaegyöngboksa). Such statement indirectly presents the idea that Democratic party attempted to sell the nation to North Korea, assuming the Democratic party and the two former presidents as "the Reds". Therefore, Ilbe users' hate towards the Democratic party is caused by their view of the group as spies of the North Korea.

Apart from the Democratic party, there are also two other major left wing groups that Ilbe users believe as North Korean supporters. One of them is victims of the Gwangju Democratization movement. In 1980, the democratization movements were ongoing throughout the nation. To quell this "growing demand by the people for democratisation", the government declared martial law and sent an army to major cities in South Korea ("Flashback: The Kwangju Massacre"). As a reaction, the Gwangju Democratization movement occurred to protest against such action taken by the government. From the

movement, hundreds of Koreans died fighting the army and the families are rewarded for the sacrifices of their ancestors.

Unfortunately, Ilbe members believe that such movement did not have the purpose of democratization. Rather, they believe that it was an armed riot that “invaded police stations and imprisoned military armory” (K'ūbojwawanwōnt'ap). In his thesis, Kim Hak Jun asserts Ilbe users believe Gwangju Democratization Movement taught the citizens to “shoot a gun to the nation”, instead of the enemies (77). He supports this claim with an Ilbe post that discusses about unfairness of Democratization movement victims obtaining a significantly higher amount of rewards than the soldiers who protected the nation during the Korean civil war. For instance, one popular Ilbe post mentions a democratization activist who obtained over \$1,300,000 worth rewards, while “Korean soldier who participated in the Korean civil war is gaining \$150 every month” (Nomuhyōn'gaessangnomsaekk). In Ilbe users' perception, the activist is a rioter against the nation who obtains significantly larger compensation than soldiers who protected the nation. Thus, Ilbe users hate the Democratization movement victims as they see the victims as rioters who attacked the nation and gained unfair rewards.

In both cases of the Democratic party and Gwangju Democratization movement victims, there were specific actions such as the policies or protests that generated Ilbe to hate them. However, another left wing group, Jeolla region, did not conduct such type of actions. Rather, the factor of hatred is due to the relations with the previous left wing groups. First, Jeolla region is the area with the largest portion of the population supporting the Democratic party. In the 2012 presidential election, 86.25% of the Northern Jeolla region and 89.28% of the Southern Jeolla region voted in favor of the Democratic party ("18th Presidential Election"). Moreover, the Gwangju Democratization movement occurred in the major city of Jeolla region. Due to these reasons, Jeolla region shares both hated characteristics that other two left wing groups possess. Therefore, the whole Jeolla region is the target of Ilbe as well.

Kim Hak Jun states that Ilbe members determine Jeolla region as a foreign country instead of a part of South Korea (65). Similar to his assertion, there are various posts in Ilbe that do not admit Jeolla region as South Korea. One post even mocks Jeolla region by stating Jeolla region does not have any faults, “they were just divided from North Korea to another country due to crustal movement” (FA Haiyaek’ü). Thus, due to the relationships with the Democratic party and Gwangju Democratization movement, Ilbe even denies the area being part of South Korea.

From these hate expressions, the labeled identities of the left wing groups are all opponents of the nation. Therefore, the left wing groups can be summarized as “citizens against the nation” in Ilbe users' perspectives. To elaborate, Ilbe users believe the Democratic party attempted to sell the country to North Korea by creating conditions for “North Korean style revolution in South Korea” (Ujubaegyöngboksa). Similarly, Gwangju Democratization movement activists were seen as rioters who pointed guns to the nation, assaulting the police and imprisoning the army. One post even claims that Koreans need to honor the martial law army that "sacrificed themselves while fighting against the rioters" (7shit'ongsuhakkaeron). Additionally, Ilbe users see the Jeolla region as a foreign country for having the largest ratio of Democratic party advocates. Not only that, it is also the place where Gwangju Democratization movement occurred. Therefore, Jeolla region shares both the characteristic of other two groups. Since all three groups are rioters or the Reds advocating North Korea, they are “citizens against the nation” in Ilbe users’ perspective.

## 2) Families of Sewol Ferry Victims

The primary reason for Ilbe accumulating negative reputation as a hate group is their severe hate speech on left wing groups. However, Ilbe's hatred grew to peak in 2014 towards the families of Sewol ferry victims. At this period, hundreds of high school students’ bodies

were soaked in the sea and the whole nation was suffering from the sadness. Similar to other citizens of South Korea, there were signs of sympathy towards Sewol ferry victims from Ilbe. One Ilbe user even made an Ilbe logo with a statement hoping for the safety of the students' return (Changaeinp'anbyölgä). Unfortunately, Ilbe users' attitude shifted negatively as families of Sewol ferry victims protested with left wing politicians about the incident. After the protest, one popular Ilbe post claimed the families of the deceased should not be compensated by the nation. Rather, the families should only obtain what the insurance companies provide, since the families "criticize the government and look down on the governmental authority" (Albammajülläe). Such negative attitude was only the beginning. As time passes, their hate speech became more severe.

On the Internet, Kim Young Oh- more famously known as "Yu-Min's father"- was the major target that gained criticism from the Ilbe members. As the father of deceased student Kim Yu-Min, he protested to make the nation take appropriate action about the Sewol ferry incident. However, Ilbe users claimed Kim is only using his child's death in favor of the left wing party. This claim occurred due to some articles stating Kim Young Oh divorced ten years ago and scarcely supported his children. Not only that, the extent of hate expression became more and more insulting. One highly supported Ilbe post states, "Why do we call him Yu-Min's father? The child is already dead" (Undüt).

On top of that, when the families of Sewol ferry victims held a hunger strike, Ilbe users came out to the location in order to hinder the protest. More specifically, Ilbe users "feasted on pizza and fried chicken directly in front of" the hunger strike (Borowiec). Additionally, on an individual basis, Ilbe users searched the protesting camp and contended they have found secret boxes of chocolates and snacks titled as properties of the families. With this assertion, Ilbe users concluded that the "hunger strike is a fraud" (Hyönmujungdaejang).

From these hate speech that focus on the figures involved in the protests, it is clear that Ilbe users' hatred were caused by the protest against the government. The purpose of the protests were to demand the nation to take the responsibility and appropriate action about the Sewol ferry incident. However, Ilbe users saw these actions as the disobedience to the nation, since the families did not accept the previous suggestion from the nation. In addition, during the protest, the families gained assistance from Democratic politicians, who is seen as advocates of North Korea. Therefore, in Ilbe users' perspectives, the families are disobeying the nation with the support from the left wing Reds. Thus, the families of Sewol ferry victims can be titled as "citizens disobeying the nation".

### 3) Korean Women

Unlike the other targets of hatred mentioned before, the last group is not related to politics. However, in one way, it is the largest group among the hate targets. It is the entire South Korean women. Ilbe belittles Korean women by calling them as "kimchi women". Some elements of kimchi women are demanding men to pay more for dinner, anniversary gifts, house. At the same time, these women want men to earn more salary despite claiming for gender equality (K'unappa). Considering these elements, Ilbe members view kimchi women as people who are incompetent in the society, but possess a significant amount of vanity.

As Ilbe users have specific criteria of kimchi women, they deny that their hatred includes entire Korean women. Indeed, there are some that do not meet this criteria and there are also female Ilbe users that follow Ilbe's mainstream opinions about kimchi women. Unfortunately, both types of women are still targets of hatred. Male Ilbe users title women who are part of the Ilbe community as "Am-bae-choong". Translated into English, the word means female Ilbe bug. These female users are ridiculed by comics that Male Ilbe users



created. In these comics, the main female character who uses Ilbe is described as a woman who is ugly, dirty, fat and stays at home all day (Paejaedaemaettolgonghakkwa). The comic attempts to portray the female Ilbe users as people who lack social interaction. Furthermore, female Ilbe users are depicted in the comic as having similar incapability as kimchi women. Additionally, there is Ilbe policy that if a female Ilbe user identifies herself as a woman in the Ilbe community, she gets banned for eight years (Unyöngmasüt'ö). This is a clear gender discrimination since male users do not get banned for identifying himself as a man. Thus, female users are treated similar to Kimchi women, despite advocating Ilbe ideas.

Moreover, one characteristic of Korean women further supports the idea that Ilbe's hate is towards the entire Korean women. This characteristic is women having three obligations while men have four obligations as a Korean citizen. To elaborate, Korean women are not obligated to spend their time at military for twenty one months. Since Korean women neglect this obligation of national defense, an Ilbe user quoted a well known doctor Ham Ik-Byung's statement, "enjoying the rights without obligation is similar to a thief, females should only exercise  $\frac{3}{4}$  of rights" (P'üllougap). This post was agreed by over 2500 Ilbe users, while disagreed by less than 200. Considering there being only 11 other Ilbe posts in political section that are advocated more than this post, the majority of Ilbe users agrees with the claim. Since all Korean women are not required to defend the country, Ilbe's hatred applies to entire women who has a South Korean nationality

Additionally, some posts claim "Korean women's only merit is that they speak Korean" (Mögarikkaejim) or that women are all "dogs or prostitutes" (Matchipchönmun'ga). These posts did not provide any evidences that support their claims. Nonetheless, both posts have thousands of like votes and the contents do not narrow to specific range of women. Therefore, it is clear that Ilbe's hatred is not narrowed to the specified kimchi women.

Consequently, although Ilbe began hatred due to kimchi women's incompetence and tendency to rely on men, they generalized these characteristics to entire Korean women. In other words, all Korean women are seen as economically incompetent. In addition, they are also physically incompetent as Korean women do not have obligation of national defense. Due to these incompetency, Ilbe sees them as not contributing to the nation. Thus, Korean women can be titled as "citizens without contribution to the nation".

From this analysis of hate expressions, Ilbe clearly views the hated groups as negative influences to the nation. Thus, some may believe the groups are actually triggering Ilbe's hatred. However, it is only the Ilbe community's view of their targets and this view comes from Ilbe's authoritarian patriotism. Consequently, although the basic cause of hatred is the commonality among the groups, hatred ultimately comes from Ilbe's authoritarian patriotic view.

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## Chapter 2: Spread of hatred

### The Industrialization: Luring Others into Authoritarian Patriotism

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Ilbe users have been hating the out-groups for several years. However, they are not simply satisfied with expressing hatred on Ilbe community. Rather, Ilbe users take further actions to spread hatred to others. In other words, they are luring other members of the Korean society to hate the out-groups. Mostly, Ilbe propagate hatred on the internet using online news article comments and social media. However, the propagation is not limited to the specific medium and also conducted offline. When offline, Ilbe users spread hatred to people encountering in everyday life. The offline spread is more diverse and unique compared to online spread that has consistent procedures. For instance, one Ilbe user lured his friends upload humiliating images of president Roh as their messenger profile. In exchange, the Ilbe user promised his friends ten thousand won, which is approximately ten dollars. (Hangmunch'ung). Unfortunately, such offline spread is unique and difficult to generalize due to insufficient amount of available data. Thus, the analysis in this chapter is limited to spreading hate to other internet users online. Moreover, this analysis is also limited to spreading hatred about left wing groups. The limit is due to how Ilbe users are identified in locations other than the Ilbe community. Generally, one is known as an Ilbe user if he or she uses fake Jeolla region dialect or unique Ilbe words. However, the hate speech about Korean women is not a unique Ilbe expression and there are very few Ilbe words about the Sewol ferry incident. Therefore, this paper researched online spread of hatred about left wing groups.

When spreading hatred on the internet, Ilbe users attempt to change other internet users' perceptions of the in-group, out-groups or the specific topics related to the groups. Ilbe calls this process as "industrialization". Although Ilbe posts specifying the definition of industrialization do not exist, I was able to interpret the meaning based on the posts about



successful industrialization. There are two major outcomes that Ilbe users desire. The most successful consequence will be ordinary people becoming part of Ilbe (Yogesonyōnhoya). However, most Ilbe posts that discuss successful industrialization are people changing their perspective about Ilbe's in-groups, out-groups and topics related to those groups (Mōjungwadubu; Saibōdain). In both ways, the ordinary people will be partially accepting the authoritarian patriotism.

Thus, opposing to the term democratization that Ilbe uses in a negative form, the term industrialization is used in a positive form, symbolizing propagation of the ideas generally believed in the Ilbe community. More specifically, Ilbe's ideas are based on authoritarian patriotism, therefore the propagation focuses on spreading hate about targets that Ilbe believes as negative influences on the nation.

In this chapter, I describe how and why Ilbe spread hatred to achieve such outcomes. To elaborate, I researched various methods that Ilbe uses to industrialize. By analyzing these methods, I identified the general procedure of spreading hatred. Moreover, it was clear that majority of Ilbe's methods possesses Whillock's hate stratagem characteristics. The hate stratagem is talking points that consist of "a series of hate appeals designed to manipulate the voters' prejudices and encourage their support of a particular political candidate" (Waltman 36). There are four major talking points constituting the hate stratagem, which are the followings: 1. Inflaming emotions in order to "coalesce the intended audience", 2. Denigrating the out-group 3. Inflicting irreparable permanent harm, 4. Rhetorically conquering the out-group (Waltman 37).

Waltman introduces application of this hate stratagem in his book "Communication of Hate", mostly focusing on the myths related to racial hatred. Similar, but slightly different from Waltman's examples, I applied the hate stratagem to explain Ilbe's industrialization process. However, unlike solely applying the hate stratagem, I have extended the theory since

Ilbe's promotion method does not fit with the original hate stratagem characteristics. Also, the definition of hate stratagem was revised since the target of Ilbe's spread is not limited to the voters. Therefore, this paper defines hate stratagem as manipulation methods to change the public's perceptions about in-groups and out-groups. Moreover, along promotion method, the three of the hate stratagem characteristics were divided into three different sections: promotion, positive perception towards in-group and negative perception towards out-group.

Additionally, the fourth characteristic of hate stratagem was used to identify why Ilbe users want to achieve the outcomes of industrialization, In other words, this section focused on identifying Ilbe's purpose behind spreading hatred, which is ultimately the goal of hate spread. From the research, the identified purpose was to negate the social existence of the out-groups. Moreover, I interpret that negating the social existence is to make internet users into authoritarian patriots and this chapter will begin explaining with analysis of Ilbe's promotion method.

## **1. Promotion**

Prior to applying the hate stratagem, promoting the existence of the community is a key component of Ilbe's industrialization. While Ilbe's provocative hate speech already caught the attention of the masses, their promoting methods further increases the number of people acknowledging Ilbe and reminds their existence constantly to the public. Among the methods, the most successful promotion is fake logos. These fake logos started as small marks on Ilbe humor contents designed to prevent other people from sharing the contents without permission. In other words, it was their own type of copyright sign. Interestingly, what started as a prevention became a culture in Ilbe and extended to changing others' original logos by adding small marks of their own. These fake logos are not limited to

specific areas and exist in various fake university, sports club, restaurant, world championship and car company logos.

While the creation itself is a problem, the fake logos make further troubles by disguising with actual genuine logos on the search engine image sections. According to Ha Ji Yul, Ilbe users consistently write related terms of the logos to make them appear on various search terms. Han provides one Ilbe post as an evidence. In this post, there is a fake logo of Sejong University and the writer kept adding comments mentioning related keywords such as Sejong University early decision, Sejong University logo, and Sejong University computer science major. More importantly, when another Ilbe user asked the purpose of such action, the writer claimed it will expand the range of people exposed to the fake logos. Thus, contrary to initial logos that utilized as copyright signs, the purpose of fake logos changed to other internet users using them.

Unexpectedly, such effort to spread the fake logos led to greater consequence than what Ilbe users aimed for. The fake logos became a nationwide promotion for Ilbe due to major Korean broadcasting companies using them several times. Although these broadcasters allegedly had no intention, using fake logos obtained huge attention from the Korean society. An exemplary national broadcasting company is Seoul Broadcasting System (SBS) that used the Ilbe fake logos and contents eight times from 2013 to 2015. These incidents brought mass attention from the society due to two major reasons. First, such broadcasting accident automatically leads to a national apology from the broadcaster. Therefore, even if some did not pay attention during the appearance of fake logos, the audience eventually acknowledges the existence of the organization. Moreover, until 2015, over a thousand news articles related to SBS using Ilbe logo were produced. Thus, even if people did not watch the broadcasting program at all, they will find out about the accident.

Consequently, Ilbe community has created an effective form of promotion. Using the nationwide broadcasters as the medium, the method successfully manages to remind the public about Ilbe's existence, even when Ilbe users are not expressing severe hatred. Such promotion is an important step stone for spreading hatred since it is difficult to lure ordinary people in their community without acknowledging the existence of Ilbe.

## **2. Positive Perception towards In-Group**

*- Inflaming the emotions (Luring internet users into the in-group)*

Ilbe may have enjoyed the immense amount of recognition through the fake logos and severe hate speech. Unfortunately, they also had to face negative perception prevalent in the society, which was that Ilbe users are socially isolated and incapable people. This perception was projected in the public's mind, since a scarce number of people identified themselves as Ilbe users offline. To directly oppose the social perception, Ilbe users certified their academic ability. In current days, such incidents are popularly known as certification crisis and occurred five times from 2012 to 2014. Furthermore, some of them brought attention from the public due to their surprising high academic achievements (Lee Min-A).

Despite several fake certifications; most of the diplomas and student ID cards were believed as genuine. From famous Ivy League universities to highly regarded Korean universities, over 500 people verified their academic achievements in 2012. Since there were several more certification incidents in later years, the total number is significantly higher than 500. Moreover, in later days, certification expanded to areas of occupation. Similar to academic achievements, the occupations were also highly regarded professions such as lawyers, judges, doctors, National Intelligence Service workers and professors. By verifying high academic ability and status, these incidents not only changed the negative perception,

but also inflamed the emotions of current and potential users by indirectly linking Ilbe as an intelligent group with high standards.

While Ilbe users' primary in-group is Ilbe community, they are also conservatives advocating right wing party. Thus, they attempt to change the public's perception about the right wing presidents and party as well. In several posts, Ilbe users stored collection of data in order to use it when they industrialize potential Ilbe users (Hongönünjojyödodwae). The posts consist of links to other Ilbe posts that have claims about specific topics. Among them, some posts are about former presidents Chun Do Hwan, Park Chung Hee and Lee Myung Bak, which are figures all idolized in the Ilbe community. Using the information on the posts, Ilbe attempts to create a positive perception about these presidents. An example is a post titled "Why shouldn't we support Chun Do Hwan?" The writer claims former President Chun has created a professional baseball league, contributed to economic development and successfully put out riots. Also, the writer claims there is no reasonable argument to not support President Chun and people are minimizing the accomplishments while maximizing the faults. The post concludes with a claim stating one should be allowed to be an adherent of the former president (Misak'itchangnaekköranüng). By emphasizing the accomplishments of the president and mentioning none of the faults that made him perceived by many as the worst Korean president, the post portrays Chun Do Hwan as a hard worked president with various successful achievements.

Likewise, when there are issues that left and right wing party disagree on, Ilbe supports the right wing party. One example is Four Major Rivers Project. It was the most important national project during the era of right wing president Lee Myung Bak and the government spent billions of dollars on the project. As it was a major project from the right wing party, Ilbe claimed developing the four major rivers will increase the life quality of citizens. More specifically, they used a German expert's statement as an evidence, which is

that development of four major rivers will prevent flooding and drought, vitalize the ecosystem and increase the quality of water (Utkigonajappajyöñne). Unfortunately, this multimillion dollar project completely failed and various construction companies involved in the project were heavily damaged (Yoo Myung-Hwan). However, Ilbe constantly attempts to cover the failure and claim the project was successful. For instance, a major broadcasting company criticized the project, stating four major river project is useless on preventing droughts since there isn't any route to use the saved water from the river ("Nonpatak tchöktchök kallachinunte 4taekang "). To refute this, Ilbe user on Facebook claimed the project will be a success if the government simply build irrigation ditch.

(Nyöntchaemossorada). As seen from these examples, Ilbe users not only intend to indoctrinate positive perception of Ilbe community, but also positive perception of the right wing party.

Additionally, Ilbe users took actions to prevent out-groups using similar tactics. One example is the movie "The Attorney", which depicts the young life of former President Roh. Ilbe users attempted to disparage the movie to disrupt idolizing the left wing president. According to Kim Jin Sung, Ilbe users shared ways to manipulate the rate of the movie through Ilbe posts. To prevent people from watching the movie, Ilbe users gave one out of ten on the rating even before the movie was launched. Additionally, these low movie ratings were attached with comments denigrating the former president Roh. Some of them were "I'm just surprised some actually believe the story of the movie as real" and "If we idolize him now, do his faults disappear?" (nest\*\*\*\*; Pallibol). Consequently, the rating went as low as four out of ten before the movie launched.

Unfortunately for Ilbe, their plan did not proceed as expected. Their action brought more public attention to the movie, leading to over ten million people watching in theaters. Moreover, the rating significantly increased to near nine out of ten after the movie launched.

On "Naver Movie", over 90,000 people rated the movie. Among them, 84% has given ten out of ten and 10% has given one out of ten. This rating presents that the majority were satisfied with the movie and shows the failure of Ilbe's manipulation.

Based on these examples, Ilbe users show signs to help coalesce internet users into their in-groups by attempting to create positive perceptions about the Ilbe community and the right wing party. Furthermore, they even attempt to prevent left wing groups from using a similar tactic.

### **3. Negative Perception towards the Out-Groups**

The subsequent methods have a more direct relation to propagating hatred by focusing on negative perceptions towards the out-groups. Moreover, all the subsequent hate stratagem characteristics relate to this section. Especially, second and third characteristic of Whillock's hate stratagem can be seen throughout Ilbe users' attempts to change the out-groups' perception negatively.

*- Denigrating and inflicting irreparable permanent harm on the out-groups.*

The second hate stratagem characteristic is denigrating the out-groups. This characteristic involves constructing the out-group as "vile and a terrible threat to in-group" (Waltman 38). By labeling the out-group with negative characteristics, Ilbe isolates and makes the left wing groups be "even more vulnerable to attack" (39). On the other hand, the third characteristic is slightly different. The third characteristic: inflicting permanent and irreparable harm focuses on attacking the out-group by pointing out traits that are impossible to have a reasonable defense (Whillock 42). In this case, one attacks the "validity of characteristics the victim uses to create his or her identity". These two hate stratagem

characteristics are often seen at the same time (Waltman 40). Likewise, both characteristics are seen simultaneously in Ilbe's methods to spread hatred.

Since exposing hatred to the public is a key component, most of Ilbe's online spreading techniques are based on writing comments on popular online articles or social media posts. Moreover, Ilbe users take advantage of this location and uses the articles they comment on as direct evidences of their claim. For instance, when there are articles about crimes related to Jeolla region, Ilbe users write comments such as kka-bo-jeon, 7 o'clock or skate. These terms are major Ilbe hate expressions about the Jeolla region. The Ilbe term kka-bo-jeon is short for "noticed it was Jeolla region after criticizing". It embeds the meaning that the negative incidents occur mostly in Jeolla region and by the people from Jeolla region. Such term does not only denigrate the out-group, but it also inflicts a permanent harm to the Jeolla region by linking the group with crime related articles. Similar to Waltman's example of the Knights of Ku Klux Klan (KKK) criminalizing blacks, the identity of Jeolla region is criminalized due to the comments on the articles.

In most articles, the comments linking the Jeolla region with crimes were disagreed by other internet users. However, the public's position changed drastically in some of the extreme crimes. An example can be existence of slaves in one of the Jeolla region islands. Although the crime occurred in one of the hundreds of tiny islands, the comments that criminalize the entire region were advocated by hundreds of people. Even the comments that mention the Ilbe keywords such as skate and seun-sang-nim were highly advocated. For instance, one popular comment states, "in our Jeolla region! Human trafficking is not even a crime~ Isn't this all what seun-sang-nim wants?" (bara\*\*\*\*). Considering that seun-sang-nim symbolizes former left wing President Kim Dae-Jung, the writer criminalizes both Jeolla region and the former president. Additionally, a comment supported by 2640 and disagreed by 196 internet users states, "until now I have been thinking Ilbe bugs have been



manipulating, but it is surprising that was not the case" (agm8\*\*\*\*). Thus, Ilbe successfully criminalized the Jeolla region by linking the region with an extreme crime. Consequently, Ilbe successfully inflicts permanent irreparable harm.

Additionally, Democratic party can be harmed in a similar way. Using relevant articles as examples, Ilbe users denigrate the Democrats by labeling the group as adherents and spies of North Korea. In other words, Ilbe users construct the out-group as a threat to South Korea and attack the core identity of the political party. To elaborate, the most important role of the Democratic party is participating in discussing numerous issues, laws, regulations and policies. Such role collapses since the party is labeled as adherents of North Korea, the enemy of the nation. Thus, the Democratic party suffers from permanent irreparable harm inflicted by the Ilbe users.

An article about Mark Lippert, the American ambassador in South Korea, can be a good example of inflicting irreparable harm to the Democratic party. Ilbe users construct the similar North Korean spy identity to left wing groups, when Mark Lippert was slashed in the face with a knife (Choi and Novak). The assailant was known to be politically liberal and born in the Jeolla region (Yoon Bo Ram). Using the identity of the assailant, Ilbe users inflict irreparable harm to both the Democratic party and the Jeolla region. Some comments from the articles were "I wish the left wing zombies are gone", "just kill all the adherents of North Korea" and "it's the Jeolla region again, North Korea supporting reds" (ez05\*\*\*\*; mrso\*\*\*\*; gafg\*\*\*\*). Generally, this type of comments related to hate expressions is voted down. However, the comments were highly supported by other Internet users, since it is an extreme case of a politically liberal figure attempting to kill the ambassador. One writer stated

*"We should use this opportunity to create patriotic law and reinforce the national security law to eliminate the North Korean supporting spies. Korea and America's CIA should*

*cooperate together and find out the organization behind him. I look forward to finding out who is behind Kim Ki Jong created by seun-sang-nim" (euni\*\*\*\*).*

By over generalizing the incident to the entire left wing group, the out-group is once again labeled as supporters of North Koreans. More specifically, they are labeled as enemies attempting to disrupt the friendly relationship between South Korea and United States.

Other than the left wing groups, Ilbe also targets general internet users that criticize the Ilbe community. One example is a stratagem commonly known as "Are you Ilbe bug?" It was suggested by one Ilbe user and the sophisticated explanation of stratagem generated a large number of users following. The purpose of the stratagem is to connect internet users who criticize Ilbe with the characteristics of over-generalization, imprudence and stupidity. To successfully achieve the consequence, the stratagem begins with an Ilbe user disguising as an Ilbe hater or left wing party supporter. Then, this user writes replies to popular comments with statements such as "Are you Ilbe bug? Get Aut!" (Ach'ömkkun; TATABOX). When the public sees this type of comments, it leads to condemning the disguiser as the person imprudently stating Ilbe bug without reading the comments thoroughly. Moreover, the disguiser intentionally makes spelling mistakes to add stupidity. Consequently, when the stratagem is successful, whoever possesses the disguised identity will be seen as imprudent and stupid individual who over generalize.

Unfortunately for Ilbe, the stratagem "Are you Ilbe bug?" eventually failed as it was revealed to the public and has not been prevailing since. However, the success of this stratagem is not the important point, since other stratagems proved it is possible to change the public's perception of the out-group. Rather, the focus should be their methodology of these stratagems. Using over generalization and manipulation, the stratagems denigrate and inflict irreparable harm to the out-groups. As a result, some general internet users gained negative

perceptions about the left wing groups and began to support the hate speech about the out-groups.

#### **4. Goal of Hate Spread.**

*- Rhetorically conquering the out-group.*

From the industrialization process, Ilbe attempted to manipulate other Koreans to hate the left wing groups. In some cases, they successfully achieved such outcome. However, a question arises from the outcome of industrialization. What is the goal Ilbe wants to achieve by persuading others to hate the out-groups? This question can be answered with Whillock's fourth characteristic of hate stratagem, rhetorically conquering the out-group. By conquering, Whillock means "exterminating those we hate" (44). More specifically, it means negating the out-groups' social existences.

This fourth characteristic of hate stratagem can be identified in the comment sections of articles about American ambassador and the slaves of the island in Jeolla region. Some of the comments on the articles are "let's eradicate the North Korea supporting left wings!!!!!!!!!!", "still not going to clean the Reds? We need someone like Chun Do Hwan", "we need to kill all the left wing zombies" and "everyone, let's shout out Jeolla region out" (pba8\*\*\*\*; dndn\*\*\*\*; leon\*\*\*\*; kuma\*\*\*\*). As there are no mention of Ilbe keywords, it is impossible to identify whether these comments are Ilbe users. Nevertheless, whoever the writers are, the comments possess the characteristic of rhetorically conquering the group. If the comments were written by Ilbe users, they are claiming the left wing groups should be exterminated from the Korean society by either cleaning or killing. If the writers are general Internet users, these people have been successfully manipulated by Ilbe users since they are negating the existence of the left wing groups. Additionally, until the 7th of January, 2016; these four comments gained combined agreeing votes of 9977, while obtaining combined

disagreeing votes of 1118. Considering that these comments are from the most viewed articles of the day, even general internet users support these comments about the eradication of left wing groups. Consequently, there are signs of society negating the social existence of Ilbe's out-groups.

## **5. Conclusion**

To conclude, I analyzed Ilbe's industrialization process by applying Whillock's hate stratagem. From the analysis, there were signs of several methods successfully spreading hate about left wing groups to the general internet users. Especially, the comments from articles about American Ambassador are good examples. Using two characteristics of hate stratagem: denigrating and inflicting irreparable harm to the out-group, Ilbe successfully lured internet users to express or advocate hatred towards out-group. Not only that, using the fourth characteristic of hate stratagem, I also identified the goal of hate spread, which is negating the social existence of the out-group.

Unfortunately, these findings do not specify the purpose of negating the social existence of the out-group. Using the hate stratagem, Whillock explains how gubernatorial candidate attempts to win the election. Likewise, Ilbe must have a goal desired to achieve by Korean society negating the left wing groups. Similar to Whillock's example, Ilbe's hate spread can be an effective method to gather more supporters of the right wing party. By denigrating and inflicting permanent harm to the left wing groups, left wing candidates will have less supporters. Likewise, positive perceptions about the right wing party will assist gaining more supporters.

However, the meaning of the Ilbe term "industrialization" embeds a deeper goal than simply winning the election. In Korea, industrialization occurred in 1970s, during the era of president Park Chung Hee. After the Korean civil war in 1950s, South Korea was extremely

poor. To boost the economy, Park used his dictator like authority and industrialized the nation. As a result, Korean economy experienced significant growth and he has been praised for the achievement. However, he is also one of the most criticized president due to violating citizens' rights such as arresting thousands of students without warrants and torturing them (Choe Sang-Hun). Thus, Park Chung Hee prioritized the nation and were not reluctant to violate the citizens' rights.

Considering Ilbe's admiration of the president Park, it is likely that Ilbe uses the term "industrialization" in a similar context. More specifically, Ilbe want others to view the nation above the citizens. Thus, industrializing the internet users are making them into authoritarian patriots that negate the existence of left wing groups. Ultimately, this is their true purpose of hate spread and the final destination that Ilbe aims to reach is an autocracy in an empty shell named democracy.

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kitaeka toenta. amt'un chongpuk ch'ökkyöl!!!" 통진당이 헤체가 끝이 아니다. 좌경세력은 지하 조직을 만들어 더 극렬하게 활동할 것이다. 이 기회에 애국법 만들고 핵대중, 노무현이 무력화 한 국보법 보강해서 종북 간첩 소탕하자.. 김기종이는 한국과 미국 CIA 공조로 수사해서 그 배후 세력을 철저히 밝혀야 한다. 손상님이 만든 김기종 뒤에 누가 있을 지 기대가 된다. 암튼 종북 척결!!!" [*We should use this opportunity to create patriotic law and reinforce the national security law to eliminate the North Korean supporting spies. Korea and America's CIA should cooperate together and find out the organization behind him. I look forward to finding out who is behind Kim Ki Jong created by seun-sang-nim*]. *Naver news*. Naver, 4 March. 2015. Web. 2 Dec. 2015.

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gafg\*\*\*\* "Amuli chönlatolül ongho hallyöhaeto ilönilün tto chönlatone chongpuk ppalkaengi 아무리 전라도를 옹호 할려해도 이런일은 또 전라도네 종북 빨갱이 [Despite effort to advocate the Jeolla region, these incidents again happened in Jeolla region



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## Chapter 3 Web of Hatred

### Social Grievances in Hatred: An Overall Analysis of Online Hatred

In the previous chapters, I researched online community named Ilbe to identify the cause, spread and purpose of their hatred. Based on the research results, I further analyzed online hatred in South Korea. By online hatred, I mean hate towards a specific group or a representative figure of a group. Therefore, anger towards celebrities or individuals is not the research target. Additionally, hate expressions solely based on behavior are neglected from the research, since anyone can be and not be the target at the same time. For instance, "serious bug" means someone who is serious when others are taking a situation as a joke. Such expression is only targeting specific individuals that are being serious and does not generalize to group with a specific identity.

With this definition of online hatred, I selected representative online hate expressions based on two criteria. First, I researched Korean articles in 2015 that mention keyword "hate expression". From these articles, over forty hate expressions were identified. Among them, twenty-one were frequently used, which were determined by whether the expressions have more than 100,000 search results on Google. After the selection, these twenty-one representative hate expressions were categorized into six different groups based on the cause of hatred. Additionally, I added two more expressions that only met one of the two criteria of representative hate expressions. These expressions are "law school bug" and "early decision bug", and do not affect the research results. Rather, the purpose of adding these two expressions is to give a more precise explanation about the causes and types of hatred.

Using these samples, I analyzed the usage of each hate expression and identified common reason of hatred in each category. Then, based on these reasons of online hatred and cause of Ilbe's hatred, I attempted to generalize the cause of online hatred in South Korea. However, from the six hate categories, four of them have similar reasons, while the other two

were unique. Therefore, I assert there are three different types of online hatred prevalent in South Korea: ordinary hatred, responsive hatred and in-group hatred. To elaborate, these types of hatred were determined based on the cause of hatred. Ordinary hatred is caused by haters viewing the out-groups as negative influences on in-groups. I named it “ordinary hate” since the majority of representative hate expressions can be included in this hatred. On the other hand, the other two types were named “responsive hatred” and “in-group hatred”. The former hatred is caused by precedent hate one received, while the latter is caused by negative influences and hate occurring in a larger in-group. Considering these different causes of hate, I conclude with the claim that online hatred is expressions of haters’ social grievances and I will begin explaining with analysis of each category.

## **1. Ordinary Hatred**

*-Politics (jongbuk, jwabbal, soogoo goltong)*

Among the six categories, hatred about politics has been dealt in detail in the analysis of Ilbe's hatred. Ilbe hated left wing groups since they viewed the out-groups as supporters of North Korea. Similarly, the political hate expressions such as “jongbuk” and “jwabbal” means adherents and spies of North Korea. Therefore, the political hatred towards left wing groups is identical to Ilbe’s hatred.

On top of that, “soogoo goltong” is mostly used in hate speech towards right wing groups. It is a combined word that can be translated as idiots who maintain the old. This word is commonly used by liberal people when criticizing the person who has a strict conservative mind. For instance, a post from DCinside states

*I pay 600\$ rent monthly in Seoul. What have Lee Myung Bak, Park Keun Hye and right wing party have done? I support the deployment of THAAD. So if you soogoo goltongs*



*have brains, you guys should distinguish between liberal person and North Korean spies writing posts ("Na Chwajominde")*

On the title of this post, the writer identify him or herself as liberal person. Afterwards, the writer expresses grievances about right wing presidents and parties. Additionally, by mentioning deployment of THAAD that purposes to destroy North Korean missiles, the writer prevents conservative people from labeling the writer as adherents of North Korea. Thus, soogoo goitong is a hate expression towards right wing people who generalizes liberal people as North Korea supporters.

Considering both Ilbe and this writer's hate speech, both conservative and liberal criticizes the opposite sides. These criticisms are mostly due to different political view that prevents two sides to agree. Thus, even when two sides view the same situation, one side praises while the other criticizes. For example, right wing supporters criticized the idea of abolishing national security law since the risk of North Korean threats. On the other hand, left wing supporters praised the same idea, since the national security law violates the citizens' right to privacy. Both supporters believe their idea will be a positive influence, while the opposite's idea will be a negative influence on the nation. Consequently, hate is caused by different political views that make the haters see their opposite group as a negative influence on the nation.

*-Academics (medical school bug, law school bug and early decision bug)*

Similar to politics, academics is one of the most sensitive topics in South Korea. For a long time, many Koreans believed education as the road to success. Thus, people believed the more effort one puts into studying, the higher chances one may gain success. Unfortunately, nontraditional routes to gain admission to colleges and occupations brought destruction of

such belief. Moreover, this broken belief generated academic hatred towards students who participated in non-traditional systems.

Some exemplary hate expressions are medical school bug, law school bug and early decision bug. All these targets have a commonality of accomplishing academic achievements through non-traditional routes. First, medical school bug refers to students who attend or graduated medical schools. In the same sense, law school bug means students who attend or graduated law schools. By attending these schools, one can become a doctor or a lawyer. Considering that these professional occupations are some of the highest paid jobs in Korea, both schools are elite route in the society. However, these graduate schools are new systems that emerged only several years ago and considered as easier paths than the traditional routes. Traditionally, one can only become doctors and lawyers from being some of the top high school students in the nation and passing the bar exam known to be one of the hardest tests in Korea.

As both systems coexist, there is unfairness in the competitions to achieve the same goals. One of the system may be easier, requiring less effort than the other system. Such unfairness is why academic hatred triggers. Some hate speech related to these new professional graduate schools are “why did law school bugs run away from bar exam? Is it because they are dumb and scared of the test?” and “I’m a traditional student that will take courses with medical school bugs next year. There will be bugs that graduated from low ranked universities and I will experience deprivation if I am treated equally to those bugs”. (“10nyŏnina sasika chonchaehaessnūnte lok'witŭlŭn”; “Ŭichŏnch'ung kae kŭkhyŏmita..”). Both haters in these posts are regarding law school and medical school as less intelligent than the students following the traditional route. Consequently, professional graduate school students are hated due to achieving the same goal without the same effort.

In a similar vein, early decision bug refers to a student who gained admission to a college without scoring enough points in traditional Korean Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT). Mostly, this type of students has highest grade point average (GPA), outstanding English ability or other extracurricular experience that covers the low Korean SAT score. However, haters believe these components are easier to achieve compared to Korean SAT and claim early decision students are less intelligent. One popular comparison is the statement “I cannot believe I am attending this college” (“Susich'ung ng k r ng”). Both early decision and regular decision students state the same sentence, but early decision student’s sentence ends with a joyful exclamation mark while regular decision student ends the sentence with disappointed three dots. Similar to professional graduate school, haters perceive early decision students as achieving the same goal without the same amount of effort or intelligence as traditional students.

Consequently, academic hate expressions are caused by haters’ belief that less qualified students are obtaining same goals, jobs and admission to college. In haters’ view, early decision, law school and medical school are ways to avoid difficult competition. Thus, by taking non-traditional routes, hate targets are seen as stealing opportunities of more qualified students.

*-Korean women (dwenjang women, kimchi women, sinsang women, a-molang, sam-ilhan )*

The third category is hatred about Korean women. Online hatred towards women have been maintaining for over a decade and woman is arguably the most frequently hated identity among the hate targets in this paper. Beginning from anger towards “dog poop women” in mid 2000s to hate expressions such as “dwenjang women” and current “kimchi women”, Korean women have been labeled as various hate terms. Interestingly, all the hate speech about women are related to vanity and incapability. One post from DCinside is an

example of such characteristics. In the post, a woman labeled as dwengang woman uses well known brand items, gains pocket money from her dad, eats expensive food and asks men to buy meals ("Toenchangnyõui halu chonusk'k'k'k'k'k'"). Although this is only a fragment of a detailed description, the portrayed woman clearly possesses significant vanity and incompetence. Other hate expressions such as sinsang women and kimchi women possess similar meanings. The only difference is sinsang women more focused on buying new expensive items, while kimchi women more concentrated on highlighting incompetence.

On top of that, there are also expressions that indirectly targets women. The expression "a-molang" presents the idea about the Korean women's lack of ability to make logical reasoning. A typical example is a woman contending about certain issues, but when enquired to reason her claim, she states "a-molang" which can be translated as "I don't know" (Lee Sun-Min). Such view of women as incompetent identity led to another female hate expression, sam-ilhan. It is an Ilbe word meaning, "women should be beaten up every three days" (Lee Sun-Min). Due to the incompetency and vanity, Ilbe claims it is necessary to scold women consistently.

Thus, from dwengang women to sam-il-han, all these hate expressions about women have a consistent theme. Clearly, the cause of hatred is haters' view of Korean women as an incompetent beings that lean on male to fulfill their significant vanity.

*-Social deviance (elderly bug, Mrs. Kim, mom bug)*

The fourth category can be defined as people with "no common sense". This phrase is frequently used in the Korean society when someone conducts social deviance. Some identities hated due to such actions are senior citizens and middle aged women. Senior citizens are labeled as elderly bug due to disrespectfully talking down to strangers, push people or talk loudly in public places. Various posts from DCinside community discuss about

such deviance. Some examples are “elderly bugs that come to library uses their cell phones loudly, burp loudly and make weird noises, I want to kill all of them” and “I almost beat up an elderly bug today. He stepped on my foot hard and scolded me for tripping him ” (“Noinch'ungsaekkitülün kongkongtosökwan omyön antoenta”; “Ssipal pangküm chihach'ölesö noinch'ungsaekki”). In these posts, both writers are negatively affected by senior citizens' social deviance. As a result they became haters of elderly.

Subsequent hatred about social deviance targets middle aged women. The hate expression “Mrs. Kim” refers to middle aged women who absurdly violate the traffic law. Some examples are parking in two spaces, over speeding and crashing a standing car (“Kongp'öüi...kimyösa....gif”; “Kimyösa.....chuch'a.....gif ”). These violations are not only negative influences on society, but also present the idea that middle aged women is incompetent in driving.

While “Mrs. Kim” is about breaking the law, mom bugs are related to deviance conducted by kids. Mom bug refers to selfish moms who only care about their children. One example is a kid who rode a bike in a restaurant. The customers told the child not to ride the bike inside and one person even requested to the kid’s mom. Surprisingly, the kid’s mom said “you grew up like that too. Is this a no-kid zone? Kids can ride bikes. The fact that it’s not a no-kid zone means the restaurant owner is willing to put up with it” (“Siktangesö chachönköt'anünae nwatunün mamch'ung.jpg”). Thus, despite their children causing potential harm to others in the restaurant, selfish moms take her child’s side instead of scolding. Therefore, although social deviance is caused by the kids, moms are receiving hatred as they are being selfish and do not feel guilty about their kids’ behavior.

All the examples discuss about social deviance conducted by elderly and middle aged women. Although these are drastic incidents experienced by the haters, accumulation of similar incidents brought over-generalizations. Consequently, entire senior citizens and

middle aged women are linked with social deviance, leading to hate expressions such as elderly bug and mom bug.

*-Analysis*

The haters in all four categories have reasons for their hate. Considering these reasons, the commonality among their hate is that the hate targets are all seen as negative influences on haters' in-groups. To elaborate, political hatred is generated by different political views that believe opposite group's political ideas as negative influences on the nation. Second, academic hatred is triggered due to students who gain jobs or places in a college by easier non-traditional route. In other words, hate is occurred by the unfairness that makes students participating in the traditional system lose opportunity for admission, despite putting in more effort. Third, women's incompetence and reliance on men to fulfill their vanity is a harm to male members of the society. Fourth, senior citizens and middle aged women are all conducting social deviance and thus they are negative influences on society. Consequently, hatred is caused by haters considering the hate targets as a negative influence on the each in-group.

However, it does not mean all these targets are actually taking actions that impact negatively on hater's in-group. Of course, some may have affected the in-groups negatively. For instance, law school or bar exam may be easier than the other and give unfair advantage to participants of specific system. However, at the same time, middle aged women not driving well or all Korean women possessing vanity is clear over-generalization. Thus, Similar to Ilbe's authoritarian patriotic view, the haters are viewing the out-groups in their own perspectives. Consequently, the ordinary hatred is caused by haters' view of out-group as the negative influence to the in-group.

## 2. Responsive Hatred - Hate comes from hate.

*(Ilbe bug, bar exam bug, Korean men bug, kimchi men, Sibchi-nam)*

As seen from the analysis, various identities are hated due to the views of haters. However, what if someone has a different view about the same situation, action, identity? The person will not be able to understand the hatred. Without the understanding, a new type of hate occurs towards the original hater. A representative example is “Ilbe bugs”. Ilbe hates various groups due to their authoritarian patriotic view. However, people who possess different views cannot understand Ilbe’s extreme hate expressions and label Ilbe as bugs. Similarly, the law school students hate the people who participate in bar exam and call them “bar exam bugs”. In the academic hatred category, law school students were labeled as law school bugs and received extreme hatred from the bar exam participants. Bar exam bug is a responsive hate expression generated from original hatred towards law school students. Thus, this responsive hatred does not have a specific reason for their hate other than disagreeing to the initial hate.

Another evidence of such assertion is responsive hatred from Korean women. This hatred began in 2015 and targets the entire Korean men. The primary hater is a new community named Megalia. This community used mirroring method to Ilbe’s hatred on Korean women. More specifically, Megalia copied Ilbe’s ideas and hate expressions related to women and changed the gender from female to men. As a result, new hate expressions such as “sibchi nam”, “Korean men bugs” and “soom-shil-han” were created.

Unlike hate towards women, these expressions do not have specific meanings. Rather, it simply targets entire Korean men. One popular Megalia post states this is also effect of using mirroring method (“Mekaelesõ kuti yaeki anhako”). Similar to entire Korean women who are over-generalized as incompetent, Megalia is simply following the over-generalization. However, this shows one crucial difference between male and female related

online hatred. While misogyny began from specific incidents, Megalia over-generalizes first, then inputs reasons to hate Korean men afterwards. Therefore, Megalia's hate is responsive hatred that is caused by misogyny.

Thus, I identified a different type of hatred in this category and named it responsive hatred. It is hate targeting the initial haters. Some members of society do not possess a similar view as initial haters and expresses hate towards initial haters' in-group. As a result, responsive hate expressions such as Ilbe bugs and Korean men bugs are created.

### **3. In-group Hatred**

*(hell Chosun, hellfire peninsula)*

From this research, I identified two different types of hate and named them as ordinary hatred and responsive hatred. Now there is one more type of hate left to cover. I name this hate as in-group hatred. Hate expressions relevant to this type of hatred are "hell Chosun" and "hellfire peninsula". These words existed beforehand, but became popular in 2015. Such popularity can be seen from over 3000 news articles about these expressions, all produced since December 2014.

The popularity of these expressions comes from their meaning that can be used in various circumstances. Both expressions refer to South Korea as hell, claiming Korea is no longer a habitat that people can live in. With these hate expressions, people express their tough lives in the nation caused by various negative incidents such as political corruption, stagflation, unemployment, media manipulation and unfair competition. An example is posting from the DCinside hell Chosun gallery, which is a bulletin board that only treats post related to this expression. In the post, writer translates typical job interviewer's statements with a pessimistic view. Some translations are "You have a low GPA" meaning get out, "It is possible to shift to a permanent position" meaning it is possible, but not for the interviewee.



("Helchosŏn.....ch'aeyongkongko...pŏnyŏkki.jpg"). By such translation, the writer claims finding a job in South Korea is extremely difficult.

This in-group hatred occurs as the haters' views change. Previous types of online hatred were produced due to out-groups having negative influences on in-group or hate from initial haters. However, when the haters change their view, their out-groups are also part of a larger in-group named South Korea. Therefore, all these negative impacts are caused inside the same nation. Consequently, in-group hatred occurs due to haters blaming the negative impacts on the nation, which is a larger group that both previous in-group and out-group belong to.

## **Conclusion**

To conclude, I identified three different types of hatred by analyzing representative online hate expressions in Korea. First, ordinary hatred occurs due to haters' view of out-groups as negative influences to haters' in-groups. Second, responsive hatred is occurred by the initial hatred that one cannot understand. People who do not share the initial haters' view will not understand hate and in response express hate towards the initial hater. Third, all this hatred comes from haters' out-group, but eventually all these out-groups are part of a larger in-group named South Korea. Thus, the haters hate their nation as well.

Considering the causes of these different types of hatred, I assert online hatred is expressions of haters' social grievances. View of out-groups as a negative influence, incomprehensible hate from out-groups, and in-group possessing these negative influences are all grievances for the haters. From this statement, a more important task arises, which is finding ways to remove the grievances.

Some solutions can be identified from imprudently selected hate targets. For instance, Korean women may seem economically incompetent compared to men. However, the majority of Korean women gains less average starting salary than men with similar background ("Chungsokiöp sinip ch'oim p'yöngkyunyönpong"). Also, there are even portion of women who suffered from employers' pressure to leave after having a baby (Lee Hyun-Soo). Thus, such view of incompetency can be removed by appropriate policies and regulations from government and companies. Similarly, grievances about unfair academic systems can be solved by having one specific system rather than maintaining both traditional and nontraditional systems at the same time.

Consequently, government and corporations' appropriate actions will solve some of social grievances. However, one important point must be considered. What if the social grievances are simply tools for in-groups to confirm their superiority compared to out-groups? This question does not mean hatred is not expression of social grievances. Considering in-group hatred that hates their own nation, there are some hatred clearly occurred by social grievances. Through the question, I am suggesting some haters are viewing their hate targets as a weaker group rather than negative influences to their in-group.

If one turns the tables, the negative influences caused by out-groups can be interpreted as out-groups' flaws. To elaborate, law school students are hated due to achieving the same goal with less effort. In another way, lawyers who passed bar exam can use this hatred as a tool to see lawyers from law school as a less intelligent group. Also, Korean women's incompetence lets men view women as weaker incapable existences. Left wing and right wing can be used in the same sense as well. Both groups consider the other as a lesser group with inappropriate thinking, interpretation about issues.

In such cases, one solution is to eliminate the identities. For instance, if either law school or bar exam is abolished, only one of the two identities is left and the superiority

disappears. Of course, some identities such as men and women is not as simple as law school systems. However, those identities must be negated as well if hatred purposes to give superiority to specific identities.

Therefore, whether hatred is used as an expression of social grievances or tool for superiority, both have possible solutions. Resolving the haters' social grievances and negating identities are the primary solutions to eliminate hatred. Starting with the specific suggestions in this paper, we will be able to begin eradicating online hatred in South Korea.

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euni\*\*\*\*. "T'ongchintangi hech'eka kküt'i anita. chwakyöngselyökün chiha chochikül mantülö tö küklyölhake hwaltonghal kösita. i kihoe aekupöp mantülko haektaechung, nomuhyöni mulyökhwa han kukpopöp pokanghaesö chongpuk kanch'öp sot'anghacha.. kimkichonginün hankukkwa mikuk CIA kongcholo susahaesö kü paeu selyökül ch'ölchöhi palkhyöya hanta. süsangnimi mantün kimkichong twie nuka issül chi kitaeka toenta. amt'ün chongpuk ch'ökkyöl!!!" 통진당이 헤체가 끝이 아니다. 좌경세력은 지하 조직을 만들어 더 극렬하게 활동할 것이다. 이 기회에 애국법 만들고 핵대중, 노무현이 무력화 한 국보법 보강해서 종북 간첩 소탕하자.. 김기종이는 한국과 미국 CIA 공조로 수사해서 그 배후 세력을 철저히 밝혀야 한다. 손상님이 만든 김기종 뒤에 누가 있을 지 기대가 된다. 암튼 종북 척결!!!" [*We should use this opportunity to create patriotic law and reinforce the national security law to eliminate the North Korean supporting spies. Korea and America's CIA should cooperate together and find out the organization behind him. I look forward to finding out who is behind Kim Ki Jong created by seun-sang-nim*]. *Naver news*. Naver, 4 March. 2015. Web. 2 Dec. 2015.

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