2016

Basic Research on Korean Men's Life (II)

: Focus on the conflict in values of young men concerning gender equality

Sang Su Ahn
In Soon Kim
Jung Hyun Lee
Bo Ra Yun

한국여성정책연구원

Basic Research on Korean Men's Life (II):
Focus on the conflict in values of young men concerning gender equality

Contents

Tables

Figures

Basic Research on Korean Men's Life (II):
Focus on the conflict in values of young men concerning gender equality

Sang Su Ahn
In Soon Kim
Jung Hyun Lee
Bo Ra Yun

A. Necessity and Purpose of Study

This study has a three-fold purpose: 1) to investigate the underlying factors that give rise to misogyny and hate speech against women that are spreading through the Internet and Social Network Services (SNS) recently in the Korean society, 2) to explore the issues that such spreading misogyny revolves around, and 3) to examine which value conflicts in gender equality between genders affect such misogynous behavior.

Hate speech against women can include the following: degrading, holding in contempt, mocking, or sexually objectifying women, all forms of expressions that either create or encourage an atmosphere of violence and hostility against women (Su-ah Kim, 2015, p.280). Hate speech is similar to misogyny or other concepts such as gender-based bias, gender role stereotypes, and sexism. While such concepts are comprised of attitudinal, cognitive, and emotional elements, hate speech on the other hand shows up as verbal expressions or depictions which are observable behaviors. Consequently, it becomes possible to identify hate speech as one form of discrimination, a

component of attitude which reflects a behavioral aspect (Myers, 2010). The following are some of the hate speech expressions that are now being commonly found online in the Korean society: '*kimchinyeo*' (a contemptuous expression negating the independence and autonomy of Korean women), '*sahmilhan*' (means Korean women have to be beaten every three days), '*sahngpenyeo*' (a derogatory expression meaning a woman has no sexual appeal), '*sungghe*' (an expression deriding a woman who has had too much plastic surgery, literally means plastic surgery monster), '*dohlrimbbang*' (a woman set up for gang rape), '*maegalcheung*' (an expression comparing the users of http://www. megalian.com to a pest - http://www.megalian.com is a web site that opposes misogynous online activities).

The majority of studies on hate speech and misogyny have reached the conclusion that along with a rapid increase in use of hate speech expressions against women, resistance against and rejection of women policies and gender equality policies are being widespread amongst adolescent males and young male adults (SBS, 2014. 03. 09; Bora Yoon, 2013).

Young males in contemporary Korea are living in times of educational policies relatively equal in terms of gender. They compete against their female counterparts in the workplace and schools; perhaps this competition is fiercer than ever. At the same time, the young males have grown up through the information age and have been exposed to both positive and negative aspects in gender relationships. Young adult males who are living amidst the restructuring of gender relationships appear to be experiencing internally both gender role crisis and conflicts at levels greater than their previous generation (Sangwook Ahn, 2011). Externally, when looking at the spectrum of gender perception, it is expected that the young males will be

swinging from both extremes of acceptance and misogyny. Consequently, it becomes necessary to describe the current state of young Korean males living in contemporary Korea in a more specific and objective manner. In addition, research is required that supports the finding of a new model or proposing of directions so that young males undergoing crisis and confusion in their masculinity can be reborn as males who are communicative and adaptive to equal gender relationships. Moreover, steps need to be made to further advance policies on gender equality. Whereas in the past, focus has been on elimination of institutional gender discrimination, measures should now be sought to alleviate the anxieties and conflicts experienced by young males. An aggressive effort is needed now to bring in the young Korean males as partners in realizing gender equality in the Korean society (Sangsoon Ahn et al., 2014).

Therefore, this study investigated the following areas. First, it identified the many different forms of hate speech against women that have recently been shed much highlight online. Second, the study explored what kind of gender issues, women policies, and gender equality values such expressions are associated with. Third, the study looked at the targets the hate speech and animosity are directed at. Fourth, the study investigated what kind of traits the people that use such hate speech have. By investigating the aforementioned four areas, the study sought to find the factors related to conflicts in gender equality values that today's Korean adolescent and young males are experiencing. For the investigation, the researchers conducted unstructured big data analysis on *Ilbe*[1] and comments on newspaper

---

[1] Full name - Ilgan Best Storage. A Korean internet site known for its aggressive resistance against gender equality in Korea; generates continuous rhetoric of reverse discrimination and thereby incites conflict between genders.

articles featured in leading portal sites. With the data analysis, the study sought to identify the main issues revolving around hate speech against women and related sub-topics.

Furthermore, this study sought to identify whether criticism against women is a general attitude widely displayed by young males in the 15 to 34 age group. The study tried to identify the target women group the criticism was directed against and also which groups experienced actively conflicts in gender equality values. Moreover, the study examined the following areas: concerns that adolescents and youth have, life stress, anxieties of future and life, gender equality values, conflicts arising from carrying out gender roles as males, life satisfaction, and self-esteem. By looking at these areas, this study sought to investigate the following: 1) the underlying factors that give rise to resistance against women policies and gender equality policies, 2) how young males are understanding the current state of gender relationships, and 3) when and in what areas the conflicts between genders are magnified.

B. Contents of Study

1) Analysis of misogynous expressions appearing in *Ilbe* and comments of news articles featured in leading portal sites; current state of conflicts in gender equality values and resistance against women policies as shown through such misogynous expressions

2) Major internet web sites frequented by adolescents and young adults; current state of posts and comments

3) Investigation of factors underlying crisis and anxiety of adolescents and young adult males: concerns and life stress, future outlook, conflicts between young adult males and females on gender-related issues

4) Current state of value conflicts in gender equality among adolescents and young adults: 'gender egalitarianism', 'gender role conflicts of males', 'ambivalent sexism', level of 'internalized misogyny', 'attitude towards major women policies', 'attitude towards female subgroups'

5) Examination of policies that can support quality of life for adolescent and young adult males and resolve gender conflicts

C. Method of Study

To achieve the three-fold purpose stated in *A. Necessity and Purpose of Study*, this study conducted an unstructured big data analysis of posts and comments to news articles on major web sites. A survey was also conducted. First, for unstructured big data analysis, data was collected via web crawling from the *Ilbe* bulletin boards and comments to news articles on portal sites. The misogynous expressions and related keywords that showed up in the big data were analyzed using Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) and Semantic Network Analysis (SNA), both well-known text mining methods. Second, a survey was conducted with a total of 1,500 men and women aged 15 to 34 (1,200 men and 300 women) participating. Survey participants were asked of their experience with misogynous articles and comments on the Internet or Social Network Services, experience of uploading articles or comments expressing hatred against women, gender equality perception, degree of internalized misogyny, and other like questions. Together with the answers to the questionnaires, the Gender Egalitarianism Scale (Sangsoo Ahn et al., 2008), the Korean Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Sangsoo Ahn et al., 2005), the Internalized Misogyny Scale (Piggott, 2004), and the Korean Male Gender Role Conflict Scale (Sooyeon Lee et al., 2011) were used to measure the levels of value conflict concerning gender equality. Also, from the answers to the questionnaires administered, the following areas were explored: concerns and life stress experienced by adolescent and young adults, future outlooks, conflicts between young adult males and females on gender-related issues, attitudes towards major women policies, and attitudes toward women subgroups.

D. Results from Big Data Analysis of Bulletin Board Posts and Comments to News Articles

Using LDA and SNA, the posts on *Ilbe* and comments to news articles on major portal sites were analyzed. The analysis results showed the following. In the case of *Ilbe*, misogynous expressions represented by the terminology *kimchinyeo*, *sahmilhan*, and *sahngpenye o*[2] were regarded as one of the important political and social topics in the Korean society. This topic obviously expressed hostility towards women. Another analysis using SNA showed a negative and aversive character against women when daily or neutral issues unrelated to women were mentioned in the *Ilbe* bulletin board. These issues seemed to be closely related to various topics such as social issues, schooling, employment, family, broadcasting, etc. The criticism and hostile expressions used against women included abusive language belittling the level, appearance and sexuality of women. The comments to news articles on major portal sites were found to be more moderate compared to the expressions used on *Ilbe* sites. The topics, however, were mostly criticisms associated with workplace and marriage, lack of or low public perception on the part of women, and favors enjoyed by women such as excessive requests from women while not performing national defense duty and criticisms related to menstrual leave.

---

2) For definitions of these terms, refer to p.1.

E. Survey Results

In this section, results from structured questionnaires administered to 1,500 adolescent and young adults, both male and female, are given. The results are centered around several themes.

1) Encounters with misogynous expressions

Encounters with misogynous expressions through posts and comments online were investigated.
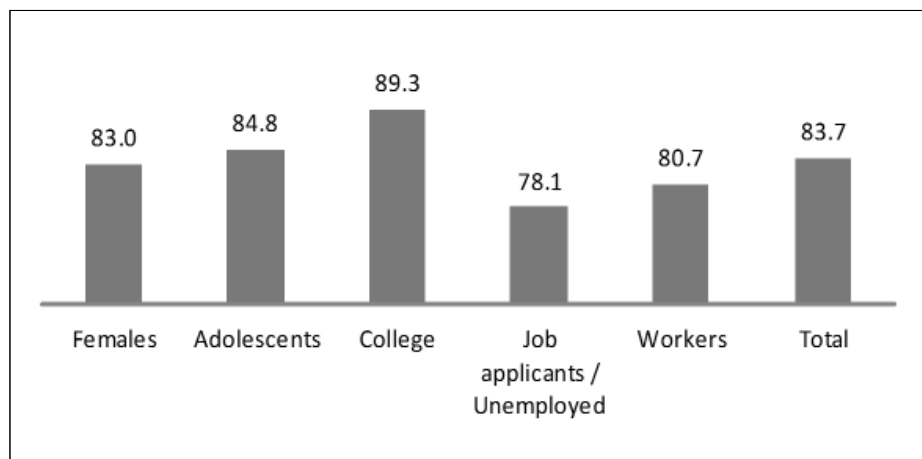
[Figure 1] Encounters with Misogynous Expressions Online

The result of the survey revealed the following. Of all respondents, 89.3%, of college students, 84.8% of adolescent (aged 15 to 18), and 83.0% of women answered that they had encountered misogynous expressions, which accounted for 83.7% of all respondents. College students showed the highest response percentage with 89.3%. Meanwhile, those in the job applicants/unemployed showed the lowest response percentage with 78.1% (see [Fig. 1]).

2) Level of identification with misogynous expressions

The level of identification of the respondents with the misogynous expressions encountered online was surveyed. Also, the study examined how the levels of identification differed across different groups. In consideration of possible response distortion caused by social desirability, the level of identification with posts and comments online critical of women and women organizations was measured on a 4-point scale.
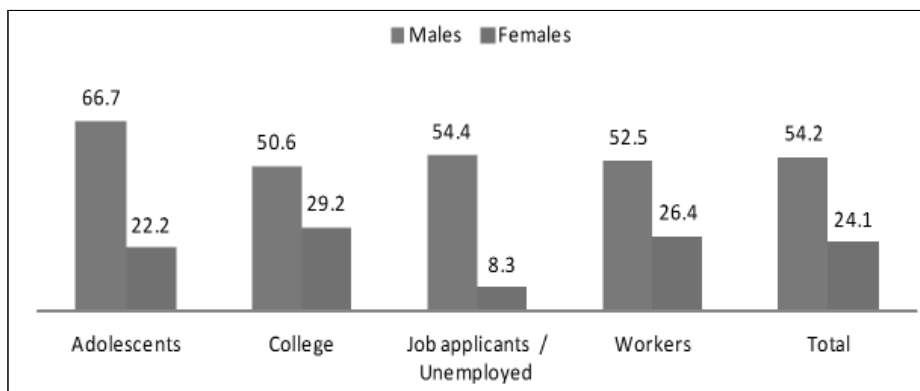
[Figure 2] Level of Identification with Misogynous Expressions

Results showed that 54.2 % (524 out of 1007 valid male responses), or about half of the males surveyed were of the 'somewhat identify + strongly identify' category. Of the females surveyed, about 24.1% (60 out of 249 valid female respondents) answered in the 'somewhat identify + strongly identify' category; the majority of the females (75.9%) did not identify. Thus, the gap between the genders in terms of identification with misogynous expressions was striking. In the case of adolescents, 66.7% of males said they identified while only 22.2% of females responded as identifying with misogynous

percentage of males identifying with misogynous expressions about
doubled the percentage of female. While within the male respondents
there were some notable differences between the different groups,
females showed no meaning difference across groups. In case of
males, the adolescent group showed a markedly higher percentage of
respondents identifying with misogynous expressions.

Till now, identification with misogynous posts and comments were
compared only between different groups. Here, identification is
compared according to major variables of the respondents. The study
looked into in which group identification with misogynous expressions
showed up more markedly. <Table 1> shows the average values on
a four-point scale measuring identification levels. The average values
have been compared according to major variables.

⟨Table 1⟩ Level of Identification with Misogynous Posts and Comments:
Comparison of Average Values per Major Variables

		Total		Males		Females		Stats
		n	$\overline{X}$	*n*	$\overline{X}$	*n*	$\overline{X}$	
Marital Status	Total	1494	2.40	1196	2.51	298	1.96	A=45.317***
	Single	1309	2.40	1057	2.51	252	1.95	B=.327
	Married	185	2.40	139	2.51	46	2.03	AxB=.231
In relationship	Yes	460	2.42	367	2.50	93	2.09	A=82.652*** B=3.166[†]
	No	855	2.39	694	2.51	161	1.87	AxB=4.108[†]
Schooling	High school and below	113	2.38	89	2.53	24	1.76	A=34.842***
	2-yr college	165	2.43	117	2.59	48	2.03	B=1.042
	University	477	2.32	362	2.46	115	1.89	AxB=.697
	Masters	56	2.34	45	2.40	11	2.11	

		Total		Males		Females		Stats
		n	$\overline{X}$	*n*	$\overline{X}$	*n*	$\overline{X}$	
Career	Office work	405	2.34	297	2.48	108	1.93	A=6.179* B=1.981 AxB=1.685
	Sales/Service	49	2.56	42	2.55	7	2.67	
	Professional	102	2.34	67	2.44	35	2.12	
	technical/manual/agri./other	70	2.46	61	2.51	9	2.00	
Employment	Self-employed/employer	22	2.22	21	2.24	1	2.00	A=2.295 B=.325 AxB=.106
	Permanent	518	2.37	387	2.49	131	1.99	
	Temp./contract	86	2.39	59	2.54	27	2.10	
Economic Status	Upper-middle and above	131	2.47	112	2.57	19	1.87	A=77.095*** B=.081 AxB=.316
	Middle	530	2.41	426	2.51	104	1.99	
	Lower-middle	622	2.37	483	2.49	139	1.97	
	Low	217	2.41	179	2.52	38	1.91	
Gender Equality Perception	GEA_Low	769	2.59	703	2.62	66	2.22	A=53.146*** B=25.443*** AxB=.356
	GEA_High	731	2.21	497	2.36	234	1.89	
Internalized Misogyny	IM_Low	768	2.13	553	2.26	215	1.82	A=62.198*** B=85.507*** AxB=.185
	IM_High	732	2.68	647	2.72	85	2.33	
HS	HS_Low	784	2.12	529	2.24	255	1.87	A=20.512*** B=68.709*** AxB=.926
	HS_High	716	2.71	671	2.72	45	2.49	
BS	BS_Low	726	2.28	519	2.45	207	1.85	A=77.068*** B=17.609*** AxB=5.728*
	BS_High	774	2.51	681	2.55	93	2.21	
Male Gender Role Conflict	MGRC_Low	594	2.43	594	2.43	–	–	t=−3.461***
	MGRC_High	606	2.59	606	2.59	–	–	
Life Satisfaction	LS_Low	756	2.42	617	2.53	139	1.96	A=51.730*** B=1.291 AxB=2.678+
	LS_Mid	665	2.36	511	2.47	154	1.99	
	LS_High	79	2.46	72	2.58	7	1.43	
Self-Esteem	SE_Low	792	2.47	645	2.57	147	1.97	A=112.492*** B=2.207 AxB=1.634
	SE_High	708	2.33	555	2.43	153	1.95	
Appearance Self-Esteem	ASE_Low	965	2.39	774	2.50	191	1.94	A=49.136*** B=1.291 AxB=.096
	ASE_Mid	397	2.35	307	2.47	90	1.96	
	ASE_High	138	2.57	119	2.64	19	2.13	

		Total		Males		Females		Stats
		n	$\overline{X}$	*n*	$\overline{X}$	*n*	$\overline{X}$	
Future outlook (3 clusters)	Optimist	417	2.47	360	2.56	57	1.94	A=104.678***
	3-po	729	2.39	564	2.50	165	2.00	B=.782
	7-po	354	2.34	276	2.46	78	1.89	AxB=.404

$^{+}$p<.10, * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001

The major variables listed in <Table 1> were obtained by analysis of scales and clusters included in this study's survey. Then, with the major variables set as independent variables, the levels of identification with misogynous expressions were compared. Comparison results are shown in <Table 1> above. Results were examined to look for significant differences. Gender differences were significant for all groups. The following variables showed significant differences in terms of the level of identification with misogynous expressions: hostile sexism (HS) and benevolent sexism (BS) - both sub-scales of gender equality perception and ambivalent sexism, internalized misogyny, self-esteem, and appearance self-esteem. However, the following variables related to economy, life quality, and demographics did not show significant differences: marital status, economic status, schooling, employment status, career, future outlook, job forecasts, and life satisfaction.

In the level of identification with misogynous expressions, differences showed to be significant mainly in variables related to perception and self-esteem. More specifically, males with the following characteristics showed significantly higher levels of identification with misogynous expressions: 'those with low gender equality perception', 'those with high HS and BS', 'those with much conflict in male gender role', 'those with low self-esteem', and 'those with high appearance self-esteem'.

Currently, the Korean young adults have been known as the *3-po*

and the *7-po* generation. *Po* is short for *pogi* which means giving up in Korean. Due to economic difficulties, the unemployment crisis, difficulty in providing housing, and high costs for marriage, the current Korean young adult generation have been characterized as having to give up dating, marriage, and childbirth (*3-po*) and on top, even giving up home, relationships, dreams, and aspirations (*7-po*). In lieu of such a generation, the survey participants were asked to rate their outlook in the following areas: future job, marriage, dating, child birth, buying a home, and relationships. Through cluster analysis, the respondents were categorized into three separate clusters. One cluster was the *7-po* type; it was the group that had dark outlooks on the future for marriage, dating, good relationships, etc. The second cluster was the *3-po* type; this group had an uncertain outlook on the future. The last cluster was the optimist type; this group had an optimistic outlook for their future. Though separated into three clusters, analysis showed that significant differences in levels of identification with misogynous expressions did not exist between the clusters. Till now, there have been many studies claiming that misogyny will be more pronounced in the social class who are experiencing economic diffculties, have uncertain futures, or are in despair (Eunshil Park Lee, 2013; Sisa In, 2015). Following up upon the claims of such studies, this study checked to see if the following hypothesis held up: "those males in the clusters with bleak outlooks on their future, i.e. *3-po* and *7-po* type males, will show greater levels of identification with misogynous expressions". However, the study discovered that the hypothesis is to be rejected. The researchers interpret such results as follows. Misogyny is not a phenomenon that can be limited to only those males that experience economic or social deprivation.

3) Experiences of writing misogynous posts or comments

This study investigated how many of those respondents who identified with misogynous expressions actually wrote misogynous posts or comments online.

〈Table 2〉 Number of Respondents who have Written Misogynous Expressions Online

	Males		Females		Total	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Yes	119	92.2%	10	7.8%	129	21.3%
No	427	89.5%	50	10.5%	477	78.7%
Total	546	90.1%	60	9.9%	606	100%

<Table 2> above shows the percentage of people who have actually written misogynous writings online out of the 606 respondents who said they identified with misogynous expressions. Of the 606 respondents, 21.3% or 129 persons said yes to the question, "Have you posted a misogynous writing online?" Of the 129 persons, 7.8% (10 persons) were females while 92.2% (119 persons) were males. Then putting those numbers against the total number of respondents of 1,500, 8.6% of the total respondents wrote something misogynous online.

To identify the characteristics of those persons who wrote misogynous writings online, anlaysis was done to examine what differences such writers showed. Analysis was done depending on the major categorical variables. <Table 3> shows the comparison between the writers of misogynous expressions online and non-writers according to major variables. This analysis was done only for those persons who identified with misogynous expressions; thus the total sample population is 606 persons. Since this sample population all share the characteristic of

identifying with misogynous expressions, the analysis was conducted to examine the characteristics of those persons who went further than just identifying and actually wrote the misogynous expressions online. In this analysis, the female variable was accounted for only in the group category. For all other variables, analysis results are only limited to male respondents. The analysis data accounts for 119 males who actually wrote misogynous expressions online and the other 427 males who did not.

〈Table 3〉 Comparison of Major Variables between Writers and Non-writers of Misogynous Expressions Online

(Unit: %)

		Yes	No	n	χ^2
Group	Total	21.3	78.7	606	6.649
	Females	16.7	83.3	60	
	Adolescents	27.9	72.1	104	
	College	23.1	76.9	182	
	Job applicants / Unemployed	24.2	75.8	62	
	Workers	16.7	83.3	198	
Marital Status	Single	22.0	78.0	486	.284
	Married	19.0	81.0	58	
In Relationship	Yes	26.3	73.8	160	2.343
	No	20.1	79.9	328	
Schooling	High school and below	20.0	80.0	40	.461
	2-yr college	20.4	79.6	54	
	University	17.1	82.9	152	
	Masters	21.4	78.6	14	
Career	Office work	14.7	85.3	129	4.480
	Sales/Service	11.1	88.9	18	
	Professional	30.8	69.2	26	
	technical/manual/ agri./other	16.0	84.0	25	

		Yes	No	n	χ^2
Employment	Self-employed /employer	42.9	57.1	7	4.233
	Permanent	16.5	83.5	170	
	Temp./contract	9.5	90.5	21	
Economic Status	Upper-middle and above	31.0	69.0	58	4.345
	Middle	21.2	78.8	189	
	Lower-middle	18.9	81.1	217	
	Low	24.4	75.6	82	
Gender Equality Perception	GEA_Low	23.1	76.9	355	1.012
	GEA_High	19.4	80.6	191	
Internalized Misogyny	IM_Low	14.7	85.3	177	7.758**
	IM_High	25.2	74.8	369	
HS	HS_Low	16.7	83.3	162	3.554†
	HS_High	24.0	76.0	384	
BS	BS_Low	21.7	78.3	230	.001
	BS_High	21.8	78.2	316	
Male Gender Role Conflict	MGRC_Low	20.6	79.4	248	.404
	MGRC_High	22.8	77.2	298	
Life Satisfaction	LS_Low	19.4	80.6	289	5.897†
	LS_Mid	22.5	77.5	222	
	LS_High	37.1	62.9	35	
Self-Esteem	SE_Low	21.9	78.1	315	.005
	SE_High	21.6	78.4	231	
Appearance Self-Esteem	ASE_Low	22.1	77.9	358	2.093
	ASE_Mid	18.3	81.7	126	
	ASE_High	27.4	72.6	62	
Future outlook (3 clusters)	Optimist	28.8	71.2	163	8.058*
	3-po	17.1	82.9	252	
	7-po	22.1	77.9	131	

† p<.10, * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001

First, when looking at which target group had the highest percentage of people writing misogynous expressions online, it was the adolescent males; 27.9% of 104 or 29 adolescent males answered yes to the question of whether they had written something misogynous online. Next came job applicants/unemployed males at 24.2% of 62 persons (15 persons). The group was followed by college male students at 23.1% of 182 persons (42 persons). The difference between the groups was not statistically significant.

Of the major variables, males with high internalized misogyny showed a high percentage of persons who have written misogynous writings online. Males with high hostile sexism (HS) showed significantly higher trends than males with low HS.

It should be noted that the *3-po* and *7-po* type young adults who had lower life satisfaction levels and high anxiety socially and economically did not necessarily have a higher percentage of people posting misogynous writings online. Rather, it was in the optimistic group with high life satisfaction levels and relatively bright outlook on the future that the percentage of males who wrote misogynous writings online showed to be higher than that of the *3-po* and *7-po* type young adults. This difference was statistically significant, a finding that draws interest.
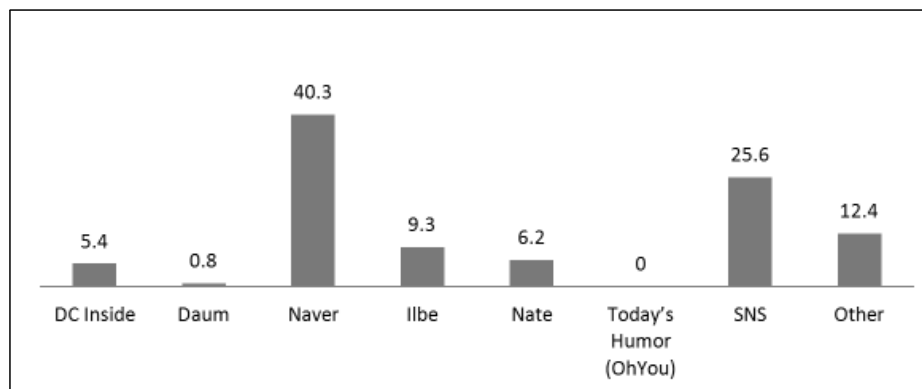
4) Web Sites on which Misogynous Writings are Posted

In this part of the questionnaire, survey participants were asked on what web sites writers of misogynous writings posted their writings. Considering that *Ilbe* and some other sites are rising as pathways for expressions of misogyny, this question was asked to check whether misogynous expressions were limited to only certain web

sites. For this question, participants were asked to choose from the following: *Ilbe*, 「DC Inside」, 「Today's Humor (OhYou)」, major portal sites including 「Daum」, 「Naver」, and 「Nate」, 「Social Network Services (SNS)」, and 「other web sites」.

〈Table 4〉 Locations at which Misogynous Writings were Posted

	Females	Adole-scents	College	Job applicants/ Unemployed	Workers	Total	
	n	*n*	*n*	*n*	*n*	*n*	%
DC Inside	0	1	4	0	2	7	5.4%
Daum	0	0	0	0	1	1	0.8%
Naver	4	12	14	9	13	52	40.3%
Ilbe	0	2	5	0	5	12	9.3%
Nate	1	0	2	2	3	8	6.2%
Today's Humor (OhYou)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
SNS	4	12	14	1	2	33	25.6%
Other	1	2	3	3	7	16	12.4%
Total	10	29	42	15	33	129	100%

[Figure 3] Locations at which Misogynous Writings were Posted

Analysis results are shown visually in [Figure 3] and 〈Table 4〉.

Naver, a portal site, came on top at 40.3%, followed by SNS at 25.6%, and *Ilbe* at 9.3% (12 persons). No one posted a misogynous posting on OhYou. Such results show that misogyny is not an issue limited to *Ilbe*. Moreover, the results also suggest the necessity to ponder upon the problem of misogynous comments that show up on portal sites.

5) Perception of Causes behind Misogyny

Value conflict between males and females concerning gender equality has high potential to show up as drastic differences between genders when it comes to perception of causes behind misogyny. For this question, respondents were asked to pick two major reasons behind the rise of misogyny. Respondents were not asked to prioritize; they were asked to pick just two reasons. Results are shown in <Table 5>. The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family was selected most times. The Ministry showed up especially many times among male adolescents and male college students. The reason that was selected second most was extravagant women who are dependent upon men. This reason was picked many times among adolescents and workers. Women organizations and feminists had similar selection rates.

〈Table 5〉 Reasons Selected for Cause of Misogyny by Groups

(Unit: %)

	Females	Adole-scents	College	Job applicants / Unemployed	Workers	*n*
Women who don't go to the army and only ask for privileges	6.3	29.3	21.3	21.2	20.1	284
Women who disrupt and do not follow public order	37.3	27.7	25.8	26.0	31.0	450

	Females	Adole-scents	College	Job applicants / Unemployed	Workers	*n*
Extravagant women who are dependent upon men	39.7	40.8	33.7	33.6	37.9	556
Women organizations/feminists	6.7	24.5	36.7	34.9	36.8	436
Ministry of Gender Equality and Family	16.0	53.8	48.4	41.8	38.3	582
Keyboard warriors such as Solidarity of Men	30.7	8.2	7.9	11.0	5.6	181
Loser men who have fallen behind in competition	22.0	2.70	2.70	4.8	5.6	115
Economic difficulty / lack of work	7.0	1.10	4.70	8.9	7.3	89
Over-competitive social environment	28.3	9.20	13.2	17.8	15.8	255
Other	6.0	2.70	5.50	0.0%	1.5	52

What is interesting is that female respondents, when selecting a cause, had a tendency to take the position that both sides are wrong. For reasons that designated few certain kinds of women - such as *kimchinyeo* - behind the cause of misogyny, female respondents showed little difference with their male counterparts. However, the females had opposite thoughts with males in terms of the following reasons: 'women who don't go to the army and only ask for privileges', 'Ministry of Gender Equality and Family', or 'women organizations/feminists'. Rather, females were more likely to place the blame for misogyny on the following: 'keyboard warriors such as the Solidarity of Men' and 'so-called loser men'. Such results are akin to the back-and-forth that take place in the comment sections of internet sites. Also, females had a higher tendency than males to interpret the cause of misogyny as being the overly competitive social environment. The difference between genders when it comes to perception of the cause for misogyny seems to lead to a rather bleak outlook of the future. There is plenty of fuel that sparks

disputes between genders such as the following: antagonism against the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, socio-cultural environment that still makes it difficult for many women to be economically independent, the fact that women are exempt from compulsory military service, and also the fact that women cannot be free from childbirth. What is worrisome is that disputes will not stop at misogyny by men but will also spread to misandry by women.

Meanwhile, this study examined the relationship between web sites with misogynous writings posted and perception of causes of misogyny. Of the 12 persons who posted misogynous writings on *Ilbe*, 67% perceived 'extravagant women who are dependent upon men' as the cause for misogyny. Also, 71.4% of those who posted on DC Inside picked the same reason. On the other hand, males who posted on SNS or Naver showed higher response rates to the following reasons: 'Ministry of Gender Equality and Family' (SNS: 72.7%, Naver: 42.3%) and 'women who don't go to the army and just ask for privileges' (SNS: 30.3%, Naver: 46.2%). Such percentages reflect the tendency of males to be conscious of a web site's characteristic whenever posting certain writings online. Thus, males would control the level of their misogynous expressions depending upon web sites. Also, on portal sites and SNS which have potential to make postings viral, males would have in mind the social atmosphere to criticize misogyny and thus adjust their writings accordingly. Such results suggest the need for the Ministry of Gender Equality and other public institutions to continuously monitor misogynous expressions that appear on portal sites and SNS - platforms with high dissemination. Together with monitoring, public institutions should also look actively for reasonable regulations.

6) Relationship between Emotional Response Types to *Kimchinyeo* and Experiences of Posting Misogynous Writings Online

In this part of the questionnaire, participants were asked of their emotions towards *kimchinyeo*, the target group for misogyny. This study then compared the differences of emotions between males who had posted misogynous writings online and those who had not. The total pool of males compared were males who identified with misogynous writings. The study investigated what kind of emotions those males posting misogynous writings online had towards *kimchinyeo*. The study also checked to see whether males posting misogynous writings online had higher feelings of contempt in comparison to other non-writing respondents.

Of the 606 respondents that identified with misogynous expressions, 119 actually posted misogynous writings online. Of the 119, 58% responded that their emotion towards *kimchinyeo* was hate. Meanwhile, 44.7% of the non-writers responded that hate was their emotion towards *kimchinyeo*. Compared to the 37.5% of the entire male respondents who chose hate, the percentage of persons who chose hate was higher in the group that identified with misogynous expressions - both for those who had posted misogynous writings online and those who had not. The percentage was highest in the group that had posted misogynous writings online. Other emotions chosen are as follows: 21.0% chose contempt while 16.0% chose anger. None of the respondents chose warmth or envy.

F. Conclusion and Discussions

The most noteworthy result from this study is that the level of gender equality value acts consistently as a predictor for level of identification with misogynous expressions. Furthermore, adolescent and college male students, the relatively younger age group, did not differ much in their gender perception when compared to workers or job applicants. Currently, there is a lack of policies to raise gender sensitivity particularly for the type of males who participated in our study. Because of the misogyny that frequently appears on the web sites and SNS that these males visit regularly, such males may grow insensitive and may lose the ability to sympathize with the still difficult realities that women face. Even those who are relatively gender sensitive may lose their sensitivity if they are exposed to regular misogynous expressions online. Hateful expressions against the weak, right now with women being the major target, is not limited to women alone. Currently, it seems abundantly clear that such hate can spread to other vulnerable classes and minority groups. Therefore, there is absolute need to institutionalize an integrated educational curriculum which has equality and human rights as motifs across all fields. Such curriculum should continuously be updated and reinforced.

Although the rise of online media, particularly the internet, has given unprecedented new opportunities for freedom of expression, it should not be used as means for spreading hate expressions. There should be regulations that regulate users who abuse their rights to post online under the guise of freedom of expression. Also, the general public should be awakened regarding hate expressions online; there should be voluntary efforts to curtail hate speech. Online

regulation should be employed in a multidimensional manner. To bring about such regulations, this study discussed the possible introduction of the following policies and systems.

1) **Legislative review and conference for such:** There is need to monitor cases related to misogynous expressions and to aggressively look for legal provisions that can regulate such expressions. There is pressing need to create a network of legal practitioners with gender sensitivity who can discuss related legislation. The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family can act as the focal point bu creating a platform for discussion. Then, through continual conferences (such as can be seen European Commission), social agreements can be drawn out and social attention can be kept.

2) **Activation of citizen campaigns:** The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family needs to lead the way so that collaborative efforts between civic organizations, adolescents, and young adults against misogyny and discrimination can be reinforced.

   To fight against misogyny, there is need for the general public to act so as to make society recognize that misogynous expressions violate the value of equality. While it is necessary to raise the importance of equality on the individual level, it is jut as important to set in place social pressures that ensure equality is an upheld value. A medium or an arbitrator is required for sustainable campaigns and for different organizations to cooperate and consolidate. This study proposes that the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family supports and actively pursues the formation of networks of organizations working to eradicate misogyny.

3) **Establishment of big data related to misogyny cases:** Cases on misogyny should be collected and accumulated as data over a long period of time. There is need to build up big data regarding the degree and content of misogynous expressions and how they change according to different circumstances.

4) **Cooperation between web sites and portal site companies:** There is need to create a cooperative body consisting of operators of major web sites, SNS platforms (Twitter, Facebook, Instagram), portal site companies (Naver, Daum), and popular blogs. Such a body should meet together regularly to draft a unified guideline to regulate the posting of misogynous writings online. Cooperation with the Korea Communications Commission should also be actively looked into.

5) **Creation of a channel for filing report and reinforcement of punishment against perpetrators (establishment of a Report Response Commission)**

There is need to look into diverse measures so as to facilitate immediate response to misogynous expressions, discrimination, and related crimes that victims of misogyny face both online and offline.

One method may be to create a page on the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family web site which allows reporting of misogyny cases. Another method may be to create a mobile (PC) app that has functions which allow immediate reporting of misogyny cases and to distribute the app to the general public.

References

Ahn, Sang-su., Kim, Yisun., Park, Goon-suk., Lee, Sang-hwa., & Kim, Jung-in. (2008). *Development and Validation of Measurement Tool for Gender Perception*. Korean Institute for Gender Equality Promotion and Education Report.

Ahn, Sang-su., Kim, In-soon., Yoon, Min-jae., & Kim, Bo-yeon. (2014). *Basis Research on Korean Men's Life (I): Focus on Military Service of Males, Resocialization of Gender Roles, and Receptivity of Gender Equality Policies*. Korean Women's Development Institute.

Ahn, Sang-su., Kim, Hai-sook., & Ahn, Mi-young. (2005). *A Study on the Development and Validation of Korean Ambivalent Sexism Inventory*. Korean Journal of Social and Personality Psychology, 19(2), 39-66.

Ahn, Sang-su, Baek, Young-joo., Kim, In-soon., Kim, Hai-sook., & Kim, Jin-shil. (2007). *A Study on the Validation and Development of Korean-Type Multifaceted Gender Consciousness Test*. Korean Women's Development Institute Report.

Ahn, Sang-wook. (2011). *The Rise of a 'Loser Culture' in the Korean Society and the Restructuring of Masculinity*. Master's Thesis for Seoul National University Graduate School.

Kim, Su-ah. (2015). *Hate Speech against Women Online*. Studies on Feminism, 15(2), 279-317.

Lee, Soo-yeon., Kim, In-soon., & Kim, Ji-hyeon. (2011). *Development of a Testing Tool for Male Gender Role Conflicts in Korea*. Korean Women's Development Institute Report.

Myers, D. G. (2010). *Social Psychology (10th ed.)*. Boston: McGraw-Hill.

Park Yi, Eun-shil. (2013), *The History of Hegemonic Masculinity*. Literary Science, 76, 151-184.

Piggott, M. (2004). *Double Jeopardy: Lesbians and the Legacy of Multiple Stigmatized Identities*. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts (Honours), Psychology Strand at Swinburne University of Technology.

SBS. (2014). *Do You Know Kimchinyeo? The Spreading of Belittling of Women*. Broadcasted on March 9, 2014. (http://news.naver.com/main/read.nhn?mode=LSD&mid=sec&sid1=102&oid=055&ai d=0000273654). Searched on October 26, 2015.

Sisain. (2015). *Who's the Misogynous Young?* Article printed on March 24, 2015. (http://www.sisain.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=22714). Searched on October 26, 2015.

Yoon, Bo-ra. (2013). *Ilbe and Misogyny: Ilbe is Everywhere and Nowhere*. Progressive Review, 57, 33-56.