Hate Speech against Immigrants in Korea: A Text Mining Analysis of Comments on News about Foreign Migrant Workers and Korean Chinese Residents*

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This study aims to examine the degree and patterns of hate speech against foreign migrant workers and Korean Chinese in Korea. We gathered news articles about the two groups posted from January 2005 to December 2014 and used text mining analysis to examine the words in the news articles with the largest number of comments. Results show that the most common type of discriminatory and hateful expressions for the two groups was crime-related one and the next common type was economy-related one. However, there were significant inter-group differences. Foreign migrant workers were more frequently viewed as economic threats to native Koreans and racial and nationality issues were more frequently mentioned. By contrast, Korean Chinese were more likely to be related with crime or fear of crime and ethnicity or compatriot issues were more commonly reported. The level of discriminatory perceptions and hateful expressions was stronger against Korean Chinese.

Keywords Hate Speech, Hateful Expressions, Foreign Migrant Workers, Korean Chinese, Text Mining Analysis

I. Introduction

With the advent of the age of migration, movement of people across countries has become common and the nationalities, races, ethnicities, and cultures of people who make up a society are becoming increasingly diverse. This phenomenon has been accelerated by the global trend of increased autonomy in migration caused by the development of info-

communication and transportation. Due to a rapid increase in migration to Korea that began in the 1990s, the number of foreigners staying in Korea, including short-term residents, exceeded 2 million in 2016, accounting for 3.96% of the total Korean population. In response to these changes towards a multicultural society, studies on various immigrant groups have soared since the mid-2000s, which has been referred to as a multicultural fever. Through these studies, it was found that the public has discriminatory perceptions (stereotypes) and attitudes (prejudice) towards immigrants (Hwang et al., 2007; In, 2009; Yoon et al., 2010; Kim and Han, 2013).

Based on these findings, civic organizations began to encourage self-reflection on discrimination and prejudice against immigrants, and it seemed that these efforts were rewarded. The Act on the Treatment of Foreigners in Korea was enacted by the Ministry of Justice in 2007 and the Support for Multicultural Families Act designed by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family was implemented in 2008. However, a series of events have not only weakened tolerance for immigrants, but also strengthened the negative perception of multiculturalism. These events include competition for jobs during the global economic downturn caused by the sub-prime mortgage crisis in 2007 and growing criticism against hitherto liberal policies for multicultural minorities that claims these policies are reverse discrimination against socially disadvantaged classes like low-income people. The character of the Lee Myung-bak administration that succeeded the progressive Roh Moo hyun administration returned to a conservative line emphasizing law and order in immigration policy, which resulted in the action to tighten apprehension and deportation of illegal aliens. A few cases of horrible murder so called torso murder committed by several Korean Chinese residents in 2012 amplified the public fear of crime caused by immigrants. The multiculturalism backlash in Europe since 2010s influenced South Korean policy makers and the public to question the relevance of multiculturalism for South Korea and to follow the European trend toward greater emphasis on civic integration of immigrants.

Consequently, immigrants became differentiated into two groups: one as the socially disadvantaged who could not adapt to Korean society (object of sympathy) and the other as criminals who broke social norms by committing crimes and deviance (object of vigilance). In general, such discriminatory perceptions and attitudes tend to spread regardless of their

accuracy. If they are based on reliable information and accurate grounds for events related to specific immigrant groups as seen in previous cases, a resonance effect will occur and this is likely to expand into xenophobia. In fact, hate speech that has been used online, such as *oenoja* (外勞者, foreign migrant workers), *bulcheja* (不滯者, illegal aliens), *Joseonjok* (朝鮮族, Korean Chinese) referred to as murderers, North Koreans as defectors or spies, and Arabs as terrorists, became generalized and the entire immigrant population began to be regarded as potential criminals or became targets of hatred. In addition, the online trend of hate speech also began to occur offline. The owner of an anti-multicultural blog attended a public hearing on the enactment of a multicultural law in order to oppose multiculturalism and a high school girl held a demonstration against multiculturalism in front of the National Assembly building. As such, hate speech against immigrants is not simply verbal abuse committed online. It ostracizes specific groups, negates dignity of humanity, disrupts a fair society where everybody can coexist, and instigates violence or genocide. As such, hate speech has emerged as an important social issue (Morooka 2013).

Therefore, it is necessary to examine discriminatory expressions and attitudes towards immigrants prevalent online and seek a solution in order to prevent or eliminate hate speech. However, previous studies have examined immigrants from the perspective of anti-multiculturalism or racism rather than taking into account the concept of hate speech. Previous research has mainly discussed the representation of immigrants and anti-multiculturalism discourses, focusing on news articles and TV programs on social issues of certain immigrant groups, without paying much attention to the public's use of hate speech against immigrants. In addition, there are also problems with the research methods used. Interviews and surveys have mainly been used in research on immigrants, and these methods may cause social desirability bias in respondents.

This study was conducted to overcome the methodological limitations of previous studies. The primary goal of this study is to examine the actual practice of hate speech against immigrants through a text mining analysis, focusing on comments on online news. The characteristics of each immigrant group and the causes of such characteristics will also be analyzed. The specific objectives of this study are as follows.

First, among recent news articles posted over the last 10 years

about foreign migrant workers and Korean Chinese residents, who are representative immigrant groups in Korea, the 10 articles with the largest number of comments will be selected for each group. Through the analysis of these comments, the kinds of hate speech, which have been used most frequently, will be investigated. The keyword analysis of hate speech will help establish major controversial issues and the typology of each group.

Second, among the collected comments, the five comments with the largest number of likes will be selected as most liked comments for each group. The characteristics of hate speech for each group will be compared and what causes the use of such expressions will be examined. These analyses enable us to understand the groupthink (perception) of numerous text users, above and beyond keyword analysis.

II. Literature Review

1. Concept of Hate Speech

'Hate Speech', along with 'Hate Crime', is a relatively new term found in the United States in the 1980s. At that time, there were frequent murders by discriminatory motives targeting African Americans and sexual minorities, mainly in New York, and accordingly, the 'Hate Crime Statistics Act' which requires mandatory data collection of 'Hate Crime', was found in 1985 and passed in 1990. Meanwhile, in the similar period there were frequent incidents of discrimination against non-whites and women in U.S. universities, and as movements by the victims and some researchers requiring political correctness heated up, each university introduced a Speech Code to regulate discriminative expressions and actions. Later, the legitimacy of the code became a social issue and in the process a group of legal scholars brought up the term hate speech and it was later used along with the concept of hate crime (Morooka, 2013: 38-39; Brown, 2017a: 424).

As can be seen in the formation of the term hate speech, it can be understood as an aggressive action inflicted on the 'ethnic, social, sexual minority' based on discrimination. However, no international consensus exists regarding hate speech and since the term is used not only in the field of law but in various sectors, the definition about the range and

characteristics of the term varies widely among researchers.

To begin with, when looking at the understanding of hate speech in the regional level, the UN's Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination considers 'hate speech' as "a form of other-directed speech which rejects the core human rights principles of human dignity and equality and seeks to degrade the standing of individuals and groups in the estimation of society" (UN CERD, 2013: 4). Council of Europe defined it in its own way as follows: "the term 'hate speech' shall be understood as covering all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin" (Council of Europe, 1997: 107).

On the other hand, the first US scholars to use the term hate speech defined it as "words that are used as weapons to ambush, terrorize, wound, humiliate, and degrade" (Lawrence et al., 1993: 1), and among them, Mari Matsuda (1989: 2333) described hate speech as "insulting nouns for racial groups, degrading caricatures, threats of violence, and literature portraying Jews and people of color as animal-like and requiring extermination" and defined that the following factors are included: 1) the message is of racial inferiority, 2) the message is directed against a historically oppressed group, 3) the message is persecutorial, hateful, and degrading" (Matsuda, 1989: 2357).

As can be seen from above, hate speech is interpreted in various ways and it is hard to define in a single way. Summarizing the studies using the concept of hate speech, Brown (2017b) organized the nature of hate speech as the following: 1) highlighting forms of speech that it is believed disproportionately harm already disadvantaged or victimized members of society, 2) flagging up forms of speech that it is believed either are or have the potential to be very socially divisive or destructive of social cohesion in a diverse, multiracial, multiethic, multicultural, multi-sexual, multi-gendered, and multi-abled societies, 3) identifying forms of speech that can undermine people's sense that they are members of society in good standings, who deserve to be treated as equal citizens, 4) providing a means of articulating or giving a particular form and shape to the decisions that societies and legal-political regimes feel they need to make, whether explicitly or implicitly, about forms of publically acceptable speech, the

appropriate tone of public debate and, more generally, the imposition of civility norms, 5) labeling forms of speech that it is believed may run contrary to fundamental democratic values or even to political legitimacy itself" (Brown, 2017b: 569).

Hate speech against immigrants in Korea emerged in the early 2000s when xenophobia was prevalent mainly in the anti-multicultural Internet communities. At that time, instead of hate speech, the term "racist speech" was used in various reports from governmental agencies including the National Human Rights Commission of Korea. However, the use of hate speech against immigrants, such as Joseonjok (Korean Chinese) and North Korean defectors, proliferated and the term "hate speech," which has mainly been used in relation to women and sexual minorities, began to be used in various mass media including comedy programs and conservative Internet communities, such as Daily Best, and this contributed to the general use of this term. Since the term "hate speech" came from foreign countries, its clear definition does not exist and various interpretations are being used in Korea, including hate speech, hate remark, and the hate press.

This study adopts the definition of hate speech used by A Study on Hate Speech and Regulatory Measures (National Human Rights Commission of Korea 2016) which states "An expression of discrimination/hatred or instigating discrimination/hostility/violence against certain individuals or groups because they are social minorities." This definition includes expressions that physically and psychologically harass the minorities, expressions with an intention to discriminate, expressions that imply hatred, expressions that infringe human dignity by patronizing/insulting/threatening the minorities, and expressions that incite discrimination, hostility, or violence.

2. Hate Speech in the World

In the West, where people from a variety of racial, religious and cultural backgrounds have been coexisting from the earlier times, there have been numerous incidents of discrimination such as black segregation and the Holocaust in history. Hereupon, the UN has enacted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and the Covenant on Human Rights,

establishing regulations on discrimination at the international level, and through the American Convention on Human Rights and European Convention on Human Rights provided prohibition of hate speech and discrimination at the regional level. At the national level, there are many countries which have introduced laws prohibiting hate speech as in Germany (Volksverhetzung), England (Race Relations Act, Racial and Religious Hatred Act, Equality Act), Canada (Canadian Human Rights Act) and Australia (Racial Discrimination Act, Racial Hatred Act).

Nevertheless, the proliferation of Islam phobia such as burning the Qu'ran and petitioning for regulations on Muslim immigrants is growing worldwide after the September 11 attacks and also the hate speech is ongoing for non-white people by racist groups like the KKK (Ku Klux Klan) in the US and the Neo-Nazi of Europe. Especially, the development of the Internet has caused a sudden increase in the number of comments denigrating a specific ethnic or religious group and regarding this matter, the EU strongly urged the social media companies such as Facebook and Twitter to regulate hate speech, leading to the passing of the Network Enforcement Act in Germany, June 2017.

Despite the early legal provisions prohibiting discrimination in the West, which is characterized by multiracial and multicultural societies, discrimination against minorities is still taking place in various forms in reality. This leads to actively conducted researches of hate speech in various fields such as law, sociology, and psychology. In addition to the above mentioned research on the concept of hate speech, researches on the debates about the necessity of regulation, freedom of speech and online hate speech analysis are being conducted.

When looking at Japan, racial acts of hate speech or hate crime have existed in the past,[1] and around 2010 the word 'Hate Speech' came to the fore in the media with the attention of violent and racial discriminatory acts of the *Netto-uyoku* (ネット右翼, Japanese Internet right-wingers) and *Zaitokukai* (在特会, the Association of Citizens against the Special Privileges of the Zainichi), leading

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[1] Every time a diplomatic friction with North Korea occurred, abuse and assault against *Zainichi* (在日), who went to Chosun School, were frequent in the Japanese society. After the North Korean government officially recognized the abduction of Japanese people in 2002, racist crimes increased, such as tearing *Chima-Jogori* (national uniforms of the Chosun School), or pushing students off the stairs to hurt them (Morooka, 2013).

to social interest and the rapid increase of the related research. Among those researches the dominant content was the character of the people participating in racially discriminative activities and the background for the exclusion of foreigners. Yasuda (2012) points out that the low-income, low-educated people reject minority groups in the Japanese society to alleviate the social unrest triggered by factors such as economic recession. This explanation is consistent with the classical theories which were dominant in Europe in the late 20th Century. However, the fact that the feeling of anxiety leads to the repulsion of foreigners has not been proven empirically and moreover, some point out that throughout history, anxiety has been expressed in various forms such as an urban riot, suicide, antisocial movement or nuclear abandon movement (Mori, 2014: 10). Then some researchers started to refute the former research results by revealing that the groups of *Netto-uyoku* and *Zaitokukai* consist not only of the lower classes of the society but also the middle class which have high income and better education (Furuya, 2013; Higuchi, 2014). Nonetheless, the reason why the connection between anxiety and foreigner repulsion is taken for granted is because that the false perception that 'strangers with different characteristics easily arouse the feelings of fear, disgust and anxiety' is deeply embedded in us. In other words, the relationship between anxiety and hate for foreigners is artificially linked from the 'top' by the nation and the media (Mori, 2014: 10-11; Wakisaka, 2014: 273).

Later, as the hate speech in Japan gradually expanded to the whole society, the call for introspection demanding regulation of hate speech grew along with the 'count movement' opposing hate speech, generating fierce confrontations. On this matter, the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination recommended in August 2014 that the Japanese government take measures to deal with discriminatory acts in Japan, and on May 24, 2016 the Japanese government declared 'The Bill on Countermeasures against the Unfair Discriminatory Behavior against Foreign Nationals'. However, this bill raises doubt since it does not include any prohibition regulations or penalties.

3. Hate Speech in Korea

1) Anti-multicultural Discourse and Online Hate Speech

In Korea, there are no extreme foreigner hate groups which take actions off-line such as *Zaitokukai* in Japan. Instead, hate speech is only produced on-line. Therefore, there are only few researches on hate speech against immigrants which directly address the hate speech itself and mostly the discussion on the anti-multicultural discourse that is developed in particular Internet communities is dominating.

The representative online communities which produce anti-cultural discourse most actively are 'Anti-multicultural Policy', 'Practical Solidarity for Multiculturalism', 'Single Ethnic Korea', and 'Citizens Solidarity for Foreign Workers'. Under the anti-multicultural discourse they produce lies an inherent repulsion of multiculturalism, a sense of economic alienation, and fear of multi-races. They mainly use the dichotomy of 'us/them' and construct an anti-multicultural discourse in a way that induces the fear of multiculturalism, along with the awareness that the inflow of migrant workers has deprived the ordinary people of their jobs (Kang, 2012). An interesting fact is that many anti-multicultural activists had more contact with migrants than the general public. These people are transforming their own personal experience of loss or damage into public indignation by enthusiastically sharing and spreading anti-multiculturalism (Y. Kim, 2015), and recently showing their existence in various ways such as telephone complaints and picketing (Eom, 2016: 67).

There are also some studies that have focused on the public field where more diverse people freely discuss their opinions. Kim (2017) has analyzed the expansion of the anti-multiculturalism logic and the flow of discourse with anti-culturalism opinions on the opinion bulletin board of the legislative notice site of the National Assembly. She discovered that as the number of the pre-announcements of legislation increased, various anti-multiculturalism logics were created such as 'hatred against other cultures', 'emphasis on the border between citizens and non-citizens', 'failed cases of multicultural policies in Europe', but at the end of the pre-announcement of legislation, a pattern was shown that the diversity of the logic diminished and a 'representative logic' was repeatedly shown led by certain people. The integration of their logic has become an important

opportunity to spread the anti-multiculturalism discourse into the public field and strengthen the anti-multiculturalism camp. On the other hand, the researches of Hong and Na (2016) and Han (2016) focus on hate speech. Hong and Na (2016) typified hate speech and analyzed the intensity of it through hate speech spreading through SNS and found out that there were many cases of hate speech targeted against an unspecified minority group such as Joseonjok (Korean Chinese) rather than individual victims of a specific incident, and insulting and disdainful accusations were more prevalent than discriminatory and violent remarks. This can be interpreted that the intensity of hate speech is weaker in a SNS platform such as Twitter, because the identity of the individual is more revealed compared to a closed internet community comprised mainly of certain members. After researching hate speech against marriage immigrant women, who are the main subject of the government's 'Multicultural Family Support Act', Han (2016) identified that even in the Daum Agora site which once acted as a healthy forum for discussion, marriage migrant women were referred as "prostitutes" and were accused as criminals who cause social problems. Marriage migrant women seem to be the victim of more hate speech due to the combination of the existing misogyny and anti-multiculturalism logic.

Considering the fact that the hate speech against immigrants has increased with the inflow of foreigners, the review of anti-multiculturalism discourse to this point provides useful insights into understanding the causes and characteristics of the hate speech in Korean society. However, in the case of specific Internet community bulletin boards, the social influence is insignificant in that the discourse is produced only by a few, and hate speech is not caused solely by the spread of the anti-multiculturalism discourse. In that sense, the studies of Kim (2017), Hong and Na (2016) and Han (2016) provide important implications for the future hate speech studies in Korea. This study, based on the discussion of previous studies, will limit our analysis to two most numerous and influential immigrant groups, foreign migrant workers and Korean Chinese, observe how hate speech is expressed depending on the group, and explain the differences in the level and pattern of hate speech against the two groups.

2) Online Hate Speech and Effect of Comments

With the recent spread of wireless Internet and smart phones, the influence

of the Internet has increased due to its ease of use regardless of location. In particular, the quick delivery and easy accessibility of online news and comments enable people to immediately express their opinions on the news, as well as learn others' opinions and responses. The analysis of comments created by the members of Naver, which is the most influential portal site with the largest number of users in Korea, revealed that on a daily average, there are approximately 30,000 users of Naver news and comments, and these people produce approximately 120,000 comments. According to Nasmedia, an online media company, 80% of online news users also read comments. The main purpose of reading comments is to acquire additional information in order to supplement the news reports and understand public opinion by checking other users' responses to the news (Cho et al., 2016). The most liked comments, which are the comments that received the most likes from readers, have a very important influence on the formation of online public opinion. This is because, in the Internet where production, distribution, and consumption occur instantly, people are likely to show a groupthink tendency and thus quickly like the comments with a large number of likes instead of reading all of the posted comments and trying to logically understand a phenomenon from various angles. Knowing this tendency, most portal sites list comments on news in descending order by the number of likes.

A Study on Hate Speech and Regulatory Measures (National Human Rights Commission of Korea, 2016) revealed that hate speech against various minority groups more frequently appeared in comments than in the original posts. Most hate speech was found in comments on news articles or videos from newspapers, broadcasts, and portal sites, and this accounted for 78.5% of total hate speech. In particular, there was intensive spread of various forms of hate speech upon the emergence of specific issues, such as foreigners' crimes, the creation of a halal food complex, and the promotion of the multicultural policy.

As such, online news and Internet comments are becoming a major forum for spreading hate speech and hate culture against immigrants. In addition, people interact by reading others' responses and opinions and checking the number of comments, likes/dislikes, and recommendations. Through this process, people produce and consume hate culture and also spread it to other SNS channels. In this regard, it seems that most liked

comments on articles about immigrants can be used as meaningful data in analyzing the characteristics and causes of hate speech against immigrants. This study will review the most liked comments on news about each immigrant group and compare the differences in these comments between the two groups.

3) Foreign Migrant Workers and Korean Chinese Characters Represented in Media

As can be seen in the above research of hate speech in Korea, considering the facts that the Internet billboard of the National Assembly Legislative Notice was flooded with the issue which attracted attention of the media and public (Kim, 2017), and that among the contents of hate speech on SNS some are quoted directly from the term used in the media with a hashtag (#) (Hong and Na 2016), it can be assumed that the media has a considerable amount of influence in producing hate speech. Therefore, this section focuses on foreign migrant workers and Korean Chinese and explore how their images are being reproduced in the media.

First when looking at how migrant workers are perceived in the media, they were mostly described as victims of incidents or beneficiaries of benefits and the accompanied pictures showed not only the images of a normal worker but also them as criminals, protestors or injured patients, pictures concentrating on the events and accidents which can have a negative impact on the overall image of migrant workers (Im, 2012). On the other hand, opinion articles such as editorials and columns showed both positive and negative articles with the utility value of human rights and economic contribution explaining the positive attitude and lesser jobs for domestic workers and drain of national wealth accounting for the negative attitude, respectively (S. Kim, 2015). Similarly, in the television news, migrants, including migrant workers, have often appeared as the low-income class, psychologically unstable patients, or victims of events. In the scenes where migrant workers are depicted, people from Southeast Asian countries such as Vietnam and the Philippines appear more than Korean Chinese and this tendency of revealing a racial characteristic is a phenomenon that all the people from Southeast Asia are standardized as migrant workers (Kim, 2009). In this way, it can be seen that migrant workers are related to economic issues in the newspapers or television news and only the characteristics that they are victims of incidents, economically deprived or from Southeast

Asia are highlighted to draw people's attention. On the other hand, films often portrayed the image of migrant workers as subordinates subject to oppression in the conflictual relationship between Koreans and foreigners, but gradually some frames appear such as aliens boldly claiming their rights or rather Koreans becoming alien, the so-called 'majority becoming minority'. This view of migrant workers is somewhat distant from the reality, but can be interpreted as showing the contradiction of reality and suggesting a way to improve it (Hwang, 2011).

Next, how Korean Chinese, who occupy the largest portion of migrant workers, have been portrayed in the media will be examined. According to Yang (2010) who analyzed the special articles focusing on Korean Chinese in The Chosun Ilbo, they were reproduced as in the order of 'illegal immigrants/smugglers/criminals', 'people pursuing the Korean Dream' and 'decadent/incompetent/immoral groups', while articles defining them as 'victims' were relatively few in number. This kind of discourse regarding Korean Chinese is reproduced as "repressing the national community into a crisis of disintegration, unsettling the Korean society and causing international disputes" and thus, hiding the unequal power relations that work around the lives of those in charge of the low-wage, low-income labor in the Korean society (Yang, 2010: 230). This tendency is more prominent in movies. As shown in the films <The Yellow Sea> (2010), <Traffickers> (2012), and <New World> (2013), it can be seen that "Korean Chinese and their ethnicity/nation/region are combined with a genre to be solidified into a particular discourse" (Lee, 2014: 11-12). They mainly appear as criminals in action and crime movies, doing whatever it takes for money, "embodying the pure logic of capitalism more than ourselves" (Joo, 2016: 280). In addition, such films add realism to cinematic fiction by adding subtitles saying 'reconstructed based on actual events', spreading frightening stories about Korean Chinese (Lee, 2014), and this is combined with the certain crimes broadcasted in the news of Korean Chinese, acting as a mechanism which amplifies the concerns and anxieties of Koreans. In this way Korean Chinese is often portrayed as a stereotype in relation to negative images such as 'illegal', 'crime' and 'violence' and while they are sometimes familiar as being Koreans, they also "justify the hierarchy and discrimination within the nation" by depicting them in a pre-modern and old form (Lee, 2014: 31).

In this research, the patterns of hate speech shown in the Internet based

on the preceding studies and whether absorbing the distorted image from the media is reproduced in the Internet comments will be examined. Through this an inquiry into the characteristics and causes of hate speech against particular groups will take place.

III. Data and Research Methods

1. Data

A variety of immigrant groups exist in Korea, such as married immigrants and their children, foreign migrant workers, Korean Chinese, North Korean defectors, expatriate Chinese, and international students. Among these immigrant groups, this study focused on foreign migrant workers and Korean Chinese, for these two groups are bigger than other immigrant groups in terms of size, status, and the degree of exposure to news media. Since the majority of Korean Chinese residing in Korea are participating in economic activities on a larger scale, they are also included in the foreign migrant worker category. As Korean Chinese are ethnic Koreans with foreign nationality, there are some differences between them and foreign migrant workers, such as fluency in the Korean language and social capital in Korean society.

The data from this study was gathered using the detailed news search engine provided by Naver, the portal site with the most users in Korea. The politics, economy, society, and life/culture sections of all daily and online newspapers posted from January 2005 to December 2014 were searched. In order to collect all news articles about the target immigrant groups, other names for foreign migrant workers and Korean Chinese, such as immigrant workers, foreign workers, and ethnic Joseon people, were also entered as search keywords. Among the news articles selected from this process, the ten articles with the largest number of comments were selected for each group. For the independence and exclusiveness of data between the foreign migrant worker and Korean Chinese groups, the news articles were checked to see if they mentioned both groups. Finally, all comments for the twenty selected news articles and five most liked comments for each group were used as data in this study.

2. Analysis Methods and Procedure

Approximately 50,000 news articles consisting of an enormous number of words were selected for analysis. In order to extract useful information from such a massive amount of data, text mining analysis was used, a method of big data analysis. Text mining is the process of deriving information from unstructured text data (e.g., comments to online news articles and twitter messages) via application of natural language processing by extracting frequently used keywords, uncovering patterns and relations within the structured data, and interpreting the outcome. It is an efficient method of data collection and analysis because it saves time and expense and allows us to get access to information on sensitive issues like hate speech, which is usually difficult to obtain by conventional research methods like survey and interviews. Also, given that ordinary people seldom have direct contacts with minority groups and their perceptions and attitudes about minority groups are strongly influenced by their exposure to media contents, a text mining analysis of online news and Internet comments is an appropriate research method of hate speech in the internet community.

1) Data Collection and Refinement

After collecting news articles and comments about each target immigrant group, articles containing keywords in the names of places or agencies were excluded, such as Korean Chinese Autonomous Prefecture, for those articles are not related to the purpose of this study. In addition, data refining was performed to unify keywords into a single representative title of each immigrant group (foreign migrant workers and Korean Chinese). Duplicate news articles from multiple keyword matches and those containing text referring to both groups were excluded in order to secure the independence and exclusiveness of study data. After the collection and refinement of the news articles, the first database was created. From this database, the ten articles with the largest number of comments were selected for each immigrant group and the comments for these articles were added to the database to build the final database.

2) Data Processing

Using the Korean morphological analyzer Utagger, morphemes in news

comments for each immigrant group from the database were analyzed. The open source statistical program R was used to create a frequency data frame consisting of general and proper nouns in descending order. Finally, stop words (such as "the"), which were not directly related to hate speech with discriminatory perception and attitude against immigrants and characteristics distinguishing each group (economic, social, and cultural keywords), were excluded. Also, frequently used words with the same meaning (e.g., workers/laborers, overseas Koreans/compatriots, jjanggae/jjangkae (Korean slurs referring to expatriate Chinese in Korea, chinks in English)) were unified into single words.

One of important tasks of big data analysis including text mining analysis is to classify a large number of selected keywords or words into concise, meaningful, and objective categories for efficient and valid interpretation. To accomplish this goal for this study, we took the following steps. First, we selected five graduate students at Korea University majoring in social science fields and presented them with the top 50 words in the news comments for each immigrant group. Then, we asked them to infer how each word was used in the news comments and assign it into one of the following five categories: economy, ethnicity, race/nationality, crime, and society and culture. If the word was thought to belong to more than two categories, multiple categories were allowed. Second, we examined the encoders' decisions and made some refinements. If the encoders reached a unanimous decision about a category of a specific word, we used that category (57%). If more than 3 encoders agreed with a category and we found it a valid one, we used that category (40%). If the encoders made isolate decisions and found it difficult to agree with a category, we examined it and classified it as "the other" and excluded it from the analysis. The words classified into the other category included such words as Islam, right, and beggar and accounted for 3 percent of the top 50 words.

IV. Results of Analysis

1. Preview of the Selected News Articles

Table 1 and Table 2 list the top 10 news articles with the largest news

comments for foreign migrant workers and Korean Chinese, respectfully. By comparing the titles of news articles for each group, we can find quite easily that each group is represented in the news articles in quite contrasting manners. The titles of news articles about foreign migrant workers show some degree of sympathy as if they are helpless victims: noticeable words include "troubled", "insulting", "xenophobia", "human rights forfeited", "victims", "crackdown", and "illegal aliens". By contrast, the titles of news articles about Korean Chinese express fear of crime felt among native Koreans and portray Korean Chinese as if they are potential criminals: salient words include "stabbed", "hatred", "police", "rape", "ex-convict", and "murder". The different tone of news articles for each group is closely related with the date of news articles posting. The majority of the selected news articles about foreign migrant workers were posted between 2007 and 2008, which was during the international financial crisis period. During the economic crisis, foreign migrant workers became the first victims and Koreans showed sympathy toward this group. By contrast, most of the selected news stories about Korean Chinese were posted after two notorious murder cases committed against native Koreans by two

Table 1 Ten News Articles Selected for the Foreign Migrant Worker Group

Title	Date	Number of Comments
Nothing but stir-fried spicy pork? Troubled foreign migrant workers	June 15, 2013	2,680
Insulting immigrants: "Go back to your country" /"You stink"	April 14, 2013	1,314
Xenophobia group emerged: Will it be Korean KKK?	June 18, 2012	1,056
Foreign workers' human rights forfeited: "Human hunting" ignoring the Miranda principle	August 3, 2008	295
Migrant workers: Exposed only after death	January 8, 2008	258
Pay KRW 1 million for medical treatment	March 30, 2007	241
Leave Korea! MB government presses migrant workers	April 17, 2008	229
Asia and Asians: The first victims of the economic crisis are migrant workers	December 9, 2008	200
Domestic concern about the spread of xenophobia	December 11, 2007	181
Crackdown on illegal aliens: Exempt if farming?	December 7, 2008	161

Table 2 Ten News Articles Selected for the Korean Chinese Group

Title	Date	Number of Comments
Open the bottle of beer! A convenience store lady cruelly stabbed	April 24, 2012	1,905
Hatred towards Korean Chinese causes conflicts: This is not right	April 10, 2012	1,232
(exclusive) Ignored "80-second-report": The consistent lies of the police	April 06, 2012	1,074
Falls into a coma: The company totally ignores	April14, 2008	602
"Who, who did it?": Only stiff questions asked at rape report	April 5, 2012	934
Oppressive command for Korean Chinese: Taking charge of all dangerous tasks without special rewards	July 31, 2013	695
An ex-convict of armed robbery becomes a babysitter: Many identity-stealing Chinese caught	June 24, 2012	748
Korean Chinese murders a Korean in his 60s in broad daylight: Initial arrest failed again	April 9, 2012	581
Tears of Korean Chinese wet neon signs in Gangnam	October 22, 2008	417
Cruel murder by a Korean Chinese: The police in confusion for 13 hours	April 4, 2012	350

Korean Chinese named Wonchun Oh and Chunbong Park in 2012. The brutal image of Korean Chinese murders was already represented before the murder cases and exaggerated after the incidents in a series of Korean crime movies (e.g., Yellow Sea (2010), New World (2013), Crime City (2017), Young Policemen (2017)) and made strong impact on the mind of ordinary Koreans.

2. Analysis of Hate Speech for Each Immigrant Group

As can be seen in Table 3, the top 50 examples of hate speech were extracted for each immigrant group through text mining analysis. In the case of foreign migrant workers, hate speech consisted mainly of discriminatory, hateful, and crime-related terms, such as illegal, aliens, crime (criminals), law, dogs, swine, crackdown, deportation, incident, garbage, murder, hatred, rape, sexual assault and terrorism. In addition, words related to the labor market (e.g., money, work, foreign workers, job, wage,

Table 3 Hate Speech Keywords for Each Immigrant Group

Foreign Migrant Workers

	keywords	frequency	categorization		keywords	frequency	categorization
1	workers (laborer)	951	Economic	26	religion	114	Social/Culture
2	illegal	866	Criminal	27	incident	107	Criminal
3	alien	759	Criminal	28	garbage	107	Criminal
4	culture	552	Social/Culture	29	factory	99	Economic
5	illegal aliens	461	Criminal	30	ethnic	98	Ethnic
6	crime	413	Criminal	31	murder	93	Criminal
7	money	401	Economic	32	low-income people	92	Economic
8	human rights	373	Social/Culture	33	hatred	91	Criminal
9	work	328	Economic	34	economy	90	Economic
10	discrimination	328	Social/Culture	35	rape	85	Criminal
11	foreign workers	326	Economic	36	Pakistan	72	Racial/Nation
12	law	301	Criminal	37	Chinks	63	Economic
13	problem	271	Criminal	38	company	62	Racial/Nation
14	race	242	Racial/Nation	39	workforce	53	Economic
15	native people	205	Ethnic	40	knife	53	Criminal
16	Southeast Asian	153	Racial/Nation	41	sexual assault	51	Criminal
17	Islam	148	Etc.	42	labor	50	Economic
18	criminals	147	Criminal	43	Negro	48	Racial/Nation
19	dogs	146	Criminal	44	rights	45	Etc.
20	job	142	Economic	45	employment	44	Economic
21	wage	142	Economic	46	underdeveloped country	44	Economic
22	swine	130	Criminal	47	smell	43	Racial/Nation
23	crackdown	121	Criminal	48	terrorism	43	Criminal
24	deportation	114	Criminal	49	damage	43	Criminal
25	tax	114	Economic	50	beggar	39	Etc.

Table 3 Hate Speech Keywords for Each Immigrant Group (continued)

Korean Chinese

	keywords	frequency	categorization		keywords	frequency	categorization
1	ethnic Koreans (overseas Korean)	868	Ethnic	26	native people	161	Ethnic
2	foreigner	744	Racial/Nation	27	torso	135	Criminal
3	police	743	Criminal	28	criminals	131	Criminal
4	language	521	Social/Culture	29	fingerprint	129	Criminal
5	crime	484	Criminal	30	rape	119	Criminal
6	illegal	472	Criminal	31	tax	117	Economic
7	human rights	462	Social/Culture	32	report	117	Criminal
8	Korean	454	Ethnic	33	death penalty	111	Criminal
9	work	439	Economic	34	wage	111	Economic
10	Chinese	434	Racial/Nation	35	discrimination	111	Social/Culture
11	alien	412	Criminal	36	sexual assault	101	Criminal
12	Chinks	395	Racial/Nation	37	deportation	93	Criminal
13	incident	391	Criminal	38	curse	83	Criminal
14	money	389	Economic	39	Han Chinese	75	Ethnic
15	culture	382	Social/Culture	40	damage	72	Criminal
16	workers	320	Economic	41	offense	69	Criminal
17	problem	319	Criminal	42	Korean language	67	Ethnic
18	ethnic	299	Ethnic	43	culprit	63	Criminal
19	murder	253	Criminal	44	killing	63	Criminal
20	illegal aliens	244	Criminal	45	fraud	60	Criminal
21	knife	241	Criminal	46	forced	59	Criminal
22	swine	208	Criminal	47	employment	57	Economic
23	garbage	185	Criminal	48	punishment	55	Criminal
24	foreign workers	170	Economic	49	deadly weapon	54	Criminal
25	dogs	163	Criminal	50	beggar	52	Etc.

Foreign Migrant Workers

Korean Chinese

Figure 1 Hate Speech Keyword Cloud for Each Immigrant Group

tax, factory, low-income people, economy, company, workforce, labor(laborer), employment and underdeveloped country) as well as religion - or culture, race/nationality-related terms (e.g., human rights, discrimination, Southeast Asian, Pakistan, Negro, chinks and smell) were also frequently used.

Hate speech against Korean Chinese was also composed of hateful, and crime-related expressions (e.g., police, crime (criminal), illegal, aliens, incident, problem, chinks, murder, dogs, knife (deadly weapon), swine, garbage, foreign workers, torso, rape, report, death penalty, sexual assault, deportation, curse, killing, fraud, and punishment). In addition, not only economy-related texts (e.g., the work, money, workers, employment, tax, wage), but also ethnicity (ethnic Koreans), nationality (Chinese), identity-related terms were also frequently found (e.g., Korean language, ethnic Koreans (overseas Korean), ethnic, native people, Han Chinese, foreigner, and Korean and Chinese).

Most frequently mentioned keywords were visualized in Figure 1. For foreign migrant workers, economy-related, alien-related, and crime-related keywords like workers, illegal, alien, and crime occupy the central position. By contrast, ethnicity-related and crime-related keywords like ethnic Koreans, police, crime, and illegal are most visible and highlighted in the case of Korean Chinese.

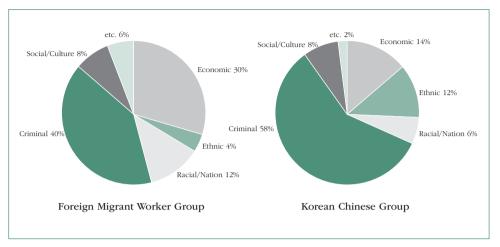Figure 2 displays the proportion of each category of hate speech. We

Figure 2 Types of Hate Speech by Each Immigrant Group

found that the most common type of discriminatory perceptions and hateful expressions for the two groups was crime-related one: 40% for the foreign migrant worker group and 58% for the Korean Chinese group. The next common type was economy-related one: 30% for the foreign migrant worker group and 14% for the Korean Chinese group. Exclusive terms frequently used for each immigrant group were also identified. For the foreign migrant worker group, discriminatory prejudice and hateful expressions related to race or nationality were more frequently mentioned: 12% of the hateful speech expressions belonged to the category of race or nationality, such as race, Southeast Asian, Pakistan, Negro, and underdeveloped country. By contrast, for the Korean Chinese group, ethnicity-related hateful expressions were more frequently reported: 12% of the hateful expressions corresponded to the type of ethnicity or compatriot, such as ethnic Koreans, overseas Koreans, Korean Chinese, Han Chinese, and Korean language. This kind of inter-group difference seems to reflect South Koreans' perceptions of the two groups with different statuses: one as foreign temporary workers and another as ethnic compatriots. Although Korean Chinese were felt closer to native Koreans in terms of ethnicity and culture, unfortunately, but they were still perceived fearful and threatening to native Koreans.

3. Analysis of Most Liked Comments for Each Immigrant Group

Although discriminatory perceptions and hateful expressions against immigrants were identified by extracting frequently used hate speech texts, simple lists of these texts cannot show their specific and actual use. Therefore, based on most liked comments, which are generally listed at the top of the comment section, the differences in the cause of discriminatory perception and hate speech between the two immigrant groups will be compared.

First, most liked comments for the foreign migrant worker group were listed in Table 4. The most liked comments for this group expressed hostility, mainly talking about employment, economics, and reverse discrimination issues as follows: "Even Koreans are losing jobs," "There're not enough jobs even for us. If you don't like it, just leave," "Let's take back manufacturing jobs!," and "Why should we spend taxes on giving benefits to multicultural families?" In addition, the major attribute of these comments was the expansion of hatred towards entire foreign migrant workers by targeting foreign workers as criminals and generalizing this entire group as criminals through the following expressions: "Report illegal aliens," "one million foreign workers and 0.25 million illegal aliens," and "banish foreign workers who are the source of crimes like violence, fraud, murder, drug, rape, assault, theft, and gang fight."

Most liked comments for the Korean Chinese group were summarized in Table 5. They contained much more aggressive hate speech compared to the foreign migrant worker group, and the main topics were ethnic and criminal issues. There was open hostility and discrimination directed toward Korean Chinese, which was expressed through "Chinese who can speak Korean not overseas Koreans." In addition, these comments exposed anger caused by violent crimes committed by Korean Chinese. They expressed not only fear of threats, such as everyone "would be murdered and raped," but also threats and hatred instigation such as "just expel garbage," "Let's start ethnic cleansing," and "I want to kill Korean Chinese." Despite these hateful and aggressive expressions, no one disliked these comments. This shows that hatred towards Korean Chinese has already widely spread and reached a very severe level.

Table 4 Most Liked Comments for the Foreign Migrant Worker Group

Most Liked Comment	Note
minj**** People said that when in Rome, do as the Romans do. If one's belief doesn't match with it, he should buy and eat what he wants or go back to his country. There're not enough jobs even for Koreans. If you don't like it, just leave.	Likes: 1,951 Dislikes: 168
rant**** Well, isn't it common sense to help the poor like the elderly collecting waste paper on the street rather than foreign workers? Those folks will go back to their countries once they earn enough money. And, people must do as the Koreans do in Korea. They'll probably even ask to build a mosque to pray at the work place later.	Likes: 893 Dislikes: 48
shin**** There may be some incidents as described in this article, but do you guys know that reverse discrimination against Koreans exists in Korea. I live in Ansan. Koreans cannot go near Wongok-dong or Ansan Station at night. If you go there, you will be stabbed to death. Foreign workers who committed murder are protected by human rights organizations and foreign criminals who are also illegal aliens are not banished. Do we really have to pay taxes to supply food and a jail room to sleep in to them? Also, I can't understand why we should spend our taxes on giving benefits to multicultural families? They just got married and had their own families. Why should we pay for that? Do Korean couples receive any marriage benefit from the government? I support policies to protect multicultural family children from mistreatment, but I think giving special benefits to them is reverse discrimination.	Likes: 228 Dislikes: 10
cola**** Even Koreans are losing their jobs. Why should we worry about foreign workers, too? Most of them are illegal aliens. So, is it saying that we have to make jobs for them or something? That would be like putting the cart before the horse. Even Koreans are getting fired. Well, our sympathy would be number one in the world.	Likes: 66 Dislikes: 1
pk3d**** There are one million foreign workers and 0.25 million illegal aliens in Korea. Foreign workers and illegal aliens are the source of crimes like violence, fraud, murder, drug, rape, assault, theft, and gang fight. Let's banish 1.25 million illegal aliens and take our manufacturing jobs back! Even Koreans don't have jobs. Why should we care about others? Let's take care of ourselves first! If you find suspicious people with black skin looking around and displaying vigilance, they are 100% illegal aliens. Please report to the nearby immigration office.	Likes: 45 Dislikes: 0

Table 5 Most Liked Comments for the Korean Chinese Group

Most Liked Comment	Note
loop**** Not overseas Korean. Chinese who can speak Korean!	Likes: 417 Dislikes: 18
What's the definition of overseas Korean in China? Does it refer to "Korean Chinese" who are regarded as about 50 ethnic minority groups following Chinese policies? They were assimilated to China and lost their identity long ago. It's strange. They've already become Chinese.	Likes: 350 Dislikes: 13
nima**** F*ck! Don't call them overseas Koreans. Why are they? People who kill others easily and cheat others through voice phishing. Are they really overseas Koreans? They call themselves Chinese not Koreans. Just expel all of those garbage/dogs who always try to get something from us.	Likes: 43 Dislikes: 0
khm8**** Please let's start ethnic cleansing. Or else, all of us would be murdered and raped.	Likes: 42 Dislikes: 0
apc6**** On the way home tonight, I witnessed that Southeast Asians, Southwest Asians, and Korean Chinese Chinks were going around in groups to rape and murder Korean women. How has this country become like this? Taiwan has a night curfew for foreign workers, prohibits marriage between foreign workers and Taiwanese, and only pays half of Taiwanese wages. Our government should stop acting like a pushover and protect our lives and assets. I've worked hard to complete my military service and paid all taxes, but foreign workers are the kings in this country. I want to kill Korean Chinese.	Likes: 35 Dislikes: 0

V. Summary and Discussions

1. Summary

Hate speech against immigrant groups, such as foreign migrant workers and Korean Chinese, is simultaneously a legal, political, and sociocultural issue. Therefore, identifying which terms were used to produce and distribute discriminatory perception and hate speech against target groups and exploring its cause is a starting point for the eradication of hate speech. However, it has been difficult to find empirical studies on hate speech against immigrant groups in Korea.

To fill this gap, this study analyzed comments on online news articles about foreign migrant workers and Korean Chinese to determine the level and the causes of hate speech against these groups. In the case of foreign migrant workers, discriminatory prejudice and hatred were mainly expressed through hate speech related to economic issues and racial/nationality issues. The main cause of hostility and discrimination was economic threat to employment of native people and the perceived reverse discrimination against disadvantaged classes of native people. The salient images of this group of people represented in the news articles were job stealers, criminals, and aliens.

By contrast, Korean Chinese were generally portrayed as both foreigners and compatriots. Because they are overseas Koreans residing in the motherland, discriminatory perceptions and hateful expressions took an ethnic tone rather than a racial or nationality tone. Unfortunately, the compatriot status of Korean Chinese did not protect them from severe sense of hostility and contempt. Actually, more aggressive and derogatory terms were used against this group than the foreign worker counterpart. The main cause of native Koreans' prejudice and hostility toward this group is thought to be fear of crime. As mentioned earlier, the two notorious murder cases in 2012 committed by two Korean Chinese shocked native Koreans by their brutality. A series of Korean crime movies before and after the incident portrayed Korean Chinese as cruel criminals and left strong impressions on the minds of native Koreans. The once widespread practice of voice phishing or phone scams by some Korean Chinese heightened a sense of vulnerability to crime committed by compatriots who can speak Korean language. For that reason, the public image of Korean Chinese is described as ambivalence and confusion of how to deal with this group. Because they are both compatriots and threats, native Koreans have cognitive dissonance with this group.

2. Discussions

The match or mismatch between ethnicity and nationality seems to be an underlying base of different perceptions of foreign migrant workers and Korean Chinese. Foreign migrant workers are perceived and treated as perpetual aliens, and hate speech against this group is based on this

perception of aliens who do not share anything with Korean natives. By contrast, Korean Chinese are people caught in the middle between Korea and China, and this group becomes a target of suspicion and hostility when it looks more Chinese than Korean. To resolve cognitive dissonance with Korean Chinese, hate commentators deny the overseas Koreans status and treat them as foreigners.

The degree of contact seems to be another important source of different perceptions of foreign migrant workers and Korean Chinese. Foreign migrant workers have limited contact with native Koreans and hate speech against this group takes more economic and criminal aspects. By contrast, Korean Chinese have wider and greater contacts with native Koreans under the condition of unequal statuses, which amplifies prejudice against this group. Korean Chinese, who look and speak like native Koreans, cause greater fear of victimization than foreign migrant workers because of greater possibility of contact.

Hate speech, like many other social phenomena and problems, is a patterned activity with regularity. The position of a particular minority group in society and the nature of its interaction with the majority group determine parameters of hate speech against this group. Foreign migrant workers occupy low and isolated positions in Korean society and have limited interaction with native Koreans, which result in rather simple public perceptions as aliens. By contrast, Korean Chinese have wider ranges of interaction with native Koreans in unequal conditions, which produce more conflicts and greater fear of victimization.

This study is significant in that it could expand methodology in the study of online comment texts and contribute to the progress of research on immigrants by applying the relatively new methodology, text mining. However, there were some limitations in this study. Since it is difficult to refine online news comments written by anonymous online users due to the use of the nonstandard language, inaccurate spacing, slang, abbreviation, and neologism, more accurate results could not be derived. In addition, since only fragmentary information was provided, it was difficult to understand in what context hate speech was used. Although most liked comments were analyzed to overcome these limitations, this study could not escape from the previous research framework and produce more precise interpretations. By expanding research data, using a more

precise methodology, and adding in-depth theoretical background, it can be expected that new patterns of hate speech will be discovered and more precise interpretations could be derived in the future.

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