Responding to Misogyny, Reciprocating Hate Speech - South Korea's Online Feminism Movement: Megalia

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Responding to Misogyny, Reciprocating Hate Speech

South Korea's Online Feminism Movement: Megalia

A Thesis in the Field of Anthropology

for the Degree of Master of Arts

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I celebrate the writing of this thesis with my Megalian friends in Korea. Kim Anonym who connected us with each other during the publication of Rootless Feminism; Kuk Ji Hye, who always so boldly speak and write, and who shared with me her philosophical understanding of Megalian movement; and Sunyeung Chopark, who had the courage to publish Rootless Feminism, in which for the first time Megalians were allowed to publicly speak about our experiences; and many more innumerable Megalians who created Megalia, fought and are still fighting against misogyny.

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Introduction

Vignette A-1

"Retarded Feminism is more dangerous than ISIS".

February 2nd 2015, a column was published in a women's magazine on a pop columnist Kim Tae Hoon. This was after a missing 18-year-old boy was identified to have allegedly joined ISIS out of hatred of feminism. On October 5th 2014, the missing boy had tweeted: "this is an era where men are reverse-discriminated," "and I hate feminism, that is why I like ISIS" (Lee, 2015).

Vignette A-2

May 17th 2016, a schizophrenic male with persecutory delusions against women murdered an unacquainted female victim in a public toilet in Gangnam. In response to organized protests of violence against women, the Seoul police department announced: "One must distinguish between hate crimes and violence by the mentally ill. This case is one of violence by the mentally ill" (Seong, 2016). The perpetrator, nonetheless, had confessed upon arrest: "I conducted the crime because women disrespected me." Before long, another random assault against a woman occurred in Busan on May 25th. When questioned as to the motive behind the offense, the accused responded: "You should already know (why I did this)" (Jeon, 2016).

Vignette B

In 2015 November 26th, a female politician fundraised over 10 million KRW (approximately USD $ 10,000) within 24 hours (Singh, 2016) after urging the police department to reinforce investigation against the "revenge porn" industry. South Korean president Moon, then a candidate, pledged to become a "feminist president" on February 16th 2017 (Park, 2017). Sales of feminism publications approximately sextupled in 2017 with 63,196 copies, compared to 11,628 copies in 2015 according to Kyobo Book Center's estimate, one of the largest bookstore chains in Korea (Kim, 2018). In 2018, a total of over 300,000 women had joined the feminism protest against the "revenge porn" industry that year (Park, 2019).

What happened in South Korea since 2015? A Korean woman would say: Megalia happened. An ephemeral but revolutionary movement that emerged in a corner of South Korean cyberspace that dominated social discourse between 2015 and 2017. The Megalia website has since been shut down. Yet, its aftermath still largely impacts the gender discourse in South Korea.

My thesis is sort of a digital ethnography of the Megalian movement. It was a pioneering form of political resistance which completely restructured gender discourse in South Korea, demonstrating unprecedented potential in countering online misogyny that pervaded Korean cyberspace. However, there are questions around whether Megalia should be considered as part of the feminist movement or as something completely new.

This is because of a peculiar tactic Megalians adopted to fight misogyny. This tactic is called "mirroring." Megalians began to parrot back misogynistic hate speech at men. Megalia created a lexicon of mirroring language which semiotically inverted the traditional semantics of misogyny. These militant activists resisted remaining as the victim. Instead, they imagined an upside-down reality where they render men, the victims of misandry.

The mirroring tactic, simultaneously critiquing and recruiting hate speech, generated heated dispute around the legitimacy this movement. Critique's raised concerns around the ethics of Megalia for propagating hate politics and embracing the violence of hate speech. Whilst these are incredibly insightful and important concerns, Megalia succeeded in subverting entrenched misogynistic ideology within the few months of its emergence. During the three-year span of the movement, Megalia completely revolutionized feminist resistance in South Korea.

In this respect, an ethnography of Megalia presents interesting questions to anthropologists. Anthropology often claims to represent the victims and give voice to the silenced. Vulnerability is so deeply instilled into our anthropological subjects. An anthropologist offers her altruistic hands to her subjects, in exchange for their stories, narratives, information, thoughts, and feelings. We reconstruct their experiences

into a "commodity" (Kleinman et al., 1997; p.2), which generate a spectacle out of their pain and misfortune. Kleinman calls it, the "professional appropriations of suffering" (p.3).

The appropriation of social suffering portrays victims in need of aid; voiceless, helpless, and violated. It presents the victims as if they "must be protected, as well as represented, by others" (Kleinman et al., 1997; p. 7). Images of great suffering calls "something must be done, and it must be done soon, but from outside the local setting" (p. 7). As these experiences are remade into trauma stories, narratives of victimization "become the currency, the symbolic capital, with which they enter exchanges for physical resources and achieve the status of political refugee" (p. 10).

It is quite a clear-cut picture in which the anthropological subject unquestionably *deserves* awareness, empathy, and social support. The subjects are reconstructed, within an anthropologist's writing, into a "victim." An unambiguous victim clearly instated into the position of marginality- violated, poor, female, colored, disabled, sick, or addicted, with restricted agency, acquiescently tolerating and conforming to their given social role as the victim. Anthropological subjects become in a way, *safely* victims. They do not menace the established social order.

The cultural image of misogynistic suffering portrayed women as agentless, compliant, passive, and unprotesting. However, the Megalian subject defies this configuration of victim. She challenges the semantics of social suffering and structural violence. She defies her victim status. She is victimized, however not traumatized. She does not seek the secure status of a victim. Instead, she becomes indignant, angry, and insurrectionary. She seeks to retaliate against the violence perpetrated upon her. She chooses to be the insurgent rather than the "victim." She castrates the convenient associations of victim-good, perpetrator-bad, victim-weak, perpetrator-powerful, victim-tolerant, and perpetrator-violent.

She obfuscates our representation of victims, explicitly occupying the territory of bad, powerful, intolerant, and violent. What happens when the subject defies remaining *safely* in the victim-role? She disintegrates our victim/perpetrator dichotomy. How does an anthropologist analyze when the victim crosses past the line of "victimness"? When South Korean women shatters our imageries of "victim," what

do they become? Do we still call her a victim, when claims for herself the agency to correct and take retribution against the injustices of misogyny? When is she a victim, and when is she not; and why?

Megalia's militant resistance and their refusals to conform to the victim-role demand a deconstruction of the way we conceptualize victims of structural violence. Megalia demanded society to stop portraying women as helpless victims of misogyny. Megalia demonstrated a new model of courageous, capable, potent, intolerant, militant and retaliating victims. How do we portray social suffering and structural violence in this case?

As an ethnographer of Megalia, my role was to faithfully observe and understand. Megalia questioned my preconceived victim/perpetrator dichotomy. I hope my writing successfully challenge the reader's assumptions as well. When the victims refuse the vulturing gaze (Kleinman et al., 1997; Knight, 2015) and condescending charity of observers, our role then is perhaps to simply attend. Attend to the narratives they represent, the images they choose to demonstrate, and the knowledge they assemble.

To do this, I recollect my personal experiences as a Megalian to make an ethnographic observation of the Megalian movement. Since the Megalia website was abruptly shut down and disappeared from cyberspace, my field notes are excerpts from various materials, including but not restricted to: personal experiences and memory, conversations and encounters with other Megalians, published books and literature, screenshots of Megalian articles that circulate around Korean cyberspace, and news articles.

The first chapter reviews the history of online misogyny in South Korea. Megalia was born in a very particular environment. I delineate how Megalia was birthed, enmeshed within the South Korea's social, political, and cultural context. The second chapter brings forth the ethnographic narratives of these militant warriors. I try to comprehend their experiences and fights: the construction of subjectivities around misogynistic victimization, the mirroring tactic, its inherent transgressiveness, and its commitment to humor. Chapter 3 explores the "affective politics" in Megalia. I analyze how these women deliberately recruited raw emotions such as fear, terror, empathy, compassion, and indignation, while pondering the politics of hate

in the South Korean gender scene. In the fourth chapter, I grapple with criticisms against Megalia. Through this, I encounter the violent construction of "violent Megalia" and observe the meticulous recalibration of morality and ethics within Megalia.

Lastly, I forewarn that misogynistic and mirroring speech delineated in this thesis is extremely vulgar, offensive, and unsettling. However, I make a conscious choice not to sanitize any of the expressions I cite. This is because sanitizing the misogynistic hate speech would also sanitize the experiences of women. And mitigating the violence of Megalian mirroring speech would also mitigate its political implications. I uphold that the unrefined obscenity of the language was in itself the essence of Megalia's fight. Megalia was born from the ugly, degenerate, and obnoxious cyber-realities of misogyny. Megalia is the living proof, the mirror image, of the malicious reality of online misogyny. Language was so fundamentally important in their battle. Therefore, I consciously chose to militantly mention and cite this language, as unsettling as it may be.

Ch 1. Online Misogyny and the Birth of Megalia

In 2015 July, an image began to spread all over South Korean cyberspace. It was a log of a newborn website called Megalia. Some called it a radical feminist website. Some others called it a nest of violent and offensive misandrists. The users of this website called themselves Megalians.

Megalia's logo proudly featured a characteristic hand gesture, which granted it an infamous reputation. The hand gesture meant to mock the small penises of South Korean men.

1)

2)
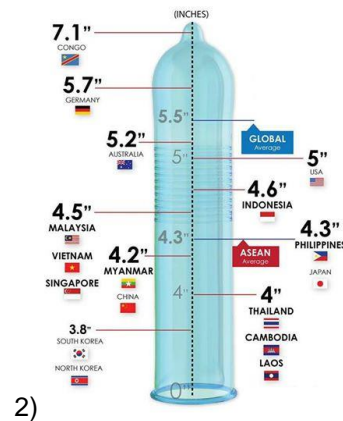
 Another meme (1), created by an anonymous Megalian, clearly demonstrated the point. In this image, a small drawing of penis was put between the fingers, and the writings around the image defiantly wrote: "The World's First, Patented by Kimchi-Boys!", "6.9cm, 3 seconds ejaculation," "Outstanding Performance, MVP for Prostitutes," and "C.U.T.E, Retracted, pigmented Penis." These women supposedly supported their ridicule with "scientific evidence." The "evidence" (2) was an image that depicted the statistical average of men's penis sizes by nationality. The average size of Korean men's penises ranked one of the smallest in the world with 6.9cm in length.

Introduction

Who were the Megalians? What exactly did these women do? Why were they attacking men using such vulgar and offensive language? What was this fight about? How did these fights take place?

I intend to answer these questions in this thesis. Megalia was an online activist community which attempted to counter-attack misogyny and hate speech in South Korean cyberspace with a "mirroring" tactic. The mirroring tactic reciprocated misogyny by semiotically inverting it and returning it back to men. Megalians, the users of this website, were the female online activists who emerged in cyberspace in 2015 and ended in 2017.

The "mirroring" tactic simultaneously critiqued and recruited the hate speech, which rendered it culturally, linguistically, socially, politically, and ethically explosive. The Megalian fighters wittingly employed misogynistic tactics to fight against misogyny. Their strategy turned out to be revolutionarily influential in South Korea's gender scene for approximately 3 years of its life span. The Megalia website has been shut down since 2017. Since then, post-Megalian strands of feminism have diversified and dispersed throughout the online and offline feminism movements. I bring the reader's gaze to the three years of the Megalian era.

This first chapter will explore when and where the fight began. I try to locate this movement in its historical, cultural, and sociopolitical context. The movement was born at the intersection of unique online cultures, misogyny, history, and sociopolitical environment in South Korea. The second chapter brings the narratives of Megalian movement to portray the lived experiences of these women. As I explore the trajectory of South Korean women's subjectivity in becoming a Megalian, I interpret the semantic structure and implications of the mirroring tactic in the movement. The third chapter delineates how the movement recruited women. I observe the affective politics in Megalia, transforming South Korean women's affective subjectivities. The last chapter deals with the academic discourse around Megalia's violence and ethics. Many scholars question the movement as too violent, immoral, and unethical. I intend to bring potential answers to these questions. Finally, I finish my thesis by proposing the ways in which our society could respond to the Megalian movement in the post-Megalian era.

Megalia was born in a very particular environment. The movement was enmeshed in its cultural, historical, and sociopolitical context. Therefore, one must first understand in what environment Megalia was born. Internet cultures and online misogyny were inherently entangled with the birth of Megalia. This chapter will provide the readers with a South Korean literature review on Internet culture and online misogyny alongside with multiple digital ethnography cases to help comprehend the birth of Megalia.

Internet Culture

Megalia was birthed in South Korea's cyberspace. The movement embodied the unique culture of Korean cyberspace. Therefore, I begin this section by introducing an anthropological analysis of Internet culture in South Korea.

Lee Kil Ho (2012), an anthropologist of South Korean cyberspace culture, describes in detail the what and why of how people interact in cyberspace. His digital ethnography on DC Inside (www.dcinside.com), the biggest online community in Korea, remains one of the most influential works on the customs and objectives of what cyber-natives do. His sophisticated observation of internet communities describes them as tribal societies. The cyber-natives, according to him, routinely practice 'gift-giving' and conduct 'war' against each other in order to affirm their existences and reputation.

Within DC Inside there are multiple sub-pages called "galleries," which work as discussion boards dedicated to distinctive themes such as MERS (Middle Eastern Respiratory Syndrome), male celebrities, K-pop stars, comedy, make-up, and so on. The natives of DC Inside, are those who regularly connect, write, and read on these discussion boards. They often affiliate themselves with one or more of these galleries, forming a sort of cyber-citizenship. The affiliation is closely related to which gallery these people connect most often and regularly. This affiliation eventually becomes their tribal identities. Each tribe has unique language, culture, norms, and rules to which its members conform. Lee (2012) conducts a thick ethnographic study of how the inhabitants of DC Inside come to identify themselves as the tribesmen of a specific gallery through acclimatization to the gallery's ethos, and wars with other galleries. Although it is an interesting study exploring the new ways of kinship making in cyberspace without marriage and

reproduction, I will not delve deep into it. Here, we will just assume that individuals in cyberspace carry identities of one or more tribes, which is determined by the galleries they commonly visit. Individuals know and conform to distinctive tribal languages, cultures, norms, and rules. This is how we can understand why the users of the Megalia website called themselves as "Megalians," and behaved in certain distinctive ways.

I will also borrow Lee (2012)'s theorization on gift giving and conducting wars in cyberspace. Gift giving is an essential act in cyberspace existence. The "gift" in cyberspace, according to Lee, is a voice: a "fierce shouting of individuals, each striving to materialize one's existence" (p. 22). That is, what people write or comment on the discussion board can be understood as a gift to other tribe members. Moreover, this gift-voice- is the physical proof of their existence. The inhabitants of this virtual world are materialized and acknowledged only through their voices. Descartes' insightful proposition on human existence "I think therefore I am" then can be properly reappropriated in cyberspace as "I voice therefore I am." Inhabitants can earn reputation; that is, the recognition of one's existence, by giving good "gifts." This reputation motivates individuals to continuously produce and give away one's gifts: in forms that ranges from informational articles, humorous comments, telling of personal anecdotes, invention of a popular buzzword, suggesting of a novel topic of discourse, skillfully synthesized images, videos, and so on.

Lee Kil Ho (2012) observes how tribes collectively conduct wars with each other, in order to defend or enhance their tribal reputation. As cyberspace is composed exclusively of voices, war is also performed through voices. Each tribe attempts to colonize the other's cyber-land with their voices. The colonizer gains victory by dominating the colony's message board with their voices, silencing the other. The victor of the war successfully silences the other by dominating the other's land with one's voices. This is done by ravaging the other's message board with derogatory, insulting, vulgar, or even meaningless posts that will saturate the message board.

The Megalian movement was given birth in this precise environment. A tribe of belligerent female warriors inhabiting a gallery called the "male celebrity gallery" conquered a new, unoccupied land called the MERS gallery. Their conquest was ferocious, and their victory was told far beyond the reach of the DC Inside world. Their reputation was held high. The conquerors of the MERS gallery later came to be called the "Megalians."

Online Misogyny in South Korean Cyberspace

Misogyny in South Korean cyberspace has a long, entrenched history. Perhaps the history of Korea's Internet cultures cannot be fully written without discussing misogyny. Lee (2012) contends that "there are no women" (p.111) in Korean cyberspace: "In galleries dominated by a strong masculine ethos, female users are extremely ostracized. They are not considered human. Women are excluded from all important discussions and are regarded as inferior beings. Finally, they are ousted." Kim Soo Ah (2015), a researcher of online misogynistic hate speech who follows the history of South Korean misogyny, affirms: "Female ostracization was evident since the naissance of internet culture in Korea" (p.290).

Lee (2012), nonetheless, dismisses misogyny as "peripheral" (p.111). To him, the exclusion of female voices is merely a technical device, to maintain the principles of anonymity and equality in cyberspace. However, Um Jin (2016), a South Korean feminist scholar, problematizes this interpretation. According to her, such reading reduces misogyny into the particularity of cyberspace, failing to notice how internet-produced gender dynamics were being reproduced in offline reality.

Additionally, I argue that Lee Kil Ho's (2012) the peripheralization of female ostracism refuses to hold accountable for the unprecedented magnitude of female objectification it inflicted and enabled. Objectification, according to Nussbaum (2010) is a "cluster concept" (p. 69) of ways to treat a person as an object. Nussbaum identifies ten different ways in which this is realized. Objectification against women 1) silences and 2) denies autonomy and 3) subjectivity of women. The objectifier merely 4) treats women as a tool for his purposes, rendering women 5) inert, 6) fungible, and 7) violable. As a tool for his purpose, the objectifier is sure of his 8) ownership over women. Finally, women are merely identified as its 9) body parts rather than as a human. And henceforth, a woman's primary and only worth is put in her 10) appearance.

In South Korean cyberspace, women could not *speak*, they could only be *spoken of*, by men. Women were then denied any autonomy or subjectivities. Their agency and experiences existed merely as forms of exoticized and fetishized imageries, illustrated by lusting men. Hence, they were imagined to be beautiful bodies with conquerable and penetrable vaginas. They were agent-less, submitting, and aesthetically pleasing bodies. These bodies were interchangeably at the service of men's sexual desire and violation. An independent, willing, disobedient, aggressive, and not-beautiful women who defied men's

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sexual desire and violation did not exist in these imaginaries. Megalians were the first female beings claiming their existence in cyberspace, who maintained that women could be those unimaginable beings. In short, the exclusion of female voices permitted online misogyny to proliferate. Misogyny in cyberspace encroached the online consciousness to finally inflict the minds of offline reality.

The cyberspace culture: online misogyny and 'gift giving' and 'war' customs were enmeshed with the emergence of Megalian culture. In particular, the special type of misogyny and hate speech grounded the birth of Megalia. I characterize online misogyny in South Korea to be "paranoid" and "strategic." Paranoid misogyny constructed a concrete belief system which held men as the victims and women as persecutors. Online misogynists quite deliberately and tactically constructed such ideological schema, under the aim to encourage and perpetuate preferable gender dynamics.

Paranoid Misogyny: the military, money, and sex

Korean cyberspace constructed an interesting gender ideology. I will call it a "*paranoid misogyny***.**" A shared sense of "persecution" (Chung In Kyoung, 2016; Kim Soo Ah, 2015; Um Jin, 2016; Yoon Bora, 2013) amongst South Korean men lays the foundational pillars of online misogyny discourse.

In modern Korea, often imagined to be in the polar opposite from the traditional patriarchal Korea, men are experiencing "reverse-discrimination." According to a survey on an investigative reporting TV program called PD's Notebook (Park, 2015), 57.6% of Korean male college students answered that men were discriminated against, compared to 22% who believed women were discriminated against, and the 20.4% which believed the society was equal to both genders. It has become impossible to discuss gender equality without referring to the pervasive sense of "reverse-discrimination" in Korea.

The foci of persecution by paranoid misogyny can be categorized into three elements: the military, money, and sex. According to paranoid misogyny, men are reverse-discriminated against because only men, not women, bear the burden of military obligation. The second node of persecution scapegoats women for men's economic insecurity. Any forms of social frustration, and anger aroused by the failing

economy were safely redirected towards women. Lastly, men felt most castrated because women were becoming more and more difficult and costly to get. Women now demanded men to dispense considerable amount of resource, in exchange for sexual relationships. And the prices that men had to pay to attract women were on a steep rise. And to a misogynistic man, this created an unjust power dynamic.

1) Military Persecution

Ilbe post, 2016-02-09[1]

Title: The reason why Korean Feminazis won't have a word to say.
Content:
…
Second reason. South Korean men must serve the military for 2 years, regardless of his willingness. Their basic rights are profoundly violated. Men are extensively abused and exploited during this period.

The military duty is one of three main duties of a citizen. What did women do compulsively, while we served the military?

Ilbe post, 2016-03-09[2]

Title: I think it is so unfair that I had to serve in the military for 2 full years.
Content:
I am a college student, discharged from the service about a year ago. It is quite bitter to watch the corruption of national defense department and how soldiers are being treated these days on SNS and TV. …
All I have got left after 2 years of compulsory military service, in which I received around 130,000-140,000W (approximately 130-140$) per month, and worked like a slave …, is around 1,500,000W (1500$) total in my bank. My girlfriend mocked me saying "your saving is my one month's salary :)" I was dumbfounded and infuriated to hear this. …

Why do young people in South Korea keep silence despite such inhumane treatment? Why is nobody resisting? I really would like to make a protest about this. …

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[1] http://www.ilbe.com/view/7478499794

[2] http://www.ilbe.com/view/7667195780

Ilbe post, 2014-04-03[3]

> **Title: Korean women are entirely without scruples.**
> **Content:**
> Above all the shit that Kimchi bitches do, I am pissed off at them just because they get exempted from military duty. I get angry to the point of wanting to punch them in the face, just passing by women in the streets. …
> Women get so much favor in this country. …
> Only men are forced to serve military duty, it is so fucked up that I can't take it anymore.

These are excerpts from Ilbe's posts, writing about women's exemption from the military duty. These men commonly acknowledge that it is the South Korean government exploiting young men's labor. They question "why is nobody resisting" against the profound human rights violations, abuse, and exploitation tolerated in the military. Nevertheless, interestingly, instead of protesting against the regime, they end up getting "pissed off" at women for being exempted from such inhumane treatments. Women's exemption from the military duty becomes a concrete focus of men's paranoia against women.

It is notable how online misogynists persistently call out on women, for what they had to suffer through the military years. The evident fact that women did not possess the power to ameliorate the conditions seems to matter little for them. This kind of reasoning was formulated within a specific historical and political context.

South Korean men are conscripted into two years of military service, whilst women are exempted from the obligation. Human rights violations, physical and sexual violence, abuses, exploitation, and inhumane treatments proliferate the military institution. Nonetheless, compensation for men's labor was scarce. As draft evasions by the political authority became national news, growing discontents against military corruption surfaced in the late 1990s. On May 5th 1998, the Ministry of National Defense declared that it would expand an extra point policy for men who served the military. The extra point would benefit individuals who had served the military years during employment procedures. The policy would systematically favor men over women in the job market. Bae Eun Kyung (2000), a feminist scholar who investigates Korea's gender conflict within military discourse, argues that the policy was a makeshift one to

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[3] http://www.ilbe.com/view/3266483876

appease the draft evasion scandal, disclosed during the 1997 presidential election. Extra points were, according to her, an ad hoc policy to quiet down the discontents against the military regime over maltreatment and corruption. The Ministry of National Defense, rather than providing solid material reimbursement and concrete measures to eradicate corruption, promised "extra points" in the recruitment process. A new policy aimed to shift the responsibility from the state to the private employment sector. Furthermore, the measure would inevitably disadvantage women as a group in South Korea's scarce job market. This effectively restructured the military issue into a confrontation and competition between women and men. The sudden shift of discourse allowed the state to evade taking sincere countermeasures against uncovered corruption.

Bae (2000) finds that military discourse was deliberately reconstructed into a gender discourse, encouraging "men's anger" against women. Men's indignation against the corrupt regime and exploitive military apparatus was redirected towards women. She criticizes that this kind of "witch-hunting politics" (p. 93) inculpating women for social problems was often tactically devised and propagated by the regime. Bae urges the Korean society to question who it is, that is substituting this dispute into an "interest struggle" (p. 95) between women and men. She further demands that Korean society read through the "gender politics," in which "all societal frustration, anger, and discontents are reconstructed into a conflict between women and men" (p. 95).

Her penetrating observation in vain, the military issue has persistently served as one of the centers of persecutory ideation against women since the judgment of unconstitutionality of the extra points policy in the 1999. Men, who had to serve the military, felt they were being persecuted by women who were opposed to the trivial compensation of their military years.

2) Money Persecution

News article titled "Be Firm, Bean-Paste Girls", 2006-09-11[4]

"I'm hanging out with my personal bank(boyfriend) today, hahaha, gossip gossip"

The above image of a woman represents certain stereotypes of women that were pervasively popular at the time: the "Bean-Paste Girl." Bean-Paste Girl is a derogatory term to call out on spendthrift women who like to consume fancy foreign brands such as Starbucks coffee and Chanel bags.
The article writes: "The word 'Bean-Paste Girl', extensively used among lay people these days, was the biggest buzzword of this summer. … In general, the word refers to women in their 20s, who go after foreign brands and culture, driven by vanity."

Um Hye Jin (2012), investigating Korean women's consciousness in the neoliberal era, interprets that misogyny is a "neoliberal safety net" working as an outlet of social frustration and anger. Jeong & Lee (2018) also remarks: "The online misogyny in Korea is largely a product of masculine anxieties and anger about economic insecurity, which is projected onto 'selfish Korean women'" (p.708). Women, rising as a new consumer group with purchasing power (Mo, 2008), threatened men that some women were beginning to outstrip men's economic capacity. Discourses around the "Bean-Paste Girl" seek to accuse and restrict women who are reaching at a certain economic status, supposedly through the financial support of their male partners, according to these men's beliefs.

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[4] 정세한 [Jeong, Se Han]. (2006, September 11). 굳세어라, 된장녀 [Be Firm, Bean-Paste Girls]. *연세춘추*. Retrieved from http://chunchu.yonsei.ac.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=9637

Yoon Bo Ra (2013) introduces the "Bean-Paste Girl" phenomenon as demonstrative of men's persecution against women's economic status.

The image on the right, titled "Illustrated Guide of a Bean-Paste Girl", illustrates the popular imagery of a Bean-Paste Girl. Bean-Paste Girl discourse censures on women's consumption patterns such as "coffee that she cannot give up, even though she can't afford meals," "famous brand bags," "brand new heels," "sunglasses, usually to put on her hair."

Another popular online imagery of a "Bean-Paste Girl", imaginatively narrating "A Day of a Bean-Paste Girl" writes[5]:

"In the morning, I wash my hair with a shampoo advertised by a famous actress. I feel like I'm the actress. I put my natural make-up on, not too heavily. I wear the latest fashion dress, and bring a brand tote bag. I take my textbook in my arms. Big bags wouldn't make me look like a college girl. Waiting for my bus, I longed for my ex-boyfriend who had a car.
In front of the school, I watch outside the windows as I eat brand coffee and doughnut. I feel like a New-Yorker. I tricked one of my seniors into buying me lunch at a nice family restaurant. I take a photo of the food to upload on my Cyworld (South Korean SNS). I had some time to window-shop at a luxury goods section in a department store.
I talk with my friends about men to marry with. A tall and fashionable doctor who drives a car over 3000cc would be good enough. My current boyfriend is only for "enjoy."
I run in the gym. I feel fancy as if I'm in "Sex and the City"."

This is how condemnations against "Bean-Paste Girls" were justified. "Bean-Paste girls" extravagantly consume, taking advantage of men's economic resources, as illustrated in the above rhetoric.

This kind of analysis resembles the western understanding of a "backlash" against feminism, where misogyny is expressed by men competing against female subjects under economic crisis. Misogyny safely redirects any forms of social frustration, anxiety, and anger towards women. Women were rendered a scapegoat for the failing economy. In this context, men experienced change in gender relations as threats to their economic stability and status. Bae (2012) professes that "Korean society has been breaking through

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[5] 김노경 [Kim, No Kyung]. (2006, August 4). 된장녀의 하루 [A Day of a Bean-Paste Girl]. *한겨레21*. Retrieved from http://h21.hani.co.kr/arti/society/society_general/17596.html

economic crisis by scapegoating women for all social responsibilities and burdens in the late 90s" (p. 93). For her, witch-hunting of women for both the military and economic issue is merely a repetition of this precise semantic structure.

3) Sex Persecution

Sisa IN, an investigative weekly magazine, analyzed 430,000 posts uploaded between 2011 and 2014 on one of the most misogynistic websites in South Korean cyberspace, Ilbe. Their analysis (Cheon, 2015) postulates the above foci of the gender dispute: the military and money, as but a pretext merely brought to justify pre-existing misogyny. Their data analyst, Kim Hak Jun, posits that "misogyny comes first," and other nodes such as the military were "closer to an excuse introduced afterwards 'in order to hate in earnest'."

According to their misogyny discourse map, designed based on analysis of Ilbe posts, at the center of men's persecution lies the "Kimchi Girl.[6]" The map precisely points out where the "Kimchi Girl" belief is birthed: dating experiences. The article confidently concludes: "the frustration in the dating market is the original experience of (paranoid) misogyny."

Ilbe post, 2015-08-05[7]

Title: The reason why Kimchi Girls will not disappear

A cartoon attached to this article, describing a man illustrated as a *dog*. This dog instinctively drools at the sight of a woman. The dog (man) spots a woman who is walking by, jumps at her crying: "it's a woman!" To a startled and confused woman, the dog proposes: "I will do anything you ask of me, master." As the woman asks if he could buy her *a bag*, he immediately offers it to her. Realizing her power over him, the woman's previously innocent face turns into a greedy, malicious one.
As she constantly demands *gifts* from the dog, an observer of this couple laments over the dog's subordination. As he narrates "I would not live like that," the cartoon's image simultaneously shows that the observer himself was wearing a shackle and a bell on his neck, implying his own subordination. The observer's mater, a girlfriend, casually demands of him: "buy me that this time."

The anonymous author remarks his own reasoning: "What would be the reason? It is obviously because of the *pussy-lickers*.*"
* pussy-licker: a pejorative title for men who are too nice to women.

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[6] Figure 1
[7] http://www.ilbe.com/view/6326086102, Figure 2

Ilbe post, 2016-01-09 [8]

Title: The "*price of vagina*" will not get cheaper even after delisting (getting older than the age 30).
Content:
The price of vagina simply cannot fall. They (women over 30) would only change if they feel certain crisis after 30. There are so many men who will pussy-lick them even after 30, let alone a crisis.
Just looking at my older sister, even though she is over 30, … she is always being flirted and pussy-licked by men … Therefore, she judges a man by every single detail such as *height, looks, and profession*. …

If you were hoping for a woman with depreciated vagina prices, get your shit together.
If you have nothing to offer, even the delisted women will not look at you.
There are so many pussy-lickers to lick her pussy anyways.

Ilbe post, 2017-08-10[9]

Title: A thing that manifests similar *cost-effectiveness* to a Kimchi Girl
Content:
<Image of Apple products attached>
They are only expensive because the *demand exceeds the supply*, according to the *law of supply and demand.* For sure, they are not expensive its quality. …

Ilbe post, 2018-03-08[10]

Title: Having a girlfriend made me realize that prostitutes are in fact cheaper, considering *cost-effectiveness*.
Content:
Compared to average ugly Kimchi Girls
For whom I would have to spend easily $100 for hotel rooms
During sex, they lie like a dead fish while putting restrictions such as no oral sex, no facial ejaculations and stuff

If I just go to a prostitute, I can be *serviced* by a beautiful bitch,
I can demand as much as I want as a *customer* and she will have to tolerate me.

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[8] http://www.ilbe.com/view/7341573747

[9] http://www.ilbe.com/view/9953109077

[10] http://www.ilbe.com/view/10409980475

Title: Feminists who *dominate* men using sex as her bait.
Content:
…
Women in the contemporary world could earn a lot with ease, thanks to men's sexual desires.
Young and pretty women can easily surpass the income of a doctor or a lawyer if she only spreads her legs.
Even if she does not sell sex directly, they receive a lot of *favors and support* from men, just because they are women. … This is because men want to make favorable impressions to them for sexual reasons. …

Misogynistic men interpret the romantic and sexual relationship through the "law of supply and demand." In this framework, women are rendered as products that men consume. "Cost-effectiveness" then becomes an important factor in determining the quality of a woman. The product, a woman, must be provided at a cheap price, with satisfactory quality for the men, consumers.

According to misogynistic men, South Korean women are not "cost-effective". Kimchi Girls are expensive despite their low "quality." They are expensive because they demand various "pussy-licking" services from men: "bag," "gifts," and "favors and support," whilst meticulously judging men's height, face, and profession. They are low in quality as they are "ugly," do not provide satisfiable sexual experiences, and old.

Paradoxically, men become the victims in this dynamic because Kimchi Girls unfairly raised the "price of vagina." And this is also partly the fault of the "pussy-lickers," who saturate the competition and inflate the "price of vagina." In the sex persecution, as the "price of a vagina" rises, men are further subordinated due to their unresolved sexual desires. Now it can be said that women "dominate" men "using sex as their bait." Men are now made into "dogs" of their sexual desires, and women "masters" who hold the keys to men's sexual desires.

The above cases revolve around one important notion: "price of vagina," that is, the cost of sex for men. The concept indicates social and economic resources, that a man must possess or present to a woman in order to seduce her into having sexual relationship with him. They accuse South Korean women

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[11] http://www.ilbe.com/view/3688286931

for failing to provide cost-effective products. That is, providing a satisfiable sexual relationship at low cost for men. "Price of vagina" is unjustly inflated according to misogynistic men.

And they perceive that it is partly the pussy-lickers who caused the inflation. Therefore, pussy-lickers are often accused in company with the Kimchi Girls. Online misogynists argue that men, the pussy-lickers, should stop being nice to women as it will spoil women. Pussy-licking would lead women to expect more from their men, inflating the "price of vagina."

This kind of victim politics somewhat reminds us the Chad-Incel dichotomy, prominent in English-speaking cyberspace at the time.[12] The "Chads" are the ones that dominate the sexual market, and the "Incels" are the victims of the superficial, materialistic, and ultimately unfair sexual market. Because of the market rules, which disadvantage the Incels, these men are deprived of women and sex. Whilst the Chad-Incel dichotomy highlights the relative deprivation of Incels compared to the Chads, South Korean men, pussy-lickers and misogynists alike, are understood equally as victims of the dating market. Kimchi Girls alone are rendered the ultimate predators of the market. However, both South Korean misogynists and Incels arrive at one common conclusion: women are not easily attainable. And that conclusion for these misogynists is unjust and indignable.

Online misogynists in South Korea, instead of increasing their individual bets by becoming a better competitor in the dating market (Chad), came up with a novel agenda: 1) regulate the "price of vagina" through cultural, sociopolitical, and moral discourse, and 2) increase the quantity and quality of supply, that is, sexually desirable women. This strategy would render desirable women abundant and attainable, at a cheap price. This will be discussed in detail in the following section.

In essence, paranoid misogyny in South Korea demonstrates three central registers of male persecution: the military, money, and sex. Men are reverse discriminated against because they must serve in the military while women do not. Neoliberal economic anxieties are projected onto women who seemingly enjoy a novel economic independence. Lastly, and most importantly, men feel persecuted because the

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[12] Figure 3

"price of vagina" is inflated by the monopoly of Kimchi Girls. Ethnographic observation of the online discourse and Sisa IN's data analysis (Cheon, 2015) both point at sex persecution as the center of misogynistic paranoia. "Price of vagina" is central to the construction of online misogyny discourse. Men create and manipulate discourses about women, with a central emphasis on the "price of vagina." They are aware that certain discourses, beliefs, and behavior sets may increase or decrease the "price of vagina." With this recognition, online misogyny becomes a strategic and propagandistic one with a clear economic and political agenda: deflate the "price of vagina."

Online Construction of Strategic Misogyny

A number of feminist scholars remarked on the strategic aspect of paranoid misogyny discourse construction. In this section, I briefly introduce the academic trajectory of theorization on online misogyny. Feminist literature in South Korea comprehends online misogyny, not as a product of pre-existing ideology, but as a process of constructing ideology. The ideology is carefully crafted and circulated, in order to fulfill certain cultural, social, political, and moral goals. And these goals, as I have mentioned above, revolve around the idea of deflating the "price of vagina." That is, to enable men to expend the least possible resources to engage in a sexual relationship with women.

Most of the studies theorizing online misogyny use Ilbe, the website where the most radical and extreme version of online misogyny is developed and circulated, as its subject. However, it is crucial to understand that online misogyny is not localized and restricted to Ilbe, nor to cyberspace. Literature on online misogyny collectively observes that misogynistic discourse produced in cyberspace eventually propagates to real social and political spheres. (Kim Hak Jun, 2014; Chung In Kyoung, 2016; Yun Ji Yeong, 2016; Yoon Bo Ra, 2013; Um Jin, 2016). Yoon (2013), and in particular, these studies note that the mechanism of Ilbe's misogynistic discourse directly reflects on the semantic structures regarding women in South Korea.

Traditionally, online misogyny was perceived as but one form of discrimination against the minority groups. In particular, Kim Hak Jun (2014), a sociologist and an online discourse analyst, analyzes the New Extreme Right ideology emerging in Ilbe. He evaluates that women are seen as one of the social "free riders" in company with other minority groups such as the immigrants.

However, feminist scholars since Yoon Bo Ra (2013) have posited that misogyny must be analyzed distinctively from other forms of discrimination. Singling out misogyny from numerous axes of marginalization, Yoon (2013) asserts: "extreme misogyny is but an *expression of distorted sexual desire*" (p. 51). Misogynist's anger, according to her, comes from frustrated sexual desires.

Um Jin (2016), developing on Yoon (2013)'s analysis, advances that Korea's online misogyny is a "strategic" one. She demonstrates how online misogynists weaponized hate speech for their purpose. She observes a conscious manipulation of language through an article titled "A Movement to Re-Popularize the Word "*vagin-official*[13]" (p. 216-218). The choice of the word "movement," according to the author, demonstrates that these men were aware of the political potential of labelling and popularizing derogatory names against women. The writers and commentators of this post vigorously debated over the different political impacts between the label "vagin-official" and "Kimchi Girl": "the most destructive vocabulary is vagin-official"; "it is difficult to use the word vagina in real life"; "… the word Kimchi Girl has a stronger tone of sarcasm and satire."

This kind of strategic discourse formulation proliferates in many of Ilbe's articles. For example, online misogynists strategically advocated for the legalization of prostitution, as they believed it will help regulate the "price of vagina."

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[13] A misogynistic vocabulary that combined the word vagina and government official together. The word derides on women who expects favors and advantages just because of her gender(vagina).

1) Regulating the "Price of Vagina"

Ilbe Post, 2013-05-24[14]

Title: [Economics of Prostitution II] Comparison of the Efficacy of Legalized Prostitution (Decriminalized) vs Romantic Relationship
Content Summary:
This lengthy report on Ilbe begins with the premise that the economic principle of achieving the maximum output with minimum input should be applied to romantic relationships. Maximum output indicates having the maximum number of intercourses, and minimum input signifies the least input of time and financial resources to have intercourse.

His meticulous economic analysis calculates that prostitution would cost men USD $5,760 in a year, with an estimated cost of 60$ per 30 minutes of service (sex). On the other hand, the cost of maintaining a relationship, including the cost of dates, hotels, and gifts would estimate 6,420$. He then emphasizes the risk of losing your girlfriend before being able to have intercourse, which turns the investment into a sunken cost.

Therefore, according to the author, it is reasonably concluded that it is economically irrational to pussy-lick women to date them for sex.

He additionally predicts that if prostitution is criminalized, the cost of prostitution, and hence sex, will increase alike, both for dating and prostitution.

Ilbe post, 2019-06-24[15]

Title: The Reason Why Prostitution Must Be Legalized.
Content:
1. In a world where superior men monopolize women, we will have the legal rights to fuck women.
3. Kimchi Girls can stop being snobbish. This is because we can resolve our sexual desires without dating Kimchi Girls. …
6. Superior bitches that I never imagined to be able to fuck, I will be able to grab them, lick them, and fuck them at my will. …

… the only legal sex, we are permitted currently is through your girlfriend.
However, cost-effectiveness of a Kimchi Girl is not appropriate, as I have to take their temper and pussy-lick them.
Legalization of prostitution is the only way for men to fix this situation …

The above writings dramatically demonstrate the logic in advocating for legalization of prostitution. The online misogynists are clearly conscious of the broader sociopolitical impact that would follow the legalization: decrease in "price of vagina".

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[14] Ilbe post, published in 2013-05-24. As the original article was deleted from the server, a summary of the text is provided by the author

[15] http://www.ilbe.com/view/10868053903

Another ilbe article anticipated:

Ilbe post, 2013-05-07[16]

Title: The Answer Is Legalizing Prostitution
Content:
… Korea's Kimchi Girls will be removed.
If we can fuck any beautiful girls whenever we want, there won't be any more stupid Kimchi Boys (pussy-lickers) who would present these women with brand bags and gifts. The Bean-Paste Girls' prices will decrease, ultimately removing the space for Kimchi Girls to stand in this society. …

Legalizing prostitution would eventually deflate the "price of vagina," as less men would spare resources in order to lure Kimchi Girls into bed. On this note, the strategic misogynists in South Korea advocated for the legalization of prostitution.

Another agenda online misogynists believed to decrease the "price of vagina" was Dutch-Pay. Dutch-paying was one of the cultural and moral discourses demanding women to always split the bill during dates, developed by man's rights activist Sung Jae-Gi to reduce men's expenditures in dating experiences.

Martyr for Men's Rights, Sun Jae-Gi; And His Sacred Agenda, Dutch-Pay

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South Korea's most prominent men's rights activist, Sung Jae-Gi, compiled and politicized the idea that Korean men are sexually subordinated by Korean women. Sung Jae-Gi, the founder of men's rights organization Man of Korea, died after a suicide performance on September 25th 2013 after leaping into the Han River without any safety measures in an attempt to fundraise 100 million won (app. USD $100,000).
The rampant twitter "activist," who gained his fame through a relentless and ruthless tweeting style, was most celebrated with his tweet which wrote: "It's a good day to Dutch-Pay." This tweet with a picture of a gray sky, quite evidently parodying a famous line from the Korean film 'New World': "It's a good day to die."
The tweet meant to criticize women who do not pay their fair share in the dating market. Throughout his career, he berated on women for taking advantage of men. Women subordinated men by exploiting their sexual capital. He finally concluded in one of his tweets: "Men's sexual desires are ruled by women. Women have the sexual power and men have the physical power. Can physical power determine the social dominance in today's civilized society? This means women, who dominate men's sexual desires, have the social power."
Firmly holding that men are "subordinated" by women who exploit their sexual capital, he passionately advocated for the normalization of "Dutch-Pay." In his worldview of sexually repressed men, his agenda of "Dutch-Pay" was elevated into a sacred liberation movement of men's sexual enslavement by women.

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[16] Ilbe post, published 2013-05-07, As the original article was deleted from the server, an excerpt of translation is provided by the author

Paranoid misogynists fervently advocated for normalization of Dutch-Pay as they perceived that it would make the dating game fairer for men: decreasing the cost of a romantic relationship.

Strategic misogyny attempts to regulate the "price of vagina" by encouraging certain agenda such as legalization of prostitution and Dutch-Pay. On the other hand, it also develops different discourses that would promote the mass production of sexually desirable women that are easily attainable, exploitable, and affordable. Faithful to the law of supply-demand model, online misogynists sought to increase the quantity of quality products in order to deflate the "price of vagina" for men. This was done by vigorously advocating for "positive femininity" whilst forestalling "negative femininity" among South Korean women.

2) Mass Production of Sexually Desirable Women

Um Jin (2016) suggests that online misogyny provides detailed specifications of positive and negative femininity. Taking into account Yoon (2013)'s emphasis on "sexual desire," women are encouraged to aspire to become more sexually desirable by acquiring positive femininity, whilst refraining from projecting negative femininity that will make her undesirable. Um (2016) suggests that online misogyny tactically developed imageries of positive and negative femininity with a conspicuous political intention, that is to manipulate and regulate women in the dating market. These imageries are an ideological construct proposed by politically charged online misogynists in order to manipulate women's desires, attitudes, behaviors, and looks. Positive femininity is a set of recommended femininity that makes women sexually more "desirable" for men. This set of characters, according to Um, include docility, obedience, naivety, physical beauty, and frugality so as to not burden men financially. On the contrary, negative femininity includes series of qualities that would make relationship with women more taxing, expensive, and inconvenient. The specifications were carefully constructed to make romantic relationships with women more pleasurable, attainable, affordable, exploitable, and at a cheaper cost.

1) Negative Femininity: The Kimchi-girl

This image was used in the TV news to highlight the inherent negative femininity of South Korean women in contrast with the positive femininity of Japanese women. The image terms Korean women as Kimchi Girls and Japanese women as Sushi Girls. According to the image, Kimchi girls (Korean women) think "men should pay for dates," expect "super luxury honeymoon and a house," and then only provide bread for husband's breakfast. On the other hand, Sushi girls believe "men and women should pay equally," want to make "minimal wedding," "valuing happiness within the family," and "heartily prepare the breakfast for her loving husband."

Like this, women of other nationalities were often recruited to highlight the negative femininities embodied by the South Korean women. Japanese women are sexually more desirable for they are allegedly more submissive, and readily conform to men's sexual demands. White women, pejoratively called "white horses," are often portrayed economically independent and physically more attractive than Korean women. The factuality of these portrayals was not important. These imageries were imagined and recruited as a tool in the construction of ideally desirable woman that all women were recommended to take as a model for becoming sexually desirable.

The "Kimchi Girl" is the epitome of negative femininity embodied by South Korean women. The word Kimchi was chosen to highlight the "Koreanness" of undesirable femininity. "Kimchi Girl" is a derogatory term used to generalize about Korean women who embody certain "undesirable" characteristics. According to Kim Soo Ah (2015, p. 297):

"The 'Kimchi girl' is a pejorative title for Korean women who are fat, ugly, and sexually unattractive, who hence undergo multiple plastic surgeries and end up becoming a 'plastic nightmare'. The 'Kimchi girl' is also promiscuous and tries to take advantage of men's wealth, while she herself is incapable and deplorable career-wise."

2) Positive Femininity: Decent Girl

Whilst fervently reprimanding negative femininity, the online misogynists proposed specifications of positive femininity for Korean women. At the other end of Kimchi girl lies a "Decent Girl." The terminology was coined to provide Korean women with guidelines how to be sexually desirable for men. Megalians later assembled the requirements to become a "Decent Girl," disclosing the absurdity of its extensive demands.

Criteria For Being a Decent Girl: Post In Megalia, 2015-08-17 [17]

Title: The reality of a Decent Girl
Content:
… she should blindly date men without ever judging his qualifications such as physical features, height, and wealth. Especially you must not judge a man with his height …
she should always dutch-pay …
She should not take credit even when she is the one who is actually paying …
She should not use the public toilet as she might get voyeured and sexually harassed. …
If she must use the public toilet, she must take care to wear beautiful lingerie for the voyeurs …
after marriage, she should fulfill her responsibilities towards work, housework, childrearing, and family-in-laws …
she should take care of the children without expecting help from the husband …
she should not drive luxurious cars, so as to not intimidate men …

The following example was an experience disclosed by an anonymous woman during Megalia's "The World's Best Decent Girl Competition". The competition invited women to introduce narratives of being in a destructive relationship under the pressure of having to become a "Decent Girl."

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[17] As Megalia website has been shut down, the original article is inaccessible. However, a screenshot of this post circulates on internet. Figure 4

2nd Place in "The World's Best Decent Girl Competition"[18]

I got drunk, hanging out with my friends one time when I was 20. I was unconscious, and one of my friends took me to his place and raped me. And then he asked me to date him. I didn't know it was a rape at that time. I thought it meant he loved me and thus accepted his proposal.

He lived two hours away from my place, and I had to come whenever he wanted to see me. He asked me to pay for our dates asserting that he didn't have money. I was asked for sex every time I saw him. I let him, because I thought "A woman can be loved only if she would do whatever a man demands her to do." He would rape me in many places, … even without protection. All I could ask from him was "Please do not ejaculate inside me".

One day, I got pregnant. … He raped me again when I was struggling with the guilt of abortion. On the day of the operation, he would not answer his phone, and me and my mother paid for the operation. Only after the surgery, he answered his phone. When I asked him where he was, he said: "Are you done? You've done well. I couldn't answer the phone because I was at a bar next to the hospital with my friends."

… After him, I was suffering through depression. And then I met Megalia which made me feel better… Anyways, thank you so much Megalia.

#IWasADecentGirl

These narratives exposed and exhibited the destructive impact the "Decent Girl" discourses had on women. Women felt pressured to desire and not desire certain things, speak and behave in certain ways in order to be "decent" and "sexually desirable" for men. Criteria for "Being a Decent Girl" made it easier for men to sexually consume and exploit women. Women were encouraged to become more pleasurable, attainable, affordable, and exploitable for men in romantic and sexual relationships. Construction of discourses on "Kimchi Girl" and "Decent Girl" rendered women compliant and vulnerable to men's sexual desires.

The "Kimchi Girl" represented the undesirableness of general South Korean women, while the "Decent Girl" provided them with a way out: guidelines to become sexually desirable. With such discourse, strategic misogyny specified and stigmatized negative femininity, whereas endorsing and encouraging positive femininity. Online misogynists were aware of the political impact of their ideological discourse and recruitment of hate speech. Um Jin (2016) contends that, they weaponized these tools to manipulate and regulate women's behaviors, desires, and attitudes. Through this manipulation, the strategic misogyny

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[18] The original text is lost. However, the screenshot of the story circulates on internet. The story was known to have received the second-best prize in "The World's Best Decent Girl Competition." Look at Figure 5

finally aspired for the mass-production of sexually desirable women: "Decent Girls," that are more pleasurable, attainable, affordable, exploitable, and provided at a cheaper price at his demand.

Online misogynists actively exploited and expanded on the paradigm of sexual persecution in cyberspace. **Um**, in her strategic misogyny theory, suggests that paranoid misogyny was adopted and propagated as a tactic. The motive under this tactic is to promote the production of "Decent Girls" and repress the production of "Kimchi girls." Men in cyberspace, preoccupied in this propaganda construction, perhaps dreamed of a society where "sexually desirable women" were abundant, easily attainable, exploitable, and most importantly, available at a cheap price. More desirable women were to be inculcated in the dating market, so that men could easily consume and exploit her sexuality at a cheaper price. Online Misogyny in this sense, served a quite clear political purpose: the mass production of sexually desirable women, and the capitalization of Korean women's sexuality.

In conclusion, online misogyny was a political agenda. The aim was the mass production of sexually desirable women at supply for men. For this, online misogynists advocated for specific gender discourses: legalization of prostitution and Dutch-Pay. Their goal was further achieved by promoting positive femininity whilst proscribing negative femininity. Online misogynists understood the impact of the misogynistic discourse and exploited it to serve their purpose. The mass production of sexually desirable women would eventually drop the "price of vagina," the single most important element in paranoid misogyny discourse in South Korea.

The Birth of Megalia

Megalia was born under this atmosphere: indeed, it was almost inevitable that some sort of response was going to eventually form. Yet everything seemed to be a mere coincidence. Things luckily happening at the right time at the right place.

In May 20th 2015, an infectious disease called 'MERS (Middle East Respiratory Syndrome)' which was plaguing the Middle East landed in South Korea. The disease quickly spread and created an enormous

fear and anxiety among Korean population. As everyone talked about it, DC Inside also had to make a gallery to discuss it within its realm. This event elicited two strangely unrelated, yet somehow intertwined stories.

As a doctor practicing medicine in South Korea, I was following the story of the MERS epidemic with intense concern. Some of my colleagues were working with MERS patients. Doctors and hospitals were publicly accused for not adequately responding to the epidemic. Each day, more patients were diagnosed with MERS and even more were quarantined. Perhaps the system administrator of the DC Inside had similar concerns, when he created the MERS gallery on May 29th. But he would have never imagined what this novel land would become.

We will abruptly turn our gaze to a small tribe (Lee, 2012) in the corner of DC Inside. This tribe inhabited a subpage called the male celebrity gallery. It was known as one of the scarce female tribes in the DC Inside world. The tribe was already notorious for its aggressive language and habitual pillaging of other galleries. They were the scarce, hostile Amazons of cyberspace who still refused to surrender and be silenced in front of the mighty power of misogyny. On the 26th, three days before the MERS gallery was created, a strange man brazenly intruded into this land of women. The intruder, introducing himself as a 34-year-old, to-be-a-manager next year, sought romantic advice on his crush, a 20-year-old female employee (Yoon Bo Ra, 2015; p.12). The excuse for such a daring intrusion into this pristine Amazonian territory was: "it seems there are lot of women here."

The time was when women older than 30 were compared to delisted stocks. A new internet slang "delistedame," which is a portmanteau of "delisted stock" and "madame," was made popular, depreciating aging women's value in the dating market. Continuous with an older metaphor describing women as Christmas cakes: "Women sell (in a marriage market) best at 24, okay at 25, and are discarded by 26."

How dare a 34-year-old man lust on a 20-year-old girl, when Korean women older than 30 were being described as expired goods in the dating market? His brazen naivete brought fierce reactions from these fearsome women. Faithfully conforming to the tribe's manners, the female warriors responded with vulgar, insulting comments. This man was now labelled "Soy Bean Paste Man", a parallel version of derogatory name for women: "Bean Paste Girl".

Internet grammar makes it difficult to vouch for the sincerity of this man's romantic agony. Nevertheless, this small incident marked the beginning of a beginning. These irate women now sought an opportunity to vent their anger against this man. The new-born MERS gallery accidentally became the tribe's target. Moreover, a news release that the patient-zero of MERS epidemic in South Korea was a 68-year-old male provided a perfect excuse for an attack. Someone wondered "What would have happened if patient-zero was a woman?"

In fact, two South Korean women mistakenly reported to have refused the quarantine for MERS diagnosis in the Hongkong airport had been severely cyber-bullied by online vigilantes. The misogynistic narratives depicted these women as reckless and selfish Kimchi girls, who went for a vacation in Hongkong for extravagant shopping. One article reported: "Last month, a new article was released that Korean women who shared a plane with a MERS patient, refused quarantine in Hongkong. After the coverage, misogynistic writings which called on these women as "Kimchi Girls," pervaded in one right extremist online community" (Kim Min Jeong, 2015). However, the news later turned out to be a misreport. On this note, the aggressive tribes from the male celebrity gallery spontaneously began to pillage the MERS gallery.

The MERS gallery was a young uninhabited land that was left open for anyone. Hence it was a perfect territory for these female warriors to go conquer, and gloriously demonstrate their anger and power. The tribe pillaged the MERS gallery, ranting at men who held double standards to women and men. This attack marked the beginning of the MERS gallery and the consequent creation of the Megalia website (Yoon, 2015).

Scholars have correctly observed that Megalia's emergence was not an overnight miracle. It was rather "an outcome of continuous revision and challenge of online activism strategies that were conducted in cyberspace" (Kim Ri Na, 2017; p.110).

Yang (2018) introduces a decade old fandom culture which resembled very much the emerging Megalian mirroring tactic. She describes an online female fandom culture that emerged after the screening of South Korean movie called "The King and the Clown" in 2005. Actor Joon Gi Lee stars as Konggil, a

beautiful male clown and a daunting satirist of the male ruling-class and their misogyny. Due to his impersonation of feminine appearance and attitude, he becomes an object of men's sexual desire. Konggil then sublimates his experiences through parodying and ridiculing distorted men's desires through his performance. Yang (2018) explores the gender politics played in the fandom of Joon Gi Lee. She observes:

> "Ironically, female Internet users found space for themselves and weapons to fight back against those conditions in the male dominant, sexist, and anonymous DC Inside where anything, including women's subordination, goes. These female Internet users appropriate attributes of online male culture and forms of communication, such as absurd statements, rudeness, and aggressive sexual expression to empower and emancipate themselves from expected gender norms and conformity" (p. 2).

> She argued that the fandom of Joon Gi Lee also mimicked Konggil's performance, parodying and ridiculing misogynistic hegemony. The fandom culture parodies the corruptive sexual desires objected on them by men, by subversively "asserting themselves as active, aggressive, and independent sexual subjects, not objects, of desire" (p. 6). Most prominently, Yang exemplifies a sexual fantasy represented on a photoshopped image where a group of female fans are threatening to rape the actor. One fan pushing the actor against the wall from his back, whispers "Joon Gi, it's me, your older sister…. I won't hurt you. Let's go to a tunnel…" And other three female protagonists photoshopped into the image with a caption saying "Next is our turn…." The actor, the man, is crying here saying "Don't look back. This is just a nightmare. Sob, sob…" (p. 9). Yang asserts "What is provocative here is the open expression of female sexual desire united with the depiction of male submission" (p. 9).

Whether this subversive type of fandom culture led directly to Megalia's mirroring speech is not evident. However, it is evident that the mirroring tactic was not born out of nowhere. Women in cyberspace were constantly experimenting and refining their tactics to successfully respond to online misogyny.

Although the birth of "mirroring" may have been convoluted, the existence of misogyny was explicit. Within days, mirroring words were proscribed and removed by the system administrator. This contradicted

with the website's relative nonchalance to the history of misogynistic hate speech that permeated this cyber-kingdom. Selective censorship against mirroring language was in stark contrast with the continuing proliferation of misogynistic speech. Within ten days, the term "Kimchi Boy" was banned, whilst "Kimchi Girl" had been overlooked for over 10 years (Paradoxa, 2015).

It was clear that this provocative, fast-growing tribe was increasingly being censored. Their words were banned and deleted. Finally, the tribe decides to leave the DC kingdom to find their own land. In August, an independent website called Megalia (www.megalian.com) was created. They named this new land Megalia, which combined the word MERS with "Egalia's Daughters." Egalia's Daughters is a feminist novel which satirically reversed gender roles. Megalia website grew exponentially. Singh (2016) records that the website had 170,000 unique visitors already at the moment of its conception. By November, it appeared to have 370,000 unique visitors. What is notable is that a quarter of its traffic stemmed from referrals, prominently Ilbe.

"Mirroring" language was indeed a preexisting tactic. However, what created its momentum was the incidental intersection of the MERS epidemic, the unembarrassed intruder in male celebrity gallery, pervasive misogyny, and peculiar online cultures in DC Inside. Everything converged at this precise moment and space. That momentum gave birth to Megalia.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I explored the context of South Korean online misogyny, in which the Megalian movement was born. Online misogyny in South Korea took a form of social paranoia, in which men were imagined as victims of reverse-discrimination. Three foci of persecution were identified: military, money, and sex. However, an idea that men are sexually dominated by women lies at the center of persecutional ideation. According to these misogynistic men, the "price of vagina," that is the cost that men had to offer for sex, was unjustly expensive. The paranoid misogyny discourse, as a result, essentially aimed to drop the "price of vagina." **Um** observed that this was achieved strategically, through deliberately developing and circulating certain ideologies such as "Dutch-Pay," "Kimchi Girl," and "Decent Girl." The online misogyny

ultimately aimed to make more women sexually desirable, exploitable, attainable, affordable, and at a cheap price for men, the consumers of the dating market.

Megalia was the social response to this particular type of online misogyny in South Korea. Women had been striving to respond to online misogyny, experimenting with various tactics. However, it was only the fortunate intersection of the MERS epidemic, the dauntless intrusion of clueless men into a female online community, online cultures, and the mirroring tactic that led to the birth of Megalia.

As we have walked through the construction of online misogyny in South Korea in this chapter, I explore how Megalians responded to online misogyny in the following chapters. The second chapter deals with the mirroring tactic which constituted the essence of the movement. The chapter will bring in the ethnographic narratives of these anonymous activists. The third, and fourth chapters dialogue with the ongoing academic discourse around Megalia. The third chapter treats the hate and affective politics Megalia recruited to attract women into its movement. The last chapter will wrestle with the popular critiques against Megalia: which deemed it too violent, immoral, and unethical.

Ch 2. The Mirroring Tactic and the Megalian Fight

Documenting Herstory

Women's histories are easily forgotten and sometimes deliberately scraped off. Megalia's vigorous fights and its revolutionary achievements are also in the process of erasure. Online vigilantes are in active motion to sabotage the herstory of Megalia in South Korean cyberspace[19]. Therefore, this work is a desperate attempt to leave an account of a dying female tribe: fierce, militant warriors in cyberspace who for once aspired for a counterattack on misogyny. Once established in a hostile corner of cyberspace in May 2015, their voice expanded exponentially within a few months. Their victories were being told throughout the country. Yoon Bo Ra (2015) writes, "It was an odd summer. While the fear against MERS was reaching its peak, the name of this disease became the synonym for liberation, euphoria, and catharsis in another corner." Rumor spread; somewhere girls are rapturously "beating up" men. A canon of language sprouted each minute. This language completely subverted traditional gender ideology, sexuality, and misogyny. This language simultaneously criticized and recruited hate speech. Somehow the gunpoint of misogyny was suddenly pointing back at men. People watched with awe how these fearless women overthrew misogyny. However, their reputation came with disgrace. The misogynistic society accused these women for embracing hate politics, violence, and immorality.

Korea's feminist scholarship was saturated with the debate over whether the Megalian movement could be legitimized. Literature explored the hate politics, with which Megalia experimented. Social critiques pondered over the violence and immorality of this vulgar and aggressive movement. Within this immense

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[19] Vandalism on Megalian histories in online encyclopedias such as wikipedia are persistent and strenuous. Furthermore, male-dominated online communities constantly circulate examples of hateful speech in Megalia, detached from its original context.

In November 26th 2015, Megalians fundraised over 10 million KRW (approximately 10,000$) over one night for a female politician Jin Sun Mi, who spoke against and urged investigation on digital sexual crimes. Whilst at the time, the achievement was celebrated as a success of feminist movement, media shed new light on this incident in December 2018, after her appointment for the minister of Gender Equality and Family. The tone of media release clearly constructs the incident as a political scandal, terming Megalia as "misandrist website."

http://biz.heraldcorp.com/view.php?ud=20181220000454, http://issuegate.com/news/view.php?idx=3170, http://www.ggilbo.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=576303#0BJz

academic discourse, narratives of fervent battles fought by countless unknown women, and innovative and the cataclysmic nature of their experimental tactics were often left at the margin of the literature. However, it is important to document and understand: what these women experienced, leading them to join Megalia, and what made this movement harvest such ground-breaking results in its ideological war. This chapter examines these issues. Unfortunately, as far as I am aware, this will be the first comprehensive, academic ethnographic narrative of Megalia's turbulent resistance as well as its extraordinary yet temporal victory.

The herstory that I am about to chronicle is a kind of autoethnography. It is a lived experience of the Megalian movement. This is my recollection of the wars, wars that were conducted through the medium of language, ideology, beliefs, propaganda, money, votes, protests, and sometimes even legal cases. It is a reminiscence of why I came to identify myself within Megalia, what I did within Megalia, and why I did within Megalia. The horror, anger, resentment, fear, terror, disgust, and hate were all mine, and ours. So, this type of autoethnography is a collective one. It is important to note that we went through this together, as South Korean women and as Megalians.

Megalian grammar prohibited us from speaking with names. Our sisters made it a principle to speak with and amongst anonymity. This was both to protect women from the misogynistic witch-hunting and to protect Megalia from being dominated by a few prominent individuals (Lee Kil Ho, 2012; Kim et al., 2018). I began speaking out of the anonymity at the precise moment when the feminist witch-hunting was at its climax. This was because I thought there needs women who had names and who dared publicly speak against misogyny. Since then, I have spoken both in anonymity and with a name. Here, I am speaking with my name. I declare that there stands a woman who was and is a Megalian, and who does not fear to go public about it. And speaking as an individual, I acknowledge here that the movement was driven and led by innumerable, anonymous Korean women. I am writing as but one of the soldiers of this movement. I was sometimes avidly active in the movement, sometimes ignorant, and at other times against the movement. Therefore, as an ethnographer who observed and experienced this movement, I have a very particular positionality that focus on certain locus of this movement and may be negligent or even oppose at certain others.

My positionality documenting this movement is multi-layered. There are multiple subjectivities observing and responding to this incident. My subjectivity initially was as an *unenlightened Korean woman* who vaguely speculated that there are some women who are victimized, whilst believing she can avoid being victimized if she is careful enough. She does not possess the linguistic and ideological tools to comprehend or articulate the overarching impact of misogyny in her everyday experiences. As an *enlightened Korean woman*, I learned that all women are inescapably victimized, including myself. To her, a sense of victimization becomes an essential part of the construction of self. This state, induced by Megalia's affective politics, evolves into a *Megalian-self* where I become an unafraid, belligerent warrior against misogyny and men. My subjectivity as a Megalian highlights the injustices of victimization, and urgently calls for a revolution. I observe yet another distinctive subjectivity as a *feminist*, who is somewhat distanced from the nastiness and urgency of reality, analyzing ideological constructions of misogyny while critiquing the Megalian movement for its audacious experimentation with affect and ethics. In reality, the last two subjectivities are not finely demarcated. Megalians themselves use the term Megalia and feminism interchangeably. Lastly, I write this chapter as an *ethnographer* who is currently trying to distance herself, while recollecting memories, and reorganizing and reinterpreting the above subjectivities.

I will try to distinguish between those subjectivities as best as possible. However, my subjectivities are so entangled that it is difficult to isolate one from another. Different subjectivities constantly interact with each other, often in discord and objectifying each other. My Megalian self looks at the victimized self with empathy but also with slight disapproval and shame. The victim self looks at the feminist self with contempt for failing to jump into the muddy battles of reality. The feminist self looks at my Megalian self with deep concern, unhurriedly pondering on the ethical conundrums of the Megalian movement. The ethnographer observes the others with deep compassion. The ethnographer understands that the other selves do not just account for "my" subjectivities, it is rather "our" subjectivities. Once shared in anonymity on the message board of Megalia, it did not matter anymore whose experience it was or whose feelings and thoughts it was, it was all of ours. The ethnographer self endeavors to deduce meaningful analytical and political implications out of these subjectivities. And all the others are pressing on the ethnographer to make a faithful representation of "us."

There is an inherent overlapping of subjectivities in my study. One was never separable from the other. Although different subjectivities seem to be in discord, all of them work at the same time to shape my thoughts, feelings, and attitudes. I am a feminist at the same time an unenlightened Korean woman, I am a belligerent Megalian at the same a scared and terrified victim of misogyny. I am an ethnographer at the same time as all of the others above. Subjectivities in one body inevitably and innately intrude upon other and in the end are integrated to form a collective ethnographic self.

Introduction

As the previous chapter dealt with the context of misogyny in South Korea, this chapter will delineate how Megalians responded to such misogyny. I strive to portray a narrative herstory of Megalian experiences.

In this chapter, I introduce a monumental event which turned South Korean women into militant warriors against online misogyny. South Korean women were turned into Megalians through discoveries of online misogyny that had previously been concealed or taken-for-granted. Then I describe how Megalia endowed these women with a weapon to fight back. The mirroring speech empowered South Korean women to effectively respond to online misogyny. Judith Butler (1997) argues that one must encourage individual linguistic agency. Through vigorous repetition and reappropriation of hate speech, she believes that individuals could resignify and recontextualize the depreciating connotations of hateful language. Finally, she suggests that linguistic agency, rather than legal censorship, would enable individuals to successfully respond to the hate speech. While Megalians achieved this, they did something more. The essence of mirroring speech, I posit, was to reciprocate the misogynistic hate speech through making semiotic inversions. Megalians semiotically inverted misogyny and created an upside-down reflection that would critique by reenacting the absurdity, immorality, and violence of the original misogyny. The mirroring speech was intolerably transgressive to men, for it challenged the existing misogynistic order. On the other hand, women found the mirroring speech remarkably humorous and entertaining. Megalia, for these women, was essentially a fun movement that centered around mockeries, parodies, and jokes. I further discern Megalianism from conventional feminism. I identify what made the Megalian movement different from the

conventional feminist movement in South Korea. Finally, Megalia resisted being restricted into the cyberspace. They eventually marched out into the reality. As they organized collective political actions such as protests, fundraising, and political advocacy, the Megalian movement enhanced its impact in the South Korean gender scene. And these women, once terrified by the threats of misogyny, were now ready to fight against misogyny in real life.

Discovering Misogyny

Most of misogyny, before Megalia, was invisible to women on two different levels. First, it was physically invisible in a sense that predominant body of misogyny was shared exclusively among men in a quite discreet manner. Megalia exhibited these discreet forms of online misogyny to women. Secondly, it was invisible in a sense that everyday misogyny was rendered banal. The taken-for-grantedness of misogyny concealed its inhumanity and criminality. Megalia, through vigorous problematization of ordinary misogyny re-visualized invisible misogyny. Megalia thus re-discovered misogyny through exhibition and problematization.

1) Exhibition

Until before Megalians began to intrude into men's spaces of online pornography and misogyny, women were not fully aware of the magnitude, inhumanity, and criminality that prevailed in cyberspace. It could be said that large portion of Korean misogyny was literally "discovered" for the first time by Megalia. The discovery was made through vigorous excavation and exhibition of misogynistic materials that circulated the male-dominated internet.

2015, November 14th, 02:28:36, an invitation was sent on a website called Soranet,[20] titled "Seoul Wangsimni Golbaengi[21] GF." With a picture of an unconscious woman with her bare breasts exposed, the anonymous author wrote: "My lovely girlfriend who is so weak on alcohol. 2 beer is enough. She wouldn't

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[20] Korea's biggest porn site, most responsible for circulating, overlooking, and encouraging digital sexual crimes.
[21] a slang to refer to women who were drugged or drunk to the point of unconsciousness. Men often refer to Golbaengi(골뱅이) as an easy target for rape.

wake up no matter what is being done to her. Shall I make an invitation?" It was an invitation for rape. The men who would receive the invitation were to be invited to come and rape her under the boyfriend's supervision. The man offered to send an "invitation" to random other men who would verbally humiliate his "lovely girlfriend" with insulting comments. To this day, as I am writing this, I still experience an uncanny dissociation. It just feels so unreal. The man wanted people to verbally and physically molest his "lovely girlfriend." How on earth does that come together?

This article was spotted by one of the Megalian activists. A few numbers of women had gathered together to monitor and raise awareness on this notorious website, Soranet. Women knew it as one of the countless porn websites that saturated cyberspace. However, no one had imagined that it also worked as an information board for plotting gang-rapes. An anonymous Megalian who first witnessed this incident (Park, 2015) uttered: "could this be happening in real life?"; "this is probably fraud." This account represented a sentiment that was shared by most women, regardless of their affiliation-Megalian or not-who witnessed this incident. We all had hoped it would not be real.

She went on to testify:

"It is something that is happening right now. (The man wrote that,) Someone came. I invited someone from the commentators. Someone else came. And someone did (raped). And he left. … He left, that is…"

"He left" meant to us that we could not stop the rape. As we were watching this real-time broadcasting of gang rape, men raped this woman and left untouched. All of it happened just now. This woman was left unconscious, raped by men who were invited by her "loving" boyfriend. Another woman testified: "We were watching, in real-time, this crime scene that seemed incomprehensible to common sense. At this very moment, she is being raped by some strange man" (Park, 2015).

The monitoring team publicized this incident online, on their social network channel. They called for help of the good Samaritans. They urged women to call the police and demand action. It was known that the police had received innumerable calls from all over the country that night. Multiple informants recorded their phone conversations with the police. One was distinctly weeping: "Please help. … You have

to help her in this photo, who is drunk and is about to be raped." This incident became a scandal and an investigative reporting TV program covered the incident in an episode titled "The Dangerous Invitation – How Did Soranet Become a Monster" (Park Ki Hong, 2015), inspecting the crude realities of Soranet. The police defended their failure to investigate on the same program. The case was too vague to investigate.

However, a deposition released by RPO (Revenge Porn Out)[22], group of Megalians who went to war against this website, told a different story. It seemed clear that the state had been quite consistent with its indifference towards victims. RPO revealed the conversations with the police: "We reviewed your materials, and think it is a mere joke. … There is absolutely no suspicion for crime in this. (laughter)," "We cannot locate (the site of rape). … You should elicit the information from these men and tell us," "This is a foreign website… it is difficult to identify the perpetrators," "We cannot file the report because you are not the victim herself."

Notwithstanding the scandalous negligence of the regime, victimization was relentless. The monitoring team announced that cases just like Wangsimni case happens every single night, at least 4-5 times daily (Kim et al., 2018; p. 64). Throughout RPO's existence, the police were consistently reluctant to investigating this kind of crimes.

Park (2015) investigated the world of Soranet, and uncovered the endemic cultures of gang-rapes, drug rapes, and countless digital sexual crimes[23]. I had watched this program a few times, as a potential victim, a feminist, a Megalian, and now as an ethnographer. As I re-watch the trajectory of the Wangsimni case, I am again caught in floods of emotions that this monstrous revelation brings. I feel empathy and pain as a human being to the unutterable suffering that is inflicted on the victims. I feel the horror and fear as a woman, in solidarity with other women. And this horror and anger galvanized the Megalian indignation. The re-activated Megalian in me is caught in profound despair as if it was happening all over again today. I feel the adrenaline rush in my blood and am ready to battle once more.

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[22] Figure 6

[23] Megalian feminists in Korea discarded the term "revenge rape" and proposed to use a new term "Digital Sexual Crime". The reason will be elucidated below.

It is likely that "invitations" are still being sent today to victimize yet another woman. As I am writing this article, another case of digital sexual crime, a famous K-pop star habitually sharing sex videos of other women on a private chat with his friends, is being scandalized. This is an old and repetitive scandal for Megalians.

As one of the Korean women who collectively went through this incident, I remember how we all felt watching this, reporting this to the police, praying she would be okay, not knowing what was going to happen, not being able to do anything else for her. It was happening right now to one of our sisters. It was to happen again tomorrow, to another one of us. We wanted to do something. We wanted to stop it. We wanted to save her. Another woman said: "I could not get rid of the photo in my head since that day. We couldn't save her." The perpetrator, safeguarded by the indifference of the state, "he left." Finally, we could not save her.

The immediacy of the case haunted women. We might have been able to save her, if we had fought better or if the police had listened to us, or if anyone had cared. But nothing happened. She was raped, and he left. The incident was not of sometime in an obscure past. This was happening right now somewhere in Korea to one of us. Sisterhood around victimhood thrived. We needed to protect ourselves. Because the police would not. This sense of imminent hazard impelled more and more women to convert into a militant Megalian. Under the state's gross negligence towards violence against women, we had to learn to protect ourselves. Megalia offered to be our self-defense weapon, when women were deemed stateless in front of misogyny.

As evinced by the Soranet Wangsimni case, victims of "revenge porn" were most often the perpetrator's present girlfriends (18.5%), according to the DSO (Digital Sexual Crime Out team; previously RPO) monitoring team's estimate[24]. What was most monstrous was that the majority of the victims were currently in romantic relationships with perpetrators at the time of victimization. Following girlfriends, wives constituted 14.1% of victims, 13.3% of the victims were acquaintances of perpetrators. Only 6.5% of the victims were victimized as a form of revenge by their ex-partners. Other victims were identified as sisters, daughters, and relatives of perpetrators. 30.1% of monitored posts did not identify the perpetrator's

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[24] Figure 7

relationship status with victims. With this information, there emerged a question: "Why is it even called 'revenge porn'?" From what Megalians have discovered, it was not revenge. But then what was it? RPO coined a new term "Digital Sexual Crime" and changed its name into DSO (Digital Sexual Crime Out) from RPO (Revenge Porn Out). They advocated for the total elimination of the term "revenge porn," asserting these women's bodies should not be considered "porn." This notion later became a slogan against digital sexual crimes: "My Body Is Not Your Porn."

The DSO team successively discovered how this website had a separate bulletin board called "My Girlfriend," how it had become a culture to "invite" random men to rape girlfriends, and how these invitations were being erased within minutes to eliminate evidence. They further investigated how omnipresent the spy cameras were in women's everyday spaces: toilets, hotel rooms, dressing rooms, under the desk of a library or an office, peeking up women's skirts from behind the streets, and many more. The sheer abundance of voyeur photos and videos made it seem reasonable to think any woman had already been victimized. Megalia discovered a whole new land of victimhood, that effectively constituted all Korean women as victims. Even though women had vaguely known that Soranet was a notorious website where men shared "revenge porn" and voyeur photos, never had they imagined the magnitude and commonality of this phenomena.

Each time, I have a conversation about this issue I ask my interlocuters to guess my first reaction, after learning about Soranet's nature. Most women shared the same concerns with mine. All men, on the other hand, that I conversed with could not comprehend the fear. Dear reader, I dare you to guess. Can you imagine?

The first reaction that emerges is an intense fear and anxiety of victimization. Could I also be on it? What if someone I loved, someone in my life took a video or a photo without my knowledge? What if an upskirt photo was taken in public spaces? What if one of ex-partners were on this website? What if one of my family members took a photo? What about my colleagues? Many women searched for their photos and videos on porn sites, terrified with the fear that they might be one of the innumerable women, turned into a porn object by men's distorted sexual desire.

Korean women learned and felt nowhere was safe, and from no one were they safe. This pervasive sense of victimhood buttressed solidarity and engendered a destructive energy for Megalia. Anyone could be a victim. No, everyone was already a victim.

2) Problematization

On a second level, Megalians rediscovered misogyny by "problematizing," as Foucault calls it, what had been "taken-for-granted" in the past. While anthropologists often deal with "taken-for-granted cultural representations, or habitus, or 'discourse'" (Laidlaw,2002: 324), the Foucauldian notion of problematization refers to a reflective moment in which individuals are allowed to "step back from this way of acting or reacting, to present it to oneself as an object of thought and to question it as to its meaning, its conditions, and its goals" (Foucault, 1984: 388).

Megalians collectively began to problematize everyday experiences that had been banal, ordinary, and taken-for-granted for women. Misogyny pervaded women's everyday spaces, normalized and invisible like "air." Megalians uttered: "air-like misogyny." Their vigorous efforts re-visualized everyday misogyny and "problematized" it.

The "Post-It Project" captures these efforts to help women rediscover the "air-like misogyny." The project was proposed by an anonymous Megalian user on October 26th, 2015. She suggested Megalian users write short phrases that would enlighten women of misogyny on a post-it and stick it on the walls of public toilets, elevators, cafes, and libraries. The movement aimed to encourage women to reflect on and problematize the everyday, taken-for-granted misogyny.

Some of the post-it phrases that were uploaded on Megalia wrote:

- Bean-paste girl? Why should I feel guilty for my lifestyle choices?
- Men don't like those stuff. I don't care, I like it! We support your happiness.
- Why do you have to behave for those, who call you Kimchi Girl?
- DO NOT ~~BE~~ RAPE~~D~~. Rape is something not to be careful about, but NOT TO DO.
- The reason for sexual assault is never your short pants, tights shirt, weak posture, nor alcohol. The only reason of the rape is the rapist himself.
- You have NO responsibility to satisfy your boyfriend's sexual demands.
- If a wife works overtime: "kids need mom at home," If a female colleague clocks out: "women.."
-Mom-sect? Why is it only mom's responsibility to take care of the children? (Korean men's average parenting time: 6 minutes – OECD)
-Parental leave is not a female welfare, but a family welfare. Until the day maternal leave and paternal leave becomes 5:5!
- Parenting is not just a mom's job. Where are the fathers? Korean men's average parenting time: 6 minutes according to OECD statistics.
- Whore, Bean-paste girls, Kimchi girls, Ugly girls, Mom-sects… Stop being judged by men.
- "All women are beautiful." The contraposition of this abusive statement is "If not beautiful, you are not a woman." We do not have to be beautiful.

Megalians collectively brainstormed these messages with an aim to reach out to unenlightened women. The messages and tones of the post-it phrases were carefully devised to be easily acceptable and digestible to laywomen, who were illiterate in feminism and online grammar.

The vulgar and offensive language was deliberately discarded and the transgressive nature of Megalian attitude was toned down. They argued that the post-it messages should avoid militant online grammar so the readers of these messages would be able to accept the contents without prejudice. Megalians understood that weaponized mirroring speech, which brought catastrophic impact in cyberspace, would only be met with resistance outside internet. Therefore, Megalian language was stripped off of its vulgarity, leaving only the core discovery of Megalia: misogyny victimized women and it was everywhere.

The post-its spoke very little of ideology, theories, statistics, and policies. The majority of the post-its did not even mention the word feminism nor misogyny. Instead these messages aimed to touch upon women's everyday life experiences. The subtle, obscure, and uncanny moments of misogyny that were heartfelt to South Korean women. Megalians carefully visualized and problematized these moments. The post-its invite the readers to question and contemplate on what has been taken-for-granted. Finally, laywomen were led to *rediscover* the misogyny themselves. The Megalia website address, which was scribbled on the margin of these post-its, was then a subtle invitation to join the fight against misogyny.

The ethnographer's experience of problematizing misogyny:

I still vividly remember one embarrassing night I had, while I was a medical student. In Korea's medical schools, students often gather together and go to a bar to socialize. It was one of those nights. There were only 3 women with about 15 other male colleagues that night.

Suddenly, someone came up with a "fun game" for us. It was to rank the 3 women in the group, according to our physical attractiveness. All the men excitedly agreed. The women's opinions were not asked. Instead, we were asked to stand up and wait for each man to rank us depending on our sexuality. The act of waiting for men to rank me, acquiescently standing in silence with an awkward smile, reminded very much of the movie scenes in which men chose their women in the red-light district. I still remember feeling deeply ashamed and angered waiting for my "rank," standing up in front of all my colleagues.

Yet, I could not speak up. I could not see the misogyny in this. My irritation was seen to root from my sensitiveness, insecurity, and lack of humor. Only when the Megalian language stripped off of the unspoken layers of misogyny did, the legitimacy of my indignation became visible to me.

I later wrote in a chapter in Rootless Feminism: "for me, Megalia was a language and source of courage. It named the things that women saw, felt, and experienced, but could never be called out.

Megalians created a terminology to summon up these misogynistic contexts: "corset." According to Rootless Feminism (Kim, Anonym et al.; 2018), which introduces a glossary of Megalian vocabularies, "corset" means:

"responsibilities that are unjustly demanded on women, a status in which a person is habituated to misogyny and discrimination. … 'Bodily corset' concerns make-up, diet, and plastic surgeries (as it indoctrinates women that they should be beautiful and feel disentitled if they are not sufficiently beautiful), 'Moral corset' refers to beliefs that women should be gentle, sweet, polite, disciplined, and conform to given responsibilities. Megalians described the act of breaking away from these forms of female oppression as 'escaping the corset'" (p. 221).

Awareness campaigns that were almost constantly being held in Megalia were attempts to discover and problematize the "corset" to which women were habituated. Within 6 months of its nascence, campaigns such as "The Worst Mansplain Competition," "Corset Project," "The Worst Misogynistic Advertisement Competition," "The Pro-Uncomfortable Feminist Competition" were organized under this aim (Kim Anonym et al., 2018). These campaigns encouraged women to build and share narratives of misogynistic victimization.

The sudden visualization of massive misogyny effectively galvanized South Korean women. Megalia uncovered and problematized the immense layers of misogyny that permeated everyday lives.

Misogyny's existence was old, yet new to be thought and spoken of. The world we knew radically transformed, and the subjectivities of South Korean women subsequently transformed. After this led to the reconstruction of the self, a Megalian was brought to life.

Responding to Misogyny

Once a Megalian, they were given a weapon; "mirroring speech" to fight against misogyny. Mirroring speech was conjured precisely to respond to South Korea's online misogyny: by reciprocating misogynistic hate speech through semiotic inversions of misogyny.

Hate speech is a long-debated subject in academe. Sovereign regulation of hate speech is particularly a heated topic that has been argued around. Proponents of hate speech regulation highlight the wounding impact of words (Matsuda et al., 1993; MacKinnon, 1993). These scholars forewarn that hate speech not only *expresses* discrimination, but also *enacts* discrimination, further subordinating its intended victims. That is, hate speech not only reminds of the subordination of the subject, but also reconsolidates the position of the subordinated.

Opponents like Derrida (1977), Baez (2002), Eichorn (2001), and most notably Judith Butler (1997), argues to open up the possibilities of "counter-speech." They advocate for the encouragement of individual linguistic agency, which allows reappropriation of the language through repetition.

Butler (1997) locates where the wounding potential of a hate speech originates. Butler borrows Althusser's concept "interpellation" to explicate the wound inflicted by hate speech. Hate speech is not just a speech, but also an interpellation. That is, hate speech brings the whole cultural semantic structure to put you in place, a place of inferiority and degradation, inviting you to accept and internalize them. Hate speech then, unlike transitory insults, offends with historicity. According to her, hate speech becomes exceptionally destructive, unlike other offending words, because it exposes and exploits a "prior vulnerability" (p. 26) of its subject. A vulnerability that has been constituted through history. A vulnerability that had been embodied through experiences of social, cultural, and political processes. Hence, Butler reaffirms that hate speech's injury "is performed by the very act of interpellation" (p. 27). When a rape victim is called a "whore," it is

not only the insult "whore" that is working to wound her. The speaker brings the totality of misogynistic culture and the history of female victimization in order to attack her. The hate speech "whore" summons the semantic structure of female sexuality: she is deplorable because she is sexually promiscuous; she is deplorable because she is selling her body-her dignity; she is deplorable because she takes advantage of men baiting with her sexuality; she is deplorable because she falsely accuses men of rape for her personal gain; she is deplorable because she is not a victim but a "whore." The whole misogynistic meaning system is cited in the hate speech to slander the victim.

Nevertheless, Butler (1997) asserts that the link between hate speech and its injurious effect can be loosened. She calls for a "linguistic agency" (p. 15), which consciously de-signifies and decontextualizes the hate speech from its original intention. Butler distinguished the *mentioning* and *using* of the hate speech. *Mentioning* intends to perform a different function than a word is originally designated with. The repetition of hate speech through *mentioning,* as in judicial documents or political parodies, invites the hearers to detach the injurious effects from that word. This kind of repetition "renders the term as a textual object to be thought about and read" (p.100). It displays the words to disclose the arbitrariness of the taken-for-granted operation of hate speech. The hearers are then invited to estrange the words from its implicated context. Butler further advocates for this agency to recontextualize and resignify the language, to permanently defuse its wounding power. She further affirms that this potential is only enabled through repetition. The insurrectionary repetition will resist the given contexts to create unknown significations. Butler aspires for the moments in which an individual, defying to submit to the given connotation, labors to create an undiscovered definition; permitting herself the authority to do so. This moment is when "the word that wounds becomes an instrument of resistance" (p.163).

Derrida (1977) and Baez (2002) also focus on the instability of the link between the language and its pre-authorized connotation. Derrida (1977) argues, "it can break away with every given context, engendering an infinity of new contexts … there are only contexts without any center of absolute anchorage" (pp. 185-186). The words of a hate speech can always break away from its conventional context. The original derogatory connotation can be detached from the words. Baez (2002) theorizes this potential as the "vulnerability" of the hate speech. He argues, the hate speech "can be cited against itself" (p. 45). That is, linguistic agency could weaponize the words to fight back against its original intention. Eichhorn (2001)

highlights the opportunities that were opened up by cyberspace. Massive repetition of hate speech enabled by the Internet, "open up possibility for a more immediate and radical recontextualization of such speech" (p. 295). These scholars fundamentally suggest reappropriation of hate speech can be permitted not through prohibition, but through repetition.

It seems Megalians may have come up with a remarkable tactic to realize and politicize what Butler (1997) calls "insurrectionary speech" (p.163). However, the tactic-mirroring speech- did something more than that. "Mirroring speech," not only repeated and reappropriated, but further reciprocated the hate speech. Megalians, through mirroring, repeated, and reappropriated the hate speech, and further sought to reciprocate the hate speech by *giving-mirroring- it back*. Megalia remade hate speech into an "instrument of resistance" (Butler, 1997; p. 163).

1) Repetition: display it

The first Megalian operation was to collect the circulating misogynistic language and display. It was simultaneously a revelation and a declaration: "there is misogyny, and we are the victim of it." Horrifying words and ideas were unearthed from the deep corners of cyberspace to be compiled into an encyclopedia of online misogyny.

The majority of South Korean women were illiterate to most of the misogynistic language until before Megalia. Many lived in a relatively undisturbed bubble of blissful ignorance. Megalia violently tore up the bubble. Misogynistic violence suddenly saturated the daily lives of unenlightened women, including myself. I was shocked, terrified, and violated by the endless exhibition of hate speech. Had it not been for Megalia, I might have lived on with my acquiescent life, occasionally disturbed by a hint of misogyny that spilled over from the concealed cultural territories occupied exclusively by men. Indeed, ignorance was bliss. The unimaginable magnitude of misogyny intruded into my everyday life. In a way, Megalia's work exposed more women to more misogynistic hate speech than ever. Then could we say that Megalia's mentioning of the misogynistic hate speech conducted an equal harm as the online misogynists used it?

As Judith Butler (1997) distinguishes the "mentioning" of the hate speech from the "using" of it, I differentiate Megalia's mentioning from misogynists' use of the language. It is a repetition of hate speech, "but it is not simply that, for what is displayed is never quite the same as what is meant" (p. 102). The

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mentioning of hate speech in Megalia worked in two senses: exhibition and problematization. Firstly, Megalia disclosed the vastness of misogyny. Before it was put together and labelled misogyny, intermittent spillovers of misogynistic violence in women's lives were maintained under silence. Once compiled, the segmented experiences connected with each other to be amassed into a vast continuum of misogyny. Insignificant private experiences became significant and political. This work evinced the need for a collective response to it. Secondly, by mentioning hate speech, Megalia made it into an "explicit discursive item to be reflected on rather than a taken for granted operation of ordinary language" (Butler, 1997; p. 99). South Korean women were presented with those hideous words, encouraged to problematize and challenge it. Misogyny was made into a discursive item to be reflected and critiqued upon.

Finally, could have it been better for me and other women to not have such injurious language be repeated at us? Butler's account consoles me: "No one has ever worked through an injury without repeating it: its repetition is both the continuation of the trauma and that which marks a self-distance within the very structure of trauma, its constitutive possibility of being otherwise" (p. 102). Yoo Min Seok (2017), South Korean philosopher who analyzed the mirroring speech using Butler's theory, also evaluates, "Mirroring (Megalia) succeeded in documenting and displaying the violence that they had tolerated in silence in the past" (p. 70).

2) Reappropriation: take it back

Mirroring speech reappropriated hate speech. That is, it recontextualized the hate speech with a new meaning, detaching from its original connotation. Language, as Butler suggested, is not static, eternally linked to the connotation that was designated by an interpellative authority. In this sense, hate speech could be reappropriated by breaking the word away from the context, that makes it injurious.

> "Megalians attempted to take away the devaluing authority of "Kimchi girl" by redefining "selfish Kimchi girl who avoids responsibilities and only demands rights" into "confident, independent Kimchi girl who knows and asks for what she wants." The reappropriation destabilized the derogatory connotation of "kimchi girl," as well as frustrate speaker's offensive intentions. The witty pun-ers of Megalia moreover began to refer themselves as "God-chi girls (God+Kimchi girl)," even celebrating the characteristics of a Kimchi girl" (Yoo Min Seok, 2017; p. 121).

Megalia's reappropriation resembled what queer theorists and activists did with the term 'queer' in the early 1990s. The word was reclaimed to become a locus of the insurrection against misogyny. Baez (2002) predicts, "the challenge may trump the original designation (of the offensive call), and in doing so, enable multiple public spaces that refuse to heed the shameful interlocution and set the stage for change" (p. 53). Megalians took the challenge and seem to have succeeded, at least temporarily.

3) Reciprocation: give it back

From now on, I will become a pioneering explorer of Megalia's linguistic insurrection, which has not yet been explored by the cited theorists of linguistic agency. Megalians successfully repeated and reappropriated hate speech. But they did not stop just there. They reciprocated hate speech. By recriprocate, I mean to respond to it by returning a corresponding language. Megalians called this "mirroring speech."

Mirroring Speech:
Reciprocation through Semiotic Inversions

Imagine looking at the surface of a tranquil lake. The surface of the clear water reflects on the surrounding landscape. The reflection is an image of reality, but an inverted version of it. The clouds flow slowly at the far bottom of the image, whilst the trees and mountains are erected right below the surface, inverting the whole directional orientation of what is up and down.

The penis of a virgin

Penis is still large and healthy. It hasn't been crushed inside dozens of vaginas and will one day make the right woman a very happy wife

The penis of a man who has had multiple sexual partners

Penis has shriveled down to less than 1/3 of its original size due to vaginal pressure and will no longer be able to pleasure any woman

Mirroring speech semiotically inverted the pre-existing gender dynamics

The above image is an American example of mirroring speech. This rhetoric inverts the traditional gender ideology which imagines that; women's vagina enlarges through sex with men. The inversion of the rhetoric indisputably debunks and mocks at the original misogynistic rhetoric. Throughout Megalia's existence, Megalia enthusiastically developed the inverted versions of misogynistic hate speech to reciprocate misogyny. Megalia created a lexicon of mirroring language, which mirror-reflected misogyny.

Megalians reciprocated the hate speech in three forms of semiotic inversions: directional, attributional, and moral.

1) Directional Inversion

Megalians speak back simply by reverting the direction of the hate speech. Directional inversion is typically made by simply exchanging the subject(men) and the object(women) of the misogynistic speech. Misogynistic hate speech often called on and attacked women. By simply inverting the direction, Megalians seek to respond by reciprocating.

Original	Inversion
Women should stay in the kitchen.	Men should stay in the kitchen.
Men prefer a virgin woman.	Women prefer a virgin man.
She should have been careful not to be raped.	He should have been careful not to be falsely accused of rape.
Women should stay home at night, because they might get raped.	Men should stay home at night, because they might rape.
Why are you so sensitive, are you PMSing?	Why are you so sensitive, did you wet dream?
Women should be careful as their bodies carry babies.	Men should be careful as their bodies carry semen, future babies.
Sexual objectification of female body	Sexual objectification of male body
Bojeonkkae[25](break a lightbulb in vagina)	Yoshakkae[26] (break a mechanical pencil lead in urethra)

Directional inversion is done by interchanging women and men in a misogynistic expression. The inversion of direction discloses the fictionality and immorality of the original speech. Megalians stopped arguing that "women should have the opportunities at workplace just like men" or "men should not judge women for her virginity." Instead, they create an inverted reality where: "men should stay in the kitchen" or "women prefer a virgin man," inviting men to imagine what it would be like to live though such discrimination.

In cases that could not be easily reversed, Megalians appropriate the expressions into more culturally applicable terms. For example, as men are rarely raped by women and are more often believed to be falsely accused of rape by women, rather than simply saying "careful not to be raped," they alter the expression into "careful not to be falsely accused of rape." Similarly, rape preventive cautions that were traditionally given to women "stay home at night" are given back at men. This shows how unfair it is to demand women to restrict their lives in order to prevent crimes. Furthermore, as the physiology of male bodies differ, "PMS" is translated into "wet dream," and "embryo" into "semen."

Sexual objectification of female body was an ingrained behavior in South Korean society. Women were dissected into body parts and obsessively evaluated. In response, Megalians simply began to invert the direction of sexual objectification. It was now men that were being objectified, and Megalians the objectifier. The epitome of sexual objectification of men is, of course, that of a penis. Megalians vigorously

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[25] Bojeonkkae(보전깨) : Bo(보) is an acronym for vagina, Jeon(전) for lightbulb, and kkae(깨) for break.

[26] Yoshakkae(요샤깨): Yo(요) is an acronym for urethra, Sha(샤) for mechanical pencil lead, and kkae(깨) for break.

comment on penis size, length, girth, firmness, color, and other qualities. This daunting provocation enraged men.

Megalians also purpose to invert the direction of sexual assaults and violence. Misogynistic hate speech conjured images of violently assaulting women. Bojeonkkae, which is a word combination of vagina, light bulb, and break, invited the audience to imagine breaking a light bulb in a woman's vagina. Against this brutal language, Megalians devise a mirrored vocabulary to reproduce the damage in the male body: Yoshakkae. This is a word combination of urethra, mechanical pencil lead, and break. Through the mirroring speech, Megalians aspire the power not only to negate but to virtually reproduce and reciprocate the harm that was inflicted.

2) Attributional Inversion

Misogynistic language often associates women with negative attributes such as, passivity, impurity, disgust, smell, dependence, and incompetence. Attributional inversions in mirroring speech detaches those attributes from women and re-attach them back at men.

Original	Inversion	Quality that is being inverted
Penetrative sex	Suction sex	Passivity in sexual interaction
"A key that can open many locks is called a master key, but a lock that can be opened by many keys is a shitty lock"	"Men are banana, and women are the mouth that is eating it"	Polluted by sex
Boreungnae : bad smell from women's vagina	Jareungnae : bad smell from men's penis and scrotum	Smell in genitalia
Ms. Kim	Mr. Kim	Incompetent driving skills
Mom-sect (Women are economically dependent to men)	Feed-Me-Sect Daerihyodo[27] Dokbagyuga[28]	Incompetence and subsequent dependence on the other sex for survival

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[27] Daerihyodo(대리효도): Daeri(대리) means doing something in place of another person, and hyodo(효도) means fulfilling a filial piety towards your parents. Look in appendix for further explanation.

[28] Dokbagyuga(독박육아): Dokbag(독박) means you are being dumped of a certain responsibility, and yuga(육아) menas child rearing. Look in appendix for further explanation.

The term penetrative sex was problematized, in that it rendered women passive in sexual interactions. Understanding sex as men penetrating women constructed women as submissive sexual beings, presenting them as eternally vulnerable and violable to men's sexual desires. With this argument, Megalians suggest a new term "suction sex," which re-imagines the penis as the acquiescent object to the women's suctioning vagina. In this imagination, women are not passively "being penetrated," but are proactively "suctioning" men's penis.

A misogynistic expression "A key that can open many locks is called a master key, but a lock that can be opened by many keys is a shitty lock" stresses the deplorability of promiscuous women, whilst glorifying equally promiscuous men. The South Korean version of this claim traditionally invited the hearers to picture sexually active women as tainted food, discarded half-eaten by other men. This imagery employs beliefs that women can be polluted by sex, while men are the agents of that pollution which therefore cannot be polluted. Megalian language successfully devise a mirror rhetoric by employing an image of a half-eaten banana; banana being a man's penis and mouth being a vagina. With this mirror image, the legitimacy of the original speech is discredited. The constructedness of the misogynistic belief, that women are tainted by sex, is unveiled and exhibited to be thought about. It not only attempts to deconstruct the existing meaning, but further desire to overturn the preexisting power dynamics. The mirroring speech dauntlessly claims: it is actually men who are being polluted, and women who hold the power to pollute. Similarly against the terms that construct women as contaminated bodies inflicting disgust such as Boreungnae, which indicates an unpleasant smell of a vagina, Megalians aim to reassign those qualities back at men, with the mirroring term Jareungnae.

Expressions like "Ms. Kim" affiliated women with incompetent driving skills. Megalians challenge this popular conception by making a point that, whilst women are often unskilled drivers, men are more often reckless drivers. They substantiate their claims with statistics indicating male drivers as major causes of disastrous traffic accidents, calling out on these dangerous male drivers as "Mr. Kim."

Women were conventionally described as economically dependent on men, readily taking advantage of men's financial assets. The word mom-sect also conjured an image of wives, who are economically dependent to their husbands and are neglectful to her housekeeping responsibilities. Mom-

sect is imagined to be a lazy and irresponsible wife who gossips around with her friends in a café while her husband is working hard for the family. Megalian mirroring speech intend to revert that attribute "dependence" back at men. It is now asserted that men are not self-sufficient, parasiting on female labor such as cooking, cleaning, washing, filial duties, and child-rearing, to maintain their everyday lives. Any woman could recollect experiences providing such labors for men. A father who came back from work would yell at a mother, "feed me." A brother who came back from school would demand his sister, "feed me." Finally, a wife who comes back from her work would habitually be asked by her husband, "feed me." The term "Feed-Me-Sect" powerfully resonates with Korean women's experiences, effectively negating disgraceful label put on women as "dependent" beings. "Daerihyodo," a word combination of substitution and filial piety, also reflects on women's experiences in which their labors were taken for granted to serve the husband's parents. "Dokbagyuga" points out that men depended on women's labor for child-rearing. The mirroring language reflected on women's everyday realities, making the argument ever more convincing.

Mirroring speech recontextualized misogynistic speech. Hateful intentions which assigned negative attributes such as passivity, impurity, dependence, and incompetence were reciprocated. Attributional inversions reverted the traditional gender ideology to re-attach negative attributes given to women, back on men.

3) Moral Inversion

Gender politics often encumbered and inculpated women with moral obligations. Misogynistic order put women under stricter moral standards, whilst absolving men of any moral demands. Women's behaviors were deemed to be regulated, corrected, and disciplined. Men's misconduct was tolerated and excused.

Megalians inverted the existing moral politics. That is, mirroring speech shifts the focus to the traditionally exculpated, from the inculpated by the misogynistic morality. They created a "mirror morality." Megalians declare, instead of being accused, we shall now be accusing. Megalians demanded that they are now the rule makers in the politics of morality.

Original	Inversion
Do not be raped	Do not rape
Mom-sect	Dad-sect
Abort-sect	Ejaculate-flea
Whore	Whore-man[29]
Dutch-Date	Dutch-Orgasm
Women are overly argumentative	Men are violent

Misogynistic morality persistently accuses rape victims for not being careful enough. Megalians stressed that the blame should always be put on the rapist, man. The following humorous guideline was originally authored by Jennifer Robinson (2003) and circulated through a tweet by a feminist comedian Sarah Silverman (2015). Korea's progressive news channel slownews translated these useful tips titled: "Ten Rape Prevention Tips" (Hwang, 2015). I excerpt a few of them here:

1. Don't put drugs in women's drinks.
2. When you see a woman walking by herself, leave her alone.
5. When you encounter a woman who is asleep, the safest course of action is to not rape her.
8. Use the Buddy System! If it is inconvenient for you to stop yourself from raping women, ask a trusted friend to accompany you at all times.
9. Carry a rape whistle. If you find that you are about to rape someone, blow the whistle until someone comes to stop you.

Although Sarah Silverman's tweet was retweeted only about 10,000 times, according to the translator of this joke, the translated version was rampantly circulated by thrilled Megalians. Again, this rape prevention tip brilliantly turned the moral emphasis from victim's imprudence to the perpetrator himself.

The derogatory term "mom-sect" highlighting on mom's irresponsibility and incompetence in disciplining her child in public spaces discreetly omitted the absence of the father in the parenting scene.

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[29] The word 창녀(娼女) is made with a word that indicates prostitute+woman. Megalian vocabulary "whore-man(창남-娼男)" simply put 남(男-man) instead of 녀(女-woman) to refer to men who consume prostitution. Look in appendix for further clarification.

Creating the Megalian vocabulary "dad-sect" brought back the moral focus to the men. Instead of arguing that most moms should make efforts to discipline their children, it invites us to question; "Where are the fathers? What are they doing while mothers are struggling to take care of their children?" Similarly, an accusatory term for women who had gone through abortion "abort-sect" hid the fact that men are equally the stakeholders in pregnancy-abortion course. Megalians coined the term "ejaculate-flea" to summon up men who flee after impregnating women, avoiding responsibilities following pregnancy ranging from commitment to the relationship, affording the cost of abortion, pregnancy, and child-rearing. The mirroring word purports to accuse men, instead of women, for abortions. Mirroring speech against "prostitute" also urges to spotlight men who consume prostitution, reminding us that prostitution only exists on the premise of abundant consumers of the service. Therefore, it is now men, who consume prostitution, who should be called out. By simply calling them whore-men, Megalians demand equal moral condemnation on the consumers of prostitute industry as providers traditionally had been put under the misogynistic moral order. In response to the moral doctrine Dutch-Pay, which highlighted women's moral obligation in romantic relationships, they protested for the moral obligation of men in bed. If women should pay equally for dates, should not women enjoy an equal satisfaction from sex?

Against the accusations that women were too emotional, Megalians did not argue to prove the falsity of the statement. Instead they find another gendered personality trait to put the blame back at men. Let's look at the following article that was posted in MERS gallery.

Posting on MERS gallery, 2015-06-02[30]

Title: We Kimchi men are rational beings, hence we don't over-argue against each other like women do ^^
Content:

계	남자	여자
28180	26622	958

Sex ratio for violent crimes

Men 94.47%
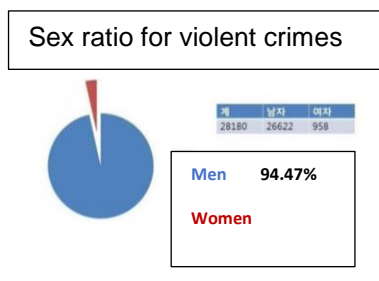
Women

We just kill them all!

With this turn of accusation, it was now not women who had to defend their sensitivity. The moral inversion with seeming conformity with the misogynistic stereotype: "men are rational," Megalians seem to have beat men at his own game, moreover humorously. Suddenly women's sensitivity was turned into a positive trait which coveys non-violent and tolerant character to resolve quarrels through verbal communication. It was now men who had to defend their inability to communicate to resolve conflicts, quickly resorting to violence.

The following ethnographic example demonstrates how Megalians employed these semiotic inversions to expose, ridicule, and reciprocate misogynistic hate speech.

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[30] Retrieved from a screenshot image of a post on MERS gallery, published on 2015-06-02, Figure 8

Megalian Article often circulated under the title "Legend Mirroring" [31]

Title: It is an honest woman's opinion… that you'd wish your groom… to be a virgin…
Content:
I am sorry for the gentlemen over here… however…
Honestly… it is the honest opinion of a fox… that you'd wish your groom… to be a virgin hehe…
It is true that one would feel leery… whether his penis poked this, that, and other bitches…
This man would be a father… of my child… you never know… if he had aborted a baby… who knows
he has a child… somewhere in South East Asia hehe…
I would eat him… if he gives it to me… but, looking at his pigmented, retracted… scrotum… ah… this
man is a whore… a woman, that is a beast… would shake her head secretly…
So boys… please be a gentleman… value your body… like precious jewelry…
Give the beautiful and worthy gift to your wife… that is the virginity… and choose to be loved…
forever…
I am giving you an advice… as an adult… who has lived longer… than you…

Screenshot image of this posting circulates the South Korean cyberspace, often with the title "Legendary Mirroring." Femiwiki, a Korean webiste made to document online feminist activism history, introduces this article as "a legendary article that is the original of Megalian mirroring posts." The writing delicately plays with all three semiotic inversions to subvert existing gender politics.

People found it remarkably funny because the writing so precisely mimics and parodies how older men would write about women on internet. Women and men, alike, could immediately picture the original version of the mirroring speech. Kim Soo-ah (2015), citing this post, examines the stylistic choice of the writing such as frequent use of ellipsis, which meticulously imitated Soranet male users. This kind of innuendo makes the writing even more provocative and meaningful.

The writing semiotically inverted the misogynistic beliefs on women's sexuality. Expressions such as "you'd wish your groom to be a virgin," "pigmented, retracted scrotum," "this man is a whore" were directionally inverting misogynistic hate speech. Female attributes, being polluted through sex, were reciprocated back at men in mirroring speech like: "one would feel leery whether his penis poked this, that, and other bitches," "value your body." Another female attribute that women were passive, violable sexual beings was also given back at men in "I would eat him, if he gives it to me." Lastly, moral inversions took place in expressions: "if he had aborted a baby," "who knows he has a child somewhere in South East Asia." The author referred to South East Asia as it has become a growing social concern that many Korean men

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[31] Retrieved from a screenshot image of a post on MERS gallery, published on 2015-06-03, Figure 9

fled back to Korea after having a baby with South East Asian women, abandoning responsibilities towards the family.

Megalians exhibited and reappropriated misogynistic hate speech. They further reciprocated misogyny through mirroring speech: directional, attributional, and moral inversions of misogynistic sematic structure. This empowered women to effectively negate and reciprocate the damage inflicted by misogyny.

However, critiques of Megalia argued that mirroring speech is just as bad as misogynistic speech. They argued, as misogynistic hate speech inflicted damage on women, mirroring speech harmed men who were merely innocent bystanders. They refuted that Megalians held double standard for justifying mirroring speech as a medium of resistance while deeming misogynistic speech hate speech. However, it was evident that the mirroring speech did not have the same social, cultural, linguistic and political impact as misogynistic hate speech.

Judith Butler (1997) argues that hate speech inflicts its damage through interpellation. That is, a hate speech can only possess its impact dependent on "prior vulnerability." Megalia's mirroring speech, in essence, did not rely on any existing vulnerability of men. Hence this did not conjure the same impact as misogynistic hate speech did.

In this context, mirroring speech is deficient or different in its potential to wound. Mirroring speech could hurt a man's feelings with its offending intention and aggressive insults. However, it cannot wound a man in the ways in which hate speech wound women. There is no such semantic structure to be interpellated.

How men and women react differently to hate speech was demonstrated by Jane (2014). She highlights men's comparatively nonchalant reactions:

> "While there have been a number of high-profile cases of boys and men who have killed themselves after cyberbullying episodes, there are vast differences in the ways females and males report experiencing on-line threats of rape and violence. Glover, for instance, says the threats of violence "didn't really worry" him (Glover personal communication, 2012) while another male columnist

insists that on-line death threats should only change "a few minutes of your morning— the minutes spent hitting delete on your email." (Blair 2012) (p. 536)

This kind of nonchalance was in stark contrast to women's responses to online threats:

" In 2007, tech blogger Kathy Sierra made a last-minute decision to cancel a public appearance at a conference because of sexually graphic e-threats including images of her as a sexually mutilated corpse, and posts such as "fuck off you boring slut . . . i hope someone slits your throat and cums down your gob" (cited in Walsh 2007). Sierra's on-line apology to the conference organizers read: I'm at home, with the doors locked, terrified . . . I have cancelled all speaking engagements. I am afraid to leave my yard, I will never feel the same. I will never be the same (cited in Harris 2007)." (p. 536)

Another recent incident (Zhang, 2019) of online sexual harassment similarly reveals how hate speech executes its power by feeding off of prior vulnerability. A woman tweeted a photo of her gynecologist with a comment: "MY GOD MY GYNECOLOGIST IS FINE AS S***!!!!" Numerous replies followed, commenting on the doctor as "fine as hell" and "yummy." Online vigilantes slammed on her for sexual objectification, further putting this man at risk of cyber-bullying. Despite their concerns, this woman tweeted a photo of his card. People on internet ranted the double standards of women, pointing out that this man also could be the victim of sexual harassment and stalking. One of the tweets cited by this article wrote, "This man was doing only his job and had his photo taken without his consent only to be sexualized by the owner of this account alongside other women in the replies. The toxic trait y'all openly display is beyond bigotry and purely distasteful and disturbing to say the least."

However, the man in question, Dr. Imran Aslam made a comment in response to the raging online vigilantes: "By definition, many of the comments on my picture would be considered a form of sexual harassment, and I can totally understand how people consider this to be a double standard in the light of the #metoo movement," … "From my perspective, I would be remiss if I didn't acknowledge the fact that I never felt that I was a 'victim'. As I reflect more on this sentiment I realize the reason for this is undoubtedly because of my 'male privilege.' I have had the privilege of never once feeling threatened or intimated by a woman in a sexual manner, I have had the privilege of never being catcalled, and I have had the privilege of never experiencing what it's like to be followed home by a stranger that was a woman." … "It is because

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of these liberties that we enjoy as males that I think the sexual harassment discussion may have to be interpreted differently in my situation." (Zhang, 2019)

This difference Dr. Aslam brings up points at the historicity of women's body being objectified, sexualized, and violated. Women's bodies bear the history of rape and violence. This transforms the hate speech in question into the reenactment of those traumatic experiences. Furthermore, this historical reality makes the threat very real. It is then not only a reenactment of past trauma, but it becomes a potential future reality. On the other hand, men do not bear the sufferings of misandry to take seriously the threats of rape and violence. This is an instant insult, which ruins a "few minutes of your morning." The mirroring speech did not possess an enormous historicity to parasite on. There was no "prior vulnerability" to exploit. In short, men are not affected by mirroring speech like women are affected by the hate speech.

We have covered what mirroring speech was about. In the following sections, I delineate number of characteristics that rendered mirroring speech so successful: its transgressive nature and commitment to humor.

Mirroring Speech for Men: Transgressive

Mirroring speech was intolerably transgressive for men. Probably half the publicity that Megalia gained since its appearance could be owed to men who raged against these daring, unrestrained women. Singh (2016) substantiates that a quarter of Megalia's traffic within few months of its nascence stemmed from referrals by misogynistic websites such as Ilbe and DC Inside. In an attempt to bring these witches a deserved public condemnation, online misogynists avidly circulated and publicized the mirroring speech. Hence the more Megalia was condemned, the more misogyny was spotlighted.

The tricksters of this yet unripe movement quickly learned what enraged men the most. It was the ridicule and insult against the foundation of masculinity: the penis. There was a popular belief among men

that they could distinguish virgins from non-virgins based on the color of the nipples, amount of vaginal secretion, shape, color and width of vagina. It was widely accepted that women with wide vagina deserved to be scorned for their alleged promiscuity and inability to bring men sexual pleasure. Daring Megalians questioned: is it the vagina or your penis that is the problem? Soon, someone began to circulate a "statistic"[32] on average penis sizes according to nationalities. It indicated Korean men possessed the smallest penis sizes, average length measuring at 6.9cm. Megalians probably had no idea how central this attack would become in their war against misogyny, or perhaps against Korean men. Women disrespecting the phallus engendered immediate and immense reactions. Suddenly all men were talking about Megalia. How dare these women talk about, judge on, and even ridicule the phallus? The misogynistic rules were strict: men judge, and women judged. Women's transgression against this fundamental code of conduct was scandalous. Men could not stop talking about these bewitched women. The discourse map which depicted men's discourse on Megalia, showed three conspicuous keywords: "male," "penis," "size." An article published by Sisa IN[33] (Cheon, 2016), which attempts to comprehend men's anger against Megalia, concluded that "penis size" was the nucleus of men's discourse on Megalia. The analyst of this map, Kim Hak Jun concludes, "These men (who had been sexually objectifying women), on the other hand, had experienced for the first time, themselves being the object of sexual objectification. That immense shock is precisely captured in this data."

Thanks to this incessant gossiping, more and more people heard about this phenomenon. Women, who heard of the rumors, visited Megalia out of curiosity, and were soon converted into one of its warriors. Heyeon, in her chapter in **Rootless Feminism**, records that moment:

"It was curiosity that made me visit Megalia. I wondered, 'What kind of bitches are they to be slandered so badly like this?' I visited the website, and that day, Megalia opened my eyes to a new world. … Discussions in this disreputable place; shamed and stigmatized by all, spit back at the misogynistic order. It enticed me. From that day and that place, my feminism movement began" (p. 171).

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[32] Figure 10
[33] Figure 11

Celebrating such unexpected victory, the foremothers of the Megalian tribe[34] adopted an image of a hand gesture, indicating the allegedly small size of Korean men's penis as their emblem[35]. It represented how Megalians thought of themselves: the satirists of misogyny, the transgressors against masculinity.

They added a note that it meant to indicate a sign of equality (=). However, everybody knew that this was a deliberate transgression. The note was merely there to further aggress. Men were infuriated, and women found their reactions astonishing. Korean women had been accustomed to their body being assessed in every possible way. Worries about large, pigmented vagina, small breasts, and darkened nipples, and much more saturated women's everyday lives. It was uncannily funny to witness the other side get so offended at what women themselves had tolerated for decades.

The transgression continued to prove powerful. Men vigorously shared and displayed these women's offensive language in the public sphere hoping for empathy towards male victimization, not realizing that the mirror would only point back at the original version of misogyny. Exhibition of mirroring speech exposed and problematized the original misogyny.

For example, these transgressive delinquents began to deride men who had served in the military.

Megalian post, 2015-09-01[36]

Title: You should have called and told the Department of Defense "No I don't want to," if you really didn't want to serve the military.
Content:
You walked in there with your own two feet, what kind of fuss is this?
And after discharge, you always complain about the military…
Didn't you honestly enjoy it? Did you enjoy the taste of MREs so much?

"You should have said 'No, I don't want to', if you really didn't want to serve the military" inculpates

individual men for exploitation and abuse that were inflicted on soldiers by the government. The vast

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[34] When I say "foremothers" of Megalia, I refer to the male celebrity gallery users who decided to pillage and conquer MERS gallery in DC. These women were using the mirroring language much before the 2015. It was known that these women expressed confusions when began to name their language as "mirroring", contextualizing it into resistance against online misogyny.
[35] Figure 12
[36] Retrieved from a screenshot image of Megalian article, published on 2015-09-01, Figure 13

majority of men were enraged by this intemperate provocation, and for a just reason. These men began sharing this rhetoric, censuring the immorality of the Megalian ethos.

However, what they did not realize was that this rhetoric was an exact mirror reflection of an age-old misogynistic reaction to rape cases. Rape victims in South Korea are often told: "You should have said 'No, I don't want to,' if you really didn't want to be raped," "You walked in to that room with your own two feet," "Didn't you honestly enjoy it?," "Did you enjoy the taste of man's penis so much?" The anonymous author of this post delicately inverted such rhetoric in the men's military issue. Finally, criticism against the Megalian ideology boomeranged back as a criticism against the misogynistic ideology.

The attempts to debunk the immoral Megalian ethos functioned ultimately to debunk the original misogyny. Most of Megalia's cleverly crafted messages aimed to transgress. The fact that mirroring speech could transgress evinced the "transgressiveness" of the original text, the taken-for-granted, to which Korean society had so long been habituated. Arthur Kleinman had once taught us during a class in Harvard, that a great ethnographer must show, instead of telling. This new Megalian language had stopped, or rather had given up, "telling." Now they were "showing" by performance of mirroring speech the immorality of misogyny.

Social Parody of Digital Sexual Crime with Male Victims

2018 May 1st, a nude photo of a male nude model was uploaded on a website called Womad, a further extremized version of online activism, a breakaway group from Megalia.
The commentary section was flooded with sexual mockeries and disparagements of the victim.

Their actions engendered an unprecedented social response to digital sexual crime:
The suspect was taken into custody, and a search warrant was issued immediately. Cellphones of those who were at the scene were confiscated. The indictor was sentenced with 10 months in prison. **(Im, 2018)** The state further went after individual Womad users who had commented on the photo, as well as seeking to incriminate the website itself with conspiracy charges. **(Jeon, 2018)**

Womad was denounced by an intense public outcry. Nevertheless, its users' reactions were unconcerned: "Those sissies are overreacting. To be blunt, it's not like she raped him or anything. What is the big deal with one picture?", "He took off the clothes himself. His dick is small anyways. … The woman should claim for damages after seeing that small dick."
The comments were captured and cited in a news article titled: "The audacity of Womad users after circulating the nude model's photo." **(Sim, 2018)**

Womad users rigorously reenacted how women were being portrayed and treated by the digital sexual crime industries. Womad was now "performing" Soranet. Or, perhaps it was trying to become the mirror reflection of Soranet. Whether it was a "performance" or an "embodiment" of misandry was neither clear nor important. What was important for them was that the mirror reflection will force the world to finally see what is already out there: misogyny.

Whatever the motive was, Womad users inadvertently invited the whole society to participate in their performance. The abundance of public outcry contrasted with the relevant silence and indifference against female victim cases. Swift and effective state intervention highlighted the past failures in responding to cases with female victims. Womad's social parody engendered unprecedented scandal.

Han Hee Jeong (2018) documents that the incident was: "publicized immediately even before the victim himself acknowledged his victimization, by 'righteous' witnesses. The university endeavored to promptly hunt down the perpetrator. Investigation requests to the police were made instantly. The female perpetrator was 'urgently' arrested and was "perp-walked" to exhibit the 'criminality' of digital sexual crime. This process manifested the model response of the authority to digital sexual crimes, which women had been demanding for decades" (pp. 235-236).

The author's emotionally charged use of quotation marks captures the overwhelming sentiment of indignation against impartial social and juridical processes. It seemed Womad had accidentally transgressed the masculine cartel of the misogynistic state. The sudden change of attitude by the authorities was particularly dramatic. The "Korea Cyber Sexual Violence Response Center" (KCSVRC), another organization that diverted from DSO for political reasons, condemned the two-faced responses of the state, stressing how indifferent and reluctant the state had been towards female victims. One anonymous activist in KCSVRC commented: "I have observed many cases of sexual crimes against women. There were rarely any cases with prison sentences" (Im, 2018). Under the misogynistic regime, it was utterly unacceptable when women victimized men, whilst ordinary that men victimized women. The scandalous responses to this incident contrasted with the disappointing responses to the innumerable digital sexual crime cases with female victims.

KCSVRC (2018) issued a manifesto in a protest: "Answer us why you did not investigate like you investigate Womad now, when we reported a perpetrator and when we submitted videos of digital sexual crimes. Explain the days the police did not intervene after acknowledging the crime. Respond to us why the investigation of 1461 cases of digital sexual crimes we reported to the authorities is still incomplete."

To women, failures and refusals to investigate by the police were the standard. Such a swift and aggressive style of investigation was anomalous. Widespread allegations were proven true. "It wasn't that you (the state) couldn't, it's just that you didn't!" (Jeon, 2018) This catchphrase was extensively cited among women who shared the news. The news brought grand scale protest on May 19th 2018 with 12,000 participants. The slogan of the protest wrote: "Same Crime, Same Punishment"; "No Penis, No Pardon." The protest continued monthly and ended with the 6th protest on December 22nd that year.

photo from one of the protests against the state's impartial investigation of digital sexual crimes

placards in the protest, each writing: "Same Crime, Same Punishment";
"It wasn't that you couldn't, It was that you didn't"; "No Penis, No Pardon", respectively.

An anonymous online petition was submitted to the Blue House for "protection by the law and police irrelevant of victim's sex."[37] This petition was signed by 419,006 at this moment as I am writing this sentence. Once again, the transgression was successful.

The very success of transgression, that so infuriated men, reminded women of how disturbing ordinary misogyny should have been. Women were suddenly shown an example how to not tolerate. "Kimchi girl (kimchi boy)," "small breasts (small penis)," "mom-sect(dad-sect)," "bean-paste girl(bean-paste boy)" were not a trivial matter, but an infuriating one. This was crystallized by a post written by an enraged man who meant to warn women: "Honestly women are used to the misogynistic hate speech, so you're okay, right? We men get extremely angered at misandristic speech. We get pissed off to the point that we might just break everything, kill you all, and go to the police. Did you know that? Be careful."[38] This warning worked as a strange wake-up call for women. Why had nobody been enraged like this against misogynistic hate speech? Why didn't women already break everything? Why had women been told to believe that this was ordinary? The more the transgression succeeded, the more Megalians were reminded of the transgressive nature of misogyny.

In the end, what the Megalians did was a transgressive performance. They performed misandry through mirroring in order to transgress their audience. The performance of transgression had to be indistinguishable from the real. By presenting it as an "act," not a "performance," society was made to focus on the "act." It was argued and critiqued that the "act" was inappropriate, immoral, and criminal. The "act" finally turns out to be a performance, a reflection, and a parody of misogyny. Finally, criticisms against the Megalian ideology boomeranged back to criticize the misogynistic ideology. The critique has become the critiqued.

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[37] Retrieved from: https://www1.president.go.kr/petitions/230552?navigation=petitions
[38] Retrieved from a screenshot image of DC Inside post, published on 2015-06-16

Mirroring Speech for Women: Humorous

While men found mirroring speech infuriating, women found it profusely entertaining. To the foremothers of Megalia, mirroring speech was merely a joke. But a penetrating one.

"Can a joke become a movement?" (p. 24) asks Yoon Bo Ra (2017) in "Nevertheless, Feminism." To her, Megalia was an experiment to "convert the language of joke and humor into the potential of movement." This question has been explored by linguistic anthropologists exploring racial hate speech. Hill (1998) poses an important question on the role of humor in countering racism: "Can Mock Forms Subvert the Order of Racial Practices?" (p. 685)

Chun (2016) introduces Jimmy Wong's defiance against racism, using humor as his weapon. Alexandra Wallace, a self-identified "polite, nice American girl" had uploaded a monologue ranting against the mannerless behaviors of Asians in a library:

"I'll be like deep into my studying, into my political science theories and arguments and all that stuff, getting it all down, like typing away furiously, blah blah blah. And then all of sudden, when I'm about to like reach an epiphany, over here from somewhere, "Ooooh. ching-chong? ling-long? ting-tong? Ooooh" (p.81).

In response, Jimmy Wong posted a satirical love ballade video, humorously recontextualizing "ching-chong" from the object of racial discrimination into the subject of sexual agency:

"… Damn girl you so feisty. … Now don't pretend I didn't see you watch me talk on my phone yesterday. All sexy. Ching-chong wing-wong. Baby it's all just code. It's the way I tell the ladies it's time to get funky. … I pick up my phone and sing. Ching-chong. It means I love you. Ling-long. I really want you. Ting-tong. I don't actually know what that means …" (p.93)

Chun (2016) interprets Wong's satire as "an artfully playful parody serving as moral cultural critique" (p. 93). The satire recontextualizes the original racist speech "ching chong" into the platform of protest "by assuming that the effects of racist acts can be subverted; the racist act itself is never the final act of discourse" (p. 90).

Although Wong's clever critique cannot escape criticisms against the employment of sexist representations, the tremendous success of this video with millions of views suggest the potential of satire to meaningfully reconstruct public consciousness. Chun evaluates: "it is an indirect strategy of political or cultural persuasion that does not directly shape lexical meanings or cultural contexts, but indirectly- and thus perhaps seductively- encourages listeners to align with antiracist assumptions" (p. 92).

Indeed, Megalia opened up possibilities of seductive and powerful recontextualization of misogyny. Each Megalians, flaunting their sense of humor and wit in parodying and critiquing misogyny, competed for the attention of the seduced crowd. In Megalia, as Bakhtin (1984) would have put it: "opposites come together, look at one another, are reflected in one another, know and understand one another" (p.176). Megalia made a carnivalesque resistance, subverting and liberating misogynistic assumptions through humor.

Confession of First encounters with Megalia in Rootless Feminism (Kim et al., 2018)

Kim, Anonym: One of my friends told me, "Hey, there is something hilarious happening in the DC MERS gallery right now. You should check it out." Many people read the mirroring of MERS gallery and felt liberated and entertained. It was the first time ever that I felt liberated as a woman. I really cherish and miss that time. It feels like the moment was a dream, or a miracle. (p. 34)

Kuk, Ji Hye: Like other feminists confessed, Megalia was incredibly addictive once you get to know it. I read every single writings and comments, forgetting to sleep for a whole week or even ten days. I was gradually enlightened in Megalia, reading its addictive articles. … Mirroring was thoroughly liberating. The crude exposure of experiences of sex with Korean men, domestic violence, and sexual assaults exactly fit with my experiences. Megalia was literally the "playground for vaginas" and "outlet from misogyny." And most importantly, it was so damn funny and entertaining. (p. 111)

Heyeon: She sent me a link of DC MERS gallery website. She told me something funny was happening there. … She said, "crazy but hilarious feminazis." …
The posts that were considered most popular were writings that mocked with mirroring the things that society considered taken-for-granted. Those writings shouted and yelled resisting against ordinary misogyny. I laughed at the jokes like "men's sexuality gets ruined after serving the military," and cried and consoled with each other over experiences of rape.
The place which everybody scorned on was filled with refreshing writings that spit on the masculine misogynistic order. It enticed me. … I spent the first few months like a crazy person, woken up all night, reading and writing on Megalia. (p. 171)

Soon after Megalians came to learn how derision of the phallus worked effectively, they made June 9th (6/9) "The Small Penis Day", allegedly celebrating small penises. It was a perverted and demeaning joke, but it marks the lighthearted, entertaining nature of the movement.

Against the moral accusations against women who go through abortions, Megalians started to argue that men who masturbated are also killing millions of future babies. An image held by a protestor at a 'Protest for Complete Legalization of Abortion' held a picket that jokingly wrote: "Daddy… Inside the tissue is too cold… Your sperms are also precious lives. 'Masturbation' is also 'murder'."

They did not stop just there. The following article was a formal appeal submitted to online petition website for the South Korean government. [39]

Title: Please Legally Prohibit Men's Masturbation.
Content:
Due to men's reckless masturbation, sperms-as innumerable innocent lives- are being killed. Please prevent all this sperm from dying.

The obvious prank only received 10 supporters. However, the joke makes its point.

The joke resembles the American comedian Sarah Silverman's joke: "Scientists have found that sperm cells smell," "sperm cells have the sense of smell, and you know what that means: Sperm is life. And you know what *that* means: We've gotta legislate that shit," "What we'll do is – it's a real simple procedure. We take a really long needle-like basically GoPro camera and put it down your penis hole, urethra… then down into your testicular sack," "We're going to show you the ultrasound, so you can see the life in your balls." Then she concluded: "You would not believe the amount of men that do not want to jerk off after that." **(Strachan, 2016)**

Megalians understood the power of good humor as means of seduction. One of Megalian twitter user wrote: "The most effective way for me to enlighten an unenlightened woman was to show funny jokes in Megalia, and laugh together. … What is more important than feminist theory is taking these women to

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the misandristic universe, in which all women could mock the penis-sects ridiculing their 6.9 penises. …"[40]

Through humor, Megalians were powerfully sublimating their experiences of misogyny into forms of jokes, mockeries, and parodies.

Not Feminism, Megalianism

The above tweet reveals something significant about Megalia. Megalians valued "funny jokes" in an imaginative misandristic universe, over "feminist theory." The foremothers of Megalia themselves did not believe they were "doing feminism." They were, as **Yoon (2017)** captures, just having some fun beating up men on internet "as usual, with their usual language, and half-jokingly" **(p.13).**

What does this mean? Does it mean Megalia should not be considered a feminist movement?

It is important to note that the majority of these women who joined the Megalia had no prior interests in feminism. It was a movement of everyday experience, not of an academic inquiry nor ideological politics. Therefore, it did not speak from an ethical nor a sociopolitical plane of equality as feminists traditionally did. It spoke from experiences and feelings. It spoke with anecdotes, stories, slang, insults, and jokes. Instead of talking about institutional injustices and the ideological construction of misogyny, women in Megalia talked of everyday lives: families, works, relationships, friends, personal interests, memories, and so on.

This experience resonates with **James Scott (1985)**'s ethnographic observation of class struggle by farmers in a rural village in Malaysia. Scott in his book "Weapons of the Weak" penetratingly detects: "Resistance in Sedaka begins as, I suspect, all historical resistance by subordinate classes begins: close to the ground, rooted firmly in the homely but meaningful realities of daily experience. The enemies are not impersonal historical forces but real people" **(p. 348).** The Megalian fight was not against some abstract hegemony called misogyny, but primarily against men in women's lives or on the Internet who inflicted pain and suffering. The foremothers of Megalia had not considered themselves feminists. Indeed, they did not have grand political ambitions to subvert misogyny in mind.

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[40] Retrieved from a screensho image of a tweet published on 2018-05-22, by user "Europa_6969", Figure 15

However, as Scott witnesses in the rural village of Malaysia, sometimes these trivial self-interested quarrels against identifiable individuals and experiences may inspire a revolution. In fact, according to Scott, it was important that these farmers did not initially aim to tackle capitalism, capital-intensive agriculture, and state policies. This kind of grand scheme of revolution would fail "completely to capture the texture of local experience" **(p.348).** Too abstract and too remote, slogans for the intelligentsia would not have succeeded to seize and galvanize the lay revolutionists in the field. For the farmers, revolutionary goals such as 'socialism' appear, "not as an end at all, but rather as the necessary means to their modest goals" **(p. 348).** To the cyberspace revolutionaries in South Korea as well, feminism was merely the means to arrive at their modest hopes, that is to stop being objectified, judged, harassed, and violated.

Megalians, rather than theorizing misogyny and studying feminism, explored the intersections of experience. We witnessed how our sufferings, frustrations, failures, and pains coincided with each other. Violence that one had tolerated resonated with others. The first end was to disclose and respond to the damages that were inflicted by men in our lives. We learned only later that this collective damage inflicted by men could be comprehended as misogyny. Megalians merely strived to negate or revert the damage inflicted by misogyny. In this process, we learned how misogyny penetrated every single axis of our society. Individuals, institutions, academia, and even "feminism" itself fought back against us.

It could be said that misgoyny was *discovered* by lived experiences, not *cited* from textbook or academic discourses. As a result, "feminism" to Megalians meant "something radically different" **(Scott, 1985; p.349),** than what feminist intelligentsia had configured as feminism.

Yun Ji Yeong (2016) diagnoses the texture of Megalianism from her observation of the post-it project. The writing style of the post-its invites multiple authors, allowing and encouraging individual agencies in the movement. She contrasts the medium to the conventional manifesto style of feminist writing. The manifesto is a closed, concluded declaration of individual intelligentsia. The manifesto is a propaganda which urges the enlightenment and reactions from the public. In contrary, indignation against misogyny in Megalia began to articulate in the open, fragmented, and vulnerable post-its. Megalia's messages invite and urge the laywomen to reinterpret and re-create her own Megalianism. Yun stresses that "it was neither a feminist theorist, nor a sociologist that explicitly diagnosed the misogynistic habitus of South Korea"

(p.200). It was the innumerable laywomen in Megalia, who conceptualized and interpreted misogyny with her own language and grammar.

March into Reality

Megalians actively organized collective political actions that addressed gendered violence, misogynistic hate speech and other feminist issues both online and offline. According to Megalia's project timeline in Rootless Feminism **(Kim et al., 2018)**, Megalia organized anonymous, non-organizational off-line movements such as leading successful fundraising campaigns for feminist organizations and politicians, filing a civil complaint against misogynistic sex education in schools, advocating for policies that criminalize spy-cams and sales of acid, collectively reporting misogynistic crimes to the police, boycotting misogynistic products, installing advertisements in public spaces to raise awareness, organizing various protests, and establishing feminist NGOs including DSO, KCSVRC, and B -Wave.

Women accumulated experiences of resisting against misogyny in Megalia. As each Megalian members interest, specialty, and commitments developed and diversified, they began to expand outside of Megalia to continue their battles against misogyny.

Conclusion

South Korean women were successfully converted into a militant Megalian fighter through the vigorous exhibition and problematization of misogyny. Megalia then endowed these women with mirroring speech to respond and reciprocate the hate speech. Mirroring speech subverted the existing order of misogyny. These kinds of semiotic inversions were both transgressive and humorous. This made the movement groundbreakingly successful. Eventually, these online feminists began to expand their stage into the reality. And their tactic adjusted and evolved to fit their new battleground. Megalians do not remain as vulgar and aggressive online activists anymore. Megalians continue to fight against misogyny, even after the website itself is gone.

While this chapter introduced what Megalians did, bringing front the narratives of anonymous Megalians, I will introduce how academic discourse portrayed Megalia in the following chapters. Feminist, social studies, and media critiques persistently spoke about Megalia. The third chapter will discuss the potent and precarious recruitment strategy of Megalia. Following the affective trajectory of a Megalian woman, the study aims to comprehend how Megalia performed affective politics.

Ch 3. Affective Politics in Megalia

Introduction

How does a Megalian become a Megalian? I observed the becoming of a Megalian as a ritualized affective voyage. South Korean women were encouraged to travel through a guided affective trajectory. The affective voyage was designed to successfully transform women into militant female activists. Megalians expertly operated through affective politics to reconstruct female subjectivities. Through adroit recruitment of raw emotions such as fear, terror, empathy, compassion, indignation, and hate, Megalia effectively converted South Korean women into Megalian warriors. The conversion was not conducted through intellectual arguments to ethically enlighten or politically persuade the public. Rather, it aimed to touch one's sentiments. Megalia argued, one must *feel* before one *thinks*; the fear and terror against misogynistic violence, empathy and compassion towards other women, and finally indignation and perhaps even hate towards men who are the inflictors of the misogynistic suffering. To men, Megalia deliberately inflicted a sense of threat and fear against mirrored misogyny, which were traditionally experienced exclusively by women.

Many scholars including anthropologists of social movements (Jasper & Poulsen, 1995; Collins, 2001; Goodwin et al., 2001; Flam & King, 2005; Jasper, 2011; Hansson & Jacobsson, 2014; Theodossopolsus, 2014; Kurtović, 2015; Franquesa, 2016; Wright, 2016) emphasize the role of affective politics: to incite and recruit certain kinds of emotions to galvanize political action. Megalians seem to have been particularly skillful in this. They instinctively understood the political power of emotions. Their affective politics manifested powerful potential to reconstruct indifferent, self-engaged South Korean women into engaged, self-sacrificing Megalian militants. Feminist literature passionately investigated into the affective politics of Megalia. In this chapter, I describe that potent yet precarious experiment of Megalian "affective politics," with its limitations and impacts. I hope to capture the moments in which these sentiments invigorate the movement, while concomitantly being embodied in these women. I bring in the anthropological theorization on affective politics in political activism, in order to understand the affective trajectory of South Korean women in becoming a Megalian. Women's affective subjectivities were guided to evolve the fear of men into indignation against men, through an intermediary affective state which was termed "immersio-

pathy" by feminist philosopher Yun Ji Yeong (2016). Immersio-pathy enabled the integration of individual women's subjectivities into a collective Megalian subjectivity. Through immersio-pathy, South Korean women successfully eliminated the demarcation between the victim and the observer, formulating a significant political subjectivity, *us*.

However, this potential was a precarious one. Affectively charged political movement was particularly dangerous because of its explosive potential to unfold in an uncontrolled manner. Nevertheless, Megalia had the ambition to play with this potential. Megalia experimented with female affect, as well as that of men's, to maximize its influence. Megalia's affective experiment seems to touch on "misandry," hatred against men. **Yun (2016)** asserts "hate politics" against misogyny is not possible. She argues that discourses rending women's indignation into "politics of hate" is a political agenda attempting to domesticate feminist resistance. However, individual women's experiences manifest more subtle, uncertain, and intermingled affective state.

My objective in writing this chapter does not lie in objectifying, analyzing, and finally putting patronizing judgements on this phenomenon. It simply seeks to describe, describe most earnestly and meticulously. And further it strives to understand. What were the experiences of women in this movement? Being a Megalian myself, I aim to provide the most personal and private description of what happened to the deep emotional selves of Megalians.

Interview with an anonymous activist against Digital Sexual Crimes:

I once looked at what we call "porn" circulated in P2P websites. …
One of the screenshots (of women), although the facial features (of the victim) were vague, looked similar (to my face).
Since I found it, I could not sleep at all until the next morning. It took me some time until I downloaded the file and confirmed (that it was not me in the video). Because I had this fear that it could be me.
This was an experience which made me realize that people on these videos, who are consumed as "porn," were real humans.
I felt my relief was so selfish (Han, 2018: p.236).

Han Heejeong (2018) traced Megalians' affective trajectory in her ethnography of DSO and KCSVRC activists. DSO and KCSVRC are grassroot NGOs that originated from Megalian resistance against digital sexual crimes. The organizations monitored Korean porn websites in order to surveil, report, and prevent further circulation of digital sexual crime materials.

Above the affective experience of an activist demonstrably described the affective trajectory of South Korean women. Fear of men and misogyny overwhelms her subjectivity, as she acknowledges the possibility of her victimization. She is paralyzed with terror that she could be the victim in the video. She could not do anything until the next morning. Megalia successfully transforms this affective state into indignation, galvanizing collective resistance. The political success of Megalia originated from this capacity: the transfiguration of paralyzing fear into empowering indignation. However, it is important to note that something extraordinary happens in between. The example shows a merging of subjectivities between the victim and the observer. In this temporal moment, the observer becomes the victim herself. Yun identifies this moment as an affective state of "immersio-pathy," distinctive from sympathy and empathy. In this affective state, the subjectivities of a victim and an observer coalesce, eliminating demarcation between the victim and other women. Demarcation between you, the sufferer, and I, the fortunate is eliminated to create a new subjectivity, *us*. Together, Megalians rose in indignation.

Affective Politics in Mobilizing Political Resistance

Affective politics often employed in activist groups has been explored by many anthropologists as well as sociologists and political scientists. Durkheim (1995 [1912]) defined social movement as "collective effervescence." Rendall Collins (2001), in "Social Movements and the Focus of Emotional Attention," translates Durkheim: "A Durkheimian ritual operates by transforming emotions" (p. 28). Collins introduces two stages of emotional transformation in this ritual. The first stage involves the amplification of initiating emotion, which for Megalians was a realization and affirmation of fear against men and misogyny. The second process of emotional transformation demands the evolution of the initiating emotion. Collins (2001) interprets this second emotional register as the fundamental source of solidarity: "This is the emotion which makes up solidarity, and which makes the individual feel stronger as a member of the group" (p. 29). For Megalians, indignation was the second emotional energy that provided them the ground for solidarity.

Hansson & Jacobsson (2014), in "Learning to be affected: Subjectivity, Sense, and Sensibility in Animal Rights Activism," emphasizes the importance of affect in political mobilization. The authors declare: "ethical principles are not in themselves enough to motivate ethical or political action; the right affects are

also necessary. Affect is clearly action-oriented; affects move us" (p. 263). The authors recognize the becoming an animal rights activist as the process of "*re-engineering* of affective cognitive repertoires" (p. 263). Authors argue that activists must "learn to be affected" (p. 264), by developing and refining their affective capacities.

It seems literature on affective politics in social movement revolves around the notions of moral shock and indignation**.** Jasper & Poulsen (1995) introduce the use of "moral shock" by animal activists, such as demonstrating horrific information about animal suffering to morally awaken individuals and galvanize political action. Hansson & Jacobsson (2014) also highlight the use of repetitive moral shock to consolidate activists' commitment to animal rights. Megalians triggered "moral shock" through inflicting fear and terror against the cruelty and inhumanity of misogyny, by exposing individuals to terrifying evidence of female victimization.

Goodwin et al. (2001), in "Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements," introduce indignation as the galvanizing force after profound moral shock. Moral shock, often the first step of affective mobilization in activism, inflicts feelings of fear and indignation. The authors interpret the former as paralyzing, and the latter as the foundation of political mobilization. It is imperative that the fear is transformed into indignation to galvanize collective action. Goodwin et al. (2001), however, forewarn: "The proper emotion shifts from dread to outrage. There is someone to blame. … Demonization fuels powerful emotions for social movements, such as hatred, fear, anger, suspicion, and indignation" (p. 17).

Anthropologists such as Kurtović (2015), Theodossopolsus (2014), and Franquesa (2016) described the recruitment of indignation by galvanize political resistance in Bosnia, Greece, and Spain, respectively. Scholars of indignation similarly and uniformly point to the formidable potential of indignation as well as its unsettling risks. Feranquesa (2016)'s ethnography on the 15-M movement, the *Indignados* revolt, delineates how Spanish protestors recruited indignation to mobilize people to fight against political corruption, economic crisis, and EU-imposed austerity regulations. Theodossopoulos (2014), observing the "subversive potential of massive popular indignation" (p. 494), assessed that indignation was a "transformative political weapon" (p. 495) for marginalized local actors in Greece. He further observes how the politics of indignation, which began as a critical response to neoliberal economic orders, married

populist narratives of nationalism and xenophobic sentiments. Kurtovic (2015) captures the politics of indignation during the 2014 Bosnian Uprising against local political elites. A graffiti message on the streets of Sarajevo: "Who sows hunger, reaps rage" (p. 640) exemplified the militant popular indignation that fueled Bosnian resistance. Whilst the Bosnian Uprising made an ethical appeal to social justice, intense indignation quickly led the protestors to resort to violence such as attacks, burning, and looting of political institutions. Megalia's politics of indignation has also been both appreciated for its outstanding capacity in mobilization political responses and criticized for its precarious potential to transform into the politics of hate.

The role of affect in activism, in short, has been quite extensively evaluated and substantiated. There has been a shared understanding that the recruitment of affect is central to social mobilization. Many studies in social movements are calling for a refocusing of affective politics in social movements (Goodwin et al., 2001; Flam & King, 2005; Jasper, 2011).

Megalians also travelled through similar affective trajectory as has been illustrated by the existing literature. However, I intend to further illustrate an important intermediary affective state that was experienced by Megalian fighters. The "immersio-pathy," proposed by South Korean feminist philosopher **Yun Ji-Yeong**, fundamentally transformed women's subjectivities eliminating the demarcation between you and me to engender a collective political subject, us.

Affective Trajectory of a Megalian

What were the affective dynamics that inspired, shaped, and spurred the Megalian movement? In this section, I will walk through the affective trajectory that Megalia guided women through, with respect to the change of women's subjectivities. I first demonstrate the two core sentiments: fear and indignation, from which Megalians benefited and exploited. Megalia guided women to sublimate her fear into indignation through an intermediary affective state: immersio-pathy.

As I have identified in the first chapter, South Korean women's subjectivities transformed by traveling through two different affective states in becoming a Megalian. The first transition demands recognition and acknowledgement of her men-fear. Once enlightened of her own fear, the affect becomes

central in shaping her subjectivity. Fear of victimization by misogyny; namely rape, violence, digital sexual crime, sexual harassment, sexual objectification, submission to misogynistic orders and demands, and discrimination and disadvantage in the workplace, dominates her experiences of the world. The second transition requires the sublimation of this fear into indignation. Yun (2016) investigated the phenomenology of this transition. She introduces an intermediate affective state which bridges the transition of individual fear into collective indignation: "immersio-pathy," distinctive from sympathy nor empathy. Immersio-pathy, she argues, eliminates the demarcation between you-the victim of misogyny and me-the observer of misogyny. Subjectivities of the observer, according to her, resonates with that of a sufferer to re-produce an immense pain within the observer herself. Trembling together in pain, demarcation between you and I is eliminated to engender a new collective subjectivity, *us*.

Finally, this section investigates the distinction between indignation and hate. Many scholars, including Yun (2016), argued that the distinction cannot be an ontological nor a phenomenological one. The distinction is a political one, defined by the affect's relationship with the hegemonic authority. However, I observe that within personal realm, individual women experienced confusion and anxiety around embodiment of the hate. Through repetition, reappropriation and recuperation of the hate speech, women feared that the hate manifested in their mirroring speech might be being embodied within themselves.

1) Endorsement of Men-fear

Sisa IN, with the help of data-based strategic consulting company Arspraxia, made a discourse map of Megalia (Cheon, 2015). It conducted a big-data analysis of 27,888 articles posted on Megalia website, which received more than 10 likes from its users between June 1st to Augusts 31st in 2015; the first two months of Megalia(www.megalian.com)'s emergence. It was allegedly the first attempt to make a discourse analysis on Megalia.

Arspraxia researcher Kim Hak Jun spotlights the central affect that penetrated the discourse: fear. The fear against crime, gaze, and marriage composed the underlying affective pillars that shaped the Megalian discourse. They drew three additional focus maps by which to comprehend the semantic structure of this affect. The crime fear map represented women as violated beings routinely exposed to 'sexual assault,' 'sexual harassment,' 'hate speech,' 'date rape,' and 'murder.' In this map, men were positioned as either 'criminals' or 'consumers of prostitution,' whilst

women were placed as 'victims,' yet ironically 'depreciated' as a 'whore,' experiencing 'prejudice,' and 'discrimination.' The gaze fear map captured women's fear against sexual objectification. "Women always lay bare under men's 'gaze.' Their gaze fragments women's bodies into 'pelvis,' 'breasts,' 'face,' and 'body.' Men's gaze 'grades' women's body by parts. 'Men' are the gazing beings in this structure. The extreme form of the male gaze is the 'spy-cam crime'." Lastly, the 'marriage fear' was represented with keywords such as 'avoid,' 'suicide,' 'divorce,' 'give up,' and 'singlehood.' This form of fear understands marriage as a 'disadvantage' to women; she would be obligated to bear the responsibilities towards her 'in-laws,' while her 'husband' dumps the 'housework' and 'child-rearing' responsibilities on her.

I have previously argued that fear is in fact a central affect to the self of an enlightened South Korean woman. Nevertheless, "men-fear" is not an unfamiliar sentiment to unenlightened women. Yun (2016) corroborates the commonality of this men-fear. She argues that the quotidian employment of "daily survival strategy" evinces the universality of men-fear in women's lives. According to her, South Korean women develop trivial, everyday forms of survival strategy to avoid being victimized by misogyny. These strategies include: "not facing the wall in an elevator," "texting friends the plate number of a taxi," "hiding the fact that one lives alone when ordering a delivery by turning on TV or displaying multiple pairs of shoes by the entrance," "lying that she has a boyfriend in order to evade from unwanted sexual approaches," and "avoiding walking alone at night" (p. 216). Nevertheless, as misogyny was so essentially normalized, women often did not recognize her fear of men and misogyny. She was either ignorant, indifferent, or even in denial of her fear. Megalia, through the vigorous exhibition and problematization of online misogyny, strived to make her rediscover her men-fear. She finally acknowledges her men-fear to become enlightened of misogyny.

It is then politically vital that women succeed in sublimating their fear. Without the evolution of this affective state, political resistance would be debilitated. Kangyu, an activist who worked on the RPO team translating the reality of Soranet into English, writes:

"Every single day, I was told of Soranet stories from the monitoring team. I felt like I was going neurotic. … Soranet emerged in my mind any time I walked by men in the streets. I was thinking to myself; 'There are 1,000,000 users in Soranet. There must be someone amongst these men who are on Soranet. And some of them would be entertained by raping unconscious women and putting dangerous objects in women's vagina. I was disgusted by all who brushed by me. I got terrified of

everyone. Eventually, within a week, I had to quit the Soranet project, and deleted my email" (Kim et al., 2018; p. 65).

2) Liberation from Men-Fear: Indignation

Thus, becoming a Megalian requires a process of affective sublimation from fear into indignation. Indignation is the core element which signals the true initiation of the Megalian-self. The first operation in becoming a Megalian was an endorsement of her fear. That is, to discover and disclose the "men-fear" that penetrated women's life and regulated her behaviors and attitudes. Then she needs to declare liberation from this men-fear stage. Yun (2016) paralleled the process of endorsing men-fear with the declaration of liberation from it (p. 217). However, I argue these two are separate, distinctive processes. An enlightened woman could realize that she had been entrapped by men-fear, inflicted by misogyny. But this does not mean she is a Megalian. Becoming a Megalian required a radical, deliberate departure from the men-fear stage, a determination that she will now fight against this fear. This not only requires the acknowledgement of one's fear, but also an adoption of new affective order and subsequent conduct. She must now reconstruct herself with indignation, embracing the Megalian code of conduct. That is, fight back with the mirroring speech.

The process could be described as a form of initiation ritual. I borrow Arnold van Gennep's theorization of rites of passage to metaphorically demonstrate these women's affective trajectory. In the separation phase, a woman is violently removed from her comfort zone, where she was not forced to face misogyny. She vaguely perceived misogyny in its veiled form, only views it through the fragments of moments in which misogyny ruptures through pervasive cover of banality. Megalia unveils misogyny, mercilessly forcing individuals to face oppression and violence in her world. There is no amount of precaution and prevention she could take to avoid being a victim. She is constantly and eternally violated by misogyny. She is separated from her old world, in which she was theoretically safe as long as she remained sufficiently compliant and careful. She is force-fed with hideous forms of misogyny, until she confesses her own "men-fear" that dominates her everyday life. In the transition phase, women now acknowledge the victimization. Yet she is confused and disoriented with what to do with her new reality. She was not safe anymore, no matter how compliant and careful she was. A new code of conduct was to be adopted to adjust herself into the new reality. During the re-incorporation phase, she reconstructs herself

into an indignant being. Without indignation, she would be forever entrapped in the state of being afraid, hunted, and victimized. Now indignation becomes a matter of survival, a must for conservation of the self.

This was highlighted in a documentary novel (Jeong, 2018) chronicling women's fight against digital sexual crimes. The novel captures the sublimation of fear into indignation, and the subsequent change of responses from fright to fight. The protagonist, an unenlightened laywoman, becomes the victim of digital sexual crime. Voyaging through the typical Megalian affective trajectory, she finally turns into a rebellious Megalian. She decides: "Shame will kill me, but indignation will kill the evil. I made a decision to survive, the vehement power of indignation." The novel emphasizes indignation as a must for survival in women's lives. Once indignant, she would be given a weapon to fight, i.e. mirroring speech. With the given weapon, she needs to prove herself a valuable warrior to the tribe to become a true Megalian member.

3) Intermediary affective state: Immersio-pathy

Yun (2016), in her philosophical study of Megalia's affective phenomenology, points at indignation as the central affect in becoming a Megalian. She, however, identifies an important intermediate affective state, which functions as the stepping-stone towards collective indignation from individual fear. The space between these sentiments was bridged by an important affect which she identified as "immersio-pathy."

The author seizes this sentiment, collectively expressed during the 5.17 femicide commemoration[41] (popularly known as the Gangnam murder). The infamous murder of a woman by a schizophrenic male patient who allegedly targeted the victim because "she is a woman." Many women identified themselves with the victim of this hate crime, with expressions equating the 'I' with 'You.' Yun (2016, p. 218) cites phrases from "Gangnam Station Exit 10, 1004 Post-its," a collection of commemorative post-its that were stuck on Gangnam station's exit wall to mourn for the victim:

- Post-it 15 "You are me"
- post-it 378 "It feels like I died"
- post-it 427 and 517 "Your death is my death
- post-it 500 "You are me, and I am you"

---

[41] Yun Ji Yeong calls the Gangnam murder on 2015 May 17 a "feminicide," as she was murdered "because she was woman." It is a proclamation that the Gangnam murder was not a random conduct of murder by a schizophrenic murder, as the state claimed it. It was a declaration that it was hate crime against women.

It is notable that the boundaries of subjectivities between the victim and other women faded away. It is not you suffering, and I witnessing. You are myself, and I am you. The witness becomes the sufferer herself. Yun (2016) makes a meaningful distinction of this state from "sympathy." Sympathy, puts the speaker as a superior observer, objectifying and distancing the victim as an object of pity. In this sentimental structure, you and I are placed in a vertical composition. Whilst attempting to console and comfort, the affect does not replicate the suffering of the victim to the observer. The author differentiates "immersio-pathy" from empathy as well. Empathy, unlike sympathy, removes the vertical composition between the victim and observer. The empathizer, unlike sympathizer, imitates the pain of the sufferer to a certain extent.

The nature and limitations of empathy have been pondered about by number of anthropologists: most notably by Geertz (1984), Rosaldo (1989), and Wikan (1992) (see the review by Hollan 2008). The conventional understanding of empathy in anthropology was probably established by Geertz's work. One can only assume what another feels through emotional reasoning and imagination. That is, one cannot replicate other's feeling as it is, but can only speculate "through grasping the symbols and conceptual systems they use to express themselves to themselves and to others" (Hollan, 2008; p. 477). Rosaldo (1989) in "Grief and a Headhunter's Rage" pungently captures the limitations of empathy. He acknowledges the impossibility of emotional reproduction of great grief experienced by the Ilongat men. Only after suffering the loss of his own wife, was he able to grasp the extent of the pain of his interlocutors. Wikan (1992), criticizing Geertz for his overemphasis on linguistic semantics, highlights the unspeakability of certain experiences and feelings. Wikan demands that one must go beyond empathy, which is based on discourse and thick description. She asserts, anthropologist must endeavor to "resonate" with others. That is, "Sharing a world with others" by "learning to attend to it in the same way" (Hollan, 2008; p.479). To her, the greatest weakness of empathy is its preservation of "positionality," or a lack of engagement to the position of the empathized, by the empathizer.

Yun (2016) introduces the term "immersio-pathy" in a similar vein with Wikan's introduction of resonance. Yun criticizes that empathy ultimately maintains the demarcation between the victim and the observer. This works to reaffirm the observer's relief that she herself avoided the misfortune, eventually limiting the capacity of observer's engagement to victim's experiences. Immersio-pathy, according to Yun,

thoroughly removes this demarcation between you and me. The pain of the sufferer is not presumed but poured into the observer from coalescing subjectivities. An observer's subjectivity is not protected from the sufferings of victimization anymore. The observer is immersed in the pouring of the victim's pain. This description resembles Wikan (1992)'s theorization of resonance. The observer resonates in pain with the victim. In Yun's words, observer's subjectivity is "immersed by the pain of the victim." Profound immersion in the victim's pain captures well how Megalians often felt witnessing misogynistic crimes. As a Megalian, I often felt profound pain penetrating my whole body, as if I myself was the victim. This indeed could not be properly described with notions such as sympathy nor empathy.

I remember one incident with my friend. We were conversing about victims of digital sexual crime. She had received a rape video from a friend, in which women were evidently unconscious and were being violated by multiple men. She sympathized: "I pity them." This gave me a strange frustration. My body almost instinctively refused her comment. I almost wanted to scream at her: "Do NOT pity. It is not them in the video! It is us! It is you and me and all of us!" I felt that her reaction was inappropriate and incomplete. In retrospect, now I realize that, as a Megalian, I was perhaps demanding "immersio-pathy," and the subsequent indignation and actions.

Yun comments that immersio-pathy signifies a moment in which you and I coincide and coalesce, eventually into one being: "us". Immersio-pathy not only listens to and accompanies other's pain but embodies the pain within herself. The elimination of demarcation between you and me constructs a new being "us". Immersio-pathy worked as a vital affect in constructing a collective subjectivity as Megalians. The we, resonating together in pain, now sublimates the fear into indignation, the silence into resistance. The painful immersio-pathy, permits the reconstruction of me and you into the us. Immersio-pathy then enabled Megalians to successfully sublimate individual fear into collective indignation.

Fine Line Between Indignation and Hate

However, it was then difficult to draw the line between indignation and hatred against men. Many scholars have described the difficulty of ontologically demarcating different sentiments. Most notably, Nussbaum (2004) argues:

"if we try to give a definition of an emotion such as anger, in which we mention everything that is absolutely essential to anger and what differentiates anger from other painful emotions, we will find, he suggests, that we cannot succeed in this task if we mention only the way anger *feels.* Many negative emotions involve rather similar feelings of pain: fear, pity, envy, jealousy, anger—can we really differentiate these in a reliable way by associating each with a characteristic type of feeling? In order to differentiate them, we seem to need to bring in, as well, the beliefs that are characteristic of each. Fear involves a belief about bad possibilities imminent in the future. Anger involves a belief about damage wrongfully inflicted" (p. 27).

She claims that the delineation of affect cannot be marked through ontology, but through the phenomenology of the affective context.

Multiple writers attempted to demarcate anger and hate and investigate its phenomenological context. I borrow Janne van Doorn (2018)'s succinct yet concise distinction. According to her, while anger (although the author employed the term anger, I believe it is more appropriate to adopt indignation) remarks the unjust situation caused by the other, hate remarks the unjust nature of the other. Thus, anger "focuses on changing/restoring the unjust situation caused by another person", whilst hate "focused on eliminating the hatred person/group" (p. 321).

Yun argues for something more radical. The line between indignation and hate against men, misandry, is neither ontological nor phenomenological. It is a political one. According to her, it is impossible that indignation against men evolves into misandry. She reads the term "misandry" as an attempt to "domesticate" feminist resistance. According to her, the demarcation between indignation and hatred is purely political, drawn by one who possesses the authority to define.

Yun (2016) diagnosed hate as a conservative regime determining whom to ostracize and silence. It is an affective mechanism defining the marginalized as immoral, inferior and execrable. Hatred inculpates

the marginalized for any forms of social discontent. It is an affective politics which aims to consolidate and perpetuate the existing order. On the other hand, she draws indignation as a rupture from this order. That is, "indignation brings up questions that destabilize such order rather than submit and tolerate to this absurd reality" (p. 230). Indignation, according to her, "rather than being incorporated into existing order of values-good, moral, correct, appropriate, and legal-it exposes how these abstractions are recruited to justify the mechanics of oppression" (p. 231). The language of indignation is, therefore, a menace to the existing order by its mere existence.

In essence, rather than having an ontological nor phenomenological demarcation, hatred and indignation is differentiated through the interactions with the existing order and authority. Hatred resonates with the conventional norms and morality, attempting to re-enact the oppression towards the marginalized. Indignation is an affect that emerges against the pre-existing order. It imagines for an unconventional value system which resists the justification of hegemonic violence. Yun, arriving at the impossibility of misandry, questions the motives under conversion of politics of indignation into the politics of hate. She concludes that the conversion itself is the conservative strategy to domesticate feminist resistance.

Case Study 1 : Affective Trajectory of Megalian activists

Han Hee Jeong (2018) depicts her own initial affective state as a South Korean woman. She describes negligence, doubt, and subsequent indifference. The author reminisces: "When the spy-cam incident in the waterpark in 2015 happened, I did not realize the criminality of this issue. This was because I did not understand the nature of digital sexual crimes, how women's naked bodies could be sexually consumed. Perhaps I was comparing the severity of this incident with the criminal circulation of sex tapes" (p. 234). It was the time most women believed that digital sexual crime could be prevented by self-vigilance. Ambivalence between guilt- "I must be more careful"- and sense of unfairness- "why should I be so careful?" pervaded women's affect. She wants to convince herself that she could be safe, by being more careful, whilst questioning why her existence necessitated so much caution. Megalia's arduous work disclosing the magnitude of digital sexual crimes in South Korea eliminated the space for guilt. Megalia claimed, one simply cannot be careful enough to avoid being victimized. One simply cannot avoid being victimized at all.

This leads to fear, terror, moral shock, and finally indignation through immersio-pathy. **Han** observed: "imitation of the affect (of the victims) was easily tenable as majority of women had lived-experiences of gender oppressions and experienced fear and anxiety as potential victims herself" (p. 236). Let's come back to the moment of immersio-pathy by an activist who translated the Soranet materials:

> "One of the screenshots (of women), although the facial features were vague, looked similar (to my face). Since I saw it, I couldn't sleep at all until the next morning. It took some time until I downloaded the file and confirmed (that it was not me on the video). Because I had this fear that it could be me. This was an experience which made me realize that people on these videos, who are consumed as "porn," were real humans. I felt my relief was so selfish" (p. 236).

The moment, demonstrated here, I interpret is the moment of immersio-pathy. The demarcation between the observer and the victim was obfuscated by the similarity of facial features in the video. The observer experienced becoming the victim with the video. The victim "could be me." In this temporal state, the subjectivities of the victim and observer coalesced. The activist experienced, during this temporal state of uncertainty, the anxieties, fear, and suffering of the victim. She was enabled to see the digital sexual crime from the "native's point of view" (Geertz, 1974). Her guilt against feelings of relief, after re-establishing the demarcation between herself and the victim, remarks an acknowledgement that sympathy and empathy were not anymore sufficient sentiments for a Megalian.

Although the author does not cite Yun's term immersio-pathy, she clearly points at the powerful resonation of the painful sensorium: "Meeting the victims, witnessing their victimized video, identifying their bodies and faces, the activists suffer from similar pain like that of the victims" (Han, 2018; p. 237). Most of the activists suffered from PTSD, stress alopecia, anxiety, and panic attacks. Megalian fighters resonated with victims of sexual crimes through immersio-pathy. The suffering and pain were not anymore those of the *other*, but those of *us*.

Case study 2: Affective Trajectory as guided by the Megalians

Post in Megalia[42]:

Title: It is not difficult to disseminate Misandry in female online-communities.
Content:
If you try to persuade, it will backfire.
In my case, I just post one, not more or less, one news coverage of hideous crimes that comes up on Megalnews tab. Most of them are murders, acid attacks after breakups, body disposal after murdering of girlfriends, and etc. …
I don't have to say anything. So I don't get insulted or get in a fight for disseminating misandry. All I did was to show facts. Judgements were made by themselves.
Just one article each day for a month, and girls would naturally develop *misandry*.
It's not a preferable tactic, as it's sort of a shock therapy implanting fear. Yet after inoculating *misandry* steadily like this and say something Megalian-like, the reactions are dramatic.

The article shows that these women understood the potential of affective politics, and that they strategically recruited feelings-in this case fear, to incite change. They also seem to recognize the potential dangers of this operation: "it's not a preferable tactic, as it's sort of a shock therapy implanting fear." Yet the effectiveness of the tactic surpasses the concern: "the reactions are dramatic."

The way the author used "misandry" further reflects on what misandry really meant to these women. Megalians themselves seem to confuse men-hate and men-fear. In this article, it would be more accurate to say that these women now nurtured men-fear rather than men-hate. Nevertheless, the distinction is never made clear. It could have been that the distinction between the two was not an important task for these women. It was perhaps a strategic obfuscation of the terms by these transgressive challengers, as the term "misandry" generated a bigger sense of threat and fear than "men-fear" to their male audience. The following example exhibits such intention:

Post on one of post-Megalian online communities (Womadic), 2018-04-27[43]:

Title: Korean men trust too much the mirroring strategy of Megalia
Content:
One time I wrote that we should abort all Korean-men-sects before they were even born. One Korean-men-sect tried to vindicate my words, as if trying to give a reassurance for the other dicks; "Don't worry! This is all just mirroring!"

But I am sincere with my words.

To this somewhat grotesque joke, comments in accordance followed. As Megalia expanded, men were concerned that they were genuinely falling victim to misandry themselves. As they did not wish to become the victims themselves, men tended to relieve their anxiety by reaffirming that Megalia is merely performing a mirroring speech; a parody of misogyny.

The online grammar obscures the sincerity of the above revelation. Yet it seems evident that there was a motive for these women to represent their doing as sincere misandry. The obfuscation between the parody and the real was essential in Megalia's mirroring tactic. These tricksters aimed to confuse their performance and reality.

However, two different dynamics worked here: the superficial, strategic one to jokingly and nonchalantly present mirroring as genuine misandry, and the deeper and more private anxiety around mirroring becoming genuine misandry. An interview (Kim, 2016) with self-identified Megalians suggested that women's experiences as a Megalian did not end at technically mirroring back the hatred. Megalians attested the unsettling experiences of embodiment of hate. Women seem to experience the change of affect through time:

- "When I first encountered the mirroring language, it was just funny and hilarious. But gradually, I could feel myself objectifying men," Kim said.
- "It was a fun thing to hate someone." She told, "I finally realized what it was like to hate. Hatred was actually a fun sentiment. I realized why men had been enacting misogyny as a joke or a game."
- "When first encountered with mirroring I was enraged, but gradually I came to enjoy it. I was startled realizing men had so much fun until now with misogyny, as I am now with mirroring."

I proposed to make an ethnographic analysis of an experimental, novel form of affective politics in Megalia, which intercepts, reappropriates and fires back at misogynistic hate politics. I demonstrated that Megalia was astutely aware of the power of emotions in the political sphere and sought to operate on affective politics. Megalians adroitly played with these sentiments: fear, immersio-pathy, indignation, and hate, to galvanize female resistance. Attentive to the potential dangers of playing with these emotions, I am

simultaneously astonished by the exceptional opportunities it rendered. Whilst it was argued that men-hatred was politically impossible, experiences of individual women in Megalia told somewhat different stories. Confusions and anxieties that hate speech, of which these women were critiquing and exploiting, was concomitantly being embodied to these women were widespread within private conversations of Megalians.

An Autoethnography of Megalian Affective Politics

Finally, the dreaded work, exploring my own affective subjectivity, cannot be put off anymore. The readers may have been long wondering, how does she feel, as a Megalian herself?

I am incredibly reluctant about singling myself out of the collective Megalian subjectivity. This is because I am afraid. I am afraid of that stigma tied to a fighting woman, a Megalian; as an aggressive, vulgar, violent, vengeful, spiteful, hypocritical, and selfish man-hater. As I have mentioned before, Megalians are often represented as fat, ugly, and undesired women, who fail to be desired by men. It has been argued that, this was the reason why Megalians transformed into the embracers of hatred, and the exploiters of hate speech. I myself had been called upon as an undesirable woman for identifying myself as a feminist. Without my sisters, I become so vulnerable to these insults.

I have been asked questions, of which the intention was quite evident. "Are you a feminist?", I was asked before Megalia. "Are you a Megalian?" or "Are you a misandrist?", I was asked after Megalia. The expected answer was obvious. I was to excuse myself as a non-feminist or a non-Megalian, denying my self-identity as an online feminist warrior, because that name must come with a shame. On the other hand, I have not yet had an opportunity to ask a man: "are you a misogynist?" This dissymmetry is somewhat telling.

As I write this article, I am constantly censoring myself: what can be written, and what cannot be. What is too much, and what is not enough. What is a political statement and what is a political performance, and what is just the bitter, vengeful, detrimental affective politics of hate. When I wrote something that was

witty and funny, I was nervous that it might signal I was a misandrist, immersed in Megalian hate culture. I found the small penis day rhetoric humorous. Yet I question myself if I should have been offended instead.

Are you a feminist? Both subjectivities question the ethnographer with a bit of a contempt. The ethnographer's ambivalence on Megalianism constantly questions back: am I a Megalian? Am I a misandrist? Am I a feminist? Was I doing enough, or have I gone too far? Megalian subjectivity scoffs at the ethnographer for not fully embracing her teachings. Megalians were thoroughly aware of the unpredictable perils of affective politics. But one must take bold risks to make a revolution. Feminist subjectivity worries; you need to be more cautious. There is a fine but definite line between right and wrong.

Now, where is my affective subjectivity? Megalia was indeed an expert player in affective politics. It made me *feel* so much. The Megalian experience enhanced my capacity to *feel*. As Hansson & Jacobsson (2014) argued, the Megalian movement taught me to "be affected" (p. 264). I developed and refined my capacity to be affected throughout the movement. I felt everything more; more profoundly and more intensely. My affect eventually got multiplicated, diverse, ambivalent, and self-contradicting. I was effectively guided through the affective trajectory that was identified above. I remember those moments: the terror and shock that struck me at first encounters with online misogyny, constant and intense fear of victimization, the frustration and desperation of not being able help the victims of digital sexual crimes, other women's cries in heart-breaking immersio-pathy, and the anger and indignation at men who responded with unbelievable indifference. Finally, the fear of men-all men, really- was consolidated, that anybody could be the accomplice of malignant misogyny that Megalia was just beginning to discover: anyone could be jerking off at the victims of digital sexual crimes, locker-room talking about me and my sisters, throwing horrifying misogynistic insults at victims of misogyny, avidly hunting after women who dare to fight back. I often had to wrestle with my fear and suspicion in my daily interactions with men.

As a feminist, I do understand that most of South Korean men are well-intentioned. Yet my subjectivities that were constructed so firmly around the experiences of victimization make it difficult to not fear and doubt all men. Furthermore, even the innocent bystanders of South Korean misogyny disdained Megalia's fights. These honorable spectators only noticed "misandry-mirroring," refusing to see the original

of this performance: misogyny. I was inevitably made to question: why did you choose to remain in silence on misogyny, while you rise in anger against mirroring? Why did you overlook, when you knew all of these things- rapes, sexual harassment, digital sexual crimes, and violence- that were so pervasive within men's conversations, were happening?

I make an effort to share my Megalian experiences with good Korean men. And I often get mixed reactions. Sometimes I tell a Megalian joke and try to explain how politically ingenious and ideologically charged it was. Often, I received silence in response. Sometimes people don't know how to politely react to such vulgar and transgressive language, sometimes maybe they don't like it, and still some other times they are simply uninterested. Make no mistake, when I talk about the misogynistic victimization of South Korean women, my listeners are very supportive and sympathetic. However, when women embraced that weapon to fight back, the picture was now a different one.

Lastly, do I hate men? Have I embodied the hate politics critiqued and exploited by Megalia? I certainly began to feel intense disrespect against most men, based on a conviction that they had collectively concealed and spectated upon misogyny, like the audience delighting and cheering for the death of a stripped slave in the Colosseum in Roman Empire. I constantly question; was any man innocent? Finally, have I come to hate men for this? I don't know. I really don't know.

Perhaps what I desired was power, in the end. A power *not to be violated*. That is, the power to reciprocate the damage that others would not dare to violate against. I wrote in a chapter in Rootless Feminism about my experiences of legal accusations of defamation against men who attempted to witch-hunt me for speaking about South Korean rape culture on an Australian TV documentary. I wrote:

> "I didn't expect their world to overturn overnight through the encounters with me. Only, I pray that it will make a slightest crack in their stubborn, prejudiced perspectives. I wish they remember my face, the look in my eyes. I want them to remember that the very person, who they threatened to cyber-bully, rape, and murder, existed in real life. I want them to remember that, a woman listened

to their spitting of those hateful words in front their faces[44]. Among those Korean women, whom they insulted and denigrated as gold-digging kimchi girls, international whores, and undesirable misandrists, there are powerful women who can inflict an actual *threat* to their secure misogynistic men-lives. I wish that they will *fear*, that many other women could come and make the same revenge against their rude and cruel words. I expect him to reminisce on his own face sitting in front of me, before pouring the same hateful language onto another woman. I so earnestly wish that he will recollect how embarrassed and ashamed he felt of himself, pleading for forgiveness to a woman, as one accused of a defamation charge" (Kim et al., 2018; p. 104).

This seems to be a shared feeling within the Megalian diaspora these days. I had recently observed that Womad, had turned more like a self-development encouraging forum. A new slogan, with which I was unfamiliar, now saturated the message board: "Let us meet at the top of the world." These women were now convinced that power will not protect them. They needed to possess power themselves if in need of protection. The protection not only from our distinguished enemy- men, but also from political indifference, structural violence, systematic discrimination, and yes, everything.

Conclusion

Megalians were expert at the affective politics in recruiting women. They deliberately incited fear and terror against misogyny and guided women to evolve their affect into indignation. Korean feminist scholar Yun remarked that an intermediary affective state, immersio-pathy, helped women to form collective subjectivities. This kind of affective trajectory in becoming a Megalian effectively transformed the experiences of suffering in misogyny, not as those of the *other*, but those of *us*.

We fought for us, for all South Korea women, and we won-at least temporarily. The fight was politically, linguistically, philosophically, culturally, socially, and ethically profound and delicate under the protective surface of vulgar slangs and insults. However, questions, anxieties, and guilt arose around the

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[44] I asked the accusees to read out loud in front of me, the hateful words they wrote against me on internet. These included threats of murder, rape, gang rape, and violence, and verbal sexual harassments.

ethicality of the Megalian methodology. Individual women expressed concerns and confusions around experiences of the politics of hatred. Yet, Megalia pushed to still go further. We did not have time and energy to reflect back, amongst the collective experiences of constant, profound misogynistic violence. Now that Megalia, as an online community, has ended, we will have the time to reflect back on the ethics of Megalia in the following chapter.

Ch 4. Violent, Immoral, and Unethical

Introduction

In this chapter, I deal with the most controversial aspect of Megalian movement. Misogyny persistently portrayed Megalia as a violent and immoral misandristic hate group. Feminists also critiqued Megalia to be unethical.

Firstly, I explore the violent construction of "violent Megalia" by the misogynistic hegemony, using the "violence of rhetoric" conceptualized by Teresa de Lauretis (1985). According to her, defining violence is already a political process. The misogynistic hegemony relentlessly identified and narrated the violence in Megalia, whilst obscuring and concealing its own violence. Through these misogynistic narratives, Megalia was constructed into a "violent other" as Onur Gunay (2013) puts it. The violence of rhetoric by the misogynistic regime further shamed, inculpated, and debilitated the Megalian movement.

Secondly, I argue against the popular notion that Megalia did away with morality and ethics. Megalia most vigorously wrestled with local morality and feminist ethics. They contested, negotiated and recalibrated both. I investigate this, using Arthur Kleinman (1999; 2006)'s theorization of morality and ethics, as well as Jarrette Zigon (2007)'s understanding on the ethical moment during moral breakdown. The constant recalibration of morality and ethics led to the diversification of Megalian morality and ethics. Members of Megalia diversified leading to the demise of the Megalian movement. The movement, after successfully reflecting and reciprocating against South Korean online misogyny, gave way to various strands of post-Megalian movements.

Finally, there remains questions as to what to do with Megalia in the post-Megalian era. While the misogynistic hegemony is on its way back to sabotage the Megalian legacy focusing on its violence and immorality, I highlight an alternate scholarly focus towards the reconciliation between the two sexes. That is, recognition of female victimization and the reestablishment of justice. I identify the importance of reinstating justice in resolving conflict and paving the path towards peace after three years of cyber-war against misogyny.

Violent Misogyny and Violent Mirroring

South Korean society was visibly worried about the violence of mirroring. Scholars and media persistently and passionately expressed concerns over the misandristic violence Megalia manifested. However, Megalians protested the critiques. They were merely performing as a mirror: the violence exhibited in the mirroring movement is only a parody of violence in misogyny.

Tweet by womad, 05-19[45]:

> I can't take it anymore. Let's stop mirroring with the keyboard. Let's wait in front of a men's room with a 30cm knife and attack some men with the knife. That is the true mirroring, isn't it?

Tweet by feministfrhell, 2018-05-16[46]:

> There is no misandry.
> You can start speaking about misandry when there are cases of people waiting in front of men's room and kill random men, women who conduct acid attacks on men after breakups, women who killed like 20 whore-men and say "I was giving men some lessons" …
> Do not distort women's indignation into hatred.

Violent cases mentioned in these women's tweets refer to the misogynistic hate crimes prevalent in South Korea. Whilst these kinds of violent attacks on women were very present in women's everyday lives, it was not the case for men. To Megalian fighters, mirroring was *not violent* compared to misogyny. Megalian fighters did not actually walk out to the streets to copycat the misogynistic violence[47]. Megalia proclaimed to mirror-reflect the violence of misogyny, yet it was fundamentally a performance on the Internet: an inverted semiotic world imagined in cyberspace. Their performance was restricted to their stage, internet. Yet misogynists critiqued the violence in Megalia, instead of calling out on the original violence of misogyny.

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[45] Retrieved by a screenshot image of a tweet made by user Womad_twt, published on May 19th, year unknown. Figure 18

[46] Retrieved by a screenshot image of a tweet made by user feministfrhell, published 2018-05-16. Figure 19

[47] Online misogynists substantiate the evidences of actual "violence" in Megalia, most notably bringing examples from Womad (extremized online community which diverted away from Megalia). These women were highlighted as the evidence of Megalian violence with allegations of animal abuse and pedophilia. For example, a Womad user was criticized after posting a picture of her male cat with tears in its eyes with comments such as: "male abuse is the funniest thing in the world." However, it was later turned out she faked the tears with eyedrops, and there was no apparent evidence of animal abuse. Another Womad user was pressed charges by the Australian government on November 20th 2017, after writing on Womad that she had raped an Australian boy with photos and videos as evidence. However, most of the photos and videos were revealed to have been downloaded from internet. The author of the article defended that she was "mirroring" the pedophilic culture, pervasive and normalized within misogynistic online communities such as ilbe.

Beneath the superficial vulgarity and extremity of above accounts, there lies an important acknowledgement over what is being configured as violence. The power dynamics in the rhetoric of violence highlights and accuses the so-called "violence" in misandry, whilst concealing and undermining the extreme violence of misogyny. To these women, criticism around the movement and the call for "peaceful" and "non-violent" actions were merely an attempt to domesticate their resistance. By deeming all effective and creative forms of protest as "violent," misogynistic order sought to shackle the Megalian movement. This ultimately served the misogynistic regime in maintaining the status quo.

Megalians invite us to carefully re-examine, what we define "violence" as, and who defines and spotlights which "violence." The following image [48]that Megalians created and circulated attempts to show the schematic configuration of Megalian "violence" and misogynistic violence.
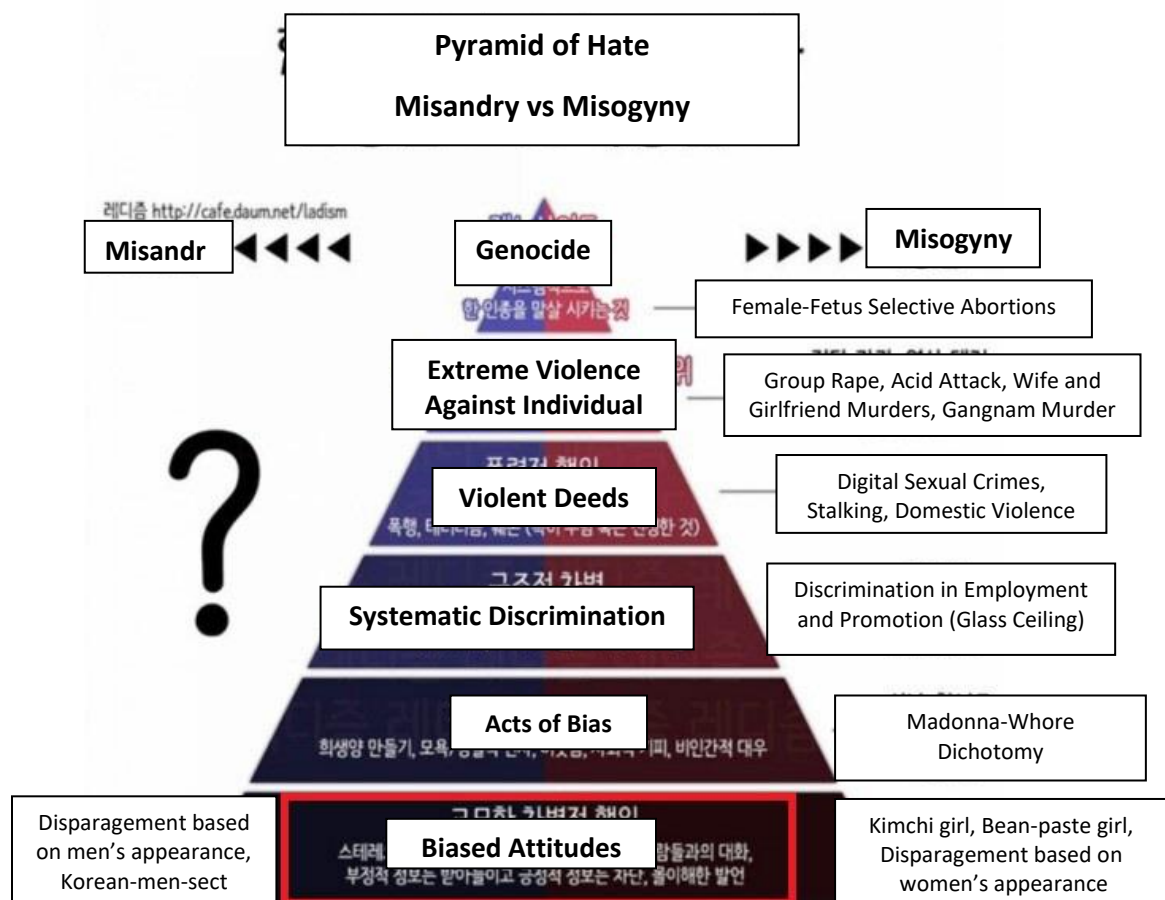
The image demonstrated and compared the levels of violence manifested in misogyny and misandry, using the Pyramid of Hate developed by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) in 2005[49]. ADL developed the pyramid in attempt to understand where extreme violence such as genocide originates from. It conceptualizes the different levels of violence tolerated to marginalized population.

Megalians modified the original Pyramid of Hate by dividing "Bias Motivated Violence" into "Extreme Violence Against Individual" which included murders and rapes, and "Violent Deeds" with revenge porn (digital sexual crimes), stalking, and domestic violence. Although the anonymous modifier did not clarify why the distinction was made, it seems the distinction reflects on then popular notions of digital sexual crimes, stalking, and domestic violence as "not extreme" violence, or not strictly criminal forms of violence. These forms of violence were often tolerated by the judicial regime.

The image was originally produced in a website called Ladism, which was one of the daughter-strands of online feminism that emerged from Megalia. The pyramid vividly demonstrates the schism of violence conducted by the misogyny and "misandry"-mirroring. Yet, misogynistic hegemony meticulously identified, described, and highlighted the violence in mirroring. Resisting the critique that mirroring is too violent, Megalians question the power dynamics that play a role in defining "violence".

Rhetoric of Violence, Violence of Rhetoric

Many scholars have similarly attempted to understand violence, and the power dynamics that lay beneath the definition of violence. Particularly anthropologists have been at the forefront of broadening of our understanding on violence, by proposing novel analytical frames such as everyday violence and structural violence.

Walter Benjamin (1978) in his chapter "Critique of Violence" delineates the universal presence of violence in human societies. He observes: "every conceivable solution to human problems, not to speak of deliverance from the confines of all the world-historical conditions of existence obtaining hitherto, remains impossible if violence is totally excluded in principle" (p. 293). Violence is embedded into every aspect of

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[49] Figure 21

our everyday life. According to him, the important question is then whether the violence, "in a given case, is a means to a just or unjust end" (p. 277). Benjamin proposes that the modern state monopolized the use of violence through its legal execution. The state hegemony of violence rendered it the state's judgment whether the violence in question is legitimate or illegitimate. In this context, Coronil&Skurski (2006) remarks: "The view that violence is distinct from the civil order tends to legitimate everyday forms of violence and to reify its extraordinary occurrences, placing them outside the social rather than recognizing their continuities with quotidian practices" (p. 3).

Arthur Kleinman (2000) also stresses "Current taxonomies of violence-public versus domestic, ordinary against extreme political violence-are inadequate to understand either the uses of violence in the social world or the multiplicity of its effects in experiences of suffering, collective and individual" (p. 227). Kleinman's discussion of everyday violence sheds lights on previously *invisible violence*, that were rendered ordinary, banal, and normal. Through relocating the extraordinary political violence within the continuities of quotidian practices of violence, he succeeds in capturing the taken-for-granted sufferings of the marginalized: ranging "the wounding of the self under racialism, the spoiling of identity due to stigmatizing social conditions, the variety of forms of normative violence toward women" (p. 227). Indeed, violence toward women was taken as too banal to even be considered news. However, mirrored violence conducted by women in Megalia was scandalous as demonstrated in the case of male nude photo release introduced in Chapter 2.

The universality of violence renders its defining process a political one. That is, definition of violence is inevitably a process of selection, signification, accentuation, and representation of some forms of violence. At the same time the process excludes, conceals, de-emphasizes, and obfuscates other forms of violence. Coronil & Skurski (2006) penetratingly points out: "violence does not present itself unmediated to observers or participants, but is named, recognized, and experienced in terms of authorizing concepts and relations of power" (p. 4). Thus, while some violence is made invisible, ordinary, or even just, other forms of violence are spotlighted and made drastically visible, as had been in the case of Megalia compared to misogyny.

Teresa de Lauretis (1985), examining the Foucauldian "rhetoric of violence" finds the "*violence of rhetoric.*" The rhetoric of violence "names certain behaviors and events as violent, but not others" (p. 12).

The rhetoric of violence hence gives voice to certain narratives, whilst rendering others unseen and unheard. The misogynistic regime consistently calls attention to the narratives of violence in mirroring speech, consequently silencing the Megalian attempts to expose misogynistic violence. Violence is, therefore, a "social fact" (De Lauretis, 1985; p. 12). Defining and representing violence inevitably accompanies a violent construction of "objects and subjects of violence" (De Lauretis,1985; p. 12). The configuration of dynamics around violence is therefore inherently and inevitably political.

In South Korea, misogynistic hegemony stubbornly constructed Megalia as the subjects of violence, paradoxically featuring men as the victims of violence. In this operation, "certain narratives become hegemonic while others are marginalized" (Coronil & Skurski, 2006; p. 7). Narratives of female victims of misogyny were marginalized, whilst the narratives of violence in Megalia were made conspicuous by the South Korean rhetoric of violence.

In "Toward a Critique of Non-Violence," Onur Gunay (2013) brings up an important question in this context: "whose violence is counted as violence? Or, who defines what is violence and what is not?" (p. 171) It is often the powerful who determines what is violent and what is not. Sartre (1968) sarcastically specified this in the preface of "The Wretched of the Earth":

"The Left at home is embarrassed; they know the true situation of the natives, the merciless oppression they are submitted to; they do not condemn their revolt, knowing full well that we have done everything to provoke it. But, all the same, they think to themselves, there *are* limits: these guerillas should be bent on showing that they are chivalrous; that would be the best way of showing they are men. Sometimes the Left scolds them … You're going too far; we won't support you anymore" (pp. 20-21).

His account vividly illustrates how it was still the violent regime that possessed the authority to draw the *limits,* defining what is legitimate and what is not.

Onur Gunay (2013), in his ethnographic description of Kurdish conflict in Turkey, captures the making of the "violent other (the colonized)" (p. 174) in progress. Onur interprets that idealized and romanticized demand for non-violence could ironically pave the ground for the perpetrators of violence to

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further handcuff the victims. When the power to define violence is possessed by the regime, it is often the violence of the victimized that is identified and problematized. The violence of rhetoric then easily functions to reproduce the image of extraordinarily "violent other" against the ordinary violence (Kleinman, 2000) of the dominant. Finally, intractable, uncontrollable and powerful forms of resistance are easily rendered "violent." When the power to define violence is possessed by the regime, the victimized is fundamentally castrated from recruitment of any creative forms of resistance; as "mirroring" was rendered too "violent" under misogynistic regime.

Gunay (2013) finally concludes:

"When situated within its proper structural and historical context, the intellectual position of 'being against all forms of violence' is neither an innocent humanitarianism nor a simple naivete, but a practice very much complicit with the production of this image of the violent other. The claim to non-violence is a sterile position that equates incommensurable forms of violence, thus rendering invisible the relations of colonialism, domination and subjection. It tends to reproduce state violence through the negation of political subjectivities that the state views subversive for its colonial order of things" (p. 181).

Whilst the "violence" in Megalian mirroring is not at all comparable to the military, physical violence treated in Gunay and Fanon's texts, their insights into the violence of rhetoric and the making of violent other applies well to the Megalian case.

The Making of the "Violent Megalia"

Soon after Megalia's birth, the public discourse accentuated the violence and hate speech within Megalia. The dominant political imagery successfully reconstructed this online feminist uprising as the "female-version of Ilbe" (C.U. Jeong, 2016; U. Jeong, 2016; Park, 2016; Han, 2018), by recruiting a repertoire of narratives, texts, images, and the production of knowledge. Misogyny was replaced with the word "gender war" or "hate war." Mirroring was reconfigured as misandry or "hate politics of gender." Social critiques finally proposed to stop the "gender hatred," instead of "misogyny." Sociologists, political scientists,

cultural critiques, and even feminist intellectuals prescribed not to react with hate against hate as, "hate would birth the bigger hate." Popular slogans against Megalia emerged: "Do not respond to hate with hate." Misogynists most passionately joined with these critiques with an aim to inculpate, shame, and domesticate Megalia.

Violence within the mirroring speech was vigorously investigated, identified, narrated, and spotlighted, whilst misogynistic violence was often underestimated and overlooked. It was made easy for anyone to argue that violence is problematic, regardless of its context. And especially the violence in Megalia was rendered extraordinarily problematic. In this trend, intellectuals collectively expressed concerns over Megalian violence. The violence of misogyny was recruited to evince the "neutrality" of their critique. It was the misandry, *as well as misogyny*, that was problematic. Lee Soo Yeon, Korea Women's Policy Researcher commented in an article: "Responding to hate with hate only aggrandizes the gross weight of hate. It is not effective"; "It is worrisome that there is no trust between women and men, leading to a conflict" (Sung & Lee, 2018). The article further pinpointed: "online hate speech which used to be one-sided to misogyny *exponentially expanded* in its size since the advent of 'mirroring,' which returns misogyny with misandristic hate speech, after the Gangnam murder incident in the 2016." Enthusiastically evincing its argument with violent expressions manifested Megalia, the reporter analyzed, "hate speech is circulated online and offline without any restrictions, bringing *unhealthy counteractions* to gender equality discourse." According to this analysis, unrestricted mirroring speech is bringing negative implications to the ongoing gender equality discourse. However, this kind of framing conceals the fact that in fact it was the mirroring speech that initiated and enabled the gender discourse. The zero-tolerance against violence that misogynistic hegemony urged for, to Megalians, was really the zero-tolerance against mirroring speech, not misogyny. Making of the "violent Megalia" purposes to castrate Megalia from its most potent weapon: mirroring speech. These women's creative and experimental recruitment of mirroring speech to fight against misogyny was once again defined too "violent" to permit by the misogynistic regime.

Non-Megalian women's comments about the violence in Megalia reveal remarkable insights. Women observe the making of the "violent Megalia": "For such a long time, ilbe guys had made terrifying misogynistic words attacking women. Men never really cared about that. And now, just because women

said that one word, they tremble (with anger) … Then they say men and women should be nice to each other… they are worried about the emerging misandry… I feel like I am watching an episode of comedy these days."[50] Another commentator wrote: "Of course we now have misandristic terminologies on internet, but does that ever come out of the text? Hahaha. Men don't feel any threats in real life. Yet make such a fuss about misandry and its violence."[51] This comment reflects an acute understanding of the operation of the rhetoric of violence and making of the "violent other".

Megalians not only comprehended the workings of the rhetoric of violence but further dared to play with its repercussions. Megalians often argued on the ground that their extreme, aggressive, and violent forms of resistance would expand the negotiating power for moderate feminists.[52] What they were doing resembled how Fanon (1968) described the relationship between the colonized intellectuals and violent revolutionists. According to him, the colonized intellectuals earned relative negotiating power thanks to the threats of imminent violent revolution: "They (colonialist bourgeoisie) introduce a new notion, in actual fact a creation of the colonial situation, nonviolence. In its raw state this nonviolence conveys to the colonized intellectual and business elite that their interests are identical to those of the colonialist bourgeoisie and it is therefore indispensable, a matter of urgency, to reach an agreement for the common good. Nonviolence is an attempt to settle the colonial problem around the negotiating table before the irreparable is done, before any bloodshed or regrettable act is committed" (p. 23). Megalians attempted to become the threats of irreparable and regrettable act themselves. As then the more moderate feminists, they believed, would profit to enhance their political power.

One must not reduce these insights into mere support or an appetite for violence in political resistance. Laywomen's critiques against the rhetoric of violence should be taken seriously. They point to the making of the "violent Megalia" which attempts to domesticate female resistance by disallowing any powerful forms of resistance such as mirroring speech.

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[50] Retrieved from a screenshot image of comments on female online community, published date unknown, Figure 22
[51] A Comment, Retrieved from: http://www.socdoc.co.kr/articles/427154:2018-05-20T17:04:25.264103
[52] This observation comes from my personal recollection of Megalian conversations.

Between Misogynistic Morality and Feminist Ethics

The misogynistic regime accused violent Megalia of crossing the "*limits*," while ethical feminists judged that Megalia was "*going too far*" (Sartre, 1968). Whilst both parties reckoned that Megalia simply abandoned both morality and ethics, members of Megalia most consistently grappled with both disciplines. In this section, I delineate Megalia's understanding of its own morality and ethics.

Arthur Kleinman (1999, 2006) famously distinguished between morality and ethics. Morality refers to our local "sense of right and wrong" (Kleinman, 2006; p. 2). What is moral is locally understood and constructed. It is an experience-near construct that is based on everyday experiences of values and norms. Kleinman emphasizes that the local moral order may side with the society's hegemony of systematic injustice, hierarchy, and inequality. Hence, sometimes moral orders could function to further perpetuate the existing order. That is, "the moral may be unethical" (Kleinman, 1999; p. 366). Ethics, on the other hand, is an "abstract articulation and debate over codified values" (Kleinman, 1999; p. 363). Ethical discourse, according to Kleinman, is quite detached from local experiences of reality. The construction of ethics is largely on a theoretical plane, sometimes almost completely divorced from individual perceptions of moral experiences and orders and the sociopolitical processes around it. Nevertheless, it deems itself universal and incontestable, and hence unassailable. Lesley A. Sharp (2018), in her investigation of moral navigation among animal lab researchers, insightfully criticized: "codified frameworks (of ethics) bear the power to dominate, obscure, and devalue informal, private struggles and concerns" (p. 8). That is, the ethical, as Kleinman had succinctly put, "may be irrelevant to moral experience" (p. 366) from the local world.

Zigon (2007), on the contrary, understands ethics as an outcome of individual contemplation in moments of "moral breakdown." According to him, morality is "normally unquestioned, unreflected upon and simply done." The "ethical moment" is then the moment when the individuals problematize this unquestioned and unreflected habitus of morality.

I will borrow ideas of Kleinman and Zigon to understand Megalia's experimentation with both morality and ethics. Megalians constantly experienced "moral breakdown"- the "ethical moment" in which misogynistic morality was questioned and challenged. However, what emerged as a result of Megalian "ethical moment" constantly clashed with feminist ethics. In this schema, it can be said that Megalians

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protested both misogynistic morality and feminist ethics. They disclosed the unethicality of misogynistic moral orders in South Korea, while simultaneously challenging intellectual and ideological feminist ethics. Feminist ethics for them was insufficient to tackle the local experiences of structural violence and the social suffering of women. In short, they sought to deconstruct both misogynistic morality and feminist ethics.

This does not mean that Megalians did away with morality and ethics. Rather, they arduously wrestled with these disciplines. They constantly contested, criticized, suggested an alternative, and experimented with it. Megalians would argue over a moral or an ethical issue for hours or even for days. I remember my engagement in an ethical moment in which the traditional conceptualization of prostitution[53] was being challenged. Questions such as: can prostitution be a form of sexual liberation for women?; How do we interpret the agency of women in prostitute industry?; Should prostitution be criminalized?; Is prostitution unethical/immoral?; Is prostitution perpetuating misogyny? were raised. Many women from diverse background participated in this digital discourse. There were self-employed prostitutes, activists against and for prostitution, women who had learned how the industry recruits naïve young women, and women-including myself- who had observed and experienced the social repercussions of that prospering industry. Misogynistic morality tended to inculpate women for easily earned money in exchange for their sexual dignity. On the other hand, international feminist ethics emphasized these women's agency. The debate went on overnight. By dawn, the Nordic model of contextualizing prostitution was finally introduced: de-criminalize the prostitutes and criminalize the consumers of prostitution. The next day at work, I enjoyed the opportunity to summarize the arguments and interpretations that were discussed and proposed from different perspectives. This did not mean Megalians had reached a consensus. Yet, it was an experience of how sophisticated social, political, moral and ethical discourse could be developed in cyberspace.

Through their constant dispute around morality and ethics, rather than rejecting those disciplines, Megalians negotiated with, expanded, and recalibrated their boundaries. Megalians intended to deconstruct misogynistic morality which functioned to regulate and restrict women's behaviors, whilst contesting feminist ethics that was too romanticized and idealized for Megalians to work with. Through ardent engagement

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[53] I make a conscious choice to adopt the term "prostitution," instead of "sexual labor."
This understanding does not question the individual gender dynamics at the moment of transaction between sex and money. Rather, it emerges from a concern around social implications of prostitution industry, that is imposed upon women in general.

with the local moral world and feminist ethical discourse, Megalians aspired to recalibrate misogynistic morality and feminist ethics. In the following sections, I explore the realm of ethics and morality that Megalians so meticulously grappled with.

Against the Ethics of Feminism:

Fighting against Men vs Misogyny

Theoretically, feminism's enemy is misogyny, not men. It is a war of ideas, ideally: one ideological structure striking at another. The fight is elegantly performed with the sword of eloquent words. An observer might feel like she is watching a professional fencing game, played with masterly finesse and aesthetically pleasing. The philosophical and linguistic artistry of feminism will soon enlighten misogyny, finishing the game with the climactic cry of "touché!" In this metaphysical battle, it is imagined that no human suffered, was sacrificed, or slaughtered. It is a purely ideological confrontation, performed in the theater of the political, economic, social, cultural, aesthetic, and ethical.

Nevertheless, the corporeal reality of the physical world messes up this clean and concise sketch of ideological battle. The battleground is not some conceptual terrain of theory, but in fact located in the real world: people's lives and deaths. It is not two delicately dressed and equipped fencers that are put in an ancient colosseum, but a stripped slave against a formidably armed, gladiator champion. The gladiator's sword will slash her, not until she "touchés," but until she dies. In this battle, she does not look at the architect of colosseum. She does not look up at the rulers and the empire. Instead, she glares back at the infamous gladiator in front of her, who will boastfully slit her throat and cut her heart out as a prize. This, of course, does not mean she could not fathom the mechanics of misogyny. She does. Yet she still wrestles with the flesh and blood titan standing erect in front of her. For if she doesn't kill, he will kill. The winner will take her body; the vagina, breasts, face, legs, pelvis, hands, and feet as his trophy. Her body will be displayed in the museum of misogyny alongside other dead women's bodies.

Misogyny is an abstraction. It is invisible, intangible, and hence inviolable. Men are the enactment of that abstraction, which materialize a previously hypothetical existence into reality. Men are the events

that real-ize the ideas of misogyny. As I have mentioned in the second chapter, Megalia's resistance began, not from imagined theories but from lived experiences. Theories of feminism were only borrowed later in the course of the movement as a supplementary ideological tool to meet their trivial goals: stop men from what they are doing and get back at men for what they did. The word *misogyny* was merely an analytical interpretation of collective experiences, but *men* are the solid manifestation of misogyny, which violates the everyday lives of women. Therefore, it was not a grand ideology of misogyny that Megalians declared a war on. Megalia's "enemies are not impersonal historical forces but real people" (Scott, 1985; p. 348). That is, it was the men in our lives that we battled against. The men that were next to us, imminently inflicting damage on us. The protagonist in this battle was men in material reality, not an imaginary apparatus constructed to interpret that reality.

One of the most recognized online feminists who came out as a Megalian (coming out as a Megalian still has a certain stigmatizing impact to South Korean women), Kuk Ji Hye stressed: "When men mention 'mom-sect,' they precondition 'moms except my mom.' When women talk about 'dad-sect,' they refer to their own fathers." That is, women experience misogyny primarily through the enactment of misogyny by men in their lives. She further elucidated: "women grew up witnessing fathers who conduct minor and major violence and who are indifferent to housework" (S.Y. Kim, 2016). For these women, misogyny had faces: personal and familiar ones. Misogyny was rather experiences and interactions with men in their lives. To South Korean women, misogyny was but an epitome of experiences of men in their lives. This kind of understanding went directly against the core feminist ethics.

Feminist ethics tends to reconfigure men as the pawns of a misogynistic superstructure rather than the player. This attempt is rooted in an effort to invite men as allies of feminism rather than accomplices of misogyny. In this configuration, men were reimagined as an agentless, repeated expression of preexisting hegemony. Emphasis on misogynistic superstructure tended to exculpate individual men by positioning him as an equal victim of the hegemony as manifested in the "man-box" discourse.

However, Megalians firmly located men as the perpetrator in the fabric of online misogyny. They proclaimed men to be players, not pawns. And that men must acknowledge this, foremost. According to Megalia, men developed fledgling forms of misogyny, disseminated untraveled forms of misogyny,

expanded prevalent forms of misogyny, updated the outdating forms of misogyny, and created new forms of misogyny. Finally, men are therefore not only an expression of misogyny, but also an architect of misogyny. In this context, Megalians provide a serious critique on the current feminist ethics which downplays the agency of men in discourses of misogyny. All men, Megalia asserted, embody and enact misogyny. To be considered an ally, one must begin by acknowledging himself as an accomplice. As Sartre (1968), once admitted that all Europeans were an accomplice of colonialism: "for us, a man means an accomplice, for we have all profited from colonial exploitation" (p. lviii), Megalians demanded that all men first acknowledge and confess they profited from misogyny.

Against the Misogynistic Morality:

What did Megalians mean by "Discard Morality"?

Anonymous Megalian Tweet Circulated on the Internet[54]:

When your boss invites you to go to a red-light district:
"How can I not go when my boss invites me? If I don't go, I would be ostracized at workplace and won't be promoted. Women don't know anything about having a career…"
When your boss was accused of sexual assault:
"You should have refused even if it was your boss. Why did you text him and eat with him if you didn't like it? You enjoyed it for sure, you're a whore."

Anonymous Comment on Naver News, 2015-07-04[55]:

Actually, there is not much we Korean men wish for.
I will not use protection, but women should not have abortion.
My wife must take care of my child, clocking after work. But my female colleagues should not clock out after work.
Men should be paid more, but women should Dutch-pay.
I will not share the responsibilities at home, but my wife should work outside to help the household income.
Rape victims should be held accountable for not being careful. But women should not take men behind them as potential rapists at night.

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[54] Retrieved from a screenshot image of a tweet made by a twitter user amos_and_****, publish date unknown, Figure 23
[55] Retrieved from a screenshot image of a comment made by imgp****, published 2015-07-04, Figure 24

The above vignettes sarcastically point out the misogynistic moral order which encumbers and inculpates women, whilst discharging and exculpating men. Megalians called such impartial moral application on women, the "moral corset."

The "moral corset" holds several different layers of meanings. The act of breaking away from the "moral corset," in other words "discarding morality," is then described metaphorically as "undressing the (moral) corset" (Kim et al., 2018; p. 221). The notion of the "moral corset" is an important one in that it identifies the injustices of Korea's local moral world.

Megalia initially understood morality as sets of values and norms (Kleinman, 1999, 2006) that justify oppression and regulation of female bodies. Women must be caring for her child, women must cover her body, women must be pleasant to look at, women must cook and clean for men, women must serve the elderly of her husband's family, and women must act and behave in certain ways. It encumbers women with misogynistic order and inculpates when they deviate from it. Women were made acquiescent to these orders by inculcating "guilt." Yun (2016) argues that "if women deviated even a bit from the given code of conduct, they were identified as deserving to be beaten, raped, and murdered" (p. 213). Through this manipulation of guilt, Yun maintains, misogyny effectively rendered women inert and silent. Misogynistic violence was then effortlessly executed against complicit women.

The slogan "Discard morality" then meant to urge women to reject those orders. Megalians called on women to resist against gender roles and expectations, which demanded women to be more caring, more careful, more disciplined, more polite, and more complicit to the given obligations within the gender dynamics. Megalians encouraged women to: "stop considering others before themselves"; "not to be afraid of saying no"; "speak up against unfair treatment"; and "stop worrying for other people's feelings[56]." The slogan "discard morality" in this context was intended to liberate women from the "moral corset," which encumbered and inculpated women's lives.

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[56] https://femiwiki.com/w/%EB%8F%84%EB%8D%95_%EC%BD%94%EB%A5%B4%EC%85%8B

Recalibrating the Margins of Morality and Ethics

"Discard Morality" soon became a matter of heated dispute among Megalians; where to draw the line between misogynistic morality and feminist ethics. For example, when society demanded Megalians to stop fighting the hate with hate, they questioned: "Is it the misogynistic morality or the feminist ethics that is ordering us?" The margins were ambiguous and obfuscated.

Megalians constantly expanded the realm of the "moral corset" and reinterpreted the term "Discard Morality," pushing their tactics to more aggressive and radical terms. Massive disaccord periodically emerged along the way around the limits of discarding morality. That is, where to draw the line between the misogynistic morality and feminist ethics. To which extent was it an acceptable protest to the misogynistic morality, and from where does it become intolerable infringement upon the feminist ethics?

The foremost prominent dispute was elicited by the word "Jaegi" (Kim et al., 2018; pp. 36-37). Sung Jae Gi is Korea's most prominent men's rights activist, who committed a death leap into the Han river as a fund-raising performance. A few Megalians proposed that they should re-signify his name into a derogatory term: "suicide by the death leap into the Han river." They intended to recontextualize his death into a satire of the Korean men's rights movement. Immense concerns and disagreements surfaced over insulting the deceased, no matter how malignant his movement had been towards women. Opponents, according to my interviews with Kangyu, one of the authors of Rootless Feminism, refused to insult the deceased. They were also concerned that the left-behind, particularly his wife and family, would be devastated by this mockery. The proponents, on the other hand, conceived it the misogynistic moral order that disallows women to satirize the man. Popular opinion within Megalia initially was against the terminology. However, the opponents were firm with their determination. Disapproved, supporters created and migrated into a newborn website called Ubokki, which would endorse the new word. The newborn website was nevertheless closed within few days due to internal conflicts. When the opponents returned to Megalia, its stance had shifted towards endorsing the word. Those who still did not agree with the use of the word, either changed their sides or yielded their stance, considering now the morality or ethics of Megalia has been recalibrated into endorsing "jaegi."

I had to consult with **Anonym Kim** for the trajectory of the discourse as I was mostly absent during this debate. She gave me an interesting observation. It was in fact the non-Megalian women who endorsed jaegi before Megalians did. Responses from online female communities outside of Megalia were, according to her description: "What's the problem with Jae-gi? Isn't Megalia supposed to be a mirroring website?" Although they would themselves not dare use such vulgar and offensive language, Megalians, women rationalized, should be given permission to do so. Megalia was to these women simply a mirror reflection of what men had been doing. And by mirroring, they referred to Ilbe's insulting term "Unji" which mocked the death of the left-wing president Rho Moo Hyun, who died after a fall from a cliff.

Screenshots of their responses[57] were captured and circulated in male-dominated online communities for the moral debasement of South Korea women.[58] Men lamented over the immorality of general women for supporting such hideous Megalian vocabulary. Nonetheless, these comments provided an additional insight on non-Megalian women (I would say enlightened women)'s understandings at this time:

- "For such a long time, Ilbe guys had made terrifying misogynistic words and attacked women. Men never really cared about that. And now, just because women said that one word, they tremble (with anger) … Then they say men and women should be nice to each other… they are worried about emerging misandry… I feel like I am watching an episode of comedy these days."

- "That is real. Why should we alone respond morally and rationally when the opponent is irrational and habitually ridicules us?"

- "I don't know why always it is women who have to speak politely and morally. It's not even one tenth of what men had been doing. They are trembling (with anger) and say do not insult the deceased! Isn't this too much!!! Their reactions are just hilarious to me."

- "?? Lol. It makes no sense in my opinion… Why should the victims always react rationally and morally to the perpetrators?? When one punches back because the other punched, that is a defense, not a violence lol. Think back on what Ilbe-bugs spoke of and did first ^^"

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[57] Screenshot images of comments on female online communities, publish date unknown, Figure 25
[58] These screenshots were often shared under the title "Female Communities' Responses to the Word Jaegi". One of the authors of such post argues: "All female-dominated online communities are just like Megal. Only the extent differs." (Retrieved from: http://mlbpark.donga.com/mlbpark/b.php?p=1&b=bullpen2&id=5100102&select=title&query=&user=&reply=)

These comments point at the misogynistic morality which scandalizes women's transgression, whilst undermining and normalizing moral deviation of men. These women attempt to recalibrate the misogynistic morality and feminist ethics: "When one punches back because the other punched, that is a defense, not a violence," permitting themselves with the ethical authority to defend against an offence.

These responses demonstrate a triumph of Megalia's transgressive tactic. Offended men evinced the misogyny in South Korean morality. Defiance against Megalian speech by men substantiated that it was a conscious choice of ignorance and negligence, which permitted the perpetuation of misogynistic hate speech. The demonstrated zero-tolerance against mirroring speech made women further resent men's historical nonchalance over the hate speech against women.

Deconstruction of Misogynistic Morality and Feminist Ethics

The previous case provides a rather interesting dynamic. It seems ironic that non-Megalian women authorized the word "jaegi" before Megalians did. I suppose this lag comes from the entanglement of feminist and Megalian identity. Feminist identity, which begins to develop quite simultaneously with Megalian identity, constantly brings ambivalence and criticism against executing and expanding the mirroring tactic. Still, feminist identity does cherish the revolutionary social implications Megalia brought about.

Feminism and Megalia's intentions were identical. Yet they constantly contradicted with each other on ethical stances. Whereas the Megalian ideology militantly transgressed all forms of social conventions including feminist ethics, feminism was rigid and determinate with its ethical commitment. Nonetheless, Megalia constantly challenged and experimented with it.

Feminism proposes pre-established, incontestable sets of ethics: non-violent, peaceful, politically correct, diverse, and inclusive to all other forms of minority movements. However, Megalian discipline is natively aggressive, vulgar, transgressive, and politically incorrect. While feminism values linguistic sanitation based on its commitment to the given ethical code, Megalia militantly recruits hate speech. Whilst feminism dedicates itself to ethical purity and principles of peace, radical activists in Megalia imprudently

exploited ethically questionable and aggressive tactics to expand its political leverage. Yet, it seemed like they came together in one uncanny package. Feminism continued to be entangled and enmeshed within Megalian subjectivities.

It was perhaps due to the lack of ethical contemplation that non-Megalian women more easily adopted the term. Non-Megalian women, who did not incorporate feminist ethics within their value systems, therefore readily interpreted the "jaegi" as a tit-for-tat strategy of Megalia. Megalians, on the contrary, seriously reflected on feminist ethics. However, this did not mean they readily acquiesced to the given ethical discipline of feminism. Megalians constantly grappled with the idea.

Expansion of the concept "discard morality" played a vital role in visualizing the demarcation between misogynistic morality and feminist ethics. However, this demarcation was never a consented one. It was persistently contested, negotiated and recalibrated. For each Megalian, the demarcation was laid independently with ambiguity and ambivalence, on different loci and temporality, forevermore arbitrarily and precariously.

Since the endorsement of the word "jaegi," Megalians continued to challenge the limits and redefine the boundaries of ethics and morality. This happened concomitantly with the endless wave of revelations of misogynistic violence. Megalians testified misogynistic hate speech and violence tolerated within other marginalized groups including the foreign migrant communities, gay communities, and disabled communities. (Kim et al., 2016; p. 37) In particular, misogynistic language that circulated within the gay community was vigorously unearthed and problematized.

However, this came with a decisively destabilizing aftermath. It was disclosed that women were called "bulging-sect" ("bulging" refers to the bulged female breast, and "sect" to insect) within the gay

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Title: Feminism will be doomed if we care for 'disability rights' and 'homosexual rights.'
Content:
Do you know how historically society has encumbered feminism?
Disability rights and homosexual rights.

Even in the disabled community, men discriminate against women.
Even in the homosexual community, gays discriminate against lesbians.

Just take care of women's rights, the rest will come along.

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communities. Megalians, in response, sought to adopt a derogatory term "anu-sect," which is a word combination of anus and insect, created by extreme-right online communities such as Ilbe.

Proponents often argued[59]:

These kinds of comments vividly contrasted the Megalian movement from feminism. However, individual women's subjectivities were much more complexed and confused. Kangyu, in a private interview, stressed that the opponents of the term in Megalia criticized that the word "anu-sect" for deriding the sexual orientation of the gay community. "Anu-sect" fails to parody gay community's misogynistic hate speech. They insisted that the critique should be made on basis of their misogynistic culture, not sexual orientation. The term "anu-sect," according to the opponents, failed to highlight this distinction.

Kangyu evaluates that issues around the term "anu-sect" never reached an agreement. Rather, there came an implicit consensus that the issue could not be resolved. Megalians decided to leave the "ethical moment" to individual's independent ethical orientations. The impossibility of forging a consensus nor a compromise led to a strategical nonchalance over this issue: "people who want to use it, just use it," was Megalia's conclusion according to her.

This strategical nonchalance was politically significant. It allowed Megalians to push further in their fight against still pervasive misogyny, instead of being further dragged into the quarrel. However, the indifference permitted anti-homosexual advocates to continue to obfuscate and expand on the margins between justified critique and unjustifiable contempt against the gay community. The system administrator of Megalia was uncompromising with the adoption of the term. They banned the word, deleted the posts, and withdrew the members who insisted the endorsement of the term. This led to the birth of Womad, an even more notorious brand of online female activism in South Korea, which fully branded themselves as female chauvinists. Womad, differentiating themselves from the motherland Megalia, announced to aim at genuine misandry over mirroring.

Womad was often given a spotlight by the mainstream media to highlight the ethical degradation of Megalia. However, it is important to note that Womad is not the representative successor of the Megalian

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[59] Retrieved from a screenshot image of a post in Megalia, published 2015-11-27, Figure 26

movement. Megalian feminism, as Megalian morality and ethics began to diversify, dispersed into various strands of post-Megalian feminism. Some of them simply stopped engaging in online activism, some others came out offline and started feminist organizations or feminism study groups, some started speaking up with names, and many more kept speaking in anonymity in cyberspace.

It is not in my thesis to assess the state of subsequent strands of post-Megalian movements that borrowed the mirroring tactic. Part of it is due to the lack of my personal experiences to make deep enough ethnographic observation. The more important reason is that the post-Megalian movement got fragmented into numerous different segments. While Womad definitively attracted the most media attention, it is now difficult to make a generalized analysis of what the post-Megalian movement has become.

What I can say for certain is that moral and ethical recalibration was an essential and inherent part of the movement. Misogynistic morality and feminist ethics were constantly deconstructed and reconstructed into Megalian morality and ethics. Megalian discourse was a constant political, social, cultural, and tactical recalibration of morality and ethics. Their exploration and experimentation continued without ever reaching a consent among themselves. Whilst Megalians were aware of the precariousness of their project, they consciously chose never to stop. Megalians persistently pushed the boundaries further and further. Moral and ethical quarrels cropped up more and more often and more intensively as the movement advanced. Perhaps the ephemerality of this movement was prognosticated.

End of the Movement

The constant deconstruction and reconstruction of morality and ethics eventually deconstructed Megalia itself. South Korean women joined Megalia with a singular momentum: to reciprocate against misogyny. However, as the movement expanded and progressed, ethical moments in Megalia emerged more and more often and intensely. The Megalian movement was gradually diversifying into various strands of post-Megalian feminism. New websites began to emerge as more Megalians stood in discord regarding specific topics. Many left Megalia to start their own strands of post-Megalian feminist movements. During this process of dispersion, a website called "savemegalia" was created to help the online vigilantes identify individual Megalian users. Using this website, waves of cyber-bullying and legal accusations against

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Megalian users threatened the remaining inhabitants of Megalia. Eventually, the website was permanently shut down in 2017. Misogyny finally got its way back to make a final attack on Megalia.

How do we make sense of Megalia's death? In attempt to understand the underpinnings of social movements that succeed and those that fail, Miller (1999) proposes a model for the demise of the social movement. He explores the four factors that lead to the decline of social movements: repression, co-optation, success, and failure. Some social movements decline in response to repression, in which the authority uses force to regulate or destroy the movement. In the case of co-optation, the leaders of the movement become integrated into the hegemonic order, causing loss of momentum of the movement. The significant success of a movement, Miller observes, often leads to redefinition and expansion of the movement. This result in the loss of movement's original momentum. The decline of a social movement in failure takes two different forms: factionalism and encapsulation. Members of factionalized movements would pursue different directions halting the movement in disunity. On the other hand, encapsulation occurs when the members of the movement develop overly strong cohesion among themselves preventing the potential recruitment of new members for the group. Macionis (2001) proposes an additional form of demise: its establishment within the mainstream. This type of decline happens when the movement is diffused into the mainstream. The movement's ideology and demand are widely adopted in the mainstream, rendering the movement no longer a necessity for society.

Megalia was repressed by the misogynistic hegemony, manifested in the social responses to the savemegalia website. Megalia was also factionalized into multiple different strands of post-Megalian movements. Nevertheless, Megalia also engendered an unprecedented success as an online feminism movement in South Korea, redefining and expanding itself to transform into multiple different movements. As Miller (1999) emphasized: "The decline of specific social movement organizations does not always herald the decline of an entire social movement. Individual organizations may come and go within a movement, the replacement of one by another signifying vital growth and change" (p. 304). Megalia was, in this context, replaced with various strands of post-Megalian feminism, undoubtedly signaling the vital growth and change in South Korean feminism. Furthermore, it could also be interpreted that Megalia had established itself within the mainstream. Awareness of online misogyny and misogynistic violence such as

digital sexual crimes is now widespread. Megalia's exhibition and problematization of misogyny was unquestionably successful. Mirroring terminologies that would counter misogynistic hate speech such as Kimchi Boys and feed-me-sect are not any more an exclusive weapon for militant Megalians. Mirroring speech has become incorporated into the mainstream discourse around misogyny. Thus, Megalia's reciprocation of misogyny was also successful.

Accordingly, Megalia perhaps fulfilled its social purpose as a movement and went through its natural life cycle to its demise. The mirroring tactic, which was the essence of the Megalian movement, meant to mirror-reflect online misogyny to exhibit, problematize, and reciprocate it. Misogyny, throughout the life span of Megalian activism, was thoroughly exhibited and problematized. Exhaustive development of mirroring lexicon sufficiently empowered women, with the tools to reciprocate the misogynistic hate speech. Now post-Megalian strands of feminism such as NGOs like DSO, KCSVRC, B WAVE, individual feminists who continue to speak and write, ongoing large scale feminist protests, and feminist projects that are recently receiving heavy international media spotlights like the "Escape the Corset" movement (Bicker, 2018; Haas, 2018; Oppenheim, 2018; Stevenson, 2018; Kuhn, 2019; S. Jeong, 2019) are carrying on with the battle that Megalia had begun.

Nevertheless, towards a Path to Reconciliation

Although the Megalian-era has demised, post-Megalian war against misogyny is still ongoing. The critiques continue to express concerns over the violence, immorality, and unethicality of the Megalian feminism. However, as I have covered above, Megalia's militant tactics did not come from their zeal for violence nor abandonment of ethical commitment.

Critiques insisted that the "gender war" should be ended and women and men forgive each other. To this end, society demanded non-violence and peaceful engagements, mostly from the female online activists. This may not be the most effective way to respond to the questions Megalia has raised. Therefore, I propose an alternative path to reconciliation here: acknowledgement of misogynistic victimization, and emphasis on the reestablishment of justice. As Megalia emerged as a retributive as well as a defense

mechanism for South Korean women, in the gross absence of state protection and jurisdiction against misogyny, I propose the society provide the appropriate retributive and defense system for these women.

Karen Brouneus (2003), in "Reconciliation – Theory and Practice for Development Cooperation", defines reconciliation as "a societal process that involves mutual acknowledgement of past suffering and the changing of destructive attitudes and behaviour into constructive relationships toward sustainable peace" (p. 28). According to her definition, reconciliation begins from recognition of victimization. Distinguishing reconciliation from forgiveness, the author stresses the importance of re-erecting justice. She contends: "Implicitly expecting victims and survivors to personally forgive their perpetrator -for the greater good of society- places a responsibility that is questionable in several ways and that may even backfire the attempt to create peace. In addition, forgiveness is usually a one-way process, while reconciliation is a two-way process, involving both perpetrator and victim, emphasizing mutuality" (p. 6).

Reconciliation does not mean that one begins from a political, historical, social, and cultural vacuum. Reconciliation cannot begin from the victims alone. The process initiates from remembering the past. Brouneus (2003) accentuates the importance of acknowledging the violence of the past. Recognizing the violence inflicted on victims affirms their suffering, respecting the need for reinstatement of security and dignity for survivors. "Uncovering the past," according to her, helps the governments to "fulfil one of their fundamental political duties- protecting their citizens" (p. 12).

I locate justice as the essential and prerequisite to ground the conversation of reconciliation. Re-establishing the justice, that is, to punish the perpetrators, to correct systematic injustice, and to establish preventive measures against future violence, oppression, and discrimination must be prioritized. Call for peace and non-violence to the victims, in the absence of conversations to reinstate justice, merely works to domesticate resistance, servicing at misogyny to perpetuate the status quo.

I propose that the conversation to resolve the war against misogyny begin by re-establishing justice, systematic adjustment, and most importantly providing these women with a sense of security that the state and society will protect women at all costs from falling victim to misogyny again.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I explored the most contentious aspects of Megalia that had been heavily discussed and debated in Korea. The misogynistic rhetoric of violence persistently identified and problematized the violence in mirroring tactic, whilst ordinary and normative violence of misogyny was being concealed, obscured, and de-emphasized. While the misogynistic hegemony framed Megalia as immoral and unethical, the movement in reality seriously grappled with the misogynistic morality and feminist ethics. Megalia most meticulously questioned, challenged, and recalibrated the margins of morality and ethics. This simultaneously led to diversification of individual ethical stances in feminism, which led to the demise of Megalian movement. Eventually Megalian movement, after successfully fulfilling its social purpose, led its way to evolution into various strands of post-Megalian movements. In response to the questions that Megalia had imposed, I suggest the society respond with emphasis on reestablishing justice, through recognition of misogynistic victimization, justly punishing misogynistic violence, and taking measures to prevent future discrimination.

Figures

Figure 1

〈표 1〉 일베의 '여성혐오' 담론 지도

Ilbe's 'Misogyny' Discourse

의무
Obligation

군대
Military duty

군가산점
Additional Points
for Military Years

능력
Ability

폐지
Abolition

호구
Pushover

평등
Equality

예산
Budget

섹스
Sex

남성
Men

더치페이
Dutch-Pay

사랑
Love

여성부
Ministry of Gender Equality

성괴
PlasticMonster

집안
Lineage

창녀
Prostitutes

몸매
Body

강간
Rape

김치녀
Kimchi Girl

스시녀 Sushi Girls

얼굴
Face

여성
Women

피해의식
Victim Mentality

삼일한
Beating every 3 days

다리
Legs

성매매
Prostitution

저격
Witch-hunting

바람
Cheating

임신
Pregnant

가슴
Breasts

성폭행
Sexual Assault

남편
Husband

여자친구
Girlfriend

부인
Wife

남자친구
Boyfriend

연애
Dating

결혼
Marriage

이혼

자료:아르스프락시아

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Figure 2: Cartoon image attached in an ilbe post, published 2015-08-05
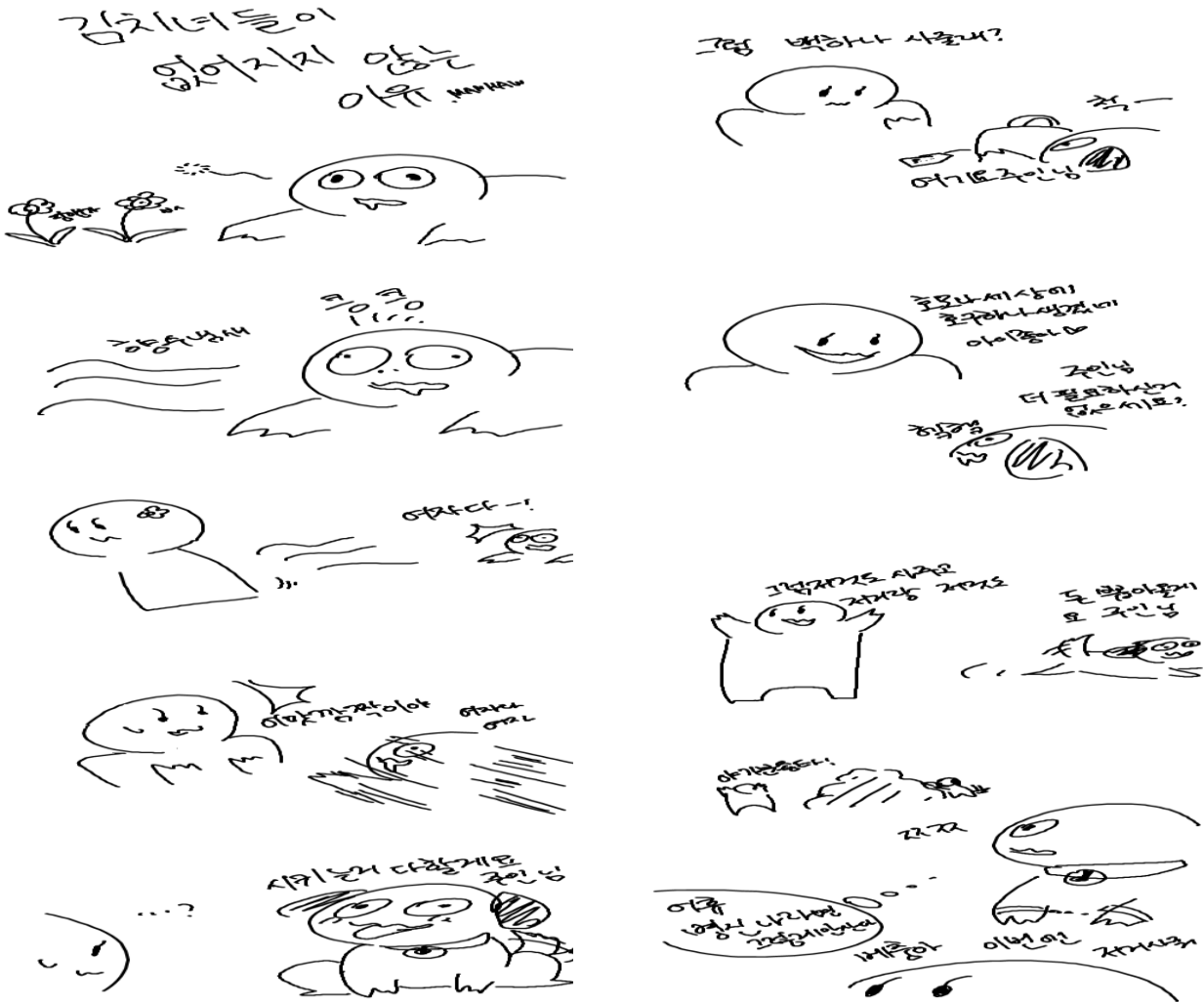
Figure 3: Chad-Incel Dichotomy
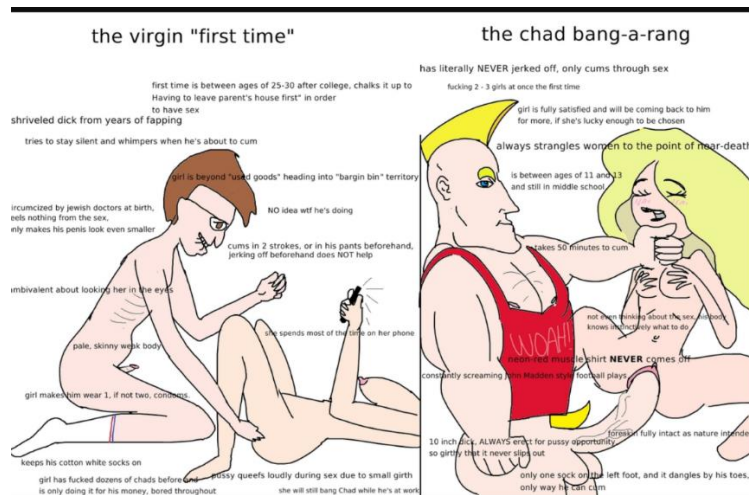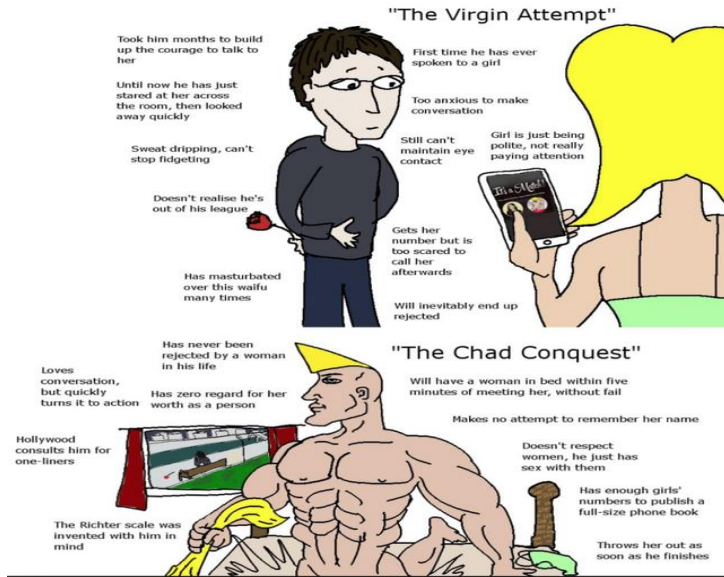
Figure 4: The Reality of Being a Decent Girl   **Figure 5: The World's Best Decent Girl Competition**

개념녀의 실체
○○ 2015-08-17 10:22:26   12449.*.*
조회 256 댓글 20

열녀문은 정절만 지키면 됐었는데 개념녀는ㅋ

일단 특정여대에 진학하면 안됨.

남친을 사귈땐 얼굴,키,돈 아무것도 따지면 안되고 무조건 사
귀어줌

특히 키는 절대 보면 안됨.

데이트할때 남자가 8:2로 먹어도 돈은 5:5로 내야하고

데이트 통장에 돈 같이 넣고도 남자가 카드 긁을때 뒤에 조신하
게 서있어야됨

가끔 남자한테 뭐사줄땐 생색 내면 안되고

센스있게 지갑에 넣어줘야됨

공중화장실은 절대 이용하면 안됨

잘못하면 울카 찍혀서 관음&언어 강간당하고

미래에 남편되실 고귀한 김치남께 더러워 보일 수 있음

하지만 부득이하게 이용하려면 팬티에 신경써야하고

보여지는 것에 익숙한 신여성이 돼야함

결혼할때 부모님이 오빠나 남동생한테 결혼자금을 인해주더
라도 나는 일단 반반 해야 나옴

결혼후엔 직장+가사육아+시댁 쓰리잡 뛰어야됨

애낳으면 독박육아 해야되는데

하늘같은 남편이 직장에서 일할동안 카페 가서 수다떨거나
하면 맘충됨.

내가 마시고싶은 커피 브랜드, 가방브랜드, 화장품 브랜드
마음대로 선택하면 안됨. 내가 내돈을 쓰더라도.

운전할땐 경차 타고 다녀서 무시받고 우리하게 끼여들기 당하
더라도 외제차 타면 절대 안됨

하늘같은 김치남들의 열등감을 자극할 수 있으니 조심조심

카레이서급으로 운전을 잘하더라도 김여사 소리를 들을 수 있으
니 운전을 아예 안하는게 나음.

이게 개념녀의 실체임ㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋ

2등

20살 때 친구들과 술을 마시다가 취해 뻗었는데 그 중 한 새끼가 나를 자기 집으로 데려가 강간하며 사귀자고 했다. 나는 그게 강
간인 줄 몰랐고 그 새끼가 나를 사랑하는 건줄 알았기 때문에 받아들였다.

그 새끼는 2시간 떨어진 곳에 살았는데 그 새끼가 보고 싶다고 하면 내가 가야 했고, 데이트 중에 돈이 없다고 나 보고 사라고 하면
내가 다 사야했다. 그 새끼를 만날 때마다 섹스를 해야 했지만 '남자가 해달라는 대로 해야 사랑을 받을 수 있다'는 생각에 참았다.
여러 장소에서 보지는 물론 후장까지 노콘으로. 내가 그 새끼에게 할 수 있는 말은 '안에 싸지만 말아줘'였다.

그러나 어느날 그 새끼는 질내사정을 했고 나는 임신했다. 그 새끼는 내게 미안하다며 싹싹빌었고 '임신의 책임은 둘 다에게 있으
니 중절수술비용의 반절을 주겠다'고 '수술 때 같이 병원에 가주겠다'고 했다. 함께 병원에 가서 수술날짜를 잡았고, 집에서 '임신
초기에 섹스는 좋다'면서 중절수술에 대한 죄책감으로 발버둥치는 나를 강간했다.

수술당일이 되었는데 그 새끼에게 연락이 닿지 않았고 결국 150가량의 돈은 어머니와 내가 냈다. 수술을 다 받고 나서야 연락이
됐다. 어디냐고 물으니 '수술 끝냈어? 수고했어. 나 지금 애들이랑 병원 옆 준코에 와 있어서 연락 못받았어.'

연락이 아예 끊겼다가 수술을 받은 지 두 달이 지나자 할 말이 있다며 나를 불러냈다. 내게 미안하다고 다시 잘해주겠다고 할 것
이라는 기대를 가지고 그 새끼 집에 갔는데 다시 강간당했다. 그 새끼는 웃으면서 나를 애엄마라고 불렀다.

글을 어떻게 끝내야 할 지 모르겠는데.. 그 새끼가 나를 애엄마라고 부른 날 이후 완전히 헤어졌고, 그 새끼는 내게 했던 것처럼 다
른 여자분들께도 똑같이 행동한 탓에 성추행,성폭행 혐의로 벌금을 갖고 있다. 나는 그 이후에 우울증으로 고생하다 메갈리아를
만나 겨우 정신을 차리게 됐고... 아무튼 메갈리아 너무 고맙다.

#나는개념녀였다
좋아요 · 👍 57 · 답글 달기 · 더 보기 · 12월 5일.

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Figure 6: Deposition of Police's Reponses to Wangsimni Case Reports in 2015-11-14, released by RPO
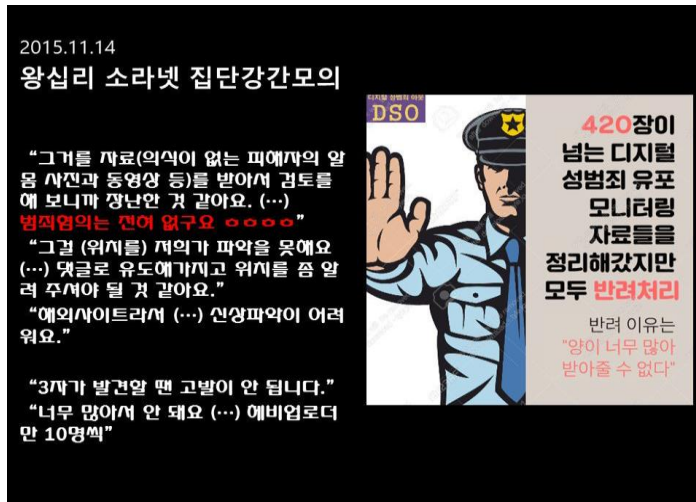
Figure 7: DSO Monitoring Team's Estimate on Relationship Status of Perpetrators with the Victims of Digital Sexual Crimes

Figure 8: Post on MERS gallery 2015-08-02
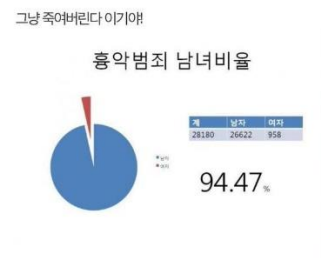
Figure 9: Post on MERS gallery, 2015-06-03

결혼할남자는 동정이였으면하는게..여성의..솔직한마음입
니다...

2015.06.03 23:25   211.58.**.**
조회 16 댓글 0
                                                    + 크게

남성분들껜...죄송한..얘기지만서두...

솔직히...결혼할 남자는 동정이였음...좋겠다..싶은것이...솔찍헌.. 여

우의 마음입니다ㅎㅎ...

이년저년 쑤셨을 성기..찝찝한게 사실....

제 아이...아버지가..될...남잔데....어디서...낙태하고..튀었을지도...모

르구....동남아에..애가있을지..누가안담ㅎㅎ....

주면..먹으면서두...갈색으로 쪼그라든...불알두쪽을보면...아..이놈

걸레구나...하며 조용히.. 마음속으로..고개를 젓는것이..여자라는 짐

승....

그러니 남자분들..신사답게 조신히..자기 몸을..소중히..보석처럼 여

겨...결혼할여자에게 동정이라는...아름답고 값지운...선물을 하시고...

평생 사랑받는길을..택하십시요....

인생더산...연장자로서으...진심어린...충고....

Figure 10: Statistical Image of Average Penis Sizes according to Nationality

Figure 11: Men's Discourse on Megalia

그림 1-1

1기:성적 대상화의 충격
(2015년 5〜11월)

Stage 1: The Shock of Being Sexually
Objectified, (2015, May-November)

성기
Penis

남성
Male

반대
Oppose

크기
Size

그림 1-2

비판
Criticize

비하
Disparage

성기
Penis

모욕
Insult

반박
Dispute

없다
None

메갈리아
Megalia

남성
Male

주장
Argument

여성혐오
Misogyny

발언
Speech

남성혐오
Misandry
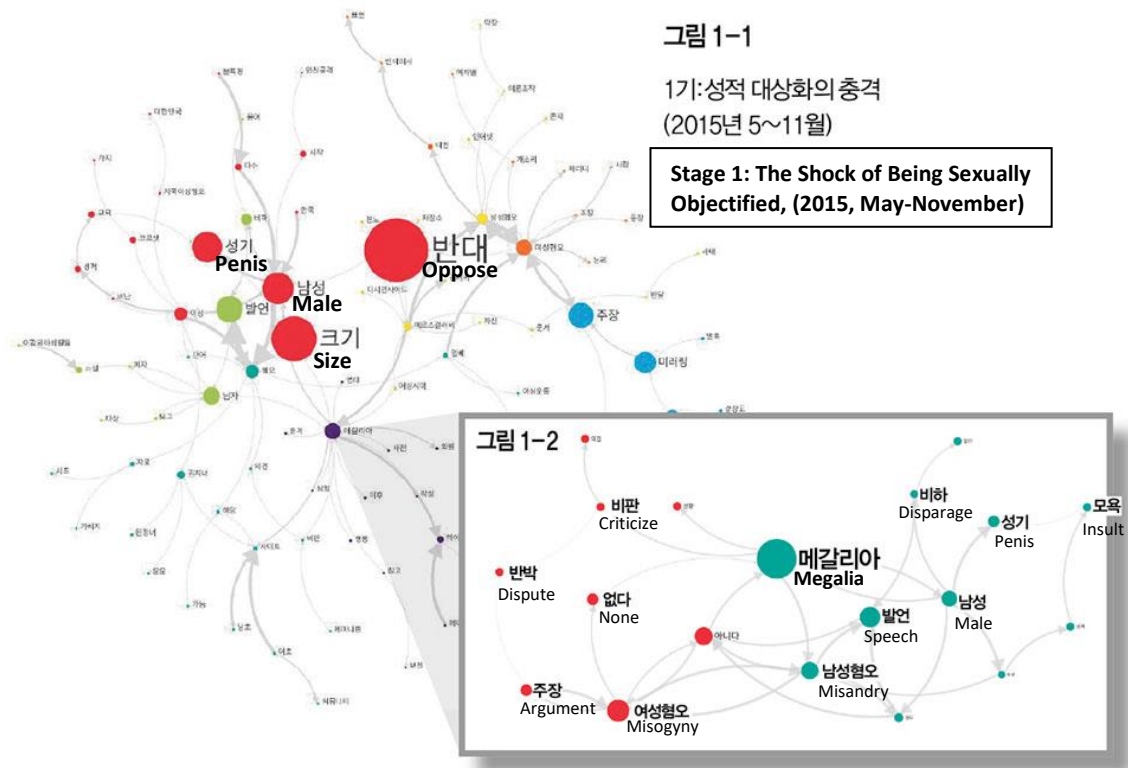
Figure 12: Megalia's Logo

Figure 13: Post on Megalia, 2015-09-01

군대 가기 싫었으면 국방부에 전화해서 안돼요 싫어요 했어야
지

○○　2015-09-01 13:27:15　　　　　　211.231.*.*

조회 19764 댓글 134

지 발로 신검받으러 가고 지 발로 훈련소 걸어가놓고 왠 행
패냐 이기야

그리고 군대 갔다와서는 허구한날 군무새마냥 군대군대 울
부짖는데 이기이기..

사실상 군대간거 즐긴거 아니노? 짬밥맛이 그리 좋드냐 이
기야!

★
메념글 추천

1131

✕
비추천

3

↑

Figure 14: Warning by a Misogynistic Man on DC Inside, 2016-06-16

솔직히 여자들은 여혐글 익숙하니 담담하잖아? 우린 남혐글 미
친듯화가나

○○ 2015.06.16 12:56

조회 654 댓글 63　　　　　　+ 크게

속으로 다 깨부수고 죽이고 경찰서가서 다 니들감옥보내고 싶을정도
로 열받는거아냐 실잦소리들으면?

자제해라

Figure 15: tweet published by user "Europa_6969", published 2018-05-22

술 (비혼여성) @givemethesuit · 1일
+도덕코르셋 효도코르셋도 은근 심한 편에다 거친 워딩 안 좋아하고 예의차리는 거 되게 신경씁니다. 남셀털하면 안 되지만 제발 한남만은 멀리하게 만들고 싶습니다 조팔...문제는 이 친구가 책읽기를 싫어한다는 건데 제가 너무 답정너 짓을 한 것 같네요. 그래도 진짜 뭐라도 읽혀야 할 것 같아서,,

💬 1   🔁   ♡   ⤵

Europa_6969
@6969Europa

@givemethesuit 님에게 보내는 답글

전 흉자한테 제일 효과 좋았던건 메갤때 쏟아진 웃긴 드립짤 보여주고 같이 웃는거였어요. 메갤이 넘 쎄면 여초카페드립도ㅇㅋ. 이론을 아는것보다 같은 여자들이 잦충을 69거리면서 조롱하고 우습게 만들고 노는 남험 우주에 일단 데려다놓는거죠. 그렇게 점점 수위높아지다가 메갈년 다 되더군요ㅋㅋ

2018년 05월 22일 · 11:45 오후

1 리트윗 3 마음에 들어요

Figure 16: Post on Megalia, 2015-09-26

저장소 〉 자유게시판   글쓰기

제목 여초커뮤에 남험심기 어렵지않음   2015-09-26 18:12:40
글쓴이 ○ ○ ■조회 2037 ■댓글 31   118.37.*.*

영업하려 하면 역효과남

나같은 경우는 작은 여초커뮤에
하루 1개씩 더도말고 딱 한개씩 메갈뉴스에올라온 특히 극악한 기사 골라서 올림
대부분이 이별 살인류임 염산,여친 살해후 멘홀유기 등등
아무 의견 없이 그 기사만 제목으로 쓰고 캡쳐본 올리고 링크올리고 감ㅋㅋㅋ
그럼 이제 자기들끼리 소름끼친다면서 막 떠들음
나는 한마디도 안해도됨ㅋㅋㅋ 그래서 분탕이다뭐다 욕먹거나 서로 싸울일 없음ㅋㅋ그냥 나는 팩트만 보여주거니까ㅋㅋ 판단은 그들이 스스로 한거고

매일 한개씩 딱 한달만하면 여자애들 남험생기더라
충격요법이고 공포세뇌라 그리 좋은건 아니다만
이렇게 남험 꾸준히 심어준뒤에 지나가듯이 슬쩍 메갈스러운말 하면 반응존나 좋더라

스크랩   ⭐   ✖   🔔 신고
                    메념글 추천   비추천
                       352   1

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Figure 17: Post on One of Post-Megalian Communities (Womadic), 2018-04-27

한남들이 ▣갈의 미러링 전략을 너무 믿는다 | 보지놀이터

조회 61 8 | 추천 0 | 2016.04.27. 01:00   http://cafe.daum.net/womadic/cVrk/107356 퍼가

예전에 보력 나가서 한남유충은 태어나기 전에 다 낙태시켜야 한다고 썼더니 어떤 한남충이 자들자들하면서 다른 자지들을 안심시키려는 듯이

"걱정 마세요! 저건 다 미러링이에요!"
하고 지가 대신 해명하는 거

난 진심인데ㅇㅇ

댓글이 달리면 카페앱에서 바로 알려드려요!   설치하기

댓글 10   👍 0   스크랩 0   카페   블로그   메일   인쇄 신고

16.04.27. 01:01   답글 신고
나도 진심임. 미러링은 초반이었고 난 요즘 내가 하는 말 정말 진심인데 ㅋㅋㅋ

16.04.27. 01:01   답글 신고
? 왜 현실부정하놈ㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋ 자지유충 다 죽일건데에에에 낙태할 건데에에에 카카카카카카카

16.04.27. 01:02   답글 신고
미러링 해봤자 못 알아듣는데 내가 왜 미러링하냐 실좆새끼들아 베에에에에에에

16.04.27. 01:02   답글 신고
? 초반엔 미러링이었지만 이젠진심인 뷰젤?:3

16.04.27. 01:08   답글 신고
솔직히 초반엔 남혐넘넘 재밌는데 이건 미로링이야 미러링이야하면서 합리화시켰었눈데 이젠 미러링? 좋도 아닌데??? 확ㄹ라라라ㅏ라얔 ㅋㅋㅋㅋ

16.04.27. 01:15   답글 신고
하 이 좆밤새끼들 이제는 미러링을 꼬무룩방패로 쓰놈ㅋㅋㅋㅋ 개웃챙ㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋ
ㄴ 16.04.27. 01:15   신고
꼬무룩 방패 ㅅㅂㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋ

16.04.27. 01:24   답글 신고
? 이건 오지게 진심이었는데?븅신새끼들ㅋㅋㅋ

16.04.27. 01:29   답글 신고
ㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅇ진심인데? 그렇게라도 안하면 6,9자지 벌벌떨려서 쎨어질까봐 붙잡고 팡팡우는 꼬라지 좀 보소ㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋㅋ

16.04.27. 01:34   답글 신고
억 ㅋㅋㅋ 맞다 이기야.
미러링이 아니라 난 진심을 그대로 쓴 건데;;;
자지는 하루 천 번씩 처패야 되고
암만 어리고 예쁜 자지도 석달(최대한 길게 잡아준 것임;) 먹으면 물려서 평생 안 보고 싶고
등등..

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Figure 18: Tweet written by the user "Womad_twt", 05-19

워마드 womad @Womad_twt · 5월 19일
더이상 안 되겠다 우리 키보드로만 미러링 하지말고 30cm 칼 들고 남자화장실에서 대기했다가 여자는 그 자리에 없고 남자만 있을 때 배때지에 칼 좀 담궈줍시다 예? 이래야 진정한 미러링 아니겠노?
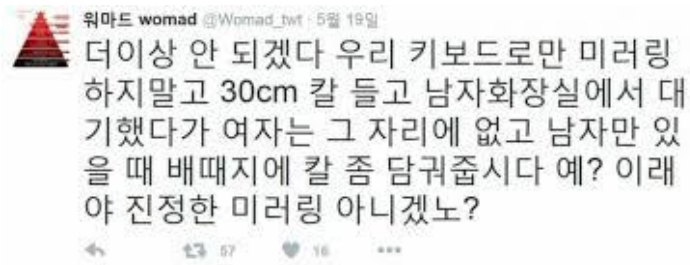
Figure 19: Tweet written by the user "feministfrhell", 2018-05-16

페미각성=비혼
@feministfrhell

남성혐오는 없어.
화장실에서 기다리다가 남자만 찔러죽이는 사건,헤어지고 남친얼굴에 염산붓고 씩씩 대는 여자,창놈20명죽이고 "몸 쉽게 굴리지말라고 본보기를 줬다"는 여자,연기지도 하려고 부랄을 깨부쉈다는 여자연기인 나 오면 그때서 남성혐오 비벼볼만함.

여성의 분노를 혐오로 왜곡하지마라

2018. 5. 16. 오후 10:32
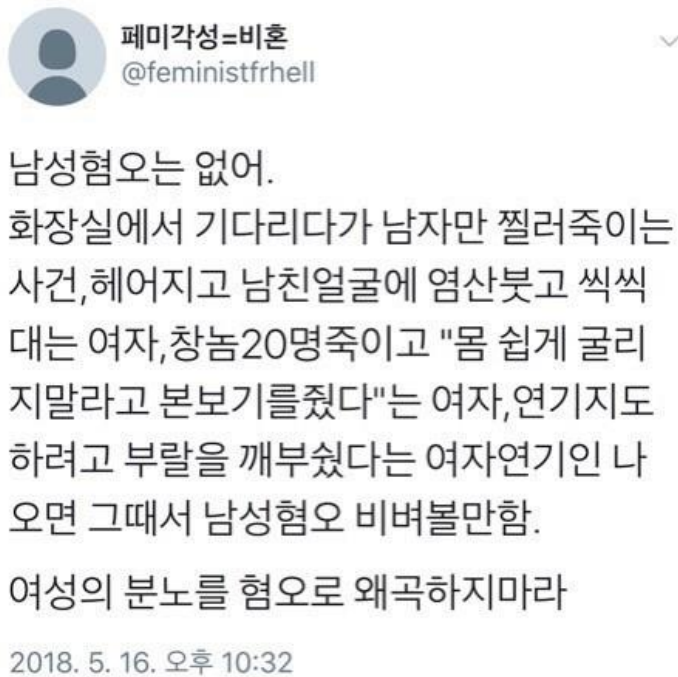
Figure 20: Misandry vs Misogyny, Looking by the Pyramid of Hate

혐오의 피라미드로 보는
남성혐오 vs 여성혐오

레디즘 http://cafe.daum.net/ladism

남성혐오 ◄◄◄◄   ►►►► 여성혐오

제노사이드
의도적이고 시스템적으로 한 인종을 말살 시키는 것 — 여아낙태

개인에 대한 극단적 폭력 행위
살인, 강간, 방화   집단 강간, 염산 테러, 부인, 여친 살해

폭력적 행위
기물 파손, 협박
폭행, 테러리즘, 훼손 (특히 무덤 혹은 신성한 것)   리벤지포르노, 스토킹, 가정폭력

구조적 차별
괴롭힘, 고용에서의 차별, 사회적 배제, 주거지 차별, 교육에서의 차별   취업 및 승진 차별 (유리천장)

차별과 편견적 행위
희생양 만들기, 모욕/경멸적 언사, 비웃음, 사회적 기피, 비인간적 대우   성녀, 창녀로 이분화 모성숭배

교묘한 차별적 행위
스테레오타입, 개그, 루머, 비슷한 생각을 가진 사람들과의 대화, 부정적 정보는 받아들이고 긍정적 정보는 차단, 몰이해한 발언
남성외모비하, 한남충   김치녀, 김여사, 여성외모비하

?

138

Figure 21: Original Pyramid of Hate, Developed by Anti-Defamation League in 2005
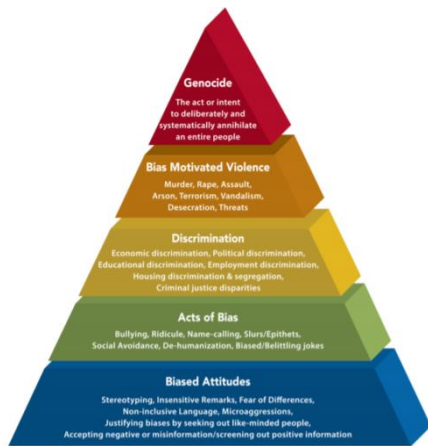
Figure 22: Women's Responses on the Making of the "Violent Megalia", Anonymous Comment on Female Online Communities,

그 오랜시간을 일베들 여성혐오며 섭득한 단어 만들어 내면서 여성들 공격해도 별 신경 조차 안 쓰던 남자들이 여성들이 저 한마디 했다고 파르르르르...그리고는 남녀 사이 좋게 살아야 하지 않 겠냐며..남혐이 생기는 이런 사태들이 우려된다 며..
요즘은 한편의 코미디를 보는 듯한 느낌이다
신고

ㄴ 어몽시킹 | 12:35 N
2
신고

ㄴ 라일락: 수수꽃다리 | 12:36 N
헐,...맞아 내 마음이야
신고

ㄴ 라일락: 수수꽃다리 | 12:36 N
헐,...맞아 내 마음이야
신고
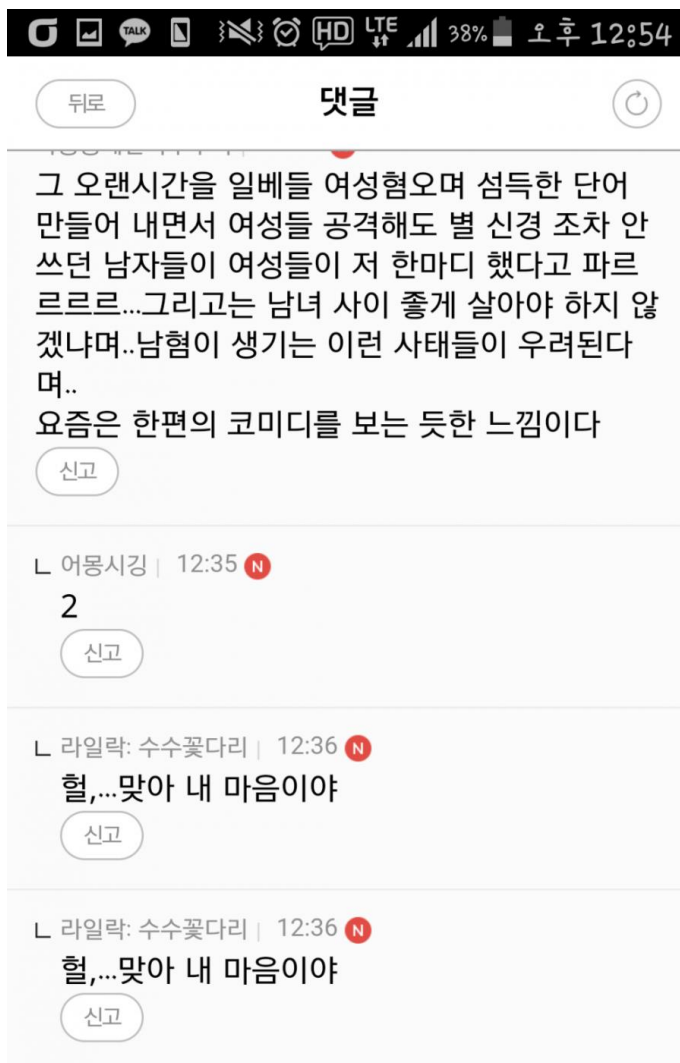
Figure 23: Tweet written by Anonymous Megalian

coㅈy (❀´ω`❀) @amos_and_... ·6시간 ∨
상사와 룸싸롱:
상사가 가자는데 어떻게 안 갑니까? 안가면 직장
에서 왕따되고 승진 못하는데 여자들 사회생활을
이렇게 몰라서 원ㅉㅉ…

상사의 성범죄:
정말 싫었으면 아무리 상사라도 거절 했어야죠.
싫었다면서 왜 그후에 문자도 하고 같이 밥을 먹
습니까? 자기도 좋아서 해놓고 꽃뱀짓 하네요.

💬   ↻ 20.3K   ♡ 2,884   ⬆
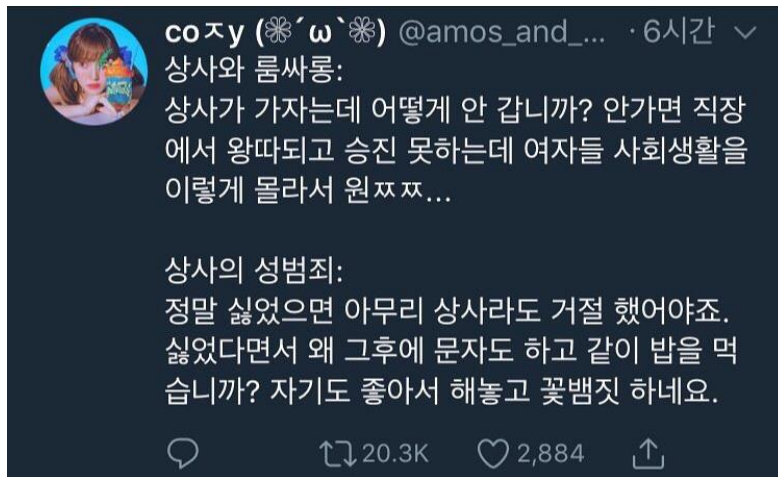
Figure 24: Comment on Naver News Commentary Section by Anonymous User, 2015-07-04

imgp****
사실상 우리나라 남자들이 바라는거 별거 없습니다. 나
는 콘돔 안낄거지만 여자는 낙태하면 안되고. 내 아내는
칼퇴해서 애 봐야되지만 내 옆자리 여직원은 칼퇴하면
안되고. 남자가 임금은 더 받아야겠지만 여자들은 경제
적으로 똑같이 부담해야되고. 나는 애 안볼거고 집안일
도 안할거지만 여자는 맞벌이하면 됩니다. 그리고 성범
죄는 조심안한게 잘못이지만 뒤에 모르는 남자가 쫓아와
도 경계는 안하면 되는거 아니겠습니까?

2015.07.04 오전 2:26 📱 | 신고

답글 0   👍 330   👎 3
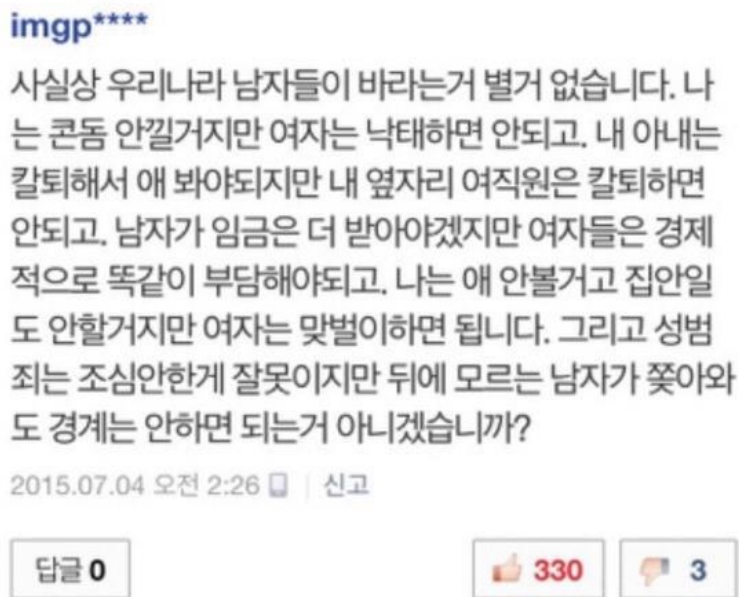
Figure 25: Non-Megalian Women's Responses to the word "jae-gi"

그 오랜시간을 일베들 여성혐오며 섬득한 단어
만들어 내면서 여성들 공격해도 별 신경 조차 안
쓰던 남자들이 여성들이 저 한마디 했다고 파르
르르르...그리고는 남녀 사이 좋게 살아야 하지 않
겠냐며..남혐이 생기는 이런 사태들이 우려된다
며..
요즘은 한편의 코미디를 보는 듯한 느낌이다
신고

ㄴ 어몽시킹 | 12:35 N
2
신고

ㄴ 라일락: 수수꽃다리 | 12:36 N
헐,...맞아 내 마음이야
신고

ㄴ 라일락: 수수꽃다리 | 12:36 N
헐,...맞아 내 마음이야
신고

ㄴ 토죠노조미 | 12:37 N
33
신고

ㄴ 봄이 오듯이 너도 오기를 | 12:37 N
ㅇㄱㄹㅇ 상대가 비이성적이고 조롱을 일삼는
데 우리만 도덕적으로 이성적으로 대처해야함?
신고

ㄴ ㅎㅎㅎㄹㄹㅇㅇ | 12:37 N
일겅ㅋ
신고

ㄴ 네이티트 | 12:47 N
왜 여자만 항상 이쁜말 바른말써야하는지 모르
겠음남자들이 한거의 진짜 십분의 일도 안한거
같은데 자기들끼리 파르르거리면서 고인모독
하지마세요! 너무심한거 아닙니까!!이러는게 웃
길뿐
신고

ㄴ 부들부들바들바들 | 12:52 N
ㅇㄱㄹㅇ 된장녀니 김치녀니 똥습녀니 세상 모
든 여혐단어들을 만들어내서 지금까지 쓰고 있
으면서 ㅅㅂ빡쳐진짜
신고

m.cafe.daum.net/ok1221/9Zdf/41

ㅎr01 | 12:26 N
??ㅋㅋ 어이없는데 내 기준에서... 왜 피해자들은
항상 가해자들에게 이성적이며 도덕적으로 대처
해야 하는지?? 저쪽이 때리길래 똑같이 때리면
그건 방어지 폭력이 아니라ㅋㅋ 일베충 지네들이
먼저 어떤 언사와 행동을 했는지 좀 보시길^^
신고

ㄴ 오, 사랑 | 12:33 N
22.. 추모공간이라 장소의 목적이랑 좀 다르긴
해도 이성적으로 다따지면 변하는 거 없음
신고

ㄴ 갓잼 | 12:34 N
33
신고

ㄴ 내 이름은 코랄, 웜톤이죠 | 12:36 N
4 쟤네가 먼저 분탕쳤는데요
신고

Figure 26: Post on Megalia, 2015-11-27

MEGALIAN
megalian.com
로그인/가입
최신 메념 베스트

자유게시판
페미니즘이 '장애인인권' '동성애자인권' 챙기면 좆망함
2015-11-27 23:29:22   39.7.**
조회 4143 댓글 67
6.9 주의보가 발령된 게시글입니다

역사적으로 증명된 페미니즘에 꼭 씌우는 짐이 뭔지 아냐?

장애인인권 동성애자인권 임

저거 뒤집어쓰는순간 다른 온갖 것들 뒤집어 쓰게 되는거다

장애인도 자지가 보지 여혐함
동성애자도 게이가 레즈 여혐함

걍 보지인권이나 쳐 챙겨라 나머지는 알아서 따라오니까

Appendix

Websites

DC Inside(디씨): one of South Korea's biggest online-communities. Lee Kil Ho (2012) first conducted an anthropological analysis on South Korean cyberspace using this website. The website is composed of multiple sub-pages, which are called galleries. Each gallery works as a discussion board dedicated to distinctive terms such as MERS, male celebrities, K-pop stars, comedy, make-up, and so on.

Ilbe(일베): South Korean version of 4 chan with extreme right, misogynistic ideology. It ranked one of the most visited websites in South Korea alongside with DC Inside. In September 2016, daily average visitors marked 700,000.

Soranet(소라넷): South Korea's biggest porn site. Scandalized by Megalia for overlooking and encouraging digital sexual crimes including the circulation of spy-cam photos and videos, revenge-porn, and organizing drug-rapes and gang-rapes.

MERS gallery (메르스갤러리/메갤): former version of Megalia website. One of the sub-pages in DC Inside. The gallery was originally created to hold discussions about MERS epidemic in the 2015. However, militant female DC users from the male celebrity gallery turned the board into a battleground of war against misogyny using the mirroring tactic.

Megalia (메갈리아/메갈): As MERS gallery was controlled by the DC Inside administrator, mirroring speech was constantly censored and regulated whilst misogynistic speech proliferated without restriction. With the help of an anonymous donor, MERS gallery users created a new website and called it "Megalia." Megalia is a word combination of MERS and "Egalia's Daugther," a feminist novel which subverted the traditional gender roles. The website became the center of South Korean cyber war against online misogyny, using mirroring tactic as their weapon. Megalia, often referred to the green land by its users, was shut down in the 2017.

Ubokki (우리보지끼리): one of the post-Megalian websites that diverted away from Megalia.

Ladism (레이디즘): one of the post-Megalian websites that diverted away from Megalia.

Womad (워마드): one of the post-Megalian websites that diverted away from Megalia. Currently the most notorious brand of female online activism in South Korea, which fully brandized itself as genuine female chauvinist movement. Womad differentiated themselves from Megalia, aiming at nurturing genuine misandry, than mirroring tactic.

Savemegalia (세이브메갈리아): website that copy-pasted Megalia's contents, allowing the online vigilantes to identify individual Megalian users. Many Megalian users were exposed to cyber-bullying and legal accusations for defamation due to this website.

Misogynistic Hate Speech Terminology

Pussy-licker (보빨남): pejorative title for men who are nice to women. They are condemned in company with the Kimchi girls for inflating the "price of vagina."

Pussy-licking (보빨): an act of being overly nice to women. The word incorporates various forms of acts ranging from flirting, giving gifts, preparing anniversary surprises for a girlfriend, giving favors, speaking in favor of women in gender discourses and being a feminist. Online misogynists vigorously discourage "pussy-licking," as they believe it will spoil South Korean women.

Price of vagina (보짓값): the price men have to pay to engage in a sexual/romantic relationship with a woman.

Vagin-official (보슬아치) : A misogynistic vocabulary that combined the word vagina and government official together. It comes from an expression that women consider their vaginas as an authoritative title such as being a government official (보지가 벼슬이다). The word intends to denigrate women who expects favors and advantages, just because of her gender(vagina).

Sushi-girl (스시녀): term that sexually objectifies Japanese women. Japanese women are imagined to be sexually more desirable than Korean women for they are allegedly more obedient, submissive, giving, and readily conforming to men's sexual demands.

White horse (백마): term that sexually objectifies white women. White women are imagined to be sexually more desirable than Korean women for they are often portrayed to be economically independent; willing to Dutch-Pay, and physically more attractive.

Decent Girl (개념녀): an imagined South Korean woman who embodies scrupulous specifications of positive femininity for a woman. Those specifications include: Dutch-Paying, being frugal and not expecting any gifts or favors from a boyfriend, not judging a men on his qualifications such as physical features, height, and wealth, fulfilling her responsibilities of housework after marriage without expecting her husband to help, being obedient to the family-in-law, and so on.

Delistedame (상폐녀): word combination of delisted stock and madame. It is a depreciating term to call women who are older than 30 years of age. The word indicates that women who are older than 30 are like "delisted stock" in a dating market.

Golbaengi (골뱅이): a slang to refer to women who were drugged or drunk to the point of unconsciousness. Men often refer to Golbaengi as an easy target for rape.

Misogynistic Words and Mirroring Words

Mirroring (미러링) : a tactic politicized by Megalians to successfully respond to misogynistic hate speech. Mirroring speech reciprocated the misogyny by creating semiotic inversions of misogyny, which fired back at men. Mirroring tactic simultaneously critiqued and recruited the hate speech, rendering it culturally, linguistically, socially, politically, and ethically explosive.

Kimchi girls (김치녀): a derogatory term for South Korean women, who embodies certain "undesirable" characters. The term represents an epitome of negative femininity, as defined by the online misogynists, in South Korean women. These characters are mostly related to sexual desirability and attitudes towards men. According to Kim So Ah (2015, p.297), a Kimchi girl "is a pejorative title for Korean women who are fat, ugly, and sexually unattractive, who hence undergo multiple plastic surgeries and end up becoming a 'plastic nightmare'. The 'Kimchi girl' is also promiscuous, and tries to take advantage of men's wealth, while she herself is incapable and deplorable career-wise."

– **God-chi girls (갓치녀)**: word combination of God and Kimchi girl. Megalia created the term in attempt to reappropriate "Kimchi girl". Megalians redefine the definition of Kimchi girl: "selfish woman who avoids responsibilities and only demands rights", into "confident, independent woman who knows and asks for what she wants."

– **Kimchi Boy (김치남)**: mirroring term for Kimchi girl

– **Korean-men-sect (한남충)**: word combination of Korean Men, and Insect. Korean-men-sect now replaced the word Kimchi boy. The terminology was originally proposed under an anonymous suggestion that Korean men would not need a separate pejorative term to generalize them, as men would get offended, just by being called a "typical Korean man." This idea imposed that Korean men themselves held understanding of malicious and toxic misogynistic culture a "typical Korean man" shares. (author's recollection)

Bean-paste girls (된장녀): derogatory term to call out on spendthrift women who like to consume on foreign, fancy brands such as starbucks coffee and chanel bags.

– **Soy/Bean-paste boy (강/된장남)**: mirroring term against bean-paste girls

Mom-sect(맘충): word combination of mom and insect. The word condemns moms' irresponsibility and incompetence in disciplining her child in public spaces. Mom-sect conjured an image of irresponsible and lazy wives, who are economically dependent to their husbands. Mom-sect is neglectful to her housekeeping responsibilities, and gossips around with her friends in a café while her husband is working hard to afford for her.

– **Dad-sect (파파충)**: word combination of dad and insect. Mirroring term against mom-sect. The word highlights the absence of fathers in child-rearing scene and prevalence of domestic violence.

- **Feed-me-sect(밥줘충)**: coined by Megalians to refer to men who do not cook for themselves and expect women in their lives such as wives, mothers, girlfriends, and sisters to cook for them. The word was developed to counter conceptions that women, particularly housewives, were financially dependent on men.

- **Daerihyodo (대리효도)**: Word combination of "substitution" and "filial piety." The word refers to men's expectations towards their wives to be polite, friendly, obedient, and serving to his parents, whilst he himself does not meet such expectations. Wives are often expected to "treat parents-in-law as if she is the daughter." Therefore, the word refers to such men's expectations for the wives to fulfill the filial piety to his parents in substitution of himself. The word was developed to counter conceptions that women, particularly housewives, were financially dependent on men.

- **Dokbagyuga (독박육아)**: Word combination of Dokbag (taking responsibility or a burden alone) and child-rearing. The word refers to women's reality, in which they alone are taking the responsibility of parenting, whilst husbands are grossly absent from the child-rearing scene.

Abort-sect (낙태충): word combination of abortion and insect. The word calls out and condemns women who go through abortion.

- **Ejaculate-flea (싸튀충)**: word combination of ejaculation and flea. Mirroring term against abort-sect. It literally refers to men who ejaculate and flee, leaving the pregnant women on their own. The word calls out and condemns men who impregnates women and neglect his responsibility following pregnancy, leading to women's abortions. This notion purposes to accuse men, instead of women, for abortions.

Bojeonkkae (보전깨): word combination of vagina, light bulb, and break, inviting the audience to imagine breaking a light bulb in woman's vagina. This kind of misogynistic hate speech that conjured extreme sexual violence against women proliferated in South Korean cyberspace.

- **Yoshakkaei (요샤깨)**: word combination of urethra, mechanical pencil lead, and break. This word mirrored the term bojeonkkae. The mirroring speech inverts the direction of the attack conducted by misogynistic hate speech.

Boreungnae (보릉내): bad smell from women's vagina.

- **Jareungnae (자릉내)**: bad smell from men's penis. This word mirrored the term Boreungnae. The mirroring word inverts and reattaches the quality of "bad smell" from sexual organs to men.

Ms. Kim (김여사): derogatory term for women who are unskilled in driving.

- **Mr. Kim (김아재)**: mirroring term for Ms. Kim, which emphasized that men, whilst women were often unskilled drivers, were more often reckless and violent drivers causinsg disastrous traffic accidents.
- **Whore-men(창남/창놈)**: pejorative term to call on men who consume prostitution. A mirroring term for whore (창녀). The word inverts the moral accusation that was exclusively put on women in the prostitute industry.

Dutch-Pay (더치페이): A form of moral obligation imposed on women to split the bill equally while dating. It involves splitting the bills for restaurants, café, movies, and hotels.

- **Dutch-Orgasm (더치오르가즘)**: Mirroring term for Dutch-Pay. In response to the discourse of Dutch-Pay, Megalia returns the moral burden in a romantic relationship back at men. They argued that if women were to pay equally during dates, men should also give women orgasm so women equally enjoy sex.

Unji (운지) : The word was coined by Ilbe to mock the death of the leftist South Korean ex-president No Mu Hyun.

- **Jae-gi (재기)**: reappropriation of the the name Sung Jae-gi. Sung Jae-gi was the foremost prominent figure in men's rights movement who politicized the dutch-pay agenda and legalization of prostitution. He committed a death leap into the Han river as a fundraising performance. Megalians reappropriated his name into a satire of South Korean men's rights movement. The word was heavily disputed for its moral and ethical legitimacy within Megalia.

Bulging-sect(뽈록충): pejorative term indicating women, circulated within the gay community. "Bulging" refere to the bulged female breasts.

- **Anu-sect(똥꼬충)**: word combination of anus and insect, used to pejoratively refer to gay men. It was originally used by Ilbe users and adopted by Megalians to mirror gay community's misogyny such as the bulging-sect. However, within Megalia there had been vigorous moral and ethical dispute whether this term was legitimate mirroring.

Other Megalian Terminology

air-like misogyny (공기같은 여혐): a term developed by Megalia to indicate that misogyny is everywhere, taken-for-granted and normalized to the point that it is invisible.

Corset (코르셋): Word developed by Megalia to summon up invisible misogynistic oppressions upon women. The Megalian dictionary in Rootless Feminism defines corset as: "responsibilities

that are unjustly demanded on women, a status in which a person is habituated to misogyny and discrimination. … 'Bodily corset' concerns make-up, diet, and plastic surgeries (as it indoctrinates women that they should be beautiful and feel disentitled if they are not sufficiently beautiful), 'Moral corset' refers to beliefs that women should be gentle, sweet, polite, disciplined, and conform to given responsibilities. Megalians described the act of breaking away from these forms of female oppression as 'escaping the corset'" (Kim et al., 2018; p. 221).

Gangnam Murder/5.17 femicide (강남역살인사건/5.17 페미사이드): A murder case in May 17th 2016, in which a schizophrenic patient who developed paranoid delusions against women murdered a random woman in front of a public toilet in Gangnam. This man was known to have waited for hours, letting other men to use the toilet uninterrupted. The first woman to enter the toilet was attacked with a knife. Her body was later found by her boyfriend. The perpetrator was arrested next morning and confessed that he attacked the victim because she was a woman and interviewed, "I conducted the crime because women would disrespect me."

In response to women's protest against "violence against women" after the incident, the authority announced that the incident was not a hate crime, but an incomprehensible attack conducted by a schizophrenic patient. With this, men's rights activists came out to the street protesting against women, inflicting physical conflicts between the two.

Feminist scholar Yun Ji Yeong (2016) re-termed the incident as 5.17 femicide to highlight the fact that this was a hate crime conducted against women.

Digital sexual crime (디지털성범죄): Megalia successfully replaced the term "revenge porn" into "digital sexual crimes." It argued that most of the perpetrators are not ex-partners of the victims, rather in active relationships with the victims. Furthermore, they asserted that these women should not be considered as "porn" but rather as victims of a "crime". Now the term covers various acts ranging from leakage of photos and videos without a woman's consent to sharing, watching, and commenting on these materials.

Female-fetus selective abortions(여아낙태): social phenomena that was prominent in the 1990s. Female fetuses were selectively aborted by the parent's preferences for boys.

Escape the Corset Movement (탈코르셋 운동): South Korean Feminist movement that advocates for women to escape from the misogynistic corset to look beautiful. The movement encourages women to cut her hair, stop wearing make-up, and wear comfortable clothes and shoes.

Safety break-up (안전이별): Breaking up, without suffering any violence or threats from man. The expression indicates South Korean women's precarious and unsafe realities, in which even a breakup could lead to experiences of severe misogynistic violence such as acid attacks, being the victim of digital sexual crime, and murders.

Feminist Organizations that emerged from Megalian activism

RPO (Revenge Porn Out): The first Megalian originated online activist group, who monitored and raised awareness on digital sexual crimes in Soranet and South Korean porn industry. The team successfully replaced the term "revenge porn" with "Digital Sexual Crime." The project which started as a group of anonymous Megalian activists, later became an organization, changing its name into DSO.

DSO (Digital Sexual Crime Out): organization that responds to the digital sexual crimes. website: www.dsoonline.org

KCSVRC (Korea Cyber Sexual Violence Response Center): organization that responds to the digital sexual crimes, diverted away from DSO for internal political matters. website: www.cyber-lion.com

BWAVE (Black Wave): a temporary activist team, which advocates for the legalization of abortion rights. Website: http://cafe.daum.net/mybodymychoice

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