The 2nd International Workshop

HATE SPEECH IN ASIA AND EUROPE:
A COMPARATIVE APPROACH

Jan. 8 – 9 - 10, 2019
Paris Diderot University, France
The 2nd International Workshop
HATE SPEECH IN ASIA AND EUROPE: A COMPARATIVE APPROACH

Jan. 8 (Tuesday) – 10 (Thursday), 2019
Paris Diderot University, France

Convener
Université Paris Diderot (Paris 7), Center for Korean Studies (China, Korea, Japan Laboratory / CCJ - UMR 8173 CNRS-EHESS- UPD), France

Co-organizers
Asia Center, Seoul National University
Korea & Center for Korean Studies, Ritsumeikan University, Japan

Supporter
The Academy of Korean Studies

This workshop was supported by the Academy of Korean Studies Grant (AKS-2018-C23)
# Table of content

## WORKSHOP PROGRAM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January 8 (TUE.) 2019</td>
<td>WORKSHOP PROGRAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 9 (WED.) 2019</td>
<td>WORKSHOP PROGRAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 10 (THU.) 2019</td>
<td>WORKSHOP PROGRAM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## LOCATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Workshop Venue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurants</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## KEYNOTE SPEECH: Making sense of hate speech in a globalized world

15

## Session 1 Against Hate Speech

16

## Session 2 Language, Representation, and Discourse (1)

20

## Session 3 Language, Representation, and Discourse (2)

24

## Session 4 Nationalism and Right Wing

27

## Session 5 Hate Speech in Korea

30

## Session 6 Xenophobia and Islamophobia

34

## Session 7 Online Hate Speech and Regulation

36

## Special Lecture

40

## Round-Table 1 How to define Hate speech ? Nature, definitions, tools, means and boundaries

41

## Session 8 Hate Speech as a Political Communication

42

## Session 9 Legal Approach to Hate Speech

44

## Session 10 International Human Rights and Comparative Perspectives

47

## Round-Table 2 Hate speech strategies, actors and goals

51

## PRESENTERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presenter</th>
<th>Email</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td><a href="mailto:nalkiviadou@uclan.ac.uk">nalkiviadou@uclan.ac.uk</a></td>
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<tr>
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<td>CHEN, Kuan-Wei</td>
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<tr>
<td>CHO, Hong Sik</td>
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<tr>
<td>DAMCEVIC, Katarina</td>
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<td>FERNANDEZ, Gemmo Bautista</td>
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<td>FERNANDEZ, Percy</td>
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YOO, Jiso  |  jiso.yoon@kwdimail.re.kr ........................................................................... 59
YOO, Sharon  |  sharonyoon1121@gmail.com ......................................................................... 60

KEYNOTE SPEAKER, OTHER ROUND-TABLE MEMBERS AND CHAIRPERSONS .............................. 61

CALVES, Gwénaële  |  gwenaele.calves@free.fr ............................................................................. 61
FROELIGER, Nicolas  |  nf@eila.univ-paris-diderot.fr ...................................................................... 61
GUIHEUX Gilles  |  Paris Diderot University vice-President for Research .................................. 61
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ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

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KIM, Bomi (Master student, Paris Diderot University)

LEBRET, Coline (Master student, Paris Diderot University)

LUKA, Camille (Master student, Paris Diderot University)

MAKANGU, Océane (Master student, Paris Diderot University)

THANK YOU!
### WORKSHOP PROGRAM

**January 8 (TUE.) 2019**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>EVENT</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8:30- 9:15</td>
<td>Registration</td>
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<tr>
<td>9:15- 9:30</td>
<td>Opening ceremony / Organizers welcoming speech</td>
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<td>9:30-09:50</td>
<td><strong>Keynote Speech:</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Karoline Postel-Vinay</strong> (Sciences Po Center for International Research (CERI), Paris)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Making sense of hate speech in a globalized world</td>
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<td>09:50-10:00</td>
<td>Coffee break</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00-12:15</td>
<td><strong>Session 1 : Against Hate Speech</strong></td>
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<td>Chair: Myungkoo Kang (Seoul National University)</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Youngmi Kim</strong> (University of Edinburgh)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hate Speech and Online Activism in South Korea and Myanmar</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Sharon Yoon</strong> (Ewha Womans University)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Harnessing Social Media Activism within the Ethnic Enclave: Anti-Hate Speech Protests in Osaka's Korean Ghetto</td>
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<td><strong>Katarina Damčević</strong> (University of Tartu)</td>
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<td>Countering Hate Speech through Education</td>
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<td><strong>Andrew Wolman</strong> (City University London)</td>
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<td>Combatting Hate Speech at the Local Level: A Comparison of East Asian and European Approach</td>
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<td><strong>Sungsoo Hong</strong> (Sookmyung Women's University)</td>
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<td>Regulating Hate Speech in Korea since 2010</td>
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<tr>
<td>12:30-13:45</td>
<td>LUNCH (French Healthy Style)</td>
<td>Buffon Restaurant</td>
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8
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Speaker(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 13:45-15:30  | Session 2: Language, Representation, and Discourse (1) | Chair: Wooja Kim (Ritsumeikan University)  
Yuko Kawai (Rikkyo University)  
Liriam Sponholz (CMC, Austrian Academy of Sciences and Alpen-Adria-Universität)  
Piotr Toczyński (Maria Grzegorzewska University)  
Laura Ascone & Laurene Renaut (Université de Cergy-Pontoise)  
Brendan Wright (University of Toronto)  
Snezhina Gabova (Sofia Development Association)  
Salle des Thèses | Discussant  
Different Uses of China and Korea in Hate Books  
What does "Hate Speech" in German-speaking Countries Mean?  
Towards the Metaphor of Garden: Debates on Hate Speech from Eastern Europe  
How Conflict is Verbalised in Counter-narratives to the Jihadist Discourse |
| 15:30-15:45  | Coffee Break | -                                                                      | -                                                                         |
| 15:45-17:00  | Session 3: Language, Representation, and Discourse (2) | Chair: Yuko Kawai (Rikkyo University)  
Chihiro Watanabe (University of Tokyo)  
Ekaterina Grishaeva (Ural Federal University)  
Haeyeon Kim (New York University)  
Jeffrey Hall (Waseda University)  
Salle des Thèses | Discussant  
Another Aspect of Japanese Hate Publishing: between Magazines and Books  
Criminal Trials on Hate Speech on Social Media in Russia and Its Media Representations  
A Grain of Truth in Every Joke: Case Study on Hate Speech in Entertainment Shows in Korea and the UK |
| 17:00-17:15  | Break | -                                                                      | -                                                                         |
| 17:15-18:30  | Session 4: Nationalism and Right Wing | Chair: Percy Fernandez (Manipal University, Dubai)  
Jeffrey J. Hall (Waseda University)  
Narendra Kumar (Jawaharlal Nehru University)  
Parnal Chirmuley (Jawaharlal Nehru University)  
Changho Kim (Lawyers Association of Zainichi Koreans)  
Fritzi-Marie Titzmann (Leipzig University) | Discussant  
Anonymous Collective Action to Remove Far-Right Hate from YouTube: Japanese Netizens and the 2018 “Ban Festival”  
Hate Speech in Society: Strategic Focalisation and Responsibility  
From Hate Phrases to Arrests: Hate Speech in the Service of the Hindu Nation (SKYPE ?)  
Paris Diderot University Campus |
<p>| 19:00        | Dinner: Korean Buffet | -                                                                      | -                                                                         |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>EVENT</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9:00-10:45</td>
<td><strong>Session 5: Hate Speech in Korea</strong>&lt;br&gt;Chair: Marie-Orange Rive-Lasan (Paris Diderot University)</td>
<td>Discussant</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Brendan Wright</strong> (University of Toronto)&lt;br&gt;Discursive Constructions and the Leftist &quot;Other&quot; in the 1960-1961 Interregnum</td>
<td>Sharon Yoon&lt;br&gt;(Ewha Womans University)</td>
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<td><strong>Hong Sik Cho</strong> (Soongil University)&lt;br&gt;Religion and Politics in Korean Public Sphere: The Case of Hate Speech against Yemeni Refugees in 2018</td>
<td>Anindita Tagore&lt;br&gt;(Educational Initiative)</td>
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<td><strong>Myungkoo Kang &amp; Sojeong Park</strong> (Seoul National University)&lt;br&gt;Gapjil: Hate Speech from Power Elites in South Korea</td>
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<td><strong>Jiso Yoon &amp; Sooyeon Lee</strong> (Korea Women's Development Institute)&lt;br&gt;Combating Sexist Hate Speech in South Korea</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:45-11:00</td>
<td>Coffee Break</td>
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<td>11:00-12:15</td>
<td><strong>Session 6: Xenophobia and Islamophobia</strong>&lt;br&gt;Chair: Liriam Sponholz (CMC, Austrian Academy of Sciences and Alpen-Adria-Universität)</td>
<td>Discussant</td>
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<td><strong>Snezhina Gabova</strong> (Sofia Development Association)&lt;br&gt;BorderLines: Xenophobic Discourses against Migrants and Refugees in Europe</td>
<td>Youngmi Kim&lt;br&gt;(University of Edinburgh)</td>
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<td><strong>Madlen Krueger</strong> (University of Muenster)&lt;br&gt;Hate Speech against Muslims in Myanmar</td>
<td>Percy Fernandez&lt;br&gt;(Manipal University, Dubai)</td>
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<td><strong>Ying Miao</strong> (Aston University)&lt;br&gt;Cyber-Islamophobia in China</td>
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<td>12:30-14:00</td>
<td>LUNCH (French Healthy Style)</td>
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<tr>
<td>14:00-16:15</td>
<td><strong>Session 7</strong>: Online hate speech and regulation</td>
<td>Salle des Thèses</td>
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<td><strong>Fritzi-Marie Titzmann</strong> (Leipzig University)</td>
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<td>Dangerous Speech and New Media: Communalism, Gender, and Nationalism in the Indian Online Discourse</td>
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<td><strong>Percy Fernandez</strong> (Manipal University, Dubai)</td>
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<td>Hate is the New Black: Normalisation of Online Hate Discourse in India</td>
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<td><strong>Gemmo Bautista Fernandez</strong> (University of Sydney)</td>
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<td>Dealing with Internet Hate Speech: Clear Dangers, Present Approaches, and Available Remedies</td>
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<td><strong>Adam Knight</strong> (University of Oxford)</td>
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<td>Peer-to-Peer Regulation of Hate Speech on the Chinese Internet</td>
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<td><strong>Natalie Alkiviadou</strong> (University of Central Lancashire Cyprus)</td>
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<td>The 'Privatisation' of Hate Speech Regulation</td>
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<td>16:15-16:30</td>
<td>Coffee Break</td>
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<td>16:30-17:00</td>
<td><strong>Special Lecture</strong></td>
<td>Salle des Thèses</td>
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<td>Chair: Eric Seizelet (Université Paris Diderot, LCAO)</td>
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<td><strong>Seong-Bin Hwang &amp; Taeun Kim</strong> (Rikkyo University)</td>
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<td>The Birth of a New Korea Town, Shin-Okubo: how Culture/Politics has Shaped and Reshaped an ethnic Town in Tokyo</td>
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<tr>
<td>17:15-18:30</td>
<td><strong>Round-Table 1</strong> : How to Define Hate Speech ? Nature, definitions, tools, means and boundaries</td>
<td>Salle des Thèses</td>
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<td>Chair: Jin-Ok Kim (Université Paris Diderot, LCAO)</td>
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<td><strong>Béatrice Turpin</strong> (Cergy-Pontoise University), Language sciences</td>
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<td><strong>Aurélie Jeantet</strong>((Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris 3 University), Sociology of work</td>
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<td><strong>Yuko Kawai</strong> (Rikkyo University), Media studies</td>
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<td><strong>Seong-Bin Hwang</strong> (Rikkyo University), Sociology &amp; media studies (to be confirmed)</td>
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<tr>
<td>19:00</td>
<td><strong>DINNER</strong> in the China Town</td>
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<tr>
<td>09:00-10:00</td>
<td><strong>Session 8: Hate Speech as a Political communication</strong>&lt;br&gt;Chair: Hong Sik Cho (Soongsil University)</td>
<td>Amphi Turing</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Anindita Tagore</strong> (Educational Initiative)&lt;br&gt;Mapping Hate Speech in a Post Truth Politics Era: A Comparison of Europe and South Asia</td>
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<td><strong>Marc Agon Pacoma</strong> (Adamson University)&lt;br&gt;Duterteism, Politicization and Anonymity: Analyzing Netizen's Anti-Roman Catholicism Hate Speeches in Radio News Facebook Page</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00-10:15</td>
<td>Coffee break</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:15-12:00</td>
<td><strong>Session 9: Legal Approach to Hate Speech</strong>&lt;br&gt;Chair: Eric Seizelet (Université Paris Diderot, LCAO)</td>
<td>Amphi Turing</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Ayaka Löschke</strong> (University of Munich)&lt;br&gt;Administrative Measures to Regulate Hate Speech in Japan: A Third Approach to Hate Speech?</td>
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<td><strong>Philippa Hall</strong> (Independent Researcher)&lt;br&gt;Hate Speech Policy: Confronting Gender and Social Class Inequalities</td>
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<td><strong>Srijan Sandip Mandal</strong> (Jain [Deemed-to-be-University])&lt;br&gt;Criminalising Hate Speech or Chilling Free Speech? A Critique of the Proposed Law &quot;Prohibiting Incitement to Hatred&quot; in the Republic of India</td>
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<tr>
<td>12:15-14:00</td>
<td>LUNCH (Light French style)</td>
<td>Near Amphi Turing, 1st floor, room 10-12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Time</td>
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<td>Chair/Presenter</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>14:00-15:45</td>
<td><strong>Session 10 : International Human Right and Comparative Perspectives</strong></td>
<td><strong>Chair:</strong> Marc Agon Pacoma (Adamson University)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Discussant</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Ayako Hatano (University of Tokyo)</strong></td>
<td>Incomplete Internalization of International Human Rights Law?: A Case Study of Hate Speech and Anti-racism Movement in Japan</td>
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<td><strong>Changho Kim (Lawyers Association of Zainichi Koreans)</strong></td>
<td>To What Extent Does International Human Rights Law Have Actual Impact on Domestic Law?: Empirical Analysis on Hate Speech Elimination Act in Japan</td>
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<tr>
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<td><strong>Kuan-Wei Chen (University of Munich)</strong></td>
<td>Regulation on Hate Speech Based on Militant Democracy?: A Comparison of Europe and East-Asian Democracies</td>
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<tr>
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<td><strong>Mamta Rana (University of Petroleum &amp; Energy Studies)</strong></td>
<td>The Scourge of Hate Speech in India: A Comparative Analysis</td>
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<tr>
<td>15:45-16:00</td>
<td><strong>Coffee Break</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>16:00-17:30</td>
<td><strong>Round-Table 2 : Hate Speech Strategies, Actors, and Goals</strong></td>
<td><strong>Chair:</strong> Marie-Orange Rivé-Lasan (Université Paris Diderot, LCAO)</td>
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<td><strong>Gwénaële Calvès (Cergy-Pontoise University), Law</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Nicolas Froeliger, (Paris Diderot University, EILA), Traductology</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Sungsoo Hong (Sookmyung Women's University), Sociology</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Myungsoo Kim (Kwansei Gakuin University), Sociology (to be confirmed)</strong></td>
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<td>17:30-18:00</td>
<td><strong>Concluding Remarks</strong></td>
<td><strong>Intervention of Gilles Guiheux, vice-President for Research, Paris Diderot University</strong></td>
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**LOCATION**

**Workshop Venue**

**Amphi Turing (8)**
Université Paris Diderot, Amphithéâtre Turing, Bâtiment Sophie Germain
8 place Aurélie Nemours - 75013 Paris

**Salle des Thèses (2)**
Halle aux Farines, Hall F, 5th floor, “Salle des thèses”, 580F
10, 16 rue Françoise Dolto 75013 Paris or 9, 15 esplanade Pierre Vidal-Naquet 75013 Paris.

**Restaurants**

**Buffon Restaurant**
Paris Diderot University Professors
17 rue Hélène Brion 75013 Paris

**Korean Buffet**
In the Paris Diderot University Campus
Bâtiment des Grands Moulins, UFR LCAO, Hall C, 4th floor, 479C, 5 rue Thomas Mann, 75013 Paris

**SINORAMA**
135 avenue de Choisy 75013 Paris. Bus 62: “Avenue de France”  <--------> “Choisy-Tolbiac” (12 minutes from the University by bus)
KEYNOTE SPEECH: Making sense of hate speech in a globalized world

Karoline Postel-Vinay
(Sciences Po Center for International Research (CERI), Paris)

KPV is a Research Professor at Sciences Po Center for International Research (CERI) in Paris. She has a dual education background in Japanese studies and political science and has been researching and teaching in both fields since 1995. Her publications cover a range of topics pertaining to Japan's identity politics and relations with Northeast Asia, memory issues and historical controversies in Northeast Asia, non-Western perspectives on international relations, the West/non-West divide in global governance. Her current research projects deal with narratives and counter-narratives of the global, epistemology of International Relations and Areas studies, laughter in international politics.
The internet was supposed to set us free, yet governments across Asia have used online platforms to stifle individual liberty. Until very recently, the internet and social media have been regarded, uncritically, to be tools that empower individuals. It is believed that they help to advance freedom of speech, political participation, and direct democracy. Now, however, social media is at the epicentre of a political thunderstorm defined by fake news, hate speech, privacy breaches, and trolling – all of which seem to be features of democratic and non-democratic countries alike. Much attention has been drawn to the US presidential campaign and the referendum on Britain’s membership of the European Union, but Asia – despite receiving far less attention in this regard – has not escaped scandals and questions about the impact of the digital realm on freedom of speech, privacy, but also social harmony cohesion and trust in state institutions. There has been an assumption over recent years, perhaps a naïve one, that the internet is good for individuals and good for freedom. However, examples in Asia show that states, authoritarian and non-authoritarian, have also acquired strong digital skills, enabling them to take advantage of the opportunities that advancements in technology offers them.

The paper uses cases from South Korea and Myanmar to investigate how mass media, especially the internet, employed in expressing hatred against different minorities. Korea and Myanmar are used to contrast different modes of interaction between hate speech and online activism. Both cases reveal that a starkly dichotomous focus on top-down and bottom-up efforts has outlived its original purpose. A messy empirical reality questions the heuristic usefulness of clear analytical categories.

The widespread use of technology in Korea is a tale of two stories. On the one hand, ICTs strengthen its democracy by increasing participation and accountability. South Korea is the world’s most wired society. Korea’s history of online activism goes back to the Roh Moo-hyun presidential campaign of 2002, when young campaigners effectively pushed former human rights lawyer Roh to the presidency. More recently, months-long candlelight vigils in 2016 and 2017 were aided by social media – mobilising Korean citizens against then president Park, accused of an influence-peddling scandal. On the other hand, however, before that, there was an example of internet manipulation on the part of authorities. The administration of disgraced former president Park Geun-hye, now in jail awaiting trial, suffered a significant blow after it emerged that her presidential campaign had been aided by National Intelligence Service (NIS) members, who posted positive comments in blogs and news sites and targeted then opposition candidate Moon Jae-in during the presidential campaign period in 2012. The current Moon Jae-in administration is not free of scandals, either. In the midst of a thaw in North-South relations, the opposition has accused the Moon government of misleading public opinion by applying a software to engineer multiple ‘likes’ on favourable news headlines, via Facebook and other social media platforms.

The paper’s second case study highlight the darker side of internet freedom and ‘free speech’. Hate speech has dominated Myanmar’s online discussion following the military’s crackdown on the Rohingya population. Vitriolic language and crude images have been used online, to the extent that Facebook has been forced to intervene. Since the government began, unexpectedly and swiftly, through a process of political liberalisation in 2011, Myanmar’s authorities have received much praise internationally. The 2017 Rohingya crisis...
emerged when the armed forces responded to a wave of terrorist attacks with unprecedented brutality. This led to one of the world’s largest refugee crises, and has cast a long shadow on the current Myanmar administration. Apart from the violence on the ground, strong nationalism and anti-Rohingya sentiments have proliferated among Facebook users and on other social media platforms. Gruesome photos and videos, some genuine but many fake, have dominated social media in Myanmar, to the point that Facebook has been forced to respond by blocking users who were fomenting hate speech. Placing the company in a conundrum and exposing the limits of the debate on free speech, Facebook also came under pressure to erase pro-Rohingya campaigns as well, with a high risk of conflating human rights campaigns with more radical groups.

As different as these two cases across Asia are, the paper concludes that Korea and Myanmar are stark reminders that we are far away from the days when internet activism was widely and uncritically acclaimed as a tool for open debate and political participation. More sobering, and realistic, assessments must therefore be made to ensure that the internet fulfils its original mission: to enhance democracy and freedom.

Harnessing Social Media Activism within the Ethnic Enclave: Anti-Hate Speech Protests in Osaka's Korean Ghetto
Sharon Yoon (Ewha Womans University)

In spite of the many advantages of social media in mobilizing unprecedented scales of people and resources, the field is still divided as to whether cyberspace has ultimately led to more effective social movements. Critics have argued that social media has by and large failed to propel lasting change. Using ethnographic data collected between 2013 and 2015, this paper analyzes the relationship between social media and the efficacy of anti-hate speech protests led by resident Korean activists in Japan (zainichi) in Osaka’s Korean enclave. I argue that though social media has been associated with the weakening cohesion and longevity of social movements, when cyber activism is harnessed by core activists who are structurally embedded in the enclave community, the detriments of the new medium can be counterbalanced.

Countering Hate Speech through Education
Katarina Damčević (University of Tartu)

In post-conflict societies such as Croatia the presence of hate speech carries a heavy burden based on collective traumas and contested memories emerging from the past and subsequently manipulated within the political arena. The 1990s Yugoslav Wars remain an explicit and tragic example of the power of language and political rhetoric to incite conflict (Thompson, 1999; Kurspahić, 2003; Kulenović, 2016). Some of the main questions within the debate about countering hate speech have been intertwined with issues regarding free speech and democracy, extremism, and political correctness (Greenawalt, 1995; Hare and Weinstein, 2009; Hughes, 2009; Waldron, 2012).

The ambiguity of the designation of hate speech makes it more difficult to establish concrete, effective, but at the same time non-repressive measures in order to counter it; it is gradually becoming a term prone to misuse and mis-interpretation, especially when its presence is used to further create antagonism towards a particular outgroup from the side of certain political elites. However, this ambiguity can be lessened with the application of a more inclusive notion as well as a model for analysis and education. The model at hand is the dangerous speech model (Maynard and Benesch, 2016) that considers speech in its wider
context, as any speech, text, or image that may lead to violence, but also further marginalization of a group. The elements that the model brings forth are the message itself, the speaker, the audience, cultural context, and mode of dissemination as those constituting dangerous speech. Furthermore, it emphasizes that not every type of speech needs to be explicitly antagonistic in order to be dangerous.

Based on the above, the aim of this paper is twofold. Firstly, an example of dangerous speech that has been on the increase in various instances of Croatian society will be provided and analyzed within the framework of the dangerous speech model. Concretely, the fascist salute *Za dom spremni* ("Ready for the Homeland") used in WWII in the Independent State of Croatia will be problematized (Brentin, 2016; Damčević, Rodik, unpublished manuscript). Secondly, it will be argued that the primary question when it comes to ways of countering dangerous speech is *responsibility* and one of the most promising ways of developing it is through education. The emphasis here is that regardless of whether the factor of intention is present, we need to work on building more awareness of what we say and do and acknowledge that it always leaves a trace on a person and/or group. Therefore, the analysis of the salute will be followed by an inquiry into the potential of its expansion and application within the current proposal of the Croatian language curriculum.

**Combatting Hate Speech at the Local Level: A Comparison of East Asian and European Approach**

Andrew Wolman (City University London)

There are a number of conceptual reasons why some communities might find it desirable to engage in hate speech policy-making at a local rather than (or in addition to) the national level. For example, hate speech could be more common in certain localities, perhaps because immigrants or other minorities congregate in such areas, leading to a greater local desire to address an issue that may not yet have appeared on the national radar. Alternatively, some localities (and local governments) may be more politically progressive than the national norm, and therefore may desire to regulate hate speech more strongly than is done on the national level. Some localities may simply have different priorities in the field of hate speech regulation, due to local social or cultural concerns that are not reflected by national leaders.

Given these potential reasons for local policy-making in the area of hate speech, it is unsurprising that significant numbers of city, town, and provincial governments have attempted to implement policies to combat hate speech. While many of the earliest of these local policies were established (with varying degrees of success) by sub-national entities in the United States and Canada, in recent years European and East Asian local governments have followed suit in a number of instances to establish their own policies and regulations to combat hate speech. To date, however, these policies have been largely ignored by academic researchers, who have naturally tended to focus their attention to national level policy-making.

This paper will take a step towards filling this gap in the research by comparing recent local initiatives to combat hate speech in Europe and East Asia. In particular, I intend to focus my study on policies adopted by three European cities that have implemented programmes to address hate speech, namely Graz, Barcelona, and York, along with two Japanese cities that have recently adopted hate speech ordinances (Osaka and Kawasaki), and Seoul, which has approached the issue of hate speech through the work of the Seoul Human Rights Committee and Seoul Human Rights Ombudsperson Office. While these cities are not intended to be representative of their regional peers, they do each represent prominent
early adopters of human rights-oriented governance in a broad sense. The European cities in particular are closely affiliated to the ‘human rights cities’ movement. For each of these cities, I will explore the motivating factors behind hate speech policies in each region, the relative role of sub-national, national and international actors in policy development, and the use of local, national and/or international legal norms. By doing so, I will attempt to draw lessons for future regulatory development in each region, and broadly address the question of whether there are different styles of hate speech policy making in each region (and if so, why).

**Regulating Hate Speech in Korea since 2010**
Sungsoo Hong (Sookmyung Women's University)

Korea has faced new social issues of ‘hate speech’ against social minorities since 2010. Some suggested that criminalizing hate speech is needed just as European countries has dealt with it, but other insisted that criminalizing hate speech would collide with freedom of speech and hate speech should be addressed by free market of ideas. In the past, Korean progressive groups supported freedom in particular against the state, and conservative groups preferred to restrict freedom to protect the interests of the state or the whole communities. However, in terms of hate speech, the opinions of the two were reversed. In fact, progressive groups in Korea has tried to enact a new hate speech law although it has not been enacted. However, some human rights groups are reluctant to enact this hate speech law, because they supposed that other alternative ways of regulation rather than law criminalizing hate speech. My paper will focus on this suggestion of regulation. This is worthy of notice because this suggestion reflects an important development of human rights and democracy in Korea. This means that leaders of Korean civil society no longer supposes legal enforcement (in particular criminalization) is a single way to regulation. They began to recognize the adverse effects of legal enforcement, and supposed that multi-layered approaches are more useful to tackle social issues such as hate speech.
Session 2  Language, Representation, and Discourse (1)

Different Uses of China and Korea in Hate Books
Yuko Kawai (Rikkyo University)

This paper aims to examine different ways in which so-called “hate books” (heito-bon) use China and Korea to construct a positive Japanese identity. In tandem with the rise of racist demonstrations targeting people of Asian descent in the early 2010s, books and magazine articles that denigrated Korea (and the Koreans) and, to a lesser extent, China (and the Chinese) became popular. Anti-racism movements and the introduction of Japan’s first anti-hate speech law in 2016 suppressed the publication of hate-books between 2015 and 2016. However, in 2017, their popularity resurfaced. A hate-book targeting both Chinese and Koreans, Jukyō ni shihai sareta chūgokujin to kankokujin no higeki (Tragedies of Chinese and Koreans Controlled by Confucianism) (Gilbert 2017) became a bestseller, selling more than 400,000 copies (Nippan 2017; Tohan 2017). The author is Kent Gilbert, a white American lawyer and TV personality in Japan. The publisher is Kōdansha, one of the three largest publishers in Japan.

In my previous study (Kawai, forthcoming), referring to Goldberg’s (1993) theory of the grammar of racialized discourse, I examined the grammar of Japanese racialized discourse, descriptive norms, and style in hate-Korea books. The present study analyzes Gilbert’s 2017 bestseller book and a sequel to the book published in 2018. Expanding the previous study, I investigate different uses of China and Korea in the two hate books. Racism, nationalism, and colonialism are closely related (e.g., Castles 2000; Day & Thompson 2005). Japan has had different historical and colonial relationships with China and Korea, although the two nations have been often summarized as Asia (e.g., Fukuzawa 1885/1997), which has been deployed as Japan’s significant discursive Other along with the West. In this paper, first, I discuss how China and Korea have been used as discursive Others for Japanese identity construction in modern Japan. Second, analyzing the two hate books, I examine the grammar of Japanese racialized discourse, style, and different descriptive norms to represent China and Korea and thereby scrutinize what kind of Japanese identity is constructed.

What does "Hate Speech" in German-speaking Countries Mean?
Liriam Sponholz (CMC, Austrian Academy of Sciences and Alpen-Adria-Universität)

Lack of definition is one of the main problems when identifying and tackling hate speech (Benesch 2014; Saleem et al. 2016; Somerville 2011). On the one hand, working definitions as those from the Council of Europe or from CERD/UNO (General Recommendation 35) have not been able to comprise all the phenomena perceived and labeled as “hate speech” in public debate (Brown 2015). On the other hand, the public attention to the issue triggered by the Web 2.0 has lead to a loss of contour of the concept of hate speech by transforming it into a tantamount to online harassment (Sponholz 2018). Nonetheless, without a clear concept, it is not possible to comprehend it empirically, to identify, to develop strategies to tackle it or to regulate it.

German-speaking countries play a relevant role in the hate speech-debate due to the Holocaust and the role of Nazi-Propaganda during the genocide. This particularity has
consequences to the legal and discursive characteristics of such societies in dealing with hate speech. In both countries, Holocaust denial, for instance, is considered a crime. The issue experienced a new attention burst with the so-called refugee crisis in 2015. Since then, in Austria, “hate posters” must answer for their actions before the courts. In Germany, online haters have been sought by the German Federal Criminal Police Office (Bundeskriminalamt) and since January 2018 social networking sites are compelled to delete contents that contravene laws against incitement to ethnic or racial hatred (Volksverhetzung), among other online crimes.

In spite of such rigorous coping with the problem, loss of contour has also coined the debate in German-speaking countries, turning “hate speech” into a catch-all concept to different forms of cyberhate, from cyberbullying to online incivility, and opening the doors for its political instrumentalization.

Based on the concept of hate speech of critical race theory (Matsuda 1989; Delgado and Stefancic 2004), this paper aims: a) to display forms and meanings of hate speech in the public debate in Austria and in Germany; and b) to analyse the differences between Hasspostings (online hate comments), Hassrede (hate-filled speech), Hetze (incitement to ethnic or racial hatred) and Volksverhetzung (juridical concept of incitement to ethnic or racial hatred). Finally it attempts to illustrate how the distinguished labels have been politically instrumentalized to overshadow hate propaganda and to highlight online political incivility of non-public figures.

Towards the Metaphor of Garden: Debates on Hate Speech from Eastern Europe
Piotr Toczyski (Maria Grzegorzewska University)

The aim of this paper will be a detailed description of debates on hate speech in quality media in an Eastern European society discourse. I will refer to semi-peripheral context of the debate. The Polish legal system, unlike American, Austrian or British law, does not contain the concept of hate speech. Due to the fact that this phenomenon is strongly dependent on the context, it is difficult to define. To a larger extent, it consists in attributing negative traits, and often calling for taking discriminatory actions against a given social group, the one to which membership is perceived as "natural" (top-down), and is not the result of free choice. Such fluid boundaries result in heated debates referring to either Western European or American examples. One such debate was in 2012. Open letter by the editor-in-chief of "Tygodnik Powszechny" and the president of the board of its publishing house was published in a major Polish weekly "Tygodnik Powszechny" on July 24, 2012. "We are all in this cesspool - the language of hatred is poured out with impunity from everywhere. Any topic, any forum (if it's quite popular) and the hate starts with an indispensable anti-Semitic chorus" - the major Polish weekly Tygodnik Powszechny appealed to the Minister of Justice and Prosecutor General for initiating the process of implementing the responsibility for hate speech online. It was accompanied by signatures of other editors, publishers, professors and one professorial separate vote. The letter referred to French law and certainly initiated the wide discussion. The weekly pointed out that the method for mastering this phenomenon might be changes in Polish law, as well as increasing the role of moderation on online forums and blogs. Tygodnik Powszechny's appeal provoked an ardent heated debate in Poland on the need to increase the penalization of hate speech, the extension of art. 256 of the Penal Code, which in its current form reads: whoever publicly promotes a fascist or other totalitarian state system or calls for hatred on the basis of national, ethnic, racial or denominational differences, is subject to a fine, imprisonment or imprisonment of up to 2
years. However, it was not the first such letter in the Polish media. Three years earlier, in Gazeta Wyborcza (August 10, 2009), the text "Chamstwo hula w Internecie" was published, in which Jacek Żakowski discussed the resignation of a sensitive volleyball player from a career after commenting on internauts proposed an agreement between large corporations, owners of the largest Polish portals for radical change situation. In response, a text polemicizing the text of Żakowski appeared from the perspective of the Internet publisher entitled "Censorship does not soften morals on the internet". In the newspaper "Metro" from April 2, 2012 you could also read the text by Anita Karwowska "Because a Pole in the network needs rudeness": "200 thousand. young Poles take daily "portions of rudeness". They find it on the Chamsko portal, where anti-Semitic, racist, degrading women and Catholics are among the vulgar images. On Facebook, the website has liked almost 87,000 in less than a year. The site is rapidly gaining popularity, within an hour it can be "laced" by several dozen people. " (...) Its owners say that every day the portal visits 200 thousand. users. (...) We've been watching the portal for several days. We've found dozens of drawings, photo montages and movies filled with the language of hatred. (...) Chamsko acts like other websites with films, photo montages and graphics uploaded by Internet users - every registered user can share content there to make a laugh together." I will categorize this discourse and its metaphors. The metaphors regarding content generated in the Internet by the users within the framework of the new genres of multimedia imply varying degrees of responsibility with reference to the physical, logical and thematic layers of the Internet. The understatements they include vary depending on the metaphors used in the current debate: a “letter to the editor”, “Speakers’ Corner at the Hyde Park”, “graffiti on a wall” or a “garden”. They describe both the level of the information medium itself and the meaning at the intratextual – semantic level. As the metaphors apply both to extra- and intratextual factors, my conclusion will also refer to new digital genres. In order to understand the current tension between the freedom of expression and the responsibility for the online content, it is vital that the mechanism behind the creation of new kinds of online communication be clarified.

How Conflict is Verbalised in Counter-narratives to the Jihadist Discourse
Laura Ascone & Laurène Renaut (Université de Cergy-Pontoise)

Since 2015, more than twelve terrorist attacks have hit France. This has led researchers and professionals to investigate both the phenomenon of jihadist radicalisation and the strategies to be adopted in order to counter jihadist propaganda. This research examines the emergence of new counter-narratives in the French public sphere. In an “argumentative war” (Angenot, 2008), that is a war based on language, both emotions and the relation between the speaker's community and the other, play a crucial role. Therefore, this study focuses on three main points: the way the speaker represents and relates to the other, the speech acts allowing the speaker to act on the other and/or on the discourse's addressee, and the role emotions play in counter-narratives (Lombardi, 2015).

This interdisciplinary research was conducted on a heterogeneous corpus of three different counter-narratives. The first sub-corpus consisted of the articles and videos produced by the French government as part of its stopdjihadisme campaign; the second sub-corpus included a memorial discourse composed of both the profiles the newspaper Le Monde draw of all the victims of the Paris and Nice terrorist attacks, and five songs produced in reaction to the attacks that hit France these last three years; the third sub-corpus consisted of the discourse of six jihadist repentants. By comparing these sub-corpora, our goal was to determine the linguistic strategies that would allow to counter the jihadist hate speech.
A quanti-qualitative approach was adopted to examine both the general features and the specificities of these three discourses. On the one hand, the software *Tropes* and its scenario *Emotaix* were employed to investigate the discourse from a semantico-pragmatic perspective as well as to analyse the expression of emotions. On the other hand, the qualitative analysis allowed to identify and examine different features that might have passed unnoticed.

This study revealed that the three discourses show crucial differences in the way the speaker represents the *other*, in the way he acts on it through language, and in the role played by emotions. More precisely, the governmental counter-narrative features an antagonist conflict between the speaker’s community and the *other*, which makes counter-narrative differ from any other institutional discourse (Krieg-Planque, 2012). On the contrary, the memorial discourse tends to smooth out conflict by focusing on the speaker’s community. By basing its confrontation with the *other* on anti-conflictuality, the memorial discourse reinforces the national unity and implicitly becomes a form of counter-narrative. Finally, the discourse of the jihadist repentants shows an internal conflict and proved to be a form of propaganda through the storytelling. The direct confrontation with the *other* is then overcome by an “I” that is both divided and united: the “I” before, during and after the radicalisation process. The goal of this research was to examine the rhetorical strategies adopted in different types of counter-narrative, in order to contribute to the production of new discourses that would allow to counter the jihadist hate speech.
Another Aspect of Japanese Hate Publishing: between Magazines and Books
Chihiro Watanabe (University of Tokyo)

Last year in 2017, the publication of the anti-Korean and Chinese book named *Jukyo ni Shihi sare-ta Kankoku-jin to Chugoku-jin no Higeki* (The Tragedy of Chinese and Koreans enslaved by Confucianism) caused a great impact not only on Japanese publishing industry but on everyone who knew the book as one of the best-selling books in Japan. At the last conference, I explained the reason why Japanese publishers produce hate books mainly by analyzing the function of the books called in Japan *jimbun-sho* or *shinsho* which contain educational contents. However, there are another significant reasons which has been mostly ignored by hate studies and publishing studies.

In this study, I explain the emergence of hate books in Japan since the early 2000s by analyzing the superiority of magazines to books in the Japanese publishing industry. This inferiority of books is deeply concerned with the editor's motivation to produce hate books. This research of hate books is mainly based on mainly hate studies, Japanese publishing studies, and media studies. Firstly, publishing studies reveal the significant feature of Japanese publishing industry which places more importance on magazines than on books from the points of view of markets, logistics, and organized systems in publishing companies. In the 1990s, hate publishing was mainly based on magazines, so the flood of hate books in the 2000s and the 2010s can be considered as the counterattack by book publishers in the Japanese hate publishing market. Secondly, hate studies and media studies give indispensable suggestion to analyze the contents of hate books which strongly indicate book editors' motivation and the aspects of hate discourse as personal development. Actually, considerable readers in Japan accepted hate books as those for personal development and that is why Japanese editors has been eager to publish hate books. Finally, this research sheds light on the characteristics of commercial publishing itself journalism. Those characteristics has been sympathized by haters who recognize journalism by newspapers and TVs as *masu-gomi* (the media like a garbage).

This research reveals the significance of focusing on the industrial structure of the Japanese publishing market when discussing about the rise of hate books. Though the discussion cannot directly answer the question why hate is a sellable/buyable product, to know even the contents of hate books are deeply influenced by the history and the habit of Japanese publishing industry is necessary when considering about hate publishing, one of the most influential form of hate speech. Also, this study must be helpful to consider about the criminality or legality of hate speech and its relationship to free speech or freedom of expression.
Criminal Trials on Hate Speech on Social Media in Russia and Its Media Representations
Ekaterina Grishaeva (Ural Federal University)

In Russia the number of criminal trials for dissemination of hate speech has grown up from 120 in 2011 to 460 in 2017 (Kurilova 2018). Giving a loose definition of extremist actions, the Law on extremism from 2002 defines hate speech as a form of extremism: “propaganda of exclusivity, superiority or inferiority of citizens on the basis of their attitude to religion, social, racial, national, religious or linguistic affiliation” (Federal Law N 114 FZ of July 25, 2002). The punishment for hate speech as extremist action is regulated by the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation (the CCRF). The Article 282 of the CCRF provides for punishment of “Actions directed to incite hatred or enmity, as well as to humiliate the dignity of a person or a group of persons on grounds of sex, race, nationality, language, origin, attitude to religion”. The Article 148 of the CCRF declares punishable the insult of religious feelings of a believer. The CCRF provides for prosecution for social media posts and reposts that disseminate hate speech. About the half of the posts leading to sentences for inciting hatred were made on Vkontakte, the Russian social network site which is owned by pro-Kremlin businessmen Alisher Usmanov. According to the experts, criminal trials for social media post and repost in some cases are used to put a political pressure for political active citizens who criticise the political regime (Torocheshnikova 2018). The police also benefit from this situation by reporting a high number of solved extremist cases and receiving subsidies for it. Some criminal trials for social media posts and reposts have received wide media coverage: state media justify the decision, while discuss non-transparency of trial investigations and procedural violations. I consider various media positions expressed on this issue as public opinions expressed on the “mediatized public sphere” (Rasmussen, 2014). In my paper I analyse state and oppositional media representations (Van Dijk 1993) of the two different, but prominent cases:
- 2018 Mary Matuznaya’s case, who had reposted memes insulting the religious feelings
- 2016 Ekaterina Vologzheninova’s case, who had reposted information about Ukraine and the caricatures of President Vladimir Putin

I argue, that media representations reveals the dominate opinions in the Russian mediatized public sphere and in a way shape audience opinions on these issues.

A Grain of Truth in Every Joke: Case Study on Hate Speech in Entertainment Shows in Korea and the UK
Haeyeon Kim (New York University)

This study presents an in-depth analysis of hate speech shown in entertainment TV shows in Korea and the UK. Humor codes can never be fully universal and may vary depending on the time we are living in. Entertainment shows mainly contain two significant factors of the country they represent; cultural/historical background and the implication of the minorities’ social standings. Core commonalities and differences exist between the Korea and the UK, but both countries’ shows tend to depict “others” as entertaining to see and talk about. The created “otherness” then lead to various responses such as reinforcement of prior beliefs or awareness and realization of unintended bias. How can we solve this two-sided impact of hate speech and offensive remarks on shows that are made for the purpose of laughter and fun? Would implementing stricter regulations on the TV industry serve as a solution? This
paper pays attention to the communicative process of entertainment shows and their unique characteristics, including the working environment in which the shows are made.
In recent years, the responsibility for regulating online hate speech has often fallen into the hands of corporations that host social networking websites, such as YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter. In many cases, these corporations have attempted to develop automated systems that delete content almost as soon as it is posted, but “the performance of existing automated methods at identifying specific types of hate speech - as opposed to identifying non-hate - is still very unsatisfactory” due to the volume of content and the nuanced language in which hate speech can sometimes be phrased (Zhang and Luo 2018).

Another method has been to rely on users of their websites to manually report content that violates site rules and community guidelines. In the case of YouTube, videos will not be censored and channels will not be banned until multiple users “flag” videos for review by the site’s administrators. While this is a reasonable limit on the power of individual users, it creates a situation in which videos containing hateful content can remain online if not enough users take the time to manually report them.

In a previous paper, presented at the 1st International Workshop on Hate Speech in Asia and Europe, I examined the case of right-leaning Japanese YouTubers, observing that “in absence of a public outcry” against such YouTubers, it would be unlikely that their videos or channels would face censorship or deletion (Hall 2018).

This paper focuses on a notable change that has taken place among Japanese internet users. Beginning in May 2018, netizens on the online bulletin board 5ch.net came together to launch an aggressive campaign against “racist and hate videos” hosted on the right-wing Japanese Youtube channels. Their collective action, which came to be called the “Neto-uyo Spring 2018 Ban Festival” (ネトウヨ春のBAN祭り), involved the coordinated reporting of various right-leaning Japanese YouTube videos, and resulted in the ban and deletion of thousands of videos from the site. Some popular channels, such as those of “Texas Daddy” Tony Marino (over 84,000 subscribers) and Boukoku no Aegis (over 174,000 subscribers), appear to have been permanently banned from YouTube due to the hate speech reports from participants in the “festival.”

While outlining this remarkable case of online collective action, this paper will focus on how right-leaning YouTubers and media outlets have fought back against the censorship. In some cases, such as that of the extremely popular “Kazuya Channel” (over 525,000 subscribers), channels were initially removed by YouTube but later re-instated after an appeal from the channel creators (Sankei Shimbun 2018). In other cases, such as those of Tachibana Takashi (over 167,000 subscribers) and Takeda Tsuneyasu (over 156,000 subscribers), they simply recreated their YouTube channels under new titles and have resumed the spread of their messages to tens of thousands of users. Through an examination of content created by banned content creators and sympathetic media outlets, this paper argues that the “ban festival” has achieved very limited success, and that notable right-wing Japanese content creators have still survived, despite the vigorous efforts of anti-hate campaigners. This raises questions about the power of internet users to challenge hateful content creators, and the commitment of content hosting sites to implement anti-hate policies.
Hate Speech in Society: Strategic Focalisation and Responsibility
Narendra Kumar (Jawaharlal Nehru University)

Most recent couple of years the Worldwide and EU-organizations are giving careful consideration to the marvel of online hate speech and recognize this as a becoming dangerous crosswise over and beyond Europe. In such manner, the 2015 ECRI report features online despise discourse as one of the main patterns of the earlier year, underscoring that “hate speech through social media is rapidly increasing and has the potential to reach a much larger audience than extremist print media were able to reach previously”. Additionally UNESCO has as of late centered around this developing issue, mapping and dissecting the current activities to battle online detest discourse in their complete 2015 report “Countering online hate speech”. Therefore, the means of hate speech are changing with their absolute nature of power. In the democratic society, the dilemma of free speech and hate speech absorb the structure of the society. With this perspective, freedom of expression conglomerate with the two question: one is, what type of structural crisis is going on in the society, the other one, the truth comes out in the way of ‘what ought to be’. But the question is that where we should draw the line about the hate speech and free expression.

The other part of this paper evaluate the gain of political currency through hate speech. In Europe and Asia (especially in India), role of hate speech in social media is increasing to gain the political currency with the phenomenon of construction of the ‘others’. The nature of hate speech and the profit of hate project the right wing web in a new avtaar. What are the practices in social media by which the criteria of extremism has been changed? Is it youth who have propagated the right wing extremism on social media? Where they did get the training to explore the right wing extremism? Is it a new right wing formation with social media, the more updated the media they use? The next level comes with the emotional conservatism which propagate the rigidity with practising ideology. And that conservatism used with the practice of strategic focalization. Whereas, right wing forces select the areas to develop the hate mongering. And how does the emotional conservatism bind the vote bank with their favour? Therefore, this paper will try to evaluate the new horizons of new right wing web with their political currency. And also look at the emotional conservatism through the hate speech. In this regard the paper encourages a new research to focus on social media networks and the appeal of the content and activities to the right wing followers. In this process, the practices likes, shares, comments, and liked comments on social media will be studied with the comparative analysis of Asia (especially in India) and Europe.

From Hate Phrases to Arrests: Hate Speech in the Service of the Hindu Nation
Parnal Chirmuley (Jawaharlal Nehru University)

In the year 2014, the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) came to power in India. In the course of these past four years, particular vocabularies of hate have found space in the mainstream of the current Indian political discourse in new ways. This paper will focus on the recent arrests, on 28 August 2018, of five human rights activists, and trace a trajectory of hate speech directed at voices critical of the party in power through a partisan mainstream news media.
The BJP is the political wing of the right wing Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), which terms itself a ‘cultural organisation’, and has the establishment of a Hindu Rashtra (nation) as a core objective. This paper will take a closer look at the published work of early
ideologues such as M. S. Golwalkar, to examine ways in which the RSS codifies religion as an axis of belonging and citizenship. It will also highlight the political inspiration it draws from the treatment of minorities in Europe, such as of the Jews in Nazi Germany, to argue that not only is hate speech under the present government geared towards coding dissent as 'anti-national', but to incite direct public action through targeted violence against individuals, groups, and particular minorities. This paper will also look at the specific terminologies of hate - such as 'anti-national', 'love-jihad', 'urban-Naxal' (drawing upon the peasant uprising that began in Naxalbari in Bengal in the 1960s, but using it to connote 'urban terrorist' in the present), 'half Maoist', ‘free sex’ (referring to feminists), ‘tukde tukde gang’ (referring to university students, intellectuals, and civil society as a whole claiming that those who oppose the fascist RSS are in favour of the ‘dismemberment’ of the - Hindu - nation), 'left-liberal' - and argue that not only do these carefully crafted terms deployed as hate speech play upon the prevailing fissures in Indian society, that they are deployed in the ultimate service of building a Hindu nation by defining terms of belonging and citizenship. In order to do so, this paper will also reflect on other recent instances of violence against student leaders, rationalists, and journalists (in some cases even planned assassinations) who have been critical of the present party in power, and especially the RSS, which, as this paper will show with examples from published work of ideologues from the ‘family’ of organisations that drew inspiration from fascisms in Europe in the 1940s. This paper will also discuss the role of social and news media in deploying the aforementioned terminologies of hate to incite direct violence. With the help of the specific example of the naming of protesting university students as ‘anti national’ (or as ‘tukde tukde gang’), this paper will discuss the carefully orchestrated criminalisation of dissent, and also attempt to consider the question of why there is no straight road to legal redressal through laws against hate speech or hate crimes.
Throughout its history (1948-present), South Korean society has been permeated by discursive and legal structures dedicated towards maintaining anti-communist hegemony. A crucial feature anchoring this hegemonic system has been the construction of an ontological communist “other” along the friend/enemy schism outlined by the German philosopher Carl Schmitt. Within this framework, real and imagined leftist have been subjected to a litany of slurs, including “ppalgaengi” (“red”), “pulsun punja” (“impure person”), “chongbukja” (pro-north person), “p’oktoja” (rioter), and “chwap’a” (“leftist’), to name a few. The latent violence of these nomenclatures reached its apogee during the Korean civil war (1948-1954), when thousands of alleged “leftists” and their families were slaughtered by ROK forces and right-wing militias. In the aftermath, survivors and victims’ relatives were subjected to discrimination, surveillance, and the so-called “guilt by association system” (yŏnjwaje).

This paper examines the discursive politics surrounding the memory of the victims of civil war era anti-leftist violence during the 1960-1961 period. With the collapse of the government of Syngman Rhee in 1960, a brief period of relative political liberty was opened up. In this milieu, victims’ families formed bereaved family associations (yujokhoe), and demanded clarification, restitution, and the right to grieve their loved ones. These demands led to a rightist counter-response which culminated in the persecution of bereaved families following Park Chung-Hee’s 1961 military coup. At stake in this year-long conflict, I argue, were a series of interrelated contestations over the identity of the victims, the legitimacy of the southern state, and the meaning of the nation’s post-colonial civil war.

I offer a case study of the ideological terrain and semiotic topographies on which these battles were fought, paying particular attention to the rhetorical repertoires invoked by actors on each side of this political chasm. Specifically, I examine each respective camp’s use of semiotic markers to bifurcate South Korean society along nationalistic lines. For the bereaved families, the once-maligned “ppalgaengi” were repositioned as “martyrs” and “patriots” for an imaginary democratic unified nation state, while the police and security forces were labeled as “collaborators” (ch’inilp’a) and betrayers of the South Korea “nation” (minjok). Conversely, rightists continued to use slurs such as “ppalgaengi” and “pulsun punja” to label bereaved families. The boundaries of this contest were shaped by the ideology of anticommunism, while its outcome was determined by the national security state in favour of the rightists. This analysis of the discursive terrain of the Korean War past circa 1960-1961 sheds light on the intersections between war memory, political identity, trauma, semiotic devices, and the role of power in shaping the ideological contours of South Korea’s still-unfulfilled reckoning with its violent past.
Religion and Politics in Korean Public Sphere: The Case of Hate Speech against Yemeni Refugees in 2018
Hong Sik Cho (Soongsil University)

The role of religion in contemporary Korean political discourse has rather been limited since independence in 1945. The religious criteria have never been a determinant variable in political discourse, nor in the electoral process, neither in the identity of political forces. With the democratization of Korean politics since the 1980’s, several issues related to religion have emerged such as the problem of conscientious objectors to military conscription, or the refusal of religious activities in some secondary-level education. That is why the sudden mobilization of public opinion in 2018 against the Yemeni refugees and the Islamic world was a surprise for observers of Korean politics. More than 600 000 persons participated to the petition against refugees addressed to the presidential office; the degree of hate in internet discussion fora was extremely violent.

My aim in this research is threefold. First, I wish to identify and analyze the nature and major characteristics of this massive mobilization around a tiny problem concerning only several hundreds of Yemeni refugees. In this sense, the mobilization has been against a predominantly imaginary problem. Of special interest will be the analysis of the islamophobic arguments in the Korean context of religion and politics. Second, I will analyze the reaction of Korean society to this xenophobic discourse both on the discursive and social mobilization level. At first sight, it seems that the configuration opposes the xenophobic populist side against the traditional progressive left-wing camp. The relative silence of the government on this problem reflects the contradiction of the issue; a popular mobilization with a xenophobic agenda. Third, I will introduce some comparisons with similar cases of islamophobic mobilization in Western societies, especially in Western Europe. In many aspects, the Korean xenophobic discourse has imported the Western European arguments against the so-called ‘Islamic culture’ and has mobilized Western European experiences as cases of failures in dealing with Muslims.

Through the analysis of this case, several perspectives can be highlighted. In the 21st century, specific forms of hate speech such as the xenophobic islamophobic discourse seem to travel quite easily across international frontiers. At the same time, the same discourse goes through a process of adaptation and transformation to the specific social and political context. Finally, the relationship between this kind of hate speech and the formation-transformation of national identity should be analyzed.

Gapjil: Hate Speech from Power Elites in South Korea
Myungkoo Kang & Sojeong Park (Seoul National University)

Gapjil, an absurd and authoritarian attitude or hate speech of people taking advantage of their socioeconomic power over others, has arisen as problematic social phenomenon in South Korea. In recognition of its severity, this article attempts to illuminate Gapjil as a unique form of hate speech that needs to be explicated with contextual understanding. While Gapjil encompasses a variety form of power abuse and happens at different levels of relationship, this article categorizes it based on the types of power exerted: economic power, status power, and symbolic power. Taking advantage of asymmetrical power relations, those who hold the power exploit, disregard and even assault those who are subordinate to them. This unique but prevalent form of power abuse in Korean society needs to be explained in Korean sociocultural context. Gapjil has been persisted and even allowed based on Korean
way of thinking and socializing: firstly, in Korea, there is a strong hierarchical culture in which people recognize each other based on the socioeconomic status; secondly, Koreans have strong desire for recognition, which leads to extorted meritocracy; last but not least, Koreans tend to build strong belongingness to or identification with their community rather than to respect individuality. Due to these cultural peculiarities of Korean society, Koreans are used to putting up with absurdity in their own community and are reluctant to whistleblowing, thereby making it difficult to break out of a vicious circle of Gapjil. Recently, however, the notion of belongingness is going through a shift, which has made Gapjil perceived as not just an unreasonable phenomenon but also a form of hate speech. Thus this article delves into Gapjil in terms of the belongingness in Korean society, giving particular attention to Korean Air Gapjil, which happened in April 2018 as the most striking incident that triggered social debate on Gapjil.

Combating Sexist Hate Speech in South Korea
Jiso Yoon & Sooyeon Lee (Korea Women's Development Institute)

On May 19, two days after the commemoration of the Gangnam murder, approximately 10,000 women assembled in Seoul to condemn the police for their biased investigation of the case regarding a female model who leaked nude photos of a male colleague posing for a fine art class at Hongik University. Protesters claimed that the police had responded rapidly to this case because the victim was a male rather than the typical female seen in most sexual abuse cases. As one protester stated, “Two years ago the police were reluctant to label the Gangnam murder case a hate crime against women, but with the nude photo case the police are probing the link with an online feminist group and sexual harassment.” As this example shows, phrases like “hate crime against women/men” and “sexist hate speech” are appearing frequently in the media and in everyday conversation in Korea today. What is sexist hate speech, and how should democratic societies react in order to combat hate speech?

Discussions on ways to regulate hate speech have recently emerged, but few studies specifically focus on “sexist” forms hate speech. Furthermore, few studies to date have examined the details and contents of sexist hate speech and victims’ responses. Our paper aims to fill this gap by first investigating the actual conditions of sexist hate speech in today’s South Korea, by focusing on sexist hate speech targeting women. Furthermore, we suggest specific legal and non-legal measures to combat sexist hate speech.

We relied on two distinct methods to examine women’s experiences with sexist hate speech. First, we collected cases posted on prominent online communities for their female dominant membership (e.g., Women's Generation, Women's Generation in Transition, Zzukbbang, and Instiz). Additionally, we conducted in-depth interviews with female college students. Our goal was to identify the emotional and psychological effects of exposure to hate speech, and whether they are short- or long-term consequences. In line with previous studies on hate speech (Bard & Sangrey 1986; Leets & Giles 1997; Leets 2002), we found that exposure to hate speech is related to both short-term emotional responses (e.g., anger and sorrow) and long-term effects (e.g., trauma and fear). Furthermore, exposure to sexist hate speech erodes both interpersonal and generalized trust (for a detailed discussion, see Näsi et al. 2015; Putnam 2000; Uslander 2002). Some women felt devastated after hearing sexist hate speech from family members, whereas others eventually became distrustful of a partner with whom they have a close relationship, as well as other men in general.

Finally, we also built a web crawler to search for keywords like nyeon (slang for woman) and yeogabu (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family) in posts of popular online communities.
(e.g., natepann, daum, naver). Through this process, we gathered over 100 community posts containing sexist hate expressions. We grouped these sexist hate expressions into distinct categories and suggest different methods (e.g., youth education vs. legal sanctions) to combat them.
Session 6  Xenophobia and Islamophobia

BorderLines: Xenophobic Discourses against Migrants and Refugees in Europe
Snezhina Gabova (Sofia Development Association)

This paper analyzes the polarizing effects of the migrant crisis on social cohesion in Europe, manifested in xenophobic discourses across 7 EU countries (Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Greece, Italy, Romania, and the UK). The findings presented draw upon a study of hate speech online against migrants and refugees conducted within the project Coalitions of Positive Messengers to Counter Online Hate Speech. Select national media sources and their social media pages were monitored during a 2-month period in 2016 and 2017. The research confirmed the hypothesis that online hate speech increases around a relevant event and peaks immediately after an unexpected event or immediately before a planned political event, e.g. elections. The most significant findings show: 1) clear evidence of a strong link between negative attitudes towards migrants and the national social and economic context; 2) an increase and clustering of cyber hate around the coverage of current events; 3) a ubiquitous conflation of refugees and migrants in xenophobic discourses; 4) strong evidence of the normalization of xenophobic discourses in mainstream media and by political actors. The paper presents preliminary conclusions of a broader political scope and demonstrates further correlations between the levels of online hate speech and narratives of violence against migrants and refugees and integration policies.

Hate Speech against Muslims in Myanmar
Madlen Krueger (University of Muenster)

In this paper I will discuss how the government in Myanmar is dealing with ethnic and religious hate speech. My discussion will focus on the Buddhist nationalist group MaBaTha which is mobilising against the Muslim minority, especially the Rohingyas, and the way the government is dealing with this group from a legal point. One focus will be on the secular code of law. The other aspect is how Buddhist religious authority, namely the State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee, react to hate speeches by Buddhist monks.

Furthermore, I will show how religion and ethnicity are instrumentalized and in what way different religious groups react to hate speech and their interpretation of the government’s approach towards hate speech.

Since the opening of the country in 2011 Myanmar has been struggling with an uprise in anti-Muslim violence and hate speeches against the Muslim minority, led by Buddhist nationalist groups. At the forefront of these groups is the Association for the Protection of Race and Religion, better known under its Burmese acronym MaBaTha. One of its leaders, U Wirathu, has gained popularity even in the West. In 2013 the Time Magazine featured him on its cover under the title “The Face of Buddhist Terror”. Since then U Wirathu has been the highly controversial face of MaBaTha and the most outspoken promoter of violence against Muslims in general.

MaBaTha as an organization has a long history of changing its name after recurrent conflicts with the law. It had its roots in the 969 movement founded in 2013 with the declared aim to protect Burmese Buddhist identity. After a government ban it was renamed MaBaTha.
Subsequently, the organization has been operating under the name Buddha Dhamma Parahita Foundation since another ban in 2017.

U Wirathu himself was imprisoned in 2003 under the military government for his speeches against Muslims. With the opening of the country he was released in 2012. However, in 2017 he was banned for a year by the State Sangha Maha Nayaka Committee from delivering public sermons due to his speeches encouraging violence. His public praising of the assassination of U Ko Ni, a prominent Muslim lawyer, in January 2017 fuelled public criticism against him.

The examples of MaBaTha and U Wirathu highlight the ambivalent approach of the governmental and religious authorities. On a wider level this reflects the diverse religious and ethnic landscape of Myanmar.

Cyber-Islamophobia in China
Ying Miao (Aston University)

Most debates on populist discourses in recent years are in contrast to pluralism and democracy, predominantly looking at Euro-American societies. Less attention has been paid to how these views manifest in authoritarian states where political expression and participation is controlled and limited. This paper examines the recent rise of Islamophobic hate speech in the Chinese cyberspace, especially in the context of the renewed emphasis for the Sinicisation of Islam in the official narrative.

Bolstered by official policies, Islamophobic hate speech have become increasingly salient online in the last few years with the central idea that Muslims in China have to pick sides: they must either be Sinicised or Arabised, with the former choice denoting peaceful integration, and the latter choice signalling sinister associations with Islamic fundamentalism and extremism. Particular attention is paid to cultural symbolisms such as Halal, with as the spread of Halal seen as encroaching upon Han Chinese lifestyles and autonomy, resulting in both backlashes both online and offline.

Using popular opinion leaders on Chinese social media as case studies, this paper argues that key Islamophobic actors regularly employs populist tactics to create moral panics that effectively ‘other’ Muslim populations and cultures in China. By implying that non-Sinicised Muslims are under the influence of Arab fundamentalist influences, religious autonomy becomes political betrayal and hate speech is legitimised. Elements of hate speech is then subsumed in the official narrative calling for ethnic loyalty to the Chinese nation, which presents a unique challenge to the Chinese Party-state as Islamophobic discourses both legitimises state-sponsored autocratic control in Muslim regions, but also could potentially bring destabilisation to an already fragile ethnic relationship between Muslim minorities and the Han majority.
The Indian penal code contains several provisions against hate speech, i.e. Section 295A (insulting religious feelings) or 153A (causing disharmony or enmity between communities). Although being designed to protect the dignity and freedom of all citizens, the existent hate speech laws continue to be also used to silence dissent. Under the Modi government, hate speech is often based on allegations of sedition against liberal, leftist, or Muslim individuals and groups. This situation also facilitates the suppression of free speech by creating fear of vigilantism and thus leading to self-censorship.

A changing media landscape has accelerated the emergence of a digital public sphere allowing for a wide and diverse range of expression, which consequentially had to be included into legal speech regulations. Particularly social media create an interactive public sphere and are characterized by converging practices of production and consumption. In this environment, hate speech as well as counter-speech can flourish. Until 2008, the Indian government censored Internet content only sporadically. The Mumbai terror attacks in November 2008 mark a turning point. Upon learning that the assassins used digital media for communication and coordination, the Indian parliament passed amendments to the Information Technology Act, expanding the scope for monitoring social media by linking it to dangerous anti-national activities. Until its abolition in 2015, Section 66A of the IT Act was particularly controversial for being vague and repeatedly misused for political interests. The section allowed for high fines and jail penalties up to three years for transmitting information deemed “grossly offensive” and causing hatred, enmity, or injury. Thus, the Indian press, activists, and citizen journalists celebrated the abolition as a decisive victory for the right to free speech.

Within this context, this paper seeks to examine two different forms of digital hate speech in India. The first one concerns hate speech trials and accusations of anti-nationalism against liberal scholars that are reverberated by intense online hate speech against the accused individuals. For example, the historian Romila Thapar was attacked for a conglomerate of ideas and values she represents, including her stance against communalist historiography. Other scholars have faced dismissals, suppression of academic publication and aggression related to their expressed feminism and critical views of history and contemporary politics. The second form of hate speech refers to the increasing cases of communal violence fuelled by and documented on social media. These include cases of lynching, as the infamous Rajasthan murder case proudly documented on YouTube by the perpetrator himself.

A preliminary reading of the contemporary Indian online discourse suggests that three intersecting categories dominate hateful speech: minority/religion, gender/sexism, and nationalism/sedition. This paper aims at understanding these partly conflicting dynamics that open up several research questions: Which groups do make frequent use of hate speech laws? Who are the main targets? How does the current legislation facilitate the persecution of discriminating online speech and at the same time accommodate the repeated misuse of these laws to suppress dissent? How does the online sphere allow for strategies of counter-speech and resistance?
This paper aims to investigate the linkages between social media and hate crimes against minorities in India from 2014 to present. The paper aims to establish a connection between narratives that criminalise minorities, in the name of Hindu nationalism, and subsequently normalise hate speeches and crimes.

There has been a rising trend in incidents of violence against women, rape, lynching and murders against minorities, in particular against the Muslims, since the last four years. A concerted campaign was unveiled against journalists and media organisations who wrote and criticized the Indian government’s silence and inaction against hate speech and crimes. The growing number of incidents, including murders, alongside spreading a culture of hatred have been attributed to hate tweets, fake WhatsApp messages, trolls and speeches. As a result, social media companies have been asked to appoint grievance officers in India. They also have been attributed to the Indian State’s deliberate obliviousness to these incidents; its appropriation of mainstream media to peddle hate stories, lionize those who indulge in hate speeches and perpetrate hate crimes and importantly criminalise all those who criticised.

I want to locate this study and its dynamics at a junction where media, politics and culture crisscross each other. However, in the Indian context, it is not so cut and dry. It is more nuanced where historical, legal and ideological forces and meanings come into play and accentuate the importance of hate speech which could help identify its cause and if possible find a cure. Which is why, I think, a study of this kind is more unique at this point in time in India considering the alarming rise in online hate speech and hate crimes.

The paper would draw largely from the hate speech data base, of elected representatives of and parliamentarians of the ruling party, compiled by one of the leading media organisations in India apart from analyzing hate speeches and tweets on facebook, WhatsApp and Twitter mostly by members and trolls who owe allegiance to the ruling dispensation and its parent organisation. The study will also draw from insights- select interviews with journalists, elected political representatives, members of civil society organisations and legal experts.

The proposed paper delves into the methods that may be employed in regulating internet hate speech. It builds on the author’s previous work (Free Market Place of Ideas: Applying the Approach of the UN Human Rights Committee and the European Court of Human Rights in Philippine Hate Speech Cases) that argued for the adoption of the ECtHR and UNHRC approach rather than the US model in dealing with Philippine internet hate speech. The previous work compared these two views and concluded that the degree of tolerance afforded by the US model to hate speech is unequivocally drawn in favour of the right of freedom of expression. This approach results in an imbalance between the rights of the speaker and that of the subject of hate speech. The balancing done by the former view seems to be more reasonable. It protects the right of the speaker of the hateful expression until the expression amounts to an extent that it already violates public order or the rights of others. If it does, depending on the existence of safeguards, regulations that restrict or prohibit these kinds of expressions may be considered to be valid.

The paper begins by delving into the nature of the internet and how it exacerbates the proliferation of hate speech. It considers the following characteristics: ease in facilitating
methods of communication; relative endurance of materials; anonymity in the distribution of materials; and lack of central authority. The paper submits that from these characteristics, taken together, spring the recognition that internet hate speech presents graver dangers than traditional media.

Next, the paper discusses two modes of imposition of liability for internet hate speech. In certain cases, liability may be enforced against the primary speaker. The paper examines the laws of jurisdictions that impose liability on the speaker for internet hate speech. It also examines how other jurisdictions applied laws previously enacted for traditional media to internet speech. Following the author’s previous work (Spaces and Responsibilities: A Review of Foreign Laws and an Analysis of Philippine Laws on Internet Intermediary Liability), the paper considers the imposition of liability on the intermediary. This imposition of liability depends on two factors: the regime of liability chosen by the jurisdiction and the nature of the intermediary.

Lastly, the paper considers the issue of jurisdiction. It submits that internet communications may be treated like any other medium for information transmission. Information is always relayed through a particular place at a particular time. The source of expression could then be traced, albeit with difficulty. Thus, the state where the information was stored, where it passed, and where it was received may have personal jurisdiction over the speaker or intermediary. Of course, different jurisdictions would treat hate speech differently. Thus, a successful solution for combating internet hate speech requires transnational normative orders such as that of agreements combatting cybercrime. Through this approach, attempts are made to standardise the treatment of hate speech and intermediary liability by normative laws within a particular region.

Peer-to-Peer Regulation of Hate Speech on the Chinese Internet
Adam Knight (University of Oxford)

Beyond the mere, but phenomenal, quantitative increase in the total number of internet users in China, the changing nature of internet access and usage has also given a voice to an increasingly diverse user base. New and ever-cheaper technologies are changing the way in which content is produced and circulated. Marginalised groups such as rural and migrant workers are increasingly likely to have access to mobile internet. This has led to a diffusion of content creating ability away from more established networks of relatively wealthy, young and educated users towards those with a more representative set of needs, aspirations, gripes, and opinions. This breakdown of the state’s monopoly over content production has resulted in the massive proliferation of largely non-political online material, i.e. the kind of inane gossip, trolling, and hate speech prevalent across the internet world.

New forms of communication have created new problems for China’s Leninist communication regime. Offensive content in the form of harassment, plagiarism, personal attacks, and online rumours, outside direct state control and not of immediate political relevance, erode the Party’s image of an online ‘spiritual garden’. The current leadership has sought to rectify this by strengthening ‘socialist core values’ both on- and offline in an effort to impose a particular view of civility and good behaviour. This has been defined by its attempts to move beyond the simple control of overtly political content, instead incorporating a number of tutelary measures to tackle information damaging to the nation’s suzhi (human quality). Successive government campaigns have most recently focussed on efforts to ‘clean up’, jinghua 純化, ‘unhealthy’ elements of the internet environment such as rumours, pornography, and spam.
In an attempt to tackle such forms of harmful content, Chinese technology companies have sought new and innovative ways of managing the public sphere against hate speech. One such method has been Sina’s introduction of a ‘Weibo Community Management System’ (CMS), in which users must adhere to the ‘spirit’ of government legislation in order to ‘maintain order’ on the platform. The backbone of the Weibo Community is its use of jury-style committees made up of ordinary Weibo users to censor content they judge to be inappropriate.

Previous studies of hate speech content control have predominantly focussed on a vertical conception of censorship – state and business vs. citizens. This precludes emerging horizontal forms of control as seen in the Weibo CMS. This paper explores alternate methods of content regulation. The CMS was chosen as it presents a distinctive and supplementary censorship model to previous studies’ dichotomous focus on vertical ‘state-on-netizen’ regulation. Through the use of documentary analysis, official data, case studies, and role-holder interviews, this paper positions the CMS’s method of handling hate speech content - an approach unique to Sina Weibo and not seen on Western platforms such as Facebook or Twitter - as the emergence of a non-state horizontal control structure, or ‘peer-to-peer’ (P2P) content control.

The ‘Privatisation’ of Hate Speech Regulation
Natalie Alkiviadou (University of Central Lancashire Cyprus)

The internet is one of the most powerful contemporary tools used by individuals and groups to express ideas and opinions and receive and impart information. It magnifies the voice and multiplies the information within reach of everyone who has access to it. In Europe, the Council of Europe adopted the Additional Protocol to the Cybercrime Convention on Racist and Xenophobic Material online. The Council of Europe had to adopt an Additional Protocol since the U.S. would not adhere to the Convention if the issue of hate speech was not eliminated due to First Amendment concerns. The paper will peruse the significant obstacles on State regulation of online hate such as jurisdictional variations predominantly between Europe and the U.S, technical possibilities for, for example, the creation of mirror sites and the sheer number and the synchronous nature of the internet. To this end, the paper will look at new blue prints in the form of two major European developments. Firstly, it will critically assess the European Commission’s Code of Conduct on illegal hate speech online. Although this tackles only IT Companies, namely Facebook, Youtube, Instagram, Twitter and Microsoft, their main platforms, namely social networks are a centrifugal arena of the internet. Social networks are the frenzy of the 21st century. The latest statistics show that there are 1.94 billion Facebook users active monthly, 1.3 billion YouTube users and 313 million Twitter users. It will look at the content of this Code, the monitoring exercise carried out by the European Commission for purposes of ensuring conformity by the signatory IT companies as well as the conceptualisation of hate speech by each IT company. In addition to the Code of Conduct, it will examine the pivotal judgements of the European Court of Human Rights in relation to the obligations of intermediaries such as news portals to monitor and remove hate speech expressed by third parties. It will argue that this new European blueprint on online hate speech regulation which places emphasis the role and obligations of private actors could be a path to be considered by other countries beyond Europe.
This paper visits Shin-Ōkubo in Tokyo. Shin-Ōkubo has been known as Korean ethnic town or Hallyu (Korean Wave) town from around the time of the 2002 FIFA World Cup. It has benefited from the growing popularity of Korean culture in Japan since 2003 when the Korean Drama *Winter Sonata* was aired by NHK and made a great success in Japan. However, it has also been influenced by the deterioration of relation of two nations: Japan and South Korea since around 2011. Ever since, as it has been targeted by Zaitokukai, a right-wing extremist organization, literally meaning, Citizens against Special Privilege of Zainichi=Korean or Chinese residents in Japan, there have been frequent hate speech rallies in the Shin-Ōkubo streets.

In this study, the following questions are to be explored: What is the meaning of Shin-Ōkubo? How has it changed over time? How does it differ by different political positions in Japan? Does it have any relations with cultural politics, not only international but also domestic?

In order to answer these questions, we have used several qualitative research techniques: media discourse analysis, fieldwork, and interviewing.
Round-Table 1  How to define Hate speech ?  
Nature, definitions, tools, means and boundaries

Chair: Jin-Ok Kim, LCAO,  Paris Diderot University

Béatrice Turpin (Cergy-Pontoise University), Language sciences
Aurélie Jeantet (Sorbonne Nouvelle -Paris 3 University), Sociology of work
Yuko Kawai (Rikkyo University), Media studies

Hwang Seong-Bin (Rikkyo University), Sociology & media studies (to be confirmed)
Session 8  Hate Speech as a Political Communication

Mapping Hate Speech in a Post Truth Politics Era: A Comparison of Europe and South Asia
Anindita Tagore (Educational Initiative)

The term "post-truth politics" was first coined by the blogger David Roberts in a blog post for Grist on 1 April 2010, where it was defined as “a political culture in which politics (public opinion and media narratives) have become almost entirely disconnected from policy (the substance of legislation). Harold Pinter at the time of accepting his Nobel Prize in Literature in 2005 spoke on “Art, Truth and Politics” and argued that, “The majority of politicians, on the evidence available to us, are interested not in truth but in power and in the maintenance of that power. To maintain that power it is essential that people remain in ignorance, that they live in ignorance of the truth, even the truth of their lives. What surrounds us therefore is a vast tapestry of lies, upon which we feed”. The paper through taking up cases of European and South Asian political parties tries to argue firstly that Hate Speeches are often the preferred method through which political ideas are conveyed and elections in European and South Asian countries are won. The section covers analysis of Poland’s Law and Justice Party (which is the largest party in polish parliament), Hungarian Fidesz Party (which is currently the ruling party in Hungary) along with Pakistan’s political party Tahreek-e-Insaf (currently ruling party in Pakistan) and Bhartiya Janta Party of India(which is currently the ruling party in India). The focus of the paper is on methods used by these parties to win elections, how they advocated their propaganda and influenced public opinion. Then second section of the paper tries to argue how hate speeches do not hold a standard version and tend to derive themselves from local / contextual environments. The idea being that in contemporary times there is an oversupply of data; there are too many sources, too many methods, with varying levels of credibility. Hate speeches fill in this void as they are founded on basis of local current events. Here the paper tries to deconstruct the language which is used within hate speeches in Europe and South Asian countries and map the similarities and differences which exist. Like for issues of immigration, islamophobia and terrorism the paper argues that each idea is converted into a narrative which fits locally and manages to connect with people at a very ground level. Hate speeches thus becomes ideal tool to operationalize such plans. The final section of the paper tries to understand the future of hate speeches in European and South Asian democracies.

Duterteism, Politicization and Anonymity: Analyzing Netizen’s Anti-Roman Catholicism Hate Speeches in Radio News Facebook Page
Marc Agon Pacoma (Adamson University)

With the victory of Duterte in the 2016 Philippine presidential election, the country had experienced a relative increase of hate speeches on politics, gender and religion. The emergence of these offending and discriminating statements was oftenly attributed to some political factors and the contravening opinions of other government officials, Catholic Church, and critics towards Duterte’s War on Drugs campaign. Commentaries and opinions on the drug war had been trending in the public discourse. Hate speeches not only had been
headlining the traditional media of print, radio and TV but also caught too much attention in the social media world of Facebook, YouTube, Twitter and Instagram. Stalking, trolling and bashing were the names of the game as hate, threat, intimidation, and violence frequent as themes of these online comments.

Drawing inspiration from previous studies and literature, this study aims to examine netizen’s anti-faith hate comments in the official Facebook page of Radyo Veritas – a leading Catholic radio news network. Employing a self-made coding sheet, the researcher selected, coded and analyzed netizens’ comments for a period of two years (October 2016 to October 2018). Specifically, the comments were examined on its language, purpose or motivation, theme, content, attributes, producer’s identity or anonymity, target and interpretation. The results indicated that offensive and obscene language, attack or retaliation, stir hostility through criticism, anonymous identity, directly targeting the Catholic Church and political believers were the dominant categories that emerged during the coding process; reflecting and resonating similar findings of research inquiries on online hate speeches.
Two approaches to hate speech are prominent in the scholarly literature, namely the American approach and the German (European) approach (Bleich 2011; Heinze 2016; van Mill 2017). Placing great importance on the right to free speech, proponents of the American approach argue that the state should regulate hate speech only if a danger of escalation into violence is ‘clear and present,’ and if the right to freedom of expression is not harmed (Baker 2009; Lee 2010; Post 2011). Relying on the duty to preserve human dignity, supporters of the German approach advocate the imposition of penalties for hate speech, especially for expressions that can be regarded as Holocaust denial and incitement to racial or religious hatred (Tsesis 2002; Heyman 2008; Waldron 2012). Most scholars have categorized the Japanese approach to hate speech under the American approach (Morooka 2013; Sakuraba 2014; Kondo 2017).

However, this seems to be a mistake. Japan’s approach to hate speech puts emphasis not on free speech, as has become especially clear since the implementation of the Hate Speech Law started in June 2016. The Hate Speech Law effectively reduced hate speech demonstrations in Japan: the number of such demonstrations decreased by half (Nikkei Shinbun, 22.05.2017). It did so by making ultra-rightists voluntarily refrain from making controversial statements that can be regarded as hate speech after Japan’s public administration took a harder stance on hate speech, especially through concrete examples of hate speech that were provided by the Ministry of Justice (Mainichi Shinbun, 06.02.2017). But the implementation of the Hate Speech Law matches the German approach neither. Although some policymakers and lobbyists for the law have used the German approach as a model, there has been no consensus on the introduction of a hate speech ban that mimics the German approach (Kim 2016; Morooka 2016; Uozumi et al. 2016; Higaki 2017). Japan’s public administration shows little understanding of human dignity that can be threatened by hate speech.

There has been no comprehensive study of the new Japanese approach to hate speech after the Hate Speech Law, and my paper aims to take a first step to fill this research gap. It addresses the following questions, focusing on the regulation of hate speech demonstrations in Japan: What was the effect of the implementation of Japan’s Hate Speech Law? How should we describe the Japanese approach to limit hate speech? The analysis is based mainly on participating observations of 9 meetings in which victims of hate speech participated, and 28 interviews with bureaucrats, municipal employees, police officers, ultra-rightists, victims of hate speech, and their third-party supporters like lawyers and scholars. It examines not only formal and informal measures to implement the Hate Speech Law, but also the institutional background to hate speech regulation in Japan and its limits. I argue that the Japanese approach to hate speech is unique, insofar as it is framed not first and foremost by concepts of human dignity or free speech, but rather by concepts of social harmony and social order.
The development of hate speech legislation in the UK and EU has so far largely been carried out through the extension of the number of protected minority social categories. Current UK and Scottish law deems race, ethnicity, sexual orientation and transgender identities to be protected characteristics. Hate speech legislation has protected the rights of social minority groups and also raised public awareness of social minorities’ experience of inequality and marginalisation. However, fundamental social inequalities exist among large social groups, particularly social groups that are defined by gender and class identities. Hate speech against women and working class people is widespread in the UK and both expresses and reinforces the marginalisation of people within these social groups. The paper examines whether hate speech policy should be extended to include gender and class based hate speech. In the UK legislation and social policies to counter misogyny indicate such an extension of hate speech policy could be taking place for gender based hate speech. The paper examines how concepts of hate speech might need to develop in order to enable hate speech policies to be extended to encompass greater sections of the population. Some commentators have suggested that hate speech laws that encompass large social categories are unworkable. The paper considers whether such objections clarify the definition of hate speech in social policy or highlight the shortcomings of the concept of hate speech? The paper considers the extent to which the inclusion of hate speech policies to encompass categories of gender and social class as protected characteristics better reflect the intersectional power hierarchies that are often encoded in hate speech in popular and official contexts.

On May 4, 2018, the Law Commission of India, a body established by the Government of India (GoI) to propose legal reform for the Republic of India, submitted to the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) a draft law that would criminalise hate speech. The draft law was based on the report that the Law Commission had prepared at the behest of the Supreme Court of India and forwarded to the Ministry of Law and Justice more than a year earlier in March 2017, though it was amended to reflect the recommendations of two other committees that the MHA had set up on the issue. In its report, the Law Commission had suggested “amendments to the Indian Penal Code, 1860 . . . by adding new provisions on ‘Prohibiting incitement to hatred’ . . . and ‘Causing fear, safety, alarm, or provocation of violence in certain cases’”. However, in the 2014 judgement where the Supreme Court had requested the Law Commission to “examine the issues raised” in the judgement and “consider . . . defining the expression ‘hate speech’”, the Court had declared that “the statutory provisions and particularly the penal law provide sufficient remedy to curb the menace of ‘hate speeches’”, and that “the root of the problem is not the absence of laws but rather a lack of their effective execution.” In fact, Dr. Justice B. S. Chauhan, the author of the judgement that was issued by a three-judge division bench of the Court, repeated the same words at a public lecture that he delivered a couple of months after the judgement. Yet, three years later, the Law Commission, of which Justice Chauhan had now become chairperson, recommended the addition of two new laws criminalising hate speech.
This raises the questions that the paper being proposed here will try to answer: why has the Law Commission drafted a new law criminalising hate speech when the Supreme Court has already declared existing laws equal to the task of curbing hate speech? What is the definition of hate speech that can be derived from the draft law, given that neither the Law Commission nor the Supreme Court nor any law of India offers a definition of hate speech? And finally, does the draft law successfully delimit the boundaries of hate speech or does it overreach into free speech?
As part of a worrying global phenomenon, racism and ultra-nationalistic campaigns with hateful speech against ethnic minorities have seen serious growth in Japan and attract international criticism. Responding to the recommendations of the UN human rights bodies to take legal measures to curb hate speech in 2014, Japanese government enacted its first law against hate speech in June 2016, despite its persistent negative attitude toward regulating hate speech due to the strong protection of freedom of speech under the Japanese Constitution.

This study examines the enactment of the “Act on the Promotion of Efforts to Eliminate Unfair Discriminatory Speech and Behavior against Persons Originating from Outside Japan (Hate Speech Elimination Act)” in Japan based on the theory of the socialization of international legal norms and transnational legal processes to promote national obedience of international human rights law [Koh 1999 etc.]. Previous literatures including Risse and Sikkink (1999) explored the stages and mechanisms through which international norms can lead to changes in domestic practice and political behavior. Goodman and Jinks (2013) also points out “acculturalization", the general process by which actors adopt the beliefs and behavioral patterns of the surrounding culture, as the important mechanisms for influencing state practice. A question raised here is if we could see acculturalization of the international human rights laws in the development process of the Hate Speech Elimination Act, which is alleged to be respondent to the recommendation of the UN human rights treaty bodies. Through analyzing the legal, and political process and its implicit interaction with civil society mobilized by anti-racism social movement, this study reveals the complicated mechanism of the acculturalization in different levels. It includes a comparative analysis with the anti-hate speech legal framework and rulings in France such as Loi n°72-546 du 1 juillet 1972 relative à la lutte contre le racism from the perspective of internalization of international human rights norms.

It concludes nation-wide anti-hate social movement based on universal idea of human rights combined with judicial rulings on hate speech and local government initiatives internalizing international human rights norms in the society pushed forward the development of the anti-hate legislation in Japan, which is nevertheless not necessarily leading to the compliance of the international human rights laws or the drastic change of state behavior in substance. This may be a case study of “insufficient acculturalization” which Goodman and Jinks (2008) also suggests in their work as that acculturation often generates shallow, formal reforms that exert little influence on actual state practice and states publicly conform to global norms without privately accepting them. The study is based on socio-legal analysis with participatory observation of the anti-racism movement and interviews of various actors including related international institutions, law firms, not-for-profit organizations, and government officers. This provides a solid example to explain how international human rights work in practice and can inspire the discussion on the effective implementation of the international human rights law to protect minorities from exclusion in a global context.
In order to address the new phenomena of rampant hate speech and hate crimes against Koreans, civil societies in Japan have used multiple strategies including lobbying, litigation, counter-demonstrations, etc. In the course of social movements against hate speech and hate crimes targeting ethnic minorities, especially Koreans, activists and lawyers have deployed international human rights laws. Human rights lawyers and activists used principles against hate speech codified in the international human rights treaties to provide legitimacy for their advocacy effort to regulate hate speech. Human rights groups have utilized the enforcement mechanism of the treaties, namely review under the UN Committee on the Elimination of the All Forms of Discrimination, and the UN Human Rights Committee, and the recommendations issued by these UN Committee were used as advocacy tools.

In response to rise of hate speech against foreign residents, Japanese Diet passed the Hate Speech Elimination Act in 2016. Previous studies indicated the impacts of international human rights norms to the realization of this new law, but how to measure the actual impact of international human rights is a difficult task. In order to examine the impact of international human rights norms in the making of this new law, I will provide three empirical evidence: (i) the number of articles in major newspapers in Japan mentioning about international human rights norms and hate speech, (ii) the number of municipal bodies in Japan which adopted the resolution urging the central government of Japan to address hate speech by citing the UN recommendations, and (iii) the number of questions mentioning about international human rights obligations made during the discussion of this new law in the Diet. The empirical data show that UN recommendations were mentioned in the news articles on hate speech more frequently than ever before, and more than 300 municipal bodies adopted resolutions supporting the measures against hate speech referring to UN recommendations. Also, questions mentioning about international human rights obligations were found more often during the discussion of hate speech law than the discussion of other laws.

This data provides a mechanism of how international human rights norms have brought impact on the domestic policies addressing hate speech in Japan. The paper also provides insights for human rights advocates who have used to international human rights to make a change in the domestic level.

Regarding the regulation of hate speech in Europe, it is pointed out that it is based on Karl Lowenstein's theory of "militant democracy"; that is, when democracy faces the "enemy of democracy," it should adopt a defensive posture, of which the most important means is to limit the freedom of speech to protect the democratic system itself.

In contrast, the East Asian democracies, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan, which are considered to be highly influenced by the United States constitutionalism under the post-war and Cold War regimes but belong to civil law countries, are more "passive" toward the regulation of hate speech. Of course, with the development of Web 2.0 in recent years, the prosperity of social media has also contributed to the development and dissemination of hate speech in these East Asian democracies. However, even under such a trend, besides Japan’s relatively late “Act on the Promotion of Efforts to Eliminate Unfair Discriminatory Speech and Behavior
against Persons Originating from Outside Japan” and “Osaka City Ordinance on Dealing with Hate Speech” in 2016, which became the first for East Asian democracies to address hate speech, Korea and Taiwan still adopt a tolerant or laissez-faire attitude in the legal system.

Despite the differences between the attitudes of European and East Asian democracies on hate speech and the origin and contexts of their regulation, it is a common fact that there are challenges about extreme right-wing hate speech nowadays. This paper believes that in the face of such problems, returning to the initial regulation of the basis of hate speech, that is, the "militant democracy" and its contemporary clarification, helps to consider the adjustment and design of the current democratic mechanism. This may be helpful for both Europe (that have long-term experience) and East Asian democracies, as they continue to face new challenges of polarized hate opinions in the future.

Therefore, the problem that this article attempts to explore is precisely the first step in such a large framework. This article hopes to study whether militant democracy could be the common bases of the regulation of hate speech. Clearly, how we define militant democracy is important here. As we all know, why hate speech is to be regulated, how it will be done and what needs to be regulated, are very difficult problems involving freedom of speech, and are highly dependent on cultural context. This is very similar to militant democracy itself.

This study examines the arguments and developments how Europe deal from the aspect of law with hate speech based on the concept of militant democracy, also focusing on the attitude of the European Court of Human Rights in recent years, and the corresponding situations of Japan, Korea, and Taiwan, especially the design of the Japanese acts, trying to give a comparative picture of the relation of them. This study concludes with some characteristics of the regulation of hate speech in Europe and East Asian democracies from the perspective of militant democracy.

The Scourge of Hate Speech in India: A Comparative Analysis
Mamta Rana (University of Petroleum & Energy Studies)

When speech turns into spite it ordinarily becomes hateful. The term hate speech in the simple language means that any statement that is against or is violative to the religious beliefs, sentiments and faith of any person or a group of people in a community or which is in contradiction with the race, caste, religion, sex, disability, place of birth etc of an individual and is directly an attack towards the reputation of an individual. Hate speeches mainly refer to the speeches that involve any act of promoting fear, danger, violative actions, causing mental stress and tension in the mind of the person. Off late the incidence of hate speech has been on the rise in India. Hate speech poses complex challenges to freedom of speech and expression. Laws across jurisdictions treat hate speech differently. This is because the fine line between what constitutes hate speech and the constitutionally protected freedom of speech and expression vary from country to country. The Law Commission in its 267th Report on ‘hate Speech’ compares how the U.S. gives a wide berth to hate speech while international human rights covenants and other Western democracies like Canada, Germany, and the U.K. regulate it and subject it to sanctions. The Commission refers to hate speech as an expression likely to cause distress, offence or incite hostility towards a particular group. The global disparity in the treatment of hate speech, the Commission reasons, may be because they apprehend that setting a standard for determining unwarranted speech may lead to suppression of free speech and expression. The researcher in the present paper proposes to make an in-depth study of the phenomena called hate speech in India by studying the incidents and the existing laws on it. The
researcher also proposes to undertake a study of the decisions made by the Apex court on
the matter and the amendment s if any required in the current framework of legal mechanism
to tackle this menace in India. The researcher also proposes to make a comparative analysis
of hate speech related laws and approach of India and France during the course of this
paper.
Round-Table 2  Hate speech strategies, actors and goals

Chair: Marie-Orange Rivé-Lasan, LCAO, Paris Diderot University

Gwénaële Calvès (Cergy-Pontoise University), Law, France
Nicolas Froeliger, (Paris Diderot University, EILA), Traductology, France
Sungsoo Hong (Sookmyung Women's University), Sociology, Korea
Myungsoo Kim (Kwansei Gakuin University), Sociology, Japan (to be confirmed)
ALKIVIADOU, Natalie

Natalie Alkiviadou is lecturer in European Union Law and Human Rights at the University of Central Lancashire Cyprus. Her research interests are hate speech, hate crime and the far-right. Her monograph 'The Far-Right in International and European Law' will be published by Routledge in 2019.

ASCONE, Laura

Laura Ascone earned a Ph.D in Linguistics at Université de Cergy Pontoise (France). Her researches focus on computer-mediated communication, on the expression of emotions, and on the jihadist radicalisation process. She received Masters’ degree in English Linguistics at Université Paris Diderot (France) with her dissertation on the expression of surprise in computer-mediated communication, in French, English and Italian. Her Ph.D thesis is on the rhetorical strategies used in both jihadist propaganda and counter-narrative.

BORTONE, Robert

Roberto Bortone (Rome 1979) holds a PhD in Education and Social Work. He is a social worker and has dealt with the elderly and social isolation as well as with countering drug addiction for various years. At the Ministry of the Interior his work focused on the protection of national minorities. He studies the impact of discrimination on the integration process of minority groups, with specific reference to identity definition dynamics. At present he works at UNAR – National Anti Racial Discrimination Office, within the Presidency of the Council of Ministers; at UNAR he coordinates the National Strategy for the Inclusion of Roma, Sinti and Caminanti Communities and he is in charge of the National Observatory on Hate Speech. He is a temporary lecturer in Sociology of Ethnic Relations at Roma Tre University for the academic year 2016/2017.

CHEN, Kuan-Wei

Kuan-Wei Chen is a Ph.D. student at the Faculty of Law at University of Munich (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München) in Germany, and a LL.M. in Public Law at National Taiwan University (2016), with working experiences in the transnational law firm and the Judicial Yuan in Taiwan. Her research interests include constitutional law, human rights law, and democracy. Her master thesis entitled “Constituting and Implementing the Constitutional Right to Housing: Focusing on Judicial Review” won the Best Master Thesis Award of College of Law, National Taiwan University in 2017. Her current research focuses on the challenges of democracy in the digital era and the related human rights protection issues, including the freedom of speech.

CHIRMULEY, Parnal

Parnal Chirmuley is Associate Professor at the Center of German Studies at her alma mater, the Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi. Within German Studies, her teaching specialisation is Translation Studies. Her research interests include the appropriations of German Indology, history writing in Western India, the politics of gender in popular magazine publishing for women. She is also a translator, and has translated academic monographs on South Asia from German, and is now enjoying translating literary fiction from German and Marathi. Currently, however, she and her colleagues are investing all their energies in countering a right wing government's attempts at destroying her university, which is an exemplar of solid, affordable, publicly funded higher education.
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CHO Hong Sik is a political economist, currently working as professor at the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Soongsil University, in Seoul. His recent research interests include International Political Economy, European Integration, and the Politics of Identity. He received his doctorate from the Institut d’Etudes Politiques de Paris.

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Katarina Damčević is a PhD student at the University of Tartu, Department of Semiotics and Culture Studies. During her MA studies she was engaged in the research of taboo language and practices and the ways how they model cultural narratives of purity and the Other. This led her to further research focusing primarily on hate speech, nationalism, language politics, and conflict. In addition to academic research she finds it relevant to develop and apply her work on the practical level, namely in the area of curriculum development. She worked as an expert associate at the Department of Cultural Studies in Croatia during the academic year 2016/2017. She is working as a teaching assistant in the Center for Academic Writing and Communication at the University of Tartu and is one of the lecturers in the course “Semiotics of Conflict”. She published papers in the journals “Zarez” and "Socijalna ekologija: Journal for Environmental Thought and Sociological Research.”

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Percy Fernandez is professor and chairperson at the School of Media & Communication, Manipal University. Dubai. Percy studied sociology and he worked on popular culture and cinema for his doctoral dissertation. As a former journalist, he has written on a range of topics and issues for newspapers and magazines in India and elsewhere including The New York Times and South China Morning Post. His area of interests lie at the crossroads of journalism, popular culture, sociology, politics and technology.

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Philippa Hall is an independent writer and researcher whose research interests include social policy, legal reform, political economy and education policy. Several of these research themes have been examined within the context of the history, politics and implementation of neoliberal policy. She has written a range of book chapters, journal articles and reviews. Recent work includes an article on the global education economy published in the International Journal of Critical Pedagogy (2018). Her current research focuses on EU law, hate speech and media culture.

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Ms. Hatano is a doctoral researcher at the University of Tokyo in the field of international human rights. Her research interests include the internalization of the international human rights law and norms with focus on racial discrimination, gender and development. She holds a B.A. in International Relations, J.D. and M.A. in Human Security Studies at the University of Tokyo and LL.M. (International legal studies) in New York University School of Law as a Fulbright Scholar. She has been a Visiting Scholar at the U.S.-Asia Law Institute at New York University in 2017-2018. She was engaged in the implementation of the international law and legal research in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Japan and international organizations such as The Hague Conference on Private International Law (HCCH) and the United Nations. She was awarded numerous scholarships, prizes and fellowships including the Asia Leadership Fellow Program Fellowship 2017, the Center for Human Rights and Global Justice 2017 Global Justice Emerging Scholar Essay Prize, and East Asian Law and Society Paper Award in 2018. As a certified social researcher, she has recently engaged in socio-legal research on hate speech and gender in the discourse of racism, nationalism and international human rights.

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Sung Soo Hong is an Associate Professor of Law at Sookmyung Women’s University, Seoul, Korea. He received a Ph.D. degree at London School of Economics and has studied at Human Rights Consortium University of London, Oxford Centre for Socio-Legal Studies and International Institute for the Sociology of Law. He published many articles and books addressing human rights and law and has recently studied hate speech law in Korea. He has also worked as board member for academic associations such as Korean Association of Human Rights Studies, Korean Association of Human Rights Law and Korean Association of Legal Philosophy.

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Myungkoo Kang has been teaching media and cultural studies at the Seoul National University since 1987. He served the director of Asia Center from 2016 to 2017 and the Dean, College of Liberal Studies, Seoul National University. He teaches Media and Cultural Studies and Social History of Media Technology. He has published a book, Humin (  )
and Enlightenment: A Historical Formation of Public Sphere in Korea. Another book, Dreams and Un-dreams of Youth in East Asia will be published soon. He has been leading two research teams: 1) de-demonizing North Korea: An International Comparison, 2) Korean Firms Went to China: A Cultural History of Korean Investment.

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Yuko Kawai is Professor of Communication in the College of Intercultural Communication at Rikkyo University. Her research interests lie in Japanese cultural nationalism, racism, and multiculturalism. She is particularly interested in critically examining and transforming the dominant idea of Japaneseness. Her recent works on race and racism in English are: “Intersecting Japanese Nationalism and Racism as Everyday Practices” in Multiculturalism in East Asia: A Transnational Exploration of Japan, South Korea and Taiwan (Rowman & Littlefield, 2016); “Deracialised Race, Obscured Racism: Japaneseness, Western and Japanese Concepts of Race, and Modalities of Racism,” Japanese Studies 35(1), (Routledge, 2015). She is currently working on a book project in which she critiques the construction of Japaneseness from a transnational perspective.

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THANK YOU!

The organizing committee thanks all the participants: presenters, the keynote speaker and the round-table participants, chairs, discussants, and the sponsors, not to forget the research-assistants (PhD students) and the helpers (master degree students in Korean Studies in Paris Diderot University), including Mrs. Laura Vernon (budget manager, UMR CCJ), who all have contributed to make this workshop possible.