

혐오표현과

인터넷 공론장

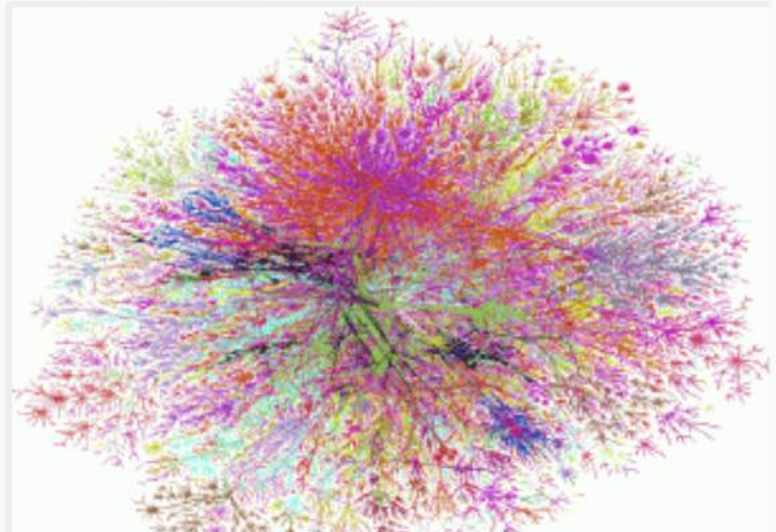
# a post-fact era



## Bots, Lies And Propaganda: The New Misinformation Economy

OCTOBER 20, 2016 • ETHICS AND QUALITY, LATEST STORIES, RESEARCH • BY STEPHAN RUSS-MOHL

305 SHARES       



## Facebook boss Mark Zuckerberg sued over hate speech

By Hortense Goulard | 11/4/16, 5:48 PM CET | Updated 11/4/16, 5:51 PM CET



I. 아날로그 공론장 vs. 디지털 공론장의

II. 진실의 종말

III. 디지털 공론장: 청소년기

# I. 아날로그 공론장 vs. 디지털 공론장

Öffentlichkeit

→ Public Sphere

→ 공론장

**Publicness, Public Parts**

# Jürgen Habermas

- **Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit 공론장의 구조변동 (1962)**
- **공적 의견 (≠ 여론 public opinion) 형성에 의미를 갖는 모든 요소/환경의 총합**
- **공론장 전제조건: 규범적(normative) 성격**
  - **모든 주요 현안에 대한 일반적이고 자유로운 접근이 가능해야**
  - **모든 주요 현안에 대한 제약없는 토론이 가능해야**

# Intermediation

**Information collection**

Information processing

**Information application**



# GUSTAVE LE BON

Psychologie  
des foules

Le Monde  
Flammarion

LES LIVRES  
QUI ONT  
CHANGÉ  
LE MONDE

질문: 디지털 공론장 통해 대중/군중은 변했나?

- **The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind by Gustave Le Bon (1895)**
- 수동, 비합리, 독립적 사고/행위 결여
- 쉽게 조작 가능
- **Sigmund Freud, Massenpsychologie und Ich-Analyse: 집단보다 개인의 지적 능력이 우수**

Max Horkheimer  
Theodor W. Adorno

# Dialektik der Aufklärung

Philosophische Fragmente



Fischer



## 대중/군중의 조작 가능성

- 계몽의 변증법 by Max Horkheimer, Theodor W. Adorno (1944)
- 소외된 개인의 집합
- 자본가의 이해를 담은 문화산업의 은유/암시에 의해 조작 가능

## 집단 지성 collective intelligence

- **James Surowiecki (2004), The Wisdom of Crowds: Why the Many Are Smarter Than the Few and How Collective Wisdom Shapes Business, Economies, Societies and Nations**
- **Clay Shirky (2010), Cognitive Surplus, Creativity and Generosity in a Connected Age**

Chris Anderson: How web video powers global innovation (2010)  
*crowd-accelerated innovation*

1. *a crowd*: The bigger the crowd, the more potential innovators there are
2. *light*: clear, open visibility of what the best people in that crowd are capable of
3. *desire*: The Innovation is based on hundreds of hours of research, of practice.

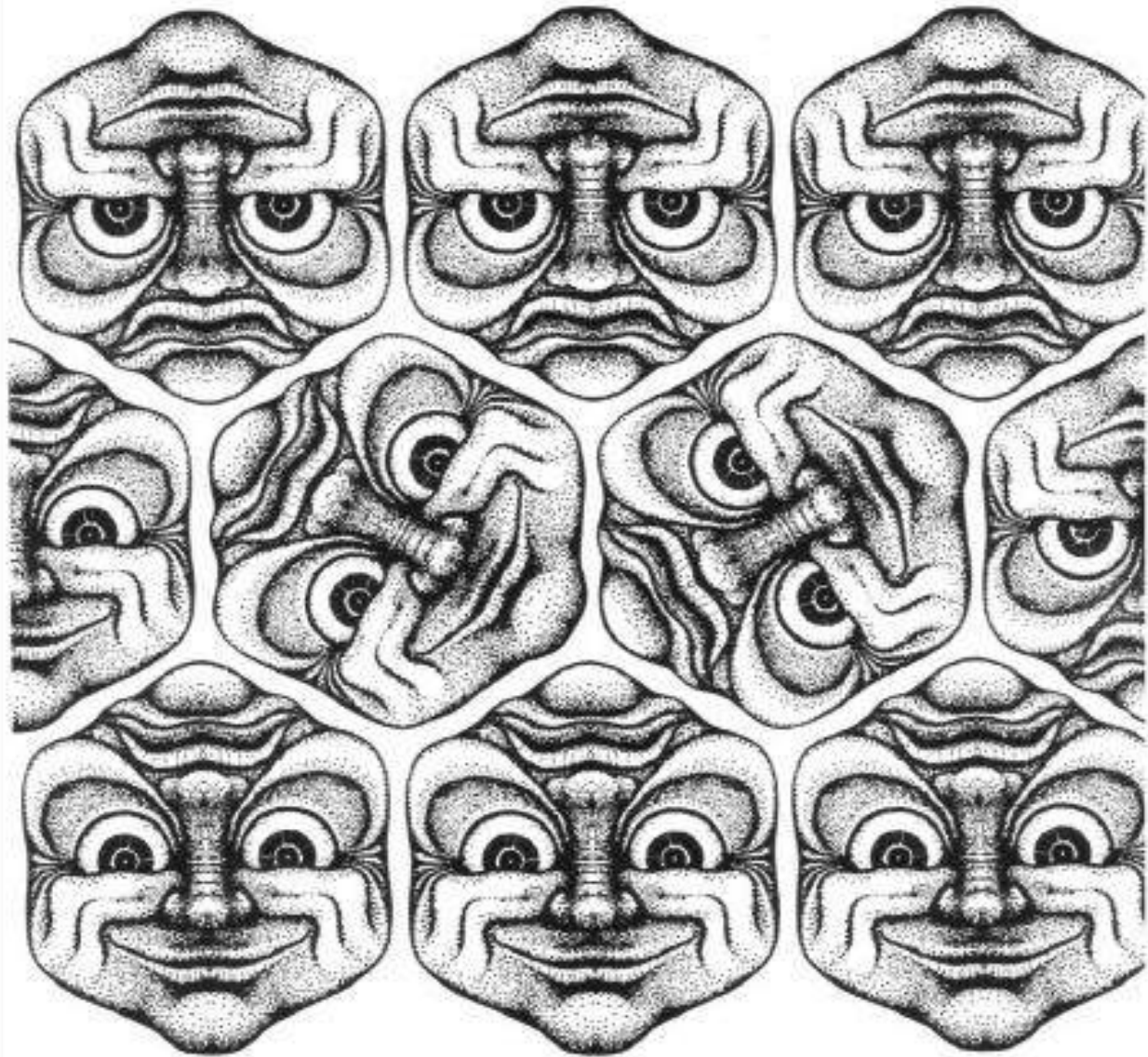
# 질문: 대중/군중의 성격이 변했을까?

- **Contra**: Charles Mackay(1841), **Extraordinary Popular Delusions and the Madness of Crowds**
  - 17세기 튜립 파동(tulip mania)
  - 거품경제의 반복
- **Pro**: 디지털화 → 대중/군중에 새로운 특징 부여, **지식 대중**
  - 공론장 구조화 과정 = 기술속성
  - 기술진화: 대중 조직화 영향

객관성이 춤추는 시대의 보고서

# 이기적 진실

무엇이 리얼이고 무엇이 진실인가? 객관적 증거가 없으면 믿음수록 진실에 접근하려는 쉬운 것처럼 보인다. 하지만 정도의 차이가 없고 갈수록 우리는 더욱 쉽게 책임을 지기보다는 책임을 추고 거부하려는 듯하다. 저자는 정보통신 기술 발달이 진실의 왜곡과 분열을 더욱 심화시켰다고 설명한다. 이는 우리 사회의 판구조판 지도 설계에 관한 수 있을 것이다. 말도 안 되는 이야기가 진실로 통감한 채 '영미'라는 가면을 쓰고 실제 사상을 현상 속으로 반영시킨 사건은 정치, 사회, 경제, 문화 어느 분야에서나 연출될 수 있다. 게다가 이런 이야기들은 인터넷을 통해 역사상 유례가 없을 정도로 쉽고 빠르게 널리 전파되고 있다. 파하드 만주 지음, 권혜정 옮김



비즈앤비즈

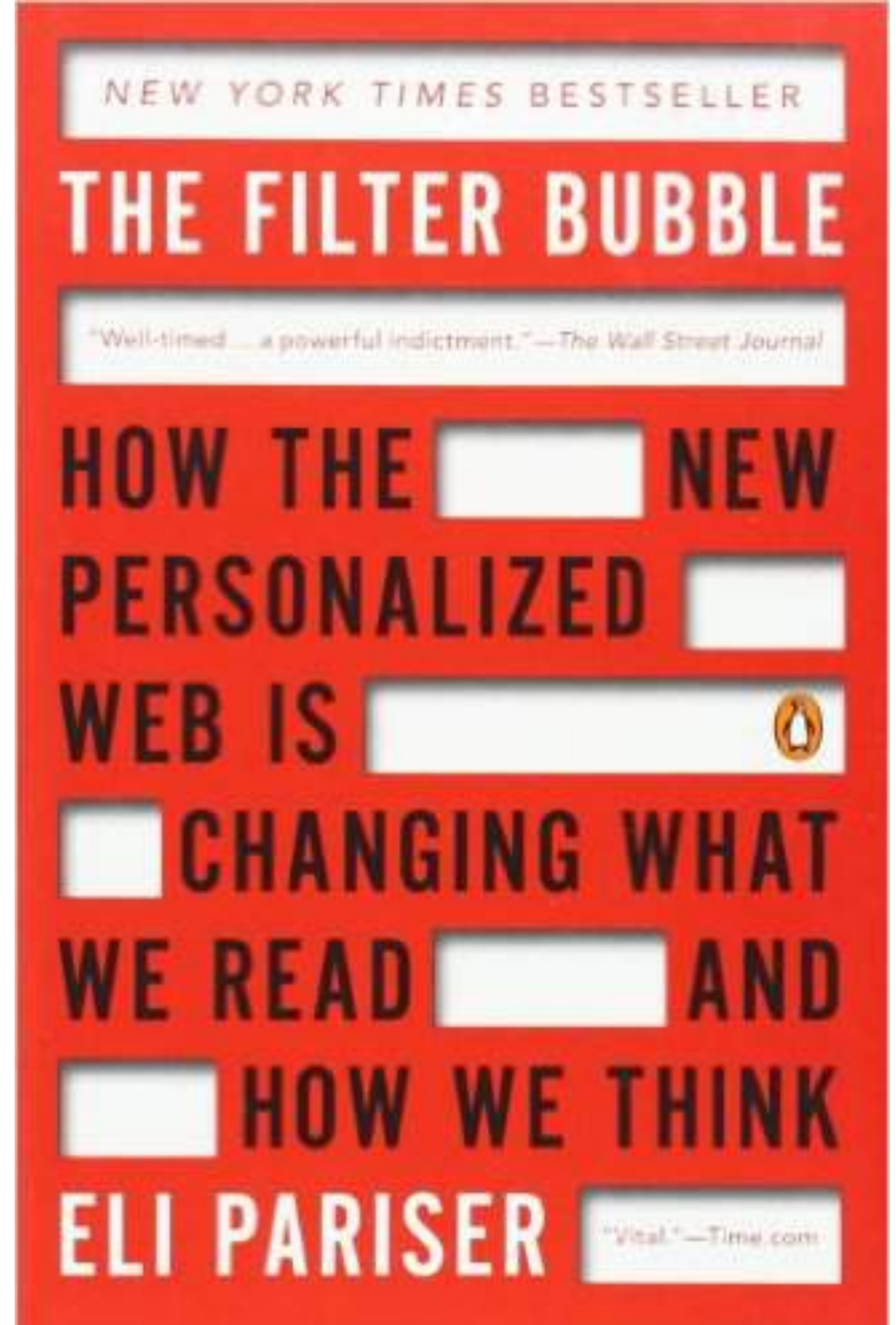
선택적 인지(selective perception)  
와

인지 편향(Cognitive bias)

- 파하드 만주 (Farhad Manjoo), True Enough: Learning to Live in a Post-fact Society (2008)
- 선택적 노출 (selective exposure)

## 필터 버블 Filter Bubble

- 엘리 프레이저(Eli Pariser), **The Filter Bubble: What the Internet Is Hiding from You (2011)**
- **생각조정자들**

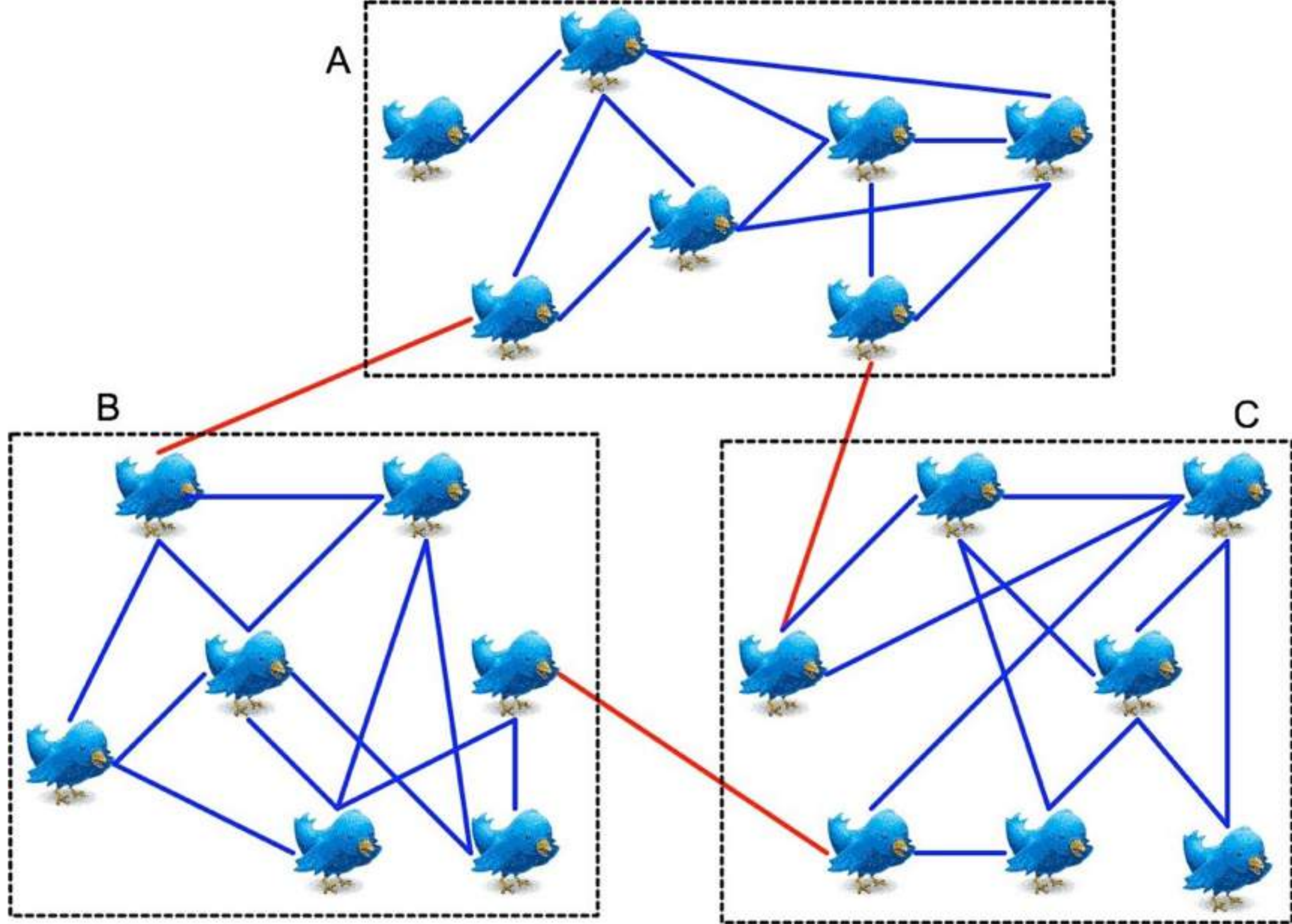


# 약한 연결과 강한 연결

## The strength of weak ties

- **Granovetter, M., 1973년**
- **강한 연결: 규칙적인 상호작용(가족, 친구, 감성 관계)**
- **약한 연결: 비규칙적인 상호작용 (직장 동료, 비감성/약한 감성 관계)**





# 약한 연결과 정보 확산

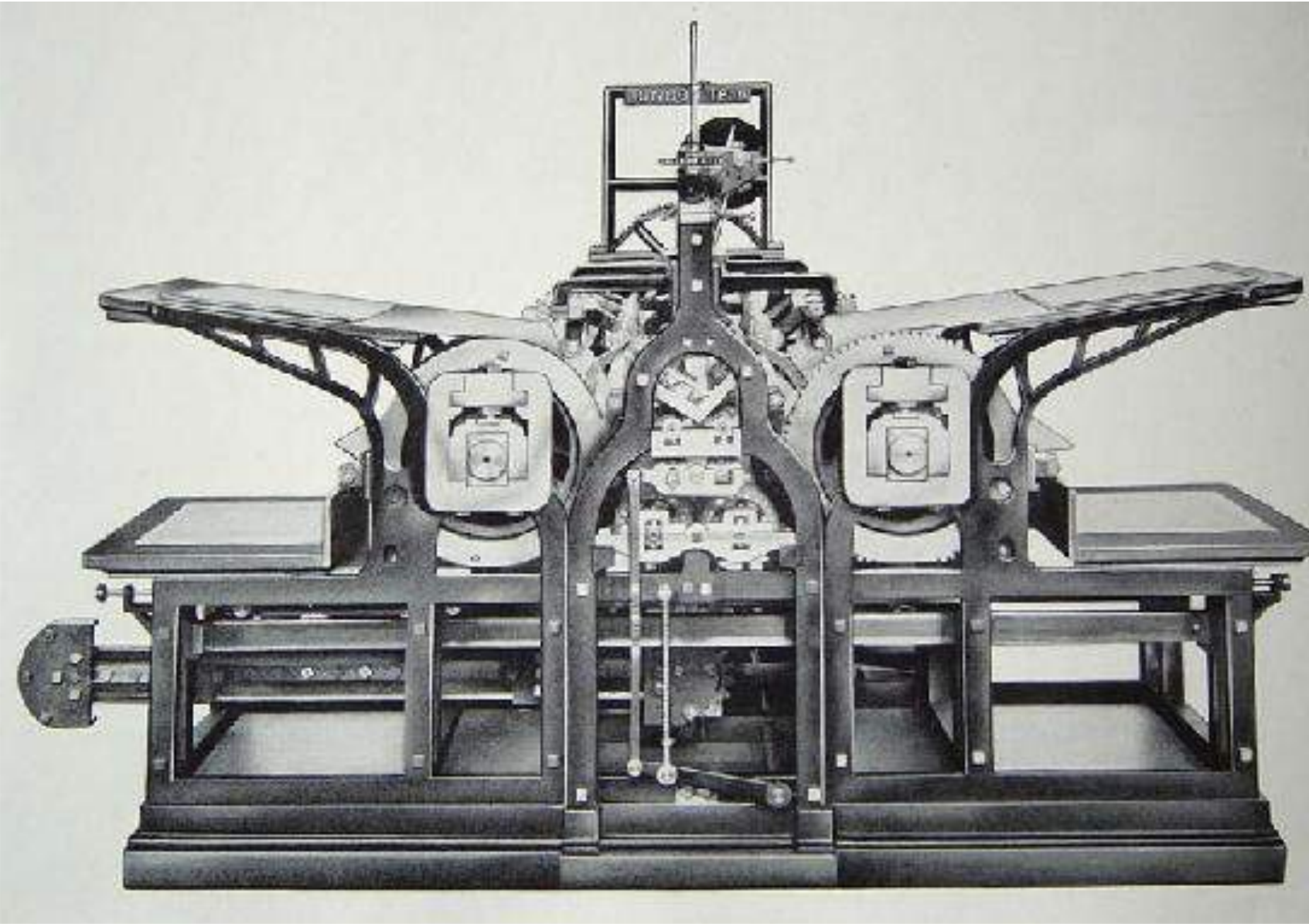
- 강한 연결: 동일한 또는 유사한 정보가 반복적으로 유통
- 약한 연결: 비-중복된 (non-redundant) 정보가 유통
- 약한 연결이 정보 확산에 주요 역할
- Serendipity

# 2011년 6월 2일, 독일 함부르크

## — 만 16세 여성 생일파티 친구 초대: 1,500명 참가



## 기술 속성 변화: 신문독자 범위 변화



- 1814년 영국 **The Times**, 하루 1천부
- 1817년 영국 **The Times**, 하루 7천부
- 1855년 영국 **The Times**, 하루 6만부
- 1870년 영국 **The Daily Telegraph**, 하루 20만부

# II. 진실의 종말





















# Zilla van den Born

BuzzFeed

TOP POST  
1,610,622 VIEWS

WEIRD

## This Woman Used Photoshop To Convince Her Family That She Went On A Six-Week Vacation In East Asia

Now *this* is a fakecation. Holy cow.

Posted on September 12, 2014, at 1:12 a.m.



Ryan Broderick

BuzzFeed News Reporter



Zilla van den Born is a 25-year-old artist from Amsterdam and she pulled off the ultimate fake vacation last year. It started with a Facebook post announcing she was headed to East Asia for two months.



Zilla van den Born  
Ready to go!



Vind ik leuk · Reageren · Delen · Promoten · ongeveer een uur geleden via

# Digital Fraud

# harmless?



질문

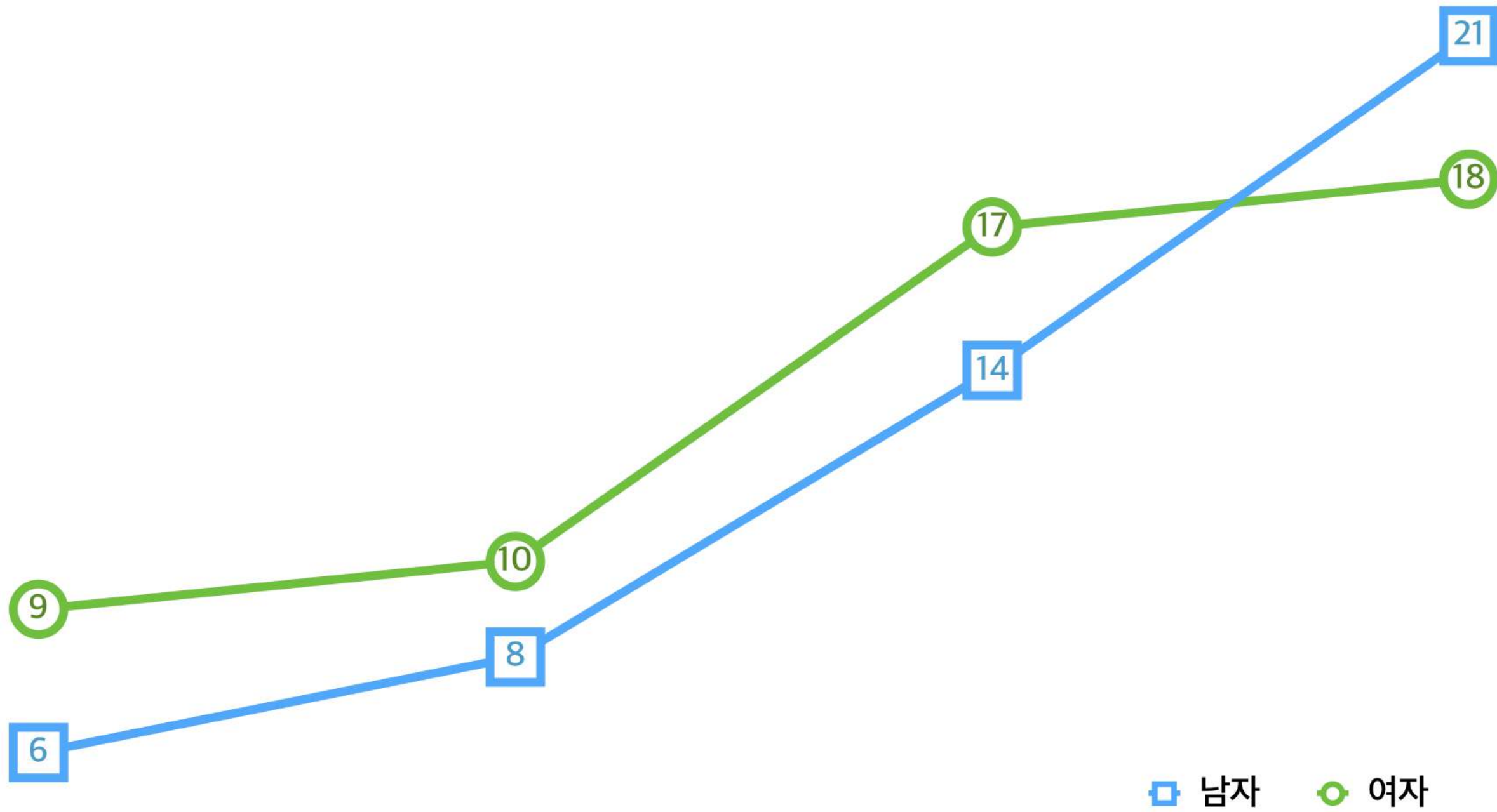
인터넷/디지털 환경

사기/거짓말/조작은 증가했나?

오늘 진실만을 이야기한 분?

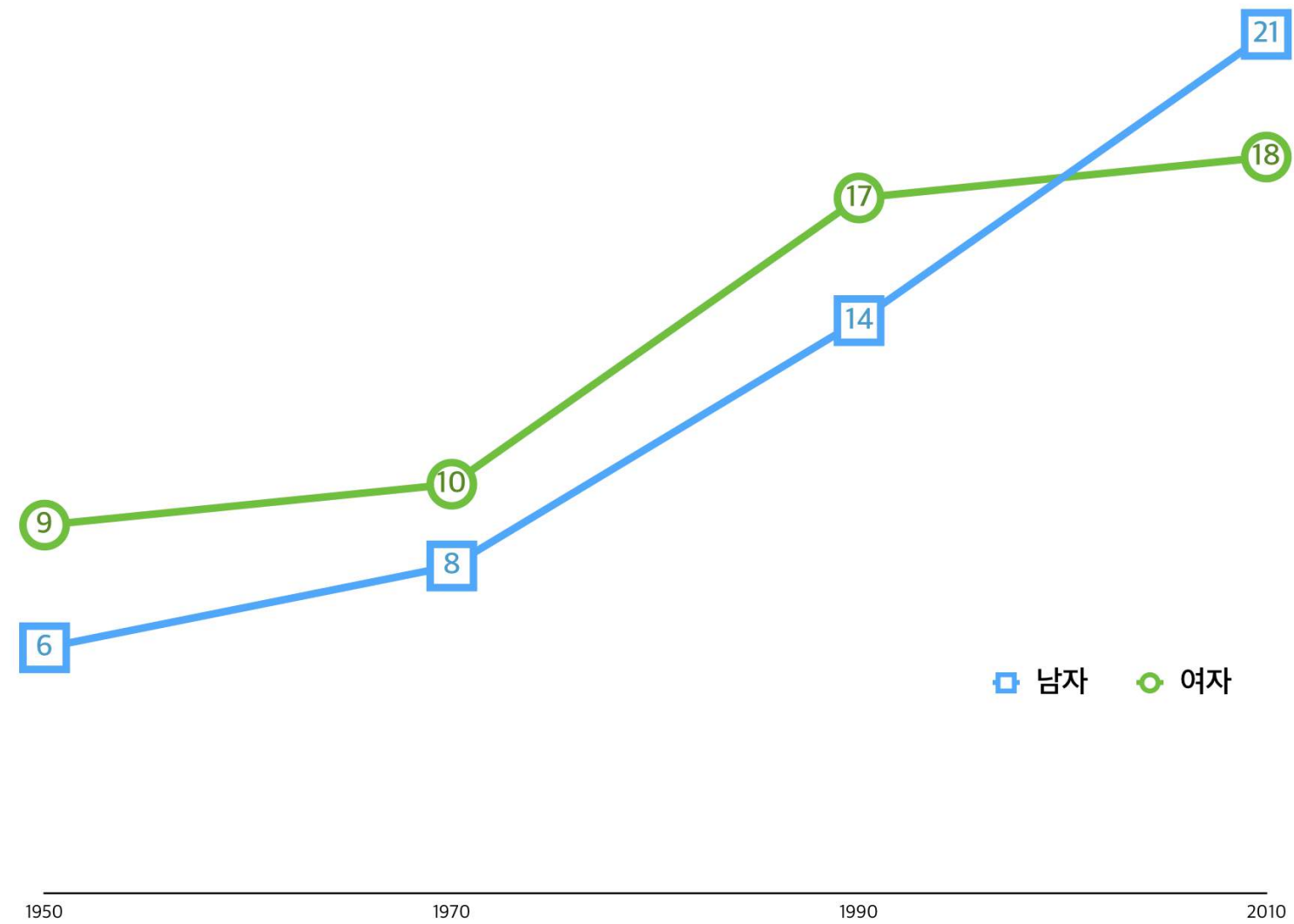
오늘 1-2개 거짓말 한 분?

# 하루 거짓말 횟수



# 거짓말!

하루 거짓말 횟수



디지털 공론장

거짓말

어디에나?

강한 연결과 약한 연결

**real-time communication**

정보 전달 속도 증가

# 인터넷

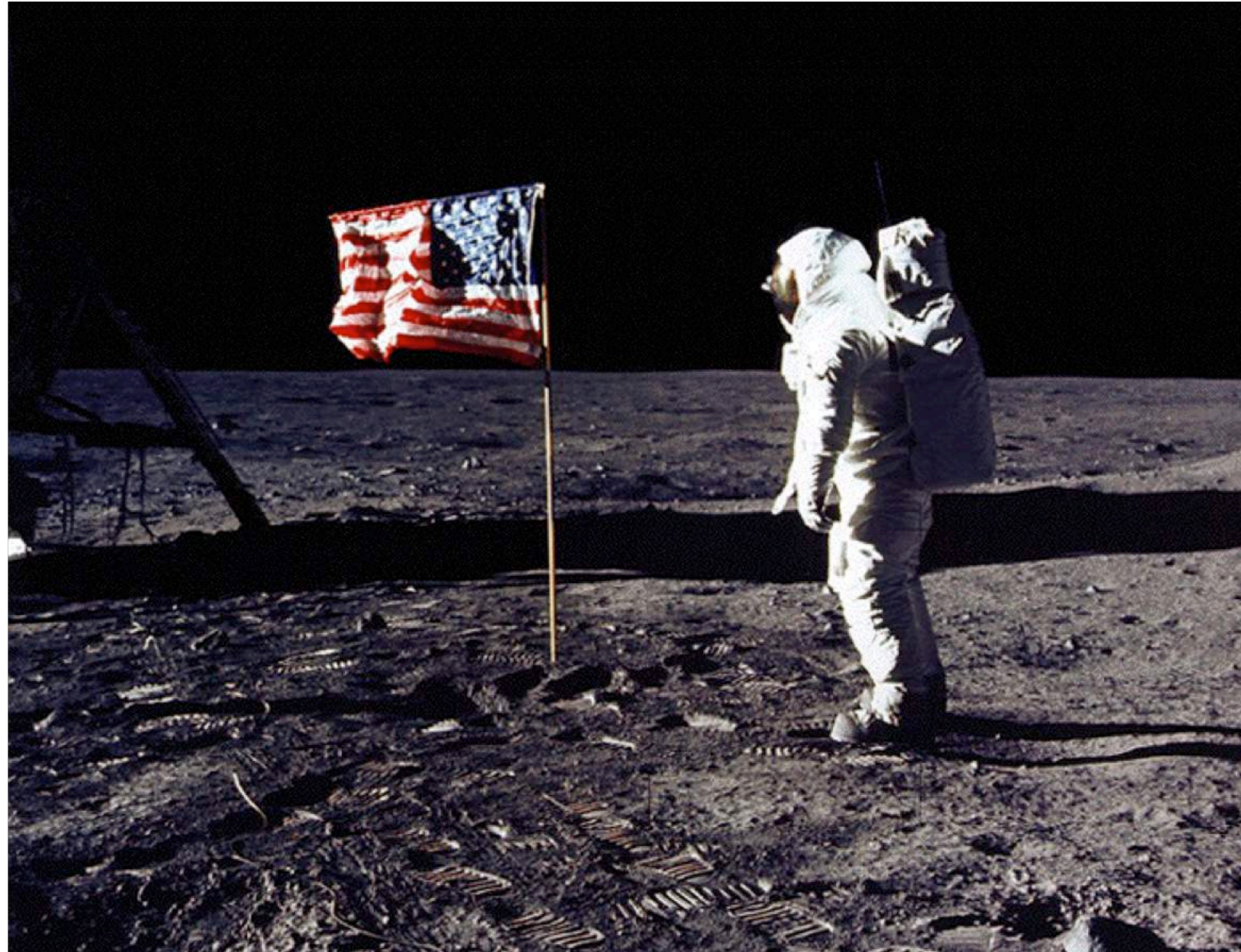
## 거짓 확산 미디어어?

## 진실 확산 미디어어?

# ambivalent!



# conspiracy theory



음모론자

= 사실이 아닌 것을

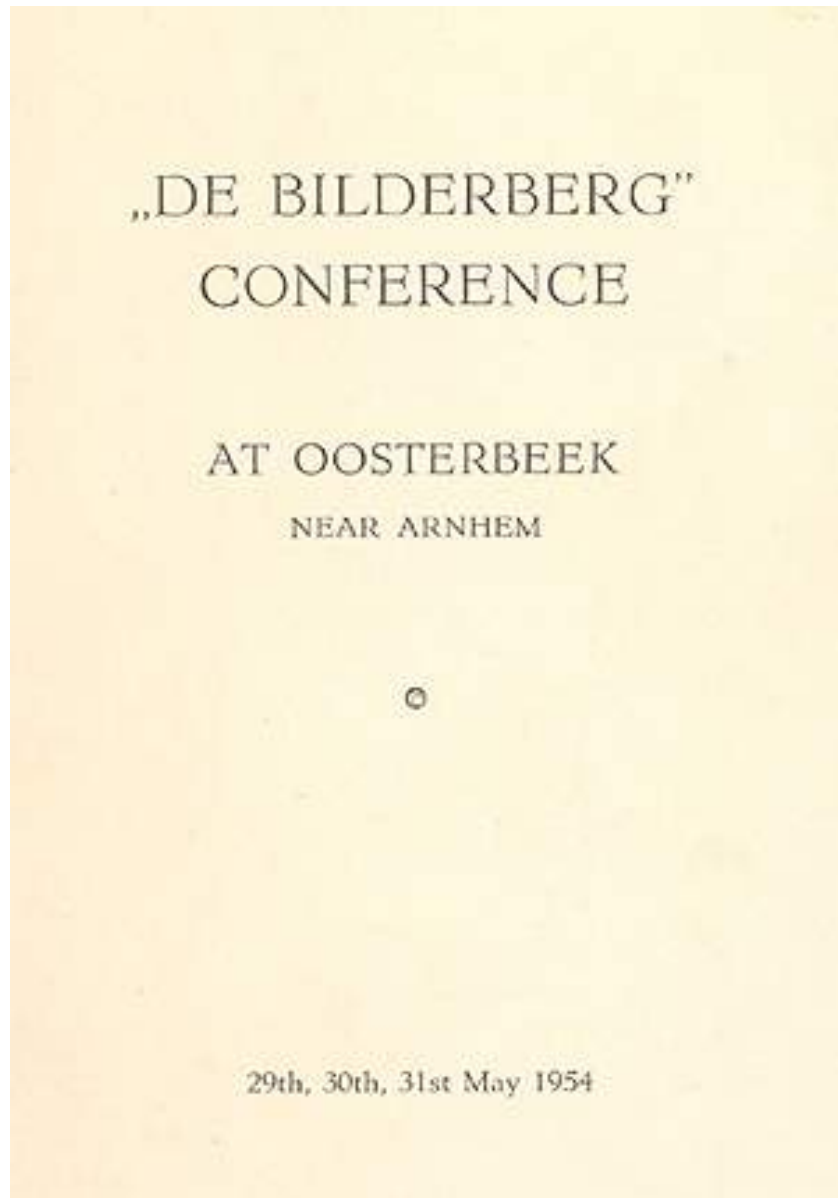
사실인 것처럼

꾸며 대어 말을 하는 사람

# 마녀사냥 Witch Hunt



# Bilderberger Conference



DAILY MIRROR, Wednesday, February 13, 1980 PAGE 9

**DAY TWO of a dossier on the quiet men who control our destiny**

**NEWS INQUIRY**

THE Daily Mirror yesterday revealed the power of the Trilateral Commission as a group of global manipulators. The Trilateral Commission—known as the Kingmakers—stands second to none in power, prestige and influence. But not far behind comes the Bilderberg Group, a circle of the elite and wealthy whose hush-hush meetings determine how the Western nations should run their affairs.

**SECRET MEETINGS TO SHAPE THE WORLD**

EVERY year 120 of the world's most powerful and influential men come together, lock themselves away for three days and decide what policies the democratic nations of the West should follow.

They are members of the Bilderberg Group and their meetings are always kept a closely guarded secret.

But I can reveal that this year they will meet in the spa city of Aachen, just 45 miles from the German capital, Bonn, from April 18 - 20 inclusive.

I can also reveal that former German President Walter Scheel has been invited to replace the ageing Lord Home as chairman of Bilderberg. Scheel has accepted.

*Top of the Aachen agenda will be world politics and economics following the Russian invasion of Afghanistan.*

Bilderbergers represent the elite and wealthy establishment of every Western nation. They include bankers, politicians, diplomats and leaders of the giant multi-national corporations.

Among British politicians who have attended their meetings are Edward Heath, Harold Wilson, James Callaghan, Denis Healey, Margaret Thatcher and Enoch Powell.

Other influential members of the British Establishment include Lord Roll, of merchant bankers S. G. Warburg; Sir Reay Geddes, chairman of Dunlop; John Harvey-Jones of ICI; and Sir David Steel, chairman of British Petroleum.

Everything about the group is shrouded in mystery.

Their meetings, which take place at a different location each year, go unannounced, their debates unreported, their decisions unknown.

by **ROBERT ERINGER**  
An American journalist who has spent four years investigating the all-powerful groups that aim to influence our lives.

Ideas and suggestions made at Bilderberg.

C. Gordon Tether, the distinguished former columnist of the Financial Times, wrote: "If the Bilderberg Group is not a conspiracy of some sort it is conducted in such a way as to give a remarkably good imitation of

Walter Bedell Smith, then director of the CIA.

One of the most intriguing aspects of the Bilderberg group is its steering committee's amazing ability to invite politicians to join the group who later reach the pinnacles of power in their respective countries.

**TOP: Margaret Thatcher and David Rockefeller meet in London.**

conspiracy theory

=

지식의 재조직화

**another assignment of knowledge**

# 지식의 위치

heterodox

orthodox

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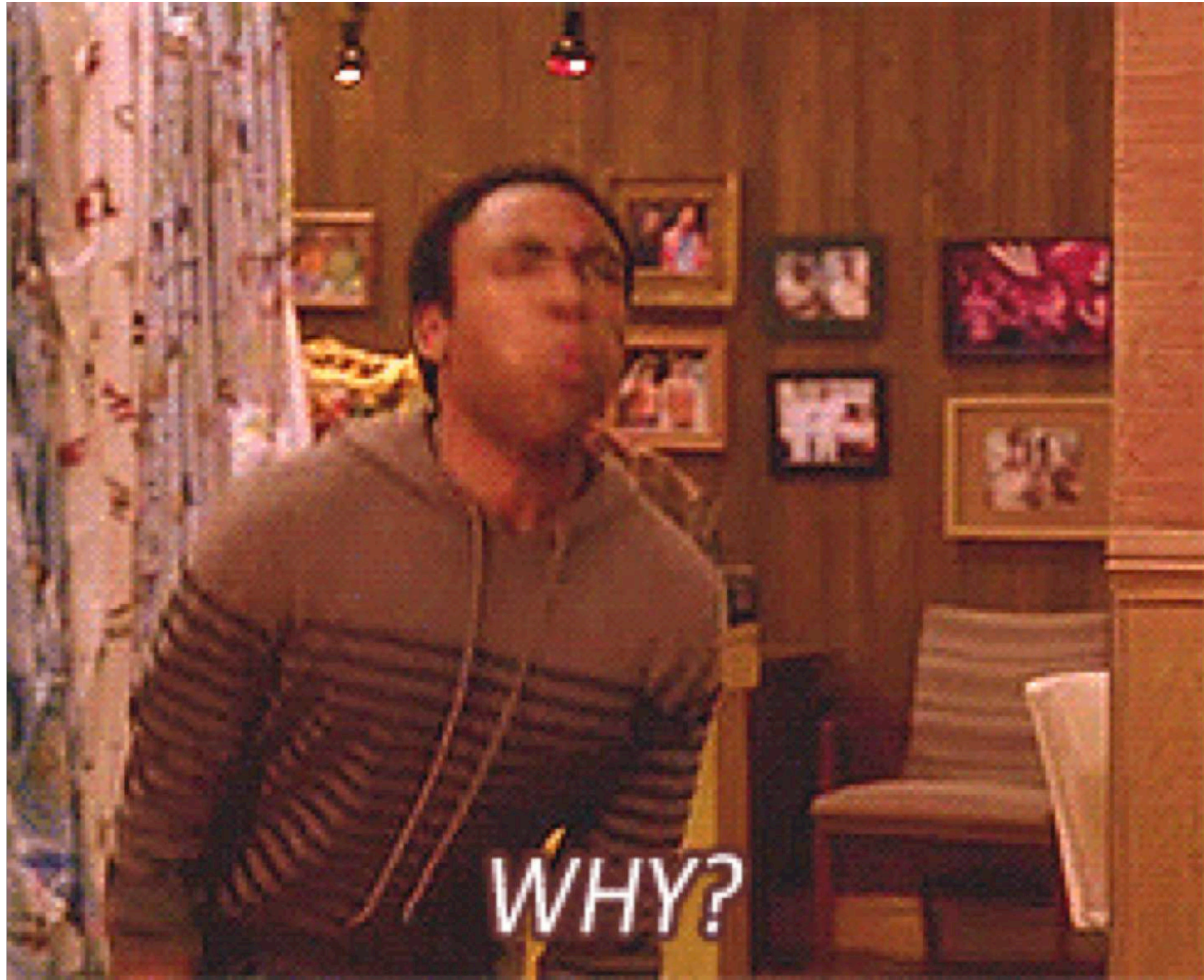
heterodox



orthodox

# selective perception





# Why Do People Believe in Conspiracy Theories?



SCIENTIFIC  
AMERICAN™

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THE SCIENCES

## Why Do People Believe in Conspiracy Theories?

Who believes in conspiracy theories—and why

By Michael Shermer on December 1, 2014



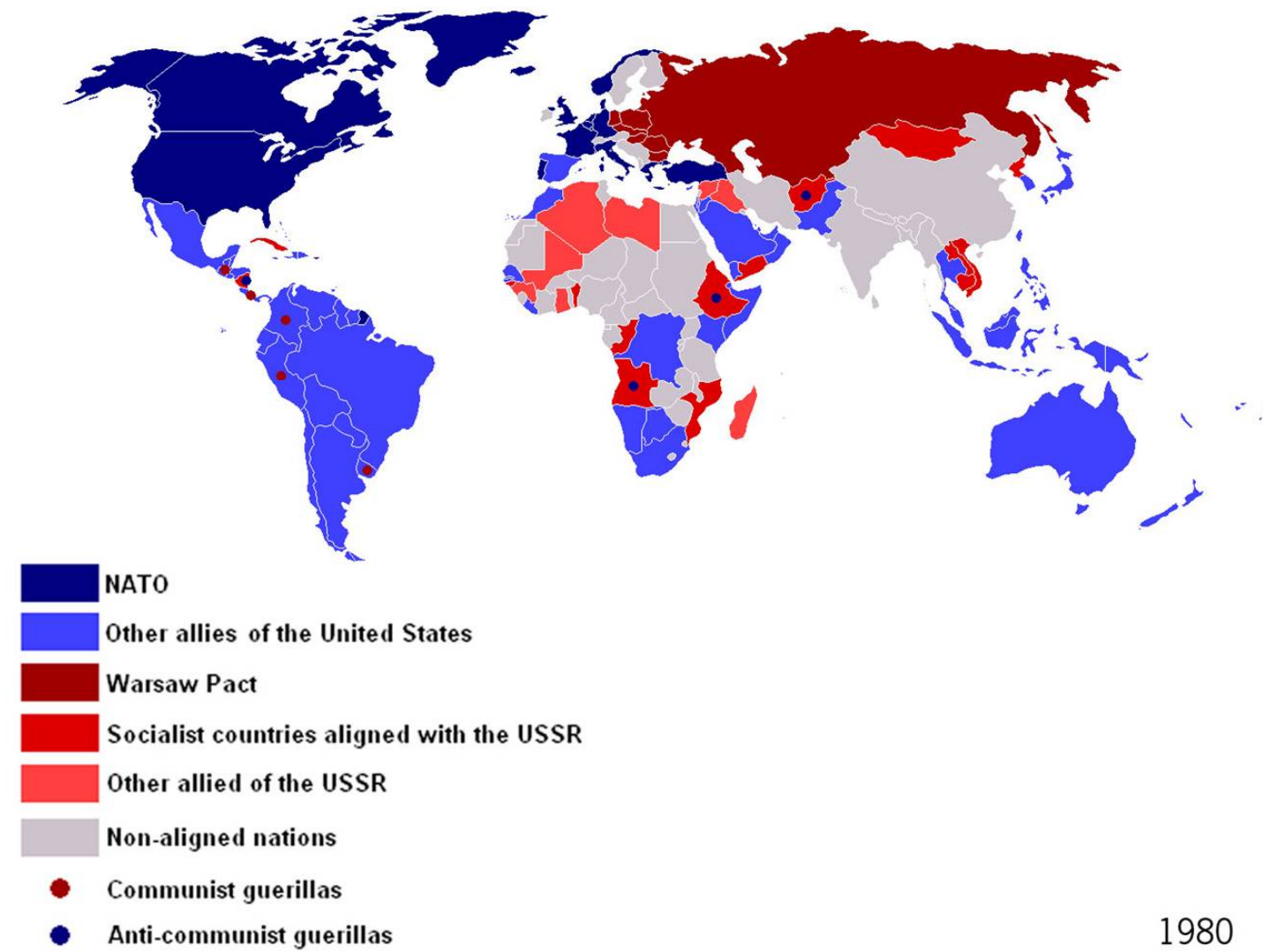
*Credit: Izhar Cohen*

President Barack Obama has been a busy man while in office: he concocted a fake birth certificate to hide his true identity as a foreigner, created “death panels” to determine who would live and who would die under his health care plan, conspired to destroy religious liberty by mandating contraceptives for religious

# 1. information overload



## 2. complexity reduction



# 3. Faith Societies



## 4. context/surroundings > content



## 5. 위험 평가 능력 낮음



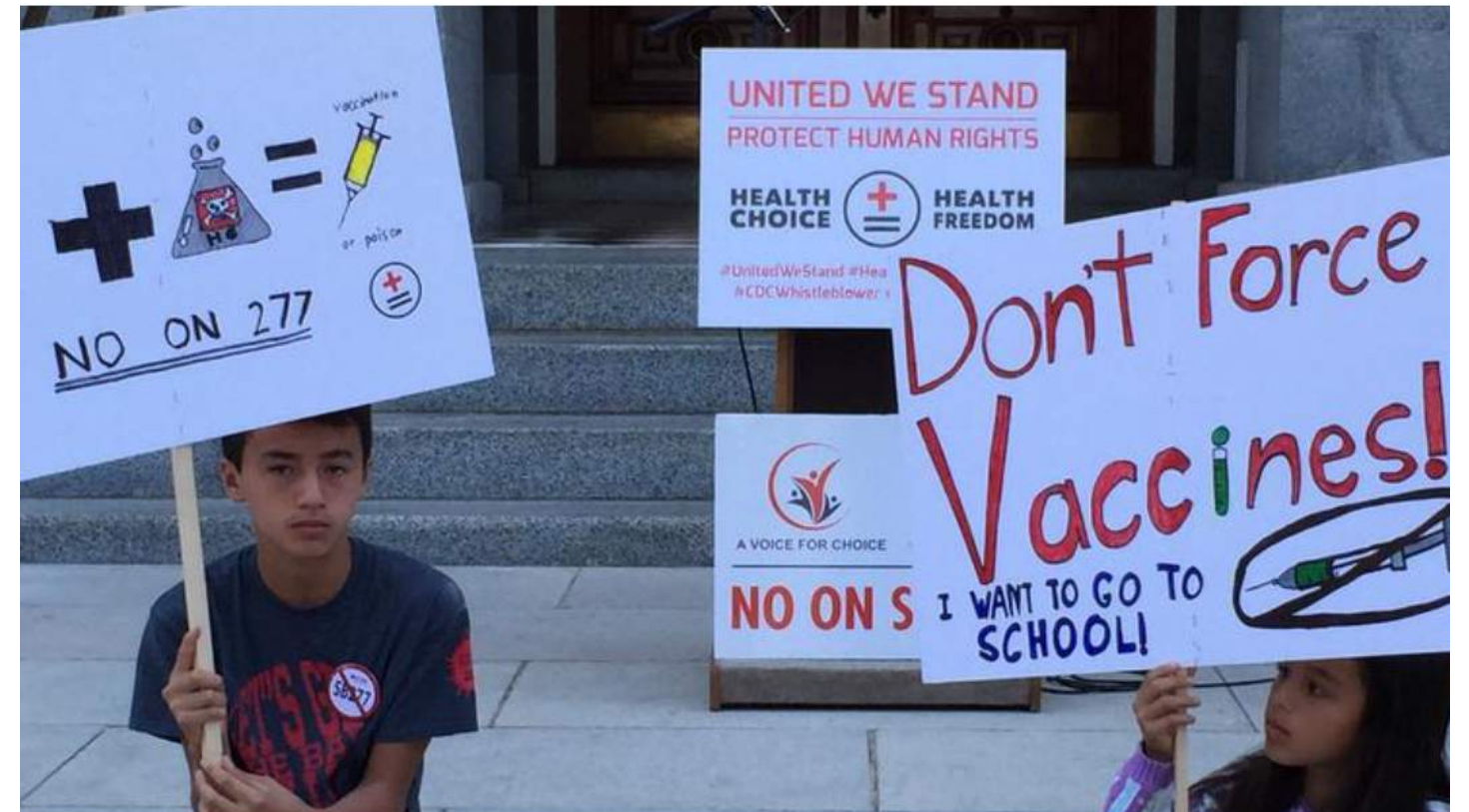
# Risk society by Ulrich Beck & Anthony Giddens



# 백신거부

## → 소아병 (autism)

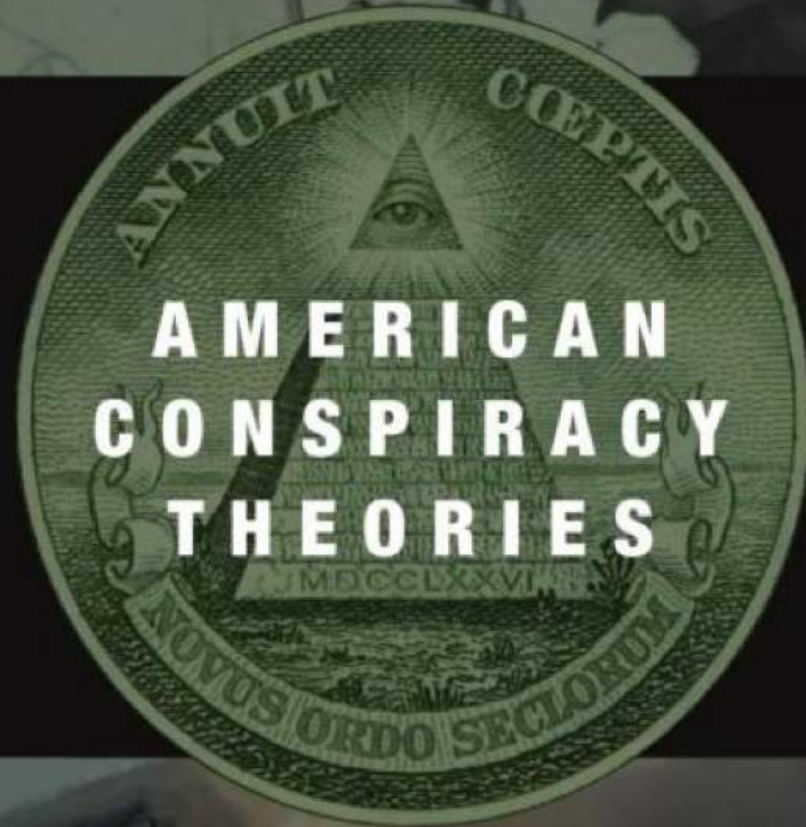
### California vaccine law opponents: passionate, persistent and science-averse



Two children hold up homemade protest signs last week at a rally against legislation that would strengthen California's vaccination mandate. On Monday, state lawmakers sent the bill to Gov. Jerry Brown for approval. (Robin Abcarian / Los Angeles Times)

교육 수준 높을 수록,  
양 극단 가능성 높아

# Uscinski & Parent (2014)



# Alfred Polgar

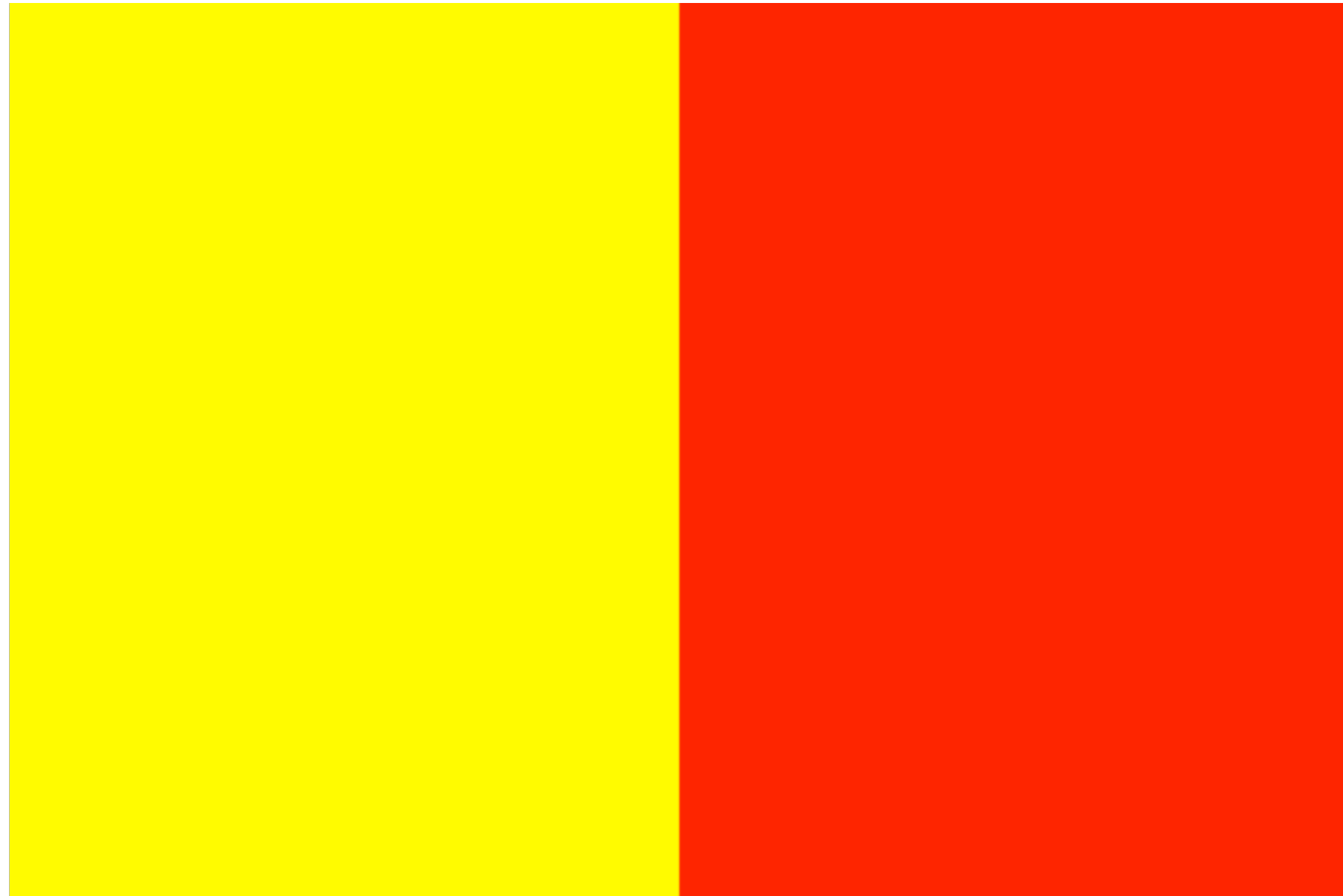
**Die Menschen glauben viel leichter eine Lüge, die sie schon hundertmal gehört haben, als eine Wahrheit, die ihnen völlig neu ist.**

People believe much easier a lie that they have already heard a hundred times, as a truth that is completely new to them.

확증편향

**confirmation bias**

# 노랑과 빨강, 어떤 색이 무거울까?



# scheme: good(mouse) vs. evil(sneak)



**world order: good vs. evil**

**→ assurance → competence**

**→ self-efficacy (자기옹호)**

**세상은 혼돈에 빠졌고, 난 이를 통찰했다!**

**terror, economic crisis**

**→ victims 찾아**





**When you ride ALONE  
you ride with Hitler!**



**Join a  
Car-Sharing Club  
TODAY!**

WERNER  
PURCELL

# Hate Speech



**Daily Mail**  
 THE GREAT BRITISH BAKE OFF  
**FREE INSIDE TOMORROW GREAT BRITISH BAKE OFF**  
 SUPERB 16-PAGE RECIPE GLOSSY

As numbers break all records ...

**MIGRANTS: HOW MANY MORE CAN WE TAKE?**



Jamie's war on junk food ads in TV talent shows

COMMENT

THE free scale of the immigration crisis has led some to suggest that the UK might be overwhelmed. However, the government has a plan to deal with the situation.

**5p DAILY EXPRESS**  
 THE WORLD'S GREATEST NEWSPAPER

**FREE £10 GOODWOOD BET**  
 HAVE A FLUTTER TODAY WITH PADDYPOWER

**SIR PETER O'SULLEVAN**  
 TRIBUTES AS THE VOICE OF HORSE RACING DIES AT 97

**SEND IN ARMY TO HALT MIGRANT INVASION**

Call for action to end chaos in Calais

THE escalating migrant crisis in Calais prompted demands yesterday for troops to be sent in.

By Mark Reynolds

THE crisis has caused chaos in Calais, with hundreds of migrants being held in makeshift camps. The situation is dire and needs to be resolved.

**Daily Mail**

Exhausted at home at work. Are you burnt-out?

Unemployment may be falling, but ...

**FOREIGN WORKERS GET 3 IN 4 NEW JOBS**

By Kerry Walker

THE report shows that foreign workers are being hired at a much faster rate than domestic workers. This is due to the skills gap in the UK.

**DAILY EXPRESS**  
 THE WORLD'S GREATEST NEWSPAPER

**10p** FREE MEGA BLOKS TOYS  
 THOMAS & FRIENDS BUILDABLE CHARACTERS

Mystery death of hacking informer

**BRITAIN MUST BAN MIGRANTS**

It's essential for British workers says new report



Emma Thompson's fears of going blind

and Brad 'to wed'

# 50 Cent Party 우마오당



## China Banned The Term '50 Cents' To Stop Discussion Of An Orwellian Propaganda Program

 Christina Sterbenz     
🕒 Oct. 17, 2014, 3:44 PM 🔥 8,133 💬 19



The Chinese government doesn't just censor its internet. It also pays people to leave fake comments that make the country and its communist regime look good.

As detailed in "[Blocked on Weibo](#)" by Jason Q. Ng, one of the many phrases the social media site banned is "50 cents." The term references a huge set of people hired by the government to post internet comments spinning the news in China's favor. They're supposedly paid 50 cents of Renminbi for every post.

internet as a propaganda machine

▶ **an open and visible competition**

between heterodox & orthodox

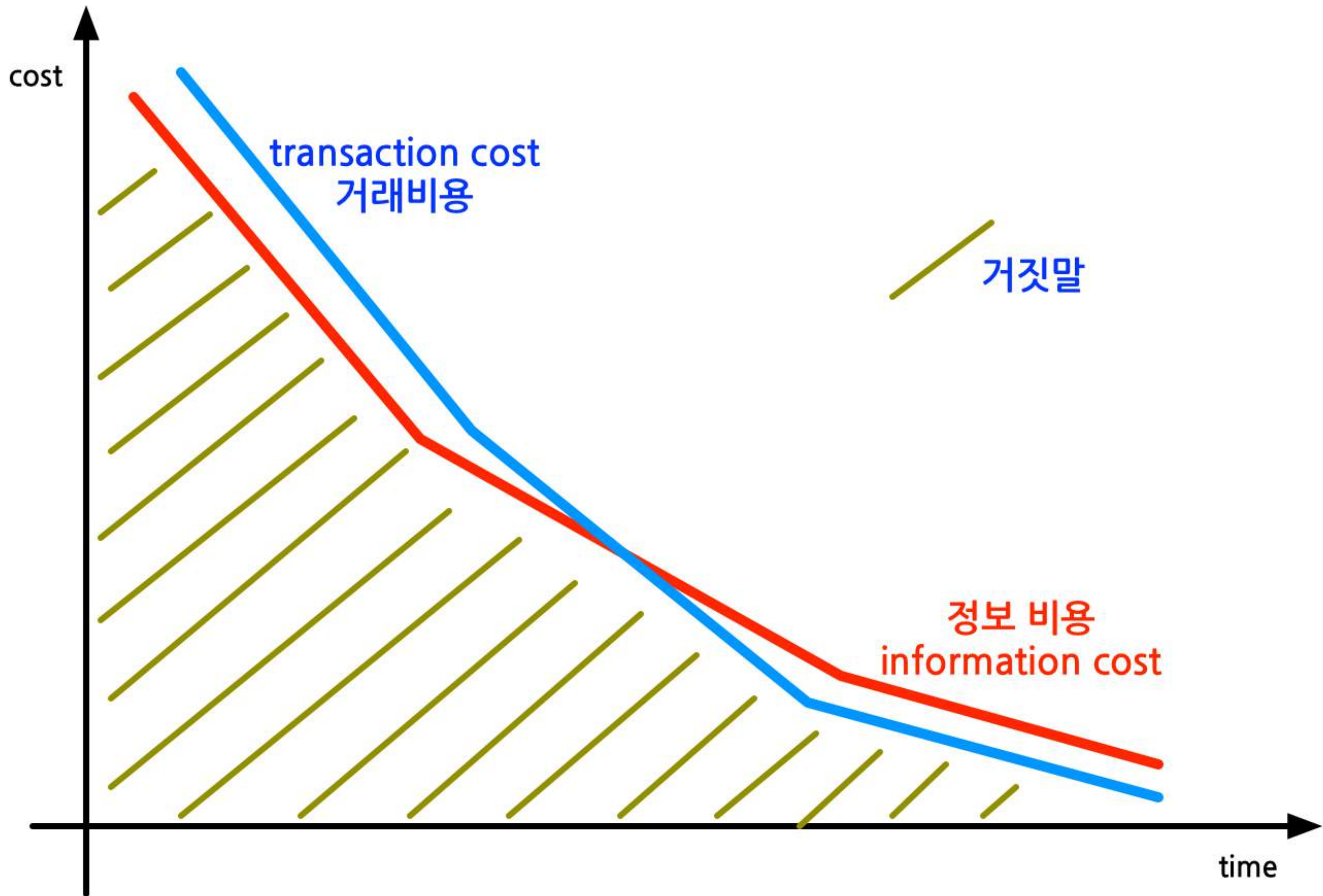
# Post Gutenberg Galaxy

decreasing information cost

**decreasing transaction cost**

cost for the truth!





Vladimir Putin

# Putin calls internet a 'CIA project' renewing fears of web breakup

Russian president's remark fans idea that has gained ground in Germany, Brazil and elsewhere after Edward Snowden's revelations



Vladimir Putin at media forum in St Petersburg. The Russian president has long hinted that he wants a Russian-run alternative to the internet. Photograph: Mikhail Klimentiev/Ria Novosti/EPA

강정수

Ewen MacAskill, defence and intelligence correspondent

Thursday 24 April 2014 22:09 BST

# 거짓/음모도 진화!

# 진실의 종말!

푸틴:

“우리에게 필요할 것은

진실이 아니라

사랑이다.”

사랑=민족주의=이데올로기





# Sasha Grey: Former porn star becomes face of Russian anti-Kiev 'propaganda'

Actress was featured in a fake story about a nurse being murdered by Ukrainian soldiers

Lizzie Dearden | @lizziedearden | Friday 20 February 2015 |  
0 comments



객관성 신화

인간 누구나 선입견 가지고 있어

**Niklas Luhmann (1996)**

**„Was wir über unsere Gesellschaft, ja über die Welt, in der wir leben, wissen, wissen wir durch die Medien(, welche vorgefiltert sind).“**

**"What we know about our society, indeed the world in which we live, we know through the mass media(, which are already filtered)."**

# conspiracy from fear

## Sorge, Angst





**The horror of “unknowing” is our greatest fear!**



# 진실은 필요한가?

(more importantly)

**consensus!**

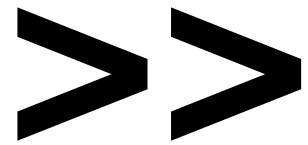
minimal consensus

access to knowledge

**transparency**

open knowledge/  
commons

**knowledge/scientific competence**



**media competence/literacy**

# Reducing Angst/Fear!

# Sapere aude

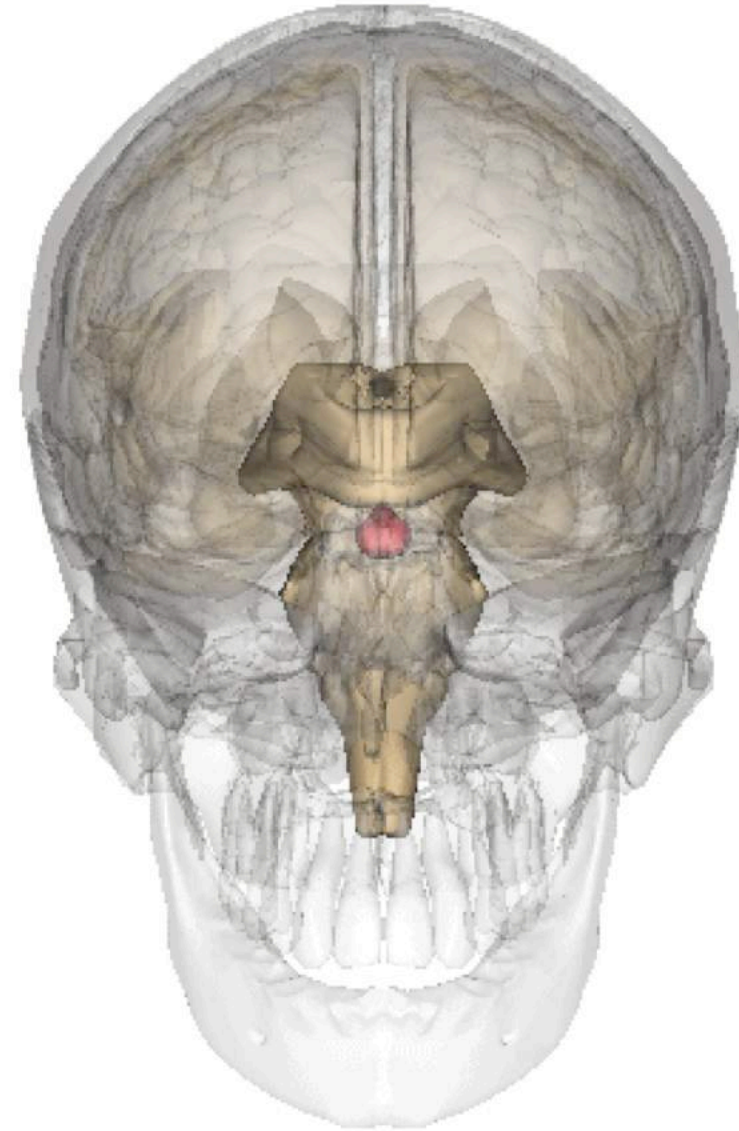
- **Dare to Know**
- **대담하게 지성을 이용, 지성을 사용할 용기**
- **“Dimidium facti, qui coepit, habet, sapere aude, incipe” Horace (Horatius)**
- **Immanuel Kant, “What is Enlightenment?”**
- **Michel Foucault, “What is Enlightenment?”**

# III. 디지털 공론장: 청소년기



## 뇌하수체(Pituitary gland)

- 샘자극호르몬
- 성장호르몬
- Sex steroid

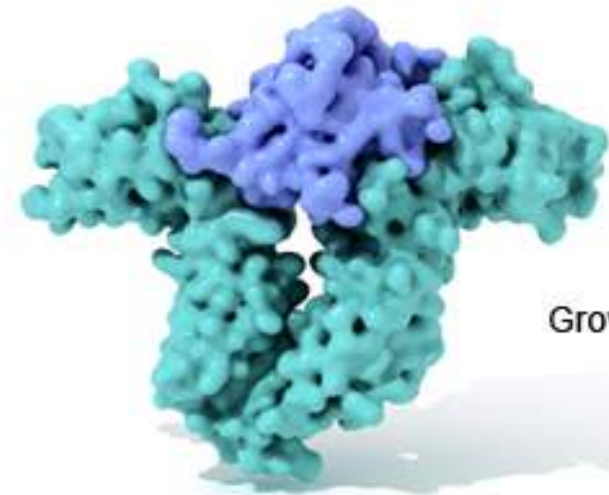


# growth hormone information in networks

Growth hormone



Growth hormone



Growth hormone bound  
to receptor

U.S. National Library of Medicine

# 사춘기 puberty

# *growing pains*

overchallenged

**overwhelmed**

internet = growth

**디지털 공론장**

사춘기 맞고 있어

smartphone

**constantly connected**

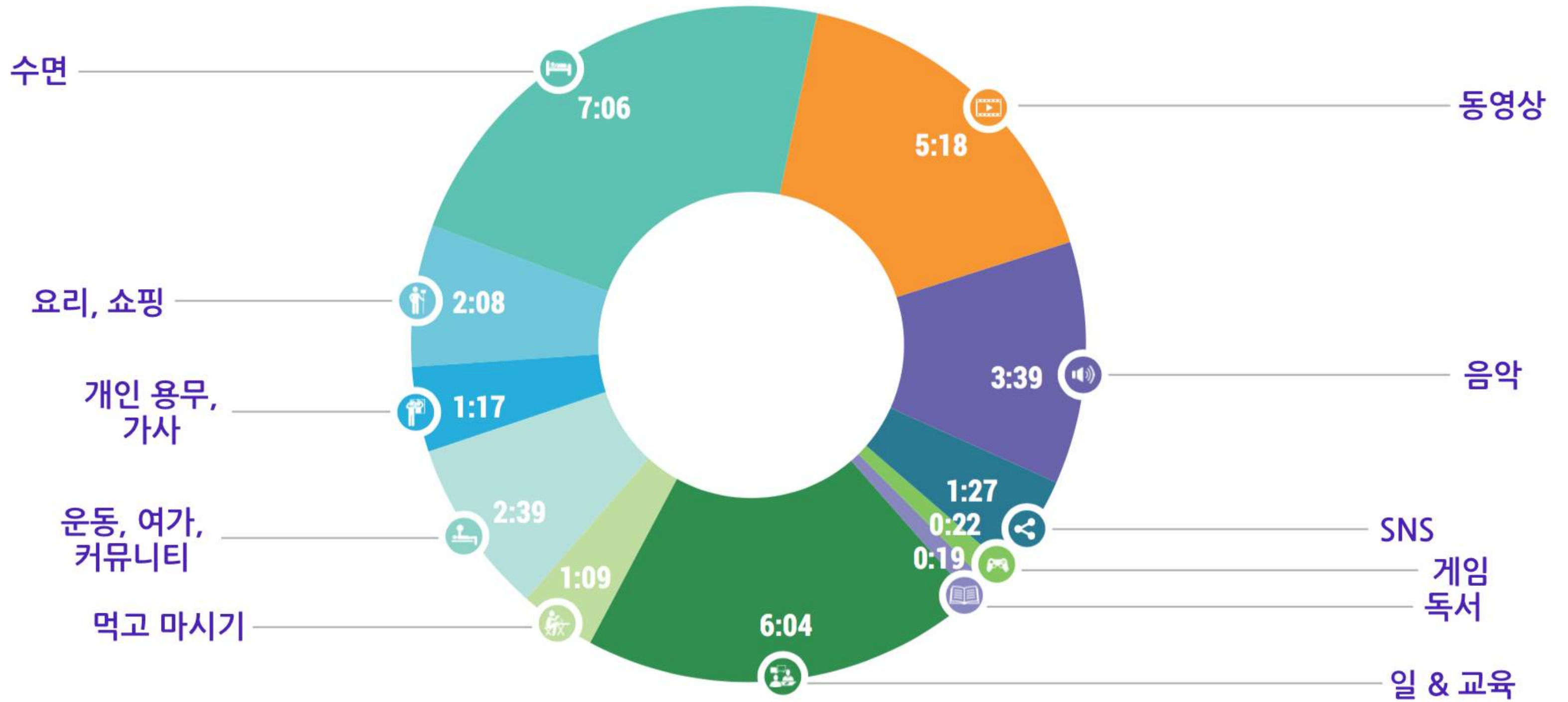
# 멀티태스킹(Multitasking)

미디어 소비시간, 꾸준히 증가

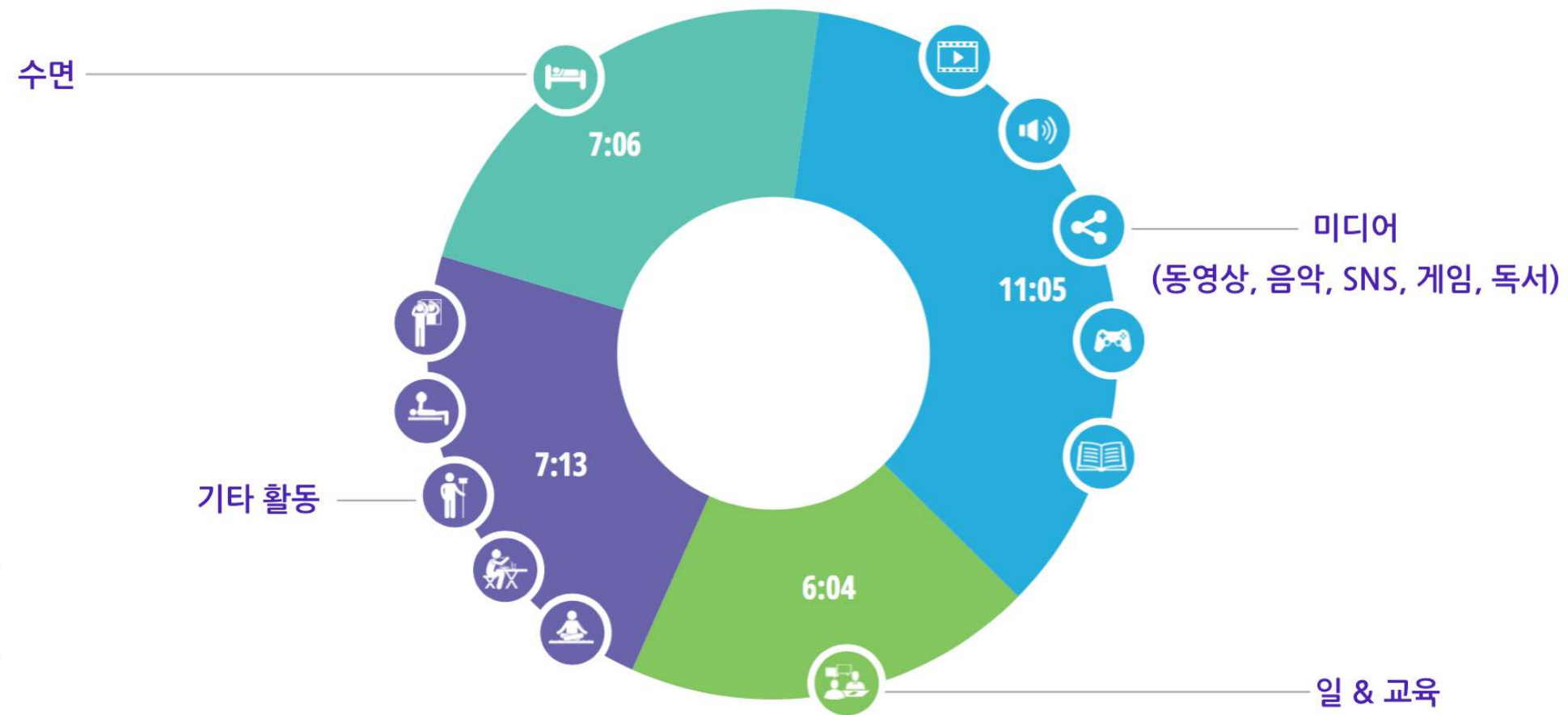
1972년 4.5시간

1992년 5.5시간





# 31시간 28분<sup>1</sup>



<sup>1</sup> 미국 성인 (2014년 기준), 출처 Activate.com

미디어 소비 증가와 함께

**Fake 함께 증가!**

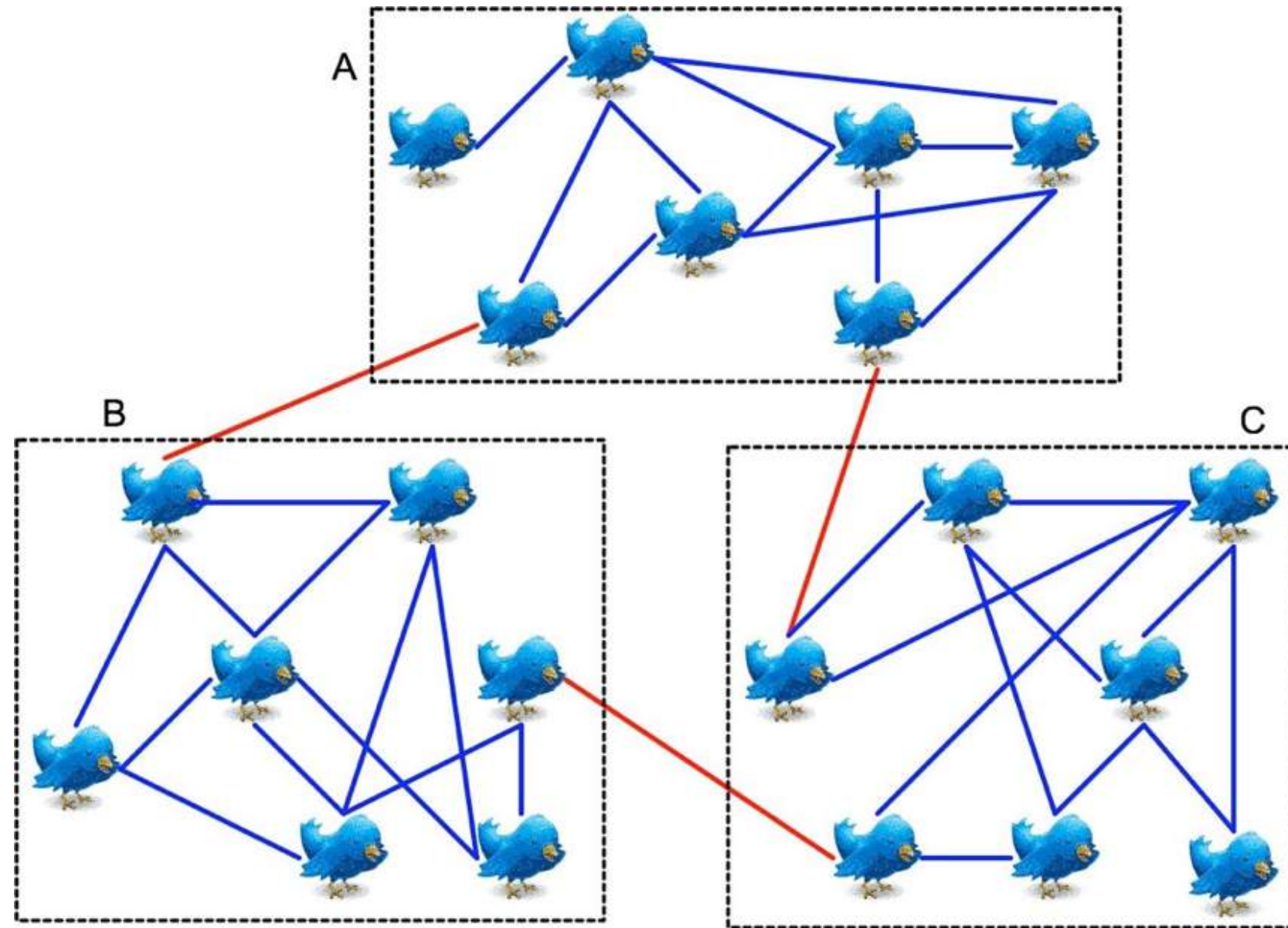
거짓/증오 함께 증가!

# Pope Benedict vs. Pope Francis





# Sharing Culture



**CHECKS FACEBOOK 3 TIMES**



**ONLY TO MAKE SURE DIDN'T HIT  
THE "LIKE" BUTTON ON A PORN SITE**

quickmeme.com

# sharing terror scenes





# Always On!

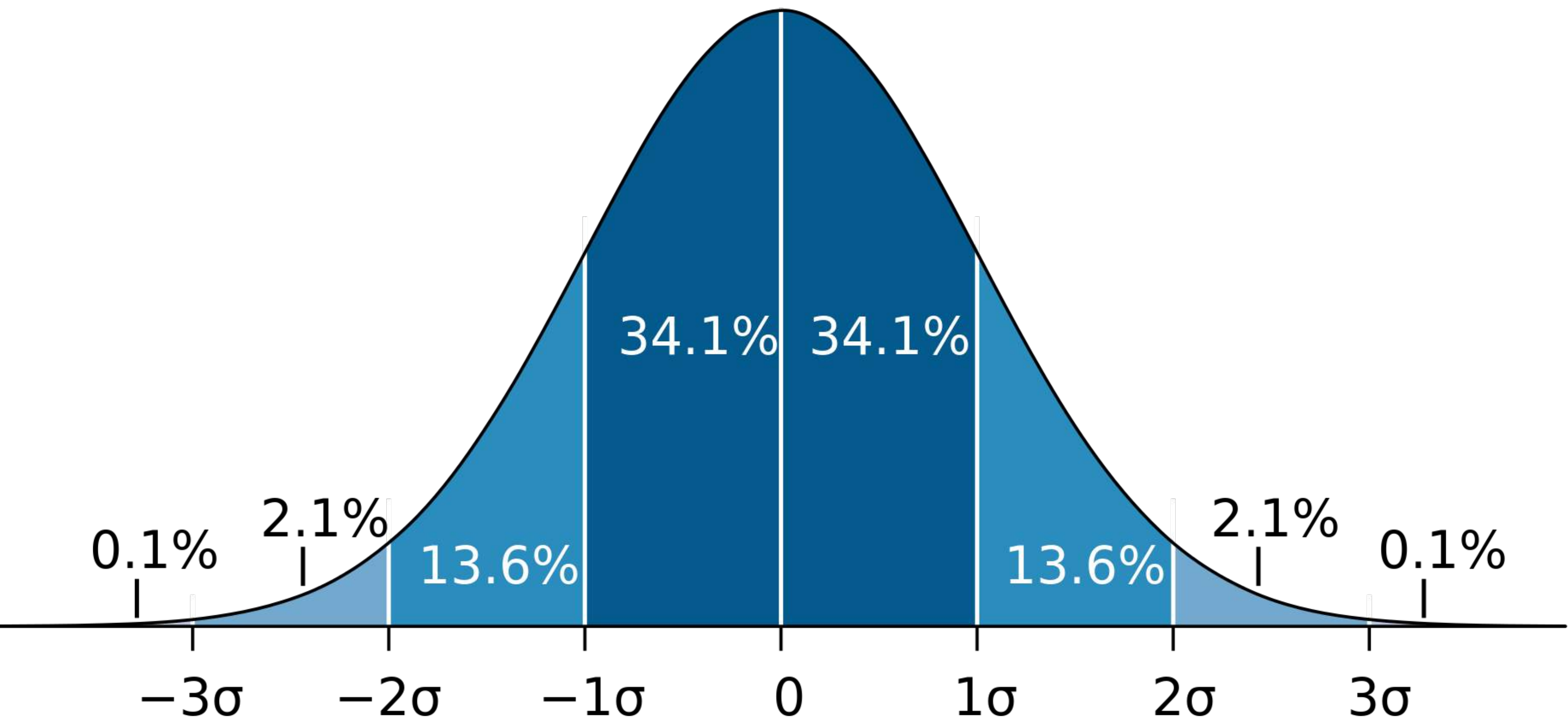
그 결과:

**We all rebel against each other!**

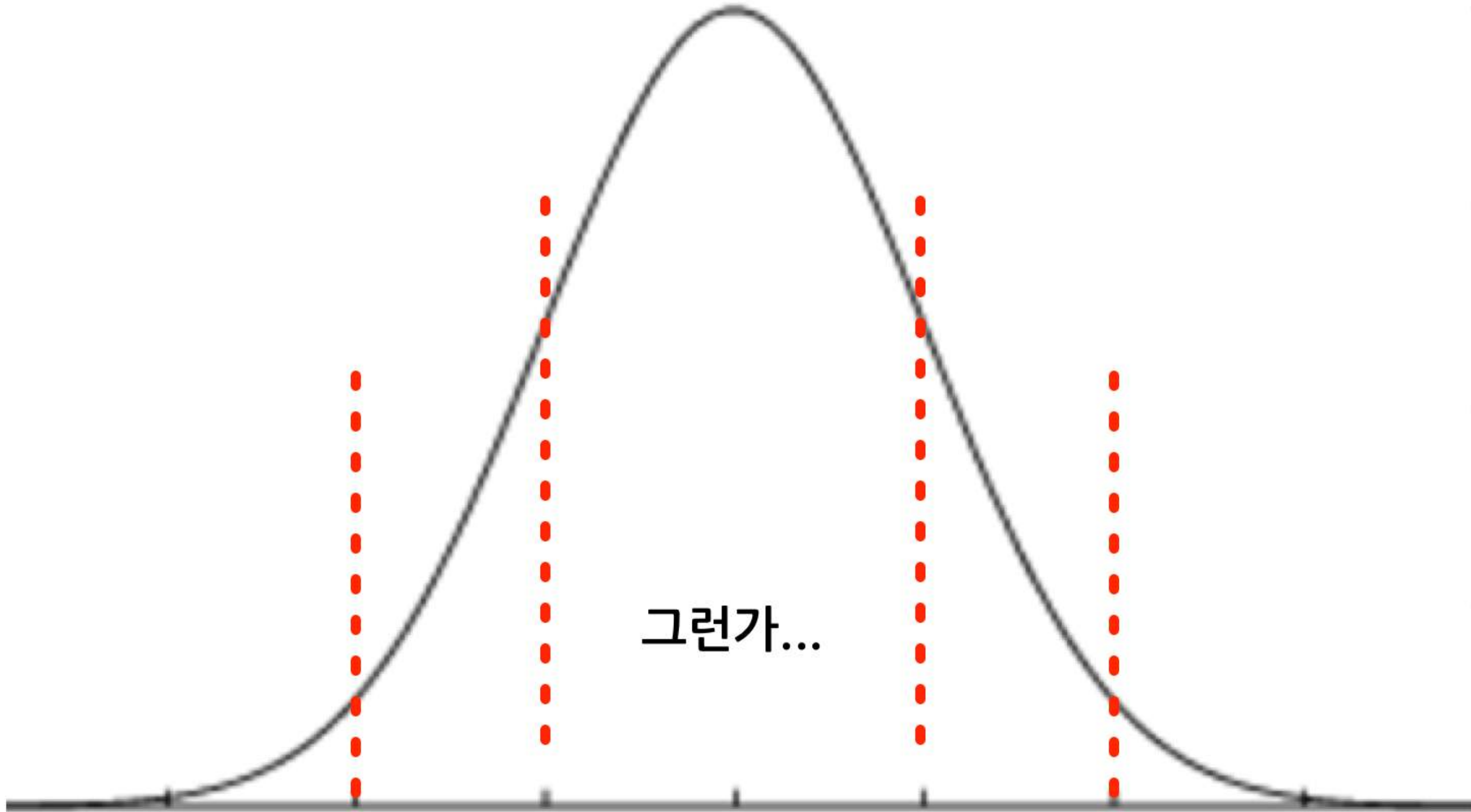
rebellion against each other!

**rebellion against ourselves!**

$$f(x, \mu, \sigma^2) = \frac{1}{\sigma\sqrt{2\pi}} e^{-\frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{x-\mu}{\sigma}\right)^2}$$



주장/보도



그런가...

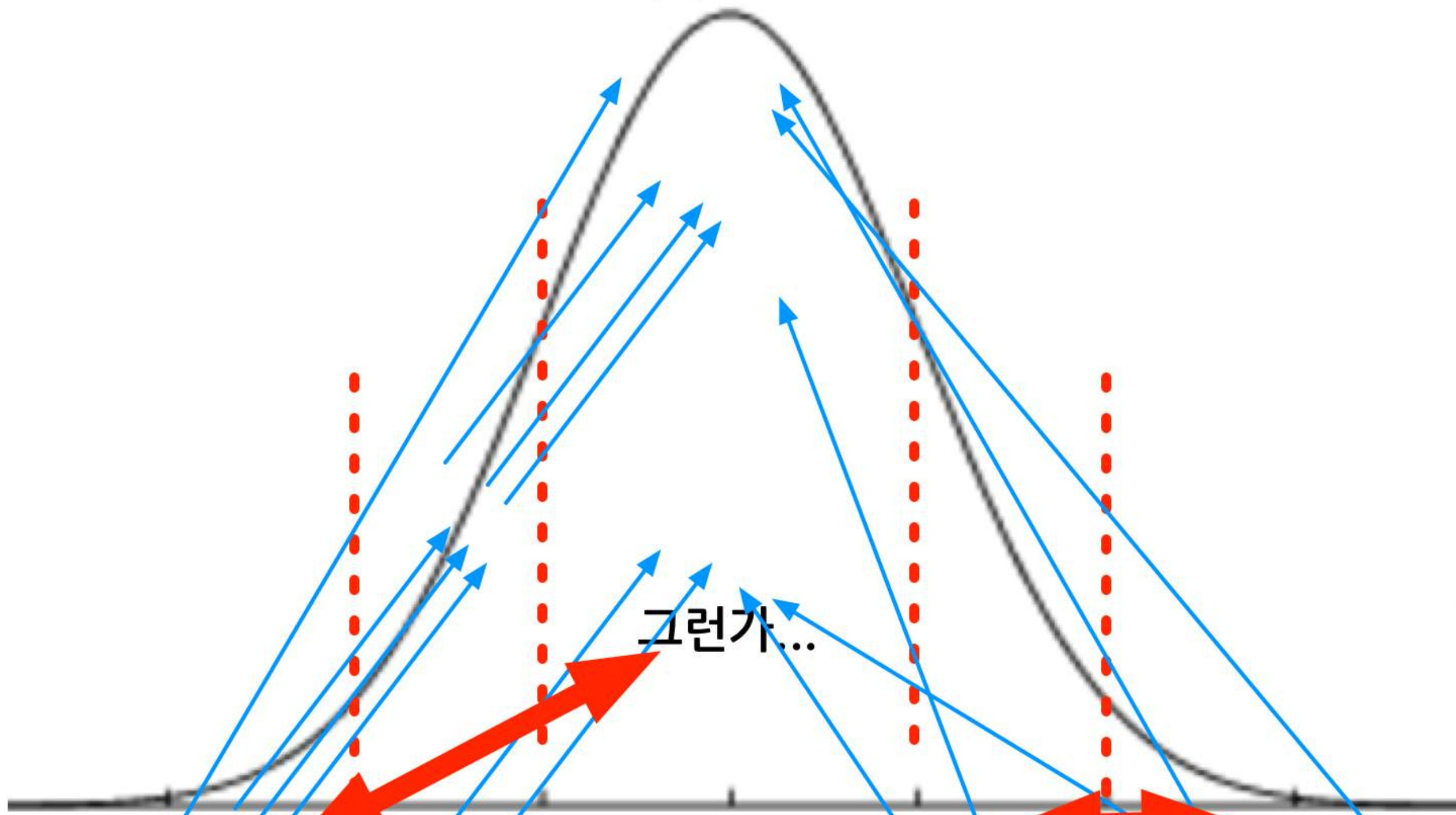
지랄!  
병신들!

틀렸어!

맞어!

역시!  
진실은 승리합니다!

# 주장/보도



그런가...

지랄! 틀렸어!

맞어! 역시!

병신들!

진실은 승리합니다!

# confrontation!

# 대립/대결

논쟁이

**대립과 대결로**

결과할 수 밖에 없어!



# 조작도 가능!

우리는

**네트워크 논쟁에**

대처하는 방법을

**배우지 못했다.**

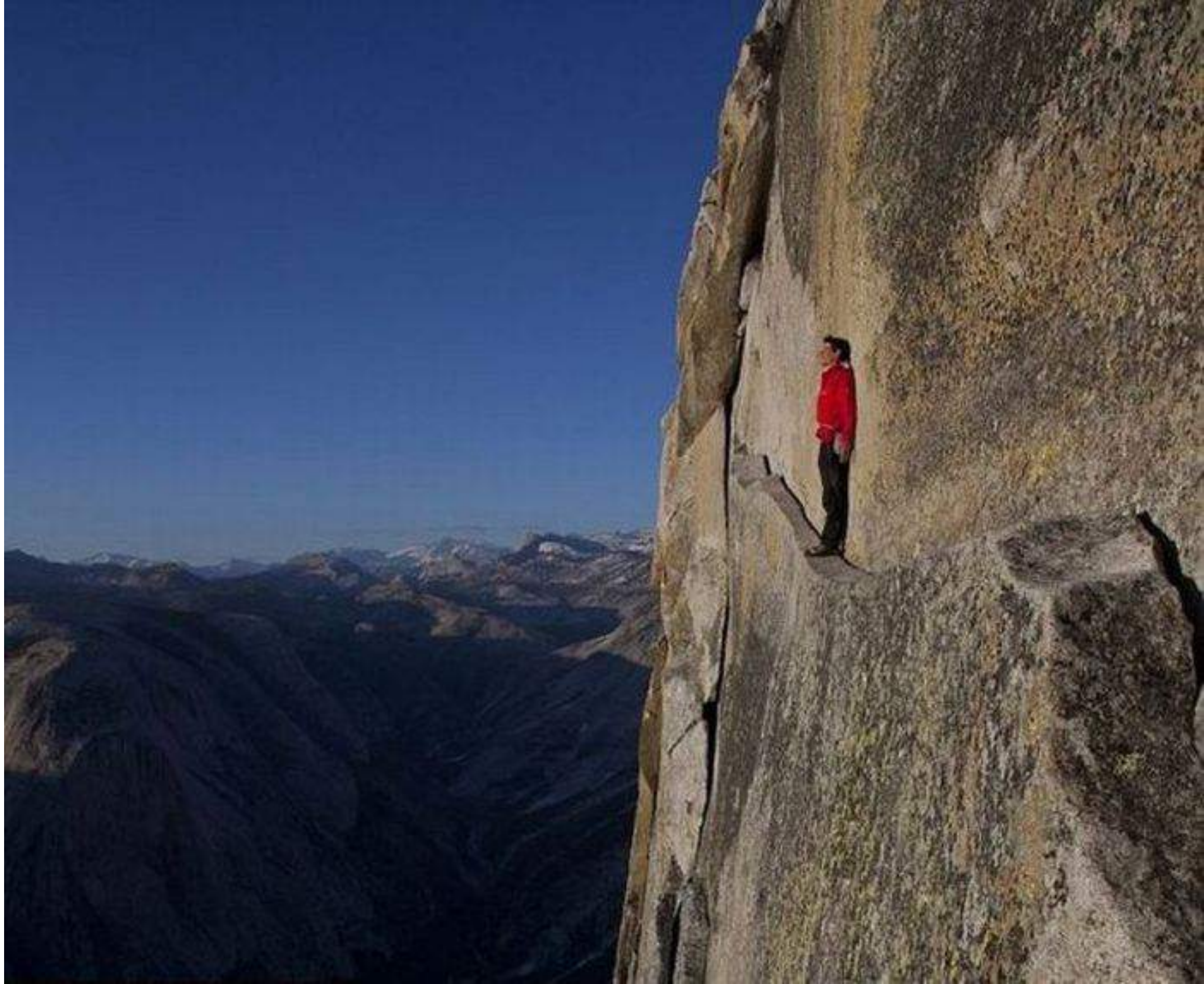
격분

outrage

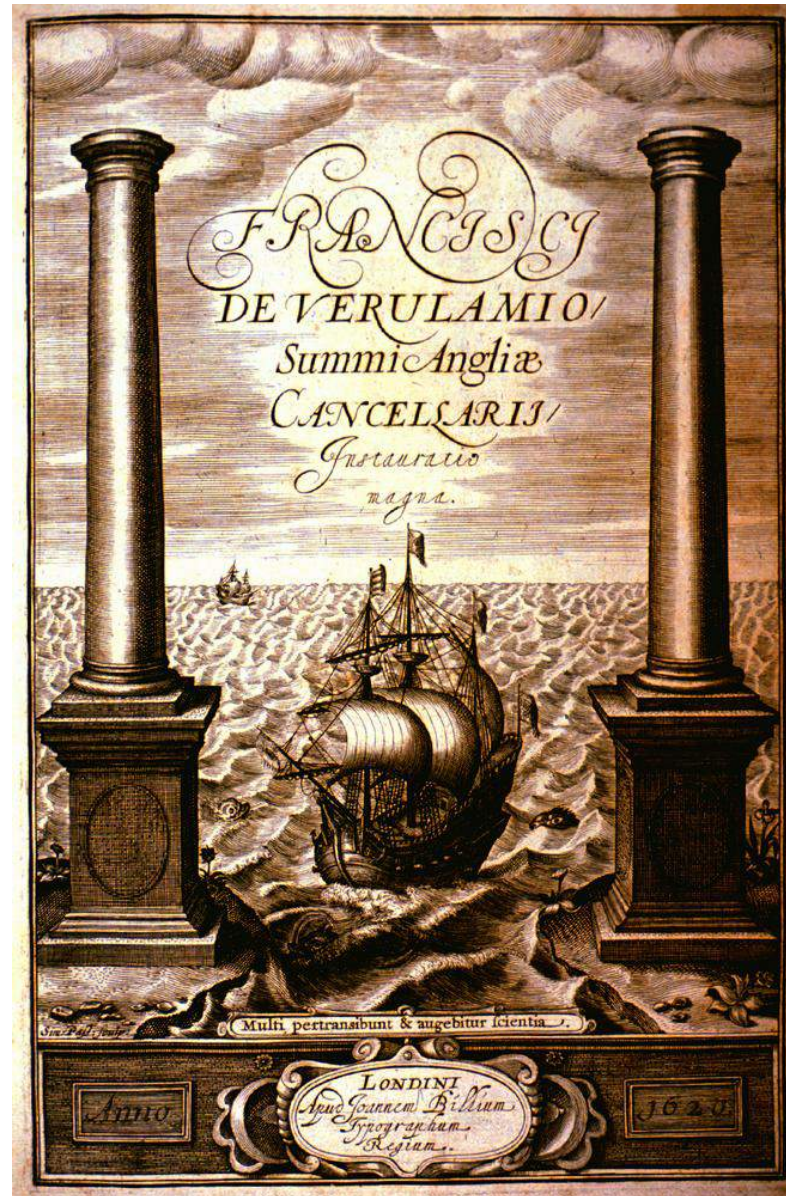
# *growing pains*

*digital burnout*

**digital fatigue**



# Francis Bacon 1620

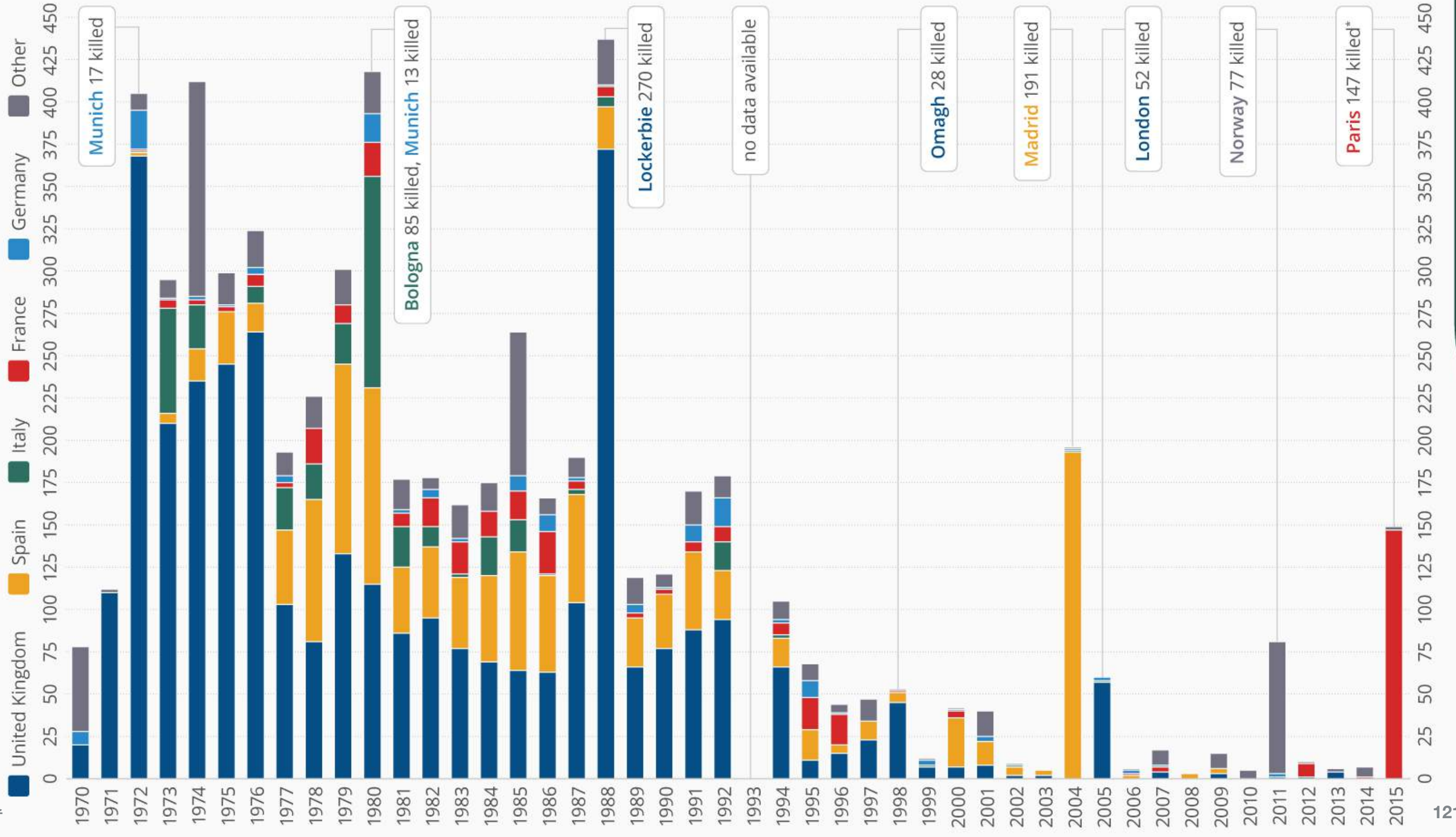


# 세상은 좋아지고 있어!

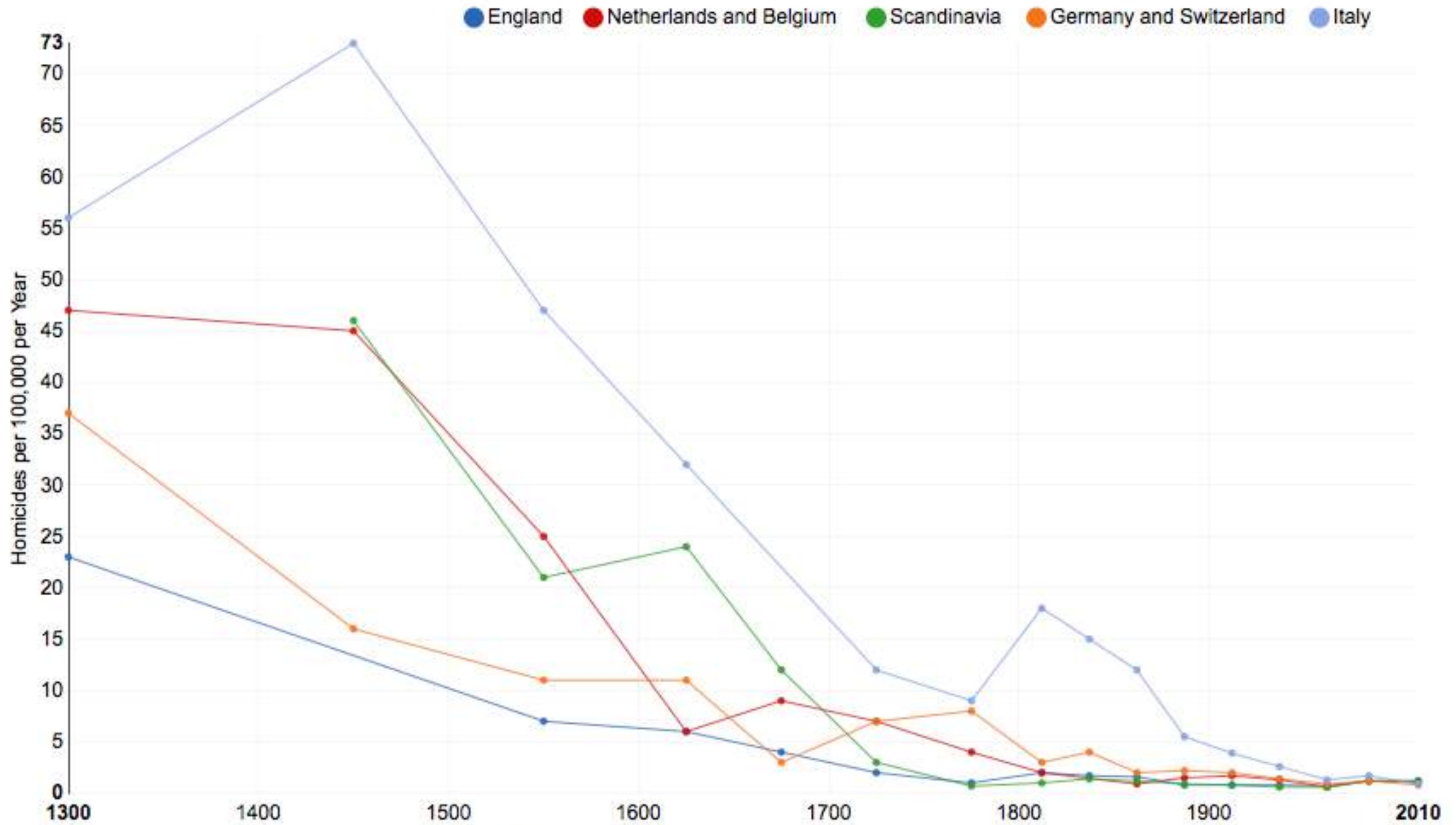


# Victims Of Terrorist Attacks In Western Europe

Number of persons killed by terrorist attacks 1970-2015



# Homicide rates in five Western European regions, 1300-2010 – Max Roser





# 1. 육체 성숙

**규칙: 망중립성,  
No-Surveillance**

digital peace

## 2. 감정 성숙

- **personal filter**
- 무엇이 중요하고
- 내 능력은 어디에
- 이건 진지한건가



It's not Facebook.

**It's your friends.**

# Information

**= Data + Context**

**There is no neutral  
information!**





# digital puberty

# as a **Adventure!**