Digitalpolis and "Safe" Feminism: Focusing on the Strategies of Direct Punishment and Gated Community

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This article starts with the following questions: Why did some digital feminists in Korean society set safety as the number one issue rather than freedom? Why did they come to emphasize gatekeeping communities for women? To answer these questions, the time-space conditions under which they live are defined as the digitalpolis, which is characterized by flowing networks and hybridity, unlike traditional cities as territorial places of homogenization. It is an urban network where the flow of science and technology, people, goods, money, and images are intricately interconnected. Furthermore, this research argues that in a digitalpolis, women experience the fear of physical boundary loss and the anxiety of uncertainty even more than before. In the psychasthenia and anti-intellectualist atmosphere that appears with the fear and anxiety in the digitalpolis, women drive a movement that puts safety first. Based on this, this study insists that some digital feminists try a strategy of direct punishment online to respond to the fear and anxiety, and they form gated communities that strengthen sexual boundaries, maintaining an imaginary identity, such as the biological woman. Finally, this research reflects on whether the strategies of direct punishment and gated communities can guarantee women's safety.

Keywords: gated community, digitalpolis, digital feminism, safety, anxiety

Safety: Logic of Oppression or Liberation?

In the history of patriarchy, "safety" has been a term used to bind women to the realm of family; the streets at night are "dangerous" and women are weak, so women need to stay home to be "safe." Expanding on this logic, public places and streets are regarded as dangerous and fear-inducing places for women, and homes as safe places under the protection of men. In response, since the 1970s feminists have resisted the logic of safety and protection that puts women in shackles, insisting on the right to explore the streets at night and walk freely on the streets as men do.

However, since feminism has been reignited in Korean society by digital media since 2015, "safety" is being reclaimed as a logic of liberation, not oppression. Women in the digital era complain of fear and anxiety, thereby making "safety" their top priority. In 2016, the murder of a woman in a public toilet near Gangnam Station ignited fear, as much as anger, in women. It is no exaggeration to say that the non-consensual shooting and dissemination of videos, which has exploded with the development of digital media, has maximized fear in women in their 20s and 30s. Accordingly, the state began to periodically check whether hidden cameras are installed in public toilets across the country. The National Assembly passed a strong law punishing not only the shooting or dissemination of illegal videos but also the possession of illegal videos as a crime. The Women's Human Rights Institute of Korea also used the "equal right to safety" of women living alone as a catchphrase for the 2019 Gender Equality Week events.

The issue at the focus of feminism has shifted from the right to freedom to the right to safety. Some feminists have emphasized sex-specific space separation for safety. For example, some trends of digital feminism that formed after the Gangnam Station murder case emphasized the need for a separate safe public toilet for "biological" women, and some women's college clubs regarded men as space invaders and insisted on excluding men from the spaces of women's college. Some feminist clubs at Sookmyung Women's University were so afraid of transgender people that they tried to lock the doors of the university to trans students under the banner of promoting safety. The Hyehwa Station protest, led by women in their 20s and 30s, used "biological womanhood" as a qualification for participation in the protest, emphasizing the "fear" of digital intrusion by men.

So why did some of the digital feminists set "safety" as the number one issue today rather than "freedom?" Why did they come to emphasize

gatekeeping communities for women, instead of focusing on safe urban spaces for everyone? How are gatekeeping communities different from the traditional realm of families that used to restrict women's freedom?

To answer these questions, this article first seeks to characterize the recent trend of feminism reignited on the Internet as "digital feminism," and define the time-space conditions under which they live as "digitalpolis." This article shows that the digitalpolis is characterized by flowing networks and hybridity, unlike traditional cities as immobilization and homogenization (Chapter 2). Furthermore, it will be argued that in the digitalpolis, where globalization and digitalization are complicated, women experience different kinds of anxieties and fears (of loss of body, uncertainty) than before, and these drive a movement that puts safety first (Chapter 3).

Based on this, this paper argues that to respond to the fear and anxiety of uncertainty, some digital feminists, unlike other safety rights movements, 1) use a strategy of direct punishment as well as nationwide crime prevention policies; 2) form gated communities that strengthen sexual boundaries and natural roots; and 3) maintain an imaginary identity such as "biological woman" that is expected to stop the flow and provides distinction to hybridity (Chapter 4).

Finally, this paper reflects on whether gated communities can guarantee women's safety and whether women can be liberated through them (Chapter 5). In a digitalpolis full of flow and hybridity, no matter how much security is strengthened, women could not avoid facing heterogeneity. Their fear and anxiety would not disappear if they solely focus on security.

Conditions of Digital Feminism: Flowing Networks and Hybridity

The recent wave of feminism was reignited worldwide with the development of digital media and is often called "fourth-wave feminism" (Cochrane 2014). Journalist Kira Cochrane has compiled its core into rape culture, online feminism, humor, and intersectionality (Chamberlain 2017). The fourth wave of feminism starts with online-based resistance to sexual violence, with the unique humor culture of the Internet community making this possible.

In Korean society, online-based feminism appeared in the early and mid-90s in the days of PC communication. They formed a flow, centered on the anti-sexual violence movement, and criticized digital sexual violence that took the form of nonconsensual video filming by hidden cameras, such as in

the "red muffler" video incident. This was more powerfully and widely ignited in 2015 in the wave of the "feminism reboot" (Sohn 2017, p.84). Young women responded to misogyny by creating female-centered online communities such as Megalia and Womad and countered the ridicule of men toward women through humorous strategies of mirroring.[1] On one hand, the birth of cyberspace has created conditions where women are forced to deal with misogyny in their daily lives, but on the other hand, it has also given them the possibility to counter it through female-centric online communities. This paper calls this wave "digital feminism" and pays attention to the characteristics of its time-space condition.

Today we live in a space-time of globalization. Globalization generally refers to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as one (Soja 2000, p.191). As part of globalization, cities have become nodes of global capitalism and migration. For example, John Friedman proposed the concept of "world cities," saying that the global capital uses major cities as "basing points" in the process of spatially organizing and connecting production and markets. According to Edward Soja's description, Freidman's world cities are "major sites for concentration and accumulation of international capital" and "points of destination for large numbers of both domestic and/or international migrants" (p. 221). Saskia Sassen developed Friedman's thesis on world cities as basing points for global capital into the concept of "global city" (Sassen 2001). She emphasized that the "global city" is a postindustrial production site based on finance and producer services, etc. Going one step further, the Institute for Urban Humanities at the University of Seoul proposed the concept of "globalpolis" instead of "global city" in 2008. This is because the concept of a global city that emphasizes the contractual relationship between individuals cannot fully express the possibilities of an urban community (Kwack 2008). Through the concept of "globalpolis," they try to criticize urban life during a globalized era, while also not giving up on the possibility of political community in city life.

However, this article goes one step further and proposes the shift from "globalpolis" to "digitalpolis." Since "globalpolis" does not explain how urban landscapes—as key points of global capital and migration—intersect with the development of digital technology, such as digital media. Therefore, this study pays attention to the characteristics of urban life created by the complex intertwining of globalization with digitalization through the concept of "digitalpolis." To understand under what conditions digital feminism was

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[1] For more details on this, see Lee 2020, pp. 428-429.

born and why women made safety the top feminist issue out of fear, it is necessary to understand the conditions of the digitalpolis. Then, how can the time-space conditions of the digitalpolis, as different from the globalpolis, be understood? Regarding Edward W. Soja and Naoki Yoshihara, this study depicts the key characteristics of "digitalpolis" in the two following ways.

From Place-Based Communities to Nodes of Flowing Networks

In the digital era, cities no longer just mean fixed places with extension and volume. This means that cities have come to be understood as nodes of flowing networks rather than territory-based places. In general, a city was understood as "a space where people who obey the laws of the market meet physically or symbolically" (Balibar and Wallerstein 2011, p. 64), and as a place where a built environment for the meetings is concentrated. Even in global cities or globalpolis discourses, cities such as Los Angeles or Seoul have been understood as a fixed coordinate or a territorial region on the map. However, according to Manuell Castell, who proposed the theory of the "information city," we in the post-information revolution also live in a space of flow connected by information networks. Urban life now takes place not only in fixed places but also via networks of information flows. Castell sees this deconstructive reorganization of urban life as the replacement of the community with a network as the central form of organizing interaction (Castell 2001, p. 127). Naoki Yoshihara, citing N. Rose, describes the network as a "virtual community" that exists only if the individual members are connected through the identification established by the non-geographical space of the actor's speech, cultural product, and media image (Rose 1996, p. 333).

Soja named the points of intersection, stations, and nodes of networks developed along with the mass media the "postmetropolis," and explains that this new form of the city is in interaction with deterritorialization and reterritorialization (Soja 2000, p. 151). On one hand, the "postmetropolis" is moving toward a process of deterritorialization. According to him, the "end of geography" is not a phenomenon unique to today, but perhaps, its impact has never been as intense and widespread as it is today (p. 152). However, deterritorialization does not mean the complete transcendence of a place, but "refers to the weakening attachments to a place" (p. 151). The postmetropolis is less attached to the city as a physical place, unlike the metropolis. Soja explains that even if urban life in the digital age is led by a non-territorial network with ambiguous boundaries, territorial cities do not disappear

completely, for if we have a body, we still live in a physical place. On the other hand, the postmetropolis is being reterritorialized. Commodities also require physical space for production, distribution, and consumption. However, the pattern of territorialization is different from the past; for example, in an era where products are distributed through online platforms rather than in stores, a downtown area lined with shops is transformed into slums, while the outskirts of warehouses and delivery companies become the center of the city.

In the present study, the "digitalpolis" is also a node within the network of interactions between deterritorialization and reterritorialization. The digitalpolis flows rather than being static. If the digitalpolis is a form of urban life that is greatly influenced by the digital network of flows, we could be connected to the urban network even in the countryside. It creates far more connections and movements than traditional place-based communities. Not only can we connect to diverse communities at the same time, but we can also access and leave the network relatively easily. The digitalpolis is much more everchanging than the urban communities of the past, given its freedom of flow.

From Homogenization to Hybridization

The digitalpolis is characterized by hybridity as well as nodes of networks. According to Henri Lefevre, capitalist cities are abstract spaces that are "measurable," as well as "homogeneous, or better homogenizing" (Lefevre 1991, pp. 352-355). In these cities, the capitalist logic swallows all differences. Lefevre argued that to resist the homogenization of the city, the city of difference as "a work" must be produced. However, he did not fully explain how this production of difference would be possible. In contrast to Lefebvre, John Urry describes the source of the difference more clearly. According to him, the city has not only the power of homogenization, but also hybridization processes facilitated by technology, such as computers, through which digital media, people, goods, money, and images will flow beyond society. In the process of intertwining capital and technology, human intentions, machines, texts, objects, and other science and technology are intricately interconnected, and in that sense, the city becomes hybridized (Urry 2000). Digital media has made global-local encounters much faster and easier, and as a result, we have multifaceted points of contact with the heterogeneity in our urban life. Martin Albrow also saw that homogenization and heterogeneity compete in the urban space—created at intersections of de-territorialization and re-territorialization—forming a multi-layered

relational mode. In this regard, Soja explains that "the postmetropolis thus becomes a replicative hub of fusion and diffusion, implosive and explosive growth, a First-Second-Third World city wrapped into one. (Soja 2000, p. 153)

In digital urban communities, nodes of networks, on which the racial, technical, capital, media, and ideological landscapes are mixed more quickly and complexly, physical and mental boundaries can easily break down. In the complex intersections, where the logic of capital accumulation is maintained, distorted, and transformed in interactions with race, gender, media, and more, we may become disoriented and panic. These are the conditions of the digitalpolis, under which antifeminism and conservative feminism emerged. Where flow and hybridity increase, we may become more reluctant to address our fear of boundary dissolution and uncertainty. And this results in conservative antifeminism and feminism as means to restore stability. In the following chapters, this will be discussed in detail.

Fear of Loss of Body and Anxiety Caused by Uncertainty: How Safety Became the Top Priority for Feminism

It is now argued that the shift from a fixed place to a flowing network in digitalpolis brought about a fear of loss of bodily boundaries, and the shift from identity to hybridity brought a fear of uncertainty. First, let us look at how the shift to flowing networks can be connected to the fear of losing one's bodily self. Soja pointed out that with the territorial disintegration of urban space, the boundaries of cities have become vaguer. This means that it has become difficult to draw the boundaries of the city, and therefore increasingly difficult to draw boundaries between nature and artifacts, cities and countryside, and oneself and one's environment. Soja, citing Celeste Olalquiaga, explains that the anxiety caused by the territorial disintegration of urban space appears as a "psychasthenia" at the psychological level. Anxiety about losing a hard material, a place to anchor, is expressed as anxiety about losing the bodily self. In the digital network, the body appears not as a physical organism, but as an image, a represented space, and a digital city dweller who stays in the represented space for a long time becomes an image beyond the volume and weight of their body. Rather than being an independent reality, the body as a space of representation is more likely to be experienced as cognitive information carried through various information networks that various actors influence. This condition can cause psychasthenia "defined as a disturbance in the relation between self and

surrounding territory." In her words, psychasthenia is "a state in which the space defined by the coordinates of the organism's own body is confused with represented space." (Olalquiaga, 1992, pp. 1-2)

According to Soja, as our physical identities become more entangled in our computer screens, we come to understand ourselves through images handed down by computer networks. This means that one's inner and outer (self and environment) are no longer separated. As city dwellers are increasingly drawn into the imaginary world—what Lefebvre called the space of representation—"hard materiality" evaporates, which leads to the loss of the physical self. The outside of oneself that is separate from oneself ceases to exist. According to Olalquiaga, this leads to fear of loss of bodily self, with a core symptom being a nervous breakdown. In this respect, "psychasthenia is a psychological syndrome associated with life in the post-metropolis" (Soja 2000, p. 151).

The fear in the digitalpolis is not just the fear of losing one's bodily self. In digitalpolis, the fear of losing one's bodily self can be amplified by the anxiety caused by uncertainty. Let us examine the anxiety caused by uncertainty arising from heterogeneity and hybridity.

Douglass C. North begins with the following question in Understanding of the Process of Economic Change: "If we are continually creating a new and novel world, how good is the theory we have developed from experience to deal with this novel world?" (2005, p. 13). He answers that the world has become increasingly complex, making it harder for us to predict the future from experience. According to him, this era of uncertainty is different from the era of risk in which it was possible to derive a probability distribution of outcomes so that one could insure against such a condition (North 2005, p. 13).

According to North, uncertainty related to the natural environment has decreased, while uncertainty related to the human environment has increased. As mentioned above, complexity and hybridity have increased due to the flow and connection of digital urban networks. Human history, belief systems, and institutions were attempts to reduce uncertainty between human relationships with nature, through science and technology, institutions, and norms.[2] However, despite remarkable advances in science

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[2] "The beliefs and institutions that humans have devised only make sense as an ongoing response to the various levels of uncertainty that humans have confronted and continue to confront in the evolving physical and human landscape. While the deep underlying source of institutions has been and continues to be the effort by humans to structure the environment to make it more predictable, this effort can and frequently does make for increased uncertainty for some of the players" (North

and technology, there is no indication that we understand the world correctly. In the unpredictable world, even if an institution was the best at a particular point in time, it may move away from optimality over time as the humanistic environment changes.

The beliefs and institutions created to reduce uncertainty have created complex situations and new uncertainties. Revolutionary changes in technology in response to the barren natural environment, such as agriculture or the industrial revolution, for example, have resulted in unexpected circumstances, such as population growth and an increased gap between the rich and the poor. The development of transportation and communication has created increased migration, and consequently, a problem of hatred of migrants. Advances in digital technology have also increased the experience of social contact, which is as unpleasant as is free. In Korean society, the development of micro-cameras and the spread of smartphones are intertwined with capitalism and gender issues, increasing digital sexual violence related to the shooting and distribution of non-consensual videos. As we have seen, the entanglement between capitalism and digital technology has created different kinds of regional, racial, class, sexual, and cultural conflicts, making predicting or controlling the future of urban society more difficult.

People have introduced systems to prepare for the aftermath of an incident, such as "insurance" to reduce the anxiety caused by uncertainty. Insurance is a prime avenue that has calmed anxiety by calculating and institutionalizing the risks to come after an event. The institutionalization of insurance was an important issue for the state or society. North sees the advent of marine insurance as a reflection of the fears of 15th-century merchants (p. 20). According to Ulrich Beck, the institutions of modern society developed in the 19th and 20th centuries were a process of creating a system of rules that dealt with industrial unrest and risks arising from human decisions through conflict. Beck explains that the belief that we can control the risks produced by modern times has already been broken and in this regard, insurance was developed as a safety device to respond to a "risk society" (Beck 2010, p. 26).

However, except for the countermeasure of insurance, there are insufficient humanistic belief systems and institutions to prevent the uncertainty brought about in the digitalpolis, where digital media and capital are intertwined. Although the development of digital technology is fast,

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2005, pp. 14-15).

institutional preparation for the pathology brought about by this development is always late. Even if a legal system can be created to prevent additional deaths of non-regular workers, it may not be implemented in the face of the profit-seeking logic of capital, within the whirlwind of power and desire intertwined in layers. Capitalist market principles have unleashed the chains of state and supranational control. Beck uses the term "risk society" to express the side effects of modernization, which cast off traditional lifestyles and grapple with uncertainty. According to him, today, no one can avoid this danger, and no one can provide adequate protection (p. 28). Likewise, the digitalpolis also created an unpredictable landscape, intertwined with capital, gender, region, race, and culture.

If psychasthenia is a symptom associated with the loss of the physical self, then anti-intellectualism is one of the human responses to the uncertainty of the digitalpolis, which is considered impossible to predict and counteract. For example, people think that academic truth or the legal system is powerless before capital or power. The loss of respect for professionals and intellectuals today is due to the inability to guarantee that the knowledge acquired 30 years ago remains valid. On the one hand, people demand strong legal punishment, but on the other hand, they believe that the legal system cannot prevent digital citizens from incitement of lying creators. A tendency to depend on luck or irrational belief systems is also a typical response to uncertainty; uncertainty can also lead to moral crises. For example, in agricultural societies, cooperative interactions were a desirable relationship to control certain risks, but those who came to live in neoliberal societies that stimulate infinite competition, believe that cooperation does not have as much value as it used to. The reason for today's sense of distrust of government policy, along with a cynical attitude, is that we believe that the crime prevention policies implemented are no longer condescending, reducing the fear of the unpredictable world or securing its survival.

Now, let us think about how the fear and anxiety we face in the digitalpolis affect our lives. First, in a digital network full of connections with the environment, people can become engulfed in fear of the loss of bodily self. In addition, this fear is further fueled by the uncertainty of the unpredictable world. The development of computers and digital media has promoted aversion to alien beings as much as it has increased freedom of communication. However, these conditions of the digitalpolis cause more deadly anxiety and fear for women. Hate speech became amplified on social media, and non-consensual videos became commercialized, bought, and sold. Expressions of misogyny encountered online frequently violate

women's integrities, and the distribution of non-consensual photography violates the boundaries of women's bodies. The logic of capital and the development of digital technology have met the current presence of misogyny and created an unexpected danger of digital sexual violence. Digital undertakers have been created to delete nonconsensual videos, but they often pretend not to notice that videos that are deleted are being re-uploaded on the platform. With the development of digital media, non-consensual video trading continued to evade all control as they became distributed from internet sites to social media and various apps. In the digitalpolis, where the logic of capital, digital media, and digital sexual violence are mixed, women can be easily gripped with fear due to the anxiety of losing their physical integrity and the uncertainty of when and how this loss will occur.

Ultimately, anxiety caused by uncertainties and fear of the loss of bodily self has become the basic affectivities of women in the digitalpolis. Let us look at the statistics related to sexual violence. According to the "2019 Sexual Violence Safety Status Survey" conducted by the Korean Women's Development Institute and Korea Gallup Research Institute which surveyed 10,000 men and women between the ages of 19 and 64, although the rate of victimization of sexual violence involving physical contact slightly decreased in 2019 (9.6%) compared to in 2013 (10.2%) and in 2016 (11.0%), the rate of people who had been illegally filmed and had illegally filmed videos of them distributed more than tripled from 0.1% in 2016 to 0.4% in 2019 (0.3% of respondents had experienced being illegally filmed, 0.2% reported that illegal film of them had been distributed). Women who have been victims of sexual violence have had to make changes in their daily life due to the fear of physical invasion and the anxiety of uncertainty. Respondents said, "I have lost trust in others" (34.4%), "I have developed a sense of disgust for those who share the same gender as the offender" (28.3%), and "I have developed a fear that someone might harm me" (27.3%). The level of fear perceived by the survey participants was 4.7 points, indicating a higher tendency to feel that the risk is increasing (on a scale where 1 = high decrease, 4 = unchanged, and 7 = high increase).

These effects are used to link to safety first. According to Beck, anxiety creates a psychology that makes safety more important than anything else. Anxiety determines the feeling of life. In the hierarchy of values, safety displaces freedom and equality and rises to the top. The law becomes stricter, and "totalitarianism of risk defense" emerges. "The right to liberty" is limited in anticipation of disaster. Thus, safety is more important than freedom or

equality to women in fear, even if their hands and feet are tied. In situations where risks cannot be predicted or calculated, anxiety and fear are transformed into subjective concerns rather than objective ones. If even a little uncertainty unfolds in a situation where one already detects danger, it may be linked to fear beyond imagination. Uncontrollable fear is again the prey of capital. For example, women who are anxious for their safety, have no choice but to use special security devices that guarantee safety, install CCTVs for security, and pay vast sums to delete non-consensually traded videos. In these circumstances, women consider "safety" more important than freedom.

Response to Fear and Anxiety: Direct Punishment, Gated Communities, Imaginary Identity

Many digital feminists in Korean society also have psychasthenia and anti-intellectual attitudes. Seized with the fear that their bodily boundaries may be invaded by hidden cameras installed in public toilets, they believe that society will not be able to keep women safe in response to the ever-evolving image exploitation technology and capital. These feminists do not believe that experts will be able to predict the disease of technology that is evolving differently each day and produce effective measures. They also criticize that the discourses of the past no longer fit today's reality. They often convey that the moral attitudes that consider the complex situation of minorities do not guarantee the "survival" of women. They also complain that moral solidarity for the entire community makes no guarantees to increase their piece of the proverbial pie. These cynical feminists have recently appeared in our society concerning women's fear of loss of their physical selves and the anxiety caused by uncertainty.

　　Some digital feminists in recent Korean society have established different strategies than other movements in the past. The first thing to note is that women suffering from fears related to loss of bodily self and uncertainty demand not only strong punishment from the law[3] but also direct punishment from victims. Of course, the trend of direct punishment such as exposing perpetrators today is general and diverse online. Some feminists like the suffragette also endeavored to act out direct punishment, but it was a

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[3] More than half of those answered the question "Why has the risk of sexual violence increased?" by saying that the punishment for crimes of sexual violence was weak (56.5%). Above all, they argued that it is necessary to strengthen the punishment of perpetrators (MGEFOB, 2019).

tactical way to point out the wrong structure. Feminism in general has never preferred the method of accusing specific people rather than pointing out the social structure. However, in her article "Feminism: The Fourth Wave?" Ealasaid Munro noted that recent online feminism is moving towards online activism like call-out culture (Munro 2013, p. 22). Mocking and vigilantism are the representative forms of online activism that have appeared since 2015 in Korea.

The second thing to note is that some digital feminists also emphasize the strategy of creating a "safe space" which moves toward securing a closed community of women rather than making all cities safe for women. Emphasizing "fear," women have moved towards creating gated spaces only for women, such as women-centered internet forums or women's universities, rather than a campaign to create a safe space for everyone, like the "Reclaim the Night Movement" of the past. Lastly, some feminists who adhere to gated communities tend to focus on identity politics to secure sexual separation. Although Ealasaid Munro observed that as the fourth wave progressed, feminism gradually became more open and inclusive, with increasing awareness about intersectionality, many digital feminists in Korean society, who emphasize fear, show a pattern of identity politics based on the imaginary identity of the "biological woman."

Mocking and Vigilantism as a Direct Punishment

The *Sewol* ferry sinking[4] and the death of non-regular worker Kim Young-Gyun[5] in Korea are considered disasters that occurred because the so-called safety rules were not followed, so countermeasures for these accidents lead to punishing those responsible and reinforcing compliance with safety regulations. In other words, in cases like these, the social movement urges a social response rather than a personal direct punishment. However, unlike these movements, some digital feminists have responded to breaches of safety with two strategies. On one hand, digital feminists have demanded strong social legal responses, while on the other hand, they have opted for direct punishment, such as "doxing." As the legal system failed to properly catch or

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[4] On April 16, 2014, the ferry *Sewol*, which was en route from Incheon to Jeju Island carrying 476 passengers, including 325 students from Danwon High School in Ansan, sank off the coast of Jindo-gun, Jeollanam-do, killing 304 people.

[5] Kim Yong-Gyun, a 24-year-old irregular worker, was killed after being caught in a machine on a coal conveyor belt late at night on December 10, 2018, at Taean Thermal Power Plant operated by Korea Western Power.

punish perpetrators, women in fear and anxiety directly traced the perpetrators, obtained information about them, and exposed their identities online.

Among sexual violence, digital sexual violence by an unspecified majority was particularly associated with the fear of unpredictable physical invasion. When it comes to illegal photography, 74.9% of cases were committed by perpetrators whom the victims did not know. In many cases, the locations of the harm caused by illegal shootings could not be specified, such as outdoors, on a street, on a walking trail, or a public transportation facility, etc. The distribution channels of illegally filmed videos were also extensive. From instant messengers such as KakaoTalk, Line, and Telegram, and social network services such as Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook, to blogs, Internet community sites, and peer-to-peer networks, they varied beyond our control. This shows that the risks associated with digital sexual violence are linked to the fear of unpredictable uncertainties.

This research insists that the fear of loss of body and the anxiety caused by the uncertainty of digital sexual violence has driven women toward direct punishment such as doxing or mirroring.[6] Disappointed that society did not properly punish perpetrators, some women opted for immediate and direct punishment. The correlation between women's fear and direct punishment is also seen in examples of online activism such as "online revenge" or "digital vigilantism." According to Namgung Hyon, the incident in which netizens divulged the identity of Korean Air Vice President Hyun-ah Cho after the so-called "nut rage" fiasco in 2014 corresponds to retaliation through information disclosure, that is, "identity robbery." Letzgo Hunting in the UK, which disclosed the identities of pedophiles, Perverted Justice in the US, which identified and reported to police those seeking illegal prostitution, and the Chinese "human flesh search" site where personal information of corrupt bureaucrats and civil servants was identified and shared, falls under vigilantism (Hyon 2017, p. 3).[7]

According to Hyon, vigilantism is "the act of an individual or group

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[6] My survey of users of women-centered Internet communities also showed that women feel a great deal of fear in the digital environment and that whenever the level of fear online increases by one level, the degree to which they consider direct punishment online increases. The results of this investigation are only included in the appendix due to the limitations of the sample.

[7] Here, Hyon introduces various examples of British and American cases. In 2013, Gary Cleary, 27, from the UK, took his own life by hanging when it was revealed that he was a pedophile by Letzgo Hunting, an online group that monitors illegal activities. In the United States, Perverted Justice also took a direct response by identifying the identity of a person who had engaged in illegal prostitution with a minor and reporting it to the police.

organized to replace the role when the systematic service of an official criminal policy institution is absent, or if such an institution does not perform its duties properly" (p. 4). Digital vigilantism refers to "a phenomenon in which if a voluntary individual or group judges that the conduct of another person violates the positive law or is extremely inappropriate or disgusting in light of the regular online rules, retaliation against the actor is plotted online or enacted in the real world" (p. 6).

It is noteworthy that from 2016 to 2018 in Korea, there were Internet sites including one called Digital Prison that disclosed the identity of criminals. Under the conditions of uncertainty that society cannot properly respond to digital sexual violence that has emerged as a result of capitalism, digital technology, and misogynistic culture combined, women who are engulfed by the fear of bodily invasion, have chosen direct punishment rather than appealing to the legal system.

Fear of Invasion of Space and Gated Community

The second strategy of digital feminists who emphasize fear and anxiety is to close the given space only for women rather than to open it for all. The site Womad, which applied mirroring to minorities including gay and transgender people, had the subtitle "shelter," and it is impossible to join the women-centered Internet forums such as Women's Time, unless one proves that she is a woman in her 20s. Several feminist groups at Sookmyung Women's University posted statements opposing the admission of a transgender women women's universities, and the Hyehwa Station protests, which began as a criticism of the police's harsh attitude only toward female perpetrators, stipulated "biological womanhood" as a condition for participation in the protests. They want to respond to fears by creating a partially safe space in situations where it seems impossible to keep the entire society safe. In other words, they think that it is a safe measure to create their own space in fear of the infringement on their body and rights and to exclude foreign objects from entering it.

First, let us look at how fear of sexual violence is associated with bolting shut spaces. A widely known case of sexual violence at Pusan National University's women's student dormitory shows that the fear of body invasion is moving toward creating a closed space. After the attempted sexual assault by an outsider, the Pusan National University administration has increased security personnel, and in May, it decided to install a "speed gate" that closes quickly so that outsiders cannot easily enter and considered introducing a

biometric system (Yonhap News, March 18, 2019).

Women's fear of sexual violence in the digitalpolis escalates through the exploitation of images through digital media, that is, the distribution of non-consensual videos by hidden cameras. The internet café Uncomfortable Courage, which was created for the Hyehwa Station protests, posted countless messages voicing women's fears and anger directed at men who illegally shoot women's bodies and distribute the images. For example, a woman confesses that she trembles with fear of men after witnessing non-consensually filmed videos of her face being circulated on the internet pornography site Soranet. There are multiple stories of digital sexual violence; in one, after a woman saw a man taking pictures of her while riding the subway escalator, she began looking to see if hidden cameras were installed wherever she went, and the sight of a hole in the stall of a public toilet (where a hidden camera might be placed) made her tremble with fear. Here, the fear of illegal filming of the body without consent corresponds to the fear of rape. The hidden camera's gaze replaces the male genitals and invades the female body, and the image of the woman's body quickly spread through a global network. Here, she has a feeling that the boundaries of her body are being dismantled. Faced with the fear of non-consensual videos invading her body, along with the fear of uncertainty about when and where the videos will be circulated, she ultimately seeks to secure safety by creating a gated community. This can be seen in the following news article about the Hyehwa Station protests.

> "Before the first and second Hyehwa Station protests were held, the staff checked whether there were hidden cameras in the surrounding public toilets, and based on this, a separate map of the toilets available to the participants was created. In the middle of the protest, the organizers recommended that several participants move together by setting a time to go to the toilet according to the guidance of the staff. It seemed to be sensitive to the 'safety' issue." (Hankyoreh, June 21, 2018)

When an anonymous post warned there would be hydrochloric acid terrorist attack on the Hyehwa Station protests, the organizers eventually limited the conditions for participating in the protest to "biological women" as a safety precaution for participants. This was an expression of the will to offset the fear of intrusion by creating a closed space in a situation where one does not know how and when an invasion will be carried out.

The flow of closed community creation is linked not only to the fear of sexual violence but also to the fear of one's rights "being taken away." Women

in the digitalpolis are also linked to neoliberal anxieties. For example, some phrases in the bulletin against transgender admissions posted at Sookmyung Women's University show the fear of women's rights "being taken away" by men. They are afraid that a man claiming to be a woman could break into a space where they most safely exist. Appealing to the 114-year herstory of Sookmyung, they insist that women's spaces should not be destroyed by men who advocate for minorities. According to them, "Sookmyung is a space that gives women the opportunity to enjoy equality and safety" (Uridongne Baths, Sept. 9, 2021).

Here, MtF transgender people are considered "men" who take away women's spaces. The fear of being deprived also removes the need to take care of minorities. It contrasts with the attitudes of the early feminists who took care of slaves and children even in situations of deprivation. Here, fear is maximized to the point that it paralyzes their thinking of intersectionality. This shows that the condition of the digitalpolis is fueling the anxiety of neoliberal competition and that women are no exception.

Imaginary Obsession with Territorial Identity

Finally, this paper notes that in the digitalpolis, in the conditions of flow and hybridity, some digital feminists, who are engulfed by the fear of loss of body and uncertainty, tried to create a gated community while mobilizing imaginary territorial identities such as "biological women." It is said that they were trying to create a community that felt safe by imagining a unified collective or territorial body identity that did not exist in the digital space.[8]

Let us look at the Hyehwa Station protest site again. The street of flowing cars and heterogenous people became a very orderly and homogenized space during the protests. There was no such thing as deviating acts or sudden tangles in the protest. By preventing participants from conducting individual media interviews on the day, the organizers prevented comments other than their representative answers. Participants read together the slogans prepared in advance by the management team. Those who participated in the protest were reduced by six or seven people to fill their seats from the front, and when one person was missing in front of them, the person behind filled the front. Everything was done with the intent of acting as vigilantes, even when they went to the toilet, where several people went together and moved in an orderly fashion. The participants of the protest all wore red clothing with

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[8] See also Lee 2020.

masks to inform them that they were members, and several people raised signs that read "Transgender Out" to visualize the exclusion of hybridity. Around the protesters were shields guided by female police, and all the invited journalists were women. Those deviating from the rules and order given in this space were immediately excluded, and the criteria for the dividing line was "biological womanhood." The protesters secured predictability and control by establishing an order of distinction through these standards, thereby responding to disorders such as external terrorism and illegal shootings.

This article insists that the "biological woman" as the only measure of order is an imaginary identity. As if the child in the mirror phase of Lacan's theory was cheering as he imaginably distinguished himself from others, feminists in fear and anxiety acquire a sense of security by imagining the distinction between the female and male body. In this context, Elizabeth Grosz explains, without the mental action of an "imaginary anatomy," or an "anticipatory image of its own body" as integration, the child will not be able to recognize his body uniformly (Grosz 1994, p. 39). The imaginary obsession with territorial identity against dissolving and uncertainty provides a distinct territorial dividing line between self and other. So, creating a safe space excludes not only men but also transgender people who invoke the fear of dissolution.

Are Gated Communities Safe?

So far, this article has seen the digitalpolis as an urban network where the flow of science and technology, people, goods, money, and images are intricately interconnected, and the complex association of capital and digital media in digitalpolis has led women to face the fear of the loss of body and uncertainty. Furthermore, this paper showed the psychasthenia and anti-intellectualist atmosphere that appeared along with fear and uncertainty in digitalpolis. Because of this atmosphere, some digital feminists seek out direct punishment or create gated communities which are maintained by an imaginary territorial identity.

Finally, this research reflects on briefly whether women can feel safe in these strategies and whether they can enjoy freedom in these "safe" spaces. According to Richard Senette, a homogeneous, separated, and closed space can provide a sense of security, but not a lively life. The urban network brings creativity and maturity to its members in the process of confronting and

appropriately coping with heterogeneity, diversity, and disorder. However, a gated community that excludes these elements brings limits to freedom. That is why Sennett emphasizes the concept of "uses of disorder." Suburban middle-class homes, closed for women's safety, were neither safe nor pleasant for women. Women in a closed house from the outside were exposed to their husband's violence and unable to connect with heterogeneity. As a result, the community easily immersed itself in exclusive and violent behavior in the face of heterogeneity. Similarly, a closed women's space could become an area of homogeneity in minimizing contact points with heterogeneity for safety, resulting in an exclusive attitude of avoiding strangers.

The feminist strategy of establishing an imaginary territory of the biological body to fix their position and maintain an orderly system of distinction can provide a sense of security, but not safety for women. Those who depend on territory and homogeneity are bound to have a lower degree of understanding of heterogeneous functions and flows. The result could prompt more CCTV surveillance and a stronger police force or a more imaginary form of the body. And when such conditions are not satisfied, they will still be plagued by fear. In the end, this could result in depending on more power to companies and bureaucracy which produce and supply such goods.

A safe space is possible when the inside and outside are communicated smoothly through a hole, not by dividing and closing it. However, according to Grosz, our bodies are sexually distinct but porous at the same time. The body is a threshold connecting the inside and outside. In other words, the body flows as much as it is stable. Likewise, urban spaces are a threshold connecting inside and outside. The digitalpolis is a place for existing residents, but also a place for migrants and various sexualities. However, in fear and anxiety, some feminists try to transform the space of flow and hybridity into a fixed body and territory. Caught up in fears, they want to return to the mirror phase of Lacan, longing for the "myth of purified community," as Sennett puts it (1992, p. 85). They imagine themselves as consistent beings like "biological women" to cope with the crisis. They do not want to explore or wander.

Safety or freedom is not a matter of choice. Acknowledging that bodies and spaces are porous, and getting to know how to properly handle the heterogeneous and hybrid interface will give us a sense of safety and freedom. In the process of creating a body and a space where the inside and outside are appropriately combined, we can obtain vital safety.

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Appendix

We surveyed 112 Korean women aged 16 to 43 who had experience using women-centered Internet sites and online communities[9] in July 2017 by using a questionnaire with 76 items rated on a 5-point scale to investigate the relationship between the online and offline experience of misogynistic hate speech, perceptions about cyberspace, and identity formation.[10] The results showed that the level of fear of crime among respondents was 3.9 points for the fear of online crime and 4.3 points for the fear of offline crime, revealing that women have a high level of fear of both online and offline bullying and crime (figure 1). As shown by the fact that the emergence of the fourth wave of feminism is related to fear of rape culture, the users of women-centered online communities in Korean society also have a high level of fear of cyberbullying or sexual violence.

When asked about the appropriate responses to cyberbullying against women in online spaces, respondents showed a preference for legal regulation (4.4 points) and retorting/mirroring (3.36 points). "Mirroring" is a strategy used in women-dominated communities, and it refers to retaliating in kind in response to men's derogatory comments by using similarly disparaging expressions when males objectify or ridicule women with a sexist or male chauvinistic attitude. For example, *hannam* (literally "Korean man," a derogatory term for Korean men) is used as a retort in response to derogatory terms such as *kimchinyeo* (literally "kimchi woman," a derogatory term for Korean women) or *deonjangnyeo* (literally "soybean paste woman," a derogatory term for women who tend to engage in conspicuous consumption

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[9] The author carried out the survey in July 2017 and analyzed the results with two other researchers, Lee Myeonghun (Master's degree, Sungkyunkwan University) and Kang Taeyeong (Sogang University Ph.D. student). To examine social trends related to digital feminism, the survey participants were limited to those who had the experience of using any of the women-centered online communities, such as 82cook, DOKDO, Redism, Lemon Terrace, Momsholic, Mango Café, Between Night and Dawn, bestiz, SoulDresser, Supsokgodchideul (literally "godchis in the forest"), Ssanghwacha Cocoa, Yeoseong Shidae ("women's era"), oebang community, WOMAD, ezday, instiz, Imshi Daepiso ("temporary shelter"), Zzukbbang Café, and Powder room.

[10] Since women-centered online communities characteristically consider anonymity important, it is difficult to obtain the lists of members of such communities, and thus it is also difficult to select participants by probability sampling based on the lists. For this reason, in this study, participants were selected by nonprobability sampling among people who accessed the website link of the online survey. To increase the reliability of study results, a follow-up study should be conducted using a sampling method that can secure the representativeness of the samples used.
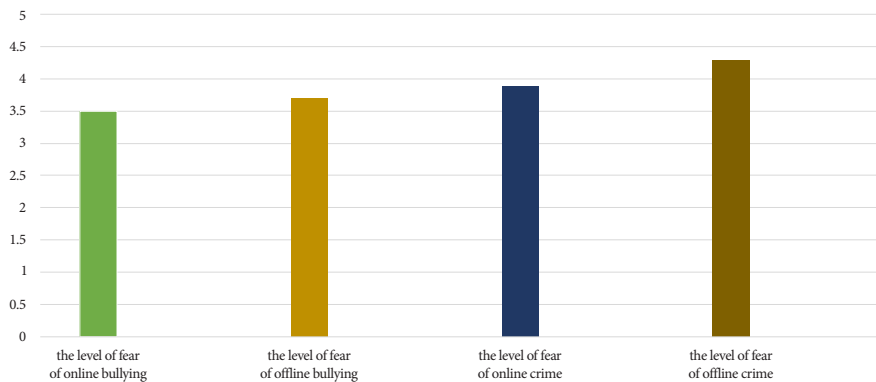
FIG. 1.—LEVELS OF FEAR OF ONLINE/OFFLINE BULLYING AND CRIME AMONG WOMEN

of luxury goods beyond their means). To take another example, *heosu-aebi* ("scarecrow dad"; *aebi* is a word for "father" in Korean, *heosu-aebi* is used in a similar vein to "absent father") is used to respond in kind to the disparaging expression *mom-chung* (literally, "mom worm," a derogatory term for mothers who let their children cause trouble or inconvenience to others in public places without managing their children's behaviors as parents). Although mirroring started as jocular or jesting remarks, it has rapidly brought women together on a large scale, and the women brought together in this way have identified themselves as feminists. In this study, direct responses such as mirroring were shown to be less preferred than legal regulation but it was found to be a more preferred approach than logical persuasion (3.25 points) (figure 2).

In addition, the author performed a regression analysis to examine the impact of the degree to which respondents show a higher level of fear of online crime than offline crime on their perceptions of cyberspace, the experience of hate speech, and responses to hate speech. Interestingly, the level of fear of online bullying and crime was found to have a significant effect on the degree to which respondents perceive cyberspace to be male-dominated, the degree to which hate speech is considered a playful or jocular remark, and the need for the legal regulation of hate speech ($\alpha = 0.05$). More specifically, as the degree to which respondents perceive online bullying and crime to be more threatening than offline bullying and crime was increased by 1 point, the degree to which respondents perceive cyberspace to be male-dominated was incremented by 6.59 points (figure 3). This result suggests
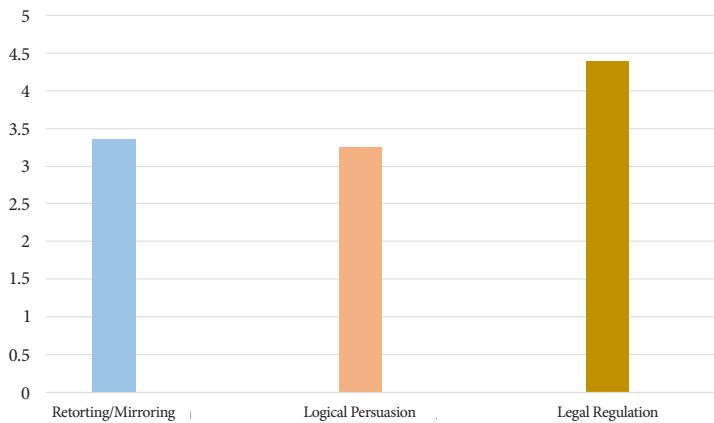
Fig. 2.—Preferred Responses to Cyberbullying Against Women

that women's fear of bullying and crime in online space may be associated with hate speech, cyberbullying, and the illegal distribution of videos with illegal content by males. It is more remarkable that as the degree to which respondents perceive online crime to be more threatening than offline crime is increased by 1 point, the degree to which hate speech used by females among themselves is perceived as acceptable and jocular increased by 3.75 points (figure 4), and the need for the legal regulation of misogynistic hate speech decreased by 4.99 points (figure 5). These results suggest that women with a higher level of fear of online crime or women with a higher level of fear about uncertainty regarding digital policing show a greater preference for direct retaliation over legal regulations.

	Dependent variable:
	cyberevaluation_factor4
age	−0.551
	(4.326)
gender_not_hetero	6.982
	(5.187)
household	0.759
	(2.552)
education	0.125
	(1.581)
fear_subtract	6.591**
	(2.555)
Constant	53.309**
	(21.989)
Observations	118
R^2	0.070
Adjusted R^2	0.029
Residual Std. Error	27.516 (df = 112)
F Statistic	1.691 (df = 5; 112)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

FIG. 3

	Dependent variable:
	femaledomisogyny_factor1
age	2.128
	(2.991)
gender_not_hetero	6.816*
	(3.587)
household	−1.330
	(1.765)
education	−0.918
	(1.093)
fear_subtract	3.756**
	(1.767)
Constant	31.130**
	(15.205)
Observations	118
R^2	0.078
Adjusted R^2	0.037
Residual Std. Error	19.027 (df = 112)
F Statistic	1.889 (df = 5; 112)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

FIG. 4

	Dependent variable:
	CvPrevF06
age	−3.639
	(3.270)
gender_not_hetero	−5.364
	(3.921)
household	1.539
	(1.929)
education	1.799
	(1.195)
fear_subtract	−4.990**
	(1.932)
Constant	62.528***
	(16.624)
Observations	118
R^2	0.097
Adjusted R^2	0.056
Residual Std. Error	20.803 (df = 112)
F Statistic	2.393** (df = 5; 112)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

FIG. 5