Thai digital natives' identification
and experience of social media cyberhate patterns

Chulanee Thianthai

Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand

chulanee00@hotmail.com

Abstract

Thailand is among the top 10 users of social media in the world and the prevalence of cyberhate is becoming more common in the everyday lives of young Thai digital natives. This research aims to examine Thai digital natives' understanding of the differences between offline and online hatred, their perception of social media stimulation patterns leading to cyberhate, and their experiences of linguistic utterances relating to cyberhate found on a variety of social media platforms (i.e. Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and YouTube). In total, 184 informants participated in the study. Data was collected through anthropological research methodologies using interview survey questionnaires, in-depth interviews, and pictorial ethnography to gain insight into the experiences of Bangkokian students ages 13 to 23 years. Results show that according to this population, online hatred is more pervasive than offline hatred and is influenced by cultural norms that govern usage and the primary purpose of the social media platform. The hierarchical nature of Thai culture also makes it easier to express hatred through online channels as opposed to in-person interactions. Results also reveal details concerning how each social media platform fosters different context-based forms of hatred and discrimination patterns which are related to gender, ageism, appearance, ethnicity, and political leanings. The youth perspective highlighted in this research can provide clearer understandings of cyberhate patterns prevalent in Thai culture. Directions for future research stemming from this project could explore the potential for cyberhate prevention education, which would be more suitable for young Thai digital natives.

1. Introduction

In the era of digitalization, it is important to examine the many ways technology usage has impacted the lives of digital natives. The term 'digital natives' was created in early 2000 by Marc Prensky (2001) to identify those born in the internet generation and are comfortable with smart technology. Many researchers have differentiated the digital natives' lifestyles and attitudes towards the world from prior generations due to online interactions and cyber deliberations of self-expression (Hamelmann & Drechsler, 2018). Studies have shown that exposure to online bullying and hate speech is becoming more prevalent among this digital generation causing damage to one's mental, social, and/or physical self (Djuric et al., 2015; Whittaker & Kowalski, 2015). In addition, the digital generation is increasingly exposed to various types of gender, religious, race, and disability discrimination known as cyberhate (Chetty & Alathur, 2018; Räsänen et al., 2016). Thai digital natives are not exempt from these experiences. Over the past decade, the majority of studies have focused on the features of social media platforms and their ability to detect cyberhate (Djuric et al., 2015). Pioneer studies have indicated that cyberbullying is pervasive among younger Thais (Ojanen et al., 2015; Samoh et al., 2014), and in order to truly understand cyberbullying and cyberhate-related experiences, it is important to examine the Thai digital natives' perceptions of these experiences that are specific to their cultural context and definition (Samoh et al., 2014, 2019). However, more than half of the studies on cyberhate centered around Twitter and Facebook, due to its popularities among digital natives (Matamoros-Fernández & Farkas, 2021; Räsänen et al., 2016; Udanor & Anyanwu, 2019), leaving other social media sites lacking in research. Therefore, this research proposes two objectives in gaining further knowledge on Thai digital natives' cyberhate experiences: (1) to study how Thai digital natives view online hate to be different from offline hate, and (2) to examine how Thai digital natives understand the nature of each social media platform associated with cyberhate and the patterns experienced on each platform.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Differences between offline and online hatred

Cyberhate, hatred circulated in the online world, can take many forms such as cyberbullying, insults, discrimination, threats, intimidation, marginalizing, or dehumanizing through the usage of electronic communication to spread hurtful messages. On social media, cyberhate is often directed at individuals and/ or a group of people who are discriminated against for their ethnicity, religious beliefs, race, skin-color, disability, political views, behavior, class, and/or sexual orientation (Mondal et al., 2017; Putra Perdana et al., 2019; Saha

et al., 2019). Certain social media platforms are known to generate more hate messages than others; for example Twitter has a higher likelihood of cyberhate due to the ability to retweet the writing of others (Udanor & Anyanwu, 2019). In addition, the usage of trolls and bots can further disseminate tweets which may contain cyberhate (Evolvi, 2018). However, rarely has there been research that examines how digital natives living in non-western cultures experience cyberhate patterns associated with different types of social media.

In 'real' world communication, research has shown that the restrictions (i.e. social shaming or punitive damages) present in the physical environment have the potential to inhibit hateful rhetoric (Brown, 2017; Citron, 2014). Alternatively, the nature of social media has been shown to facilitate hate speech, cyberbullying, and cyberhate in a multitude of ways, which will be outlined below. First, unlike face-to-face interaction, online anonymity allows users to take ownership of the digital space and the lack of physical presence allows people to freely speak their minds without fear of revealing their identities (Brown, 2017). Second, the lack of non-verbal cues and gestures makes it more difficult to detect a speaker's intention. Instead, viewers are left only with an interpretation of texts, emoticons, and voice recordings. In most cases, the lack of face-to-face interaction can lead to misunderstanding and can easily fuel negativity. Third, posting online offers people the opportunity to create a mass following, so the more people who agree with hateful comments, the more heightened the level of hatred than can be anticipated. Fourth, due to the spontaneous, easy, fast, and free use of social media, less consciousness and consideration are placed into online behaviors. Fifth, according to criminology theory, more crime occurs when there are few regulations and penalties attached to an offense, which can explain why people are less likely to be penalized for online hatred than offline (Rafferty & Vander Ven, 2014). Moreover, people tend to imitate one another, and cyberhate then can be perceived as a type of social learning where an individual is reinforced by others who view this type of behavior as normal. All of these factors have contributed to the rapid spread of online expressions of hate in today's world.

2.2 Cultural variations and expressions of cyberhate

Each culture adopts and modifies the usage of the same social media sites (Alsaleh et al., 2019). Understanding these cultural differences plays an important part in categorizing what are considered hateful speech, discrimination, and bullying. For instance, globally Twitter has been associated with democratic free speech, disseminating news, hate speech, criticism, activism, and political movements. The extant research can broadly be sorted into two categories of cultural adaptions of cyberhate, the first being prejudice present in the discourse. Cyber racism mostly exists in North American and European countries where white supremacist

attitudes, anti-Muslim sentiments, and ethnic discrimination are prevalent (Bliuc et al., 2018; Evolvi, 2018). On the other hand, familiarity impacts the language used on social media. In Thai culture, using vulgar language among friends is acceptable because it shows closeness, teasing, and belonging, whereas the same exact vulgar language coming from a stranger or disliked party will be determined as bullying and offensive (Samoh et al., 2014). Moreover, types of cyberhate found among Thai youth were often found in the pattern of gossiping and verbal abuse (Ojanen et al., 2015) rather than against race, religion, or disability.

Additionally, cyberhate patterns found within each culture also reflect the diverse local context and freedom of expression, which sometimes stem from the anonymous nature of digital discussions. In Japan, Twitter has become the channel for political public opinion and discussion, which has given rise to an anti-sexism movement (Fuchs & SchÄfer, 2021; Matamoros-Fernández & Farkas, 2021). Digital natives in Asia display shared emotions, anger, and support for public movements by using #hashtags, sarcasm, and cursing on Twitter and Instagram. This can be seen in discussions of the umbrella movement in Hong Kong and the Twitter political activists in Thailand (Sinpeng, 2021; Wetzstein, 2017). Furthermore, considering that from a certain perspective each gender has its own culture, it has been observed that male bullies often use forceful and intimidating language while females are likely to spread rumors and use indirect messages to target their victims (Beckman et al., 2013).

3. Methods

The data was collected as part of the research project 'Understanding Thai Digital Natives' Characteristics, Behaviors, and Their Views of the Future', designed to examine how Thai youth characteristics and behaviors have been shaped by social media interaction. Following institutional ethical board approval, data collection started in June 2019 and data analysis ended in February 2020. The researcher was able to recruit 184 students, of all genders (N= 87 males, N= 82 females, N= 15 alternative gender who identify themselves not belonging to traditional binary gender), who were born in the digital age and at the time ranged from 13-23 years of age (64 junior high school students, 57 senior high school students, and 63 university students), from nine public high schools and two well-known universities in Bangkok.

Table 1 Number of males, females, and alternative gender informants by age group

Age Group	Gender			Total
	Male	Female	Alternative Gender	
Junior High School (13-15 years)	30	29	5	64
Senior High School (16-18 years)	29	23	5	57
University Students (19-23 years)	28	30	5	63
Total	87	82	15	184

These schools were selected due to their academic reputation, access to digital infrastructure, diverse student socio-economic backgrounds, and the likelihood of daily technology usage. The recruitment process involved snow-ball sampling, in which informants referred friends who fit the research criteria—that is those who are within the age range, use at least 3-5 social media platforms on a daily basis, and are willing to share their experiences in relation to offline and online hatred.

The research data collection began with survey questionnaires that were individually distributed and collected. Each questionnaire contained closed-end questions aimed at learning about the population characteristics, and short open-ended questions aimed at their experiences with and on social media. In total, 184 informants completed the questionnaire. From each age group, twelve informants were selected for in-depth interviews based on the quality of their open-ended responses. Those selected were those who provided a lot of description, examples, and/or interesting ideas related to cyberhate in their responses to the earlier short open-ended questions. A total of 36 students participated in the in-depth interviews which each lasted about one hour. For the 13-15-year-old group, the researcher also utilized pictorial ethnography and prompted students to draw a representation of their digital generation identity and cyber hate-related experiences. This not only generated visual data, but created opportunities for more in depth conversations during the interview. Pictorial ethnography serves as another qualitative age-appropriate technique that encourages young teenagers to describe their experiences thoroughly and render abstract concepts more concrete for analysis by using their drawing as a medium.

The questionnaire and interviews were completed in Thai. All the interviews were recorded on audio tape and transcribed. Content analysis was used to code the data, to identify emerging themes related to the research objectives, and to extract illustrative quotes that best represent or reflect a general sentiment. The selected quotations were translated from Thai to English and any Thai slang used was also explained by the author for the purposes of data dissemination.

4. Results

4.1 Thai digital native's comparative perception of offline and online hatred

The first broad finding identified in the data related to the informants' perceptions of intensity of real-world versus digital hate. Informants revealed that it is easier to spread cyberhate online than in real world interactions. Within the student demographics, location impacted the perceived intensity of cyberhate with inner-city Bangkokians reporting more intense and wide-spread cyberhate. Often younger Thai digital natives (13-15 years old) and those who live in the suburbs of Bangkok gave fewer specific examples elucidating the differences between online and offline hatred.

The hierarchical nature of Thai culture valuing seniority oftentimes suppresses the younger generation's opinions and true emotions. Many informants explained that Thais still practice indirect communication in the real world. The anonymous nature of social media increases instances of direct communication. In contrast, relationships in the 'real' world provide a context in which the intersection of hierarchical relationships and expression of dislike impacts the perceived severity of the message. This gap between openness in expressions of hate and discrimination is evidenced in the excerpt below:

> *In the real word, we (Thai youths) can't state our opinion and hatred towards others out in the open as we wish. We can't act in real life according to how we want it to be. Most of the hatred can be found through words and online freedom of expression. That is why we see so many forms of hatred online. There we can express the frustration that we can't express in the real world.*
>
> *(17-year-old female)*

Furthermore, many informants referred to the specific Thai cultural aspects that impacted the expressions of online/offline hate. A few respondents employed Thai idioms which capture the positive collectivist nature of Thai culture—s*ee which way the wind blows* (ดูทิศทางลม) (i.e. 'observing the surrounding situation and reactions of others before taking

action') and *go with the flow* (ไหลไปตามสถานการณ์)—which reduces the perception of hatred. Additionally, the function of gossip serves an important generational role as the preferred manner of expressing dislike towards others. Some informants reported that in-person confrontations lead to unknown acts of retribution, where the fear of the consequences impacts the desire to express critical messages. The private nature of gossip in contrast to the public sphere of social media limits the number of people who know about the offense.

The Thai term *'sang khom kom na'* (สังคมก้มหน้า) or 'face down society' refers to phubbing, the ignoring or snubbing of companions to focus on a mobile phone screen. This widespread habit has decreased social interactions in real life. The excerpt below shows the distancing effect of the current '*face down society*':

> *Because there are so many platforms to choose from. In real life, people would lessen emotional interaction with one another (face-to-face). We rarely talk for a long time. For example, if it were in the past (when there were fewer social media platforms) if I disliked a person, I would try to clear things up. Social media have distanced us from one another, especially those we are close to. It is strange how we feel that social media have made us feel like we are close to others while in reality we are not as connected as we should be or have been.*
>
> *(20-year-old alternative gender)*

Illustrated in Table 2 below are examples of relevant quotes from informants to compare the factors that impact the perceived intensity of hate and discrimination in the real world and online. Overall, Thai digital natives perceive cyberhate to be different from offline behavior due to cyberhate's anonymity, lack of non-verbal cues, ease of spreading misunderstanding, and mainly psychological harm.

Table 2 Extracted quotations illustrating Thai digital natives' comparison of offline and online expressions of hatred

Offline hatred	Cyberhate
"Able to identify the individuals and reveal their true self-identity"	"Doesn't reveal yourself, who you are and that is the key!"
	"Can create new online account or use fake account to hide true identity"
"Take lots of courage to condemn, swear, and curse."	"Dare to use strong words and cursing and dare to post."

Offline hatred	Cyberhate
"Speak directly."	"Tends to use and select phrases typed or post that is harsher than spoken words."
	"Common nature of online language is more sarcastic."
"Not as widespread."	"Spread quickly and in a larger circle because one can share the content, text, pictures, clips."
	"Can be never ending due to sharing screen captures."
	"Responses are likely to develop rapidly between all engagers."
	"People want to be in trend, so they want to be a part of the response without thinking."
"Inciting in a narrower circle."	"Inciting in a larger circle."
"Will receive direct face to face interaction/response."	"Might not have a way to protect oneself or self-defense when a mass of people is Tweeting or commenting about them. It is like one person is against the world (online people)."
"Hatred might lead to physical harm."	"Hatred online will affect psychological and mental wellbeing of a person."
"A person can interpret the others' feelings, emotions, predict future action or situation."	"By reading texts and posts, one cannot accurately interpret another person's feelings because they did not hear the pitch and voice of the speakers."
	"Texts can easily cause misunderstanding."
	"People are less conscious of their conduct online. Social media have cause us to think less."
"It's true and it happens in reality."	"It can be fake and less reliable than things in the real world. People can create these contents and distort the truth."

4.2 Thai digital natives' perceived characteristics of Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and YouTube

The Thai digital natives in this study also declared that each of the social media platforms invokes a specific purpose. Table 3 below provides respondents' answers when describing the type of experiences and feelings they associate with each social media platform and how they think it is linked to cyberhate. The data captures how Thai digital natives believe hatred can proliferate online at a more rapid rate depending on the function of the application.

Table 3 Thai digital natives' experiences associated with each social media platform and their connection to spontaneous expressions of hatred

Social media platforms	Their feelings and experiences towards these social media platforms	Their descriptions of the platforms
Facebook	Application made for sharing	Easily share and spread like a wildfire, usually involves sharing stories or passing on information the account owner wants to share with others.
	Application that showcases individual's identity and branding	How individuals want to show who they are, what they value, interest, and/or use it to interact directly with others. Often are used with privacy function to limit accessibility to the public.
	Application of what true social media is made of	It has many functions, such as, group, fan page, raising social issues, hold discussions, post comments, and share opinions.
Twitter	The most in-trend application	Real-time, comes and goes quickly, the cycle of tweeting and retweeting because you can't have one without the other, tweeting without thinking it through.
	Application that most associate with sharing their thoughts	You will know the most recent gossip, can have a fruitful in-depth discussion on issues of your concern, can share your thoughts about issues in Thai society, the thoughts will reveal the person's true identity.
	Application of the Avatar	Avatar, *acc heb* (แอคเห็บ - account that Fanclub has created), *acc loum (*แอคหลุม - account that private account for close group), *acc seam* (แอคเสี้ยม - account

Social media platforms	Their feelings and experiences towards these social media platforms	Their descriptions of the platforms
		that created for a fan club group that often circulate dislikes of other fan club groups), cannot be identified and linked back to the person, can easily apply to be a member, hard to keyword search.
	Application that attracts people	New social influencer can easily be discovered from this app, lots of followers, and therefore it is the application that can easily persuade the mass to think alike.
Instagram (IG)	Application of sneak peek into celebrities, appearance-focus, and being in the spotlight	It is for entertainment; application brings you closer to high-society celebrities, creating comparison, jealousy.
	Application that is linked to criticism and hatred more than for admiration	Targeting one's appearance, lifestyle, what they are doing, and how they dress.
	Application for 'keep'	To keep what we want to remember: stories, pictures, and good memories, which oftentimes originate jealousy and gossips from people who dislike the person.
	Application of privacy	IG is not open to the public as much as other social media, in IG you can limit your followers and you can also create another avatar account to post things you only want to share with your close group of friends, such as *IG loum (*ไอจีหลุม - IG private account for close group posting personal things and usually for releasing frustration.)
YouTube	Application to make the hatred 'go viral'	Viral and can express harsh comments since they do not know the real identity of the person.

Social media platforms	Their feelings and experiences towards these social media platforms	Their descriptions of the platforms
	Application catered to your interest	Personalized due to the algorithm function, it seems to be far away from the happening since it is usually not viewed in real time. Can easily report the account, but hard to identify the person who posted it.

4.3 Thai digital natives' semantic experiences of cyberhate on social media

In regard to patterns of cyberhate found in each social media platform, the Thai digital natives in this study reported experiences in the form of discrimination and cyberbullying. Language containing harsh words and hate speech can be found on all platforms, especially when it comes to political critique and disagreements. Most of the Facebook cyberhate that younger high school students experienced were related to happenings in schools, whereas older adolescents' experiences centered around political views.

> *Posting that they dislike this person (well-known politicians). Not only hate speech, but pictures that have hidden meanings. For example, caricatures, pictures of animals or simple soft sarcastic wording saying that the politician should step down. Most of which aims at expelling the government as they feel there has been no development in the country.*
>
> *(18-year-old female)*

Interestingly, unlike Facebook, what is presented on Twitter is often associated with harsh comments that combine more than one type of hatred, shown in Table 4. For example, hatred associated with political differences are usually followed by ageist and/or hate speech comments. Other types of hatred include how one might use ethnic slurs such as, '*don't do like the Laos,*' when bullying another person. Another example was associated with a participant's experience being attacked as a dark-skinned woman in a Thai beauty pageant. This may be a result of how Twitter focuses on language and word use rather than images and clips, thus impacting self-expression, critical thinking, and emotions.

Turning to IG, the Thai digital generation finds this platform to be a great outlet for sharing stories related to their everyday life depending on their mood. Twitter and IG stories are circulated among close friends and the stories can tell you a lot about the everyday life of a

person and the current situation of where, when, and what feelings the person is experiencing. IG posts and stories are more candid than Facebook and Twitter because it truly portrays who a person really is and what they value. One participant noted how his friend experienced ethnic cyberhate through the function of IG stories:

> *I have a Cambodian friend who felt that his friends were being distant. He then found out that in his friend's IG post his friend expressed disgust and annoyance with people of his ethnicity. I think for me, that rude person doesn't have the true understanding of humanity. It is shameful that this person doesn't appreciate human diversity.*
>
> *(21-year-old female)*

The informants also reported three types of gender-discrimination-related cyberhate; (1) the use of sexual comments or making jokes towards those who are not close friends, (2) inciting words of hatred from people who are homophobic, and (3) the use of sexist words. However, the most prevalent cases of gender discrimination are from straight males of their age who are anti-homosexual and express disgust towards perceived flirtation from members of the same sex. However, it was also noted that this reaction did not differ between the online and offline world.

In addition, an informant shared how she experienced cyberhate towards the topic of same-sex marriage in Thailand. Surprisingly, many reported that the criticizers were from the older generations. This is best highlighted in a pictorial ethnography from a 14-year-old participant. In response to the prompt "draw a picture that best presents your digital generation identity," the participant described how her generation in both the offline and online worlds are open to alternative genders (LGBTQ), unlike adults whom she has witnessed in both worlds who usually do not favor the LGBTQ group. Figure 1 represents two transgender youths walking together. At the bottom left is a depiction of the older generation gossiping about the transgender youths. On the bottom right is a digital native commenting on how beautiful the transgenders are.
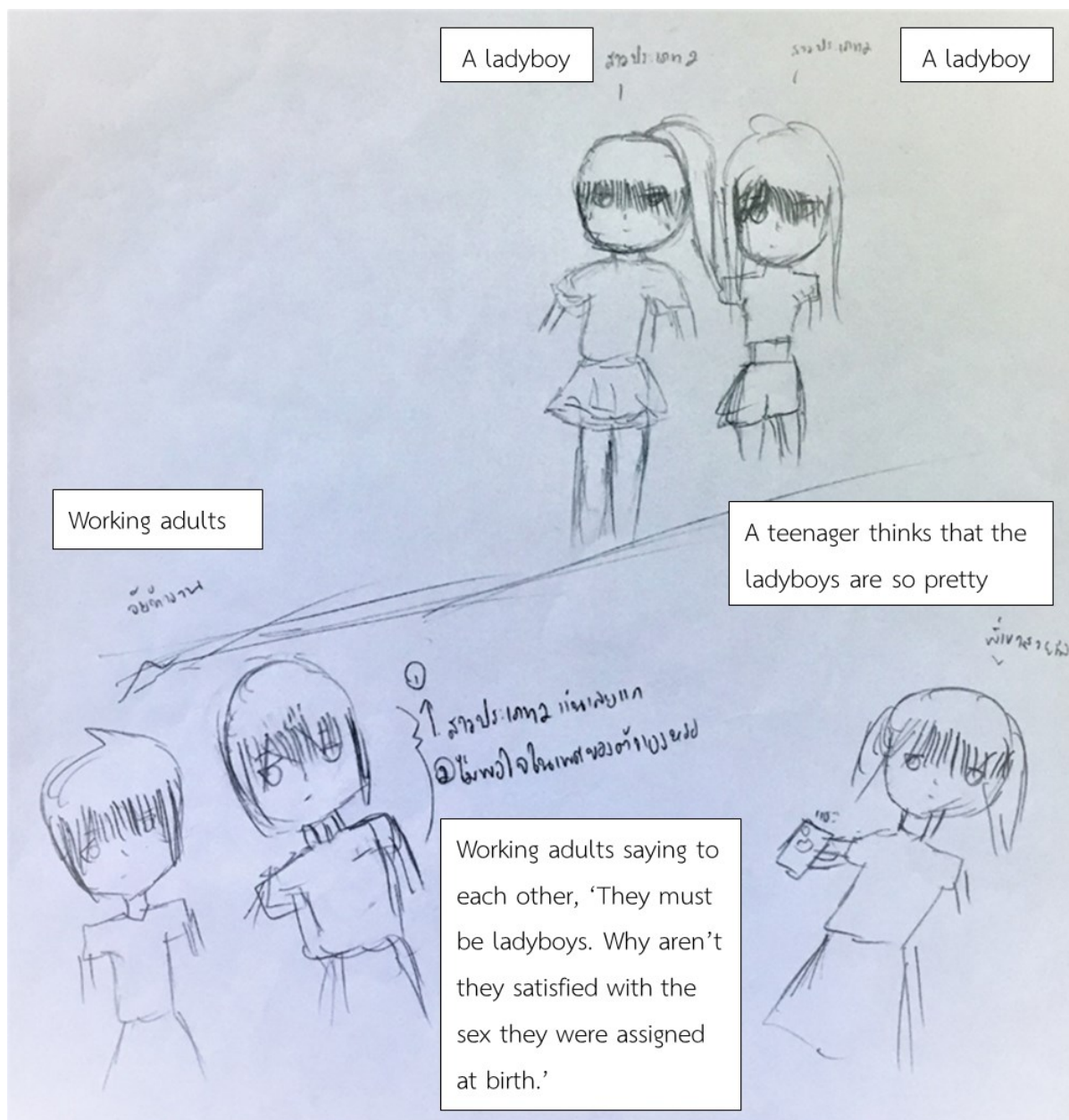
Figure 1 Pictorial ethnography drawn by a 14-year-old showing example of ladyboys hatred found both offline and online usually coming from older generation

This reported differences in values between generations was a common theme found in the data. In regard to Twitter, the spontaneity of the platform made it the cruelest of all due to the fast-paced nature of tweeting. What Twitter and Facebook have in common is the prevalence of ageism resulting from critiquing by the young Thai generation who usually tweet to comment or release their frustration with how the older generation behaves or obeys old societal norms.

> *Mostly what you see on Twitter is about the young generation's voice! I always read of tweets that complain about why the young Thais have to be*

under the rule of the elder generation. Why do kids have to listen to adults? Why not have an argument or state their mind in front of the adults? For me, I don't think it is necessary for us to follow what the adults say all the time without being ourselves. Like we can't be happy with what we are doing, just because we have to do what the adults tell us to do.

(14-year-old female)

While users experience cyberhate through tagging and hash-tagging rude words that may not be true on Twitter, female informants reported seeing comments coming from females and males attacking the physical inferiority of celebrities and politicians on Facebook, and IG. People might choose to criticize the appearance and intelligence of those who post publicly, although they do not know them personally. A picture drawn by a 15-year-old junior high student powerfully illustrates how the anonymity afforded on social media has fostered intellectual judgments from her peer group even though they do not know each other in real life:
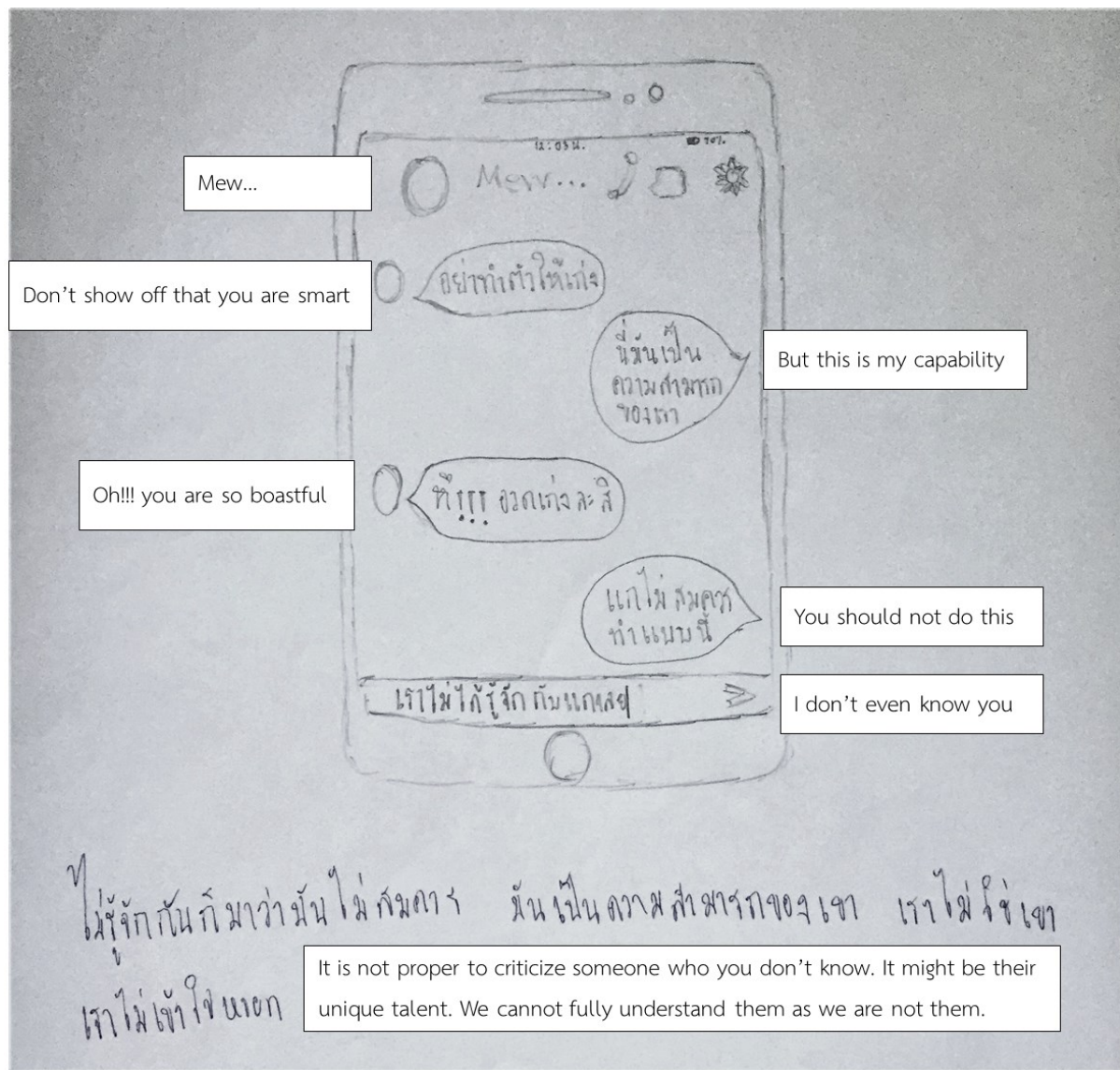
Figure 2 Pictorial ethnography drawn by a 15-year-old illustrating hatred and judgmental text message she experienced from her peers

Lastly, regarding hatred on YouTube, one would find posts expressing an individual's distaste for something or someone, that use harsh words when commenting on video clips regardless of whether or not the videos were viewed until the end. Additionally, over one fifth of the informants have seen a clip of a young female high school student getting into a fight over a boy. However, the high school students reported that among the five social media mentioned, cyberhate was experienced the least on YouTube.

Table 4 below provides a concise summary of the different contextual hatred and discrimination patterns found in various social media platforms. It is important to note that every participant in this study agreed that although they might not be the victims or the

perpetrators, viewing all this hatefulness has created a negative impact on their psychological being which has shaped their generation's norms.

Table 4 Thai digital native experiences of cyberhate patterns found in each social media platform

Social media types	Cyberhate patterns	Excerpt examples of cyberhate vocabs and phrases from survey answers and in-depth interviews
Facebook	Political view differences	Kala (กะลา - stupid, no brainer), *sa-lim* (สลิ่ม - a word used for discriminating government's supporters), disagreements between political parties (i.e. the government versus the major opposition party)[1]
	Gender discrimination	Wrong sex, unnatural, flirtatious comments, sexual harassment
	Appearance discrimination	Critique on skin color, face and beauty.
	Dress and decor	Dress like a whore (กะหรี่)
	Ageism	Older generation usually state a negative sentence starting with "Today's generation" (เด็กสมัยนี้) is not like in the past, or stereotyping that they are all being in a certain way, usually in a sense of disappointment.
Twitter	Bullying	Using hateful words to bully a person.
	Ethnic slurs	Ethnic discrimination used in words 'Laos' 'ไอ้ลาว', "ทำตัวลาว" or "เขมร" "Khmer"
	Appearance discrimination	Critique on skin color of celebrity, beauty pageants, and among friends, being fat.
	Political view differences	Same as Facebook and using a 150-word sentence to express their political frustration.
	Gender discrimination	Wrong sex, unnatural, sexual harassment. There are only two sexes in this world. One should dress according to their sex. She shouldn't be the representor of her national beauty due to being too fat or having certain skin color.

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[1] These words were used at the time this research was conducted.

Social media types	Cyberhate patterns	Excerpt examples of cyberhate vocabs and phrases from survey answers and in-depth interviews
	Discriminating K-Pop and Korean celebrity fan clubs	Those who are Fanclubs of K-Pop or Korean celebrity are brainless and don't do anything productive.
	Ageism	Complaints from the young digital generation about having to follow rules and school regulations, wear uniforms, sing the national anthem, and attend the teachers' ceremony, all of which reflect old thinking. Complaints that if they comment on politics or say that Thailand is not good in any way, they will be reprimanded by the older generation who would say online that they are not Thais, not a part of our nation. Older generation, usually would state that if you are Thai you should be proud of your country.
	Using hate speech	Hate speech on social issues associated with social institutions. For example, commenting on Thai Ministry of Education and the government.
Instagram (IG)	Appearance discrimination	Critique on beauty, skin color and body shape (i.e. overweight or too thin, tall or short) of celebrities and individuals.
	Gender discrimination	LGBT discrimination, sexual harassment comments of female IG
	Socio-economic status discrimination	Commenting on how a person is rich or poor.
	Using hate speech tag	Cropping another person's IG and hash tagging hate speech then sending it to others.
YouTube	Ethnic slurs	Showing clips by foreign people that make Thailand look dirty such as fighting over food in the buffet line and taking more than you can eat.
	Gender discrimination	Showing a part of the clip that discriminates against women using phrase such as "เหม็นเมนส์" (smelly

Social media types	Cyberhate patterns	Excerpt examples of cyberhate vocabs and phrases from survey answers and in-depth interviews
		period), critiquing women in beauty pageants for their shapes, sizes, and not being smart.
	Critiquing YouTubers	Showing YouTube clips that criticize and post hateful comments. For example, this beauty blogger isn't pretty enough, how the person is mistreating animals, critiquing how young children shouldn't be YouTubers and that their parents should not have let them.

5. Discussion and conclusion

The insights gained from this research show that for the Thai digital generation, hatred online is likely to continue at a rapid rate. Cyberhate experiences found in this study not only share commonalities with other cultures, but also indicate that Thai cyberhate experiences are unique to their generation. This study confirmed the similarities to previous research findings (e.g. Brown, 2017; Chetty & Alathur, 2018; Whittaker & Kowalski, 2015) that social media's purpose and features contributed to the rapid growth of online hatred. This is due to the anonymity, lack of face-to-face interaction leading to misunderstandings, and text and images that can generate a larger number of followers to spread hate. The hierarchical nature of Thai culture makes the expression of hate easier through online channels as opposed to in-person interactions. In addition, this research adds to the growing body of knowledge on cyberhate by identifying the importance of 'collectiveness' in Thai culture which reduces the prevalence of offline hatred. While cultural norms and expectations around in person social interactions tend to be conflict averse, the internet introduces a cyber sphere that is not similarly regulated by these kinds of social norms. Furthermore, the experience of cyberhate also spilled over into informants' offline lives, with informants revealing how cyberhate affected their sense of vulnerability and left them feeling unprotected from targeted cyberhate attacks.

Unlike the previous studies of Udanor and Anyanwu (2019), and Wilkinson and Thelwall (2012), Thai digital natives find cyberhate appears on all social media platforms and the reported experiences could be unique in the Thai context. Therefore, it is important to be aware of the differences in usage of social platforms and the reported acts of hate and discrimation. This study adds the experiences of Thai digital natives with cyberhate on major social media platforms to the knowledge of previous studies (Ojanen et al., 2015; Samoh et al., 2014). Findings can also give insights on and nuanced understanding to the generational

differences that impact social media usage. Moreover, these findings shed light on how each particular type of social media is used for its culturally-bound perceptions which intersect with their cyberhate experiences.

The patterns of contextual cyberhate patterns found in this study are similar to ones found by prior studies. In contrast to what youth in other cultures experience (Bliuc et al., 2018; Evolvi 2018), this group of Thai digital natives did not report religious, disability, or racial discrimination. Furthermore, when analyzed in-depth, the type of content which evolved around bullying, ethnicity, and appearance discriminations may differ from what the youth in the West experiences. Informants often reported that bullying largely came from strangers, discrimination based on ethnicity was fostered through the use of slangs in youth culture, and criticism of appearance—not being beautiful enough—was common. The most interesting findings pinpointed how ageism reappeared in expressions of political differences, showing the formation of generational conflict.

Although informants are aware of cyber bullying and know what it is, they are not conscious of how they can easily become a part of someone else's cyberhate experiences by not preventing it and by being a part of the hatred circulation. Teachers and students of this generation can use this research to further increase their understanding of cyberhate in youth culture, exchange ideas relating to prevention, and raise awareness of the harmful impact that cyberhate can have on another person's life. This research suggests that now is the time to create a path for the next generation of Thai digital natives to become active educators and advocates around the lessening of cyberhate. The research revealed that cyberhate patterns are taking more complex forms and are growing rapidly within youth culture. An effective cyberhate reduction can only be made possible if the digital natives themselves take charge in making the change for their generation. Further qualitative and quantitative research on specific populations, user groups, or particular social media platforms may help to generate suitable strategies for these changes.

6. Ethical considerations

This research project was approved by the Research Ethics Review Committee for Research Involving Human Research Participants, Health Sciences Group, Chulalongkorn University, Thailand COA No. 130/2019. Written informed consent was obtained from all informants, and parental or school representative permission was acquired for those under 18. Pictorial ethnography, questionnaires, and in-depth interviews were conducted in locations that informants preferred and confidentiality was safeguarded by coding ID.

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