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언론정보학석사학위논문

When Do People Speak Up on the Internet?

: The Effects of Opinion Congruency and Incivility on
the Willingness to Participate in the News Comments
Section

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Abstract

This study aimed to elucidate the effects of opinion congruency and incivility on people's willingness to participate in writing at the news comments section. The role of efficacy and emotions in people's decision to participate was also explored. In order to answer if, when, and why people participate the news comments section, a 2 (issue stance: against an issue vs. for an issue) x 2 (opinion congruence: congruent with the minority opinion vs. congruent with the majority opinion) x 2 (incivility: civil vs. uncivil) experiment was conducted online. Experimental participants were exposed to a short news article and a comments section about a gender-related social issue and an economic issue, and were asked to answer a series of questions measuring emotions, efficacies, and the willingness to participate.

Contrary to previous research findings, opinion congruency did not have a significant effect on one's internal efficacy and willingness to participate for both issues. It did, however, have a significant effect on emotions with those whose opinion was congruent with the majority opinion feeling higher levels of positive emotions and lower levels of negative emotions than those whose opinion was congruent with the minority opinion. Incivility had a significant effect on one's willingness to participate with regards to the economic issue. People who were exposed to comments section with uncivil expressions were more willing to participate in writing than those who were exposed to comments section with uncivil expressions. The interaction effect between incivility and opinion congruency revealed, however, that this was only true for those whose opinion was congruent with the majority opinion. Generally, among those whose opinion was congruent with the minority opinion, the willingness to participate was higher in the uncivil condition than in the civil condition. Furthermore, results revealed that while emotion had a limited effect on people's willingness to participate, internal and external efficacy had a

significant positive effect, reinforcing previous research findings that efficacy is a strong predictor of behavior. Theoretical and practical implications of these results were discussed.

Keyword : online news, user comments, opinion congruency, incivility, willingness to participate, cognitive appraisal theory of emotion

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Table of Contents

Introduction	1
Literature Review	8
Core elements of public deliberation	8
Disagreement and political talk.....	9
Discursive incivility	16
Emotion and the willingness to express opinion publicly	28
Cognitive appraisal and emotion	28
Appraising opinion congruency and discursive incivility.....	29
Action tendencies of each emotion.....	35
Research Question and Hypothesis.....	41
Method	47
Pilot Test.....	47
Main Experiment	52
Results	59
Results for the gender-related issue.....	59
Manipulation Check	59
Hypothesis Tests	62
Results for the economic issue	84
Manipulation Check	84
Hypothesis Tests.....	87
Summary and Discussion	109
References.....	124

Tables and Figures

Table 1. Intercorrelations of research variables for Issue 1.....	61
Table 2. Analysis of variance for happiness	63
Table 3. Analysis of variance for pride	64
Table 4. Means for happiness and pride	64
Table 5. Analysis of variance for anger.....	66
Table 6. Analysis of variance for fear	66
Table 7. Analysis of variance for shame	67
Table 8. Analysis of variance for disgust.....	67
Table 9. Means for negative emotions (anger, fear, shame, disgust)	68
Table 10. Analysis of variance for internal efficacy.....	69
Table 11. Analysis of covariance for the willingness to participate	70
Table 12. Analysis of variance for the intention to use uncivil Expressions.....	72
Table 13. Analysis of variance for external efficacy	73
Table 14. Means for the willingness to participate.....	74
Table 15. The effect of discrete emotions on the willingness to participate and the intention to use uncivil expressions	77
Table 16. The effect of efficacies on the willingness to participate	78
Table 17. Bootstrap coefficients, standard errors, and confidence intervals for mediation tests	80
Table 18. Bootstrap coefficients, standard errors, and confidence intervals for mediation tests among those who are against the victim-centered approach	82

Table 19. Bootstrap coefficients, standard errors, and confidence intervals for mediation tests among those who are for the victim-centered approach	83
Table 20. Intercorrelations of research variables for Issue 2.....	86
Table 21. Analysis of variance for happiness	88
Table 24. Analysis of variance for anger	90
Table 25. Analysis of variance for fear	90
Table 26. Analysis of variance for shame	91
Table 27. Analysis of variance for disgust.....	91
Table 28. Means for negative emotions.....	91
Table 29. Means for anger, shame, disgust.....	92
Table 30. Analysis of variance for internal efficacy.....	92
Table 31. Analysis of covariance for the willingness to participate	93
Table 32. Analysis of variance for the intention to use uncivil expressions	95
Table 33. Means of for anger, shame, and disgust	96
Table 34. Analysis of variance for external efficacy	97
Table 35. Means for the willingness to participate.....	98
Table 36. Means of intention to use uncivil expressions	99
Table 37. The effects of discrete emotions on the willingness to participate and the intention to use uncivil expressions	101
Table 38. The effects of internal efficacy and external efficacy on the willingness to participate in the comments section.....	102
Table 39. Bootstrap coefficients, standard errors, and confidence intervals for mediation tests among those who are against the increase in minimum wage	107
Table 40. Bootstrap coefficients, standard errors, and confidence intervals for mediation tests among those who are for the increase in minimum wage.....	108
Table 40. Summary of Issue 1 and 2 results	115

Table 41. Factors that affect the frequency of commenting in the news comments section	118
Table 42. The effects of independent variables in Issues 1 & 2 on the willingness to speak in Issues 1 & 2	120
Figure 1. Mediating effects of issue stance, opinion congruency, incivility on the willingness to participate through positive emotions	103
Figure 2. Indirect effects of issue stance, opinion congruency, incivility on the willingness to participate through anger.....	104

Introduction

Thanks in large to recent developments in the Internet and its associated technologies, people now have more opportunities than ever before to engage in political discussions with people from diverse backgrounds (Rowe, 2015). People are able to form heterogeneous networks that go beyond their geographical boundaries, access a virtually unlimited set of diverse information sources, and freely share information with others (Brundidge, 2010; Stromer-Galley, 2003). Furthermore, the computer-mediated communication (CMC) setting allows users a means to escape traditional social constraints that occur in face-to-face interaction. By reducing or eliminating social cues such as gender, age and status, CMC provides individuals with the opportunity to interact more freely and equally (Flanagin, Tiyaamornwong, O' Connor, & Seibold, 2002). This is because the absence of social cues makes people less pressured to act according to social norms. It is this process of disinhibition that opens doors for greater equality of participation (Siegel, Dubrovsky, Kiesler, & McGuire, 1986).

In recent years, scholars have paid attention to a particular function of the internet which sets the stage for political discussions among people from diverse backgrounds: the user comments section of online news media (e.g., Kim & Rhee, 2006; Ryfe, 2005; Santana, 2011). Implemented by most online news platforms, the user comments section of online news media provides users a public space at the end of each news article where they are invited to contribute their own opinions, perspectives, and expertise to the content produced by professional journalists (Manosevitch & Walker, 2009). It is the modern public sphere for deliberation or, as Gastil (2008) described, the process through which a group of people carefully examines a common issue, presents their arguments, and arrives at a solution after inclusive and respectful consideration of opponents' views. Min (2007) found that participating in deliberation online provides the same benefits as

participating in a face-to-face deliberation but does not require as much time and effort. Some of these benefits include the increase in political knowledge (Eveland, 2004) and the understanding of multiple points of views through the simultaneous process of listening to others' views and defending one's own (Gutmann & Thompson, 1997). Also, during deliberation, people can reveal their genuine commitment to cooperation and their trustworthiness to unlike-minded others (Mendelberg, 2002). The perception of others' intentions to cooperate becomes a powerful motivator of actual cooperation (Bouas & Komorita, 1996). Empirical studies have shown that deliberation leads to a greater sense of public-spiritedness and, subsequently, an increased political participation (Warren, 1992).

Despite these proposed benefits, participating in deliberation is limited to reading the comments that other people have written for most people. According to a survey conducted by the Korea Press Foundation (2018), while 70.1% of the citizens read user comments in the online news media, only 21.1% have written a comment.^① Another research that analyzed the content of comments in the three main news portal websites showed that the small percentage of the population who had written user comments before also had the tendency to write frequently: the number of comments written by the top 5% of those who most commonly wrote comments consisted 30.5% of the total number of comments (Kim & Kim, 2009). Researchers such as Price and Cappella (2002) have made efforts to identify who these frequent participants were and found that participation is both quantitatively and qualitatively dominated by those already powerful offline – politically active, educated, white, males. The domination of the comments section by a particular group is concerning because it may inhibit those whose

^① The original data was not accessible. Thus, the result of the survey referenced here was found in the following news article: Lee, J. (2018, May 31). "The user comments section of portal news reflects minority opinion rather than the public opinion". Korean Joongang Daily, Retrieved from <https://news.joins.com/article/22673696>

opinion is congruent with the minority opinion from speaking up, as predicted by Noelle–Neumann’s spiral of silence theory. There is also the danger of distortion in the representation of the public opinion. Even when statistics within the news article, a supposedly more representative and credible source of information than laypeople’s opinions, stated otherwise, users were more strongly influenced by the news comments section when perceiving the public opinion (Lee & Jang, 2010). The misrepresentation of the actual public opinion and, in particular, the overrepresentation of those who are more powerful within the society pose the risk of social minorities from speaking up, even if their interests are supported by the majority of the public.

Although there have been plenty of research on the benefits of online deliberation *if* people participate, there have not been enough studies that examined *when* people participate. Researchers who have focused on the benefits of deliberation in online news comments section have assumed participation when participation is, in fact, the result of a conscious decision made by a particular group of users. This thesis aims to identify factors that affect people’s decision to participate in writing at the comments section. Identifying such factors is expected to have practical implications, highlighting ways to improve the online public sphere by encouraging active and civil participation among news readers. For instance, if research finding shows that the presence of uncivil comments deter people’s willingness to participate in writing at the comments section or increase their intentions to use uncivil expressions, propositions for regulations to censor such expressions can be supported. However, if results show otherwise, policies that are aimed to censor or regulate people’s freedom of speech may lose their grounds. This thesis also aims to answer *why* people participate when they participate. Explaining the willingness to participate through personal traits such as the level of education, personality, or political orientation limits the practical application of the research findings as they are hard to change and too diverse. This thesis aims to maximize the generalizability of the research

findings by focusing instead on the conditions of the user comments section of online news media that may affect people's willingness to participate and the psychological processes through which these conditions lead people to express their opinions publicly.

In recent years, incivility has caught the attention of researchers as a factor that hinders people's participation in the comments section. Rather than promoting respectful discussions, comment sections can foster incivility toward other commenters with different points-of-view (Coe, Kenski, & Rains, 2014). This may involve the use of name-calling, mockery, and character assassination to purposefully insult and belittle one another (Berry & Sobieraj, 2013; Borah, 2013). Some researchers have paid attention to the use of hate speech in the user comments section of online news media (e.g., Lee & Park, 2016; Reich, 2011). Cho and Kwon (2015) have explained people's tendency to be uncivil to each other in online discussions through the absence of accountability. This is largely due to anonymity afforded by the news comments section. While anonymity "obliterates real-life identity boundaries and enhances free and open communication" (Papacharissi, 2004, p. 267), it has the potential to lead to de-individuation resulting in aggressive, anti-normative behaviors (Christopherson, 2007). Different levels of identifiability afforded by each online platform lead to disproportionate effects on user disinhibition. For example, in a comparative analysis of Facebook and YouTube, Halpern and Gibbs (2013) found that YouTube contained more impolite comments due to its lower identifiability and networked information access than Facebook. Similarly, Rowe (2015) found that comments on the Washington Post website where users were afforded a higher level of anonymity were significantly more likely to be uncivil than the comments in the Washington Post Facebook page. These findings help explain the effect of anonymity on people's uncivil behaviors in online discussions.

Incivility in news comment sections can lead to troubling consequences at both the intrapersonal and the interpersonal level. Intrapersonal effects include the polarization of attitude toward

political parties (Hwang, Kim, & Huh, 2014), arousal of negative emotions (Hwang, 2008; Hwang, Kim, & Kim, 2018), and thwarting understanding of an issue (Baek, Wojcieszak, & Carpini, 2012). In terms of interpersonal effects, incivility has the potential to exacerbate intergroup conflict between groups of people with different opinions. According to the social identity model of deindividuation effects (SIDE) (Postmes, Spears, & Lea, 1998), factors that have traditionally been identified as causing deindividuation such as anonymity can actually reinforce group salience and conformity to group norms, and thereby strengthen the impact of a variety of social boundaries. People then behave to support their group identity through identity performance which is “the purposeful expression of behaviors relevant to those norms conventionally associated with a social identity” (Klein, Spears, & Reicher, 2007, p. 30). Based on the SIDE model, it can be expected that in the user comments section of online news media where individual cues are absent, uncivil expressions that attack someone’s social or political identity may lead people to perceive the interaction with those who have opposing opinions as an intergroup one rather than an interpersonal one. In an experimental research, Gervais (2015) found that incivility in an online discussion prompted feelings of anger in those who encountered it, but only when it took aim at one's political party. The exposure to uncivil expressions by ingroup members used against outgroup members is also expected to have negative consequences in deliberation. Since people have the tendency to follow group norms when social identity is salient in a deindividuated computer-mediated communication context (Postmes et al., 1998), it is likely that they will follow the discursive norm of their ingroup. Thus, people whose ingroup members use uncivil expressions in the comments section are more likely to be uncivil by calling the members of the outgroup by names or threatening them of physical attack. All in all, continuous efforts by researchers to empirically test the effects of incivility on the deliberative process have led to the finding that incivility not only decreases one’s understanding of

and tolerance for others' opinions but also exacerbates hostility against those who hold opposing views to oneself.

However, the effect of incivility on people's willingness to participate in the news comments section has yet to be tested. Few legal scholars have argued that hate speech, an extreme form of incivility, has the potential to silence its targets (e.g., Delgado, 1993; Gelber, 2002; MacKinnon, 1993). Delgado (1993), for example, argues that many victims of hate-speech choose not to speak back because their responses may provoke further abuses. This is particularly true when the speaker is in a position of authority over his or her victim. Targets may fear victimization or lack the confidence to challenge a person in a superior position (Gelber, 2002). Similarly, Post (1990) asserts that hate speech may exclude members of the victim group from the dominant public discourse, devalue their speech and render them unable to iterate a response. He warns that this may limit their ability to participate in deliberative self-governance, an essential component of democracy. Although these scholars have made a convincing argument on how uncivil speeches in public discussion may limit their targets from expressing their opinions publicly or speaking back to the aggressor, there has not yet been empirical evidence proving their points. Without it, it is hard to prove the actual harms of incivility and claim the necessity of speech regulation in public spaces as done by scholars such as Mari Matsuda and Catherine MacKinnon. Therefore, this thesis will address this gap in research by empirically testing whether the presence of uncivil speech in the public discussion affects one's willingness to speak up and if so, whether the effect differs depending on whether his or her opinion is congruent with the majority or minority opinion in the comments section.

All in all, this thesis explores whether and why incivility has negative effects on people's willingness to participate in writing at the comments section. To make it clear, this paper does not argue that it is wrong to criticize or express disapproval of others' argument or express disapproval of the government's policies. In fact, disagreement is a core element of deliberation to help

strengthen a person's own argument as well as to gain an understanding of others' opinions (Park, 2000; Price et al., 2002). It is the way in which disagreements are expressed that is the problem which this research would like to address. Drawing upon the cognitive appraisal theory of emotion, this thesis proposes emotions as a meaningful link between the exposure to incivility and people's decision to speak up in the comments section. In other words, depending on which emotion is elicited after reading others' comments, a person may be more prone to speak or stay silent. This research has three main goals. First is to empirically test the effect of incivility on people's willingness to participate in writing at the comments section and on their intention to use uncivil expressions if they write anything. This will be achieved through an online experiment where the participants' emotional reactions and behavioral intentions will be measured after exposure to a news article and a comments section that emulates the NAVER news comments section. Second, this thesis aims to identify a specific condition of 'opinion climate' under which people are the most likely to participate in the comments section. Specifically, by examining the effects of incivility together with opinion congruency, it is possible to determine if there are any differences in the ways in which people whose opinion is congruent with the majority opinion and those whose opinion is congruent with the minority opinion respond to incivility. Finally, this thesis will investigate how psychological processes such as the activation of efficacies and excitation of emotions affect people's willingness to participate in writing at the comments section.

Literature Review

Core elements of public deliberation

Deliberation is defined as “a political process through which a group of people carefully examines a problem and arrives at a well-reasoned solution after a period of inclusive, respectful consideration of diverse points of view” (Gastil, 2008, p.8). Although broad, this definition captures two core elements of deliberation: What should be discussed and how they should be discussed. First, regarding what should be discussed, all participants should be allowed to talk about their perspectives freely and question assertions made by others so that diverse points of view are taken into account in the problem-solving process (Habermas, 1990). Deliberative theorists argue that only when alternative views and rationales are considered in deliberation can the final decisions be justified among those opposing it (Manin, 1987). Also, disagreements in political discussions help to increase political knowledge (Eveland, 2004) and tolerance towards other members of the society (Mutz, 2002). Second, regarding how they should be discussed, the definition highlights the importance of “inclusive, respectful posture towards other discussants” or, as deliberative theorists call it, civility.

While disagreement is necessary for deliberation, it may also be problematic because it essentially communicates “the clashing of opposed values, beliefs, experiences and facts” (Stromer-Galley & Muhlberger, 2009, p.174). In particular, when disagreement is expressed uncivilly, individuals may feel negative emotions toward the other side, which in turn can lead to close-mindedness and more expression of disagreement with people who hold different perspectives (Hwang et al., 2018). Uncivil disagreements can increase individuals’ aggressive intentions and the likelihood of responding uncivilly (Chen & Lu, 2017). These concerns call for a

research attention on how the tone of expressing disagreement influences individuals' emotional reactions and willingness to participate in a public discussion. In this section, I will review how disagreement and civility play a central role in deliberation, and how they can impact individuals' willingness to participate in deliberation.

Disagreement and political talk

Deliberative theorists have argued that the exposure to disagreement or 'cross-cutting views and opinions' (Mutz, 2002) have beneficial effects to citizens at both intrapersonal and interpersonal level (Hwang et al., 2018; McLeod et al., 1999). The effects take place through two distinct processes which McLeod and colleagues (1999) refer to as the 'micro-level process' and the 'macro-level process'. At the micro-level, each person deliberates by paying attention to issues, sorting out evidence, and weighing claims prior to and during the attendance at a deliberative forum. This process involves "the formation of [individual] will, the particular moment that precedes choice, and in which the individual ponders different solutions before settling for one of them" (Manin, 1987, p.348). In contrast, deliberation at the macro-level involves the blending of diverse opinions among groups of individuals and interest groups and compromises among conflicting points of view. It allows people to sort out and reduce the number of issues and dimensions on which they disagree through persuasive argument, evidence, and evaluation (McLeod et al., 1999). These two processes of deliberation offer distinct benefits to discussion participants on an intrapersonal and interpersonal level.

At the intrapersonal level, deliberation "fosters opinions that are more soundly reasoned and buttressed by arguments" through careful consideration of conflicting views (Price et al., 2002, p.96). Price and colleagues (2002) found that disagreement contributes to people's ability to generate reasons and, in particular, reasons why

others might disagree with their own views. The frequency of discussions with unlike-minded others was significantly correlated with the number of “argument repertoire” – reasons people can give in support of their own opinions, as well as reasons they can offer to support opposing points of view. The level of disagreement was associated with argument repertoire as well: the higher the disagreement with discussion partners, the more reasons people provided. Similarly, Mutz (2006) found that the exposure to disagreement leads to greater awareness of rationales for one’s own viewpoints. She explains that when people are challenged by others, they reflect on the reasons for their beliefs to defend their positions from others’ attack or to fulfill an internal need to rationalize why they hold a diverging view (Huckfeldt, Mendez, & Osborn, 2004; Mutz, 2006). In sum, exposure to disagreements in deliberation leads to the sophistication, consistency, and certainty of one’s personal view and enhances one’s capacity to argue those preferences assertively (Park, 2000).

Furthermore, studies have shown that the exposure to disagreement in political discussion makes discussants more informed and more likely to take part in political activities. Eveland (2004) argues that interpersonal political communication is an important source of political knowledge in addition to traditional mass-mediated news. In his research, he found the two processes through which political discussion increases political knowledge. One is by increasing the cognitive elaboration on the news content viewed previously in preparation for the impending discussion. The other is through the actual discussion where information provided by the conversation partner helps to form new connections between ideas already held in memory. Scheufele and his colleagues (Scheufele, Nisbet, Brossard, & Nisbet, 2004) have also found that the exposure to different opinion sparks information seeking activities because people want to find evidence that supports their initial positions or learn more about the other’s opinion. Lastly, Roh and Min (2009) examined the effect of having political discussions with people who hold a different opinion on one’s willingness to

participate in various political activities such as protesting and volunteering in an election race. They found that discussion with unlike-minded others increased one's willingness to participate in political activities only in a 'high deliberation' condition where discussants provided reasons for their argument and carefully listened to the arguments made by others. In a 'low deliberation' condition where there was a lack of logical argumentation and listening to the other side, exposure to disagreement lowered one's willingness to participate in political activities.

Political discussions not only have intrapersonal level outcomes but also interpersonal outcomes such as understanding others with different views (Park, 2000). Studies have shown that deliberation allows people to enlarge their mind and increase impartiality by providing opportunities to consider a particular issue from different viewpoints (Price, Cappella, & Nir, 2002; Wyatt et al., 2000). This is what Arendt (1967) calls "representative thinking" or an "enlarged mentality", which allows people to consider issues with less self-interestedness to imagine how they would feel and think if they were in someone else's shoes. Awareness of the rationales behind the opposing view made individuals more tolerant of it (Mutz, 2002; Pattie & Johnston, 2008). Also, having a heterogeneous discussion network led to an attitudinal ambivalence, a state of which a person's attitude is not biased (Huckfeldt et al., 2004; Parsons, 2010). Similarly, in a comparative study of United States and South Korea, Kim (2015) found that encountering dissimilar opinions in interpersonal discussion networks weakened the association between selective exposure and political polarization among people in both countries. These research findings indicate that interacting with people who hold opposite opinions can help to comprehend their view points and form a more balanced opinion.

Exposure to disagreement can have varying effects on people's willingness to participate in a political discussion depending on whether their opinion is congruent with the majority opinion or with the minority opinion. The effect of opinion congruence on a person's willingness to express their opinion is often explained in

terms of Noelle–Neumann's (1974) theory of spiral of silence. She argues that people constantly monitor the opinion climate and when they perceive that their opinion is congruent with the minority opinion, choose not to speak out due to the fear of isolation. The silence of the minority amplifies the majority voice, which in turn makes minorities speak even less, thereby forming a ‘spiral of silence’. However, Chun and Lee (2017) asks whether a hostile opinion climate at the societal level affects one’ s willingness to speak up at the online comments section. They found through survey research that opinion congruency with others in the online comments section has a more significant effect. In another study, they explored the effects of opinion congruency on the willingness to speak out in a social media environment and found that people were more likely to express their opinions when they perceived the online comments as congruent with their own perspectives even if public opinion poll results showed different results (Lee & Chun, 2016). Similar experiments were conducted by Nekmat and Gonzenbach (2013) who tested whether opinion congruency affects one’s willingness to post messages in online discussion forums. They distinguished between an offline climate of opinion (perceived opinion in real society) and within–forum climate of opinion (distribution of opinions among forum participants) and observed that people whose opinion was congruent with the minority opinion were less likely to post messages compared to those whose opinion was congruent with the majority opinion. Participants in a majority–congruent condition felt empowered to speak up in an online discussion.

Effects of opinion congruency on the willingness to express opinions publicly

Why do individuals speak up when their opinion is congruent with the majority opinion and stay silent when it is congruent with the minority? Researchers have pointed to the perceived social support from like-minded others to explain what enables people to speak out when their opinion is the majority opinion (Chun & Lee, 2016, 2017; Greenaway et al., 2015). According to the social identity theory, ingroup identity is constructed when people perceive that they hold similar characteristics, interests, and opinions with a group of people (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In online discussion platforms where individuating information is scarce or absent, people identify themselves with other discussants on the basis of issue stance rather than personal factors such as age, gender, and ethnicity. This shared identity between people who hold same views makes people feel a sense of support (Haslam, O'Brien, Jetten, Vormedal, & Penna, 2005) and, subsequently, makes them to perceive their ability to express their own opinions positively (Chun & Lee, 2016; Lee & Chun, 2016; Sung & Lee, 2015). This perception is commonly referred to as 'self-efficacy'.

Self-efficacy is defined as "people's belief in their capabilities to mobilize the motivation, cognitive resources, and courses of action needed to exercise control over given events" (Ozer & Bandura, 1990, p. 472). According to Bandura (1977), people tend to avoid activities or situations that they believe exceed their coping capabilities and readily undertake those they judge themselves as capable of handling. He argues that seeing others perform threatening activities without adverse consequences can increase the level of self-efficacy. This is because people persuade themselves that if others can do it, they should be able to achieve at least some level of success in their performance. Applying this to the context of online news comments section, people who see like-minded individuals actively voice their opinions will feel efficacious

about expressing their opinion publicly through writing comments as well. In contrast, people who see like-minded individuals being silent in the comments section will lack the social support necessary to believe that they can speak up about their opinions. Yun and Park (2011) who found that opinion minorities are less likely to speak up than opinion majorities suggested that opinion minorities engage in the following three defensive strategies as an alternative to expressing their opinions publicly in the comments section. The first strategy is a simple loping strategy where participants avoid message posting and other communication activities. The second strategy is to talk about their online discussion experience to others in their own social network and try to gain their support from them. The third strategy is to leave the discussion forum without posting a message and find another online discussion forum where their opinion is congruent with the majority opinion. The purpose of this is to assure themselves that the opinion climate of the previously accessed discussion forum was biased and misrepresentative of the public opinion.

There have been claims, however, that a person not only considers his or her own ability to perform a certain behavior but also situational circumstances that may allow or inhibit the individual from performing that behavior (Smith & Pope, 1992). The differentiation between the evaluation of one's own ability and of situational factors been made by political communication researchers as well. They referred to them separately as 'internal efficacy' and 'external efficacy' respectively. While internal efficacy for political participation refers to the "beliefs about one's own competence to understand, and to participate effectively in politics", external efficacy refers to "the degree to which an individual perceives his political actions as being (potentially) successful" (Craig, Niemi, & Silver, 1990, p. 290). The success of one's political actions is determined by how responsive the government authorities and institutions are to them. People with high external efficacy believe that the system will react when pressure is applied by citizens whereas those with low external efficacy believe

citizens' demand will not be addressed by the government officials (Valentino, Hutchings, Banks, & Davis, 2008). Previous research testing the effects of external efficacy on various forms of political participation have found that external efficacy is positively correlated with voting (Finkel, 1985), and negatively correlated with mobilizing protests (Craig, 1980) and community involvement (Craig, 1979).

Recognizing the importance of incorporating the concept of internal efficacy and the external efficacy in the field of deliberation research as well, Park (1993) named internal efficacy in the context of deliberation as 'speakability' and external efficacy as 'heardability'. He argues that 'speakability' is established when one has the intention to speak up and evaluates his or her ability to speak up positively. 'Heardability', on the other hand, is established when a person believes that their listeners have the intention to listen to what he or she is saying and evaluates their ability to understand it positively. Park (1993) argues that opinion expression is affected by both speakability and heardability, and that these factors may be more influential to people's decision to express their opinions than their actual communication abilities. He mentions that when people lack speakability, they will feel that it is not in their place to express their opinions. When heardability is lacking, speakers will choose to remain silent because they believe that no one will pay attention to them and even so, will not understand what they are saying. Although Park (1993) did not specify the conditions under which an individual evaluates his or her heardability as low in his study, this thesis will examine whether other discussion participants' use of uncivil expressions in has an effect on it.

To sum up, the exposure to disagreements is an essential component of deliberation because it has positive effects on citizens on both the intrapersonal and the interpersonal level. On an intrapersonal level, citizens can be more informed through the exposure to diverse perspectives and elaborate on their opinions. At the interpersonal level, citizens can increase their understanding

of others' views and become more tolerant towards them. This prevents opinion polarization and can lead to smooth resolution of social conflicts. The effect of exposure to disagreement on one's willingness to participate in a political discussion or deliberative process largely depends on whether his or her opinion is part of the majority or minority opinion. This is particularly true for online political discussions where discussion participants can easily and accurately fathom their opinion congruency with the majority opinion. Previous studies have found that when one's opinion is the majority opinion in comments section, they are more likely feel social support which increases their internal efficacy about expressing their opinion publicly through comment writing. In addition to internal efficacy, external efficacy or the belief that others will carefully listen and consider their opinion will also influence one's willingness to comment in the comments section. All in all, these studies show us that it is not the mere presence of unlike-minded people that stops one from expressing their opinions in a political discussion, but rather their relative number to like-minded people and whether they seem willing and capable of understanding what he or she is saying that affects their decision.

Discursive incivility

How you say is just as important as what you say in political discussions. As mentioned in the previous section, exposure to conflicting political views has a wide range of outcomes that are valued in democratic systems. For instance, it makes individuals understand the rationales for the opposite view and, thus, acknowledge the end result of a political discussion as reasonable and justifiable even if it is not what they wanted initially. However, Mutz (2002) raises concerns about the possibility of disagreements turning into bitter arguments, violence, and/or a hostile and uneasy silence. To prevent this, scholars such as Kingwell (1995) and Mutz (2002) have stressed the importance of being civil when having

political discussions with people who hold different views. Despite the absence of a single shared definition of civility among scholars, Jamieson and colleagues argue that “what most definitions do share is the notion that civility connotes a discourse that does not silence or derogate alternative views but instead evinces respect.” (Jamieson, Volinsky, Weitz, & Kenski, 2017, 3). Hwang (Hwang, 2008, p. 31) is one example of scholars who share this notion. He defines discursive civility as “arguing the justice of one’s view while admitting and respecting the justice of other’s views” and incivility as “expressing disagreement that denies and disrespects the justice of other’s views”.

There have been two ways by which scholars operationalized incivility or the lack thereof. For some, incivility is operationalized through the use of “inflammatory or superfluous comments that do not add any value to an argumentation and instead aggravates the hostility between discussants that hold divergent views” (Brooks & Geer, 2007, p. 5). In a content analysis, Coe, Kenski, and Rains (2014) and Kenski, Coe, and Rains (2017) coded comments in the news comments section as uncivil if it included any one of five key forms of incivility common in extant literature, drawing particularly on the work of Kathleen Hall Jamieson (Jamieson, 2011; Jamieson et al., 2017) and Sobieraj and Berry (2011). Out of the five forms, *name-calling* and *vulgarity* were the most frequently used and were perceived as the most uncivil (Kenski et al., 2017). *Name-calling* refers to “mean spirited or disparaging words directed at a person or a group of people” (Coe et al., 2014, p. 661). It is used to make the target look foolish, inept, hypocritical, deceitful, or dangerous (Sobieraj & Berry, 2011). *Vulgarity* is defined as the use of “profanity or language that would not be considered proper in professional discourse” (Coe et al., 2014, p. 661). Other forms of incivility include *aspersion* and *lying* which are intended to disparage the content or the veracity of an idea, plan, or policy, as well as *pejorative for speech* which makes fun of the way people communicate. Similarly, other researchers such as Hwang (2008) and Borah (2013) who conducted online experiments to examine

the effects of incivility on online political discussions have distinguished between the civil and the uncivil condition through the use of disrespectful and demeaning words toward the other side only in the uncivil condition. For example, Hwang (2008) manipulated his experiment so that in the uncivil condition, conservatives referred liberals as the “sneaky left-wing” and “liberal freaks” and criticized their opinions as “ridiculous”, “ill-thought out”, and “a shameless propaganda”. As Mutz mentioned, deliberation can only occur when discussants “refrain from saying all they could say in the interests of smooth social interaction” (Mutz, 2002, p. 112).

For others, incivility is interpreted as the lack of listening. Park (2000) argues that whereas speaking develops strength and individuality in opinion, it is *hearing others speak* that develops civility. Similarly, Barber (1999, p. 43) argues that listening is civility’s particular virtue because “public interests can be identified and articulated only when individuals listen to one another, only when they modulate their own voices so that the voices of theirs can be heard, assimilated, and accommodated, if not fully harmonized”. Park (2000) identifies a range of cognitive, attitudinal, and behavioral aspects of civility. The cognitive elements of civility include perspective taking and understanding of others’ views. Attitudinal components include empathy, tolerance, trust in others, and reciprocity. Behavioral components include speaking ‘with’ (as opposed to speaking ‘for’ one self or ‘against’ the others), compromising, and consensus building. Focusing on the cognitive components of civility, Price, Cappella, and Nir (2002) measured whether a person carefully listened to others by the number of reasons a survey participant can provide for why others might disagree with his or her perspective. Alternatively, Jang and Park (2007) measured the ‘receptivity perception’ or a person’s perception of being listened to. Through an experiment, they found people are more likely to speak up about their opinions in both private and public communication situations when they believed that others will willingly and carefully listen to what they were saying.

This thesis will follow Brooks and Gear (2007)'s operationalization of incivility as inflammatory or superfluous comments that do not add any value to an argumentation and instead aggravates the hostility between discussants that hold divergent views. However, taking the 'listening' aspect of incivility into consideration, the experiment participant's perception of whether other discussants will listen to and carefully consider what they say will also be measured.

Despite the importance of being civil in political discussions, certain characteristics of the online environment make discussants more prone to be uncivil than in an offline setting. The most distinguishing characteristic is anonymity. Sceptics believe that the relatively high level of anonymity that online discussion forums afford users exacerbates disinhibited communicative behavior, leading to impolite and uncivil political discussions (Rowe, 2015). According to Postmes, Spears and Lea (1998, p. 695), this is because anonymity leads to deindividuation – “a psychological state of decreased self-evaluation, causing antinormative and disinhibitive behavior”. In a content analysis of group discussions on Usenet, one of the first online discussion forums designed to allow Internet users to join discussions on a topic of their choice, Davis (1999) found that flaming or the use of abusive language was the most dominant in discussions on political topics. He argued that “Usenet political discussion tends to favor the loudest and most aggressive individuals. Those who are less aggressive risk vigorous attack and humiliation” (Davis, 1999, p.163). Also, in a comparative research between the content of comments in the Washington Post Facebook page and that in the Washington Post website, Rowe (2015) found that comments on the Washington Post website where users were afforded a higher level of anonymity were significantly more likely to be uncivil than the comments in the Washington Post Facebook page. Also, given the increase in identifiability and accountability that comes with commenting via Facebook, those who wrote uncivil comments on Facebook were far less likely to direct their comments at other commenters participating in the discussion

to avoid interpersonal conflicts compared to those on the Washington Post website. These studies show that the anonymous nature of online discussion forums encourages the use of uncivil expressions.

Second, salient group identities make individuals more prone to be affected by group norms as well as emphasize the differences between groups. This characteristic makes online discussions vulnerable to conflict between different social groups contrary to the equalization hypothesis which proposes that “the capacity for interaction across physical boundaries, especially the potential to make easy contact with members of other social groups, has promised the prospect of reduced tensions, intergroup animosities, and increased equality” (Postmes, Spears, & Lea, 1998, p. 693). According to the SIDE model, contexts in which individuating information is scarce make people perceive the self and others not as individuals with a range of idiosyncratic characteristics and ways of behaving, but as representatives of social groups or wider social categories that are made salient during the interaction (Postmes & Spears, 1998; Postmes et al., 1998). When group identities are made salient, people have the tendency to conform to the norms of their social group rather than to any general norms. Applied to the context of online discussion forums, the lack of individuating information is expected to increase the saliency of differences in the values and opinions between groups and make discussants more prone to be affected by the norms their ingroup. People who otherwise would not use uncivil expressions may be influenced by the group norms to use uncivil expressions. Incivility is generally considered inappropriate, offensive, and antinormative in face-to-face interactions. However, when the majority of the ingroup members are speaking in an uncivil manner, it is likely for incivility to become the deliberative norms in the news comments section. This will make people more prone to use uncivil expressions.

Postmes and his colleagues conducted several experimental studies to test the intrapersonal and interpersonal effects of salient group identity. For example, in an experimental research by

Postmes (1997) where psychology students interacted via a computer-mediated communication system with sociology or business students, the psychology students formed a more negative impression of the other students as unkind, unsympathetic, and unpleasant when they were anonymous than when they were made visible through the still photos displayed on the chat room screen. Similarly, Postmes and Spears (2002) examined the effect of deindividuation on discussants' behavior in a mixed-sex online discussion. Participants were placed in one of the two discussion groups: The individuated group in which participants were provided with autobiographical information such as hometown and age of all the other discussants and the deindividuated group in which discussants weren't provided with any autobiographical information. Each group was then divided and allocated into two groups where gender stereotypes were activated in one but not in the other. Results showed that both males and females in the deindividuated group and, in particular, stereotype activated conditions were more likely to follow the gender norms, speaking in a stereotypically masculine or feminine way. The topic of discussion moderated this effect: Male participants were more likely to dominate the conversation by adopting an overbearing discussion style in discussions regarding the city council's policy to create a car-free zone, supposedly a more masculine topic, than in a discussion regarding the importance of physical appearance, a relatively feminine topic. Based on these results, Postmes and Spears (2002) concluded that in contradiction to the equalization hypothesis, gender differences were more accentuated when people were unable to make clear individual distinctions between group members than when such individual distinctions could be made.

So far, the main focus of incivility research was on analyzing the content of uncivil expressions on online discussion forums such as blogs, news comments section, and social media to identify the targets of incivility (e.g., Maia & Rezende, 2016) and the most frequently used forms of incivility (e.g., Papacharissi, 2004; Rowe, 2015). For example, Maia and Rezende (2016) found that the

targets of incivility change depending on the online context. Specifically, the use of uncivil expressions was more frequent in heterogeneous platforms such as the YouTube comments section where diverse political viewpoints are exchanged than in homogeneous platforms such as Facebook page where people can choose to talk only to the like-minded others. Also, on heterogeneous platforms, insults were addressed to interlocutors on a personal level to demean their integrity and intellect. However, in homogeneous forums, participants showed respect toward members of the same group and only attacked the members of the outgroup. Papacharissi (2004) is another example of a scholar who focused on the content of incivility. She asserted that uncivil expressions have the potential to harm democracy because they include stereotype against a specific social group (e.g., calling homosexuals ‘faggot’) and/or verbal threats to their rights.

Many studies in Korea have also conducted a content analysis of uncivil comments in news comments sections but with a specific focus on sexist hate speech. Although there is no single agreed upon definition in existing literature, hate speech is widely acknowledged to have two characteristics: (1) It is harmful, and (2) its targets are people from historically marginalized groups, such as racial and ethnic minorities, homosexuals, women and Jews (Gelber & McNamara, 2016; Matsuda & Lawrence III, 1993). Kim and Heo (2014) have collected sexist hate speech comments from NAVER news and three male-dominant online communities – Dcinside, Ilbe, and Nate Pann and categorized them according to their content and severity. In terms of their content, sexist hate speech comments were mostly focused on women’s ‘appearance’, ‘sexuality,’ ‘age,’ and ‘competence.’ In terms of severity, there were two categories ‘violence and threat against women’s body’ and ‘sexual violence and threat.’ The latter focused specifically on the threat of sexual violence. Similarly, Ahn and colleagues (Ahn, Kim, Lee, & Yun, 2015) analyzed the sexist comments in NAVER news site and deduced four major points of criticism made against women. Criticisms were related to women’s irresponsible behaviors in the

workplace and a marriage, women who are dependent on men financially, institutions such as the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family that protects the rights of women, and the mandatory military service required from men only. These results are illuminating in that a plethora of online sexist hate comments are categorized into a set of distinctive types to help understand the ways in which content of verbal attacks against women in the online discussion forums are formulated. However, they do not show the effects of sexist hate comments on viewers, or discuss how the targets of these comments respond to them when they encounter them in the news comments section.

Effects of incivility on the willingness to express opinions publicly

With the prevalent use of uncivil expressions in online discussion forums, researchers have made efforts to reveal the emotional, cognitive and behavioral effects of incivility in deliberation. First, scholars have observed through experimental research how the arousal of negative emotions due to the exposure to incivility affects deliberation. For instance, Hwang (2008) facilitated an online experiment that looks exactly like an online chatroom to make the experimental participants believe that they were receiving uncivil comments from other discussants real time when they were actually receiving them from the researcher. Through this experiment, he found that uncivil attacks aroused negative moral emotions such as anger, disgust, and contempt which then discouraged people from expressing their opinions. In a later research, Hwang, Kim, and Kim (2018) also found that increased negative emotions due to discussion incivility has a corrosive effect on discussion behaviors toward the unlike-minded partners by increasing the expression of disagreement and reducing the expression of agreement, making it difficult for people to reach a consensus. Gervais (2015), however, pointed out that negative

emotions are only induced by uncivil expressions from those with dissimilar opinions. Uncivil expressions from like-minded others did not have the same effect. Those who feel anger and aversion from the exposure to uncivil comments by unlike-minded others were more likely to be less satisfied with and less willing to consider the opinions expressed on the message board than those who were exposed to uncivil comments by like-minded others.

Incivility also has cognitive effects such as making people negatively evaluate other discussants and the legitimacy of their arguments (Brooks & Geer, 2007; Mutz, 2007; Ng & Detenber, 2005). For instance, Ng and Detenber (2005) found that those who are perceived to be more aggressive and intimidating are also perceived to be less credible and dishonest because incivility is perceived as a tool to mask a lack of factual knowledge. Incivility of unlike-minded others can be particularly damaging to deliberation because the credibility of a speaker is an important cue for processing cross-cutting opinions (Lee & Jang, 2010). Also, participants who were exposed to uncivil discussions showed lower expectations about public deliberation than those who were exposed to civil discussions online (Hwang, Kim, & Huh, 2014). The effect of incivility on the expectation for public deliberation was mediated by the perceived public polarization. In other words, incivility led people to perceive the mass public as deeply polarized along political party lines, and this perception lowered their expectation to gain an understanding of the other side and reach a consensus through participating in online discussions. Others have shown that incivility leads to a decrease in the willingness to participate in the comments section by negatively affecting discussants' open-mindedness to cross-cutting views (Borah, 2013; Hwang, 2008). These research findings suggest that incivility has not only negative effects on a person's emotion but also their cognition.

Legal scholars specifically focused on hate speech, an extreme form of incivility, and argued that it poses a threat to democracy by silencing minorities who are the targets of hate speech. Gelber (2002) argued that shaming and degrading a group of people by

labelling them inferior or stigmatizing them can cause psychological injury by assaulting self-esteem and dignity. When targets lose their self-esteem, they question their ability to engage in political activities such as public deliberation. Targets of hate speech choose not to speak up because they fear that such response may provoke further abuse (Delgado, 1993). This is particularly true when the hate speaker is in the position of authority over his or her victim. Ultimately, the exclusion of members of the victim group from the dominant discourse may limit their ability to participate in deliberative self-governance, an essential component of democracy (Post, 1990). Although these scholars make a convincing argument on how hate speech prevents targets from speaking publicly, there has not yet been empirical evidence proving their points. Without it, it is hard to prove the actual harms of hate speech and claim the necessity of hate speech regulation in public spaces as done by scholars such as Mari Matsuda (Matsuda & Lawrence III, 1993) and Catherine MacKinnon (MacKinnon, 1993).

Studies have provided varying explanation of why incivility, particularly when it is accompanied by disagreement, may lead to a breakdown in deliberation. For example, Hwang (2008) argues that uncivil expressions in a discussion setting induce a strong perceived hostility toward the self, which in turn prompt defensive motivations. This was proven in Brooks and Geer's (2007) experimental study that eliminated partisan cues from uncivil attacks in political ads to examine the pure effects of incivility. Results showed that the absence of partisan cues minimized the negative effects of incivility because the target of the uncivil expression was not clear. Thus, whether or not incivility is targeted to oneself is an important factor that causes the negative effects of incivility. This, according to Hwang (2008), is consistent with existing research findings on the effect of uncivil expression in an offline, interpersonal relationship that have shown that verbal attacks targeting the self produces hostile reactions such as strong feelings of anger, frustration and disgust.

However, people may react with hostility to the uncivil expressions even when it is not directed at them. Smith's (1993) intergroup emotion theory provides a convincing explanation as to why attack on another person may trigger hostile reactions. The starting point of this framework is the idea that salient group memberships (in political affiliation, religion, ethnicity, gender etc.) constitute an integral part of the self. When a social identity is salient, appraisals of situations or events as threatening to a particular social group will also trigger negative emotions such as fear and anger in the individual who belongs to that social group. These emotions can then lead to specific actions against the outgroup. For example, fear will prompt a motive to escape or avoid the outgroup, whereas anger will generate a willingness to attack the outgroup. Both reactions are concerning in the context of deliberation because the avoidance may lead to the silencing of the target group, and attacking can lead to a hostile rather than a deliberative interaction between the two groups. Therefore, even if an uncivil comment does not target a person directly, it may still trigger hostile emotional responses when it is directed at like-minded others because, with the absence of individuating information, users identify with the other users based on opinion congruence.

Despite the efforts to reveal the effects of incivility on deliberation, its effect on an individual's willingness to participate in the comments section has not been tested enough. Even those who argue for government regulations on uncivil speech and, in particular, on hate speech rely on theoretical explanations of how incivility spreads intergroup hostility and arouses the fear of speaking up without providing any empirical evidence to support this claim (e.g., Matsuda, 1993; MacKinnon, 1993). Those who empirically tested whether incivility leads to the arousal of moral emotions, negative evaluation of other discussants, and lowers deliberation expectations did not factor into account how the effect of opinion congruency may intervene in this process although it has long been known in the field of Communications as one of the major

predictors of speaking up according to the theory of spiral of silence. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the effects of incivility on one's willingness to speak up in the comments section in conjunction with opinion congruency.

This research conducts an online experiment to examine whether incivility in discussions silences individuals with the minority opinion and under what conditions they are more likely to express their opinions publicly at an online comments section. In the following section, I will lay out a psychological process by which opinion composition in a comments section and the use of uncivil expressions in the comments section have influences on participants' emotions and, consequently, their willingness to participate in the comments section.

Emotion and the willingness to express opinion publicly

Cognitive appraisal and emotion

There has been an ongoing debate in psychology whether thinking and feeling are two independent processes or if they are interrelated with each other. Zajonc (1980, 1984), for example, proposed that cognition and emotion should be conceived as two independent systems, often working together, but capable of being at odds. He argued that affect is primarily based on five major claims: (1) that affect becomes conscious before cognition does, (2) that affect accounts for more behavior than cognition does, (3) that affect is effortless and uncontrollable, (4) that affect is irrevocable by subsequent cognition, and (5) that affect can occur in response to a stimulus without intervening cognition. On the other hand, cognitive appraisal theorists argue that “emotions are elicited and differentiated on the basis of a person’s subjective evaluation or appraisal of the personal significance of a situation, object, or event on a number of dimensions or criteria” (Scherer, 1999, p. 637). Amongst them, Lazarus (1991) argued that emotion is elicited by a two-stage process of appraisal. Primary appraisal concerns whether and how the encounter is relevant to the person’s well-being and secondary appraisal concerns the person’s resources and options for coping with the encounter.

Although the basic premise of appraisal theories is that the people’s evaluation of their circumstances plays a crucial role in the elicitation and differentiation of its emotions, theorists vary somewhat on the number and definition of appraisal dimensions. Lazarus (1991) labelled these appraisal dimensions ‘components’ and proposed three appraisal components for primary appraisal – goal relevance, goal congruence, ego-involvement, and three appraisal components for secondary appraisal – attribution, coping

potential, and future expectancy. These components combine with one another to elicit a specific emotion. For example, if one appraises certain situation as goal incongruent, blames another person for its occurrence, and evaluates his or her ability to attack favorably, anger is elicited (Lazarus, 1991). Alternatively, some appraisal theorists proposed a social appraisal dimension called legitimacy (Smith & Ellsworth, 1985) or compatibility with social norms (Scherer, 1984). This dimension is concerned with the evaluation of whether one's action is compatibility with the norms of a salient reference group. When incompatibility is perceived, the norm violator may be judged as unjust or immoral, and negative emotion such as anger and disgust will be elicited. When the norm violator is a member of one's ingroup, emotions such as guilt and shame will arise. The following section will discuss how people may appraise opinion congruency and discursive incivility in the news comments section and the emotions they may feel as a result of this cognitive evaluation.

Appraising opinion congruency and discursive incivility

Primary appraisal: Goal congruence

Goal congruence or incongruence refers to “the extent to which a transaction is consistent or inconsistent with what the person wants – that is, it either thwarts or facilitates personal goals” (Lazarus, 1991, p. 150). If personal goals are thwarted, goal incongruence occurs and if they are facilitated, goal congruence occurs. According to Lazarus (1991), goal congruence determines the valence of emotions in the primary appraisal process. Those who are in goal congruent situations feel positive emotions whereas those in incongruent situations feel negative emotions. The

discrete emotions, however, are determined by the secondary appraisal process which I will further discuss in the next section.

Previous researches have examined the effect of goal congruency on the valence of emotions in various political contexts. For example, Lee (2006) found that voters' evaluation of whether or not the presidential candidates' goal is congruent with theirs affects their emotions toward the candidates. Voters do this by comparing their position on important issues with a candidate's position. When a candidate is on the same position, positive emotions such as hope toward the candidate are aroused. However, when a candidate is perceived to have an opposing issue stance, negative emotions such as fear are elicited. In another research that examined the emotional effects of poll results, voters determined whether the results were goal congruent or goal incongruent by monitoring the approval ratings of one's favored candidate (Song, Kim, & Rhee, 2008). This is because in an election race, the fulfilment of an individual's goal is closely aligned with the victory of his or her supporting candidate. When the approval rating of the supporting candidate went up, experimental participants appraised the poll results as goal-congruent and, consequently, positive emotions were aroused. In contrast, when the approval rating went down, the poll results were perceived as goal-incongruent and negative emotions were aroused. In addition, Song, Na and Kim (2008) who conducted a content analysis of posts uploaded on Daum Agora, an online community site, to explore which emotions were expressed most frequently by goal-congruent users who expressed support for the government's policy and goal-incongruent users who expressed disapproval for it. Those who were goal-incongruent had the tendency to use words that expressed anger and anxiety a lot. The varying ways of operationalizing "goal congruence" shows that it is a concept that should be defined by the context according to the stakeholder's goal.

With regards to the online news comments section, goal congruence is likely to be determined by the opinion congruency, or the state of whether one's opinion is congruent with the majority

opinion or with the minority opinion. Through an experimental research, Lee and Jang (2009) found that reading users comments on online news media affects the way people perceive the public opinion. For instance, if the majority of the comments were in favor of a particular issue, people were likely to believe that the majority of the public supports it as well. Considering that governments make policy decisions in response to their citizens' preferences (Page & Shapiro, 1983), consistent monitoring of one's opinion congruency with the majority opinion may help predict whether future policy directions will be in one's favor. Furthermore, the opinion congruency with the majority opinion may positively influence people's goals to express their opinions publicly and convince the other side. Glynn, Hayes, and Shanahan (1997) found through a meta-analysis of survey results that people's perception of support for their opinions has a positive effect on willingness to speak out. Since opinion congruency plays an important role in one's decision to express their opinions and, hence, their ability to influence the policy direction, this study considers it as the determining factor of goal congruence in the news comments section. People who are exposed to the comment section where they are the majority will appraise it as goal-congruent while those whose opinion are exposed to comments sections where they are the minority will appraise it as goal-incongruent. As posited by Lazarus (1991), goal congruence is expected to arouse positive emotions and goal incongruence is expected to elicit negative emotions.

Secondary appraisal: Norm compatibility

Incivility in political discussions is processed through the appraisal criterion related to the violation of social norms or moral standards. This criterion is called in various ways including legitimacy (Roseman, 1984), approval (Ortony, Clore, & Collins,

1988), or normative significance (Scherer, 1984, 1984). This appraisal criterion is necessary to account for the occurrence of so-called “moral emotions” such as anger, disgust, shame and guilt (Haidt, 2003; Rozin, Lowery, Imada, & Haidt, 1999; Tangney, Stuewig, & Mashek, 2007). Scherer (1982) suggested differentiating between the types of standards used for evaluation: external and internal standards. External standards are moral rules or social norms imposed on an individual by the social group that he or she belongs to. They prescribe what an individual expects from others and what others expect of them. On the other hand, internal standards reflect what an individual expects of his own behavior. While the two sets of standards may overlap, Scherer (1984) argues that they must be considered separately. Since the norm of discursive civility is a social rule that is necessary for a smooth and effective deliberation, this thesis will only consider the external standard.

Studies have shown that the failure to meet social norms or moral standards elicits negative moral emotions such as anger, disgust, and contempt (Hwang, Kim, & Kim, 2016; Hareli, Moran-Amir, David, & Hess, 2013; Miceli & Castelfranchi, 2018). Although these emotions are often felt together, especially when some wrongdoings have negative bearing on one’s self-interest or achieving one’s goals, the causes of each emotion are different. For example, disgust is aroused when people interpret others’ actions as revolting and inhuman, while anger typically occurs when another’s action violates one’s rights and liberties (Chapman & Anderson, 2013; Rozin et al., 1999). Moral emotions are triggered even when the self has no stake in triggering the event. Haidt (2003) found that simply reading about an unjust situation triggered anger even if there is no direct harm or infringement of rights to the reader. He argued that “the more an emotion tends to be triggered by such disinterested elicitors, the more it can be considered a prototypical moral emotion” (Haidt, 2003, p. 854).

Studies have often conducted experiments showing either real life examples from participants’ lives or hypothetical scenarios and

asking how they felt or feel in those situations. For example, Mikula (1986, 1987) asked high school students to put themselves in one of five different scenarios of injustice in the school setting and to write down how they would feel and what would go through their minds in the situation. Six different categories of emotional responses emerged from participants (in the order of decreasing frequency): (a) Anger, rage, and indignation; (b) disappointment, feeling aggrieved; (c) surprise; (d) physical symptoms of arousal and stress; (e) helplessness, depression; and (f) envy. Other studies examined the effects of naturally occurring experiences of injustice on emotion rather than those in hypothetical scenarios. For example, Mikula and colleagues (1998) asked participants to report an event in which they had been unjustly treated by another person and to describe their thoughts, feelings, and behavioral reactions. People often described events as unjust when it went against social norms, were obstructive to their plans and goals, and/or had negative effects on personal relationships. Results showed that anger was by far the most likely emotional reaction as to events perceived as very unjust, followed by disgust, sadness and fear. The similarity in results between studies that use hypothetical scenarios and real life situations experienced by the participants support Haidt's argument that unjust actions provoke emotional reaction even when it is not directly related to one's well-being (Haidt, 2003).

As discussed in the Introduction, civility has been considered an important social norm in deliberation which not only guides each participant's way of talking with others but also shapes his or her expectations of how others will behave. Few scholars have empirically tested the effects of norm violation on moral emotions in the political context. For instance, Lee (2006) found that when presidential candidates violated a certain moral expectation by committing corruption, voters felt angered. On the other hand, when the candidates have held up to the moral expectation, voters felt positive emotions such as hope and pride toward the candidate. In an experimental research, Hwang and colleagues (2018) found that

the use of uncivil attack by both like- and unlike-minded discussion partners in an online political discussion led to the arousal of anger, disgust, and contempt. When there was an increase in indignation toward the unlike-minded partner, open-mindedness toward oppositional views declined as well. These findings suggest that norm compatibility is an important dimension to consider when examining the emotional effects of discursive incivility.

It has never been discussed, however, whether people feel positive emotions in civil political discussions and the effect of positive emotions on the willingness to express their opinion. The lack of research focusing on civility as opposed to incivility is probably due to the fact that people notice others' behaviors more when they are unexpected or counter normative (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). For example, an experimental study examining the effect of implicit norms on cooperative behavior in a social dilemma situation showed that others' behaviors that are inconsistent with expectations had a significant effect on participants' cooperative behaviors with them, while behaviors consistent with expectations did not affect subsequent behaviors (Pillutla & Chen, 1999). Thus, it is also worth exploring if discrete positive emotions are induced in norm-compatible or civil discussions, and whether positive emotions affect one's willingness to express their opinion in the comments section.

Action tendencies of each emotion

Functional theories of emotion provide an explanation for why certain emotions lead to certain behaviors (Scherer, 1999). Functional theorists claim that emotions have an inherently adaptive function to the problem of social and physical survival (Lazarus, 1991). That is, emotions are adaptive reactions to significant stimuli in one's life, and the emotional response functionally acts to influence relationship between the person and the environment. Emotions are able to motivate and guide a person's behavioral reactions to the environmental stimuli because due to their action tendencies. Action tendencies are "states of readiness to execute a given kind of action, [which] is defined by its end result aimed at or achieved" (Frijda, 1987, p. 70). They prepare an individual for establishing, changing, or abandoning a relationship with the environment (Frijda & Zeelenberg, 2001). Action tendencies may or may not lead to an overt action in response to an environmental stimuli but it is a good mental representation of the overt action.

Throughout this paper, I have discussed that moral emotions – anger, disgust, and shame – are likely to be elicited due to the violation of civil norm in online comments sections. Fear was also mentioned as an emotion that is aroused when a person lacks control over a stressful situation. Although this emotion is not associated with violation of moral norms, it is an emotion commonly experienced in intergroup conflicts when the ingroup is perceived to be weaker in power than the outgroup (Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000). In the following parts, functions of each emotion will be further explained focusing on its action tendencies. It will show how the elicitation of moral emotions will lead to different participatory behaviors.

Anger

Anger is aroused in a response to goal blockage and frustration by another person (Berkowitz & Heimer, 1989). The fact that there is a specific person to blame means that the person could have acted differently or had control over the offending action (Lazarus, 1991). Anger is a response to harms “directed without justification towards what concerns oneself or toward what concerns one’s friends” (Aristotle, 1941 quoted in Haidt, 2003, p. 856). “Unjustified harms” mean the person who had caused the harm had no justification or right to do so (Haidt, 2003). Moral emotion theorists have argued anger is aroused specifically when there is a violation of the ethics of autonomy. For example, anger arises when one cognizes that other hurts him or her physically, or infringes upon his or her rights as a human being (Rozin et al., 1999).

Innate action tendency of anger is attack on the agent held to be blameworthy for the offense (Averill, 1980; Lazarus, 1991). Anger is associated with the goal of actively challenging injustice and attacking the agents responsible, both at the interpersonal (Frijda, Kuipers, & Ter Schure, 1989; Roseman, Wiest, & Swartz, 1994) and intergroup levels (Montada & Schneider, 1989). When an individual evaluates her ability of mounting an attack favorably, this action tendency is more likely to be actualized into a real attack. Through attacking, the angry person attempts to prevent others from future being unfairly treated in the future by changing the perpetrator’s behavior (Fischer & Roseman, 2007). Such aggressive strategies involve a direct physical or verbal confrontation and are tailored to promptly and effectively stop other people’s transgressions. It is not cost free, though; direct aggressors risk retaliation from the targets of their aggression and those target’s social allies (Archer & Coyne, 2005). However, since anger is associated with high coping potential (Ellsworth & Smith, 1988; Lazarus, 1991; Scherer, 1984), it is likely that the person feeling anger will attack the aggressor regardless of expected retaliations. Empirical researches have shown that anger

felt towards an outgroup produces a desire to argue with, oppose, and attack the outgroup (Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000), while suppressing the extent to which individual seek out political information (Valentino et al., 2008).

In the context of deliberation in an online news comments section, the use of uncivil expressions violates norms of civility which require speakers to “present themselves as reasonable and courteous, treating even those with whom they disagree as though they and their ideas are worthy of respect” (Sobieraj & Berry, 2010, p. 20). The subject of blame for the violation of norms is clear in a comments section since participants can visibly see which user wrote what comment and all users write with their free will. Also, the salience of collective identity in the anonymous online environment may lead one to blame not only the individual user who wrote the uncivil expressions but the group which that individual presumably belongs (Lea & Spears, 1991). Those who feel angry will have the action tendency to retaliate against those who used uncivil expressions by using aggressive and demeaning language as well.

Disgust

Disgust is a complex emotion with a variety of elicitors. According to Rozin and colleagues (Rozin, Haidt, & McCauley, 2008), there are four kinds of disgust (a) core disgust—a reaction to stimuli pertaining to oral incorporation such as “revolting” food; (b) animal-nature disgust, evoked by stimuli reminding humans of their animal nature and vulnerability—such as corpses, filthiness, deformity, and body envelope violations; (c) interpersonal disgust, elicited by contact with undesirable (namely, unknown, diseased, unfortunate, or morally tainted) people; and (d) moral disgust, elicited by norm violations. (Miceli & Castelfranchi, 2018) argue that in order for moral disgust to arise, two conditions need to be met. First, the morally disgusting person is attributed the violation of a moral code. Second, this violation is viewed as so serious that

the person is judged not to meet the human standard and are even “likened to a devil—a maleficent ‘monster’, devoid of humanness” (Miceli & Castelfranchi, 2018, 20).

Like basic disgust, moral disgust is linked to the fear of contamination and, hence, the avoidance of the supposed contaminant. People feel threatened about being influenced or affected by the immoral behavior. Therefore, avoidance action tendencies are triggered. A person feeling disgust is likely to have a lower motivation to seek vengeance, especially via direct confrontation (Molho, Tybur, Güler, Balliet, & Hofmann, 2017). Instead, he or she will neutralize the threats posed by moral violators by social distancing, or by recruiting punishment from other people. A person may also use indirect aggression strategies such as manipulating the norm violator's reputations or social standing, or excluding them from a group without direct confrontation. Although indirect aggression is less risky, it is also less efficient in dealing with imminent threats, which instead requires more direct, confrontational strategies (Archer & Coyne, 2005).

In the online discussion context, exposure to certain uncivil expressions is likely to trigger disgust. Disgust may be a particularly relevant emotion regarding hate speech because it can cause both animal–nature disgust and moral disgust. Specifically, while uncivil comments that include threats of physical attack or the grotesque objectification of women’s body may trigger animal–nature disgust, the act of writing uncivil comments in itself can elicit moral disgust. As implied by its action tendencies, participants who feel strong sense of disgust after reading uncivil speech will avoid contact with other discussants by not participating in the comments section.

Shame

Shame is based in appraisals of ingroup responsibility for an illegitimate transgression (Johns, Schmader, & Lickel, 2005). Shame differs from guilt, another self–conscious emotion, in the

type of attribution made for the wrong-doing (Iyer, Schmader, & Lickel, 2007); (Niedenthal, Tangney, & Gavanski, 1994). While guilt is focused on the wrong action committed by oneself, shame is elicited when people attribute the transgression to stable aspects of their character (Niedenthal et al., 1994; Tracy & Robins, 2006). Thus, those who feel shame in an intergroup context blame their group for the transgression but also perceive a threat to their image in that the transgression is believed to reflect a flaw in their group's identity (Lickel, Schmader, Curtis, Scarnier, & Ames, 2005). Due to its unique concern with self-image, shame has the action tendency of hiding or withdrawing from the shame-evoking situation (Johns et al., 2005; Lickel et al., 2005; Tangney, Miller, Flicker, & Barlow, 1996). Such tendencies inhibit assertive behavior to reduce the likelihood of attack or further punishment from others (Haidt, 2003).

In an online comments section dominated by uncivil participants, participants will most likely feel shame when like-minded participants are uncivil. Even when unlike-minded others are also uncivil, they may still feel shame due to the black sheep effect (Marques & Yzerbyt, 1988) which makes them judge deviant like-minded others more negatively than comparable unlike-minded others. Individuals who feel shame will hide or withdraw from the shame-evoking situation by disengaging themselves from the comments section.

Fear

Fear is an emotion closely related to a lack of self-efficacy. When people are under attack, they evaluate their ability to confront the perpetrator. Usually, people are likely to feel fear when they evaluate their ability negatively (Smith & Kirby, 2011; Smith & Lazarus, 1990). Thus, rather than engaging with the perpetrator, they tend to take part in flight or other avoidant behaviors (Frijda, Kuipers, & Ter Schure, 1989b; Lazarus, 1991) (Lazarus, 1991;

Frijda, Kuipers, Ter Schure, 1989) to avoid undesired outcomes. Instead of engaging in confrontational behaviors that may solve the problem at hand, fearful individuals often choose to resolve their uneasy feelings through emotion-focused avoidance behavior (Folkman et al., 1986; Smith & Ellsworth, 1985). This includes distancing themselves from those perceived to be greater in power and seeking social support from discussions with family and friends (Folkman et al. 1986). This kind of behavior is evident in an intergroup conflict situation. When a person appraises his or her ingroup as weaker than the outgroup, he or she is more likely to feel fear than anger against the outgroup which leads to avoiding contact with the outgroup. (Smith, 1993; Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000).

Based on the findings, it is reasonable to expect that participants in online news comments sections who have low discussion efficacy due to their minority opinion position and are attacked by unlike-minded others through uncivil expressions are more likely to feel fear. When the lack of belief in their ability to convince the majority are coupled with fear of retaliation by the more powerful unlike-minded others, participants in these conditions will choose to stay silent rather than to express their opinions against the majority view.

Research Question and Hypothesis

Hypothesis 1 [The main effect of opinion congruence on the valence of emotion, internal efficacy, and the willingness to participate in writing at the comments section]

H1-1: Those whose opinion is congruent with the majority opinion will have higher positive emotions (happiness and pride) than those whose opinion is congruent with the minority opinion.

H1-2: Those whose opinion is congruent with the minority opinion will have higher negative emotions (anger, fear, shame, and disgust) than those whose opinion is congruent with the majority opinion.

H1-3: Those whose opinion is congruent with the majority opinion will have higher internal efficacy than those whose opinion is congruent with the minority opinion.

H1-4: Those whose opinion is congruent with the majority opinion are more likely to participate in writing at the comments section than those whose opinion is congruent with the minority opinion.

Hypothesis 1 aims to see the main effect of opinion congruence, the state of whether one's opinion is congruent with the majority opinion or the minority opinion in the comments section, on the valence of emotion, internal efficacy, and the willingness to participate in writing at the comments section. First, H1-1 and H1-2 examine the main effect of opinion congruence on the valence of one's emotions. According to the cognitive appraisal theory of emotions, goal congruence determines the valence of emotions in a primary appraisal process (Lazarus, 1991). In an online discussion context, whether one's opinion is congruent with the majority opinion or the minority opinion determines his or her goal

congruence. Specifically, when people encounter a comments section where opinion is congruent with the majority opinion, they will appraise the encounter as goal congruent and positive emotions will be elicited. In contrast, when people encounter a comments section where their opinion is congruent with the minority opinion, they will appraise the situation goal incongruent and consequently feel negative emotions about it. Second, H1-3 examines the main effect of opinion congruency on internal efficacy. When one's opinion is congruent with the majority opinion, he or she will feel a sense of social support and, consequently, a higher sense of efficacy that they can express their opinions publicly positively. Finally, H1-4 examine whether opinion congruency affects people's willingness to express his or her opinion publicly. It is expected that higher internal efficacy in the majority-congruent condition will result in stronger willingness to participate in writing at the comments section than in the minority-congruent condition.

Hypothesis 2 [The main effect of incivility on the willingness to participate in writing at the comments section and the intention to use uncivil expressions]

H2-1: Those who find themselves in the civil condition are more likely to participate in writing at the comments section than those who are in the uncivil condition.

H2-2: Those who find themselves in the uncivil condition are more likely to have higher intention to use uncivil expressions than those who are in the civil condition.

Hypothesis 2 aims to test the behavioral effects of incivility. Previous research findings found that employing uncivil expressions in political discussions damaged the credibility of a speaker (Ng & Detenber, 2005), aroused hostile emotional reactions among people who read them (Hwang, 2008), and lowered the expectations about public deliberation (Hwang et al., 2014). Particularly, when uncivil

expressions involve hate speech, the target could experience a fall in self-esteem and fear of further abuse (Gelber, 2002; Delgado, 1993). The psychological process that this thesis has reviewed suggests that incivility will discourage people from participating in writing at the comments section (H2-1). Also, the cognitive appraisal theory of emotions argues that the blaming of others for the violation of norm leads to high levels of anger, the emotion with an action tendency to attack the blameworthy agent (Averill, 1980; Lazarus, 1991). This study, thus, expects that it is more likely that those who were exposed to uncivil comments section are to reveal incivility than those who were exposed to civil comments section (H2-2).

Hypothesis 3 [The interaction effect between opinion congruency and incivility on moral emotions and external efficacy]

H3-1: Among those whose opinion is congruent with the minority opinion, those who find themselves in the uncivil condition will have higher anger, shame and disgust than those who are in the civil condition.

H3-2: Among those whose opinion is congruent with the minority opinion, those who find themselves in the civil condition will have higher external efficacy than those who are in the uncivil condition.

Hypothesis 3 examines the two-way interaction effect among opinion congruency and incivility on moral emotions and external efficacy. The arousal of discrete emotions has to be observed as an effect of two-way interaction effect because it is caused through a two-step process: primary appraisal and secondary appraisal (Lazarus, 1991). Primary appraisal explained in H1-1 and H1-2 determines the valence of emotions, and secondary appraisal determines the arousal of a particular discrete emotion among others. When people encounter uncivil expressions in a comments

section where their opinion is congruent with the minority opinion, their minority position will first make them feel negative about the situation and therefore lead to negative emotions (H1-2). The subsequent appraisal of the violation of social norm will determine to the arousal of discrete negative emotions categorized as moral emotions such as anger, shame, and disgust (H3-1). Furthermore, H3-2 aimed to test whether the use of incivility affects the way people perceive external efficacy, the belief that others will carefully listen and carefully consider one's own opinion. Since the use of uncivil expression is an indication of a lack of respect for other people and their opinions, it is expected that external efficacy is lower in the uncivil condition than in the civil condition.

Research Question [Interaction effect between opinion congruency and incivility on the willingness to participate in writing at the comments section and the intention to use uncivil expressions]

RQ1. What is the interaction effect between opinion congruency and incivility on one's willingness to participate in writing at the comments section?

RQ2. What is the interaction effect between opinion congruency and incivility on one's intention to use uncivil expressions at the comments section?

This study explores the interaction effect between opinion congruency and incivility on the willingness to participate in writing at the comments section (RQ1) and on the intention to use uncivil expressions (RQ2). Due to the absence of previous research findings regarding the interaction effect of opinion congruency and incivility on one's willingness to participate in writing at the comments section, it is hard to predict the directionality of the interaction effect. Furthermore, the question of *how* people will participate in the comments section has not been addressed before as well and is, thus, left as RQ2.

Hypothesis 4 [Effects of emotions on action]

H4-1: Positive emotions will have a positive effect on one's willingness to participate in writing at the comments section.

H4-2: Fear, shame and disgust will have a negative effect on one's willingness to participate in writing at the comments section.

H4-3: Anger will have a positive effect on one's intention to use uncivil expressions at the comments section.

H4-4: Internal efficacy and external efficacy will have a positive effect on one's willingness to participate in writing at the comments section.

Hypothesis 4 examines the effects of emotion on action. Functional theorists of emotions argue that each emotion has its unique action tendency. Action tendencies are "states of readiness to execute a given kind of action, [which] is defined by its end result aimed at or achieved" (Frijda, 1987, p. 70). Positive emotions generally put an individual in a mode of relational action readiness. Lazarus (1991) states that there is a similarity between the action tendency of happiness and of pride. Both encourage outgoingness and fuel the desire to share the positive outcomes with others. Hence, H4-1 predicts that positive emotions will have a positive effect on one's willingness to participate in writing at the comments section. H4-2 deals with the effects of negative emotions. Since fear, shame, and disgust all have the same avoidance action tendencies, those who were exposed to uncivil speech are less likely to participate in the comments section than those who were not exposed to uncivil speech. Anger, on the other hand, has a strong action tendency to attack the agent held to be blameworthy for the infringement of one's rights or freedom. Thus, when anger is aroused after seeing the comments section, one's intention to use uncivil expressions in their comments as a means of attacking others verbally will increase (H4-3). Finally, H4-4 tests the effects of internal efficacy and external efficacy on one's

willingness to participate in writing at the comments section. Based on Bandura's (1977) assertion that the belief that one is capable of performing an action affects his or her behavioral intention, H4-4 aims to test whether the higher the internal efficacy for participating in writing at the comments section leads to a stronger willingness to do so. Also, to test Park's (1993) claim that the higher the expectation that others will carefully listen to and consider one's own opinion, the more likely he or she is to express their opinion publicly, H4-4 tests the effects of external.

Method

Pilot Test

Prior to the main experiments, two sets of pilot study, one for a controversial gender-related issue and the other for an economic issue, were conducted online to determine whether the issues selected for the experiment were appropriate for the purpose of experiments and whether the experimental stimuli were perceived by the pilot test participants in such a way that experimenter expected them to. A total of 19 people (10 men and 9 women; Age $M = 26.26$, $SD = 2.47$) participated in the pilot test.

The experiment stimuli for the each set of pilot test consisted of a news article and eight user comments. Out of the eight comments, half were in support of an issue and half were against it. There were two arguments on each side and each argument had a civil and an uncivil version. Uncivil comments included one or more forms of incivility outlined by Kenski and colleagues (Kenski et al., 2017): name-calling, vulgarity, aspersion, lying, and pejorative for speech, as well as hate speech. Civil comments instead contained none of these uncivil expressions and were written in a respectful manner towards others in the comments section. The comments used in the pilot tests were sampled from the NAVER news comments section on this particular issue and were modified for use. The comments used in the pilot test are shown in Appendix A.

Issue Check

Two issues were selected in order to ensure that the results of this research can be generalized across social and economic issues. The selection was made based on previous research findings that show that people's cognitive and behavioral reactions differ depending on the issue. For instance, Kim (2009) found that on

particular issues such as abortion, more people chose to read information on it and spent considerable amount of time doing so regardless of whether or not the issue was personally important to them. Wyatt, Katz and Kim (2000) found that the willingness to engage in political talk differed by topics. People felt freer to talk about crime, sports, education than economy, politics, and religion. In particular, social issues such as crime and education were commonly were commonly discussed in both a private space such as home and a public space such as workplace. Therefore, in order to ensure that the effects of this experiment were caused by the experimental manipulations rather than the nature of the issue, this study chose one social issue and one economic issue that are both recent and controversial in a sense that there are two conflicting sides.

The social issue selected for the first set of the pilot study was on whether a victim-centered approach should be adopted in the investigation and court process of sexual offences. Given that sexual assault investigations often lack physical evidences and in turn rely heavily on the memory of those involved, the ability for victims to accurately recall events from the past and provide reliable testimony has been crucial. Those who argue that the criminal justice system should take a more victim-centered approach assert that investigators should assume all testimonials provided by the victims are valid unless established otherwise by investigative findings and be considerate of the victim's traumatized state of mind. On the other hand, those who oppose victim-centered approach argue that the account of the accused should be taken just as seriously as the victim's based on the presumption of innocence that every person is innocent until proven guilty. They assert that judgments should be based on physical evidence rather than victim's words. After reading a short summary of both sides of the argument, participants were asked about the extent to which they support the victim-centered approach in a single question on a 6-point scale (1 = *strongly oppose*, 6 = *strongly support*). Those who reported 3 or less were coded as those who oppose victim-

centered approach and those who reported 4 or more as those who support victim-centered approach. Results showed that out of 19 people, 10 people were against victim-centered approach and 9 people were in support of it. Since there were a similar number of people on both sides, this issue was considered appropriate as the gender-related issue for the experiment.

The economic issue selected for the second set of the pilot study was on the increase in minimum wage. After the Korean government's announcement to raise the minimum wage again by 10.9% next year following this year's 16.4% increase, there has been a conflict between those who support the policy and those who don't. Those who support it assert that the increase in minimum wage will help close the wealth gap between the rich and the poor, and boost economic activity through increased spending. On the other hand, those who oppose it claim that a rise in minimum wage will entail an increase in labor costs for businesses and eventually a slowdown on economic growth as they go out of business. After reading the summary of arguments made by both sides, participants were asked to report how much they agreed with the increase in minimum wage. Results showed that out of 19 participants, 10 people were against the increase in minimum wage and 9 people were against it. Since the number of those who agree and those who disagree with the policy were similar to one another, these two were considered adequate for comparison. Thus, this issue was chosen as the economic topic for the main experiment.

Experiment Stimuli Check

First, a one-sample t-test was conducted to check whether people viewed the uncivil comments as more uncivil than the civil comments. For each comment, participants were asked to report the extent to which they found it uncivil. Specifically, they reported how well the following adjectives described the comments they had read on a 7-point scale (1 = *very poorly described*, 7 = *very well*

described): rude, aggressive, polite, respectful, and uses swear words a lot. The scores were then averaged to create an incivility index for each comment. One-sample t-test results showed that people correctly recognized the four uncivil comments as more uncivil ($M = 6.349$, $SD = .507$) than the four civil comments ($M = 2.109$, $SD = .555$), $t(18) = 23.409$, $p < .01$. Likewise, for the issue of increase in minimum wage, people reported higher incivility for uncivil comments ($M = 5.984$, $SD = .660$) than civil comments ($M = 2.214$, $SD = .750$), $t(18) = 13.932$, $p < .01$. Since there was a significant difference in incivility between civil and uncivil groups between the two groups, the experiment stimuli were considered appropriate for the experiment. Therefore, uncivil comments used in the main experiment contained uncivil expressions with similar level of severity as the ones use in this pilot test.

Second, a one-sample t-test was conducted to check whether there was a difference in the persuasiveness of the argument between uncivil comments and civil comments. Ideally everything else besides perceived incivility should not be different between uncivil comments and civil comments. The participants were asked to evaluate how well the following adjectives described the comments they had read in a 7-point scale (1 = *very poorly described*, 7 = *very well described*): ‘logical’ and ‘well supported by evidence’. The two questions were averaged to create an index of persuasiveness. On the gender-related issue, one-sample t-test results showed that people viewed civil comments more persuasive ($M = 4.8618$, $SD = 0.85$) than uncivil comments ($M = 4.13$, $SD = 0.91$), $t(18) = 4.83$, $p < .01$. This might be caused by the use of uncivil expressions which makes comments seem illogical and poorly-reasoned. On the economic issue, there was no significant difference in persuasiveness between civil comments ($M = 5.05$, $SD = 0.86$) and uncivil comments ($M = 4.80$, $SD = 0.76$) as intended, $t(18) = 1.408$, $p = .178$. To make sure there is no significant difference in the persuasiveness of uncivil and civil comments in the main experiment, this study used the same wording in civil conditions and uncivil conditions and simply added a

few words or phrases aimed at demeaning others in the uncivil comments instead of altering the general tone of the comments.

In order to evaluate the clarity of the issue stance of each comment, the participants were asked to evaluate the extent to which each comment supports or opposes victim-centered approach in a 7-point scale (1 = *strongly oppose*, 7 = *strongly support*). It was expected that comments in support of adopting a victim-centered approach should score over the mid-point of the item scale, 4, while those opposing it had to score under 4. If a comment scores 4, the comment was to be considered neutral and lacking a clear indication of issue stance. The same questions were asked on all eight comments on the economic issue as well. Likewise, the issue stance of a comment was considered to be in support of the increase in minimum wage if it scored over 4 and in opposition if it scored under 4. Results for the gender-related issue showed that the mean of all comments for victim-centered approach were higher than 4 ($M = 6.36$, $SD = 0.63$), whereas those against it were rated lower than 4 ($M = 1.63$, $SD = 0.55$). For the economic issue, the mean of all four comments for the increase in minimum wage were higher than 4 ($M = 6.58$, $SD = 0.63$). The mean of all four comments against the issue were lower than 4 ($M = 1.32$, $SD = 0.41$). These results showed that the issue stance of comments was perceived correctly in a way that it is expected them to be.

To check out the balance of content of news articles, the participants were asked to indicate how well each adjective described experimental news articles in a 7-point scale (1 = *very poorly described*, 7 = *very well described*): neutral, objective, and logical. Independent t-test between those who agreed and those who disagreed with the adoption of victim-centered approach showed that there was no statistically significant difference in the level of neutrality, $t(17) = 0.26$, $p = .80$, objectivity, $t(17) = 0.17$, $p = .87$, and logicality, $t(17) = 0.86$, $p = .40$. Likewise, there was no statistically significant difference in the level of neutrality, $t(17) = 0.08$, $p = .94$, objectivity, $t(17) = -0.03$, $p = .97$, and logicality,

$t(17) = -.006, p = .95$ between those who agreed and disagreed with the increase in minimum wage. Thus, it can be concluded that by discussing both sides of the argument in equal lengths within a news article, the possibility of participants perceiving the experiment stimulus as biased to one side can be avoided. The experiment stimuli used for the main experiment adopting the one in the pilot tests are shown in Appendix B~G.

Main Experiment

Participants

A total of 767 people (392 men and 375 women; $M = 41.23, SD = 10.49$) participated in the online experiment. They were recruited from the research panel owned by Macromil Embrain, an online research company in Korea. Macromil Embrain claims their panel to be representative of the adult internet users demographic in South Korea. The participants were recruited by the survey company and were guided to participate in the online experiment managed by it. They were assigned to one of the eight experimental conditions: 2(issue stance: against an issue vs. for an issue) x 2(opinion congruence: congruent with the minority opinion vs. congruent with the majority opinion) x 2(incivility: civil vs. uncivil). The issue stance refers to the participants' stance on a particular issue. It was measured by asking the participants before the experiments began about their stance on the two issues that they are about to read of. Depending on their issue stance, participants were placed in an experimental condition where their opinion was congruent with either the majority opinion or the minority opinion in the comments section. This experimental condition is called the opinion congruency. For example, when a person who is against a particular issue were exposed to a comments section where there were more comments opposing the issue than those supporting the

issue, his or her opinion is said to be congruent with the majority opinion. In contrast, when the same person was exposed to a comments section with more comments supporting the issue than those opposing it, his or her opinion is said to be congruent with the minority opinion. Finally, incivility is concerned with whether the comments in the comments section include uncivil expressions or not.

Procedure

Upon accessing the experimental site, participants were asked whether they would participate in an experiment regarding user experience on online news websites. The real goal of the experiment which was to see the effects of opinion congruency and incivility on people's willingness to participate in writing at the comments section was notified to the participants after the experiments had ended in order to prevent any sensitization effect. People voluntarily chose to participate and had the option to stop participating at any point during the experiment. Before viewing the experiment stimuli, they answered a series of pre-test questions on their sex, age, attitude towards two controversial issues: (1) adopting a victim-centered approach in the investigation and court process of sexual assault, and (2) increasing minimum wage. In addition, the level of involvement with the two issues was measured. Issue involvement score was measured based on three criteria 'interest,' 'importance,' and 'relevance' and were averaged (Kang & Kim, 2012; Lee, 2011).

In the first part of the experiment, participants were provided with a short news article and a comments section about adopting a victim-centered approach in the investigation and court process of sexual assault. After viewing the experiment stimulus, they answered questions on emotions, internal efficacy, external efficacy, the willingness to participate in the comments section, and the intention to use uncivil expressions in the comments if they would write anything. In addition, they responded to manipulation check

questions asking the opinion ratio of the comments section that they just saw and how uncivil they perceived the comments. The same process was repeated for the second part of the experiment. In this section, participants were given a news article and a comments section on the issue of increasing minimum wage. At the end of the experiment, participants were asked for demographic information including education, income, and political orientation on economic and social issues.

Experiment Stimuli

The experiment stimuli consisted of a news article and a user comments section with 11 comments. Their interface was made to look as similar as possible to the webpage of NAVER News, a major online news platform in Korea. The identical news articles were provided to all the participants regardless of their experimental conditions. The news articles introduced the arguments on both of sides of an issue in equal lengths to control any effects of news articles on the experiment. All comments used in the comments section were similar to each other in the severity of incivility and length (2–3 sentences). The ratios of comments were 2: 9 with two comments holding the minority opinion and nine comments holding the majority opinion. The level of severity of uncivil comments was kept at similar levels to the stimuli used in the Pilot Test. The orders of comments were kept consistent through all conditions, and user IDs were blurred like the actual NAVER News comments section in order to keep the users anonymous.

Measures

Independent variable:

Issue stance on the adoption of a victim-centered approach in the investigation and court process of sexual assault. Participants were asked how much they agree with the following statements on a 6–

point scale (1=*not at all*; 6 = *very much*): “The victim’s testimony should be prioritized over the accused’s testimony when determining whether a sexual assault actually happened,” “Even if sexual assault suspects abused their power to sexually assault the victims, they should be considered innocent until proven guilty,” “If victims strongly assert that they have been sexually assaulted, their words should be accepted as evidence even if there are slight inconsistencies in their testimony,” “Without physical evidence, victim’s testimony lacks credibility,” and “The victim has the responsibility to prove that there has been a sexual assault”. The scores were then averaged ($\alpha = .62$, $M = 3.63$, $SD = 0.75$). Those whose average was below 3.5 were considered against the adoption of victim-centered approach and those who scored above 3.5 were considered in support of the adoption of the victim-centered approach.

Issue stance on the increase in minimum wage. Participants were asked how much they agree with the following statements on a 6-point scale (1=*not at all*; 6 = *very much*): “The current minimum wage (7530 won per hour) is too low,” “Minimum wage should be raised compared to now,” “I believe an increase in minimum wage will improve the economy in general,” “If minimum wage is raised, domestic market will slow down because small companies will go out of business,” “I support the government’s policy to raise minimum wage to 10,000 won per hour until 2020. The scores were then averaged ($\alpha = .92$; $M = 3.74$, $SD = 1.09$). Those whose average was below 3.5 were considered against the increase in minimum wage and those who scored above 3.5 were considered in support of the increase in minimum wage.

Dependent variables:

Emotions toward the comments section. Participants were asked to report how well each word described the emotions they felt after reading the comments section on a 7-point scale (1 = *didn’t feel at all*, 7 = *felt very strongly*). Each emotion was measured by three

emotion terms outlined in Rhee and colleagues' (2008) research findings. The scores of the three emotion terms were then averaged to create a single score for each. Thus, happiness was measured by "gratified (통쾌하다)," "enjoyable (즐겁다)," and "happy (기쁘다)" emotion ($\alpha = .87$, $M = 2.46$, $SD = 1.12$ for Issue 1; $\alpha = .94$, $M = 2.72$, $SD = 1.44$ for Issue 2). Pride was measured by "pleased (뿌듯하다)," "satisfied (흡족하다)," and "proud (공지를 느낀다)" emotion ($\alpha = .96$, $M = 2.28$, $SD = 1.27$ for Issue 1; $\alpha = .97$, $M = 2.56$, $SD = 1.40$ for Issue 2). Anger was measured by "angry (화나다)" , "furious (분노하다)" , "feel hostility (반감을 느낀다)" ($\alpha = .90$, $M = 4.49$, $SD = 1.35$ for Issue 1; $\alpha = .94$, $M = 3.81$, $SD = 1.61$ for Issue 2). Fear was measured by "scary (두렵다)" , "terrifying (섬뜩하다)" , "fearful (겁나다)" ($\alpha = .94$, $M = 4.01$, $SD = 1.55$ for Issue 1; $\alpha = .93$, $M = 3.13$, $SD = 1.53$ for Issue 2). Shame was measured by "shameful (수치스럽다)" , "embarrassed (창피하다)" , and "guilty (부끄럽다)" ($\alpha = .95$, $M = 3.66$, $SD = 1.59$ for Issue 1; $\alpha = .96$, $M = 3.36$, $SD = 1.76$ for Issue 2). Finally, disgust was measured by "disgusted (혐오하다)" , "feel revulsion (역겹다)" , "contempt (환멸을 느낀다)" ($\alpha = .93$, $M = 4.23$, $SD = 1.58$ for Issue 1; $\alpha = .96$, $M = 3.52$, $SD = 1.76$ for Issue 2).

Internal efficacy. Internal efficacy refers to a person's belief in their capability to participate in writing at the comments section. Participants indicated how much they agree with each following statements on a 7-point scale (Jang & Park, 2007; Kim & Rhee, 2006): "I am not able to write a comment on this issue because I am not used to legal(for Issue 1)/economic(for Issue 2) jargons," "I do not know about this issue sufficiently enough to write a comment," "I am able to tell others about my opinion on this issue clearly," "I am able to articulate my opinion on this issue through a comment," "I am able to use my knowledge on this issue to express my opinion on it," "I am able to participate in a public discussion on a news comments section about this issue" (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree). The scores were then averaged ($\alpha = .87$, $M =$

4.00, $SD = 0.99$ for Issue 1; $\alpha = .87$, $M = 4.06$, $SD = 0.97$ for Issue 2).

External efficacy. External efficacy refers to a person's belief in others' willingness to listen and respond to the expression of opinion by him or herself. Participants indicated how much they agree with each following statements on a 7-point scale (Jang & Park, 2007): "My opinion will not be accepted by others," "People who hold different opinion from me will also read my comment with an open-mind," "People will not read what I wrote," "People will be willing to read about my opinion," and "People will respond to my comment by pressing 'like' or 'dislike' button" (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). The scores were then averaged ($\alpha = 0.66$, $M = 4.10$, $SD = 0.67$ for Issue 1; $\alpha = 0.75$, $M = 4.21$, $SD = 0.66$ for Issue 2).

Willingness to participate in the comments section. To assess the willingness to participate in the comments section, participants were asked to indicate the extent to which they agree to following statements on a 7-point scale (Ng & Detenber, 2005): "I would like to contribute to the discussion," "I would like to reply to one or more of the participants of the discussion," "I would be hesitant to voice my opinions in the discussion," "I would like to challenge the views of the discussants," "I am not interested in this discussion at all," "I would not wish to associate myself with other discussants in the comments section," "I would like to express my opinion through leaving a comment" (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). The scores were then averaged ($\alpha = .82$, $M = 3.81$, $SD = 0.92$ for Issue 1; $\alpha = .83$, $M = 3.83$, $SD = 0.95$ for Issue 2).

Intention to use uncivil expressions in the comment. Participants were asked to report the extent to which they intended to use uncivil expressions in the comment if they would write anything. They indicated how much they agree to following statements on a 7-point scale (Infante & Wigley III, 1986): "I will use swear words,"

“I will criticize unlike-minded others’ opinion or argument,” “I will use insulting expressions to demean the social or political groups those with unlike-minded others belong,” and “I will attack unlike-minded others’ character” ($\alpha = .88$, $M = 2.04$, $SD = 1.10$ for Issue 1; $\alpha = .93$, $M = 1.87$, $SD = 1.08$ for Issue 2).

Control Variable

Frequency of commenting on the comments section. The participants indicated how often they write comments on the comments section on a 10-point scale (1 = *more than 5 times a day*, 2 = *3~4 times a day*, 3 = *1~2 times a day*, 4 = *4~6 times a week*, 5 = *2~3 times a week*, 6 = *once a week*, 7 = *3~4 times a month*, 8 = *1~2 times a month*, 9 = *less than once a month*, 10 = *never in my life*; $M = 8.40$, $SD = 2.40$).

Results

Results for the gender-related issue

Manipulation Check

To examine if participants recognized the opinion ratio of the comments section correctly, they were asked to indicate whether there were more comments for the victim-centered approach than those against it, equal number of comments for and against the victim-centered approach, or more comments against the victim-centered approach than those in support of it. This step is necessary to determine whether the participants correctly recognized if their opinion was congruent with the minority or the majority opinion in the comments section. Out of 767 participants, 413 people recognized the opinion ratio of the comments section correctly.

To check whether the participants in the uncivil condition evaluated comments in the news comments section as uncivil and vice versa, they were asked to indicate how well the following adjectives described the comments they had read in a 7-point scale (1 = *very poorly described*, 7 = *very well described*): rude, aggressive, polite, respectful, and uses swear words a lot. The scores were then averaged ($\alpha = .82$, $M = 4.57$, $SD = 1.00$). Out of the 413 people who answered the first manipulation check question correctly, participants who were exposed to comments section where there were uncivil expressions ($M = 4.92$, $SD = 1.08$) perceived the comments section as more uncivil than those who were exposed to comments section without any uncivil expressions ($M = 4.20$, $SD = 0.85$) as intended, $t(413) = -7.29$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 0.74$. However, among the 413 people, 273 people correctly recognized uncivil comments as uncivil (the mean score was over 4) and civil comments as civil (the mean score was equal

or less than 4). These people were selected as the subjects of analysis.

Correlations

Before the main analyses, intercorrelations of research variables were examined (see Table 1). Results showed that there was a significant negative correlation between incivility and a positive emotion, pride, $r(264) = -.18, p < .01$. In contrast, there was a positive correlation between incivility and the four negative emotions: anger, $r(264) = .34, p < .01$, fear, $r(264) = .22, p < .01$, shame, $r(264) = .3, p < .01$ and disgust, $r(264) = .32, p < .01$. Although willingness to participate in the comments section was not significantly correlated with incivility, it had a significant positive correlation with external efficacy, $r(264) = .31, p < .01$, internal efficacy, $r(264) = .45, p < .01$, and the frequency of commenting, $r(264) = .24, p < .01$. This means that the stronger the belief that one can express his or her opinions publicly and that the others in the comments section will carefully listen to his or her opinion, the more willing one is to participate in writing at the comments section. Also, the more experience people have of writing comments in the comments section in the past, the more likely they are to participate writing at the comments section.

Table 1. Intercorrelations of research variables for Issue 1

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Issue stance													
2. Opinion congruency	-0.01												
3. Incivility	0	-0.02											
4. Frequency of commenting	-0.02	0.06	-0.01										
5. Happiness	0.01	0.19**	-0.1	0.05									
6. Pride	0.04	0.18**	-0.18**	0.02	0.85**								
7. Anger	0.09	-0.07	0.34**	-0.11	-0.34**	-0.3**							
8. Fear	0.08	-0.1	0.22**	-0.14*	-0.17**	-0.09	0.71**						
9. Shame	0.03	-0.08	0.3**	-0.02	-0.04	-0.03	0.6**	0.67**					
10. Disgust	0.05	-0.06	0.32**	-0.07	-0.28**	-0.23**	0.79**	0.72**	0.72**				
11. External efficacy	0.03	0.01	-0.05	0.19**	0.14*	0.1	-0.2**	-0.08	-0.03	-0.14*			
12. Internal efficacy	-0.04	-0.06	0.04	0.22**	-0.02	0.02	-0.1	-0.08	-0.01	-0.09	0.33**		
13. Willingness to participate	0.02	0.05	-0.02	0.24**	0.11	0.19**	-0.09	0.01	0.05	-0.06	0.31**	0.45**	
14. Intention to use uncivil expressions	0	0.06	0.06	0.32**	0.27**	0.27**	-0.04	0.03	0.07	0.06	0.03	0.01	0.16*

Note. IVs were coded as follows:

1. Issue stance: 0 = against victim-centered approach, 1 = for victim-centered approach
 2. Opinion congruency: 0 = congruent with the minority opinion, 1 = congruent with the majority opinion
 3. Incivility: 0 = civil, 1 = uncivil
- **p <.01, *p <.05

Hypothesis Tests

Hypothesis 1 [The main effect of opinion congruence on the valence of emotion, internal efficacy, and the willingness to participate in writing at the comments section]

H1-1: Those whose opinion is congruent with the majority opinion will have higher positive emotions (happiness and pride) than those whose opinion is congruent with the minority opinion.

A 2(issue stance: against the victim-centered approach vs. for the victim-centered approach) x 2(opinion congruence: congruent with the minority opinion vs. congruent with the majority opinion) x 2 (incivility: civil vs. uncivil) ANOVA was conducted in order to compare the level of positive emotions felt by those whose opinion were congruent with the minority opinion and those whose opinion were congruent with the majority opinion^②. The 2x2x2 ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of opinion congruency on positive emotions such as happiness, $F(1, 265) = 10.465, p < .01, \eta^2 = .036$ (see Table 2), and pride, $F(1, 265) = 9.034, p < .01, \eta^2 = .031$ (see Table 3). The level of happiness was higher for

^② Given the nature of the issue, issue stance may be contingent on the participants' sex. Thus, a supplementary 2(issue stance: against the victim-centered approach vs. for the victim-centered approach) x 2(opinion congruence: congruent with the minority opinion vs. congruent with the majority opinion) x 2 (incivility: civil vs. uncivil) ANCOVA with participant sex as a covariate was conducted. Results showed similar results to the 2x2x2 ANOVA revealing a significant main effect of opinion congruency for happiness, $F(1, 264) = 10.424, p < .01, \eta^2 = .036$, and pride, $F(1, 264) = 8.985, p < .01, \eta^2 = .031$. The interaction effect between issue stance and opinion congruency was still significant after controlling for sex for happiness, $F(1, 264) = 7.976, p < .01, \eta^2 = .028$, but not for pride, $F(1, 264) = 3.785, p = .053, \eta^2 = .013$, implying that the interaction effect was due to issue stance rather than participants' sex. Sex had no significant main effect on both happiness, $F(1, 164) = 1.548, p = .215, \eta^2 = .005$, and pride, $F(1, 264) = 0.494, p = .483, \eta^2 = .002$.

those whose opinion was congruent with the majority opinion ($M = 2.68$, $SD = 1.09$, $n = 131$) than those whose opinion was congruent with the minority opinion ($M = 2.26$, $SD = 1.12$, $n = 142$), supporting H1-1. Also, the level of pride was higher in the majority-congruent condition ($M = 2.52$, $SD = 1.28$, $n = 131$) than in the minority-congruent condition ($M = 2.07$, $SD = 1.23$, $n = 142$).

There was, however, an unexpected interaction effect between issue stance and opinion congruency for both happiness, $F(1, 265) = 8.885$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .031$, and pride, $F(1, 265) = 4.235$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .015$. Among people who were in support of the victim-centered approach, happiness and pride were higher for those who were in the majority-congruent condition than in the minority-congruent condition. However, among people who were against the victim-centered approach, happiness was higher for those in the minority-congruent condition than those in the majority-congruent condition, in contradiction to H1-1 (see Table 4).. Therefore, H1-1 was partially supported for happiness among those in support of the victim-centered approach, and fully supported for pride.

Table 2. Analysis of variance for happiness

Variables	SS	$F(1, 265)$	p	η^2
Issue stance	0.074	0.062	.803	< .001
Opinion congruency	12.406	10.465	.001	.036
Incivility	3.390	2.860	.092	.010
Issue stance x opinion congruency	10.533	8.885	.003	.031
Issue stance x incivility	0.989	0.834	.362	.003
Opinion congruency x incivility	0.128	0.108	.743	< .001
Issue stance x opinion congruency x incivility	1.986	1.676	.197	.006
Model predictions	29.506			
Residuals	314.143			
Total	343.649			

Table 3. Analysis of variance for pride

Variables	SS	$F(1, 265)$	p	η^2
Issue stance	0.862	0.565	.453	.002
Opinion congruency	13.790	9.034	.003	.031
Incivility	13.348	8.745	.003	.030
Issue stance x opinion congruency	6.464	4.235	.041	.015
Issue stance x incivility	1.357	0.889	.347	.003
Opinion congruency x incivility	0.416	0.272	.602	.001
Issue stance x opinion congruency x incivility	1.143	0.749	.388	.003
Model predictions	37.379			
Residuals	404.493			
Total	441.871			

Table 4. Means for happiness and pride

Issue stance	Opinion congruence	Happiness $M (SD)$	Pride $M (SD)$
Against victim-centered approach	Minority (n = 59)	2.458 (1.093)	2.169 (1.262)
	Majority (n = 56)	2.429 (1.149)	2.268 (1.22)
For victim-centered approach	Minority (n = 83)	2.116 (1.124)	1.996 (1.211)
	Majority (n = 75)	2.876 (1.009)	2.702 (1.307)

H1-2: Those whose opinion is congruent with the minority opinion will have higher negative emotions (anger, fear, shame, and disgust) than those whose opinion is congruent with the majority opinion.

There were no significant main effects of opinion congruency on the four negative emotions: anger, $F(1, 265) = 1.436$, $p = .232$, $\eta^2 = .005$ (see Table 5), fear, $F(1, 265) = 2.716$, $p = .101$, $\eta^2 = .009$ (see Table 6), shame, $F(1, 265) = 1.800$, $p = .181$, $\eta^2 = .007$ (see Table 6).

= .006 (see Table 7), and disgust, $F(1, 265) = 1.053$, $p = .306$, $\eta^2 = .003$ (see Table 8). Therefore, H1-2 was not supported.

However, there was a significant interaction effect between issue stance and opinion congruency on all four negative emotions.^③ Among people who were for the victim-centered approach, the level of anger, fear, shame, and disgust were all higher for those whose opinion was congruent with the minority opinion than those whose opinion was congruent with the majority opinion, supporting the directionality of H1-2. In contrast, among people who were against the victim-centered approach, the levels of the four negative emotions were higher for those who were in the majority-congruent condition than those who were in the minority-congruent condition (see Table 9).

^③ In the 2x2x2 ANCOVA where participants' sex was used as a covariate, participants' sex had a significant main effect on anger, $F(1, 264) = 6.243$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .02$, fear, $F(1, 264) = 5.381$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .018$, and disgust, $F(1, 264) = 5.378$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .017$. However, there was no significant effect on shame, $F(1, 264) = .016$, $p = .900$, $\eta^2 < .001$. Women felt higher levels of anger ($M = 4.67$, $SD = 1.37$), fear ($M = 4.21$, $SD = 1.58$), and disgust ($M = 4.42$, $SD = 1.68$) than men ($M = 4.29$, $SD = 1.31$ for anger, $M = 3.79$, $SD = 1.48$ for fear, $M = 4.01$, $SD = 1.44$ for disgust). Since the interaction effects of issue stance and opinion congruence was still significant after controlling for participants' sex ($F(1, 264) = 5.06$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .016$ for anger, $F(1, 264) = 4.179$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .014$ for fear, $F(1, 264) = 10.064$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .033$ for shame, and $F(1, 264) = 11.812$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .037$ for disgust), it is implied that the significant interaction effect is due to issue stance rather than participants' sex.

Table 5. Analysis of variance for anger

Variables	SS	$F(1, 265)$	p	η^2
Issue stance	4.455	2.812	.095	.009
Opinion congruency	2.275	1.436	.232	.005
Incivility	56.807	35.858	< .001	.114
Issue stance x opinion congruency	9.600	6.060	.014	.019
Issue stance x incivility	0.387	0.245	.621	.001
Opinion congruency x incivility	0.061	0.038	.845	< .001
Issue stance x opinion congruency x incivility	4.124	2.603	.108	.008
Model predictions	77.709			
Residuals	419.821			
Total	497.530			

Table 6. Analysis of variance for fear

Variables	SS	$F(1, 265)$	p	η^2
Issue stance	4.209	1.873	.172	.006
Opinion congruency	6.105	2.716	.101	.009
Incivility	31.634	14.074	< .001	.049
Issue stance x opinion congruency	11.471	5.104	.025	.018
Issue stance x incivility	0.020	0.009	.925	< .001
Opinion congruency x incivility	0.625	0.278	.599	.001
Issue stance x opinion congruency x incivility	1.815	0.808	.370	.003
Model predictions	55.880			
Residuals	595.635			
Total	651.515			

Table 7. Analysis of variance for shame

Variables	SS	$F(1, 265)$	p	η^2
Issue stance	0.476	0.216	.643	.001
Opinion congruency	3.979	1.800	.181	.006
Incivility	61.443	27.803	< .001	.090
Issue stance x opinion congruency	21.557	9.755	.002	.032
Issue stance x incivility	6.068	2.746	.099	.009
Opinion congruency x incivility	0.875	0.396	.530	.001
Issue stance x opinion congruency x incivility	3.409	1.542	.215	.005
Model predictions	97.808			
Residuals	585.627			
Total	683.434			

Table 8. Analysis of variance for disgust

Variables	SS	$F(1, 265)$	p	η^2
Issue stance	1.904	0.883	.348	.003
Opinion congruency	2.271	1.053	.306	.003
Incivility	68.068	31.561	< .001	.100
Issue stance x opinion congruency	28.786	13.347	< .001	.042
Issue stance x incivility	1.065	0.494	.483	.002
Opinion congruency x incivility	2.505	1.162	.282	.004
Issue stance x opinion congruency x incivility	5.756	2.669	.104	.008
Model predictions	110.355			
Residuals	571.523			
Total	681.879			

Table 9. Means for negative emotions (anger, fear, shame, disgust)

Issue stance	Opinion congruence	Emotions			
		Anger <i>M (SD)</i>	Fear <i>M (SD)</i>	Shame <i>M (SD)</i>	Disgust <i>M (SD)</i>
Against victim-centered approach	Minority (n = 59)	4.22 (1.357)	3.785 (1.636)	3.418 (1.562)	3.859 (1.466)
	Majority (n = 56)	4.458 (1.248)	3.952 (1.278)	3.815 (1.424)	4.417 (1.55)
For victim-centered approach	Minority (n = 83)	4.827 (1.475)	4.422 (1.644)	4.032 (1.769)	4.643 (1.644)
	Majority (n = 75)	4.338 (1.226)	3.782 (1.487)	3.324 (1.419)	3.92 (1.524)

H1-3: Those whose opinion is congruent with the majority opinion will have higher internal efficacy than those whose opinion is congruent with the minority opinion.

The 2x2x2 ANOVA showed that there was no significant main effect of opinion congruency on internal efficacy, $F(1, 265) = 0.898$, $p = .344$, $\eta^2 = .003$ (see Table 10). Therefore, H1-3 was not supported.

Table 10. Analysis of variance for internal efficacy

Variables	SS	$F(1, 265)$	p	η^2
Issue stance	0.493	0.501	.480	.002
Opinion congruency	0.885	0.898	.344	.003
Incivility	0.398	0.404	.525	.001
Issue stance x opinion congruency	0.078	0.079	.779	< .001
Issue stance x incivility	0.196	0.199	.656	.001
Opinion congruency x incivility	1.285	1.305	.254	.005
Issue stance x opinion congruency x incivility	1.532	1.556	.213	.006
Model predictions	4.867			
Residuals	261.015			
Total	265.882			

H1-4: Those whose opinion is congruent with the majority opinion are more likely to participate in writing at the comments section than those whose opinion is congruent with the minority opinion.

A 2(issue stance: against the victim-centered approach vs. for the victim-centered approach) x 2(opinion congruence: congruent with the minority opinion vs. congruent with the majority opinion) x 2 (incivility: civil vs. uncivil) ANCOVA with the frequency of writing comments on the online news comments section as a covariate was conducted to test whether opinion congruency affects one's willingness to participate in the comments section. The frequency of writing comments was used as a covariate because past experiences are a strong predictor of future behaviors (Abraham & Sheeran, 2003; Ajzen, 2011), and had a significant effect on the willingness to participate, $F(1, 264) = 17.051$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .059$. The 2x2x2 ANCOVA showed that there was no significant main effect of opinion congruency on the willingness to

participate in the comments section, $F(1, 264) = 0.294$, $p = .588$, $\eta^2 = .001$ (see Table 11), failing to support H1-4.

Table 11. Analysis of covariance for the willingness to participate

Variables	SS	$F(1, 264)$	p	η^2
Frequency of writing comments	13.514	17.051	< .001	.059
Issue stance	0.165	0.208	.648	.001
Opinion congruency	0.233	0.294	.588	.001
Incivility	0.072	0.091	.763	< .001
Issue stance x opinion congruency	0.130	0.164	.686	.001
Issue stance x incivility	1.699	2.144	.144	.007
Opinion congruency x incivility	3.289	4.150	.043	.014
Issue stance x opinion congruency x incivility	0.237	0.299	.585	.001
Model predictions	19.340			
Residuals	209.241			
Total	228.581			

Hypothesis 2 [The main effect of incivility on the willingness to participate in writing at the comments section and the intention to use uncivil expressions]

H2-1: Those who find themselves in the civil condition are more likely to participate in writing at the comments section than those who are in the uncivil condition.

The 2x2x2 ANCOVA conducted in H1-4 also revealed that there was not a significant main effect of incivility on the willingness to participate in writing at the comments section, $F(1, 264) = 0.091$, $p = .763$, $\eta^2 < .001$. Thus, H2-1 was not supported (see Table 11).

H2-2: Those who find themselves in the uncivil condition are more likely to have higher intention to use uncivil expressions than those who are in the civil condition.

A 2x2x2 ANOVA revealed no significant main effect of incivility on the intention to use uncivil expressions, $F(1, 265) = 1.064$, $p = .303$, $\eta^2 = .004$. Therefore, H2-2 was not supported (see Table 12).

Table 12. Analysis of variance for the intention to use uncivil Expressions

Variables	SS	$F(1, 265)$	p	η^2
Issue stance	0.001	0.001	.981	< .001
Opinion congruency	1.049	0.860	.355	.003
Incivility	1.298	1.064	.303	.004
Issue stance x opinion congruency	3.105	2.544	.112	.009
Issue stance x incivility	2.380	1.950	.164	.007
Opinion congruency x incivility	0.073	0.060	.807	< .001
Issue stance x opinion congruency x incivility	0.487	0.399	.528	.001
Model predictions	8.393			
Residuals	323.365			
Total	331.759			

Hypothesis 3 [The interaction effects between opinion congruency and incivility on moral emotions and external efficacy]

H3-1: Among those whose opinion is congruent with the minority opinion, those who find themselves in the uncivil condition will have higher anger, shame and disgust than those who are in the civil condition.

The 2x2x2 ANOVA results showed no significant two-way interaction effect between opinion congruency and incivility on the three moral emotions, failing to support H3-1: anger, $F(1, 265) = 0.038$, $p = .845$, $\eta^2 < .001$ (see Table 5), shame, $F(1, 265) = 0.396$, $p = .530$, $\eta^2 = .001$ (see Table 7), and disgust, $F(1, 265) = 1.162$, $p = .282$, $\eta^2 = .004$ (see Table 8).

H3-2: Among those whose opinion is congruent with the minority opinion, those who find themselves in the civil condition will have higher external efficacy than those who are in the uncivil condition.

The 2x2x2 ANOVA showed that there was no significant two-way interaction effect between opinion congruency and incivility on external efficacy, $F(1, 265) = 1.717$, $p = .191$, $\eta^2 = .006$. Thus, H3-2 was not supported (see Table 13).

Table 13. Analysis of variance for external efficacy

Variables	SS	$F(1, 265)$	p	η^2
Issue stance	0.093	0.207	.650	.001
Opinion congruency	0.005	0.011	.918	< .001
Incivility	0.266	0.590	.443	.002
Issue stance x opinion congruency	0.003	0.008	.931	< .001
Issue stance x incivility	0.789	1.753	.187	.006
Opinion congruency x incivility	0.773	1.717	.191	.006
Issue stance x opinion congruency x incivility	1.444	3.209	.074	.012
Model predictions	3.373			
Residuals	119.276			
Total	122.649			

Research Question [Interaction effects between opinion congruency and incivility on the willingness to participate in writing at the comments section and the intention to use uncivil expressions]

RQ1. What is the interaction effect between opinion congruency and incivility on one's willingness to participate in writing at the comments section?

The 2x2x2 ANCOVA revealed a two-way interaction effect between opinion congruency and incivility on a person's willingness to participate in writing at the comments section, $F(1, 264) = 4.150$,

$p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .014$ (see Table 11)^④. Among those whose opinion was congruent with the majority opinion, the willingness to participate was higher in the civil condition ($M = 4.012$, $SD = 0.73$, $n = 55$) than in the uncivil condition ($M = 3.735$, $SD = 1.028$, $n = 76$) (see Table 14). In contrast, among those whose opinion was congruent with the minority opinion, the willingness to participate was higher in the uncivil condition ($M = 3.839$, $SD = 0.847$, $n = 85$) than in the civil condition ($M = 3.655$, $SD = 1.002$, $n = 57$).

Table 14. Means for the willingness to participate

Opinion Congruency	Incivility	Willingness to participate
		<i>M (SD)</i>
Minority	Civil (n = 57)	3.655 (1.002)
	Uncivil (n = 85)	3.839 (0.847)
Majority	Civil (n = 55)	4.012 (0.73)
	Uncivil (n = 76)	3.735 (1.028)

RQ2. What is the interaction effect between opinion congruency and incivility on one's intention to use uncivil expressions at the comments section?

The 2x2x2 ANOVA showed that there was no significant two-way interaction effect between opinion congruency and incivility on a person's intention to use uncivil expression if they would write anything, $F(1, 265) = 0.060$, $p = .807$, $\eta^2 < .001$ (see Table 12).^⑤

^④ Even after controlling for the effect of participants' sex in a 2x2x2 ANCOVA, the interaction effect between opinion congruency and incivility was significant, $F(1, 263) = 3.975$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .015$. The frequency of writing comments in the news comments section was still the largest predictor, $F(1, 263) = 17.00$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .061$, of the willingness to participate, while sex did not have a significant effect, $F(1, 263) = 0.093$, $p = .760$, $\eta^2 < .001$.

^⑤ The 2x2x2 ANCOVA with participants' sex as the covariate revealed that the participants' sex had a significant effect on the intention to use uncivil speech with males ($M = 2.18$, $SD = 1.10$) having higher intentions to use

Hypothesis 4 [Effects of emotions on action]

H4-1: Positive emotions will have a positive effect on one's willingness to participate in writing at the comments section.

H4-2: Fear, shame and disgust will have a negative effect on one's willingness to participate in writing at the comments section.

H4-3: Anger will have a positive effect on one's intention to use uncivil expressions at the comments section.

H4-4: Internal efficacy and external efficacy will have a positive effect on one's willingness to participate in writing at the comments section.

In order to test H4-1 to H4-3, a series of regression analyses were conducted. Two regression models each examining the discrete effects of emotions such as happiness, pride, anger, fear, shame and disgust on the willingness to participate in writing at the comments section and on the intention to use uncivil expressions were constructed. The effects of the experiment as well as the covariate, the frequency in writing comments in the online news comments section, were controlled. In addition, a regression model examining the effects of internal and external efficacies on the willingness to participate in the comments section was constructed to test H4-4.

Results of the regression analyses partially supported H4. First, there was a negative effect of happiness ($\beta = -0.20, p < .05$) and a positive effect of pride ($\beta = 0.25, p < .01$) on the willingness to participate in the comments section. Since H4-1 specified a positive relationship, the result only supported for pride. Out of the three negative emotions with flight action tendencies, none had a significant effect on one's willingness to participate in the

uncivil expressions than females ($M = 1.91, SD = 1.10$), $F(1, 264) = 4.155, p < .05, \eta^2 = .015$. Like the $2 \times 2 \times 2$ ANOVA, the $2 \times 2 \times 2$ ANCOVA showed no significant interaction effects between opinion congruency and incivility, $F(1, 264) = .233, p = .630, \eta^2 = .001$.

comments section. However, when one-tailed test is used, considering that the directionality of the hypothesis is specified, shame had a positive effect on the willingness to participate in the comments section ($\beta = 0.09$, $p < 0.1$, one-tailed). This was contrary to H4-2 which predicted that the higher the level of shame, the less likely people are to participate in the comments section. Thus, H4-2 was rejected. Although it was predicted in H4-3 that there will be a positive effect of anger on the intentions to use uncivil expressions due to its fight action tendency, it did not have a significant effect ($\beta = -0.11$, $p = .20$). Unexpectedly, the regression analysis showed that disgust had a positive effect on the intention to use uncivil expressions ($\beta = 0.18$, $p < .05$). This is contrary to the action tendencies of disgust posited by cognitive emotion theorists who argue that disgust entails rejection or withdrawal from the cause of such emotion. The stronger people felt disgust, the more likely they were to use uncivil expressions when expressing their opinion (see Table 15).

Efficacy variables were found to be significantly associated to the willingness to participate. Regression results in Table 16 showed that there was a positive association between willingness to participate and both the internal efficacy ($\beta = 0.35$, $p < .001$) and the external efficacy ($\beta = 0.20$, $p < .05$), supporting H4-4. This means that the stronger people believed in their capacity to express opinions publicly, the more likely they were to participate in writing at the comments section. Likewise, the stronger they believed that other people in the comments section will listen and respond to what they were saying, the more likely they were to participate in writing at the comments section.

Table 15. The effect of discrete emotions on the willingness to participate and the intention to use uncivil expressions

	Willingness to participate		Intention to use uncivil expressions	
	β	t	β	t
Issue stance	-0.17	-0.71	-0.15	-0.56
Opinion congruency	0.27	1.07	-0.48	-1.64
Incivility	0.07	0.28	0.18	0.65
Issue stance x opinion congruency	-0.02	-0.06	0.73†	1.90
Issue stance x incivility	0.27	0.89	-0.01	-0.03
Opinion congruency x incivility	-0.49	-1.46	0.47	1.22
Issue stance x opinion congruency x incivility	0.21	0.49	-0.74	-1.47
Frequency in writing comments in online news comments section (covariate)	0.10***	3.95	0.17***	5.92
Happiness	-0.20*	-2.10	0.14	1.27
Pride	0.25**	2.99	0.16†	1.67
Anger	-0.08	-1.12	-0.11	-1.30
Fear	0.06	1.01	0.05	0.82
Shame	0.09†	1.66	-0.07	-1.16
Disgust	-0.07	-0.99	0.18*	2.39
F	3.16		5.512	
Adjusted R ²	0.1***		0.19***	

N = 273, †p<.01, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 16. The effect of efficacies on the willingness to participate

	Willingness to participate	
	β	t
Issue stance	-0.20	-0.91
Opinion congruency	0.21	0.88
Incivility	-0.10	-0.47
Issue stance x opinion congruency	0.14	0.46
Issue stance x incivility	0.34	1.22
Opinion congruency x incivility	-0.30	-0.98
Issue stance x opinion congruency x incivility	-0.01	-0.03
Frequency in writing comments in online news comments section (covariate)	0.05*	2.23
Internal efficacy	0.35***	6.63
External efficacy	0.20*	2.51
F		9.68
Adjusted R-squared		0.24***

N = 273, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Supplementary Analysis

In addition to the regression analyses, supplementary path analyses were conducted in order to examine whether emotions and efficacies mediate the effect of issue stance, opinion congruency, and incivility on one's willingness to participate in the comments section and the intention to use uncivil expressions. Many studies have followed Baron and Kenny's (1986) tests of the linkages of the mediation model to make sure that the three conditions of mediation are fulfilled. First, they tested whether the independent variable affect the mediator (a path). Second, they tested whether the independent variable affects the dependent variable (c path). Finally, they tested whether the mediator affects the dependent variable (b path). When the statistical significance of both a path

and b path was found, the researchers tested whether the direct relationship between the independent variable and the dependent variable (c path) decreased or moved to non-significance when the significant mediator variable was entered into the model. Loss or decrease of the c path was assumed to demonstrate partial or full mediation. However, taking into consideration Hayes' (2009) critic of this approach that it was limited as it required a significant direct effect between the independent variable and the dependent variable (even though indirect effects can occur without a direct relationship) and does not allow researchers to actually test the intervening effect of the mediating variable, this study conducted bootstrapping with 5,000 bootstrap samples and a 95% CI on indirect effects.

The path analysis showed that there was no significant direct relationship between each independent variable (i.e., issue stance, opinion congruency, and incivility) and the two dependent variables (i.e., the willingness to participate and the intention to use uncivil expressions). However, it revealed a significant indirect effect between opinion congruency and the willingness to participate through positive emotions ($b = 0.053$, $SE = 0.026$, 95% CI: 0.011, 0.112). In other words, consistent with H1-3 and H4-1, participants in the majority condition experienced more positive emotions ($b = 0.432$, $p < .01$), which in turn increased their willingness to participate in the comments section ($b = 0.124$, $p < .01$). However, negative emotions (H4-2), internal efficacy and external efficacy (H4-4) did not mediate the relationship between the independent variables and the willingness to participate. Also, anger did not mediate the relationship between the independent variables and the intention to use uncivil expressions (H4-3). Nonsignificance can be seen in that the 95% CI for the bootstrapping sample overlapped the zero point (see Table 17).

Table 17. Bootstrap coefficients, standard errors, and confidence intervals for mediation tests

Independent variables	Mediating variables	Dependent variables	<i>b</i> (SE)	95% CI for Bootstrap
Issue stance	Positive emotions	Willingness to Participate	0.010 (0.119)	-0.025, 0.049
Opinion congruency			0.053 (0.026)	0.011, 0.112
Incivility			-0.042 (0.024)	-0.097, -0.004
Issue stance	Negative emotions	Willingness to Participate	0.001 (0.012)	-0.022, 0.027
Opinion congruency			-0.002 (0.013)	-0.028, 0.027
Incivility			0.007 (0.044)	-0.080, 0.095
Issue stance	Anger	Intention to use Uncivil Language	-0.014 (0.019)	-0.061, 0.012
Opinion congruency			0.009 (0.015)	-0.014, 0.046
Incivility			-0.051 (0.051)	-0.155, 0.049
Issue stance	Internal efficacy	Willingness to Participate	-0.037 (0.054)	-0.149, 0.062
Opinion congruency			-0.048 (0.052)	-0.154, 0.051
Incivility			0.033 (0.052)	-0.075, 0.133
Issue stance	External efficacy	Willingness to Participate	0.016 (0.038)	-0.048, 0.097
Opinion congruency			0.003 (0.036)	-0.072, 0.076
Incivility			-0.027 (0.036)	-0.099, 0.044

Notes: 5,000 bootstrap samples with 95% CI

Taking into consideration the significant interaction effects between opinion congruency (e.g., happiness, anger, fear, shame, disgust) and issue stance revealed in the 2x2x2 ANOVA and ANCOVA, path analyses examining the mediating effects of positive emotions (H4-1), negative emotions (H4-2), anger (H4-3),

internal and external efficacy (H4-4) were conducted separately for those against the victim-centric approach and those in support of it.

Path analyses revealed that there was no direct effect of opinion congruency and incivility on the dependent variables for both those who were against and those who were for the issue. Among those who were against the victim-centric approach, there were also no significant indirect effects of independent variables on a dependent variable (see Table 18). However, among those who were in support of the victim-centric approach, there were significant indirect effects of opinion congruency ($b = 0.096$, $SE = 0.053$, 95% CI: 0.004, 0.212) and incivility ($b = -0.060$, $SE = 0.040$, 95% CI: -0.155, -0.0003) on the willingness to participate in the comments section through positive emotions (see Table 19). Specifically, participants whose opinion was congruent with the majority opinion experienced higher levels of positive emotion than those whose opinion was congruent with the minority opinion ($b = 0.731$, $p < .001$), which in turn increased their willingness to participate in the comments section ($b = 0.131$, $p < .05$). Also, those who were in the uncivil condition felt lower levels of positive emotion compared to those who were in the civil condition ($b = -0.457$, $p < .05$). The lower the level of positive emotion, the less likely people were to participate in the comments section.

Table 18. Bootstrap coefficients, standard errors, and confidence intervals for mediation tests among those who are against the victim-centered approach

Independent variables	Mediating variables	Dependent variables	<i>b</i> (SE)	95% CI for Bootstrap
Opinion congruency	Positive emotions	Willingness to	0.003 (0.032)	0.062, 0.065
Incivility		Participate	-0.023 (0.034)	-0.103, 0.037
Opinion congruency	Negative emotions	Willingness to	0.028 (0.049)	-0.048, 0.154
Incivility		Participate	0.073 (0.104)	-0.137, 0.283
Opinion congruency	Anger	Willingness to	-0.013 (0.036)	-0.105, 0.054
Incivility		Participate	-0.050 (0.103)	-0.261, 0.160
Opinion congruency	Internal efficacy	Intention to use Uncivil	-0.038 (0.108)	-0.250, 0.172
Incivility		Language	0.075 (0.109)	-0.149, 0.273
Opinion congruency	External efficacy	Willingness to	0.005 (0.066)	-0.120, 0.155
Incivility		Participate	-0.098 (0.078)	-0.259, 0.043

Notes: 5,000 bootstrap samples with 95% CI

Table 19. Bootstrap coefficients, standard errors, and confidence intervals for mediation tests among those who are for the victim-centered approach

Independent variables	Mediating variables	Dependent variables	<i>b</i> (SE)	95% CI for Bootstrap
Opinion congruency	Positive emotions	Willingness to Participate	0.096 (0.053)	0.004, 0.212
Incivility		Willingness to Participate	-0.060 (0.040)	-0.155, -0.0003
Opinion congruency	Negative emotions	Willingness to Participate	0.007 (0.039)	-0.064, 0.093
Incivility		Willingness to Participate	-0.008 (0.042)	-0.092, 0.078
Opinion congruency	Anger	Willingness to Participate	0.021 (0.035)	-0.042, 0.108
Incivility		Willingness to Participate	-0.038 (0.058)	-0.158, 0.072
Opinion congruency	Internal efficacy	Intention to use Uncivil Language	-0.047 (0.054)	-0.159, 0.054
Incivility		Intention to use Uncivil Language	0.011 (0.051)	-0.092, 0.116
Opinion congruency	External efficacy	Willingness to Participate	0.001 (0.041)	-0.096, 0.073
Incivility		Willingness to Participate	0.011 (0.041)	-0.058, 0.109

Notes: 5,000 bootstrap samples with 95% CI

Results for the economic issue

Manipulation Check

To make sure participants perceived the opinion ratio of the comments section correctly, they were asked to indicate whether there were more comments in support of the increase in minimum wage than those against it, equal number of comments for and against the increase in minimum wage, or more comments against the increase in minimum wage than those in support of it. Out of 767 participants, 541 people perceived the opinion ratio of the comments section correctly.

Also, to determine whether the participants recognized uncivil comments as uncivil and the comments in the civil condition as civil, they were asked to indicate how well the following adjectives described the comments they had read in a 7-point scale (1 = *very poorly described*, 7 = *very well described*): rude, aggressive, polite, respectful, and uses swear words a lot. The scores were then averaged ($\alpha = .88$, $M = 4.38$, $SD = 1.28$). Out of the 541 people who answered the first manipulation check question correctly, participants who were exposed to comments section where there were uncivil expressions ($M = 4.94$, $SD = 1.34$) perceived the comments section as more uncivil than those who were exposed to comments section without any uncivil expressions ($M = 3.55$, $SD = 1.03$) as intended, $t(539) =$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 1.16$. However, out of the 541 people, 401 people perceived uncivil comments as uncivil (the mean score was over 4) and civil comments as civil (the mean score was equal or less than 4). These people were selected as the subjects of analysis.

Correlations

Before the main analyses, intercorrelations of research variables were examined (see Table 20). Results showed that the frequency of commenting in the news comments section, the covariate, was positively correlated with internal efficacy, $r(392) = .28$, $p < .01$, external efficacy, $r(264) = .20$, $p < .01$, the willingness to participate in writing at the comments section, $r(264) = .39$, $p < .01$, and the intention to use uncivil expressions, $r(264) = .24$, $p < .01$.

Incivility was negatively correlated with two positive emotions: happiness, $r(264) = -.20$, $p < .01$, and pride, $r(264) = -.19$, $p < .01$. This shows that the more uncivil the comments section, the lower the arousal of positive emotions. On the other hand, incivility was positively correlated with four negative emotions: anger, $r(264) = .35$, $p < .01$, fear, $r(264) = .24$, $p < .01$, shame, $r(264) = .38$, $p < .01$, and disgust, $r(264) = .43$, $p < .01$. This means that the more uncivil the comments section, the stronger the people feel negative emotions. Out of the six emotions, happiness, $r(264) = .17$, $p < .01$, and pride, $r(264) = .17$, $p < .01$, were positively correlated with the willingness to participate in writing at the comments section while all of the emotions showed positive correlations with the intention to write uncivil expressions. Incivility also had statistically significant negative correlations with internal efficacy, $r(264) = -.13$, $p < .05$, and the willingness to participate in the comments section, $r(264) = -.14$, $p < .01$. This shows that the more uncivil the comments section, the weaker the participants' belief that they can express their opinion and the less likely they are to participate in writing at the comments section.

Table 20. Intercorrelations of research variables for Issue 2

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Issue stance													
2. Opinion congruency	-0.08												
3. Incivility	0.07	-0.14**											
4. Frequency of commenting	-0.15**	-0.07	0.06										
5. Happiness	-0.04	0.32**	-0.2**	0.12*									
6. Pride	-0.03	0.28**	-0.19**	0.13**	0.94**								
7. Anger	-0.01	-0.29**	0.35**	0.04	-0.24**	-0.21**							
8. Fear	-0.07	-0.15**	0.24**	0.03	0.01	0.04	0.61**						
9. Shame	-0.02	-0.23**	0.38**	0.06	-0.14**	-0.1	0.66**	0.64**					
10. Disgust	-0.05	-0.27**	0.43**	0.06	-0.22**	-0.18**	0.81**	0.59**	0.78**				
11. Internal efficacy	-0.08	-0.02	-0.13*	0.23**	-0.04	-0.03	0.02	-0.01	0.04	0.02			
12. External efficacy	-0.12*	0.08	-0.1	0.2**	0.05	0.02	-0.05	-0.12**	-0.02	-0.07	0.43**		
13. Willingness to participate	-0.05	0.04	-0.14**	0.39**	0.17**	0.17**	0.01	0.05	0.04	-0.03	0.56**	0.44**	
14. Intention to use uncivil expressions	-0.12	-0.09	0.1	0.24**	0.24**	0.24**	0.21**	0.22**	0.18**	0.21**	-0.02	0.01	0.14**

Note. IVs were coded as follows:

1. Issue stance: 0 = against the increase in minimum wage, 1 = for the increase in minimum wage
2. Opinion congruency: 0 = congruent with the minority opinion, 1 = congruent with the majority opinion
3. Incivility: 0 = civil, 1 = uncivil

**p<.01, *p<.05

Hypothesis Tests

Hypothesis 1 [The main effect of opinion congruence on the valence of emotion, internal efficacy, and the willingness to participate in writing at the comments section]

H1-1: Those whose opinion is congruent with the majority opinion will have higher positive emotions (happiness and pride) than those whose opinion is congruent with the minority opinion.

The 2(issue stance: against the victim-centered approach vs. for the victim-centered approach) x 2(opinion congruence: congruent with the minority opinion vs. congruent with the majority opinion) x 2 (incivility: civil vs. uncivil) ANOVA showed a significant main effect of opinion congruency on positive emotions such as happiness, $F(1, 393) = 47.975, p < .001, \eta^2 = .103$ (see Table 21), and pride, $F(1, 393) = 35.563, p < .001, \eta^2 = .079$ (see Table 22). The level of happiness was higher for those whose opinion was congruent with the majority opinion ($M = 3.16, SD = 1.43, n = 211$) than those whose opinion was congruent with the minority opinion ($M = 2.23, SD = 1.29, n = 190$), supporting H1-1. Also, the level of pride was higher for those whose opinion was congruent with the majority opinion ($M = 2.94, SD = 1.43, n = 211$) than those whose opinion was congruent with the minority condition ($M = 2.14, SD = 1.25, n = 190$). Therefore, H1-1 was supported.

There was, however, an unexpected interaction effect between issue stance and opinion congruency for both happiness, $F(1, 393) = 12.098, p = .001, \eta^2 = .026$, and pride, $F(1, 265) = 9.405, p = .002, \eta^2 = .021$. Regardless of the issue stance, happiness and pride were higher for those whose opinion was congruent with the majority opinion than those whose opinion was congruent with the minority opinion, supporting the directionality of H1-1 (see Table 23).

Table 21. Analysis of variance for happiness

Variables	SS	$F(1, 393)$	p	η^2
Issue stance	1.124	0.631	.427	.001
Opinion congruency	85.386	47.975	< .001	.103
Incivility	20.233	11.368	.001	.024
Issue stance x opinion congruency	21.533	12.098	.001	.026
Issue stance x incivility	0.174	0.098	.755	< .001
Opinion congruency x incivility	0.808	0.454	.501	.001
Issue stance x opinion congruency x incivility	0.063	0.035	.851	< .001
Model predictions	129.320			
Residuals	699.469			
Total	828.789			

Table 22. Analysis of variance for pride

Variables	SS	$F(1, 393)$	p	η^2
Issue stance	0.707	0.403	.526	.001
Opinion congruency	62.470	35.563	< .001	.079
Incivility	18.482	10.522	.001	.023
Issue stance x opinion congruency	16.521	9.405	.002	.021
Issue stance x incivility	0.049	0.028	.868	< .001
Opinion congruency x incivility	0.000	0.000	.989	< .001
Issue stance x opinion congruency x incivility	0.005	0.003	.957	< .001
Model predictions	98.234			
Residuals	690.337			
Total	788.571			

Table 23. Means for happiness and pride

Issue stance	Opinion congruence	Happiness <i>M (SD)</i>	Pride <i>M (SD)</i>
Against increase in minimum wage	Minority (n = 72)	2.574 (1.306)	2.44 (1.278)
	Majority (n = 97)	2.935 (1.4)	2.735 (1.417)
For increase in minimum wage	Minority (n = 118)	2.02 (1.241)	1.96 (1.2)
	Majority (n = 114)	3.351 (1.427)	3.108 (1.429)

H1-2: Those whose opinion is congruent with the minority opinion will have higher negative emotions (anger, fear, shame, and disgust) than those whose opinion is congruent with the majority opinion.

There was a significant main effect of opinion congruency on the four negative emotions: anger, $F(1, 393) = 42.483$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .084$ (see Table 24), fear, $F(1, 393) = 11.154$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .025$ (see Table 25), shame, $F(1, 393) = 26.813$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .053$ (see Table 26), and disgust, $F(1, 393) = 41.600$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .077$ (see Table 27). The level of anger, fear, shame, and disgust were higher for those whose opinion was congruent with the minority opinion than those whose opinion was congruent with the majority opinion (see Table 28). Therefore, H1-2 was supported.

Unexpectedly, there was an interaction effect between issue stance and opinion congruency on anger, shame, and disgust, $F(1, 393) = 7.921$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .016$. The level of anger, shame, and disgust were all higher for those who were in the minority than those who were in the majority regardless of the issue stance, supporting the directionality of H1-2 (see Table 29).

Table 24. Analysis of variance for anger

Variables	SS	$F(1, 393)$	p	η^2
Issue stance	0.158	0.076	.782	< .001
Opinion congruency	87.654	42.483	< .001	.084
Incivility	103.600	50.212	< .001	.100
Issue stance x opinion congruency	16.343	7.921	.005	.016
Issue stance x incivility	8.755	4.243	.040	.008
Opinion congruency x incivility	0.456	0.221	.638	< .001
Issue stance x opinion congruency x incivility	11.923	5.779	.017	.011
Model predictions	228.889			
Residuals	810.864			
Total	1039.753			

Table 25. Analysis of variance for fear

Variables	SS	$F(1, 393)$	p	η^2
Issue stance	5.277	2.457	.118	.006
Opinion congruency	23.962	11.154	.001	.025
Incivility	47.335	22.034	< .001	.050
Issue stance x opinion congruency	5.001	2.328	.128	.005
Issue stance x incivility	4.331	2.016	.156	.005
Opinion congruency x incivility	0.471	0.219	.640	.001
Issue stance x opinion congruency x incivility	11.185	5.207	.023	.012
Model predictions	97.563			
Residuals	844.255			
Total	941.818			

Table 26. Analysis of variance for shame

Variables	SS	<i>F</i> (1, 393)	<i>p</i>	η^2
Issue stance	0.576	0.236	.627	< .001
Opinion congruency	65.361	26.813	< .001	.053
Incivility	153.806	63.097	< .001	.124
Issue stance x opinion congruency	22.385	9.183	.003	.018
Issue stance x incivility	5.992	2.458	.118	.005
Opinion congruency x incivility	1.369	0.562	.454	.001
Issue stance x opinion congruency x incivility	35.129	14.411	< .001	.028
Model predictions	284.618			
Residuals	957.987			
Total	1242.605			

Table 27. Analysis of variance for disgust

Variables	SS	<i>F</i> (1, 393)	<i>p</i>	η^2
Issue stance	3.081	1.340	.248	.002
Opinion congruency	95.609	41.600	< .001	.077
Incivility	202.167	87.964	< .001	.163
Issue stance x opinion congruency	15.045	6.546	.011	.012
Issue stance x incivility	3.445	1.499	.222	.003
Opinion congruency x incivility	0.768	0.334	.564	.001
Issue stance x opinion congruency x incivility	19.328	8.410	.004	.016
Model predictions	339.442			
Residuals	903.233			
Total	1242.676			

Table 28. Means for negative emotions

Opinion congruency	Anger <i>M (SD)</i>	Fear <i>M (SD)</i>	Shame <i>M (SD)</i>	Disgust <i>M (SD)</i>
Minority (n = 190)	4.30 (1.69)	3.38 (1.61)	3.78 (1.88)	4.03 (1.86)
Majority (n = 211)	3.37 (1.41)	2.91 (1.44)	2.98 (1.55)	3.07 (1.54)

Table 29. Means for anger, shame, disgust

Issue stance	Opinion congruence	Emotions		
		Anger <i>M (SD)</i>	Shame <i>M (SD)</i>	Disgust <i>M (SD)</i>
Against increase in minimum wage	Minority (n = 72)	4.074 (1.537)	3.523 (1.568)	3.898 (1.559)
	Majority (n = 97)	3.649 (1.399)	3.316 (1.662)	3.426 (1.602)
For increase in minimum wage	Minority (n = 118)	4.432 (1.765)	3.938 (2.044)	4.11 (2.025)
	Majority (n = 114)	3.126 (1.373)	2.696 (1.403)	2.766 (1.417)

H1-3: Those whose opinion is congruent with the majority opinion will have higher internal efficacy than those whose opinion is congruent with the minority opinion.

The same 2x2x2 ANOVA showed that there was no significant main effect of opinion congruency on internal efficacy, $F(1, 393) = .232, p = .631, \eta^2 = .001$ (see Table 30). Therefore, H1-3 was not supported.

Table 30. Analysis of variance for internal efficacy

Variables	SS	$F(1, 393)$	p	η^2
Issue stance	2.053	2.447	.119	.006
Opinion congruency	0.194	0.232	.631	.001
Incivility	5.548	6.613	.010	.016
Issue stance x opinion congruency	0.001	0.001	.970	< .001
Issue stance x incivility	0.093	0.111	.739	< .001
Opinion congruency x incivility	4.904	5.845	.016	.014
Issue stance x opinion congruency x incivility	8.512	10.148	.002	.024
Model predictions	21.305			
Residuals	329.671			
Total	350.976			

H1-4: Those whose opinion is congruent with the majority opinion are more likely to participate in writing at the comments section than those whose opinion is congruent with the minority opinion.

A 2(issue stance: against the victim-centered approach vs. for the victim-centered approach) x 2(opinion congruence: congruent with the minority opinion vs. congruent with the majority opinion) x 2 (incivility: civil vs. uncivil) ANCOVA with the frequency of writing comments on the online news comments section as the covariate showed that there was no significant main effect of opinion congruency on the willingness to participate in the comments section, $F(1, 392) = 2.244, p = .135, \eta^2 = .005$ (see Table 31). Therefore, H1-4 was not supported.

Table 31. Analysis of covariance for the willingness to participate

Variables	SS	$F(1, 392)$	p	η^2
Frequency of writing comments	53.639	71.523	< .001	.149
Issue stance	0.039	0.053	.819	< .001
Opinion congruency	1.683	2.244	.135	.005
Incivility	4.593	6.124	.014	.013
Issue stance x opinion congruency	0.796	1.061	.304	.002
Issue stance x incivility	0.488	0.651	.420	.001
Opinion congruency x incivility	0.322	0.429	.513	.001
Issue stance x opinion congruency x incivility	3.642	4.857	.028	.010
Model predictions	65.202			
Residuals	293.981			
Total	359.183			

Hypothesis 2 [The main effect of incivility on the willingness to participate in writing at the comments section and the intention to use uncivil expressions]

H2-1: Those who find themselves in the civil condition are more likely to participate in writing at the comments section than those who are in the uncivil condition.

The same 2x2x2 ANCOVA as H1-4 revealed that there was a significant main effect of incivility on the willingness to participate in writing at the comments section, $F(1, 392) = 6.124, p < .05, \eta^2 = .013$ (see Table 31). Those who were in the civil condition ($M = 4, SD = 0.872, n = 152$) were more likely to participate in the comments section than those who were in the uncivil condition ($M = 3.72, SD = 0.978, n = 249$), supporting H2-1.

H2-2: Those who find themselves in the uncivil condition are more likely to have higher intention to use uncivil expressions than those who are in the civil condition.

The 2x2x2 ANCOVA showed that there was no significant main effect of incivility on the intention to use uncivil expressions, $F(1, 393) = 3.596, p = .059, \eta^2 = .009$ (see Table 32). Thus, H2-2 was not supported.

Table 32. Analysis of variance for the intention to use uncivil expressions

Variables	SS	$F(1, 393)$	p	η^2
Issue stance	7.044	6.319	.012	.015
Opinion congruency	4.370	3.920	.048	.009
Incivility	4.008	3.596	.059	.009
Issue stance x opinion congruency	3.814	3.421	.065	.008
Issue stance x incivility	1.240	1.113	.292	.003
Opinion congruency x incivility	9.966	8.940	.003	.021
Issue stance x opinion congruency x incivility	0.977	0.876	.350	.002
Model predictions	31.419			
Residuals	438.095			
Total	469.514			

Hypothesis 3 [The interaction effects between opinion congruency and incivility on moral emotions and external efficacy]

H3-1: Among those whose opinion is congruent with the minority opinion, those who find themselves in the uncivil condition will have higher anger, shame and disgust than those who are in the civil condition.

The 2x2x2 ANOVA results showed no significant two-way interaction effect between opinion congruency and incivility on the three moral emotions, failing to support H3-1: anger, $F(1, 393) = .221$, $p = .638$, $\eta^2 < .001$ (see Table 24), shame, $F(1, 393) = .562$, $p = .454$, $\eta^2 = .001$ (see Table 26), and disgust, $F(1, 393) = .334$, $p = .564$, $\eta^2 = .001$ (see Table 27).

Unexpectedly, the ANOVA results revealed a three-way interaction effect among issue stance, opinion congruency, and incivility on the three moral emotions: anger, $F(1, 393) = 5.779$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .011$ (see Table 24), shame, $F(1, 393) = 14.411$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .028$ (see Table 26), and disgust, $F(1, 393)$

= 8.410, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .016$ (see Table 27). Regardless of the issue stance, among participants whose opinion was congruent with the minority opinion, those who were exposed to uncivil comments experienced higher levels of anger, shame, and disgust than those than those who were exposed to civil comments (see Table 33). Therefore, the directionality of H3–1 was supported.

Table 33. Means of for anger, shame, and disgust

Issue stance	Opinion congruency	Incivility	Anger <i>M (SD)</i>	Shame <i>M (SD)</i>	Disgust <i>M (SD)</i>
Against increase in minimum wage	Minority	Civil (n = 23)	3.754(1.215)	2.696(1.407)	3.464(1.205)
		Uncivil (n = 36)	4.519(1.274)	3.88(1.495)	4.111(1.576)
	Majority	Civil (n = 24)	3.722(1.043)	2.972(1.179)	3.431(1.309)
		Uncivil (n = 32)	5.01(1.105)	4.448(1.266)	5.156(1.292)
For increase in minimum wage	Minority	Civil (n = 34)	4.176(1.117)	3.431(1.332)	4.069(1.312)
		Uncivil (n = 49)	5.279(1.533)	4.449(1.922)	5.041(1.744)
	Majority	Civil (n = 31)	3.978(0.954)	3.097(1.323)	3.419(1.435)
		Uncivil (n = 44)	4.591(1.339)	3.485(1.478)	4.273(1.502)

H3–2: Among those whose opinion is congruent with the minority opinion, those who find themselves in the civil condition will have higher external efficacy than those who are in the uncivil condition.

The 2x2x2 ANOVA revealed no significant two–way interaction effect between opinion congruency and incivility on external efficacy, $F(1, 393) = 0.387$, $p = .534$, $\eta^2 = .001$, failing to support H3–2 (see Table 34).

Table 34. Analysis of variance for external efficacy

Variables	SS	$F(1, 393)$	p	η^2
Issue stance	2.288	5.413	.020	.013
Opinion congruency	0.990	2.342	.127	.006
Incivility	1.086	2.569	.110	.006
Issue stance x opinion congruency	0.232	0.549	.459	.001
Issue stance x incivility	0.829	1.961	.162	.005
Opinion congruency x incivility	0.164	0.387	.534	.001
Issue stance x opinion congruency x incivility	0.858	2.030	.155	.005
Model predictions	6.445			
Residuals	166.071			
Total	172.516			

Research Question [Interaction effects between opinion congruency and incivility on the willingness to participate in writing at the comments section and the intention to use uncivil expressions]

RQ1. What is the interaction effect between opinion congruency and incivility on one's willingness to participate in writing at the comments section?

The 2x2x2 ANCOVA showed no significant two-way interaction effect between opinion congruency and incivility on a person's willingness to participate in writing at the comments section, $F(1, 392) = 0.429$, $p = .513$, $\eta^2 = .001$ (see Table 31).

However, there was a significant three-way interaction effect among issue stance, opinion congruency, and incivility on the willingness to participate, $F(1, 392) = 4.857$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .010$. For participants who were against the increase in minimum wage, people were more willing to participate in the civil condition than the uncivil condition regardless of their opinion congruency with the comments section. For participants who were in support the

increase in minimum wage, those whose opinion was congruent with the majority opinion were more likely to participate when they were in the civil condition than the uncivil condition. In contrast, people who were in support of the issue and whose opinion was congruent with the minority opinion were more likely to participate when they were in the uncivil condition than the civil condition (see Table 35).

Table 35. Means for the willingness to participate

Issue stance	Opinion congruence	Incivility	Willingness to participate <i>M (SD)</i>
Against increase in minimum wage	Minority	Civil (n = 26)	4.179 (0.776)
		Uncivil (n = 46)	3.609 (0.987)
	Majority	Civil (n = 45)	4.015 (0.624)
		Uncivil (n = 52)	3.859 (1.166)
For increase in minimum wage	Minority	Civil (n = 32)	3.714 (0.968)
		Uncivil (n = 86)	3.797 (0.976)
	Majority	Civil (n = 49)	4.078 (1.018)
		Uncivil (n = 65)	3.597 (0.791)

RQ2. What is the interaction effect between opinion congruency and incivility on one's intention to use uncivil expressions at the comments section?

The 2x2x2 ANOVA showed that there was a significant two-way interaction effect between opinion congruency and incivility on a person's intention to use uncivil expression if they would write anything, $F(1, 393) = 8.940, p < .01, \eta^2 = .021$ (see Table 32). Among those whose opinion was congruent with the minority opinion, people who were in the civil condition had higher intentions to use uncivil expressions ($M = 2.116, SD = 1.148, n = 58$) than the people in the uncivil condition ($M = 1.907, SD = 1.141, n = 132$). In contrast, among those whose opinion was congruent with the majority opinion, people who were in the civil condition had

lower intentions to use uncivil expressions ($M = 1.508$, $SD = 0.769$, $n = 94$) than the people in the uncivil condition ($M = 2.006$, $SD = 1.14$, $n = 117$) (see Table 36).

Table 36. Means of intention to use uncivil expressions

Opinion congruence	Incivility	Intention to use uncivil expressions $M (SD)$
Minority	Civil ($n = 58$)	2.116 (1.148)
	Uncivil ($n = 132$)	1.907 (1.141)
Majority	Civil ($n = 94$)	1.508 (0.769)
	Uncivil ($n = 117$)	2.006 (1.14)

Hypothesis 4 [Effects of emotions on action]

H4-1: Positive emotions will have a positive effect on one's willingness to participate in writing at the comments section.

H4-2: Fear, shame and disgust will have a negative effect on one's willingness to participate in writing at the comments section.

H4-3: Anger will have a positive effect on one's intention to use uncivil expressions at the comments section.

H4-4: Internal efficacy and external efficacy will have a positive effect on one's willingness to participate in writing at the comments section.

Two regression models each examining the effects of discrete emotions such as happiness, pride, anger, fear, shame and disgust on the willingness to participate in the comments section and on the intention to use uncivil expressions were constructed (H4-1 ~ H4-3). In addition, a regression model examining the effects of internal efficacy and external efficacy on the willingness to participate in writing at the comments section was conducted (H4-4). A set of covariates, the frequency in writing comments in the

online news comments section as well as the effects of experimental conditions, were included in the models as control variables to delineate the effects of emotions, internal efficacy, and external efficacy on the participants' behaviors.

Results of regression analyses partially supported H4. First, none of the positive emotions had a significant effect on the willingness to participate in writing at the comments section after controlling for the effects of the experiment, failing to support H4-1 (see Table 37). Also, out of the three negative emotions with flight action tendencies, no emotion had a significant effect on one's willingness to participate in the comments section. However, when one-tailed test is used, considering the directionality of the hypothesis, disgust had a borderline effect on the willingness to participate in the comments section ($\beta = -0.09$, $p < .01$, one-tailed). Therefore, H4-2 was partially supported in regards to disgust. When one-tailed test is used, a positive effect of anger on the intention to use uncivil expressions can be considered statistically significant ($\beta = 0.11$, $p < .01$, one-tailed). This supports H4-3 which asserts that the angrier a person is, the more likely he or she is to use uncivil expressions in order to attack others. Finally, regression analysis showed that there was a positive effect of internal efficacy ($\beta = 0.40$, $p < .001$) and external efficacy ($\beta = 0.32$, $p < .001$) on the willingness to participate in the comments section, supporting H4-4 (see Table 38).

Table 37. The effects of discrete emotions on the willingness to participate and the intention to use uncivil expressions

	Willingness to participate		Intention to use uncivil expressions	
	β	t	β	t
Issue stance	-0.22	-0.95	-0.46†	-1.77
Opinion congruency	-0.01	-0.03	-0.80**	-3.30
Incivility	-0.44*	-2.07	-0.34	-1.42
Issue stance x opinion congruency	0.27	0.94	0.29	0.89
Issue stance x incivility	0.54†	1.90	0.22	0.70
Opinion congruency x incivility	0.29	1.05	0.70*	2.24
Issue stance x opinion congruency x incivility	-0.74*	-1.99	0.42	-0.16
Frequency in writing comments in online news comments section (covariate)	0.16***	7.85	0.08***	3.66
Happiness	0.06	0.66	0.18†	1.80
Pride	0.02	0.16	0.05	0.45
Anger	0.06	1.25	0.11†	1.92
Fear	0.02	0.49	0.03	0.60
Shame	0.05	1.13	-0.01	-0.22
Disgust	-0.09†	-1.73	0.04	0.74
F	6.99		7.78	
Adjusted R-squared	0.17***		0.19***	

N = 401, †p<.01, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table 38. The effects of internal efficacy and external efficacy on the willingness to participate in the comments section

	Willingness to participate	
	β	t
Issue stance	-0.04	-0.20
Opinion congruency	0.03	-0.16
Incivility	-0.37*	-2.05
Issue stance x opinion congruency	-0.005	-0.02
Issue stance x incivility	0.36	1.52
Opinion congruency x incivility	0.24	1.03
Issue stance x opinion congruency x incivility	-0.25	-0.80
Frequency in writing comments in online news comments section (covariate)	0.10***	6.01
Internal efficacy	0.40***	8.93
External efficacy	0.32***	5.24
F		29.28
Adjusted R-squared		0.41***

N = 401, *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

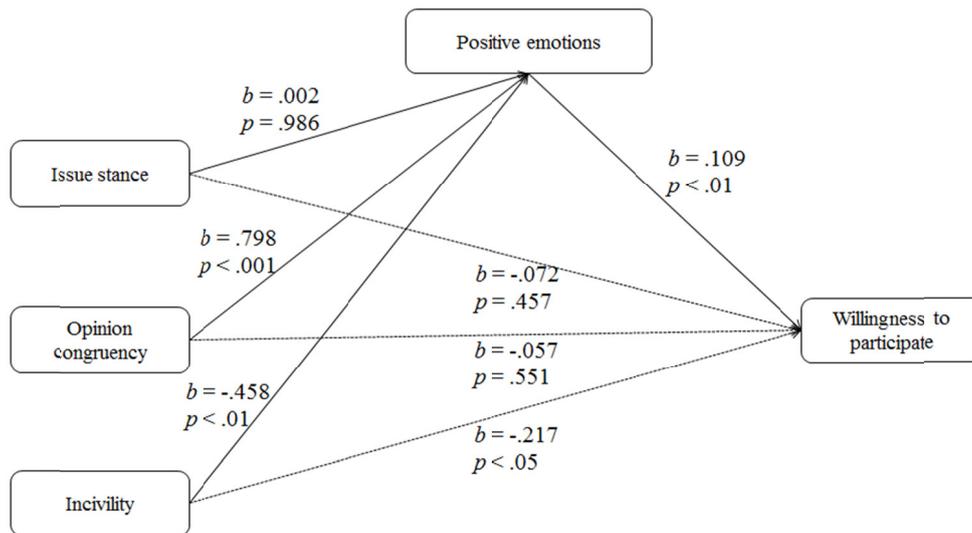
Supplementary Analysis

Supplementary path analyses were conducted to test Hypothesis 4 in relations to the three predictors of this study – namely, issue stance, opinion congruency, and incivility. Specifically, the path analyses allowed the examination of how positive emotions (H4-1), negative emotions (H4-2), anger (H4-3), and efficacies (H4-4) mediate the relationship between the three predictors and the behavioral outcomes (i.e., the willingness to participate in the comments section and the intention to use uncivil expressions).

The first path analysis was conducted to examine the mediating effect of positive emotions. A direct effect of incivility on the willingness to participate was found ($b = -0.217$, $p < .05$). Also,

positive emotions partially mediated the relationship between incivility and the willingness to participate ($b = 0.050$, $SE = 0.025$, 95% CI: -0.104 , -0.010). That is, the more uncivil the comments section, the lower the levels of positive emotions people felt ($b = -0.458$, $p < .01$). The willingness to participate, however, increased as positive emotions increased ($b = 0.109$, $p < .01$). Although there was no direct effect of opinion congruency on the willingness to participate, there was an indirect effect through positive emotions ($b = 0.087$, $SE = 0.026$, 95% CI: 0.025 , 0.160). Participants whose opinion was congruent with the majority condition were more likely to feel positive emotions than those whose opinion was congruent with the minority condition ($b = 0.798$, $p < .001$), which led them to be more willing to participate in the comments section ($b = 0.109$, $p < .01$) (see Figure 1).

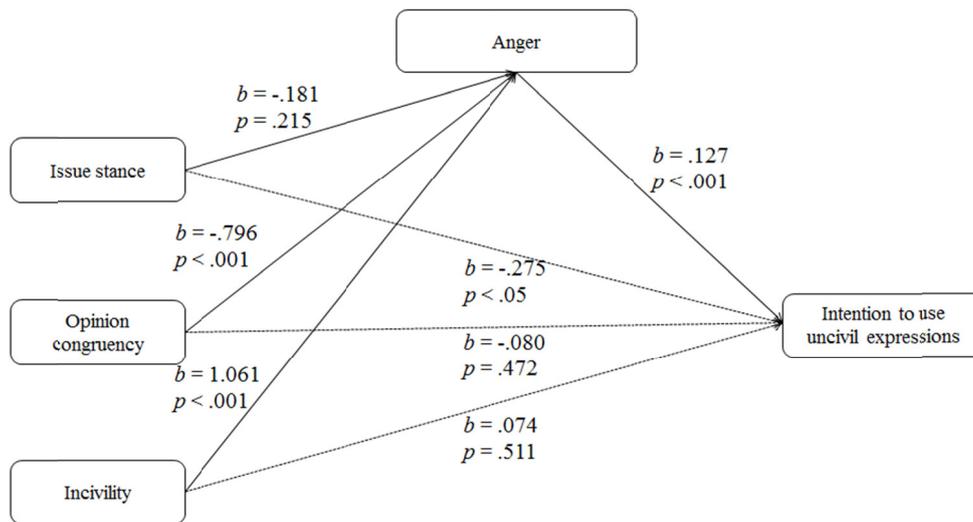
Figure 1. Mediating effects of issue stance, opinion congruency, incivility on the willingness to participate through positive emotions



The second path analysis which tested the mediating effects of negative emotions between the three predictors and the willingness to participate in the comments section revealed no significant

mediating effects. However, the third path analysis which tested the mediating effect of anger showed some interesting results. Although there were no direct effects of incivility ($b = -0.080, p = .472$) and opinion congruency ($b = 0.074, p = .511$) on the intention to use uncivil expressions, there were indirect effects through anger ($b = 0.135, SE = 0.040, 95\% CI: 0.066, 0.218$ for incivility and $b = -0.101, SE = 0.033, 95\% CI: -0.171, -0.046$ for opinion congruency). Specifically, participants in the uncivil condition experienced higher levels of anger ($b = 1.061, p < .001$), which increased their intentions to use uncivil expressions ($b = .127, p < .001$). Also, participants whose opinion was congruent with the majority opinion were more likely to experience higher levels of anger than those whose opinion was congruent with the minority opinion ($b = -0.796, p < .001$), which then led to the increase in their intentions to use uncivil expressions ($b = 0.127, p < .001$) (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Indirect effects of issue stance, opinion congruency, incivility on the willingness to participate through anger



The fourth path analysis tested the mediating effects of internal efficacy on the relationship between the three predictors and the willingness to participate. Although there was no significant direct effect of incivility on the willingness to participate ($b = -0.130$, $p = .103$), there was a significant indirect effect through internal efficacy ($b = -0.138$, $SE = 0.056$, 95% CI: -0.250 , -0.035). That is, participants in the civil condition had higher internal efficacy ($b = 0.245$, $p < .05$) which increased their willingness to participate in the comments section ($b = 0.562$, $p < .001$). However, a path analysis testing the mediating effects of external efficacy revealed a direct effect of incivility ($b = -0.200$, $p < .001$) on the willingness to participate in the comments section but no indirect effects through external efficacy ($b = -0.068$, $SE = 0.042$, 95% CI: -0.153 , 0.013).

Taking into consideration the significant interaction effects between issue stance and opinion congruency (e.g., happiness, pride, anger, shame, disgust) as well as issue stance and incivility (e.g., anger), path analyses examining the mediating effects of positive emotions (H4-1), negative emotions (H4-2), anger (H4-3), internal and external efficacy (H4-4) were conducted separately for those against the increase in minimum wage and those in support of it. Results showed that there were no significant direct effects of the independent variables and indirect effects through positive or negative emotions on the willingness to participate in the comments section for people on both sides of the issue. However, both sides revealed indirect effects on the intention to use uncivil expressions through anger. First, among those who were against the increase in minimum wage, there was a significant indirect effect of incivility on the intention to use uncivil expressions through anger ($b = 0.109$, $SE = 0.054$, 95% CI: 0.021 , 0.228) (see Table 39). Specifically, participants who were in the uncivil condition experienced higher levels of anger than those who were in the civil condition ($b = 0.699$, $p < .01$), which led to an increase in the intention to use uncivil expressions ($b = 0.155$, $p < .05$). Among those who were in support of the increase in

minimum wage, indirect effects were found through both opinion congruency ($b = -0.136$, $SE = 0.052$, 95% CI: -0.248 , -0.041) and incivility ($b = 0.165$, $SE = 0.057$, 95% CI: 0.055 , 0.275) (see Table 40). Those whose opinion was congruent with the majority were less likely to feel angered compared to those whose opinion was congruent with the minority ($b = -1.096$, $p < .001$), and those who were in the uncivil condition were more likely to feel angered than those who were in the civil condition ($b = 1.326$, $p < .001$). The stronger the level of anger one experiences, the higher his or her intention to use uncivil expressions was ($b = 0.124$, $p < .01$).

Also, indirect effects of incivility on the willingness to participate through internal efficacy ($b = -0.153$, $SE = 0.079$, 95% CI: -0.313 , -0.004) and external efficacy ($b = -0.109$, $SE = 0.056$, 95% CI: -0.227 , -0.012) were revealed only among those who were in support of the increase in minimum wage. To be specific, those who were in the uncivil condition had lower internal efficacy ($b = -0.264$, $p < .05$) and lower external efficacy ($b = 0.190$, $p < .001$). Given the positive correlation between internal efficacy and the willingness to participate ($b = 0.580$, $p < .001$) as well as external efficacy and the willingness to participate ($b = 0.572$, $p < .001$), the decreased level of efficacies due to the exposure to uncivil comments section will lower one's likelihood of participating in writing at the comments section.

Table 39. Bootstrap coefficients, standard errors, and confidence intervals for mediation tests among those who are against the increase in minimum wage

Independent variables	Mediating variables	Dependent variables	<i>b</i> (SE)	95% CI for Bootstrap
Opinion congruency	Positive emotions	Willingness to	0.040 (0.038)	-0.017, 0.128
Incivility		Participate	-0.062 (0.044)	-0.165, 0.005
Opinion congruency	Negative emotions	Willingness to	-0.006 (0.022)	-0.058, 0.035
Incivility		Participate	0.028 (0.067)	-0.108, 0.155
Opinion congruency	Anger	Willingness to	-0.055 (0.041)	-0.146, 0.016
Incivility		Participate	0.109 (0.054)	0.021, 0.228
Opinion congruency	Internal efficacy	Intention to use Uncivil	-0.038 (0.075)	-0.182, 0.113
Incivility		Language	-0.118 (0.080)	-0.287, 0.022
Opinion congruency	External efficacy	Willingness to	0.028 (0.075)	-0.110, 0.180
Incivility		Participate	-0.002 (0.074)	-0.135, 0.150

Notes: 5,000 bootstrap samples with 95% CI

Table 40. Bootstrap coefficients, standard errors, and confidence intervals for mediation tests among those who are for the increase in minimum wage

Independent variables	Mediating variables	Dependent variables	<i>b</i> (SE)	95% CI for Bootstrap
Opinion congruency	Positive emotions	Willingness to	0.111 (0.060)	-0.004, 0.236
Incivility		Participate	-0.043 (0.031)	-0.111, 0.002
Opinion congruency	Negative emotions	Willingness to	-0.066 (0.043)	-0.163, 0.016
Incivility		Participate	0.102 (0.064)	-0.023, 0.234
Opinion congruency	Anger	Willingness to	-0.136 (0.052)	-0.248, -0.041
Incivility		Participate	0.165 (0.057)	0.055, 0.275
Opinion congruency	Internal efficacy	Intention to use Uncivil	-0.048 (0.076)	-0.205, 0.090
Incivility		Language	-0.153 (0.079)	-0.313, -0.004
Opinion congruency	External efficacy	Willingness to	0.065 (0.051)	-0.032, 0.171
Incivility		Participate	-0.109 (0.056)	-0.227, -0.012

Notes: 5,000 bootstrap samples with 95% CI

Summary and Discussion

This study conducted a web-based experiment to test the effects of issue stance, opinion congruency, and incivility on people's willingness to participate in writing at the comments section. It also examined efficacies and emotions that may have caused these effects. By doing so, this study aimed to identify when people are more willing to participate in the comments section and how discrete emotions, internal efficacy and external efficacy influence people's participatory behavior in the news comments section.

Effects of Opinion Congruency

Hypothesis 1 aimed to test the effect of opinion congruency on emotions, internal efficacy, and the willingness to participate in the comments section. The results showed that opinion congruency had some effects on emotions but not on internal efficacy and the willingness to participate. For both the gender-related issue (Issue 1) and the economic issue (Issue 2), pride was higher among people whose opinion was congruent with the majority opinion than those whose opinion was congruent with the minority opinion (H1-1). Although the main effect of negative emotions was found only in Issue 2, the interaction effect between issue stance and opinion congruency was also found in Issue 1 as well. As predicted by the cognitive appraisal theory of emotions, negative emotions were felt stronger by those whose opinion was congruent with the minority opinion in both issues (H1-2). However, the results of this study did not support the findings of past research which showed that a sense of social support from like-minded others in a political discussion increases one's internal efficacy (H1-3). Also, the findings of this research did not support Noelle-Neumann's spiral of silence theory which predicted that the opinion minority has the

tendency to stay silent due to the fear of isolation. People's willingness to participate in writing at the comments section was not affected by whether their opinion was congruent with the majority opinion or minority opinion (H1-4). Instead, it was largely determined by people's previous experiences of writing in the news comments section. The more frequently people had written comments in the news comments section before, the higher their willingness to participate were.

The statistical insignificance of opinion congruency on the willingness to express one's opinion in the comments section implies that the spiral of silence theory may not be applicable to computer-mediated contexts. Studies have shown that the anonymity afforded by online platforms attenuates the effect of fear of isolation on people's willingness to speak. For example, in an experimental study, Ho and McLeod (2008) found that while respondents with high fear of isolation were significantly less willing to speak out than those with low fear of isolation in the face-to-face condition, such differences were almost negligible in the computer-mediated condition. McDevitt and others (2003) also found that in a synchronous chat room discussion forum, the fear of sanctions in forms such as threats of physical abuse or name-calling was not a primary deterrent to willingness to speak out due to its anonymity and no physical presence. Through survey research, Liu and Fahmy (2011) found that people were not only less likely to feel the fear of isolation in online discussions than in offline discussions, but also less likely to be affected by opinion congruency when deciding whether to express their opinions. These findings support the results of this study that the insignificant effects of opinion congruence on the willingness to express one's opinion may have been the result of the unique characteristics of the computer-mediated context.

Effects of Incivility

Hypothesis 2 examined the effects of incivility on emotions, external efficacy, and the willingness to participate in writing at the comments section. The effects were only significant for the economic issue (Issue 2) and not for the gender-related issue (Issue 1). With regards to Issue 2, results showed that people were more willing to participate in civil discussions than in uncivil discussions (H2-1). In other words, incivility was proved to be a factor that prevents a person from expressing their opinion in the comments section.

There are two possible explanations for why the effects of incivility on people's willingness to participate in the comments section was only found for Issue 2 but not for Issue 1. First, the participants had greater attitude strength for the economic issue than for the gender-related issue which could have increased their sensitivity to the experimental stimulus for Issue 2. The issue stance was measured on a spectrum of a 6-point scale with those who strongly opposed at 1 and those who strongly agreed at 6. Those in the middle who scored between 3 and 4 could be considered moderate opposers or moderate supporters of the issue. Out of the 273 people who were chosen for analysis with regards to Issue 1, 123 participants (45.05%) scored between 3 and 4, meaning almost half of the participants held a moderate attitude towards the gender-related issue. For Issue 2, out of the 401 participants, only 95 participants (23.95%) scored between 3 and 4, showing that far fewer people held a mild attitude towards the economic issue compared to the gender-related issue. The effect of attitude strength on the willingness to express opinions has been confirmed in previous research findings. For instance, Wojcieszak (2011) examined the effects of deliberation among people with moderate attitude and extreme attitude through a quasi-experiment. It was found that relative to moderates whose intention to petition, protest, discuss about the issue decreased after deliberation, the intention increased among the participants with extreme attitudes.

Also, Baldassare and Katz (1996) found through survey data that people with stronger attitudes were more likely to speak out on political topics than people with weaker attitudes, even when they were the minority opinion. Based on these findings, one can interpret the findings of this study to suggest that there was a moderating effect of attitude strength on the effect of incivility on people's willingness to express their opinion.

Second, experiment participants may have paid more attention to the experimental stimulus materials on Issue 2 than in Issue 1 because their involvement with Issue 2 was higher. One-sample *t*-tests on the 157 participants who were selected for analysis in both Issue 1 and Issue 2 showed that although there was not a significant difference between the perceived importance of the two issues, $t(156) = 1.36, p = .18$, Cohen's $d = .11$, the economic issue was evaluated to be more relevant ($M = 4.79, SD = 1.56$) and interesting ($M = 5.35, SD = 1.23$) compared to the gender-related issue ($M = 3.62, SD = 1.55$ for relevance and $M = 4.91, SD = 1.12$ for interest), $t(156) = 7.71, p < .001$, Cohen's $d = .62$ for relevance, and $t(156) = 4.21, p < .001$, Cohen's $d = .34$ for interest. Based on Kim and Park's (2015) finding that the more relevant an issue was to an individual, the more likely they were to read and write Twitter posts on it, it can be expected that people paid more attention to the experimental stimulus regarding Issue 2 than that regarding Issue 1. Attentiveness to the stimulus material could have amplified the effect of experimental manipulation with regards to Issue 2.

Taking into consideration the possible effects of issue involvement, the 2(issue stance: against an issue vs. for an issue) x 2(opinion congruence: congruent with the minority opinion vs. congruent with the majority opinion) x 2(incivility: civil vs. uncivil) ANCOVA was conducted for both Issue 1 and Issue 2 using issue involvement as the covariate. For both issues, issue involvement had a significant effect on the willingness to participate, $F(1, 263) = 19.96, p < .001, \eta^2 = .064$ for Issue 1, and $F(1, 374) = 3.031, p < .001, \eta^2 = .104$ for Issue 2. Results showed that after

controlling for issue involvement, the effect size of incivility on the willingness to participate in writing at the comments increased for both Issue 1 (from $\eta^2 < .001$ to $\eta^2 = .001$) and Issue 2 (from $\eta^2 = .013$ to $\eta^2 = .015$). Even so, results of hypothesis testing were consistent with the results when 2x2x2 ANOVAs was conducted without issue involvement as the covariate: incivility had a significant main effect on the willingness to participate in writing at the comments section for Issue 2, $F(1, 374) = 5.614, p < .05, \eta^2 = .015$, but not for Issue 1, $F(1, 263) = 0.161, p = .689, \eta^2 = .001$. Therefore, it can be concluded that although issue involvement may have contributed to the differences in the effect size of incivility on people's willingness to participate between Issue 1 and Issue 2, it is negligible since it does not change the results significantly.

Interaction Effect between Opinion Congruency and Incivility

Hypothesis 3 tested two-way interaction effects between opinion congruency and incivility on moral emotions and external efficacy. Results showed that there were no interaction effect on moral emotions (H3-1) and external efficacy (H3-2) for both issues. However, there was a main effect of incivility on all of the three moral emotions for both issues (see Tables 5, 7, and 8 for Issue 1 and Tables 24, 26, and 27 for Issue 2). This finding suggests that regardless of whether one's opinion is congruent with the majority opinion or the minority opinion, the mere exposure to uncivil expressions in the news comments section was effective enough to arouse high levels of moral emotions.

The two research questions explored whether there was an interaction effect between opinion congruency and incivility on people's willingness to participate and their intention to use uncivil expressions. For Issue 1, the interaction effect was found only in regards to the willingness to participate (RQ1). Those in the majority condition were more willing to participate in the civil condition than in the uncivil condition. In contrast, those in the

minority condition were more willing to participate in the uncivil condition than in the civil condition. For Issue 2, the interaction effect was found only in regards to the intention to use uncivil expressions (RQ2). Those whose opinion was congruent with the majority condition were more likely to use uncivil expressions in the uncivil condition than in the civil condition. On the other hand, those whose opinion was congruent with the minority opinion were more likely to be uncivil when they were in the civil condition than in the uncivil condition.

Effects of Emotions and Efficacies

Hypothesis 4 tested the effects of emotions and efficacies on people' s behavioral intention after controlling for the effects of the experiment. Regression analyses showed that among positive emotions, pride had a positive effect on the willingness to participate for Issue 1 (H4-1) while neither happiness nor pride had a significant effect Issue 2. Among negative emotions, disgust only had a negative effect on people' s willingness to participate for Issue 2 while none of the negative emotions had a significant effect for Issue 1 (H4-2). This contradicted the prediction that shame and disgust would make people avoid the encounter with an unpleasant situation due to their flight action tendencies. Furthermore, it was found that there was a positive effect of anger on the intention to use uncivil expressions for Issue 2. This implies that anger-arousing comments had a potential to encourage potential participants to be uncivil as they formed an action tendency to attack. Internal efficacy and external efficacy had a significant positive effect on people's willingness to participate for both issues. All the results for Issue 1 and Issue 2 are summarized in Table 40.

Table 40. Summary of Issue 1 and 2 results

IV	RQ or H	DV	Issue 1	Issue 2
Opinion congruency	H1-1	Positive emotions (happiness and pride)	Partially supported for happiness and fully supported for pride.	Supported
	H1-2	Negative emotions (anger, fear, shame, disgust)	Not supported	Supported
	H1-3	Internal efficacy	Not supported	Not supported
	H1-4	Willingness to participate in the comments section	Not supported	Not supported
Incivility	H2-1	Willingness to participate in writing at the comments section	Not supported	Supported
	H2-2	Intention to use uncivil expressions	Not supported	Not supported
Opinion congruency x Incivility	H3-1	Moral emotions (anger, shame, disgust)	Not supported	Not supported
	H3-2	External efficacy	Not supported	Not supported
	RQ1	Willingness to participate in writing at the comments section	A significant two-way interaction effect	Insignificant two-way interaction effect but significant three-way interaction effect
	RQ2	Intention to use uncivil expressions	Insignificant two-way interaction effect	Significant two-way interaction effect
Positive emotions (happiness, pride)	H4-1	Willingness to participate in writing at the comments section	Supported for pride but not for happiness	Not supported

		section		
Negative emotions (anger, fear, shame, disgust)	H4-2	Willingness to participate in writing at the comments section	Not supported.	Supported for disgust but not for anger, fear, and shame
Anger	H4-3	Intention to use uncivil expressions	Not supported	Supported
Internal & external efficacy	H4-4	Willingness to participate in writing at the comments section	Supported.	Supported

Supplementary Analysis

In a 2x2x2 ANCOVA, the frequency of commenting was used as a covariate showed the largest effect on people's willingness to participate. The covariate was used because past experiences were found to be a powerful predictor of future actions (Abraham & Sheeran, 2003; Ajzen, 2011). To explore which personal factors affected the frequency of commenting, an additional regression analysis was conducted (see Table 41). Out of the demographic variables, gender, age and income had a significant effect on a person's willingness to comment in the comments section. Specifically, women commented less frequently than men ($\beta = -.41, p < .05$), and the higher people's income ($\beta = -.10, p < .05$) and the lower their age ($\beta = -.03, p < .001$), the more frequently they commented. The frequency of reading the newspaper and the frequency of having political talks with family members as well as with people outside of one's own family had a positive effect on the frequency of commenting in the news comments section.

Furthermore, in order to determine what kind of moral values drive people to express their opinion publicly in the comments section, this paper drew on Jonathan Haidt's (2013) concept of Moral Foundations. Moral foundations are "a set of intuitions that

have evolved to solve certain social dilemmas” (Clifford, Iyengar, Cabeza, & Sinnott-Armstrong, 2015, p. 1179). These foundations concern dislike for the suffering of others (Care/harm), upholding justice according to shared rules (Fairness/cheating), forming and maintaining coalitions (Loyalty/betrayal), and deference to authority and tradition (Authority/subversion). They also concern with abhorrence for disgusting things or immoral actions (Sanctity/degradation), and refusing coercion by a dominating power or a person (Liberty/oppression). Results of the regression analysis showed that the stronger the participants’ fairness/cheating foundation ($\beta = -0.26, p < .05$) and liberty/oppression foundation ($\beta = -0.27, p < .05$), the less frequently they commented in the comments section, while the stronger the loyal/betrayal foundation ($\beta = 0.19, p < .05$), the more frequently people commented. The fact that those people who valued fairness and liberty tended to speak less in the comments section is concerning because these might be the people who are likely to not withstand the trespassing of social rules and domination of a group over another.

Table 41. Factors that affect the frequency of commenting in the news comments section

	β	t
Demographic variables		
Female	-0.41*	-2.40
Age	-0.03***	-3.88
Education	-0.11	-0.68
Income	0.10*	2.42
Moral foundations		
Care/harm	-0.01	-0.10
Fairness/cheating	-0.26*	-2.31
Liberty/oppression	-0.27*	-1.76
Authority/subversion	0.19 †	1.73
Loyal/betrayal	0.19*	2.02
Sanctity/degradation	-0.07	-0.84
News consumption		
TV news	0.04	0.90
Newspaper	0.10*	2.54
Online news	0.08	1.45
Political talk		
With family	0.14**	2.73
Outside family	0.23***	4.21
Interest in politics	0.08	1.08
F		15.07
Adjusted R-squared		0.23***

N = 767, *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

In addition, in order to examine whether the participation in the first part of the experiment (related to the gender-related issue) affected the people's response in the second part of the experiment (related to the economic issue), nine rounds of multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVA) and a multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) were conducted on the 157 participants who were selected for analysis in both parts of the experiment. Each of the 10 dependent variables (i.e., happiness, pride, anger, fear, shame, disgust, internal efficacy, external efficacy, and the intention to use uncivil expressions) obtained from the two parts of

the experiment were used as the dependent variables in the MANOVA. The reported willingness to for Issue 1 and Issue 2 were subject to MANCOVA with the frequency of writing in the comments section used as the covariate. All the independent variables used in the 2x2x2 ANOVA and ANCOVA that tested the main effects of, as well as, the interaction effects among issue stance, opinion congruency, and incivility on people' s emotions, efficacies, and behavioral outcomes for both Issue 1 and the Issue 2 were used as the independent variables in the MANOVA and MANCOVA. Thus, there were a total of 14 independent variables (7 for Issue 1 and 7 for Issue 2) in the MANOVA models. Ideally, if the first part of the experiment had not affected the results of the second part of the experiment, the seven independent variables related to Issue 1 should not have a statistically significant effect on the dependent variable related to Issue 2.

MANOVA results revealed no significant effects of independent variables related to the gender-related issue on a participants' level of happiness, pride, anger, shame, disgust, internal efficacy, external efficacy, and the intention to use uncivil expressions after being exposed to the experimental stimuli related to the economic issue (see Appendix H). However, the MANCOVA revealed a significant interaction effects between opinion congruency and incivility in the first part of the experiment on the willingness to participate in the second part of the experiment, $F(1,141) = 8.85$, $p < 0.01$ (see Table 42). This implies that that the experiment design in which the participants answered questions regarding Issue 2 right after they answered questions regarding Issue 1 may have its limitation, with the experimental stimuli in the first experiment sensitizing people to report their willingness to participate in the comments section higher in the second experiment.

Table 42. The effects of independent variables in Issues 1 & 2 on the willingness to speak in Issues 1 & 2

		Willingness to participate	
		Issue 1	Issue 2
Covariate	Frequency of writing comments (covariate)	13.29***	23.46***
Independent variables related to Issue 1	Issue stance	0.02	0.69
	Opinion congruency	2.30	0.44
	Incivility	0.26	0.08
	Issue stance x Opinion congruency	0.01	0.35
	Issue stance x Incivility	0.59	0.00
	Opinion congruency x Incivility	2.31	8.85**
	Issue stance x Opinion congruency x Incivility	0.47	0.12
Independent variables related to Issue 2	Issue stance	3.20	1.27
	Opinion congruency	2.04	6.95**
	Incivility	< .001	2.88
	Issue stance x Opinion congruency	0.04	0.09
	Issue stance x Incivility	2.73	0.23
	Opinion congruency x Incivility	1.25	0.17
	Issue stance x Opinion congruency x Incivility	0.08	1.54

N = 157, *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Limitations

The current study conducted an online experiment to simulate people's daily experiences of reading news articles accompanied by a comments section. However, there were possibilities that the experimental stimuli were not treated as strongly as they were expected to. For one thing, giving experimental participants the freedom to read the experimental stimuli wherever and for however long they wish might bring a lack of control over participants' attentiveness to the experiment stimuli. The freedom in time management led participants to spend insufficient amount of time to read both the news article and the comments section carefully (2 minutes and 43 seconds on average for Issue 1 and 3 minutes on average for Issue 2), leaving open the possibility of a weak

experimental manipulation. Also, in order to simulate the experiment stimuli as closely as possible to the actual news comments section, no additional cues indicating the issue stance of each comment were provided. Thus, it was up to the experiment participants to read the content of each comment carefully in order to identify its issue stance and recognize whether their opinion was congruent with the majority opinion or the minority opinion.

Another limitation of this research is in the measurement of behavioral variables. Self-reported measures of behavioral intention may not predict people's actual behaviors but rather how the participants believe they should act. The best way to observe behavioral effects is to measure the actual behavior rather than the behavioral intention. To do so would require a construction of a webpage that looks and functions like an online news platform where participants could actually write a comment, press the 'like' or 'dislike' button for each comment, or spend time reading the comments but not write anything. However, this method will limit the experimenter from identifying the specific deliberation conditions in which the usual non-participants of the comments section would most likely participate because they will stick to their usual behaviors of non-participation or passive participation methods such as pressing the 'like' button.

Lastly, the experimental design has the possibility for demand characteristics which refers to the participants being aware of what the researcher is trying to investigate or anticipates finding, and consciously change their behavior to match the researcher's expectations (Orne, 1962). Experimental participants were first exposed to the experimental stimuli and related survey questions regarding Issue 1 first. Afterwards, they were exposed to the experimental stimuli and related survey questions regarding Issue 2. Having participated in the first half of the experiment regarding Issue 1 may have made participants knowledgeable about the questions they will be asked in the second half of the experiment or may have led them to guess the purpose of this research. This may have affected the way they read the experimental stimuli regarding

Issue 2 and their answers to the subsequent questions regarding the emotions they felt toward the comments section and how they will behave. The effects that were not significant with regards to Issue 1 but were significant with regards to Issue 2 include the main effect of opinion congruency on negative emotions (H1-2), the main effect of incivility on the willingness to participate in the comments section (H2-1), and the interaction effect of opinion congruency and incivility on the intention to use uncivil expressions (RQ2). Taking into consideration the possibility of demand characteristics, these results should be interpreted with caution.

Despite these limitations, this study may contribute to a research tradition on deliberation in two ways. First, it explores the role of opinion congruency in a heterogeneous discussion context such as news comments sections. This is different from previous studies conducted by Chun and Lee (2017), Lee and Chun (2016), and Hwang (2008) who have all assumed a homogeneous discussion context in which all of the participants were either like-minded people or unlike-minded people. This kind of experimental condition could have led to the exaggeration of the effect of opinion congruency on people's willingness to express their opinions in the online deliberation process. In reality, rarely are online discussion forums homogeneous. News comments sections, in particular, are a space where people who disagree with each other freely express their views, criticize others' arguments, and make counterarguments against others' criticism of their own opinions. This heterogeneous nature of news comments sections is, in fact, the very essence of its functioning as a public sphere. The fact that 46% of the participants in Issue 1 and 29% of the participants in Issue 2 did not recognize the opinion ratio correctly suggests that it is difficult for people to recognize whether they are the majority opinion or the minority opinion when there is a mix of arguments for and against a particular issue in the same space. It will get even harder for people to recognize the opinion ratio correctly as the number of comments in the comments section increase. Contrary to the belief that the opinion minority do not speak up in the comments

section, the results of this research showed that not many people accurately perceived the opinion ratio of the comments section in the first place. And even if they did, the effect of opinion congruency on one's willingness to express their opinion was not significant in the news comments section. These findings highlight the need for more future studies examining how online discussions can empower those who hold minority opinions to express their opinion publicly.

Another contribution of the present study pertains to the emotional effect of news comments sections. Previous studies have focused on cognitive effects of news comments sections to explain people's intentions to express their opinion publicly (Chun & Lee, 2017; Glynn & McLeod, 1984; Lee & Chun, 2016; Price & Allen, 1990). This study expanded the online deliberation literature by looking at how people react to the comments section emotionally. The findings of emotional effects are illuminating because it can help explain people's subsequent behaviors. The research findings showed that arousal of emotions, whether it be positive or negative, encouraged people's participation in the comments section and that anger provoked people to use uncivil expressions when they expressed their opinions.

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Appendix A. Pilot Test Materials

1. Comments for the gender-related issue <The adoption of victim-centered approach in the investigations and court processes of sexual offences>

	For victim-centered approach/ Civil	For victim-centered approach/ Uncivil	Against victim-centered approach/ Civil	Against victim-centered approach/ Uncivil
Argument 1	성폭력 피해호소 여성의 진술을 귀 기울여 들어주고 불안정한 심리상태를 충분히 고려해 주어야 한다. 수사과정에서 피해자를 ‘꽃뱀’으로 의심하고 ‘왜 그 방에 갔는가’, ‘왜 강하게 저항하지 않았는가’ 등 책임을 묻는 식의 심문은 피해자에 대한 2차 공격이다	한국남자들 추하다 추해 ㅋㅋㅋㅋ 니네가 뭘 성폭력 피해호소 여성의 불안정한 심리상태를 고려하겠니. 수사과정에서 피해자를 ‘꽃뱀’으로 의심하고 ‘왜 그 방에 갔는가’, ‘왜 강하게 저항하지 않았는가’ 등 책임을 묻는 식의 심문은 피해자에 대한 2차 공격이다 개새끼들 ㄱㄱㄱ	수사과정에서 피해자의 주장이 무조건 진실이라고 받아드려서는 안 된다. 피의자의 진술과 똑같이 피해자의 주장도 의심해보아야 한다. 가해자와 피해자 모두의 말을 들어보고 비교해가며 범행 상황을 판단해야 함.	계집년 즐겨놓고 강간이라고 치우기면 끝? 수사과정에서 피해자의 주장이 무조건 진실이라고 받아드리자는게 말이 됴? 피의자의 진술과 똑같이 피해자의 주장도 의심해야지. 가해자와 피해자 모두의 말을 들어보고 비교해가며 범행 상황 판단해야함.
Argument 2	피해자 중심주의가 무죄추정의 원칙을 거부하는 것으로 착각하는 사람들이 있는 것 같다. 성범죄에도 현재 무죄추정의 원칙이 적용되고 있다. 피해자 중심주의는 그것과는 별개로 피해자를 보호하고 피해자의 목소리를 더욱 적극적으로 들어줘야 한다는 것이다.	하.. 일베충들 머리에 뇌없냐? 피해자 중심주의가 무죄추정의 원칙을 거부하는 것으로 착각하는 수준이란.. 성범죄에도 현재 무죄추정의 원칙 적용되고 있다. 피해자 중심주의는 그것과는 별개로 피해자를 보호하고 피해자의 목소리를 더욱 적극적으로 들어줘야 한다는거잖아 뽀대가리들아	우리나라에서는 남자는 잠재적 성범죄자인가요? 성범죄도 다른 범죄랑 똑같이 무죄추정의 원칙이 적용되어야지 왜 피해자가 여자라는 이유만으로 당연히 남자가 성폭행 했을 거라고 짐작하는지. 철저히 증거에 기반해 판결을 내리고, 거짓말 한 사람은 무고죄로 처벌받아야 한다.	시발 미친 페미넌들이 우리나라에서 남자 잠재적 성범죄자 만들어버림. 성범죄도 다른 범죄랑 똑같이 무죄추정의 원칙이 적용되어야지 왜 피해자가 여자라는 이유만으로 당연히 남자가 성폭행 했을 거라고 짐작하는지. 철저히 증거에 기반해 판결을 내리고, 거짓말한 녀들은 무고죄

처벌해서
수치스러움이
뭔지 뼈저리게
느끼게 해줘야
함.

2. Comments for the economic issue <The increase in minimum wage>

	For increase in minimum wage/ Civil	For increase in minimum wage/ Uncivil	Against increase in minimum wage/ Civil	Against increase in minimum wage/ Uncivil
Argument 1	최저임금도 주지 못하고 인건비 절감으로 연명하는 영세 기업이나 사양 산업을 더 유지시키는 것이 과연 옳은가? 일부 자영업자들이 사업을 접으면 다른 자영업자들에게는 경쟁이 완화돼 경영 환경이 개선될 수 있다.	최저임금도 주지 못하고 인건비 절감으로 연명하는 영세 기업이나 사양 산업을 더 왜 살려놓냐? z~이해안감. 일부 자영업자들이 사업 접으면 다른 자영업자들에게는 경쟁이 완화돼 경영 환경이 개선될 수 있다. 보수새끼들이 그냥 지들끼리 다해먹고 싶으니까 최저임금 인상 반대하는거지.	창업 독려할 때는 언제고 이제 최저임금 상승에도 버틸 수 있는 경쟁력 있는 자영업자들만 살라고 하나. 자영업자들은 폐업하면 어디감? 은퇴 후 지금까지 모은 돈으로 사업 시작한 50-60 대는 새로 취직도 못한다.	진보후보 뽑은 새끼들은 진짜 개 등신 새끼들인거져. 창업 독려할 때는 언제고 이제 최저임금 상승에도 버틸 수 있는 경쟁력 있는 자영업자들만 살라고ㅋㅋ 자영업자들은 폐업하면 어디감? 은퇴 후 지금까지 모은 돈으로 사업 시작한 50-60 대는 새로 취직도 못하지 않냐 쓰ㄷ
Argument 2	고용 시장이 근본적으로 바뀌기 위해서는 근무 시간이 줄이고, 근로자들이 노동에 대한 대가를 제대로 받아야 한다. 지금 당장 자영업자들에게 부담이 된다고 변화를 미루면 우리나라 고용 시장은 앞으로도 변화할 수 없다.	ㅈㅈ친일 기득권 보수들.. 그들이 고용시장을 알리가 있다. 고용시장이 근본적으로 바뀌기 위해서는 근무 시간이 줄이고, 근로자들이 노동에 대한 대가를 제대로 받아야 한다. 이기적인 새끼들이 지금 당장 자영업자들에게 부담이 된다고 변화를 미루면	시간당 1만원의 부가가치를 생산해내지 못하는 비숙련, 저학력 근로자의 취업 기회가 더 줄어든다. 기존 취업자 중에서도 실직하는 사람들이 늘어나 고용 시장 상황이 더 악화될 것이다.	중복좌파 말 따르다간 시간당 1만원의 부가가치를 생산해내지 못하는 비숙련, 저학력 근로자의 취업 기회가 더 줄어든다. 기존 취업자 중에서도 실직하는 사람들이 늘어나 고용 시장 상황이 더 악화될 것이다. 앞에서만 서민 위하는척 코스프레..이게 좌파정치인의 실체

우리나라 고용
시장은 앞으로도
변화할 수 없다.

09.23 (일) 주요뉴스 오늘 낮까지 중서부호남 비..보름달 전국에서 본다

“성폭행” vs. “허위사실”... 성폭력 피해자 어디까지 입증책임이 있는가

기사입력 2018-09-23 09:32 최종수정 2018-09-23 09:46 기사원문 스크랩 본문듣기 · 설정

👍 9 🗨️ 12

요약본 가 📄 📧

김진영 기자 = 지난 9월 18일 온라인 커뮤니티 사이트에 퍼져서 논란이 된 성폭력 사건의 피해자가 가해자로 지목한 직장 선배를 형사 고발했다. 양측의 진술이 엇갈리고 있는 가운데 경찰은 사건 관련자들을 추가로 불러 사실관계를 조사하고 있다.

국내 제약회사에 근무 중인 A씨(27)는 지난 3월 같은 직장의 선배인 B씨(35)와 지방 출장 차 부산에 머물던 중 성폭행을 당했다고 고발했다. A씨는 당일 오후 8시경 다음 날 발표 준비를 이유로 B씨의 방으로 불려갔다. A씨는 “선배의 제안이기에 불편해도 거절할 수 없었다”고 당시 심경을 밝혔다. B씨는 발표 준비가 끝나자 A씨에게 좀 더 있다 가라며 술을 권했고, A씨가 자신의 방으로 돌아가겠다는 의사를 밝혔음에도 불구하고 A씨를 성폭행했다고 밝혔다.

B씨는 성폭행 사실을 전면 부인하고 있다. 그는 경찰 조사에서 “성관계를 가진 것 맞지만 전혀 강압성은 없었다”고 진술했다. 그는 A씨의 진술이 일관되지 않다고 “발표 준비가 끝나자 A씨가 먼저 뒤풀이를 제안했다”고 주장했다. 또한 다음 날 서울로 돌아갈 때 내 차에 자신도 태워달라고 부탁하기도 했으며 억울함을 호소했다. B씨는 “한 순간에 성범죄자가 되어 사회생활이 불가능해졌다”며 A씨를 무고죄로 고소하겠다고 밝혔다.

객관적 증거를 확보하기 어려운 성범죄 사건은 피해자의 진술이 판결에 중요한 영향을 미친다. 때문에 가해자보다 피해자의 진술과 경험을 더 우선시하는 이른바 ‘피해자 중심주의’를 적극 적용해야 한다는 견해가 있는가 하면, 이를 우려하는 목소리도 있다. 피해자의 인식과 주장만을 가지고 성폭력 여부를 판단하는 일은 위험하다는 것이다. 법무법인 한정 대표 김은중 변호사는 “성범죄라고 해서 증거재판주의를 예외로 할 수 없다”며 “피해호소 여성의 일관된 진술을 증거의 하나로 채택할 수는 있지만 그 외에도 객관적이고 합리적인 물증이 필요하다”는 견해를 밝혔다.

반대 주장도 강력하다. 성폭력 피해자 지원기관인 ‘해바라기 센터’ 한정민 대표는 성범죄 피해자는 충격으로 범행 당시 세부 사항에 대한 기억이 불분명할 수 있다며 “피해자 진술에 일관성이 없다는 이유만으로 신빙성을 배척하면 안 된다”고 주장했다. 그는 ‘피해자 중심주의’가 수사과정부터 지향되어야 한다고 증인신문에서 피해자의 심리상태를 고려하여 반복질문, 사생활 침해가 가능한 질문 등은 가능한 피하고 “무작정 증거를 요구하기 보다는 그들의 입장을 충분히 듣는 것”이 중요하다고 덧붙였다.

이 기사를 모바일 메인으로 추천



Appendix C. Comments section for Issue 1 (civil condition/ those who disagree with the victim-centered approach consist the majority)

누가 댓글을 썼을까요?

82% 18%

남자 여자

kwol23

0/200

등록

▼ 최신순

npv****

강술과 병행이 일치하지 않는 것도 판결에 꼭 상조해야 된다. 성폭행 당한 사람이 다음 날 서울까지 차를 택해 달라고 부탁을 한다? 성사할 겁을 거는 것조차도 같이 되게 해야지. 성폭행법이 준거하는 차 편하게 타고 서울 가고 싶었다 보내요.

2018-09-26 17:29:53 신고

답글

pop****

수사과정에서 피해자의 주장이 무조건 진실이라고 받아드려서는 안 된다. 피해자의 진술과 특질이 피해자의 주장도 의심해야 한다. 가해자와 피해자 모두의 진술 들어보고 비교해가며 합법 방향을 판단해야 한다.

2018-09-26 17:19:29 신고

답글

nok****

성폭력 피해으로 여성의 진술을 쫓아주지 않고 불안전한 증거를 충분히 고려해 주어야 한다. 수사과정에서 피해자를 '불량'으로 의심하고 '왜 그 밤에 있는가', '왜 강하게 저항하지 않았는가' 등 책임을 묻는 식의 심문은 피해자에 대한 공격이다.

2018-09-26 17:19:29 신고

답글

gst****

왜 성폭행 피해자에게 불응을 요구하는게 왜 잘못일까요? 증거개관주의 사회에서 오히려 여성들에게 성폭력을 당한 상황에서 어떤 증거를 수집하고 어떻게 대처해야 되는지를 더 알려주는게 여성을 보호하는 길이다.

2018-09-26 17:25:53 신고

답글

mr****

성으로 더 무고죄가 잡힐 것 같다. 피해자 보호당고 피해자 알릴권대기만 하면 다 들어주면 거너. 그날 직정하고 얘기 구체적으로 지어낸 다음에 성폭행 당했다고 고소하면 진짜 성폭행을 당했는지 아닌지 율리할 할 능력이 있습니까?

2018-09-26 17:18:27 신고

답글

k162****

성범죄 피의자로 지목되면 실제 범법행위 여부를 떠나 몰이할 수 없는 피해를 입는다. 억울한 누명이 무죄 판결은 받아낼 수 있지만 한 번 무죄인 사회적 신용과 신뢰라는 낙인이 쉽게 풀릴 수 없다. 왜 피해자의 신분 보호만 중요하나요? 피의자도 판결 간간 특질이 보호받아야 한다.

2018-09-26 17:15:25 신고

답글

anot****

여성이 사실관계를 왜곡하여 일관된 진술을 하게 되면 객관적인 다른 증거가 없는 이상 가해자로 지목된 사람은 범죄혐의로부터 자유로울 수 없게 된다. 더후 문등을 가감한 허위신고가 낱발할 수 있고, 피해자와 가해자의 의견 현상까지도 발생할 수 있다.

2018-09-26 17:14:33 신고

답글

bab****

피해자의 진술이 일관되었을 때만 증거의 하나로 채택해야 한다. 증거가 부족해서 피해자와 가해자의 진술에만 의존해야 하는 상황에 진술이 일관되지 않으면 도대체 뭘 보고 피해자가 진실을 말하는지 판단할 수 있는 말인가?

2018-09-26 11:35:56 신고

답글

webb****

우리나라에서는 남자 - 경제적 성범죄자인가요? 성범죄도 다른 범죄랑 특질이 무죄추정의 원칙이 적용되어야지 왜 피해자가 여자라는 이유만으로 당연히 남자가 성폭행 했을 거라고 짐작하는지. 율리히 증거가 기반에 판결을 내리고, 거짓말 한 사람은 무고죄로 처벌받아야 한다.

2018-09-26 17:19:29 신고

답글

rick****

중지도 불분명한 상황에서 피해자의 일관된 진술은 유죄를 받을 수 있다는 사실이 충격적이다. 내 친, 남동생 아버지 그 누구의 말이 풀 수 있고, 성추행뿐 아니라 어떤 범죄든 간에 피해자의 말만으로 내가 한 순간에 피의자가 될 수 있다는 게 무섭다.

2018-09-26 12:08:54 신고

답글

kin****

피해자의 진술이 일관되어야만 증거로 채택해준다는 것은 성폭력 피해자를 간헐히 이해하지 못하고 있다는 증거다. 성폭력을 당한 사람이 자신이 보고 경험한 것을 상세히 기억할 수 없다. 그리고 가슴을 더듬은 게 먼저인지 입맞춤을 시도한 게 먼저인지 순서를 정확히 말하는 게 무슨 의미가 있나.

2018-09-26 13:18:55 신고

답글

Appendix D. Comments section for Issue 1 (uncivil condition/ those who disagree with the victim-centered approach consist the majority)

누가 댓글을 썼을까요?

남자 87% 여자 13%

kwon123

0/300

답글

✓ 최신순

ppp1****

강간당했다고 거짓말 한다는 조선훈이 최고라고 카네. 성폭행 당한 사람이 다음 날 서둘러서 자를 때려 달라고 부탁을 했다? 몸서림 칠 거면 거짓말도 할이 뭐가 뻔하러지. 더러운 겁쟁인 성폭행범이 운전하는 차 편하게 타고 서둘러 가고 싶거나 보내. 진술서 받으면 최고라고 할말 없는 것도 문명적 욕 심소해야 한다.

2018-09-26 17:25:53 [신고](#)

답글

ppp2****

계집년 증거 없고 강간이라고 쳐주면 끝? 그래서 성폭행 한번 처벌해야 일단 소리가 나오는거야 ~ 수사과정에서 피해자의 주장이 무조건 진실이라고 받아들이는 건 안 된다. 피해자의 진술과 목격이 피해자의 주장도 의심해볼아야 한다. 가해자와 피해자 모두의 말을 들어보고 최고라고 할말 없는 것도 문명적 욕 심소해야 한다.

2018-09-26 17:19:29 [신고](#)

답글

ppp3****

한국남자를 추하다 추해 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ 내내가 잘 성폭력 피해소 여성이 불안정한 심리상태를 고려하거나, 수사과정에서 피해자를 '포함'으로 의심하고 '왜 그 말에 갖는가, 왜 강하게 처벌하지 않았는가' 등 책임을 묻는 식의 심문은 피해자에 대한 2차 공격이다 개새끼들 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~

2018-09-26 17:19:29 [신고](#)

답글

ppp4****

물론이 장신이고 년들이 왜 성폭행 피해자한테 불응을 요구하는게 왜 공부할건지 설명좀 ~ ~ 증거제만주의 사회에서 오히려 여성들에게 성폭력을 당한 상황에서 어떤 증거를 수집하고 어떻게 대처해야 하는지좀 더 알려주는게 나쁜놈들이 말하는 여성을 보호하는 꼴이다

2018-09-26 17:25:53 [신고](#)

답글

ppp5****

종 노리고 거짓 진술 하는 장난을 수무룩 하다. 피해자 보호팀이고 피해자 말 일관적이면 하면 다 들어주면거지나. 그럼 꼭질 하고 얘기 구체적으로 가져오면 다음에 성폭행 당했다고 고소하면? 강자 성폭행을 당했는지 포합한지 철저할 말 능력은 있나?

2018-09-26 17:19:27 [신고](#)

답글

k162****

물론 입장이 합법이면 성폭행자 낙인 찍히는 세상... 성범죄 피의자로 지목되면 실제 범행범이 아닌데도... 사회적 신음 받고 범죄자 낙인 찍히기 쉬운 세상인 만큼 피해자 신음 보호안 중요하니까 피의자도 만큼 전격간 목격이 보호받아야 한다.

2018-09-26 17:15:25 [신고](#)

답글

ppp6****

대한민국 법정이면 억만다는거 인정 ~ 여성이 사실관계를 왜곡하여 일관된 진술을 하게 되면 재판관인 신음 증거가 없는 이상 가해자로 처벌 받을 수 있음은 법외적 욕 심소하니까 미친년들이 인생 잘 만들어라든 이후 코소르네나 하고, 피해자 가해자가 억만되기도 하는거지.

2018-09-26 17:14:33 [신고](#)

답글

ppp7****

성년을 팔도 안 되는 소리 갖거리네. 피해자의 진술이 일관되었을 때만 증거의 하나로 채택해주는거지... 증거가 부족해서 피해자와 가해자의 진술에만 의존해야 하는 상황에 진술하지 일관되지 않으면 도대체 뭘 보고 피해자가 진술을 말하는지 판단할 수 있던 걸인가? 행방에서 가정파할 시키는 말에들한테 속지 마라

2018-09-26 13:35:38 [신고](#)

답글

ppp8****

사실 미친 미친년들이 우리나라에서 남자 ~ 강대적 성범죄자 만들어버림. 성범죄도 다른 범죄랑 똑같이 무죄추정의 원칙이 적용되어야지 왜 피해자가 여자라는 이유만으로 당연히 남자가 성폭행 했을 거라고 강박하는지, 솔직히 증거가 있다면 판결을 내리고, 거짓말한 년들을 무조건 처벌해서 수사시스템이 좀 바뀌게 노력해 줘야 할.

2018-09-26 17:19:29 [신고](#)

답글

ppp9****

미안 원라도년을 화력 쫓네. 나를 오히려도 증거 없이도 피해자라는 여자 말만 듣고 강행해 국 가질 버린다. 증거도 불분명 한 상태에서 피해자의 일관된 진술로 유죄를 받을 수 있다는 사실이 충격 그 자체 ~ ~ ~ 성수뿐만 아니라 어떤 범죄든 간에 피해자의 일관된 내가 한 순간에 피의자가 될 수 있다는 게 무섭다.

2018-09-26 12:08:54 [신고](#)

답글

ppp10****

미친년치레끼들이 온 것을 꼬리치 보고 간성한다. 피해자의 진술이 일관되어야만 증거로 채택해준다는건 성폭력 피해자를 간격이 어려워지 못하고 있다는 증거다. 성폭력 당한 사람이 어떻게 다 내세우기 기억하냐? 그리고 가슴을 다들준 게 언제까지 입맞춤을 시도한 게 언제까지 순서를 강박히 말하는 게 무슨 의미가 있냐고... 갈 여자 만찬 자기같은 새끼들은 순모기자를 골라버려야지.

2018-09-26 13:18:55 [신고](#)

답글

09.23 (월) 주요뉴스 오늘 낮까지 중서부호남 비...보름달 전국에서 본다

2020년 최저임금 1만원 두고 입장 차... “삶의 질 개선” vs. “소상공인 부담”

기사입력 2018-09-23 09:32 최종수정 2018-09-23 09:46 기사원문 스크랩 본문듣기 · 설정

👍 9 💬 12 요약본 가 📄 🔗

김진영 기자 = ‘2020년까지 최저임금 1만원’ 공약을 달성하기 위한 정부의 내년도 최저 임금 인상을 둘러싸고 노동계와 경영계가 엇갈린 시각차를 보이고 있다.

김가영씨(22·가명)는 2015년 대학에 입학한 뒤로 서울 영등포구의 한 프랜차이즈 빵집에서 최저시급을 받으며 아르바이트를 하고 있다. 김씨는 “아르바이트 한 개로는 한 달에 60만원 남짓의 생활비를 부담할 수 없어 남는 시간에 또 다른 알바 자리를 구해 부족한 돈을 메워왔다”고 말했다. 하지만 이번 달부터 최저임금이 상승하면서 김 씨의 한 달 수입은 지난 달보다 30만 원 늘었다. 김 씨는 “저축할 여유가 생겼다”며 “이 돈으로 취업준비도 하고 학비도 마련할 것”이라고 밝혔다.

하지만 소상공인과 영세사업자들의 상황은 사뭇 다르다. 경기 고양시에서 편의점을 운영하는 이모 씨(53)는 최저임금발(發) 인건비 상승을 견디지 못하고 6월 폐점했다. A씨는 “알바보다 손에 쥐는 돈이 적은데 그냥 알바하면 되는 것 아닌가”며 “2014년 개점 때보다 매출은 60% 이상 줄었는데 인건비는 30% 이상(200만→267만원) 올라 버티기 어렵다고 판단했다”고 말했다.

최저임금 상승은 문재인 정부의 의 경제기조인 ‘소득주도성장’을 위한 핵심 정책 중 하나다. 2020년 최저임금 1만원을 목표로 작년 6470원이었던 시간당 최저임금을 올해 7530원으로 대폭 올린 데 이어 내년에는 8350원까지 올릴 예정이다. 정부는 최저임금 인상이 “저임금 노동자의 삶의 질을 보장하고 가계소득을 높여 소득주도 성장의 기반이 될 것”이라고 주장해왔다. 또한 임금 격차를 줄여 소득 불평등 문제 해소에도 도움이 될 것으로 보고있다.

하지만 소상공인과 자영업자는 주휴 수당과 4대 보험료 등을 포함하면 지금도 실제 지급하는 시급이 1만원을 훌쩍 넘고 있어 최저임금 인상이 현실적이지 않다고 비판한다. 18일 소상공인연합회는 “지속된 불경기로 매출이 주는 가운데 인건비까지 증가해서 직원을 해고하거나 폐업 위기에 놓인 가게들이 많다”고 호소했다.

이 기사를 모바일 메인으로 추천 🔗

Appendix F. Comments section for Issue 2 (civil condition/ those who agree with the increase in minimum wage consist the majority)

누가 댓글을 썼을까요?

전부 82% 보수 18%

댓글

kawa123

0/300

등록

최신순

mvk***
최저임금 인상을 골목판 노동자들의 삶 개선할 수 있다. 현재 시급 6470원으로는 한 달에 170만원 밖에 못 받는다. 이 돈으로 가족 부양해볼만 턱 없이 부족하다고 느낄 것이다. 발노 없이 일하는 노동자들의 노동의 가치를 제대로 평가해 줄 필요가 있다.
2018-09-26 17:25:53 신고
답글

pebl***
자영업자들의 생존 위기가 이미 최저임금 인상에서 기인한 것처럼 여론을 호도하지 않자, 대기업과 건물주의 '갑질' 때문에 영세 자영업자들이 수익 내기가 어려운 것이다. 가맹점 수수료와 임대료만 내려도 최저임금 인상을 충분히 부담할 수 있다.
2018-09-26 17:25:38 신고
답글

nakl***
최저임금 인상은 소득 불평등 문제의 근본적인 대책이 될 수 있다. 다수 국민의 소득을 늘림으로써 소비를 견인시키는 견착은 기존의 분배 구조를 바꾸어 불평등을 해소하는데 도움이 될 거다.
2018-09-26 17:24:44 신고
답글

slst***
대선 때 야당, 여당 할 것 없이 모두 최저임금 인상을 외쳤으면서 외 이제 외치는 정부를 비난하는가. 최저임금 1만원이 지나치게 높다고 하지만 생계비를 고려하면 적절할 수준이다. 정부를 비판하기든 대선 표본화를 바라. 다그 후보 C 2022년까지 1만원으로 인상한다고 했었다.
2018-09-26 17:19:29 신고
답글

mark***
최저임금 1만원은 OECD 최후국인 한국의 경제력에 걸맞은 수준이다. 현재는 최후국 기준에 평균임금 대비 최저임금이 최하위 수준이다.
2018-09-26 17:18:27 신고
답글

amt***
갑질 특리할 때는 언제고 이제 최저임금 상승에도 버틸 수 있는 경쟁력 있는 자영업자들만 살라고 하는가. 자영업자들은 폐업하면 어디로 가야하나. 공회 후 지금까지 온 돈으로 사업 시작한 50-60대는 새로 취직도 못한다.
2018-09-26 17:14:33 신고
답글

labn***
정부가 이미 소상공인 지원대책 마련했다. 한 달에 노동자 한 사람당 10만원을 지원할거기 때문에 실제적 부담감을 그리 쓰지 않다.
2018-09-26 11:35:56 신고
답글

rick***
최저임금도 주지 못하고 인건비 절감으로 연명하는 영세 기업이나 소상공인들을 더 유지시키는 것이 과연 좋은가 일부 자영업자들이 사업할 걸으면 다른 자영업자들에게는 경쟁이 완화된 경쟁 환경 개선할 수 있다.
2018-09-26 11:52:21 신고
답글

okhr***
최저임금 인상을 반대하는 분들, 당산들이 최저임금으로 살아보라. 복도 자용도 없고, 하루종일 8시간 일하고 6000원 버는 그런 삶이요. 학자금도 못받고, 취업 준비할 시간도 없는 사람한테만 최저임금 인상 꼭 필요합시다.
2018-09-26 12:08:54 신고
답글

ksn***
고용 시장이 근본적으로 바뀌기 위해서는 근무 시간이 줄어고, 근로자들이 노동에 대한 대가를 제대로 받아야 한다. 지금 당장 자영업자들에게 부담이 된다고 하면 아무런 무리나라 고용 시장은 앞으로 변화할 수 없다.
2018-09-26 13:18:55 신고
답글

webb***
최저임금 인상을 통해서 서민 계층의 소득이 늘어났다 쳐도 그와 비례적으로 소비가 확대될 것이라는 보장은 없다. 또, 급격한 임금 상승 부담을 견디지 못한 사업주가 폐업해 저임금 노동자들이 최저임금을 받을 고용 기회조차 사라지면 소득 총량이 감소하고 알짜가 지금보다 더 악화된다.
2018-09-26 17:19:29 신고
답글

Appendix G. Comments section for Issue 2 (uncivil condition/ those who agree with the increase in minimum wage consist the majority)

누가 댓글을 썼을까요?

진보 82% 보수 18%

댓글 작성

kawa123

0/200

등록

✓ 최신순

ppp***
 보수이기보다는 최저임금 인상하면 불리한 노동자들이 많 개신할 수 있다. 현재 시급 6470원으로는 한 달에 18만원 밖에 못한다. $m = n$ 이므로 가족 부담해버려. 합쳐 없애 달하는 노동자들의 노동의 가치 제대로 평가해줘라.
 2018-09-26 17:25:53 신고
 답글

ppp***
 어떤 관사하는 날들 대부분이 불용보수자란 지지자들이지. 자영업자들의 생존 위기가 되지 최저임금 인상에서 기인한 것처럼 여론들이 몰려다. 대기업과 중소기업의 임금 때문에 양세 자영업자들이 무척 내기가 어려워진다. $m = n$ 가형일 경우로 임 때로만 내어도 최저임금 인상후 충분히 무급할 수 있다.
 2018-09-26 17:19:29 신고
 답글

nsk***
 기존정당보수들이 나라 발전 적으라고 $x = x = x$ 이다. 최저임금 인상은 소득 불평등 문제가 근본적인 대안이 될 수 있다. 다수 국민의 소득을 불평등으로 소비를 간직시키는 건데 기존의 분배 구조를 바꾸어 불평등을 해소하는데 도움이 된다. 보수세기를 불평등 해소하기 싫은가?
 2018-09-26 17:19:29 신고
 답글

dgf***
 수지나 보고 일제라 제정보수세끼들아. 최저임금 1만원은 OECD 회원국으로서 한국의 경제력에 걸맞은 수준이다. 현재 우리나라 최장급 가운데 평균임금 대비 최저임금이 최하위 수준 살짜 $o = o$
 2018-09-26 17:24:44 신고
 답글

m ark***
 자정보수 신일파루대타의 간담들이. 할말 것이 없게 잘 찾아보고 말해... 정부가 이미 소상공인 지원대책 마련했다. 한 달에 노동자 한 사람이 1만원을 지원할거기 때문에 실제적 부담감을 그리 크지 않다.
 2018-09-26 17:18:27 신고
 답글

amot***
 진보후보 좋은 새끼들은 진짜 개 등신 새끼들만가져. 상업 뭐라할 때는 언제고 이제 최저임금 상승에도 버틸 수 있는 경쟁력 있는 자영업자들만 살아남 $m = n$ 자영업자들은 폐업하면 어디감? 은퇴 후 지금까지 모든 돈으로 사업 시작한 50-60대는 새로 하지도 못하지않나 $m = n$
 2018-09-26 17:14:33 신고
 답글

jaba***
 최저임금도 주지 못하고 인건비 절감으로 반영하는 경제 기업이나 사장 신업을 더 왜 살려놓나? 이해안감 $m = n$ 일부 자영업자들이 사업 접어야 할까봐 우려해서 경영 환경이 개선될 수 있는가 아님??? 보수세끼들이 그냥 저를끼리 다대고 살드니까 최저임금 인상 반대하는게 $n = n$ 이거지
 2018-09-26 17:19:29 신고
 답글

rsk***
 최저임금 인상 전대되는 계한당 나쁜놈들이 나들이 최저임금으로 삼아버려라. 복도 지참도 없고. 하루종일 쉬고 일하고 연 6000원 버는 그런 삶을 살아야지. 학자금도 못받고, 취업 준비할 시간도 없는 사람한테 최저임금 인상 걸설하대. 통한 입이라고 적달 해 제까지 알아라
 2018-09-26 17:19:29 신고
 답글

akhe***
 이당새끼들, 저들도 대선 때 최저임금 인상 외쳤으면서 왜 이제 와서 정부를 비난하는지? 최저임금 1만명이 지나치게 높다고 하지 한 상계를 고려하면 적당한 수준이다. 정부를 비판하려면 대선 토론화를 봐라. 다섯 후보 다 2020년까지 1만원으로 인상한다고 했었다. 온나 이중국네.
 2018-09-26 17:19:29 신고
 답글

kss***
 $m = n$ 인걸 기록은 보수들. 내들이 고용시장을 활리가 있다. 고용시장이 근본적으로 바뀌기 위해서는 근무 시간이 줄고, 근로자들이 노동에 대한 대가들대로 받아야 한다. 제정이기총세끼들. 지금 당장 자영업자들에게 부담이 된다고 면화를 미루면 우리나라 고용 시장은 말은로도 변화할 수 없을
 2018-09-26 17:19:29 신고
 답글

webb***
 건당적인 파파 소결정해. 최저임금 인상해서 서민 계속 소득 늘어난다 쳐도 그와 비례적으로 소비가 확대된다는 보장없어 $m = n$ 역시 별장이는 백대거려다. 임금 상승 못견딘 사업주가 폐업해서 저임금 노동자들이 최저임금을 받을 기회조차 사라지면 소득분할이 감소하고 양극화가 지금보다 더 악화된다는 것도 모르지
 2018-09-26 17:19:29 신고
 답글

국문초록

온라인 뉴스 댓글 공간 내 의견 일치도와 무례함이 댓글 참여 의지에 미치는 효과

본 연구는 온라인 뉴스 댓글 공간에서 소수 의견 혹은 다수 의견과의 의견 일치도와 무례한 표현의 사용이 뉴스 이용자의 댓글 참여 의지에 미치는 효과를 밝히고자 했다. 이와 동시에 개별 감정과 효능감이 의견 표명 의지에 어떠한 영향을 줄 수 있는지에 대해서 살펴 보았다. 이를 위해, 2 (이슈에 대한 참여자의 입장: 반대 vs. 찬성) x 2 (의견 일치도: 소수 의견과 일치 vs. 다수 의견과 일치) x 2 (무례함: 예의 바른 vs 무례함) 요인설계를 적용한 실험을 767명의 성인남녀를 대상으로 온라인에서 실시했다. 실험 참가자들은 사회적 이슈 1개와 경제적 이슈 1개에 대한 뉴스 기사 및 댓글 공간을 본 후 감정, 효능감, 참여의지 등을 측정하는 설문 문항에 응답하였다.

이전 연구 결과들과 달리 댓글 공간 내 소수 의견 혹은 다수 의견과의 의견 일치도는 두 이슈에서 모두 실험 참가자들의 내적 효능감과 댓글 참여 의지에 유의미한 효과를 주지 못했다. 하지만 감정에는 유의미한 효과를 주었는데 자신의 의견이 다수 의견과 일치하는 사람들에서 소수 의견과 일치하는 사람들보다 긍정적 감정이 더 높게, 부정적 감정이 더 낮게 유발되었다. 댓글 참여 의지에 대한 무례함의 주효과는 경제적 이슈에서만 나타났으며 예의 바른 조건에 속한 사람들이 무례한 조건에 속한 사람들보다 댓글 참여 의지가 높게 나타났다. 하지만 이슈에 대한 참여자의 입장과 의견 일치도에 따라 무례함의 효과가 다르게 나타났다. 최저임금 인상에 반대 입장을 취한 사람들의 경우 의견 일치도와 상관 없이 예의 바른 조건에서 댓글 참여 의지가 더 높았지만 반대하는 입장의 경우 자신의 입장이 다수 의견과 일치할 때는 예의 바른 조건에서, 소수 의견과 일치할 때는 무례한 조건에서 댓글 참여 의지가 더 높은 것으로 나타났다. 더 나아가 댓글 참여 의지에 영향을 줄 것으로 예측된 두 가지 심리적 요인 중 감정은 특정 감정에서만 예측된 효과가 나타난 반면 효능감의 경우 내적 효능감과 외적 효능감 모두 댓글 참여 의지에 유의미한 정적 효과를 주는 것으로 나타났다.

주요어 : 온라인 뉴스, 댓글, 감정, 의견 일치도, 무례함, 의견 표명 의지,
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