OUTRAGE AS LANGUAGE OF SOCIAL MEDIA DISCOURSE: ANALYSING PREVALENCE AND EFFECTS

Namit Hans, Research Scholar, School of Journalism and New Media Studies, Indira Gandhi National Open University, Delhi

Dr. Shikha Rai, Associate Professor & Research Supervisor, School of Journalism and New Media Studies, Indira Gandhi National Open University

Abstract

Through analysis of studies in the fields of communication, psychology, linguistics, and computer science, this study examines the role of outrage in the discourse on social media platforms, and its subsequent effect on the offline movements. A systematic literature review was conducted of thirteen research papers after a thorough filtering process to identity the most relevant papers for this study. Results show that there is an increased use of moral emotional language in civic discourse online. Additionally, a relation has also been established between the moral emotional language and support for violence offline. The findings tell us how outrage is becoming a default language on social media and how it is impacting our social and political culture.

Keywords: Moral Outrage, Social Media, Discourse, Moral Emotional Language, Social Identity

Introduction

Social Media has become a crucial platform of public discourse around the world in the last one decade. With the spread of affordable internet facilities and smartphone devices, a growing number of people are today using social media platforms like Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, etc. As per Statista.com, the number of social network users has grown to 4.27 billion in the year 2021. Compared to 2017, the number of social network users stood at 2.86 billion. Thus, it can be observed that there has been a 1.5 X increase in the users of social network within a span of four years. The same data suggests that by the year 2025, this number is expected to reach 4.41 billion (Department, 2021).

Total internet users in the world are increasing at an annual rate of 4.8 percent (Datareportal, n.d.). By the end of October 2021, a total of 4.88 billion people were using the internet, which is more than 60 per cent of world population. Quoting Livingstone, Gwen Bouvier writes in his paper that "for many, creating and networking online is becoming an integral means of managing one's identity, lifestyle, and social relations"(Bouvier, 2016). Talking about the participatory culture and new media, Professor Henry Jenkins elucidates "media systems consist of communication technologies and the social, cultural, legal, political, and economic institutions, practices, and protocols that shape and surround them." He adds that what matters more is how culture chooses to make use of tools available to them in the form of new media (Jenkins, 2006).

There has been a debate on the role of social media in public discourse ever since its conception and popularity in the 21st century. Questions have been raised about the contribution of internet towards informing the people and increasing their participation in public life. Parallelly, it has also been argued that social media has political and civic disengagement(Bouvier, 2016). Which of these is true is yet to be ascertained as we enter a new era of internet and social media networking with millions becoming a part of the discourse with every passing year? What remains to be seen is how this discourse affects the public participation and social relations.

Emotions and Outrage in Discourse

French philosopher and historian Michel Foucault has defined discourse as a social system which helps in producing meaning and knowledge. According to him, discourses in the society enable creation of "objects of which they speak"(Foucault, 1969). He suggests that it is this discourse is the way through which structure of social relations is organised and accepted as a social fact. In his book, The Structural Transformation of Public Sphere, German philosopher, and sociologist Jurgen Habermas talks about discourse as a crucial element of the public sphere. He defines public sphere as a "realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed"(Habermas, 1962).

Outrage has always been an important element in the public discourse. The outrage heuristic is used by people to decide the quantum of punishment for anyone. It is through observing the consequent outrage following an event that an individual passes a judgement on the necessary punishment (Sunstein, 2018). Therefore, it is the level of outrage which influences the scale of punishment which people seek in response to any offensive act. The role of emotion has been considered as antithetical to reason in public discourse. However, experts have also argued in support of emotional expression stating that they have a potent function to play in public discussions (Sakariassen, 2021).

The centrality of emotions can also be highlighted from the finding that news stories which provoke certain negative or positive emotions among the readers of listeners are more likely to be shared on social networks as compared to news stories which have a neutral character (ibid.). Social Media platforms like Facebook are designed specifically in a way which makes the sharing and expressing of emotions a central theme of the whole experience. For example, the options to react to any post using emoticons specifically designed to express the emotions of love, anger, care, surprise, etc.

The popular belief around outrage looks at it as a negative emotion which is used to manipulate the people and can create rigid polarization in the society. However, another view defends anger as an important emotion in the democratic discourse. It proposes that anger, if used appropriately, can draw the attention of media users towards morally relevant side of an

issue which is otherwise elusive. At the same time, it can also throw light on the injustices within the society which may be condoned in a neutral discourse (Lepoutre, 2018).

With the advent of social media, discourse has become more complex. The role of emotion in social media discourse has been discussed above briefly. Outrage as an emotion is central to the social media discourse. Research on virality on social media has discovered that audiences are more likely to share content which appeals to their moral emotions like outrage. This preference of people for the moral-emotional content makes it more profitable which further influences the way everyone encounters this type of content on the internet(Crockett, 2017). The increased exposure to moral-emotional content may lead to people outraging more in response to immoral acts witnessed online as compared to the real life.

The research on outrage in social media discourse is still in a nascent stage. However, with the rapid expansion of the medium and its growing influence on politics and society, there is a need to understand in-depth the role of outrage as an emotion in the discourse which happens on these platforms. Additionally, the need is to analyse the ways in which outrage spreads and is sustained on social media. This systematic literature review is aimed at analysing the research which have been conducted around this topic and look at them from a bird's eye perspective to amalgamate the various aspects of outrage in the social media discourse.

Objectives

- To understand the prevalence of outrage in social and political discourse
- To analyse the change in moral outrage in post-internet era
- To find out the relation between online outrage and offline violence

Research Questions

1) What role does anger or outrage play in the social and political discourse?
2) Was the language of outrage used in the pre-internet era?
3) How emotions are created, sustained, and spread through social media platforms?
4) Is there an increase in the use of outrage discourse on the internet?
5) What are the underlying reasons for the increase?
6) What are the real-world consequences of online outrage?

Methodology

The systematic review aimed to understand the prevalence of outrage in the social media discourse, its underlying reasons, and the effects on the individuals and society. It is an attempt to look at the research which has been conducted in this area till now to understand
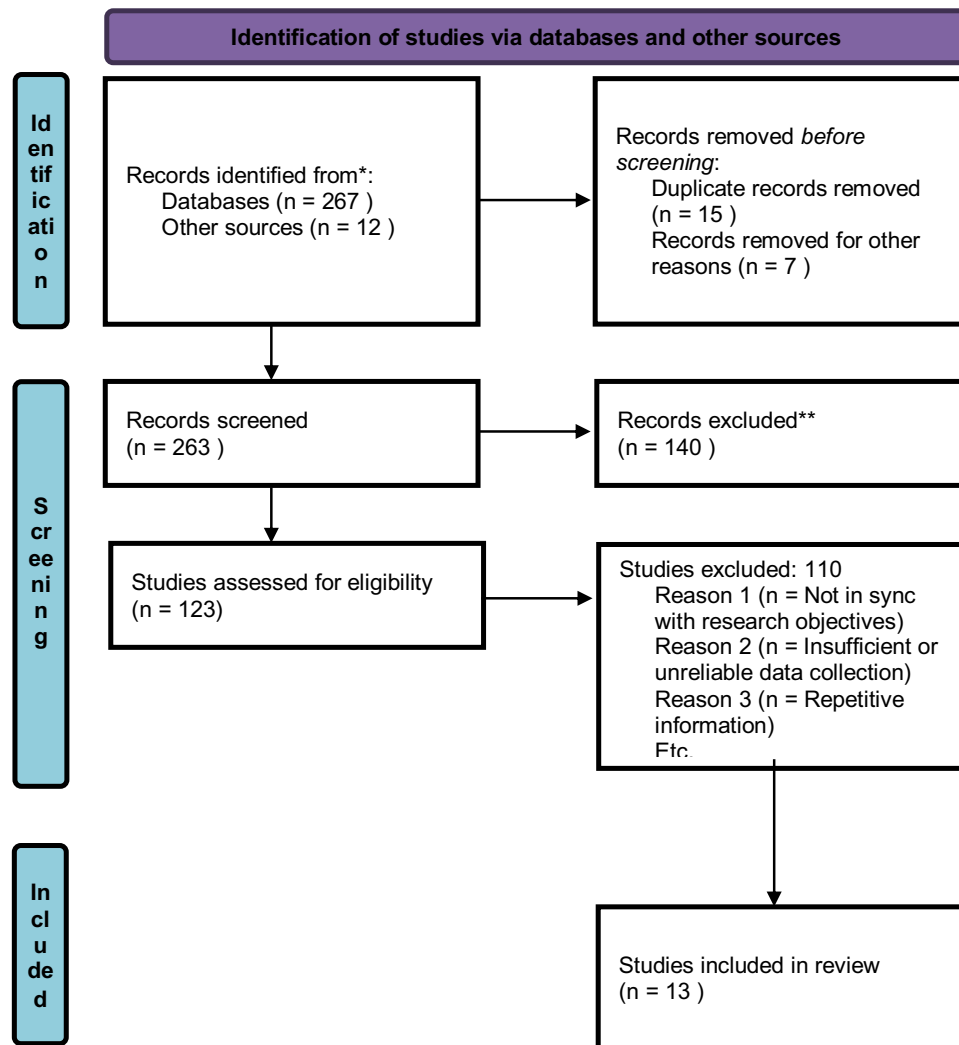
how outrage as an emotion plays a crucial role in our discourse and what are its implications on other aspects of our social and political life. Specifically, it is aimed at:

1. Understanding the research that's happened globally to ascertain the role of outrage in discourse on the internet.
2. Analysing the design elements of social media facilitating the spread of outrage.
3. Observing the factors that influence the virality of moral emotional content on social media.
4. Identifying any socio-psychological influences on the individual users and social groups.

To identify the important research which has been conducted in this area and the related fields, a thorough systematic review of literature was conducted with the help of databases like Scopus, Web of Science, and Jstor. Research published in reputed journals by publishers like Taylor and Francis, Routledge, Nature, Sage, etc. To find the relevant studies, a targeted keyword search was done through online libraries with search terms like: "outrage", "social media", "discourse", "facebook", "whatsapp", "public sphere", "polarization", etc. The research papers were primarily written in English language or translated to English language. No exclusions were applied based on region or language during the search.

A total of 117 research articles and two books were accessed based on the keyword search and the quality journals. Their relevance was ascertained after reading carefully reading the abstract of each journal and understand the area of research and the conclusion drawn through it. Out of these, the research articles were filtered based on different criteria like the compatibility of research with the underlying objectives of the systematic review.

Out of the total articles, 13 were selected for the systematic review and they focused on a range of research including outrage in political discourse, information diffusion and emotions, anger in political culture, engagement between opposing groups online, prevalence and spread of moral outrage, role of metaphors, etc. These articles gave a wider view on how outrage and anger have played a role in the political and social discourse over the years, how people perceive and process moralized content, and the way social media is transforming the way people engage with moral emotional content.

Identification of studies via databases and other sources

Id en tif ic ati o n

Records identified from*:
Databases (n = 267)
Other sources (n = 12)

Records removed *before screening*:
Duplicate records removed (n = 15)
Records removed for other reasons (n = 7)

S cr ee ni n g

Records screened
(n = 263)

Records excluded**
(n = 140)

Studies assessed for eligibility
(n = 123)

Studies excluded: 110
Reason 1 (n = Not in sync with research objectives)
Reason 2 (n = Insufficient or unreliable data collection)
Reason 3 (n = Repetitive information)
Etc.

In cl u de d

Studies included in review
(n = 13)

The reasons for filtering out other research papers were their non-compatibility with the research objectives, insufficient dataset, and the questions on reliability of the research. A lot of research has been conducted on the role of emotions and outage on specific events around the world; however, these research papers did not help in understanding the larger role played by outrage as an emotion in the social media discourse. The research papers were primarily based on content analysis or discourse analysis and their methodology was thoroughly examined before selecting them for the final review.

The 13 selected papers and articles include empirical studies, content analysis, audience analysis, literature reviews, and case studies. To ensure the quality of systematic literature review, we identified articles which specifically focused on role of outrage in public discourse or social media discourse.

Sl No	Paper Title	Year	Reason for Inclusion
1	Moral outrage in the digital age	2017	Paper takes a comprehensive view of outrage in social media and compares it with real-world
2	Emotion shapes the diffusion of moralized content in social networks	2017	Paper uses a large database of social media communications to examine the spread of moralized content
3	Angry citizens: civic anger and the politics of curative democracy in India	2015	Paper takes a broad view of anger and outrage in the curative democracy and provides important context
4	Emotions and Information Diffusion in Social Media—Sentiment of Microblogs and Sharing Behavior	2014	Paper analyses over 165000 tweets to understand how emotions effect how retweets are done
5	WhatsApp in India? A case study of social media related lynchings	2020	Paper showcases the relation between social media discourse and offline violence
6	Moralization in social networks and the emergence of violence during protests	2018	Paper has been written after a series of controlled experiments with participants
7	Attentional Capture Helps Explain Why Moral and Emotional Content Go Viral	2019	Paper uses methodology of controlled lab experiments and analysis of more than 50,000 tweets
8	The MAD Model of Moral Contagion: The Role of Motivation, Attention, and Design in the Spread of Moralized Content Online	2020	Paper proposes an important psychological model to understand the moral contagion
9	The Paradox of Viral Outrage	2018	Paper uses sophisticated tools and controlled experiments to analyse different aspects of how outrage functions
10	Anger and Political Culture: a time for outrage!	2012	Paper helps in understanding the role of anger in the political discourse in pre-internet era
11	From Incivility to Outrage: Political Discourse in Blogs, Talk Radio, and Cable News	2011	Paper analyses 10 weeks of data from TV, radio, and blogs to look at prevalence of outrage in traditional media
12	Growing Outrage	2018	Paper throws light on the concept of outrage heuristic and thid party punishment
13	Online Engagement Between Opposing Political Protest Groups via social media is Linked to Physical Violence of Offline Encounters	2021	Paper uses language processing and text analysis of online conversations between opposing groups and occurrence of violence offline

Analysis

While analysing the research papers and articles in-depth, some broad themes emerged which dealt with the issue of outage in discourse and moral-emotional content on social media. These were:

1) Role of anger in political and civic discourse – We looked at research papers dealing with this to understand how outrage as an emotion has played an important role in our political and civic life even before the emergence of social media. This was critical because it gave us a perspective on the prevalence of outrage as an emotion in the discourse even before social media or internet became a dominant platform of communication.

2) Moral outrage, virality, and attention capture on social media –Many papers and case studies dealt with how moral-emotional content spread on social media explaining its underlying reasons. They also focused on the virality of outrage due to reasons that will be discussed further in this review. Additionally, we found papers which explained the role of attention economy or the attention capturing features of social media which increase the spread of moral-emotional content and outrage on the internet.

3) Correlation between growing outrage online and incidences of violence offline – An important aspect of the increase in spread of outrage on social media was also its effects on people's engagement with opposing groups on the ground. To understand the relation between growing outrage on social networks online and the increase in violent encounters in the offline world, we analysed the research studies which focused on such specific cases.

Talking about the relevance of anger in political discourse through the history, Michael A Peters writes that thinkers like Leon Trotsky, Frantz Fanon, Malcolm X, and George Orwell have argued against the idea of non-violence expounded by Mahatma Gandhi or Martin Luther King. He states that these thinkers argued for the necessity of anger and outrage to bring a revolutionary change and found violence to be acceptable in accordance with the right for self-defence (Peters, 2012).

Looking at anger's role in political and social discourse from the Indian context, there is an agreement by scholars and thinkers that anger and outrage played a central role in driving the protest movements like India against Corruption and Nirbhaya rape Case. It is the 'civic anger' which reflected the collective mood of 'ordinary citizen' or public during these protests (Roy, 2016).

However, the phenomenon of outrage is not new and did not emerge with the emergence of modern democracies. Quoting a 2005 study by Susanna Braund and Glenn W. Most, Peters states that "anger is an ancient emotion, andit is found everywhere in the ancient world, from

the very first word of the Iliad through all literary genres and every aspect of public and private life"(Peters, 2012).

He further argues that ager has occupied a key role in the British life from the late 1950s and early 1960s. Similarly, culture of political anger has also been central to American life, especially post the Vietnam war and the subsequent anti-war debate (ibid.). This culture of anger in public discourse is also reflected in the India through its cinema and the arrival of 'angry young man' image of the protagonist in the 1970s and 80s.

Roy, in her paper, argues that this rise in the 'citizen anger' in the 1970s shaped a distinct politics which continues to influence the national discourse even after decades. The eruption of several mass movements in the 70s decade in India through student agitations and industrial strikes manifested the public anger towards the political class of the time (Roy, 2016).

"These radical expressions of anger were given a new gloss in the post-Emergency period and incorporated within a different and reformist political landscape largely centred around judicial activism and rule-of-law solutions for 'curing democracy," Roy writes (ibid.). This prevalence of moral outrage in the political and civic discourse further reflected in the media content, especially with the emergence of private broadcasting in the late 1990s. Roy highlights that it was the exposure of wrongdoings of the political class and the state which dominates the contemporary Indian media discourse.

Additionally, the tone adopted by news channels is often "high on moral outrage and indignation" opposite to what we consider as the important values of journalism like objectivity and neutrality (Roy, 2016). An example of the media outrage and its influence on public opinion is that of Jessica Lal murder case of 2006 and the following media activism to demand justice for the victim. A similar reaction was seen in the media during the Nirbhaya case which took place around 1.5 decades after the Jessica Lal case. Even before the advent of television media, outrage did play a role in media discourse and activism as can be observed in the 1978 murder case of two teenage siblings in Delhi by criminals Jasbir Singh and Kuljeet Singh, infamously known as Ranga and Billa(Desk, 2019).

Past research has tried to establish that incivility in political discourse can lead to an erosion of public trust in the political leaders and institutions, further leading to an increase in emotional response in the discussions(Kenney, 2008). However, this assumption has been contested by other researchers who found that negative political campaigning and emotional messaging prompted the people to seek more information or participate in the political process(Brader, 2005). Research, however, has also discovered that incivility in political messaging can play a complex role as it can increase the chances of people voting but after

reaching a certain level of 'mudslinging', it can also negative impact the voter turnout and participation(K Kahn, 1999).

In their 2011 paper, Sarah Sobeiraj and Jeffrey M Berry of Tufts University, explore the prevalence of incivility in the discourse in various spaces of political discussion. The researchers state that it is important to raise questions about negativity in "the spaces where incivility is transformed into something grander – outrage"(Berry, 2011). In an attempt to define outrage, they explain that it is "a form of political discourse involving efforts to provoke visceral responses from the audiences through the use of overgeneralizations, sensationalism, misleading or patently inaccurate information, ad hominem attacks, and partial truths about opponents." In a nutshell, outrage can be defined as an exaggerated from of incivility(ibid.).

The prevalence of outrage in the political discourse has been found in different mediums like television, radio, and blogs. Overall, content analysed over a period of 10-weeks focusing on modes of outrage like insulting language, belittling, obscene language, verbal fighting, etc. in the American TV shows, Radio talks and blogs, it was found that at least one incident of outrage was recorded in 89.6 per cent of the cases(Berry, 2011). This is a proof of the fact that outrage in discourse has been a part of media even before the advent of the internet. However, it beckons the question whether social media provided a ground for the outrage to increase and spread at a faster pace.

Discussion and Findings

Moral Outrage, as discussed above, is an emotion which has existed for generations. However, with the coming of new technologies, how we feel outrage, what makes us feel outraged, and its outcomes are changing. One of the biggest shifts that have occurred in the internet age is the exposure of individuals to immoral acts. As per the study in the United States and Canada, only 5% of the total daily experiences by people involved the exposure to morally inappropriate act(W Hofmann, 2014). In contrast to that, people are exposed to immoral acts on social media in a higher quantity as compared to the traditional media or real life (ibid.).

A number of studies in the recent past have found that communication or messaging on social media which is dominated by emotional and moral language experiences higher virality as compared to neutral or objective communication(Linden, 2017). This increase in virality of moral-emotional content is attributed to the potential of such content to capture the attention of audience on social media. The 'attentional capture' feature of moral emotional content is enhanced because of the underlying psychological reasons like the people's need to belong to a group and to believe in a world which is just(William J. Brady, 2019).

It has also been found that emotional words are identified more easily as compared to neutral words. This is further enhanced when there are limited attentional resources (ibid.). Additionally, the emotional language or stimuli is more relevant for people because it serves various social and survival goals(RM Todd, 2012). On the other hand, it has also been found that in a case where more anger is expressed openly, it further leads to an increase in reaction containing anger(Crockett, 2017). Thus, it can be said that when outrage or anger spreads on social media, it creates a ground for more anger to flourish.

This contagiousness of moral emotional content on social media can also be terms as 'moral contagion'. The moral contagion is so strong that social media messages containing moral-emotional words experience an increase in diffusion by the factor of 20% for every such word added to them(William J Brady, 2017). Thus, it is useful for the political leaders, social commentors, or organizers of movements to use moral emotional language in their social media messages because it increases their chances of reaching a larger audience (ibid.).

Another reason for the ease with which outrage spreads on social media is because it significantly brings down the costs or risks of engaging in such an exchange. For example, if an individual were to punish someone else in real work, they will have to confront them which might involve risk of physical altercation. However, on social media, it is easy for anyone to express outrage against someone else without having to encounter them physically(Crockett, 2017).

As discussed previously, when people are deciding the severity of punishment for someone who has committed an immoral act, they use the outrage heuristic. In the offline world, as per a controlled experiment, it has been found that when people make individual judgements about anyone and pass a punishment verdict which is less severe, they tend to further incline towards leniency when asked to deliberate in a group and pass a unanimous judgement(Sunstein, 2018). However, on the other hand, if the individual punishment was severe, there was an increase in the punishment post group deliberation(ibid.). Thus, there are higher chances of people passing stricter judgements and experiencing an increase in outrage when they are thinking in groups.

On social media, broadcasting one's views and expressing outrage against another group or individual becomes even easier because people tend to organise themselves in echo-chambers(Crockett, 2017). Further, it also eliminates the emphatic distress one experiences while punishing someone in the real world (ibid.). On the other hand, there are also factors which act as motivators for outraging on social media. Research has found that there is a higher chance of people choosing to virtue signal when they are being watched by others(Jillian J Jordan, 2016). Since social media increases our exposure to others exponentially, therefore, people are likely to express higher outrage for signalling morality.

Therefore, there is a direct relation between outrage and virality on social media; one fuels the others and vice versa.

In a paper co-authored by William J Brady, MJ Crockett, and Jay J Van Bavel, they propose the MAD model of 'moral contagion' where they focus on the three factors, namely – Motivation, Attention, and Design. As discussed above, people have various motivations to post content on social media which is about moral or virtue signalling. Additionally, such content also has a higher chance of capturing everyone's attention and thus spreading further. Lastly, they conclude that it is also the design of social media platform which amplifies our natural tendencies and therefore fuelling the moral contagion.

Among the various motivations, people are influenced by group-identity, intergroup-identity, as well as intragroup-identity.

As per the social-identity theory, individual identities are likely to be absorbed by the group when the group memberships are highly salient(Reicher, 1982). Therefore, this group identity becomes more evident in social media because the memberships are manifest strongly on the internet. In response to this, individuals move from self to group identity because they want to signal a sense of belongingness to the in-group while staying away from the out-groups(William J Brady M. C., 2020). Further, this motivates the members to condemn or speak against the out-group to make their in-group appear better. "By expressing attitudes with moral emotions, one is signalling clearly that they endorse, if not share, the relevant attitudes with their social group" (ibid.).

In addition, there are other motivations like feedback mechanism of social media where positive reinforcement from the in-group pushes the individuals to post and share more morally expressive content. Now, the design of social media platforms is such that it creates static emotions unlike real life. An emotion expressed once on social media is likely to remain the same over a long time, and it some cases revived again after particularly long durations(William J Brady M. C., 2020). The authors suggest that small changes to design like 'emphatic prompt' telling the readers when they are posting something hurtful to others may reduce their likelihood of sharing outrageous content. This impact of design change has been noted in a 2019 study of Twitter after it increased its word limit from 140 to 280 characters. This small change also motivated people to post more analytical content(K Jaidka, 2019).

Moving to the final part of the systematic research, an important aspect of analysing outrage on the internet is to see its impact in the real world. According to a report by the Spending and Policy Research Foundation, by the year 2019, a total of 47 people were killed in mob violence related to cow vigilantism. Additionally, 300 persons were victimized in the similar incidents while 157 others were victimized in child-lifting rumours(Barkdull, 2020). The

rumours related to killing of cows, beef consumption, of child kidnapping primarily spread through WhatsApp in the form of fake news (ibid.). Thus it can be observed that while there might not be a direct correlation between rise of social media rumours and violent incidents, there are certain dots which can be connected.

Research has also found that when a social or political issue is perceived to be highly moral, people are more willing to use violence as a means of achieving the end goal. Thus, spread of moral sentiments on social media can serve as a breeding ground for violence in real life(Marlon Mooijman, 2018). While the moral rhetoric on social networks relevant to protest is linked with an increased acceptance of violence (Linda J Skitka, 2014), the link has also been found in the violence and people's belief that their moral attitudes are shared by others too. As discussed above, social media allows the users to reach thousands, and sometimes millions, creating group identities and providing the necessary social validation to one's moral beliefs.

Another research of the online conversations between members belonging to opposite groups found that when people engage with those who are part of an out-group or an opposing group, there is a high level of toxicity in the conversations(John D Gallacher, 2021). Additionally, a direct correlation has been found between people's engagement with out-groups and violence in real-life (ibid.). This means that when people engage with groups on the opposite political or ideological spectrum on social media, they are more likely to accept violence as a means of resistance in real life. As per data, it has been found that "each 1.0% increase in the proportion of outgroup engagement on an event page increased the odds of the event becoming violent by a factor of 1.46"(John D Gallacher, 2021).

Conclusion
In the end, after analysing the literature related to outrage in discourse, social media moral contagion, and offline effects, we conclude:

Outrage as a central emotion in social and political discourse since ancient time and throughout the rise of modern democracy

↓

Increase in moral signalling and outrage on social media owing to motivation, attention, and design

↓

Direct correlation between rise in moral signalling and group identity, and violence in real world

However, it should also be noted that research on outrage in social media discourse and its effects is still in a nascent stage and there is a lot to be explored. Further research is needed to explain how social media platforms lead to intensification of certain emotions and moral-emotional behaviour among individuals. At the same time, it needs to be ascertained how such discourse forms certain habits among individuals(Crockett, 2017). The research related to moral outrage has also tried to explore various other facets like how outrage functions in group and on an individual level. It has been discovered that "exact same individual expression of outrage may appear laudable in isolation but morally suspect when accompanied by a chorus of echoing outrage" (Takuya Sawaoka, 2018). Apart from this, it has also been found that an offender who faces viral outrage on social media receives more sympathy from others (ibid.). Additionally, people also formed negative emotions against that individual who was the target commentor in the viral outrage scenario.

There has also been study which has found deindividualization and internalization playing a role in spread of outrage on social media(William J Brady M. C., 2020). Deindividualization is when someone experiences reduced self-evaluation when they are operating within a group which allows them to act without much restraint (ibid.). So, there is a scope to cover a wide range of reasons and effects of social media outrage within the online space and in the real world. One of aspect of moral outrage on social media can also be judged through the context of metaphors in language. Some metaphors make use of an emotional tone to elicit a stronger response from the audience(Stepher J Flusberg, 2018). It has also been found that people believe in climate change as a more urgent issue when war metaphors are used to define it (ibid.). Therefore, it can be said that metaphors also play a role in eliciting an emotional response which further creates a foundation for language of outrage in discourse.

We argue that the scope of research around outrage in social media discourse should be expanded further with more empirical studies from around the world through controlled experiments and content analysis. This will also help us in understanding the applicability of these results in different regional, social, and political contexts. We should also try to explore the effects of moral outrage on the offline polarization among groups and the electoral scenario. Language is a powerful tool, and it can have a deep impact on different aspects of individual and social life. Therefore, it is an imperative to further expand the research in this area and touch upon all the mentioned topics.

Disclosure Statement
No potential conflict of interest reported.

References

Barkdull, F. V. (2020). WhatsApp in India? A case study of social media related lynchings. *Journal of the Study of Race, Nation and Culture*.

Berry, S. S. (2011). From Incivility to Outrage: Political Discourse in Blogs, Talk Radio, and Cable News. *Political Communication*.

Bouvier, G. (2016). What is a discourse approach to Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, and other social media: connecting with other academic fields. In G. Bouvier, *Discourse and Social Media.* Taylor and Francis.

Brader, T. (2005). Striking a responsive chord: How political ads motivate and persuade voters by appealing to emotions. *American Journal of Political Science*.

Crockett, M. (2017). Moral Outrage in the Digital Age. *Nature Human Behaviour*.

Datareportal. (n.d.). *Digital Around The World*. Retrieved from Datareportal: https://datareportal.com/global-digital-overview

Department, S. R. (2021). *Number of social network users worldwide from 2017 to 2025.* Statista.com.

Desk, F. W. (2019, December 26). *Who are Ranga and Billa? The two criminals often remembered by activists and politicians*. Retrieved from The Free Press Journal: https://www.freepressjournal.in/india/who-are-ranga-and-billa-the-two-criminals-often-remembered-by-activists-and-politicians

Foucault, M. (1969). *Archaelogy of Knowledge and The Discourse on Language.* Editions Gallimard.

Habermas, J. (1962). *The Structural Transformation of Public Sphere.*

Jenkins, H. (2006, October 19). *Confronting the Challenges of Participatory Culture: Media Education for the 21st Century (Part One).* Retrieved from CONFESSIONS OF AN ACA-FAN: http://henryjenkins.org/blog/2006/10/confronting_the_challenges_of.html

Jillian J Jordan, M. H. (2016). Third-party punishment as a costly signal of trustworthiness. *Nature*.

John D Gallacher, M. W. (2021). Online Engagement Between Opposing Political Protest Groups Via Social Media is Linked to Physical Violence of Offline Encounters. *Social Media and Society*.

K Jaidka, A. Z. (2019). Brevity is the soul of Twitter: The constrain affordance and political discussions. *Journal of Communication*.

K Kahn, &. P. (1999). Do negative campaigns mobilize or suppress turnout? *American Political Science Review*.

Kenney, K. F. (2008). The dimensions of negative messages. *American Politics Research*.

Lepoutre, M. (2018). Rage inside the machine: Defending the place of anger in democratic speech. *Politics, Philosophy, and Economics*.

Linda J Skitka, &. G. (2014). The Social and Political Implications of Moral Conviction. *Political Psychology*.

Linden, S. v. (2017). The nature of viral altruism and how to make it stick. *Nature Human Behaviour*.

Marlon Mooijman, J. H. (2018). Moralization in social networks and the emergence of violence during protests. *Nature Human Behaviour*.

Peters, M. A. (2012). Anger and Political Culture: A time for outrage. *Policy Features in Education*.

Reicher, S. (1982). The Determination of Collective Behaviour. *Cambridge University Press*.

RM Todd, W. C. (2012). Affect-biased attention as emotion regulation. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*.

Roy, S. (2016). Angry citizens: civic anger and the politics of curative. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*.

Sakariassen, H. (2021). Women's emotion work on Facebook: Strategic use of emotions in public discourse. *Computers in Human Behavior Reports*.

Stepher J Flusberg, T. M. (2018). War Metaphors in Public Discourse. *Metaphor and Symbol*.

Sunstein, C. (2018). Growing Outrage. *Behavioural Public Policy*.

Takuya Sawaoka, &. B. (2018). The Paradox of Virat Outrage. *Psychological Science*.

W Hofmann, D. W. (2014). *Replication data for: morality in everyday life.* Retrieved from Harvard Dataverse: https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/26910

William J Brady, J. A. (2017). Emotion shapes the diffusion of moralized content in social networks. *Psychological and Cognitive Sciences*.

William J Brady, M. C. (2020). The MAD Model of Moral Contagion: The Role of Motivation, Attention, and Design in the Spread of Moralized Content Online. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*.

William J. Brady, A. P. (2019). Attentional Capture Helps Explain Why Moral and Emotional Content Go Viral. *Journal of Experimental Psychology*.