

COMM 4820: Public Opinion & Communication Autumn 2021	
	Dr. William "Chip" Eveland
Meeting times:	Tuesday & Thursday 12:45-2:05pm
Location:	080 Derby Hall (or when scheduled as such , via Zoom)
Office hours:	By appointment via Zoom; email for appointment time
Email:	Eveland.6@osu.edu

Course Description

The course catalog description for this course is as follows:

Investigation of public opinion from social, political, and psychological perspectives, and study of the role communication (including the media) plays in the process. Prereq: Not open to students with credit for 620 or 620H.

More specifically for this particular instantiation of the course with the present instructor, this course will address the various ways people have conceptualized and measured "public opinion" throughout history, the central role that communication plays in these definitions, the factors that influence public opinion, and the influence that public opinion has on individuals and society. In order to do so we will draw on theory and research from communication, political science, psychology, and sociology.

Expected Learning Outcomes

By the end of this course, you should:

- Understand what public opinion is commonly understood to mean, and the limitations of that definition.
- Know the predominant methods by which public opinion is measured, as well as their pitfalls.
- Understand the current state of public opinion on major issues of the day.
- Understand the social and psychological processes involved in the formation and maintenance of public opinion in general, and on these major issues.
- Have a working knowledge of major theories relating communication and public opinion.
- Be able to see connections between individual opinions, group dynamics, and larger institutions such as the government and mass media.
- Be savvy consumers of present-day reporting of information that purports to be about public opinion.

Please note that the course policies described in the remainder of this syllabus may be updated to reflect changes in the pandemic, changes in our understanding of the disease, and changing University, local, state, and federal recommendations/mandates.

Mode of Delivery

Officially, this course is currently listed as “hybrid.” However, at least at the start of the semester, our meetings will all be in person in 080 Derby Hall. If the situation merits it, at the instructor’s discretion, we may shift some or all class sessions to Zoom as the semester progresses. Even so, the course will meet the University requirement of “at least” 26% of class time taking place in person. I will notify the class via Carmen in advance if and when any changes to the in person meetings will take place. One way or another, attendance will be a course requirement. Exceptions to the expectation of attendance as it relates to the COVID pandemic will be made on a case-by-case basis in accordance with OSU policy. **Following OSU policy, all students are expected to wear masks fully covering their nose and mouth at all times in the classroom; those who do not will be asked to leave and will not receive credit for attendance or participation and will be reported to the University.**

Course Materials

There is a required textbook for the course:

Berinsky, A. J. (2020) New directions in public opinion (3rd ed.). New York: Routledge.

PLEASE NOTE THAT THE 1ST or 2ND EDITIONS WILL NOT WORK FOR THIS CLASS; YOU MUST GET THE 3RD EDITION! There are new and used copies of this textbook, as well as electronic editions, available through the OSU Bookstore as well as [Amazon](#) and elsewhere.

In addition to the required text, there will be required readings from other sources posted on the course Carmen site in PDF format, as well as other online resources such as videos available online.

I will expect you to have read and understood the assigned readings before class, and that you will be present (physically, or via Zoom if that is how class is being held) and prepared to discuss them in class. There will be Carmen quizzes on the readings throughout the semester that must be completed prior to our class meetings on the topics. We will typically discuss content from or related to the readings in class, but sometimes I will simply assume that you have read and understood the material and I will present additional, supplementary material in class. If you have questions about the readings, don’t hesitate to email me or schedule an online (Zoom) visit in office hours!

Key readings are listed on this syllabus, but for many topic areas I also may be posting brief additional readings (e.g., news articles, blog posts) that come up during the semester that will help shape discussion and must also be read (and will be fair game for exams). I will notify the class via Carmen if and when additional readings are posted.

More generally, you will also find it useful to keep up with local, national, and world political events during this class – both through text-based media (e.g., online newspaper sources) and in video format (e.g., political talk and/or opinion programs on cable television). These sources of information will not only keep you up-to-date on

political events of the day – something all of us should do as citizens of a democracy – but they will also be the source of examples and assignments that will be used to illustrate concepts discussed in class. You’ll be better off knowing and understanding a political topic used as an example in class if you’ve already read about it that morning in a newspaper.

Grading

Your grade for the semester will be based on the following evaluation criteria:

Reading Quizzes (24, 2 of which will be dropped):	44%
Assignments (8):	36%
Class attendance & participation:	20%

For each course topic (which may span one to three class sessions), there will be:

- *At least one class meeting
- *At least one assigned reading
- *At least one Carmen quiz and/or Assignment and/or Discussion

If all goes at least reasonably well with the pandemic, this is meant to be a fully in-person class, but regardless class will be held one way or another at the scheduled times. So, you should treat it as such – making sure your schedule will permit you to attend class with your full attention for each scheduled session.

All quizzes must be taken by the designated dates and times, and assignments must be submitted in advance of the due date/time. It is your responsibility to note the day/time of quizzes and assignments now and make sure you will be available to complete them as scheduled. I have organized quizzes and assignments on Carmen so that a given assignment/quiz is not available until the deadline for the previous one has passed. This way, everyone will be on the same page, so to speak. If you need special accommodations to work ahead for a given quiz or assignment – for instance, due to travel or other special timing considerations – contact me and I can alter your access for that specific assignment.

Technology (e.g., WiFi went out, hard drive crashed, roommate misplaced computer, forgot my password) and other (e.g., dog ate textbook, alarm didn’t go off, my favorite band broke up) excuses generally don’t meet the “emergency” criteria for excused absences or missed quizzes and assignments. Those sorts of problems only become emergencies if you wait until the very last minute to complete your work. So, plan ahead and be sure to complete and submit your work with sufficient time before the deadline to address problems that may arise (because they DO arise...), as all deadlines are firm and enforced automatically by Carmen – down to the minute. Non-idiosyncratic problems – that is, problems that affect most or all students, such as a large local power outage, a Carmen outage, etc. – may lead me to extend deadlines for everyone.

Reading Quizzes

Quizzes will be conducted via Carmen. There will be 24 quizzes, with each quiz associated with a specific course reading (or two) and due date as noted later in the syllabus. Most quizzes are based on a single chapter from the course textbook or other assigned reading, and will include four or five questions. A few quizzes will be based on two rather than one readings. Students will receive a random subset of questions from a question bank, and responses will be timed (5 minutes for the quiz from start to finish) so you must be able to answer the questions without taking time to look up the answers. I will provide a list of questions – in advance – that you should be able to answer from the readings to succeed on the quiz. You are welcome to write answers to those questions and use those notes while taking the quiz – but sharing such notes with one another or online, or collaborating in their creation, will be considered unauthorized collaboration and thus academic misconduct.

Quizzes will not be able to be made up, regardless of whether missing it is excused or not. For those with an excused absence in advance (typically health-related), I will drop that quiz from the calculation of the average for the course. I will also drop the two lowest quiz grades out of 24 for everyone, so unexcused absences can take advantage of dropping the zero. The 22 quizzes used to calculate your course quiz grade will each be worth 2% toward the course, for a total of 44% of the course grade based on these reading quizzes. These quizzes essentially take the place of a midterm and final as a measure of your learning of course content, so take them (and the reading and preparation they require) seriously!

Assignments

This course will employ a variety of assignments as a major component (36%) of your course grade. There will be two “mini” assignments and eight larger assignments over the course of the semester. Mini assignments are worth 2% of the course grade (2 x 2% = 4%) and larger assignments are worth 4% (8 x 4% = 32%). Assignments will be completed outside of regularly scheduled course time. In most if not all cases, your completed assignment will tie into a separate in-class discussion. The assignments will typically require providing paragraph-length responses to a series of short answer or essay questions, and perhaps a few multiple choice questions, using an online survey template. But, the real “meat” of the assignments will be a more significant amount of time and effort searching for information online, reading, and thinking BEFORE completing the assignment. Detailed information about each of these assignments is provided on Carmen.

Assignments have very specific deadlines (noted on Carmen), and late work will not be accepted. If you did not complete the assignment on time, you will not be able to earn credit for on any in-class discussion of that assignment. For those with an excused absence in advance (typically health-related) that would justify your inability to work on the assignment during the time frame in which it is available, I will drop that assignment from the calculation of the average for the course. Those who are unable to complete the assignments due to an unexcused absence, or simply do not submit them on time, will receive a zero for that assignment.

Attendance / Participation

The first and minimum expectation is attendance. Beyond this, typically there will be some form of in-class group discussion requirement associated with the assignments described above in class on the date they are due. These group discussions, in conjunction with more general class attendance and participation (by speaking up during class) will collectively be worth 20% of your course grade. For discussions taking place during scheduled class times, those with an absence excused in advance (typically health-related) will simply have that discussion dropped from the calculation of the discussion average for the course. (see note below) Students who are not in attendance and do not have an approved excuse for their absence will not be able to earn credit for attendance or participation for that session.

The breakdown for class attendance / participation grading will be as follows:

- There are 28 scheduled days of class. Full credit for attendance requires 24 of 28 days attendance over the semester. This score will be the % of 24 meetings in which the student is present for the majority of the class (with camera on if the session is via Zoom). This score amounts to 12% of the course grade.
- There will be six in-class small group (or in Zoom, “breakout room”) discussions. These discussions will focus on what students learned from the homework assignment that was due on that day. Each discussion will be worth ½% toward the course grade (for a total of 6% of the course grade). Students who have not completed the associated homework assignment for that day will not be able to earn credit even if present for the discussion – because they would be unable to meaningfully contribute to the discussion.
- The remaining part of the attendance / participation grade will be based on my subjective assessment of student contributions to class discussion over the full length of the semester. I will formulate this score based on my judgment of the quantity and value of contributions made by students, using the OSU grading scale described below. This will be worth 5% of the overall course grade.

NOTE: Given the continued high prevalence of COVID, including breakthrough cases among vaccinated individuals, **students should not attend in-person class if they are feeling sick.** It is very important that individuals avoid spreading the virus to others. Most students should be able to complete a successful semester despite illness-induced absence. **If you are absent due to illness, including but not limited to COVID, please inform me in advance as noted elsewhere in the syllabus.**

Grading Scale

The grading scale for this course follows the standard OSU grading scheme, which does not use rounding, and does not include options of A+, D-, or E+/-:

A =	93-100%	C =	73-76%
A- =	90-92%	C- =	70-72%
B+ =	87-89%	D+ =	67-69%
B =	83-86%	D =	60-66%
B- =	80-82%	E =	0-59%
C+ =	77-79%		

Grades for Quizzes will be based on a simple calculation of percentage correct. Grades for class attendance, participation, and discussion will be a mix of objective criteria (present or absent) and my subjective judgment of the degree of engagement and contribution made when present. Grades for Assignments will be based on the subjective assignment of letter grades. These letter grades they will be converted and entered into Carmen using the following numeric values for grade calculation:

A+, A, A-	= 100, 95, 91
B+, B, B-	= 88, 85, 81
C+, C, C-	= 78, 75, 71
D+, D, D-	= 68, 65, 61
E+, E, E-	= 50, 30, 0

The grades of “A+” and “E-“ will be very rare, as few written assignments are perfect (from ideas to writing to following formatting guidelines, etc.) and few are totally without merit (so long as they were completed on time). I will strive to focus on placement of assignments in the five major categories (A, B, C, D, and E) and use +/- grades sparingly.

Attendance, Participation, and Discussions

This is a 3-credit-hour course. According to Ohio State policy, students should expect around 3 hours per week of time spent on direct instruction (instructor content and Carmen activities, for example) in addition to 6 hours of homework (reading and assignment preparation, for example) to receive a grade of average (i.e., a “C”). ASC Honors provides [an excellent guide](#) to scheduling and study expectations.

Because this is an in-person course, your “attendance” is based on your physical (or cyber) presence, activity and participation. The following is a summary of everyone's expected participation:

- Attendance in scheduled class sessions, with camera on if meeting via Zoom
- Completion of Carmen quizzes
- Completion of Assignments
- Participation in class discussions, including in-class group discussions

Faculty Feedback and Response Time

I am providing the following list to give you an idea of my intended availability throughout the course:

- I strive to provide feedback on assignments in **7-10 days**. If feedback will take longer for a given assignment, I will let you know.
- I will reply to e-mails within **24 hours on school days**. I will normally reply to emails during normal working hours. Please contact me directly at eveland.6@osu.edu for the fastest response.

Discussion and Communication Guidelines

We want to build an classroom climate that is comfortable for all. In a communication class it is *especially* important that we (1) display respect for all members of the classroom – including the instructor and students; (2) pay attention to and participate in all class sessions and activities; (3) avoid unnecessary disruption during class time (e.g., having private conversations, engaging in emailing/chats during class); and (4) avoid racist, sexist, homophobic or other negative language that may unnecessarily exclude members of our campus / classroom.

This is not an exhaustive list of behaviors; rather, they represent the minimum standards that help make the classroom a productive place for all concerned. If you cannot maintain these standards, you WILL be removed from the classroom so that others have the opportunity to learn unimpeded. I encourage students to express their views in a civil manner, and to debate and critique one another's arguments in a civil manner with reference to reasoning and evidence.

Course Technology

For help with your password, university e-mail, Carmen, or any other technology issues, questions, or requests, contact the OSU IT Service Desk. Standard support hours are available at <https://ocio.osu.edu/help/hours>, and support for urgent issues is available 24x7.

Carmen

Carmen, Ohio State's Learning Management System, will be used to host materials and activities throughout this course. To access Carmen, visit Carmen.osu.edu. Log in to Carmen using your name.# and password. If you have not setup a name.# and password, visit my.osu.edu.

Help guides on the use of Carmen can be found at:

- <https://resourcecenter.odee.osu.edu/carmenzoom/getting-started-carmenzoom>
- Self-Service and Chat support: <http://ocio.osu.edu/selfservice>
- Phone: 614-688-HELP (4357)
- Email: 8help@osu.edu
- TDD: 614-688-8743

This online course requires use of Carmen (Ohio State's learning management system) and other online communication and multimedia tools. If you need additional services to use these technologies, please request accommodations with your instructor. You may also look here: [Carmen accessibility](#)

Carmen Zoom

I will also hold one-on-one meetings with students (“office hours”) using this tool, and may schedule class sessions via Zoom if in my view the pandemic merits it. To learn how to use Zoom, start [here](#).

iPoll

We will be using the subscription-based service iPoll from the Roper Center repeatedly this semester. This resource can be [accessed for free](#) through OSU Libraries, although you will need to use an off-campus sign-in if you are not accessing it from OSU's campus.

Necessary computer equipment and software

- Computer: current Mac (OS X) or PC (Windows 7+) or Chromebook with high-speed internet connection
- Word processor with the ability to save files as .pdf. Most popular word processing software programs including Microsoft Word, Mac Pages, and even Google Docs have these abilities. OSU students have access to Microsoft Office products [free of charge](#). To install, please visit [here](#).

Other Course Policies

Copyright Disclaimer

The materials used in connection with this course may be subject to copyright protection and are only for the use of students officially enrolled in the course for the educational purposes associated with the course. Copyright law must be considered before copying, retaining, or disseminating materials outside of the course. This especially includes videos of online Zoom meetings and class lectures, which absolutely must not be shared outside of the Carmen system.

Diversity

The School of Communication at The Ohio State University embraces and maintains an environment that respects diverse traditions, heritages, experiences, and people. Our commitment to diversity moves beyond mere tolerance to recognizing, understanding, and welcoming the contributions of diverse groups and the value group members possess as individuals. In our School, the faculty, students, and staff are dedicated to building a tradition of diversity with principles of equal opportunity, personal respect, and the intellectual interests of those who comprise diverse cultures.

Title IX

Title IX makes it clear that violence and harassment based on sex and gender are Civil Rights offenses subject to the same kinds of accountability and the same kinds of support applied to offenses against other protected categories (e.g., race). If you or

someone you know has been sexually harassed or assaulted, you may find the appropriate resources at <http://titleix.osu.edu> or by contacting the Interim Ohio State Title IX Coordinator, Molly Peirano, at titleix@osu.edu

Student Illness or Absence

If you are too ill to participate in this course due to COVID-19 or another illness, or a true emergency arises, please contact the instructor as soon as you are able. It is the student's responsibility to 1) inform the instructor PRIOR to the class, quiz, assignment, or discussion time; and 2) provide the instructor with written documentation consistent with OSU policy (e.g., complete the form at this link: [Explanatory Statement for Absence from Class](#)). Please keep in mind that any falsification of the information on this form is considered academic misconduct.

The university strives to make all learning experiences as accessible as possible. In light of the current pandemic, students seeking to request COVID-related accommodations may do so through the university's [request process](#), managed by Student Life Disability Services. If you anticipate or experience academic barriers based on your disability (including mental health, chronic, or temporary medical conditions), please let me know immediately so that we can privately discuss options. To establish reasonable accommodations, I may request that you register with Student Life Disability Services. After registration, make arrangements with me as soon as possible to discuss your accommodations so that they may be implemented in a timely fashion. **SLDS contact information:** slds@osu.edu; 614-292-3307; slds.osu.edu; 098 Baker Hall, 113 W. 12th Avenue.

Generally speaking, no make-ups for quizzes, assignments, and discussions will be feasible. The design of this course doesn't really permit work to be completed after-the-fact. Rather, in the case of an excused absence that is discussed in advance of the due date and agreed to by the instructor, other forms of accommodation will be implemented (as noted throughout the syllabus above for individual components of the course).

Instructor Illness or Absence

If the instructor is too ill to teach the course for a period of time, the designated backup for this course will step in. You will be notified via email from the School of Communication.

Academic Integrity

It is your responsibility to complete your own work as best you can in the time provided. The Ohio State University's Code of Student Conduct (Section 3335-23-04) defines academic misconduct as: "Any activity that tends to compromise the academic integrity of the University, or subvert the educational process." Examples of academic misconduct include (but are not limited to) plagiarism, collusion (unauthorized collaboration), copying the work of another student, possession of unauthorized materials during an examination, and falsification of laboratory or other data. Ignorance of the University's Code of Student Conduct is never considered an excuse for academic misconduct, so I recommend that you review the Code of Student Conduct

and, specifically, the sections dealing with academic misconduct: [Section A of OSU's Code of Student Conduct](#).

Academic misconduct is a serious offense, and it is my responsibility to make sure it does not occur. If I suspect that a student has committed academic misconduct in this course, I am obligated by University Rules (Faculty Rule 3335-5-487) to report my suspicions to the [Committee on Academic Misconduct \(COAM\)](#). If COAM determines that you have violated the University's Code of Student Conduct, the sanctions for the misconduct could include a failing grade in this course or even suspension or dismissal from the University. If you have any questions about this policy or what constitutes academic misconduct, please contact your professor or COAM.

For this course, here are a few specific highlights to keep in mind:

- Your written assignments should be your own original work. Know the [rules for plagiarism](#)! In formal assignments you should cite the ideas and words of your research sources. You alone are responsible for your work; no one else should write, revise or rewrite your work.
- In general, you are prohibited in university courses from turning in work from a past class to your current class, even if you modify it. If you want to build on past research or revisit a topic you've explored in previous courses, please discuss the situation with me.
- All research you will conduct in this course is intended to be a learning experience. You should never feel tempted to make your results or your library research look more successful than it was.

Mental Health

As a student you may experience a range of issues that can cause barriers to learning, such as strained relationships, increased anxiety, alcohol/drug problems, feeling down, difficulty concentrating and/or lack of motivation. These mental health concerns or stressful events may lead to diminished academic performance or reduce a student's ability to participate in daily activities. The Ohio State University offers services to assist you with addressing these and other concerns you may be experiencing.

If you are or someone you know is suffering from any of the aforementioned conditions, you can learn more about the broad range of confidential mental health services available on campus via the Office of Student Life's Counseling and Consultation Service (CCS) by visiting ccs.osu.edu or calling 614-292-5766. CCS is located on the 4th Floor of the Younkun Success Center and 10th Floor of Lincoln Tower. You can reach an on-call counselor when CCS is closed at 614-292-5766.

If you are thinking of harming yourself or need a safe, non-judgmental place to talk, or if you are worried about someone else and need advice about what to do, 24-hour emergency help is also available through the Suicide Prevention Hotline (Columbus: 614-221-5445).

Accessibility Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

The university strives to make all learning experiences as accessible as possible. In light of the current pandemic, students seeking to request COVID-related accommodations may do so through the university's [request process](#), managed by Student Life Disability Services. If you anticipate or experience academic barriers based on your disability (including mental health, chronic, or temporary medical conditions), please let me know immediately so that we can privately discuss options. To establish reasonable accommodations, I may request that you register with Student Life Disability Services. After registration, make arrangements with me as soon as possible to discuss your accommodations so that they may be implemented in a timely fashion. SLDS contact information: <mailto:slds@osu.edu>; 614-292-3307; slds.osu.edu; 098 Baker Hall, 113 W. 12th Avenue.

Course Schedule and Readings

(Students are responsible for any changes to this syllabus announced in class.)

Class Date	Topic	Readings	Quiz	Assignment
8/24	Course Intro	Course syllabus; <i>Textbook "Introduction and Overview,"</i> pp. 1-17		
8/26	History and Conceptualization of Public Opinion	Herbst "History and Meaning of Public Opinion," pp. 21-33	√	
8/31		Glynn et al., "The Meanings of Public Opinion," pp. 3-25	√	
9/2		Gallup & Rae "The Voices of the People," pp. 16-33; Blumer "Public Opinion and Public Opinion Polling," pp. 542-549	√	Assign. #1
9/7	Measuring Public Opinion	<i>Textbook Ch. 1,</i> pp. 21-40	√	
9/9		AAPOR report; iPoll training video	√	Mini #1
9/14		Schober et al. "Social Media Analyses...", pp. 180-211	√	
9/16	Assessing the Quality of Public Opinion	Yankelovich "What is Quality in Public Opinion?" pp. 24-37	√	
9/21		<i>Textbook Ch. 2,</i> pp. 41-71	√	Assign. #2
9/23	Deliberation, Discussion & Public Opinion	Tarde "Opinion and Conversation," 297-318	√	
9/28		Gastil "Conversation and Discussion," pp. 15-41; Fishkin & Farrar "Deliberative Polling," pp. 68-79; Kent County Deliberative Poll video	√	
9/30	Affect and Public Opinion	<i>Textbook Ch. 9,</i> pp. 202-235	√	Mini #2
10/5	Foundations of Preference: Ideology & Partisanship	<i>Textbook Ch. 3,</i> pp. 75-98	√	
10/7		<i>Textbook Ch. 4,</i> pp. 99-117	√	

10/12		<i>Textbook Ch. 5</i> , pp. 118-136	√	
10/14	Foundations of Preference: Race, Gender, & Religion			
10/19		<i>Textbook Ch. 6</i> , pp. 137-158	√	
10/21		<i>Textbook Ch. 7</i> , pp. 159-176	√	Assign. #3
10/26		Campbell et al. "Religion & Public Opinion," pp. 232-257	√	
10/28	Place, Space & Public Opinion	Cramer "The Contours of Rural Consciousness," pp. 45-89	√	
11/2		Pew Research Center "What Unites and Divides...", pp. 4-15		Assign. #4
11/4	Perceptions of Public Opinion	Scheufele "The Spiral of Silence," pp. 175-183	√	
11/9	Polls, Protest and Public Opinion Expression	Brettschneider "The News Media's Use of Opinion Polls," pp. 479-486	√	Assign. #5
11/11				
11/16		Hardmeier "The Effects of Published Polls on Citizens," pp. 504-513	√	
11/18		McLeod & Hertog "The Manufacture of 'Public Opinion'...", pp. 259-275	√	
11/23		Vox Protest coverage video		Assign. #6
11/25				
11/30	Campaigns and Media Influence on Public Opinion	<i>Textbook Ch. 13</i> , pp. 297-314	√	
12/2	Public Opinion and Public Policy	<i>Textbook Ch. 15</i> , pp. 338-362	√	
12/7	Integration			Assign. #7 Assign. #8

Note: OSU does not hold classes on 10/14, 11/11, and 11/25.

Full Citations for Non-Textbook Assigned Readings

- American Association for Public Opinion Research. (no date). *Task force on 2020 pre-election polling: An evaluation of the 2020 general election polls*.
https://www.aapor.org/AAPOR_Main/media/MainSiteFiles/Task-Force-on-2020-Pre-Election-Polling_Executive-Summary.pdf
- Blumer, H. (1948). Public opinion and public opinion polling. *American Sociological Review*, 13, 542-549.
- Brettschneider, F. (2008). The news media's use of opinion polls. In W. Donsbach & M. W. Traugott (Eds.) *The SAGE handbook of public opinion research* (pp. 479-486). Los Angeles: Sage.
- Campbell, D. E., Layman, G. C., & Green, J. C. (2016). A jump to the right, a step to the left: Religion and public opinion. In A. J. Berinsky (Ed.) *New directions in public opinion* (2nd ed., pp. 232-257). New York: Routledge.
- Cramer, K. J. (2016). *The politics of resentment: Rural consciousness in Wisconsin and the rise of Scott Walker* (pp. 45-89). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Fishkin, J., & Farrar, C. (2005). Deliberative polling: From experiment to community resource. In J. Gastil & P. Levine (Eds.) *The deliberative democracy handbook: Strategies for effective civic engagement in the twenty-first century* (pp. 68-79). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Gallup, G., & Rae, S. F. (1940). *The pulse of democracy: The public-opinion poll and how it works* (pp. 16-33). New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Gastil, J. (2008). *Political communication and deliberation* (pp. 15-41). Los Angeles: Sage.
- Glynn, C. J., et al. (2016). *Public opinion* (3rd ed., pp. 3-25). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Hardmeier, S. (2008). The effects of published polls on citizens. In W. Donsbach & M. W. Traugott (Eds.) *The SAGE handbook of public opinion research* (pp. 504-513). Los Angeles: Sage.
- Herbst, S. (2016). The history and meaning of public opinion. In A. J. Berinsky (Ed.) *New directions in public opinion* (2nd ed., pp. 21-33). New York: Routledge.
- McLeod, D. M., & Hertog, J. K. (1992). The manufacture of 'public opinion' by reporters: Informal cues for public perceptions of protest groups. *Discourse & Society*, 3, 259-275.

- Pew Research Center. (2018, May). *What unites and divides urban, suburban and rural communities*. <https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2018/05/Pew-Research-Center-Community-Type-Full-Report-FINAL.pdf>
- Scheufele, D. A. (2008). Spiral of silence theory. In W. Donsbach & M. W. Traugott (Eds.) *The SAGE handbook of public opinion research* (pp. 175-183). Los Angeles: Sage.
- Schober, M. F., Pasek, J., Guggenheim, L., Lampe, C., & Conrad, F. G. (2016). Social media analyses for social measurement. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 80, 180-211.
- Tarde, G. (1898/2010). Opinion and conversation. In T. N. Clark (Ed.) *Gabriel Tarde: On communication and social influence* (pp. 297-318). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Yankelovich, D. (1991). *Coming to public judgment: Making democracy work in a complex world* (pp. 24-37). Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.