

COMM 573:

Networked Publics: Theories and Encounters

Annenberg School for Communication & Journalism
University of Southern California

Tuesday, 2-4:50pm

Location: ANN-211

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Office Hours: Mondays 12:30-1:45pm in ANN-310b (or email for appointment)

This course introduces students to historical and contemporary debates around how publics are made, what they can look like, and what they should be. It traces normative models of the public across communication infrastructures, focusing on the role that networked information technologies play in how publics are imagined and realized.

Intended for PhD students in Communication, students will closely read and evaluate foundational accounts of publicness (*e.g.*, Calhoun, Dewey, Habermas, Young, Fraser, Baker, Fiss, Taylor), examine newer work on the idea of networked publics in light of these historical accounts, and build toward a theoretically informed critique of a contemporary sociotechnical system that claims to serve public functions, or that students argue serves public functions.

The course is organized into 6 themes:

1. Foundations & Models
2. Norms & Ideals
3. Laws & Institutions
4. Sizes & Scales
5. Designs & Practices
6. Imaginings & Innovations

The readings are designed to address weekly “thought questions” that guide students’ reflections as they encounter different theories and examples of public spheres. Essentially, the entire course is focused on a single question: what are networked public spheres and why do they matter?

Learning Objectives

By the end of the course, students should be able to talk about public spheres from different theoretical and normative perspectives, appreciate the tensions and tradeoffs inherent in them, make critiques of contemporary, networked public spheres, and see connections between the study of public sphere communication infrastructures and sociotechnical systems.

Expectations & Norms

Students are expected to be present and focused in each meeting; a course like this works best when students engage with the readings and each other thoughtfully, professionally, and attentively. See this as a space to practice critiquing ideas and your fellow students as colleagues. Please use computers for note taking only, silence phones before each meeting begins, and refrain from having back-channel or side conversations. Your participation is crucial. Please speak up, take risks, and experiment with taking new perspectives you wouldn't normally adopt. It is also critically important that you do each week's readings and that you meet the deadlines for the weekly memos – in a course like this you can't afford to fall behind on the readings or come to class unprepared.

Statement for Students with Disabilities

Any student requesting academic accommodations based on a disability is required to register with Disability Services and Programs (DSP) each semester. A letter of verification for approved accommodations can be obtained from DSP. Please be sure the letter is delivered to me (or to TA) as early in the semester as possible. DSP is located in STU 301 and is open 8:30 a.m.–5:00 p.m., Monday through Friday. Website for DSP and contact information: (213) 740-0776 (Phone), (213) 740-6948 (TDD only), (213) 740-8216 (FAX) ability@usc.edu.

Statement on Academic Integrity

USC seeks to maintain an optimal learning environment. General principles of academic honesty include the concept of respect for the intellectual property of others, the expectation that individual work will be submitted unless otherwise allowed by an instructor, and the obligations both to protect one's own academic work from misuse by others as well as to avoid using another's work as one's own. All students are expected to understand and abide by these principles. *SCampus* (<http://scampus.usc.edu/>), the Student Guidebook, contains the University Student Conduct Code (see University Governance, Section 11.00), while the recommended sanctions are located in Appendix A.

Emergency Preparedness / Course Continuity in a Crisis

In case of a declared emergency if travel to campus is not feasible, USC executive leadership will announce an electronic way for instructors to teach students in their residence halls or homes using a combination of Blackboard, teleconferencing, and other technologies. See the university's site on Campus Safety and Emergency Preparedness: <http://preparedness.usc.edu/>

Stress Management

Students are under a lot of pressure. If you start to feel overwhelmed, it is important that you reach out for help. A good place to start is the USC Student Counseling Services office at 213-740-7711. The service is confidential, and there is no charge.

Your @usc.edu Email Address

Please be sure that you either check your @usc.edu email address regularly, that it doesn't go over quota, or that you forward it to an email address you *do* check regularly. Your USC email the primary way for us to communicate and it is linked to Blackboard announcements.

Laptop & Phone Policy

Your phone must be switched *off* during class and I will ask you to turn it off if I see you using it. You may use your laptops in class but *only* to take notes, research issues that arise during class, or otherwise add to the seminar's conversation. Research shows that using phones or laptops in class for things other than class work harms your learning and that of those around you. **If I think laptops are distracting others, I may ban them from class at any time.**

FAQs

Q: Can I miss class?

A: Please don't. A class like this really depends upon people doing the reading, showing up, asking good questions, and engaging with everyone present. That said, if you're truly ill or have a great reason to be absent, please send me an email letting me know that you're missing class.

Q: Can I submit a memo or paper late?

A: No, please don't. Weekly memos will not be accepted after the due date and all other papers will be graded down a partial letter grade for each day the paper is late. *E.g.*, a B-plus paper that is one day late will be given a B; an A paper that is one day late will be given an A-minus. The idea here is not to have a strict and unreasonable late policy, but to ensure that students have an equal amount of time to do their work. Of course, if you have a valid medical or personal emergency please email me as soon as possible and we'll work something out.

Q: What happens when I send you a question over email?

A: I generally answer emails within 24 hours, often faster. (If I'm traveling it might be a bit longer.) If it's a more involved question that doesn't need an immediate reply I might suggest that we meet during my office hours instead. I generally don't answer email on weekends or on weekdays after 7pm.

Q: Can I communicate with you over Twitter or Facebook or other social media about the class?

A: Please don't. Social media are great, but email is where I do course business so that I can write more than 140 characters, and not worry about whether I need to "friend" or "follow" students.

Q: When can I meet with you?

A: I'd prefer that you come by during my office hours (listed above), but if you can't make it then, email me and we'll find another time.

Q: Can I use this seminar to work on a dissertation chapter or prospectus?

A: The point of this seminar is to give you time to think deeply about a new body literature, hear your colleagues' analyses, and help you build frameworks for future research. This seminar should certainly complement your dissertation research. It's a place to try out relevant research questions and explore empirical settings – but, from weekly memos to your final project, you should always generate *original* work in this seminar, never re-using writing you've already done for other classes or your dissertation.

EVALUATION

Weekly Memos with Question (20%): Post to Blackboard every week by 7pm Monday

Each week, you will write a short, approximately 350-500 word memo that engages with at least two of the week's readings. You have considerable freedom: you can pose questions you had as you read; contrast readings; connect themes you saw emerging among texts; critique authors' arguments; situate texts in relation to networked technologies. The goal is to reflect upon the readings and share reflections with your classmates so you arrive to class ready to participate. Memos will be graded as such:

'check-plus' = thoughtful and sophisticated analysis that moves a conversation forward

'check' = a good effort that contributes to class, but could have been stronger

'minus' = not quite up to expectations, let's talk in person about how to improve

Please distribute each week's memo to the *entire class*, through Blackboard, by **7pm of the Monday night before Tuesday's class**.

Peer Feedback on Memo (5%)

Once during the semester you will give written feedback on one of your peer's weekly memos and meet with them to discuss the feedback (a video / voice call is fine if scheduling is tricky). When it's your turn to give feedback you'll submit your review to me and the peer (a few paragraphs on the strengths and opportunities for improvement in your peer's work); when it's your turn to get feedback you'll submit a short reflection on the feedback to me and your peer reviewer (just a couple of paragraphs on what you heard in the feedback and how you'll address it going forward)

'Opening' Readings (20%)

Four times (4x) during the semester, you will individually 'open' one of the readings. I'll say more in class about what this means, but the ideal opening: stays close to the text (no divergences until we have a shared, grounded understanding of the author's argument); situates the text in relation to other readings and the course themes; and moves conversation forward, generating new research questions that critique and extend the text. You can make a hand-out or slides if you like, but neither is required.

'Opening' Systems (10%)

Twice (2x) during the semester, individually or in a pair, you will lead a discussion on a sociotechnical system that you think is relevant to the course's public sphere themes. These may be systems that you discussed in your weekly memo or systems that you would like to think through as a group in the context of the week's readings. Please be ready to discuss, for example: why you think it is an instance of a public sphere, who participates in it, what norms are embedded in its design, where its content comes from, how it is regulated (broadly construed), how you might study it, what research questions you would like to ask through it, what its history is, who is responsible for maintaining it, how it relates to this week's readings. (If you learned about the system from a news or trade press article, please feel free to email those articles beforehand through Blackboard.)

Project proposal (5%) :: Due November 8

In preparation for your final project (see below), you will submit a proposal that describes what you're going to do, what theories or questions you'll be working with, what literature you're using or analyzing, what research methods you'll be using, what your timeline is, and any resources you require. This is meant to be a check-in so that you and I can understand what your final project will be and what you need to make it successful. In addition to this written proposal, I'm happy to meet with you 1-1 to discuss your plans.

Peer Feedback on Proposal (5%) :: Due November 15

In the spirit of the memo feedback, you will review one of your peer's project proposal (someone different than the person whose memo you reviewed). As with the memo feedback, you'll submit your review to me and your peer (a few paragraphs on the strengths and opportunities for improvement in your peer's work); and you'll submit a short reflection on the feedback to me and your peer reviewer (a couple of paragraphs on what you heard in the feedback and how you'll address it going forward).

Final project (40%) :: Due December 8

You have considerable freedom to decide the topic of your final project, but I ask you to choose one of the following formats: (1) a traditional "deep analysis" paper (5,000-6,000 words) in which you identify, analyze, and synthesize among a body of literature on some aspect of public spheres; (2) a system evaluation paper (5,000-6,000 words) that is essentially a more in-depth public sphere case study (it must be a different example) in which you engage more deeply with theory and analyze gaps in theoretical literature and/or system design; (3) a system design in which you prototype a new example public sphere (we can discuss different design approaches and prototyping materials) *and* write a description (3,000 words) of how your prototype connects to the theoretical literature and course concepts. For this system design option, you are encouraged to work in a group to *prototype* the system, but each group member must submit his/her own description paper.

For all formats and papers, you are encouraged to use the readings we've discussed in class, consult the "recommended/supplemental" reading list at the end of the syllabus, and find sources of your own. I will say more about this project in class. In the final class, you will give a 10-15 minute presentation on the state of your final project, getting feedback from the class that should feed into your final paper submission (due during the exam period).

SCHEDULE

Depending on how the course unfolds, I may change the order of readings, or swap some for readings from the 'recommended' list at the end of the syllabus. If so, I will give you 2 weeks' notice.

Week #1, August 23 :: Introduction & Overview

Introductions, review the syllabus, course themes and expectations. Discuss contemporary examples of networked public spheres and how they relate to course themes.

QUESTIONS:

What is your definition of a public sphere? What public spheres do you participate in? What do you expect of public spheres, how do you know when one is 'working'? What do you think the norms and values of a public sphere should be, why, and how do you see these instantiated in networked infrastructure design?

Week #2, August 30 :: Foundations & Models (Part One)

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

How have different authors historically conceptualized the public sphere? What is included and excluded within each idea of "public" and how does it relate to the concept of a "public good"? What does each theory of the public assume about individuals, how they behave, and why they associate with each other? How can we analytically and empirically distinguish among: group, market, community, and public?

READINGS

Calhoun, C. (1998). The public good as a social and cultural project. In W. Powell & E. Clemens (Eds.), *Private action and the public good* (pp. 20-35): Yale University Press.

Dewey, J. (1954). Search for the public. *The public and its problems* (pp. 3-36). New York: Swallow Press.

Marres, N. (2005). Issues spark a public into being: A key but often forgotten point of the Lippmann-Dewey debate. In B. Latour & P. Weibel (Eds.), *Making things public: Atmospheres of democracy* (pp. 208-217). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Taylor, C. (2002). Modern social imaginaries. *Public Culture*, 14(1), 91-124.

Week #3, September 6 :: Foundations & Models (Part Two)

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

What does Calhoun say qualifies as a Habermasian public sphere? How does he interpret Habermas's readings of particular time periods and material conditions? Where do these conditions exist (or do not exist) today? What is Benson's critique of Habermas, how does Fung balance different priorities, and why have media scholars often focused on Habermas? And, thinking back to last week's idea of the "unencumbered self", how can a critique of individualism become a critique of Habermas's public sphere?

READINGS

Benson, R. (2009). Shaping the public sphere: Habermas and beyond. *American Sociologist*, 40, 175-197.

Calhoun, C. (1992). Introduction: Habermas and the public sphere. In C. Calhoun (Ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (pp. 1-48). Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Fung, A. (2003). "Recipes for public spheres: Eight institutional design choices and their consequences." *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 11(3): 338–367.

Lunt, P., & Livingstone, S. (2013). Media studies' fascination with the concept of the public sphere: Critical reflections and emerging debates. *Media, Culture & Society*, 35(1), 87-96.

Week #4, September 13 :: Norms & Ideals (Part One)

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

What connections do they make among the ideals of participation, civil society, and the public sphere? What models of change are implied or advocated for by the different authors? What empirical or theoretical evidence do they use to support their claims?

READINGS

Christians, C.G., Glasser, T.L., McQuail, D., Nordenstreng, K., & White, R.A. (2009). The principles and practice of democracy. *Normative theories of the media* (pp. 91-113). Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Kelty, C., Panofsky, A., Currie, M., Crooks, R., Erickson, S., Garcia, P., . . . Wood, S. (2015). Seven dimensions of contemporary participation disentangled. *Journal of the Association for Information Science & Technology*, 66(3), 474-488.

Schudson, M. (2000). Good citizens and bad history: Today's political ideals in historical perspective. *The Communication Review*, 4(1), 1-19. doi:10.1080/10714420009359458

Shaw, A., & Hill, B.M. (2014). Laboratories of oligarchy? How the iron law extends to peer production. *Journal of Communication*. doi: 10.1111/jcom.12082

Week #5, September 20 :: Norms & Ideals (Part Two)

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

How does each author critique the idea of a public sphere by highlighting some aspect of communication? How might earlier models of public spheres (e.g., Calhoun, Taylor, Habermas) be revised to take into account their critiques?

READINGS

Dobson, A. (2012). Listening: The new democratic deficit. *Political Studies*, 60(4), 843-859.

Fraser, N. (1990). Rethinking the public sphere: A contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy. *Social Text*, 25/26, 56-80.

Squires, C. R. (2002). Rethinking the Black Public Sphere: An Alternative Vocabulary for Multiple Public Spheres. *Communication Theory*, 12(4), 446-468. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2885.2002.tb00278.x

Young, I.M. (1995). The ideal of community and the politics of difference. In P. A. Weiss & M. Friedman (Eds.), *Feminism and community* (pp. 233-257). Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Week #6, September 27 :: Laws & Institutions (Part One)

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

How do different types of state media governance suggest different visions of democracy? What is the role of the state in establishing or regulating the public sphere? What rationales are offered for state involvement in a public sphere? Why are these questions for Communication scholars?

READINGS

Baker, C.E. (2002). Different democracies and their media. *Media, markets, and democracy* (pp. 129-153). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Castells, M. (2008). The new public sphere: Global civil society, communication networks, and global governance. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616(1), 78-93.

Pickard, V. (2013). Social democracy or corporate libertarianism? Conflicting media policy narratives in the wake of market failure. *Communication Theory*, 23(4), 336-355. doi:10.1111/comt.12021

Schudson, M. (1994). "The 'public sphere' and its problems: Bringing the state (back) in." *Notre Dame Journal of Law, Ethics & Public Policy* 8: 529-546.

Week #7, October 4 :: No physical meeting, informal fieldwork assignment

Immerse yourself in some environment or experience you think of as a “public” and post a 300-500 word reflection to Blackboard. E.g., you might attend a physical community meeting in your neighborhood, go to a City Hall forum, join a Wikipedia page, observe a subreddit, follow a Twitter hashtag, or participate in something else that you consider to be a “public”. Tell us what you did, what you observed, and connect to at least 2 of the readings we’ve discussed so far.

Week #8, October 11 :: Laws & Institutions (Part Two)

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

How does the First Amendment relate to the idea of the public sphere? How does U.S. Supreme Court First Amendment case law help us understand the court’s interpretation of public sphere? What images of the public do Bollinger, Fiss, Schauer, and Strömbäck assume are possible and how do these images influence their thinking about the press as a public institution?

READINGS

Bollinger, L.C. (1991). The central image. *Images of a free press* (pp. 1-23). Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Fiss, O. (1996). The democratic mission of the press. *The irony of free speech* (pp. 50-78). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Strömbäck, J. (2005). In search of a standard: Four models of democracy and their normative implications for journalism. *Journalism Studies*, 6(3), 331-345.

Schauer, F. (2005). Towards an institutional first amendment. *Minnesota Law Review*, 89, 1256-1279.

Recommended:

Browse the list of short posts and papers from the Harvard Law Review “Freedom of the Press” symposium: <http://harvardlawreview.org/roundtable/symposium-freedom-of-the-press/>

Week #9, October 18 :: Sizes & Scales (Part One)

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

What kind of publics do different scales of communication give rise to? Where is the transnational public sphere, and what kinds of diversity does the concept of multiculturalism require or create?

READINGS

Dahl, R. A., & Tufte, E. R. (1973). Size and democracy in political thought Size and democracy (pp. 4-16). Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Dahl, R. A., & Tufte, E. R. (1973). Dimensions of size and democracy Size and democracy (pp. 17-29). Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bennett, L., & Segerberg, A. (2012). The logic of connective action: Digital media and personalization of contentious politics. *Information, Communication & Society*, 15(5), 739-768.

Fraser, N. (2014). Transnationalizing the public sphere: On the legitimacy and efficacy of public opinion in a post-Westphalian world. In K. Nash (Ed.), *Transnationalizing the public sphere* (pp. 8-42). London, UK: Polity.

Glasser, T. L., Awad, I., & Kim, J. W. (2009). The claims of multiculturalism and journalism's promise of diversity. *Journal of Communication*, 59(1), 57-78.

Week #10, October 25 :: Sizes & Scales (Part Two)

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

What public spheres are assumed in aggregation technologies designed to harness and rationalize the scale and diversity discussed last week? What exactly is being counted, and what assumptions do these aggregations make about the political dynamics of individuals and collectives? Who has power to make or resist aggregations?

READINGS

Herbst, S. (1995). Quantification and reality. *Numbered voices: How opinion polling has shaped American politics* (pp. 7-27). Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Igo, S. (2007). Introduction: America in aggregate. *The averaged American: Surveys, citizens, and the making of a mass public* (pp. 1-22). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Peters, John Durham. (2001). "The only proper scale of representation": The politics of statistics and stories. *Political Communication*, 18, 433-449.

Salmon, C.T., & Glasser, T.L. (1995). The politics of polling and the limits of consent. In T. L. Glasser & C. T. Salmon (Eds.), *Public opinion and the communication of consent* (pp. 437-458). New York: The Guilford Press.

Week #11, November 1 :: Designs & Practices (Part One)

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

How are platforms, infrastructures, social media, and utilities like or unlike publics? What forms of association does each create or require for its normative aims?

READINGS

Andrejevic, M. (2013). Public service media utilities: Rethinking search engines and social networking as public goods. *Media International Australia, Incorporating Culture & Policy*, 146(123-132).

Gillespie, T. (Forthcoming). Governance of and by platforms. In J. Burgess, T. Poell & A. Marwick (Eds.), *SAGE Handbook of Social Media*. London, UK: SAGE.

Napoli, P. M. (2015). Social media and the public interest: Governance of news platforms in the realm of individual and algorithmic gatekeepers. *Telecommunications Policy*. doi: 10.1016/j.telpol.2014.12.003

Plantin, J.-C., Lagoze, C., Edwards, P. N., & Sandvig, C. (2016). Infrastructure studies meet platform studies in the age of Google and Facebook. *New Media & Society*. doi:10.1177/1461444816661553

Week #12, November 8 :: Designs & Practices (Part Two)

-- PROJECT PROPOSALS DUE --

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

What images of the public are invoked or critiqued in Barry's and Marres's discussions of materiality? Are these "platforms" for publics, as discussed last week? How are the networked publics created through affective news challenges to Habermas? How do materials and practices appear in the account of Weibo publics?

READINGS

Barry, A. (2013). The affected public *Material politics: Disputes along the pipeline* (pp. 95-115). New York, NY: Wiley-Blackwell.

Marres, N. (2012). The invention of material publics: Returns to American pragmatism. *Material participation: Technology, the environment and everyday publics* (pp. 28-59). London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Papacharissi, Z., & Oliveira, M. (2012). Affective news and networked publics: The rhythms of news storytelling on #Egypt. *Journal of Communication*, 62(2), 266-282.

Rauchfleisch, Adrian, & Schäfer, Mike S. (2014). Multiple public spheres of Weibo: a typology of forms and potentials of online public spheres in China. *Information, Communication & Society*, 18(2), 139-155. doi: 10.1080/1369118X.2014.940364

Week #13, November 15 :: Imaginings & Innovations (Part One)

-- PEER FEEDBACK ON PROJECT PROPOSALS DUE --

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

Recalling Taylor's notion of a "social imaginary" from the first week, what kind of publics are imagined or prototyped in algorithmic media? How does an algorithmically calculated public differ from the publics convened through polls, surveys, and questionnaires? What kind of research tools and environments are required to know networked publics?

READINGS

Crawford, K. (2016). Can an algorithm be agonistic? Ten scenes from life in calculated publics. *Science, Technology & Human Values*, 41(1), 77-92. doi:10.1177/0162243915589635

Gillespie, T. (2014). The relevance of algorithms. In T. Gillespie, P. Boczkowski & K. A. Foot (Eds.), *Media technologies: Essays on communication, materiality, and society* (pp. 167-194). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Kennedy, H., & Moss, G. (2015). Known or knowing publics? Social media data mining and the question of public agency. *Big Data & Society*, 2(2). doi:10.1177/2053951715611145.

Napoli, P. M. (2014). Automated media: An institutional theory perspective on algorithmic media production and consumption. *Communication Theory*, 24(3), 340-360. doi:10.1111/comt.12039

Week #14, November 22 :: Imaginings & Innovations (Part Two)

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

How are publics *made* through design activities? How does the design and deployment of digital technologies in design settings relate to Gusfield's account of the social construction of public problems?

READINGS

Coleman, G. (2013). Introduction: A tale of two worlds *Coding freedom: The ethics and aesthetics of hacking* (pp. 1-22). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Gusfield, J. R. (1984). Introduction *The culture of public problems: Drink-driving and the symbolic order* (pp. 1-23). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

LeDantec, Christopher A., & DiSalvo, Carl. (2013). Infrastructuring and the formation of publics in participatory design. *Social Studies of Science*, 43, 241-264. doi: 10.1177/0306312712471581

Venturini, T., Ricci, D., Mauri, M., Kimbell, L., & Meunier, A. (2015). Designing controversies and their publics. *Design Issues*, 31(3), 74-87. doi: 10.1162/DESI_a_00340.

Week #15, November 29 :: Student Presentations & Course Wrap-Up
Final Papers Due Friday, December 9th

RECOMMENDED/SUPPLEMENTAL READINGS, ORGANIZED BY THEMES

FOUNDATIONS & MODELS

- Benhabib, S. (1992). Models of public space: Hannah Arendt, the Liberal Tradition, and Jurgen Habermas. Habermas and the public sphere. C. Calhoun. Cambridge, MA, The MIT Press: 73-98.
- Calhoun, C. (1993). "Civil society and the public sphere." *Public Culture* 5(3): 267-280.
- Christman, John. (1987). Autonomy: A defense of the split-level self. *Southern Journal of Philosophy*, 25, 281-294.
- Christman, J. (1991). Liberalism and individual positive freedom. *Ethics*, 101(2), 343-359.
- Christman, J. (2013). Freedom, autonomy, and social selves. In B. Baum & R. Nichols (Eds.), *Isaiah Berlin and the politics of freedom: 'Two concepts of liberty' 50 years later* (pp. 87-101). London, UK: Routledge.
- Dahlberg, L. (2005). "The Habermasian public sphere: Taking difference seriously?" *Theory and Society* 34(2): 111-136.
- Ferree, M. M., W. Gamson, et al. (2002). "Four models of the public sphere in modern democracies." *Theory and Society* 31: 289-324.
- Flyvbjerg, Bent. (1998). Habermas and Foucault: Thinkers for civil society? *British Journal of Sociology*, 49(2), 210-233.
- Fraser, N. (1990). Rethinking the public sphere: A contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy. *Social Text*, 25/26, 56-80.
- Garnham, N. (1992). *The media and the public sphere. Habermas and the Public Sphere*. C. Calhoun. Cambridge, MA, The MIT Press: 359-376.
- Glasser, T. L. and C. T. Salmon (1995). The politics of polling and the limits of consent. Public opinion and the communication of consent. T. L. Glasser and C. T. Salmon. New York, The Guilford Press: 437-458.
- Habermas, J. (1974). The public sphere: An encyclopedia article. *New German Critique*, 3, 49-55.
- Habermas, J. (1989). The structural transformation of the public sphere. Cambridge, MA, The MIT Press.
- Habermas, J. (1998). Three normative models of democracy. The inclusion of the other: Studies in political theory. Cambridge, MA, MIT Press: 240-252.

- Held, D. (2006). Deliberative democracy and the defence of the public realm. *Models of democracy*. Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press: 231-255.
- Held, D. (2006). Introduction. *Models of democracy*. Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press: 1-8.
- Lippmann, W. (1922/1997). *Public opinion*. New York, NY, Free Press.
- Lippmann, W. (1925/1993). *The phantom public*. Edison, NJ, Transaction Publishers.
- Lunt, Peter, & Livingstone, Sonia. (2013). Media studies' fascination with the concept of the public sphere: Critical reflections and emerging debates. *Media, Culture & Society*, 35(1), 87-96.
- Mansbridge, J. (1998). On the contested nature of the public good. *Private Action and the Public Good*. W. Powell and E. Clemens, Yale University Press: 3-19.
- Markell, P. (1997). "Contesting consensus: Rereading Habermas on the public sphere." *Constellations* 3(3): 377-400.
- Peters, J. D. (1995). Historical tensions in the concept of public opinion. *Public Opinion and the Communication of Consent*. C. T. S. Theodore L. Glasser. New York, The Guildford Press: 3-32.
- Sandel, M. (1984). The procedural republic and the unencumbered self. *Political Theory*, 12, 81-96.
- Schudson, M. (1992). Was there ever a public sphere? If so, when? Reflections on the American case. *Habermas and the public sphere*. C. Calhoun. Cambridge, MA, MIT Press: 143-163.
- Speier, H. (1950). "Historical development of public opinion." *American Journal of Sociology* 55(4): 376-388.
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