The College of Wooster

Open Works

Senior Independent Study Theses

2021

Political Identity Rules: Support of Renewable Energy Jobs and Attitudes on Soil Conservation in Northeastern Ohio

Leah H. Jorn
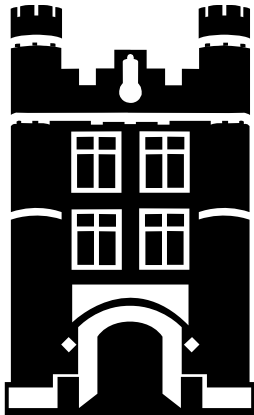*The College of Wooster*, ljorn21@wooster.edu

Recommended Citation

THE COLLEGE OF WOOSTER

Department of Environmental Studies

Political Identity Rules: Support of Renewable Energy Jobs and Attitudes on Soil Conservation in Northeastern Ohio

Leah Jorn

Advised By Dr. Erum Haider

March 2021

The College of Wooster

Political Identity Rules: Support of Renewable Energy Jobs and Attitudes on Soil Conservation in Northeastern Ohio

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE COLLEGE OF WOOSTER

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR

THE DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF ARTS

By

Leah Jorn

Dr. Erum Haider   _____   Advisor

Wooster, Ohio

March 20th, 2021

Table of contents

List of Tables

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to look at the support of a proposed Act and renewable energy jobs as it paired with endorsement from elite Republicans. This was tested across political groups but mainly focuses on Republican responses. The hypothesis was that with elite endorsement Republican approval will increase for both the Act and renewable energy jobs. This study also focuses on attitudes of local farmers in Northeastern Ohio on soil conservation and how Republican values and identity politics affect this. This was studied through both a survey of approximately 450 people and through archival work. The results indicate that elite endorsement did not increase support for either the Act or renewable energy jobs within the Republican sample. Democrats and Independents responses actually increased support for the Act even with Republican endorsement. Additionally, while endorsement does not increase support, within this sample, support for both was relatively high. Both the Act and jobs are predictable by political identification, this is also a stronger predictor than the prime (elite endorsement). The archival research found that racial identity politics catalyze political beliefs already held by many local farmers which intensifies their desire to not have their farming be governed, which includes how they treat their soil.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Haider, for her hard work in helping me develop this project

and all her input in helping to revise my ideas and writing. I am grateful she helped me learn how to

complete an advanced research project and helped me translate my thoughts into a succinct paper as

well as her general support throughout the process.

Many thanks to professors in other departments, Professor Angie Bos, for help with survey software,

as well as Professor Heather Fitz Gibbon and Professor Anne Nurse for help with my statistical

interpretation.

Huge thanks go to my parents, who were there for the whole journey- Junior I.S., to the completion of

I.S.- for their unconditional emotional and academic support. Thanks go to my Grandmother as well

for supporting me in my college education.

I would also like to thank my roommates Heidi and Paige, who were there for edits, to talk through

ideas and to cheer me on as we went through the process of I.S.

Chapter 1:

Attitudes about climate change in the United States are predictable by political party affiliation (Coffey & Joseph, 2013, Bolson, et al., 2014, Guber, 2013, Driscoll, D., 2019, Wiest et al., 2015). While Democrats find climate change to be an issue, Republicans do not (Guber, 2013). Most Democrats believe the government should be doing more to help mitigate the negative effects of climate change, however many Republicans disagree. Much of this pattern has been attributed to party elites' influence on Americans (Guber, 2013, Druckman et al., 2013, Bolson et al., 2014, DeNicola & Subramaniam, 2014, Coffey & Joseph, 2013). In order to stay faithful to their party, voters opinion's mimic party elites. This creates an issue where Republican voters either do not believe in, or want to address climate change (Bolson et at., 2014). On the other hand, Democratic voters are cued in by congress people like Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Bernie Sanders that action needs to be taken.

Because of this phenomenon, certain topics like climate change are highly politically polarized and hard to pass legislation on as they do not have bi-partisan support (Guber, 2013). Some topics, however, discussed amongst politicians and everyday Americans have escaped political polarization, such as job creation. My research looks at how to frame job creation in the context of renewable energy in a way that would receive support from Republicans. I hypothesize that when primed with endorsement from Republican political elites, American Republicans will be open to the issue of renewable energy jobs.

Interestingly, there are already incidents where Republicans have supported legislation that promotes sustainability. The Republican mayor of Carmel, Indiana, for example, has pushed for sustainable technology in the city. In an interview, he was asked why he incorporated environmental action into his Republican platform. He cited Nixon and Reagan, two Republican presidents who passed significant environmental legislation (Eaves, 2019). Through cases like this, it is clear that

caring about environmental issues is not inherently Republican or Democratic, liberal or conservative, rather all about the way it is framed.

One pertinent issue that may explain why attitudes about climate change are predicted by party identification is white, rural identity politics. Most Republicans fall into this identification as they are white and live in rural spaces (Knuckey & Kim 2020; Scala & Johnson, 2017). Exploring the increasing appearance of this identity in recent years also helps explain the statistical findings of my study. This white rural identity is prevalent in Wayne County and the surrounding area, and is exemplified through soil politics in Wayne County. It is expressed through the attitudes of local farmers on soil conservation and related Republican values and identity politics (Goodwin, 2014b; Goodwin, 2014c). This is incredibly important research, as soil conservation has huge potential to mitigate the effects of climate change, thus it is important to know the social context of soil regulation. According to Halldorsson et al., and Alessandro Piccolo, soil sequestration, especially as incorporated into farming techniques, can sequester large amounts of carbon while also improving soil quality (2015, 2011). Researchers such as Halldorsson, Piccolo and many others have completed experiments to demonstrate highly effective ways to mitigate the negative effects of climate change. We know that soil conservation can solve problems with our climate and the quality of soil and food (Halldorsson et al., 2015; Piccolo, 2011). The issue is not then, how can we fix our climate problems, rather how can we implement the techniques that are already proven by science to work. Thus, my research also aims to look at the attitudes of local farmers on soil conservation and how Republican ideals and identity politics affect this.

In my second chapter I will cover existing literature on framing climate change, white, rural identity politics, as well as some relevant theory. Chapter 3 will cover my methods, which includes a survey to learn more about approval of job creation in the context of renewable energy. My research on soil conservation will be archival. Chapter 4 will show how my results contradict past data. My data does not show that elite political endorsement increases approval of my proposed Act or support

for renewable energy jobs, rather it shows that Democrats and Independents increased support for the Act. It also shows how within my sample, Republican support was relatively high for both the Act and renewable energy jobs. My data also shows how political identification can be a better predictor of support for the Act and renewable energy jobs than elite endorsement. My archival research shows how the intensifying of racial identity politics among white rural Republicans catalyzes political beliefs already held by local farmers. This intensifies their belief that the government should not interfere with their farming, including how they manage their soil.

Chapter 2:

      In the reviewed literature regarding priming, two main patterns appear. The first is that elite endorsement increases support of various environmental topics among laypersons, the other is that political identification is a stronger predictor than primes of individual attitudes on environmental topics (Bolsen et al., 2014; Guber, 2013; Wiest, Raymond & Clawson, 2015; Singh & Swanson, 2017). One way this can be explained is through Self Determination Theory, which can help explain political persuasion. Another way these patterns can be explained is literature on racial identity politics. This tells us how white identity is increasingly prevalent in American politics and how this identity likes to separate itself from other political identities through anger and resentment of other groups (Knuckey & Kim 2020; Frank, 2004).

      Many researchers have looked at the many different ways framing climate change has interacted with political affiliation. Authors Schuldt, Konrath and Schwarz studied how framing climate issues as either 'climate change' or 'global warming' affected responses to it. They hypothesized that if a question was worded exactly the same except for the terms 'climate change' or 'global warming', the term 'global warming' would cause less respondents to say they believed in the phenomenon, especially if they self-identified as Republican. They tested this with a survey and found their hypothesis to be correct. The term 'global warming' elicits less belief as compared to the term 'climate change'. They were also correct that this response was more common with Republicans (Schuldt et al., 2011).

      Another framing study looked at how an individual's identity was tied to Pro-Environmental Behaviors. Eby, Carrico and Truelove tested how labeling behavior as environmentally friendly affected pro-environmental behavior such as donating to an environmental cause. The researchers also looked at how political identity affects behavior in this context. Through a survey, the researchers found Republicans who were primed to see their actions as green, were more likely to

donate to a green charity at the end of their survey than Republicans who were primed to see their actions as economically beneficial (Eby et al., 2019).

Many researchers have framed environmental issues through morals. Researchers Severson and Coleman (2015) and Day, Fiske, Downing and Trail (2014) in two separate studies hypothesized that if they used morals more closely linked with conservative ideology to frame climate policy or attitudes about the environment, this would garner more support from conservatives. Through a survey Severson and Coleman found that only some of their moral frames worked to create support for climate change policy (Severson & Coleman, 2015). In contrast, Day et al. found support for their hypothesis that issues framed in familiar moral foundations increased support for that view (2014).

Other frames such as national security, human rights and environmental consequences have been used by researchers Singh and Swanson in 2017. They looked at the role political partisanship played using these frames. They hypothesized that the frames would not be as effective on conservatives and that they would not see climate change as so much of an important issue, even after exposure to the primes. Using mTurk, they primed their participants in a survey to measure the effect of the frames. The results showed that when breaking data down by political affiliation the primes had different effects on liberals and conservatives. Those who were liberal were more likely to state that they viewed climate change as a real issue after reading the primes, as opposed to the control condition. Conservatives who were exposed to any of the primes stated that climate change was less important than the conservatives in the control group (Singh & Swanson, 2017).

Researchers Wiest, Raymond and Clawson studied how emphasizing local threats versus global threats impacted a person's views of climate change and how this differed across party lines. They hypothesized that framing climate change to emphasize local impacts would increase support for mitigating climate change at the federal and international levels. The researchers found that local frames had a positive impact on participants' perception of climate change severity for that location, but not with regard to the U.S. or internationally. The local frame affected Republicans more than the

global frame did, thus revealing that some frames have different effects based on individual's political dispositions (Wiest, Raymond & Clawson, 2015). All these studies indicate that only certain primes are effective in changing attitudes or potentially behavior. The biggest takeaway from this literature is how political identity is a stronger determinant of attitudes than the prime.

Because of trends like these, researchers Coffey and Joseph set out to find how party identification affects individual attitudes and behaviors in recycling and conservation. The researchers used identity politics to help them theorize that partisanship would explain behavioral patterns in pro-environmental behavior. One reason this may happen is because many people believe environmental issues can be fixed through government regulations. This belief is more often held by Democrats than Republicans as partisans strongly disagree on the role the federal government should play in everyday lives. This is a point of contention that affects pro-environmental behavior, which is magnified in how individuals' political beliefs are often inherited from political elites. With this in mind, the researchers hypothesized that as an individual's attachment to partisanship increases, the more you will be able to predict their recycling or conservation behavior, even when controlling for other variables. They found that belief in human caused climate change correlated with belief in the government's positive effect on facilitating pro-environmental behavior to reduce climate change. In terms of behavioral differences, Democrats were more likely to recycle than Republicans were, reflecting the hypothesis that identity politics affects behavior. Just like Wiest, Raymond and Clawson, as well as Singh and Swanson, the researchers found that party identification is a better predictor of beliefs and behaviors related to climate change than other primes (Coffey & Joseph, 2013).

Researchers Bolson, Druckman and Cook wanted to research how party identification can be more important than other factors when an individual is making a political decision. To learn more about this they looked at how political identification affects approval of political information, especially when it is endorsed by a party. One focus of the study, partisan motivated reasoning, is a form of decision making. Partisan motivated reasoning is a subconscious behavior which aims to

protect partisan identity and helps individuals come to a desired conclusion. This can happen when you are primed to pay more attention to your party identification or when you want to feel consistency with your ingroup and "maximize (your) differences with the out-group" (Bolson et al., 2014). An example of this may be when an individual who is very proud to be a Democrat notices a Republican candidate for President who they find, at least in some ways, to be a good candidate. In order to feel consistent with their ingroup and separate themselves from their outgroup, they might focus on this candidate's negative traits so they can come to the conclusion that this candidate is actually not good, and thus preserve their Democratic identity (Bolson et al., 2014).

The researchers use these concepts to run experiments about opinions on energy policy. They hypothesized that individuals would be more likely to participate in partisan motivated reasoning if there was a party endorsement. They also hypothesized that if there was a consensus between two parties and both parties endorsed political information, individuals will be less motivated to participate in partisan motivated reasoning (Bolson et al., 2014).

These hypotheses were tested through an online survey. 1,600 participants from the internet were randomly put into three categories. In the survey they gave a description of an energy policy, then given their prime. One group was just asked for their opinion on the policy. The second group was told that when they were done with the survey, participants would have to defend the party they affiliate with. This was essentially a prime of party identification. The last condition was told to think about energy policy evenhandedly and that they would have to justify their arguments. After this and before being asked what they thought about the policy, they were either told that Republicans endorsed the policy, that Democrats did or that both did (Bolson et al., 2014).

The researchers found through their experimentation that partisan motivated reasoning occurs when individuals were given both ingroup and outgroup party endorsement. Most participants supported something endorsed by their preferred party, but did not support the same information given by the other party. This was especially true if the endorsement was from party elites. When

asked to make an accurate/rational opinion or that both parties endorsed the same thing participants did not take part in partisan motivated reasoning (Bolson et al., 2014). This is yet another example of how strongly political identification can affect how individuals look at environmental issues and shows evidence that elite endorsement increases support for policy.

Two studies help give context to the finding that partisanship is the most effective frame and how elite endorsement increases support. The first is a meta-analysis using data from 1994-2016. The author, Daniel Driscoll finds that as of 2016, the most important factor in predicting whether someone will be concerned about climate change is their party identification and their ideological beliefs. In his analysis Driscoll looked at how socioeconomic factors (age, income, education, sex, race, residence size) can predict environmental concern between partisans. He hypothesizes that overtime, concern over climate change has not only become more politically polarized, but less explicable by socioeconomic variables. To test this he uses data from the General Social Survey (GSS) from 1994-2016 about climate concern and runs statistical analyses with socioeconomic variables. Driscoll was able to confirm his hypothesis and found that socioeconomic variables become less reliable to explain climate change concern in more recent data. Older data from 1994 was better explained by the socioeconomic variables he tested. This tells us how big a role partisanship plays today in predicting climate concern, over other variables (Driscoll, 2019).

In a similar meta-analysis Deborah Guber focuses on how past research in the 1990s and early 2000s indicated that global warming was not a partisan issue, but at the time of her study in 2012, it had become one. One notable aspect of past data is that when environmental concern was seen to have a partisan divide, it was amongst those who got their political information from political elites. This effect continues to be true in the more recent data Guber analyzes. She explores this phenomenon in the 21st century in her analysis. According to Gallup polls from 2008, the number of Democrats that believed global warming was affecting humans rose 30 percentage points from 1998. The number of Republicans who believed the same fell 6 percentage points. This led Guber to the

current conclusion that you can use party identification as a predictor of climate change concern and that elite political opinions affect how we view environmental issues as opposed to other frames (Guber, 2012).

As we have seen, the most effective way to change an attitude and predict beliefs about climate change is through party identification and with elite endorsement. In our political reality however, Republican politicians will not put climate change on their platforms. Thus, learning about the pliability of job creation in the renewable energy sector is pertinent and perhaps crucial information. We move from this conclusion onto explaining how elite endorsement can work in such a case, and possibly be incredibly effective with Self Determination Theory.

Self Determination Theory (SDT) gives a helpful theoretical background on why elite endorsement has such a large effect on issue approval. It suggests that if you can frame a message in accordance with a person's values they will support that message regardless of their political identification. My survey puts this into context. I put job creation in the renewable energy sector in accordance with Republican values by giving it elite Republican support. This in theory, should garner support from Republicans, while the idea of renewable energy jobs normally would not. I am able to make this assumption because of what SDT tells us about human behavior.

A basic premise of the theory is that individuals are 'self-determined', which means they are intrinsically motivated. Intrinsic motivation is the desire to better ourselves on our own volition. Another type of motivation important to SDT is extrinsic motivation. This is when someone is motivated by something outside of themselves, like the government or a parent. Extrinsic motivation can result in integrated regulation. This is a special type of regulation because it is the only type of regulation that is caused by extrinsic motivation and results in self determined behavior. In other words, integrated regulation can be caused by both extrinsic and intrinsic motivation. This happens when an individual accepts values from an external source and integrates them as a part of their

cognitive structures. It is still external regulation but the behavior becomes self determined because the values used are consistent with already existing personal values (Darner, 2009).

Legislation is a form of extrinsic motivation, however, when pro-environmental behavior is regulated externally, the amount individuals actually take part in that behavior goes down. When the government tries to regulate behavior, it often does not work well to change behavior (Darner, 2009). However, if external motivation can result in self-determined behavior from integrated regulation, then in theory this should result in higher levels of changed behavior from an external motivator like the government. Hypothetically, there may be two similar laws passed in two different states. In Ohio, there may be a law that states logging companies who sell to paper companies must replant trees to help reduce their carbon emissions. In Pennsylvania, there may be a similar law passed stating logging companies who sell to paper companies must replant trees to help their economic sustainability in the long run, both for the sake of these economic sectors but also for the state economy. Because many logging companies are motivated by profit, rather than sustainability, the law in Pennsylvania would be most likely met with less resistance and would have a greater impact. My study poses the question of how we can facilitate integrated regulation of behavior in supporting legislation that frames job creation in the renewable energy sector as consistent with Republican ideology. My hypothesis suggests that if framed with elite Republican support, integrated regulation could cause a Republican to support job creation in the renewable energy sector.

Similar phenomena have happened in studies using SDT as their theoretical basis. Researchers Deci, Eghrari, Patrick and Leone identified specific criteria which facilitated integrated regulation with boring computer tasks (1994). These were, giving meaningful rationale for participants actions, acknowledgment of participants perspective and a sense of control over completing the task. The researchers found there was more integrated regulation when participants were primed with all of these criteria (Deci et al., 1994). Similarly, in a literature analysis done by Ryan and Deci they found that there are certain criteria for social structures that facilitate integrated

regulation. These are supporting autonomy, competence and relatedness. Autonomy means supporting an individual's ability to be autonomous, competence means making sure the individual's knowledge is being acknowledged, or acknowledging they are competent. Relatedness is acknowledging how your actions impact others (Ryan & Deci, 2000).

With these in mind my primes have important features to help encompass this work on SDT. The prime is entitled 'The For You and your Neighbor Act'. This title is meant to bring to attention how, in supporting this act, your actions connect to other people, as is asked in relatedness. In supporting this Act you could not only support yourself but also a neighbor who may be in financial trouble. The second block of text in the prime starts by saying "While acknowledging that the idea of government programs can be overwhelming…" and mentions the Act "will not disrupt individual freedoms". This is an attempt to acknowledge where the participant may be coming from, especially because I am sampling mostly Republican Americans who often see government intrusion as unfavorable (Frank, 2004). To give the participant a sense of control, it is emphasized in the primes that these plans can only come to fruition with appropriate voter support. To support the participants' autonomy it is clear in the language used that if these plans are passed, no jobs would be forced upon anyone, they would simply become available.

Other than SDT another way of explaining why elite endorsement has large effects on approval is through identity politics. Recently in American politics, white racial consciousness has moved into the minds of many white Americans, which has increased the prevalence of white, racial identity politics in America. This was especially used as a tactic to gain support for former President Trump's 2016 campaign. In 2016, white racial consciousness was a predictor of white vote choice for both Congress and down ballot votes. Part of this was because Trump's campaign emphasized white identity, especially within the white working class and rural areas where there is resentment for establishment politics. A white political identity is composed of the white working class, who believe they are a minority and are angry that they are no longer at the center of American consciousness.

This identity is activated through and exists in a strong ingroup solidarity, which strongly fosters racism (Knuckey & Kim 2020).

White racial identity is not usually expected to affect political behavior, however for certain candidates like former President Trump it has high utility to appeal to voters who fit the description above. It has utility because of basic sociological premises. Usually, individuals want to fit in to their ingroup-- it feels good when you feel like you fit in. Politicians are then motivating white people to fit in with their racial ingroup with the narrative of anger, resentment and the belief that they are now a minority (Knuckey & Kim, 2020; Weller & Junn, 2018).

In his influential work "*What's the Matter with Kansa*s", Thomas Frank gives many attributes of a typical Republican, who often oppose government expansion. He describes them as "reverent… loyal… religious… humble… and regular" in addition to being hard working and down to earth people (Frank, 2004). He also says working class Republicans often vote for people who are going to make them poorer. While Republican politicians tell voters they are going to make their lives better, much of their plan is to make themselves and their funders richer. They tell their conservative constituents intense negative stereotypes about liberals, that they are aloof academics, inauthentic and full of themselves. They sin and want the things conservatives think are sinful to be legal. They paint a picture of liberals as very different people, who Republicans should resent and be angry at for making the world a worse place. Vote against them, they say, and all your problems will be solved. In short, Republican individuals are opposed to liberal politicians because of cultural differences intensified by Republican politicians (Frank, 2004). Republican politicians have demonized liberals (the outgroup) and have exploited this white racial consciousness and need to fit in. Thus they have created an ingroup that more and more white rural individuals ascribe to. This will in turn cause white rural individuals to vote Republican, even though it will not benefit them economically (Frank, 2004; Knuckey & Kim 2020). This literature is very important in talking about the second part of my study, which focuses on local farmers attitudes on soil conservation, and how identity politics and

Republican values play into this. Local Wayne County farmers often fit into the white identity politics category, and because of Ohio's political history, a strong rural identity combines with this white political identity (Goodwin, 2014b; Goodwin, 2014c; Goodwin, 2014d; *Developing Politics on the Agricultural Frontier, 1803 · Beyond the 'Predatory System': Agricultural Politics and Farmer Values · Wooster Digital History Project*, n.d.). In this case race catalyzes Republican, and rural beliefs that affect how farmers view soil conservation.

From reviewed literature, we know that elite endorsement can increase approval and that political identification is a stronger predictor than primes of individual attitudes on environmental topics. Self Determination Theory helps us explain this, as does racial identity politics, which tell us how white identity is increasingly becoming prevalent and important in American soil politics.

Chapter 3:

Multi-method research is required in order to find out if support for job creation increases with elite endorsement, as well as to learn about local attitudes on soil conservation, Republican values, and identity politics. My study consisted of a survey experiment and archival research.

Survey Experiment

I completed a survey experiment to find out if people are pliant on job creation in the renewable energy sector. My experiment is a survey sent out through Amazon's mTurk, which went to approximately 500 American participants, specifying they identify as Conservative Americans. Similar to multiple studies, I give participants a mock policy (Blair et al, 2013; Bolsen et at, 2014; Druckman et al, 2013). The survey begins with a modified version of the Green New Deal (GND) with language added from Donald Trump's campaign website section about job creation and the economy (*Recognizing the Duty of the Federal Government to Create a Green New Deal.*, 2018; *Economy And Jobs | President Donald J. Trump's Accomplishments*, n.d.). The modifications I have made from the GND included taking out terms such as 'climate change', 'sustainability', 'global warming' and talk of ecological destruction. This was done to emphasize the aspects of the GND that address job creation in the renewable energy sector. The treatments my survey participants receive are a neutral prime, which is described above, or a Republican prime, which is that described above plus an endorsement by congress Republicans, and Mitch McConnell. This essentially means that recipients of this treatment read that Mitch McConnell and congress Republicans approve the Act.

My treatment group is endorsed by Mitch McConnell and congress Republicans because of studies that show us the importance of elite political endorsement in priming studies (Druckman et al, 2013; Guber, 2013). Recall that in the study done by Druckman, Peterson and Slothuus they explored the importance of party endorsement with priming experiments. The authors found that without party endorsement, the frame can alter opinions, however with a party endorsement, the frame can diminish the effectiveness of endorsement (Druckman et al, 2013). This tells us how important party endorsement is in priming studies, thus I felt it was important to add to my study.

The mock policy presented in my survey was followed by a manipulation check to see if participants understood the mock policy and if the treatment was effective. This was followed by 5 questions regarding how participants view job creation in the renewable energy sector as well as general support of the Act. Participants answered questions on a 6 point scale from strongly oppose to strongly support. This helps me understand if job creation in the renewable energy sector is an issue that both parties could be open to. I then ask if they believe if this Act stayed true to Republican ideology. Participants answered on a 5 point scale. This also helps understand the pliability of the job creation presented in the Act.

Moving onto classically polarized issues I ask 3 questions about climate concern. This helps show if there are correlations between an individual's approval of renewable energy sector jobs and climate concern. Individuals answered on a 4 point scale from issues being a low concern or very high concern. In the next section of the survey I ask 5 opinion questions on government responsibility. These questions are useful so I can compare where participants stand on these issues to where they stand on job creation in the renewable energy sector. I finish my survey with a demographic section with questions adapted from Bolsen et al., 2014 and Wiest et al., 2015. This includes political demographics such as party affiliation, gender, race, education level, and age. These demographics are predictors of political attitudes, thus are important to know of my participants (Bolsen et al., 2014).

After data collection, I ran t-tests on specific dependent variables from my survey having the independent variables either be the prime or party identification. All of the coding for the possible answers was similar in the sense that higher scores indicated higher support, concern, agreement etc. I also ran regressions with certain dependent variables from the survey, holding both prime and political identification constant.

Archival Research

The aim of my archival research is to study attitudes of local farmers on soil conservation and how Republican values and identity politics plays into this. My archival research used resources such as several published works of local Ohio farmers with publishing dates ranging from the 1800s-present, including personal accounts, Ohio Almanacs and literature on Amish farming. I also used the College's Farmer Oral History Collection, which included many interviews of local farmers completed by former College of Wooster students. The Ohio Memory Project, was also utilized, which gave information on local farmers attitudes on government, as well as some local history. To learn about Republican values and identity politics I used databases of peer reviewed journal articles and published scholarly work such as OhioLINK. I also used literature from the College of Wooster's digital library.

Chapter 4:

Experimental Results

I set out to find out how endorsement from Republican elites affects support of renewable energy jobs among American Republicans. T-tests show that elite endorsement does not increase support for the Act or for renewable energy jobs within the Republican sample. They do show however that Democrats and Independents pushed support for the Act even with Republican approval of the Act. My t-tests also show how Republican support within my sample was relatively high for both the Act and renewable energy jobs. My regressions show that political identification is the best predictor of support of the Act and renewable energy jobs. The research on local soil issues and identity politics shows us how race is a trigger for, and deepens many rural issues such as the dislike of expanded government, which also affects farmers attitudes on soil.

Support of the Act

The t-test between prime and support of the Act with the full sample shows us that Republican endorsement increased support of the Act at a significant value. Interestingly the t-test for mean support in the Republican only sample tells us how elite endorsement did not increase approval for the Act, contradicting other literature by Bolsen et al., and Guber (2014; 2013). These results mean I cannot confirm my hypothesis that elite party endorsement increases support.

The regression for support of the Act with prime and political identification only resulted in significance for how political identification predicted support of the Act. This shows that the stronger Republican a participant was, their support for the Act went down, regardless of the prime. This combined with the higher Beta value for political identification shows us something the t-tests did not, which is that political identification is the better predictor for support of the Act (Table 1).

Table 1: Support for the Act "Do you support this Act"

Variable	Model 1 Full Sample	Model 2 Republican Sample	Model 3 Full Sample
Treatment – this Act is endorsed by Republican Party	4.23*** (.062)	3.72 (.119)	0.192 (.154)
Political ID (5 point scale)[+]	x	x	-0.240** (.088)
Control	3.56*** (.111)	3.54 (.122)	x
N	444	379	444

Support for the Act runs from 1-6, with 1 = "Strongly Oppose," 2 = "Moderately Oppose," 3 = "Slightly Oppose," 4 = "Slightly Support," 5 = "Moderately Support," 6 = "Strongly Support".

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$

[+] Political ID coded on a 5 point scale, where 1 = Strong Democrat, 2 = Weak Democrat, 3 = Independent, 4 = Weak Republican and 5 = Strong Republican

Support of Renewable Energy Jobs

The t-test comparing prime and support for renewable energy jobs with the full sample shows that those who got the Republican prime had a higher support for renewable energy jobs. This however was not significant. Within the Republican only sample the primes had a similar effect, in

terms of support. Republicans who received the Republican prime supported renewable energy jobs

more than Republicans who received the neutral prime. This was also insignificant. This tells us that

in both samples, Republican endorsement did not increase support.

The regression for supporting renewable energy jobs, prime and political identification, once

again only gives significance for political identity. This tells us the stronger Republican an individual

is, the more they oppose job creation in the renewable energy sector, regardless of the treatment. The

higher Beta value for political identity of .125 confirms this, telling us that political identification is a

better predictor than the prime for support of renewable energy jobs (Table 2).

Table 2: Support for renewable energy jobs "Given this information, to what extent do you support or oppose job creation in the renewable energy sector?"

Variable	Model 1 Full Sample	Model 2 Republican Sample	Model 3 Full Sample
Treatment – this Act is endorsed by Republican Party	4.08 (.107)	4.05 (.117)	0.136 (.151)
Political ID (5 point scale)[+]	x	x	-0.225** (.085)
Control	3.94 (.108)	3.88 (.119)	x
N	444	379	444

Support for the renewable energy jobs runs from 1-6, where 1 = "Strongly Oppose," 2 = "Moderately Oppose," 3 = "Slightly Oppose," 4 = "Slightly Support," 5 = "Moderately Support," 6 = "Strongly Support".

***p< 0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

[+] Political ID coded on a 5 point scale, where 1 = Strong Democrat, 2 = Weak Democrat, 3 = Independent, 4 = Weak Republican and 5 = Strong Republican

General Discussion of Data

One especially interesting finding is how support for the Act was significant in the full sample, but not in the Republican only sample. This means that among Republicans, elite endorsement did not increase support, but among Democrats and Independents it did. This may have happened because of the nature of my project as an online experiment, where information leakage can happen. Many Republicans who filled out my survey answered my manipulation check questions with copy and pasted sections of President Biden's most recent executive order, as if they thought my proposed Act was related. It may very well be that Democrats thought my Act was part of the GND, googled the text and figured out that it was, thus disregarding the Republican endorsement. Another interpretation of this data is that Democrats and Independents may be open to, or happy with environmental policy even if it has Republican elite endorsement. We could similarly think of how a Republican might feel if a Democrat was endorsing pro-life legislation. They may also be supportive of this, regardless of who endorsed it. I believe this is a new finding.

Another interesting finding is that Republican support on average is fairly high within my sample. For the Act it was 3.72 and for renewable energy jobs it was 4.05, both out of 6. It is important to note the timing of my experiment, after a major election when individuals are inundated with political information. Timing is also important because of the state of our economy, many people have lost jobs because of the pandemic, and many people, especially Republicans are focused on

rebuilding the economy. These means however were insignificant, thus these conclusions can only be applied to the sample who took my survey. My final significant finding is how both support of the proposed Act and renewable energy jobs are predictable by political identification. This was more important than the primes in predicting support. This adds to existing literature that shows how strong a predictor political identification is (Wiest, Raymond & Clawson, 2015; Day et al., 2014; Severson & Coleman, 2015; Singh & Swanson, 2017).

Identity Politics and Farming

The strength of political identity as a determinant of support in my study is a testimony to the strength of identity politics in America. Similarly, my research on soil conservation attitudes found that identity politics strongly affects how farmers view soil conservation, specifically those who have a white, rural political identity. This is important because many studies have found that increasingly, white, rural identity politics are prevalent within Republicans, and can predict election outcomes (Scala & Johnson, 2017; Knuckey & Kim 2020; Frank, 2004).

In studies focusing on how identity politics affected the 2016 election, researchers found that a white political identity was used by politicians to increase their voting pool (Knuckey, & Kim 2020; Weller & Junn 2018). Recall also that Bolsen et al. found that individuals used partisan motivated reasoning, to help them form opinions (2014). Pulling from these studies, evidence is high that we use our political identification and our race to help us make political decisions, instead of considering things like economics or 'rationality'. This conclusion can be relatively disturbing to a Democrat thinking about climate change, especially when political identification is the best determinant of support for many issues and helps us make decisions. This is increasingly disturbing when we know that the caretakers of our soil mostly fall into the white, rural political identity, who will not recognize climate change as an issue (Knuckey & Kim, 2020; Scala & Johnson, 2017).

In this next section I dive into looking at how race, rural identity and Republican values affect how local farmers address soil conservation on a daily basis. Conservationists, soil scientists and

some politicians are highly aware of the importance soil plays in mitigating climate change. But how do the farmers who deal with it on a daily basis think about soil conservation and the policy that has been made to address it? The answer, like most things, is complicated.

Attitudes on Soil Conservation

Unsurprisingly, because farmers deal with soil all day, many are cognizant of how important soil is and try to conserve it. However, this care comes on a spectrum. At some point in history soil conservation was not important to Ohio farmers. Historical records of farm life in central Ohio states that there was no need to worry about soil conservation because of how rich the soils were (Welker, 1892). As time went by and soil nutrients became depleted, some farmers began to take more notice of their soils. One individual named Louis Bromfield was a farmer in Pleasant Valley Ohio. His family's farm still lies about 40 minutes southwest of the College. Bromfield wrote extensively about farm life and his passion for soil quality and (re)generation. In his book "*From My Experience*" he identifies himself as "a 'soils' man" (Bromfield, 1955). He would travel the nation giving talks about his experience with soil generation on his farm, among other things. He was also part of the Soil Conservation Subcommittee of the Ohio Farm Bureau. In contrast to Bromfield, some farmers decided to stick to their old soil-depleting methods, even at the expense of their fields (Bromfield, 1948).

Like Bromfield, local conservation efforts have come from individuals, whereas some individuals were inspired to conserve soil by governmental programs. In 1911 author, L.H. Bailey writes "(the farmers) attitude toward soil fertility has undergone a complete change" (Bailey, 1911). He specifically cites that this is because of colleges, experimental stations and bureaus, all dedicated to studying issues important to farmers, including soil (1911). The Ohio Almanac and Handbook of Information of 1912 tells us that one of these research stations, the Ohio Agricultural Research and Development Center (OARDC) was founded in 1882 (Shimansky, 1912). This was a direct result of the Morrill Act of 1862, which allocated government funds for agricultural colleges, and experimental

research stations (Shimansky, 1912; *The Origins of OARDC · OARDC: Traveling Back to the Past and Looking to the Future · Wooster Digital History Project*, n.d.).

The OARDC, from its birth, was desperately needed by local farmers in Ohio. Their soil was becoming so nutrient deficient that it was lowering their harvest, however no one had a solution (*The Origins of OARDC · OARDC: Traveling Back to the Past and Looking to the Future · Wooster Digital History Project*, n.d.). Thus, the OARDC gave farmers advice on soil quality, suggesting methods such as crop rotation, manure use and fertilizer use (Shimansky, 1912).

Republican Values

In order to give context to this history it is important to understand Republican thought and especially how this thought played out in the formation of Ohio's state government. One key tenant of Republican thought is criticizing government restrictions and regulations. This mainly revolved around the argument that the expanded government which came along with regulation limited productivity (Krugman, 1994). One local farmer exemplified this when he said that regulation might inhibit a farmer's ability to farm the way they know best, and that this threatens his ability to produce food for himself, his family and the United States in a way that is affordable and safe (Asenjo & Hiatt, 2011). Many Republicans also see taxes, which fund government expansion, as an obstacle to economic growth. Thus, having less regulation would be good for the economy. Without these the market can work freely, which would lead to more innovation (Krugman, 1994).

This ideology is paralleled in the development of Ohio's state government. From the beginning, Ohio farmers had a distrust of big government (*Beyond the 'Predatory System': Agricultural Politics and Farmer Values · Wooster Digital History Project*, n.d.). The first people who moved to Ohio were religious farmers. They moved there to have more freedom to worship their god. Because of this emphasis on religion, the state government, as it formed, did not speak of separation of church and state. In fact it said the opposite, that religion "shall forever be encouraged" by the state government (*Developing Politics on the Agricultural Frontier, 1803 · Beyond the*

'Predatory System: Agricultural Politics and Farmer Values · Wooster Digital History Project, n.d.).

What the state government did emphasize was separation between state and agriculture. To these

individuals, farming was an independent way of life, and this individualism encouraged the separation

of agriculture and state (*Developing Politics on the Agricultural Frontier, 1803 · Beyond the*

'Predatory System': Agricultural Politics and Farmer Values · Wooster Digital History Project, n.d.).

Modern farmers in Wayne County echo this sentiment. One local farmer states that because farmers

are already good stewards of the land, when the government tells them what to do, it can become

frustrating (Goodwin, 2014b). Other farmers dislike the fact that the government gets involved with

their farming at all, and that farm subsidies can disrupt supply and demand (Goodwin, 2014c; Lawton

& Vargo, 2011).

Attitudes on Soil Conservation, Republican Values and Identity Politics

Knowing that an aversion to an expanded government is deeply ingrained in Ohio's farming

culture, we can begin to talk about why race and political identity dictate how local farmers view

farming and soil politics (*Developing Politics on the Agricultural Frontier, 1803 · Beyond the*

'Predatory System': Agricultural Politics and Farmer Values · Wooster Digital History Project, n.d.).

When local farmers feel like they are doing their best to conserve their land when they are farming,

and then the federal government starts telling them what to do, this can become upsetting for a

number of reasons (Goodwin, 2014a; Goodwin, 2014b; Goodwin, 2014c). One is because of a long

history of governmental and agricultural separation in Ohio, which is part of the rural identity. These

historical and modern feelings about government have large implications for the new and incredibly

important field of soil policy. The effect of recently intensifying racial identity politics catalyzes the

need to be a part of the ingroup, whose political beliefs are already held by many local farmers. This

intensifies their desire to not have farming be governed (Knuckey & Kim, 2020; Frank, 2004;

Developing Politics on the Agricultural Frontier, 1803 · Beyond the 'Predatory System': Agricultural

Politics and Farmer Values · Wooster Digital History Project, n.d.). This includes how they deal with

their soil. Remembering Frank's analysis of down to earth Republicans, and how Republican

politicians have been demonizing liberals, I suggest that soil conservation efforts from the outgroup (liberals) are viewed as a bad thing because of how politicians have demonized these groups of people (2004). This demonization is also layered with the white political identity which emphasizes a strong ingroup, furthering the demonization already happening and making the issue worse. (Knuckey & Kim, 2020; Frank, 2004). Soil conservation efforts from the ingroup (other farmers or local governmental branches such as the OARDC) are a good thing. In the final chapter I provide a summary of the results in their context of the whole project.

Chapter 5:

My research focused on the effects of endorsement and political identity on renewable energy jobs and local attitudes of soil conservation. I hypothesized that when primed with Republican endorsement, Republicans would be more likely to support renewable energy jobs. The goal of studying soil conservation attitudes was to see how identity politics and Republican values affected them. To do this I conducted a survey over Amazon's mTurk, and did extensive archival research on local farmers, Republican values and identity politics. From my survey I found that elite endorsement did not increase support for renewable energy jobs, or the Act. Rather, Democrats and Independents pushed support for the Act even with Republican endorsement. This indicates that there may have been information leakage in my study, but also shows that Democrats and Independents may be happy to see, or accept environmental policy supported by Republicans. I also found that within my sample Republican support was relatively high which may be an indicator of the poor state of our economy because of the pandemic. Political identification was a stronger determinant than elite endorsement for support of renewable energy jobs. This tells us how intense identity politics are in the United States and helps me interpret my research on local soil politics. I found that because of an increasingly intense white identity in the Republican party a white, rural political identity dictates how local farmers view soil conservation, and that soil conservation presented from their ingroup is a good thing, but presented from the outgroup it is problematic (Knuckey & Kim, 2020; Weller & Junn 2018).

What does this mean for implementing soil policy? My research tells us how many farmers are averse to big government, and how this probably will not change because of the strength of identity politics. One solution for this could be a modern day Morrill Act to give funding to smaller, local branches of government groups like OARDC to promote sustainable soil practices. Because this is within the ingroup of farmers, this may be more effective, and lead to higher levels of support for carbon sequestration in Ohio.

Works Cited

Asenjo, Daniela and Hiatt, Alex, "Oral history interview with Roger Baker, Wayne County farmer" (2011). *Farmer Oral History Collection.* Oral History 7.

https://openworks.wooster.edu/farmer_oral_history/7

Bailey, L. H. (1911). *The State and the Farmer* (2nd ed.). MacMillan & Co.

Beyond the 'Predatory System': Agricultural Politics and Farmer Values · Wooster Digital History Project. (n.d.). Retrieved February 24, 2021, from http://woosterhistory.org/exhibits/show/agricultural-politics

Benegal, S. D., & Scruggs, L. A. (2018). Correcting misinformation about climate change: The impact of partisanship in an experimental setting. *Climatic Change*, *148*(1/2), 61–80. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-018-2192-4

Blair, G., Christine Fair, C., Malhotra, N., & Shapiro, J. N. (2013). Poverty and Support for Militant Politics: Evidence from Pakistan: *POVERTY AND SUPPORT FOR MILITANT POLITICS*. *American Journal of Political Science*, *57*(1), 30–48. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2012.00604.x

Bolsen, T., Druckman, J. N., & Cook, F. L. (2014). The Influence of Partisan Motivated Reasoning on Public Opinion. *Political Behavior*, *36*(2), 235–262.

Bromfield, L. (1955). *From My Experience*. HarperCollins Publishers.

Bromfield, L. (1948). *Malabar Farm*. Oxford University Press.

Bullock, W., Imai, K., & Shapiro, J. N. (2011). Statistical Analysis of Endorsement Experiments: Measuring Support for Militant Groups in Pakistan. *Political Analysis*, *19*(4), 363–384.

Coffey, D. J., & Joseph, P. H. (2013). A Polarized Environment: The Effect of Partisanship and Ideological Values on Individual Recycling and Conservation Behavior. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *57*(1), 116–139. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764212463362

Cooke, A. N., Fielding, K. S., & Louis, W. R. (2016). Environmentally active people: The role of autonomy, relatedness, competence and self-determined motivation. *Environmental Education Research*, *22*(5), 631–657. https://doi.org/10.1080/13504622.2015.1054262

Darner, R. (2009). Self-Determination Theory as a Guide to Fostering Environmental Motivation. *Journal of Environmental Education*, *40*(2), 39–49. https://doi.org/10.3200/JOEE.40.2.39-49

Day, M. V., Fiske, S. T., Downing, E. L., & Trail, T. E. (2014). Shifting Liberal and Conservative Attitudes Using Moral Foundations Theory. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *40*(12), 1559–1573. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167214551152

Deci, E. L., Eghrari, H., Patrick, B. C., & Leone, D. R. (1994). Facilitating internalization: The self-determination theory perspective. *Journal of Personality*, *62*(1), 119–142.

Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (2000). The "What" and "Why" of Goal Pursuits: Human Needs and the Self-Determination of Behavior. *Psychological Inquiry*, *11*(4), 227–268. JSTOR.

DeNicola, E., & Subramaniam, P. R. (2014). Environmental attitudes and political partisanship. *Public Health*, *128*(5), 404–409. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.puhe.2014.03.005

Developing Politics on the Agricultural Frontier, 1803 · Beyond the 'Predatory System': Agricultural Politics and Farmer Values · Wooster Digital History Project. (n.d.). Retrieved February 26, 2021, from http://woosterhistory.org/exhibits/show/agricultural-politics/developing-politics

Driscoll, D. (2019). Assessing Sociodemographic Predictors of Climate Change Concern, 1994–2016. *Social Science Quarterly*, *100*(5), 1699–1708. https://doi.org/10.1111/ssqu.12683

DRUCKMAN, J. N., PETERSON, E., & SLOTHUUS, R. (2013). How Elite Partisan Polarization Affects Public Opinion Formation. *The American Political Science Review*, *107*(1), 57–79.

Druckman, J. N. (2001). Using Credible Advice to Overcome Framing Effects. *Journal of Law, Economics, & Organization*, *17*(1), 62–82. JSTOR.

Eaves, E. (2019). James Brainard: A Republican mayor for city-level climate action. *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, *75*(2), 59–62. https://doi.org/10.1080/00963402.2019.1580872

Eby, B., Carrico, A. R., & Truelove, H. B. (2019). The influence of environmental identity labeling on the uptake of pro-environmental behaviors. *Climatic Change*, *155*(4), 563–580. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-019-02501-x

Economy And Jobs | President Donald J. Trump's Accomplishments. (n.d.). Retrieved November 23, 2020, from https://www.promiseskept.com/achievement/overview/economy-and-jobs/

E.J. Dionne Jr. (2016). *Why the Right Went Wrong* (1st ed.). Simon & Schuster.

Eriksson, K. (2018). *Republicans Value Agency, Democrats Value Communion*. https://journals-sagepub-com.wooster.idm.oclc.org/doi/full/10.1177/0190272518771060?utm_source=summon&utm_medium=discovery-provider

Field Extension · OARDC: Traveling Back to the Past and Looking to the Future · Wooster Digital History Project. (n.d.). Retrieved February 28, 2021, from http://woosterhistory.org/exhibits/show/oardc/fieldextension

Frank, T. (2004). *What's the Matter with Kansas: How Conservatives Won the Heart of America*. Metropolitan Books.

Godbey, Ellen and Sween, Kristen, "Oral history interview with John Anderson, Wayne County farmer" (2011). *Farmer Oral History Collection.* Oral History 6.

https://openworks.wooster.edu/farmer_oral_history/6

Goodwin, Seth, "Oral history interview with Dan Barker, Morrow County farmer" (2014). *Farmer Oral History Collection.* Oral History 13.

https://openworks.wooster.edu/farmer_oral_history/13

Goodwin, Seth, "Oral history interview with John Linder, Morrow County farmer" (2014). *Farmer Oral History Collection.* Oral History 16.

https://openworks.wooster.edu/farmer_oral_history/16

Goodwin, Seth, "Oral history interview with Ken Bush, Morrow County farmer" (2014). *Farmer Oral History Collection.* Oral History 14.

    https://openworks.wooster.edu/farmer_oral_history/14

Goodwin, Seth, "Oral history interview with Mike McKinney, Morrow County farmer" (2014). *Farmer Oral History Collection.* Oral History 15.

    https://openworks.wooster.edu/farmer_oral_history/15

Guber, Deborah Lynn, "A Cooling Climate for Change? Party Polarization and the Politics of Global Warming" (2013). *American Behavioral Scientist*, *57(1)*. https://journals-sagepub-com.wooster.idm.oclc.org/doi/full/10.1177/0002764212463361?utm_source=summon&utm_medium=discovery-provider

Haas, Alex and Cobb, Galen, "Oral history interview with Fred Cannon, Wayne County farmer and his wife, Phyllis" (2011). *Farmer Oral History Collection.* Oral History 11.

    https://openworks.wooster.edu/farmer_oral_history/11

Halldorsson, G., Sigurdsson, B. D., & Finér, L. (2015). *Soil Carbon Sequestration – for climate, food security and ecosystem services*. Nordic Council of Ministers. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/wooster/detail.action?docID=4453434

Kahan, D. M., Hoffman, D. A., Braman, D., Evans, D., & Rachlinski, J. J. (2012). "They Saw a Protest": Cognitive Illiberalism and the Speech-Conduct Distinction. *Stanford Law Review*, *64*(4), 851–906.

Knuckey, J., & Kim, M. (2020). The Politics of White Racial Identity and Vote Choice in the 2018 Midterm Elections. *Social Science Quarterly*, *101*(4), 1584–1599. https://doi.org/10.1111/ssqu.12809

Krugman, P. (1994). *Peddling Prosperity: Economic Sense and Nonsense in the Age of Diminished Expectations*. W.W. Norton and Company.

Lawton, Grace and Vargo, Lauren, "Oral history interview with Earl Jentes, Wayne County farmer" (2011). *Farmer Oral History Collection.* Oral History 9.

    https://openworks.wooster.edu/farmer_oral_history/9

Layzer, J. (2002). A Policymaking Framework Defining Problems and Portraying Solutions in U.S. Environmental Politics. In *The Environmental Case: Translating Values into Policy*. SAGE Publications.

Piccolo, A. (2012). The Nature of Soil Organic Matter and Innovative Soil Managements to Fight Global Changes and Maintain Agricultural Productivity. In A. Piccolo (Ed.), *Carbon Sequestration in Agricultural Soils: A Multidisciplinary Approach to Innovative Methods* (pp. 1–19). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-642-23385-2_1

Phillips-Fein, K. (2009). *Invisible Hands: The Businessmen's Crusade Against the New Deal*. W.W. Norton and Company.

Recognizing the duty of the Federal Government to create a Green New Deal., 116th Congress, 1st (testimony of Alexandria Ocasio- Cortez).

SCALA, D. J., & JOHNSON, K. M. (2017). Political Polarization along the Rural-Urban Continuum? The Geography of the Presidential Vote, 2000–2016. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *672*, 162–184.

SCHULDT, J. P., KONRATH, S. H., & SCHWARZ, N. (2011). "GLOBAL WARMING" OR "CLIMATE CHANGE"? WHETHER THE PLANET IS WARMING DEPENDS ON QUESTION WORDING. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, *75*(1), 115–124. JSTOR.

Science Omnibus Questionnaire. (2017). Pew Research Center.

Severson, A. W., & Coleman, E. A. (2015). Moral Frames and Climate Change Policy Attitudes*. *Social Science Quarterly*, *96*(5), 1277–1290. https://doi.org/10.1111/ssqu.12159

Singh, S. P., & Swanson, M. (2017). How issue frames shape beliefs about the importance of climate change policy across ideological and partisan groups. *PLOS ONE*, *12*(7), e0181401. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0181401

Shimansky, K. (Ed.). (1912). *Ohio Almanac and Handbook of Information*. United Press Association.

The Origins of OARDC · OARDC: Traveling Back to the Past and Looking to the Future · Wooster Digital History Project. (n.d.). Retrieved February 28, 2021, from http://woosterhistory.org/exhibits/show/oardc/originsofoardc

Udawatta, R. P., & Jose, S. (2011). Carbon Sequestration Potential of Agroforestry Practices in Temperate North America. In B. M. Kumar & P. K. R. Nair (Eds.), *Carbon Sequestration Potential of Agroforestry Systems: Opportunities and Challenges* (pp. 17–42). Springer Netherlands. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-1630-8_2

Welker, M. (1892). *Farm Life Sixty Years Ago*. Clapper's Print.

Weller, N., & Junn, J. (2018). Racial Identity and Voting: Conceptualizing White Identity in Spatial Terms. *Perspectives on Politics*, *16*(2), 436–448. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592717004285

Wiest, S. L., Raymond, L., & Clawson, R. A. (2015). Framing, partisan predispositions, and public opinion on climate change. *Global Environmental Change*, *31*, 187–198. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2014.12.006

2020 Pew Research Center's American Trends Panel Wave 59. (2020). Pew Research Center.