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Abstract

Richardson examines the performance of the environmental policy items in the 1995 Pilot Study. She finds: (1) Responses to the questions concerning whether the government should make more of an effort to protect the environment and responses to the "tougher government regulation" question appear to reflect similar sets of preferences. Both sets of questions also seem to elicit responses similar to the environmental spending question, though the later item also appears to reflect budget constraint concerns. (2) The items which ask respondents to place political figures on the "environment vs. jobs" continuum are more effective than the "regulation vs. business" placement questions. In particular, the former set of placement items force respondents to consider the various and somewhat conflicting environmental policy priorities of the Democratic party. (3) Respondent preferences on which levels of government should be responsible for environmental protection appear to be on a different continuum than preferences concerning the importance of environmental protection. The question on the preferred level of government for addressing environmental problems then provides information about the respondents' environmental priorities not available elsewhere in the survey. (4) Responses to questions concerning national and local air and water quality reveal two interesting relationships. First, those who live in areas of higher air and water quality are less likely to want to increase environmental spending than other respondents. Second, ideology influences respondents' perceptions of national air and water quality. Thus, including questions on air and water quality sheds light on why a respondent would want to increase or decrease environmental spending. (5) The five questions on general environmental protection preferences share many of the same background correlates, indicating that people approach these questions with roughly the same concerns in mind.

Questions on Public Attitudes Toward the Environment:
Report to the NES Board of Overseers and 1996 Planning Committee

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Overview of the findings

- 1) Responses to questions on whether the government should make more of an effort to protect the environment and whether there should be tougher government regulations appear to reflect similar sets of preferences. Responses to these two questions are also similar to those given to the question on environmental spending, although to the latter respondents appear to apply a budget constraint. Because the questions on government effort and regulation solicit similar responses, one might be dropped without much loss of information. Neither appears to be "better" in any sense than the other. The question which asks respondents whether they are more likely to want to protect the environment or jobs provides a set of responses that reflect respondents' general environmental values and helps in interpreting responses to the environmental spending question and others. The preservation versus conservation question, while yielding interesting results, may be redundant with those above, and because there is less variation in the responses may be a good question to drop.
- 2) Responses to questions on the level of government effort help to understand the respondents' environmental priorities and are a useful contribution for that reason. While responses across these questions are often consistent, the variations in responses provide important insight into respondent preferences.
- 3) Two sets of questions which ask respondents not only to evaluate their own priorities but those of political leaders and the two major parties, while similar in nature, solicit quite different responses. The first asks about the importance of the environment relative to economic health, the second about the importance of government regulation relative to the health of businesses. The former is much more effective in getting respondents to consider the various and somewhat conflicting priorities of the Democratic party. However, it may be useful to ask both in the 1996 survey to confirm this pattern.
- 4) Respondent preferences on which level of government should be responsible for environmental protection appear to be on a different continuum than preferences on the importance of environmental protection. While those who favor the devolvement of responsibilities to state and local governments are less likely to want to increase environmental spending, much of the variation in the former is not accounted for in the latter, and therefore the question on the preferred level of government for addressing environmental problems provides information about the respondent not available elsewhere in the survey.
- 5) Responses to questions on the quality of air and water in the community and nationally reveal two interesting relationships: that those who live in areas of higher air and water quality are less likely to want to increase environmental spending, and that ideology influences respondents' perceptions about national air and water quality. These two dynamics suggest that asking questions about air and water quality helps to place preferences on environmental protection in perspective.

I. INTRODUCTION

This analysis examines those items on the NES 1995 Pilot Study survey that ask about environmental preferences. It seeks to understand how responses to the environmental questions relate to each other, and how they relate to other political attitudes, such as partisanship and ideology. The first section compares and contrasts the responses given to the environmental questions. For simplicity, questions are grouped into the following categories: general preferences on environmental protection and government action to protect the environment; opinions on government protection of certain aspects of the environment; evaluations of the environmental preferences of political leaders and parties; the preferred level of government to address environmental problems; and ratings of air and water quality. Throughout, comparisons will be made between preferences on the level of federal environmental spending (a question asked repeatedly on previous NES surveys) and preferences on the environment as expressed only in the 1995 Pilot Study. This comparison not only clarifies the analysis but also emphasizes the wealth of information gained by the inclusion of many of these additional items. The second section examines the importance of various political and demographic characteristics to preferences on the environment.

II. A COMPARISON OF SURVEY RESPONSES

A. Preferences on Environmental Protection in General

At least since 1980, NES has regularly asked respondents their views on the level of federal spending on the environment. In 1994, 38 percent wanted to increase federal spending on the environment, 48 percent wanted to keep it the same, and 11 percent wanted to decrease spending.¹ In 1995, NES asked in its Pilot Study two other questions that relate explicitly to government involvement in environmental protection. These are: (1) if the government should put less, the same amount, or more effort into improving and protecting the environment; and (2) whether there should be tougher environmental regulations even if they hurt business. Two additional questions examine respondents' general approach to environmental protection, but do not ask about government policy per se. These are: (1) which is more important: "protecting the environment or maintaining jobs and our standard of living"; and (2) whether nature exists for our use and enjoyment, or should be preserved and protected for its own sake. (See Tables 1 through 5) The paragraphs below seek to understand how responses to these four new questions are related to preferences on environmental spending and to each other.

V. 2161:

Of the 486 respondents reinterviewed for the 1995 Pilot Study, more than half, 56 percent, thought the government should make a greater effort to protect the environment, while 33 percent thought it should make the same effort and 11 percent thought it should make less of an effort. These percentages suggest a higher level of support for environmental programs than was found in response to the question on environmental spending. However, the difference in responses seems to stem largely from respondents who think the government should make more of an effort, but without increased funding. Of all respondents, 62 percent gave the equivalent response to the two questions (i.e., that spending and effort should both be increased, kept the same, or decreased), and 20 percent thought that the government should make more of an effort to protect the environment, but should not increase spending, a set of responses that seem more reasonable than inconsistent. These results suggest that respondents are approaching the two questions similarly, but incorporate budget considerations into their response on government spending. In other words, the question on government effort measures essentially the same attitudes as that on spending, but enables the researcher to distinguish preferences on the environment from concerns about the budget. (See Table 6)

¹These responses reflect a shift in preferences among the public from 1992. Then, 50 percent wanted to increase spending, 40 percent keep it the same, and 10 percent wanted to decrease spending.

V. 2190A

Comparisons between preferences on spending and on the amount of government regulation are slightly more difficult as the response categories are not directly comparable (there are three possible responses to the question on spending and four to the question on regulation). As with the question on government effort, respondents are more supportive of government regulation than they are of increasing environmental spending. Half of the respondents strongly agreed that there should be tougher regulations even if they hurt business, and an additional 15 percent somewhat agreed with this statement. Ten percent somewhat disagreed, and 22 percent strongly disagreed (the remainder did not provide an answer). When these responses are compared to those given on environmental spending, the results are similar to those found on government effort above: few (seven percent) gave responses that might be considered inconsistent,² and 20 percent favored regulation over business, but also wanted to keep environmental spending the same. While the tradeoffs of government intervention are somewhat more clear in this question than they are for the question on government effort, respondents appear to answer this question also without considering the budget implications. (See Table 7) A comparison of responses to the government effort question and the government regulation question reveals that respondents who think the government should make more (less) of an effort to improve and protect the environment are also, for the most part, those that strongly favor (oppose) government regulation. The different distribution of responses given to the two questions seems to stem largely from the different number of response categories offered. (See Table 8) This suggests that one of the two questions might be dropped in future surveys without a significant loss of information. Of course, since both are included in batteries of questions, there may be other reasons for keeping both.

V. 2172A

Two other NES questions ask respondents about their philosophical approach to environmental protection. One asks respondents if they think environmental quality should come before economic health. Only ten percent of respondents gave an answer to this question that might be considered inconsistent with their response to the question on environmental spending (both wanting to increase environmental spending and favoring economic health over environmental protection, or wanting to decrease spending while at the same time saying that environmental concerns should take precedence over economic concerns). Despite the high level of consistency between these two items, they are useful as complements: the question on economic health allows the spending preferences of the respondent to be placed in context. For example, a cross-tabulation reveals that respondents who want to keep spending the same are roughly divided in their support for the environment or the economy, and feel less strongly about their position than other respondents. (See Table 9) Thus, we learn more about the respondents' motivations in answering the environmental spending question by also including this more general question of priorities. Finally, a comparison of responses on environment vs. the economy and government regulation shows that consistent responses (favoring the environment in both cases or favoring the economy and businesses) were given 66 percent of the time, suggesting that, for at least one third of respondents, the two questions measure different aspects of environmental preference. (See Table 10) For these reasons, the question on the environment vs. economic health is a valuable component of this and future NES surveys.

V. 2212A

A second question designed to measure more general environmental preferences asks whether nature exists solely for our use or deserves to be protected in its own right. In this case, nine percent gave responses which may be considered inconsistent with those given on environmental spending (wanting to

²An inconsistent set of responses are given when the respondent wants to increase spending but relax regulations, or decrease spending and tighten regulations. Note that because of the difference in response categories, there is no response that is inconsistent with keeping spending the same. In part, this accounts for the high level of consistency between responses to the two questions.

increase (decrease) spending but supporting the pro- (anti-) environmental position). While this question provides an interesting look at where people lie on the preservation-conservation continuum, the consistency of the responses with those given on environmental spending and the relatively low variability of the responses (68 percent strongly favor preservation and 17 percent strongly favor conservation) together suggest that this question does not offer as much information about the respondent as the questions discussed above. (See Table 11)

In sum, the preferences on government effort and government regulation are strongly related both to each other and to preferences on environmental spending. However, both allow respondents to express their preferences on the environment relatively blind to the tradeoffs. As such, they reflect preferences that are more idealistic, and less realistic, than those expressed on environmental spending. Yet these preferences are also less complicated than those captured by the environmental spending question, and so may be quite useful to those who use this data. The environment versus economic health question also taps into respondents' environmental values, contributing important information about respondent preferences. Finally, the preservation vs. conservation question seems the least useful of the four new questions, providing little information not captured in the responses to other questions.

B. Preferences on Specific Environmental Issues (V2161 through V2167)

Seven questions included in the 1995 Pilot Study survey asked about the level of government effort, six of which focused on specific environmental issues. The six areas covered were: improving air pollution, managing natural resources, cleaning up lakes and parks for recreation, cleaning up hazardous and toxic waste, reducing solid waste, and addressing global warming. In all areas but global warming, majorities wanted the government to pay more attention, and even a plurality wanted more attention paid to global warming. While the magnitude of these numbers are a bit deceiving because respondents are not required to consider tradeoffs, they do help in understanding public priorities. Except for the fact that there was more support for managing resources than reducing air pollution, the priorities are generally highest for local issues, lower for regional issues (managing resources and recreation), and lowest for the one national or global issue, global warming. (See Table 12) Responses are fairly consistent across the seven questions: the percentage giving the same responses to the question on general government effort and the more specific issues ranged from 72 (air) to 58 (global warming). Despite the consistencies, however, the results are not redundant; getting a sense of the respondents' priorities on the environment is quite useful in interpreting the more general questions explored above and below. (As an aside, one issue that is not included in this battery is the pollution of drinking water, an important environmental problem. In a later battery, however, respondents are asked to rate the quality of the air and drinking water in their community and nationally. If respondents were asked about government effort on protecting the safety of the drinking water, these results could be compared not only with government effort in other areas, but also with respondent ratings on water quality.)

C. Evaluations of the environmental preferences of political leaders and parties.

(V. 2175A, V. 2178A, V. 2181A, V. 2184, V. 2187, V. 2194, V. 2198, V. 2201A, V. 2204A, and V. 2208A)
Responses to the survey questions on the environmental priorities of political leaders and parties asked in the 1995 Pilot Study have already contributed to our understanding of how support for the environment fluctuates with the political environment. For some time, researchers have speculated that if people think the federal government is working to protect the environment, they are less likely to want to increase environmental spending or toughen environmental regulations.³ This effect has deceived many in politics who have misunderstood declining public support for tougher regulations after a period of environmental activism as a reflection of public disenchantment with this activism. The Reagan administration appears to have made this mistake in the early 1980s when Reagan's strong victory was interpreted by many as a

³See, for example, Riley Dunlap. "Public Opinion and Environmental Policy." in *Environmental Politics and Policy: Theories and Evidence*, James P. Lester, ed. Durham: Duke University Press, 1989.

mandate for regulatory reform. The administration reversed course somewhat by 1983. This same dynamic may have led politicians to believe that the Republican landslide of 1994 meant strong public support for regulatory relief, a position from which many Republicans have retreated more recently. The NES Pilot Study questions on respondent beliefs about their elected officials offer insight into this dynamic by allowing for an examination of how environmental preferences relate to perceived changes in national environmental priorities.

In the NES study, when respondents were asked if they thought Clinton cared more about the environment or jobs, 27 percent said they thought Clinton cared more about the environment, and 51 percent thought he cared more about jobs. However, 52 percent thought Clinton would favor tougher regulations even if they hurt business and 25 percent thought that he would not. For two questions that seem so similar, this is an odd result. Yet the discrepancies in wording, however subtle, appear to be at the root of this oddity. Twenty-five percent of respondents thought that Clinton favored jobs, but not businesses, over environmental protection. Only four percent thought he favored businesses but not jobs. (See Table 13)

It appears that there is a tension in the minds of many over whether Clinton will favor one element of the Democratic platform and party constituency, protection of the working and middle class, over another, using regulation to protect the environment. This tension is evident in the question that asks about the environment versus jobs, but less so in the question on regulation versus business. When we look at respondent views on the priorities of Democrats and Republicans, this point becomes clearer. Most respondents, especially those with college degrees, believe that Republicans will support jobs over environmental protection; three quarters of those without college degrees and 95 percent of those with college degrees expressed this view. Yet respondents are much less decisive when evaluating the Democratic party. Roughly two-thirds thought Democrats would favor jobs, while one-third thought they would favor environmental protection. The difference in evaluations does not appear to be a function of education. Of those who have a college degree, 61 percent thought that Democrats would favor jobs and 67 percent of those without a college degree thought this.⁴ (See Table 14) Virtually the same numbers believe Clinton would support jobs over the environment. (However, 60 percent think Gore would favor the environment over jobs, suggesting that respondents do distinguish between the parties and individuals within the parties.) Thus, there appears to be a real split among respondents; some may remember more clearly Clinton's popular campaign slogan, "it's the economy, stupid," while others give more credence to Clinton's selection of Al Gore, a strong environmentalist, as his running mate.

Public perceptions about which plank of the Democratic platform Clinton will more avidly support affect preferences on environmental spending. An ordered logit model that looks at the relationship between the economy vs. jobs question and the environmental spending question reveals what was often thought to be true: that those who think Clinton cares more about the environment are less likely to want to increase environmental spending. In fact, those who think Clinton will protect the environment over jobs are 40 percent less likely to want to increase spending. Those who think Gore will protect the environment are also less likely to want to increase spending, but impressions of Dole do not have an effect, perhaps because respondents believe that he cannot have as strong an impact on environmental protection.

In sum, in addition to providing some interesting results, responses to these two sets of questions suggest that despite their similarity, they mean quite different things to respondents. Because the question on

⁴Education is used here as a proxy for attentiveness to politics. If people with a college degree are fairly unified in their perceptions of the priorities of the two parties, while those without a college degree are less unified, then this lack of unity might result from a misunderstanding of these priorities that would disappear if the respondent knew more. The fact that no strong consensus emerged about the Democratic party's priorities among both groups suggests that the Democratic party sends out conflicting messages, not that the messages are misunderstood.

environment vs. jobs seems to get at a much more complex set of considerations, the responses to it are probably more valuable to researchers than the question on regulation vs. businesses. However, it may be useful to ask both batteries again to determine how stable these findings are over time.

D. The Preferred Level of Government for Environmental Protection (V. 2168)

The next question to be examined is the preferred level of government for addressing environmental problems and preferences on environmental spending: federal, state or local government. There does appear to be a relationship between responses on environmental spending and the level of government most preferred. Respondents who think the federal government should be most involved are 50 percent more likely to want to increase government spending than those who would delegate to the local governments. (See Table 15) Responses to other survey items suggest that lower support for spending among those who favor devolvement of environmental responsibilities exists not because some people think the local government can do the same with less money, but rather as part of a general belief that there should be less emphasis on environmental protection. The respondents who want to move the locus of responsibility more to the state and local governments are also more likely to favor protecting jobs over the environment and to favor businesses over regulation. Interestingly, however, this general belief is not captured by ideological or party preference; Republicans and conservatives are not statistically more likely to want to devolve responsibility to the state and local governments. This may be surprising, as the Republicans have made devolvement of government responsibilities an important part of their environmental reforms.

But while these two variables are related, much of the variation in one is not explained by the other. For example, of the 38 percent who wanted to increase federal spending on the environment, 22 percent wanted the state or local government to be most responsible for dealing with environmental problems. A respondent's position on one cannot be predicted very well at all by his or her response to the other.⁵ (See Table 16) Thus, the fact that devolvement is a major element of the current debate on environmental policy, and that public preferences on this issue cannot be estimated by the environmental spending measure, suggests that it is worth consideration for future surveys.

E. Ratings of Air and Water Quality (V. 2213 through V. 2216)

Preferences on spending on the environment are also affected by environmental quality in the respondent's community: those who give higher ratings to air and water quality are less likely to want to increase spending on the environment. This result suggests that including questions on air and water quality ratings help to place preferences on environmental spending in perspective.

Of those who thought air quality in their community was good, 36 percent wanted to increase spending, but of those who thought it was bad, 48 percent advocated increased spending. For each of the four questions, at least ten percent more of those who thought environmental quality was poor wanted to increase environmental spending. Ordered logit analysis reveals that these differences are significant. (See Tables 17 through 22) This result may suggest that people in areas with better environmental quality do not perceive a need for more funding as they believe the problem is not all that significant. It might also mean that those who do not want to increase spending on the environment have more optimistic assessments of the environmental quality in their area to justify this position. In fact, it appears that both effects are at work: environmental quality affects local ratings, but general ideology affects national ratings. Using population density as a proxy for air and water quality and the respondent's self-described ideological preferences as a measure of ideology, an ordered logit analysis of air and water quality ratings on these two variables reveals that conservatives are more likely to rate national air and water quality higher than liberals and moderates and those who live in the suburbs and more rural areas

⁵As an aside, it would also be interesting to understand how preferences on the level of government most involved with environmental programs vary depending on the environmental issue under consideration.

are more likely to rate local environmental quality higher than those who live in a city. (See Table 23) Putting these two pieces together -- that people who live in areas with poor environmental quality think the local air and water are polluted and that people who think that their air and water are polluted are more likely to want to increase spending -- it may be concluded that people who live in areas with dirty air and water are more likely to want to increase environmental spending. In addition, but perhaps less interesting, ideology appears to influence ratings of national air and water quality, and as discussed below, preferences on environmental spending. Thus, including questions on air and water quality helps in understanding why a respondent would want to increase or decrease environmental spending.

III. DEMOGRAPHICS

Relationships among the various environmental questions may also be explored by examining the structure of responses to them. The demographics that will be examined here are: party identification, ideological identification, age, education, gender, race, income, attention to environmental issues, and whether the respondent considers her or himself an environmentalist. By examining the relationship between preferences on environmental spending and the various demographics, it was determined that the best model (in terms of explanatory power and parsimony) is one with the following variables and categories: party (7 categories), ideology (linear), age (linear), education (4 categories), gender (2 categories), race (2 categories), income (log of income), attention to environmental issues (linear), and whether one describes oneself as an environmentalist (2 categories). Table 24 indicates which demographic variables are significantly related to preferences when included alone in a model, and when placed in a model that includes all the demographic variables together. (The fact that the relationship between environmental preferences is so much less linear for party than for ideology is interesting to note. Graphs of these relationships are included. See Graphs 1 and 2).

As Table 24 shows, responses to the five questions on general environmental preferences share much in common. In the models with only one element, party, ideology, attentiveness and environmentalism are significant in all cases, age in four cases, gender in two cases, race in one case; education and income are not significant for any of the measures. In the multivariate models, environmentalism is significant in all cases, ideology and age in four cases, attentiveness in two cases, party, gender, and race and income in one case; education is not significant in any of the multivariate models. In addition, the significant variables seem to exert roughly the same magnitude of influence across the different measures. These results are consistent with those found above suggesting that respondents approach these five questions with roughly the same framework in mind.

Far fewer demographic characteristics significantly influence the preferred level of government to address environmental problems. Only gender predicts with any accuracy; females are less likely to prefer environmental problems be addressed at the federal level (26 percent versus 43 percent of males; 52 percent of females want state governments to be responsible). This result also corroborates the earlier finding that responses to the question on the preferred level of government to address most environmental issues are quite different from those on general environmental preferences.

Table 1
 Spending on the Environment

<u>Response</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Increase	38
Keep the same	48
Decrease	11
DK/NA	3

Table 2
 Level of Government Effort on Protecting the Environment

<u>Response</u>	<u>Percent</u>
More	55
Same	33
Less	11
DK/NA	1

Table 3
 Government Regulation vs. Businesses

<u>Response</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Strongly favors regulation	50
Somewhat favors regulation	15
Somewhat favors businesses	10
Strongly favors businesses	22
DK/NA	3

Table 4
 Protecting the Environment vs. Protecting Jobs

<u>Response</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Strongly favors protecting the environment	33
Somewhat favors protecting the environment	19
Favors protecting the environment if forced	2
Favors protecting jobs if forced	4
Somewhat favors protecting jobs	19
Strongly favors protecting jobs	17
DK/NA	6

Table 5

Purpose of Nature

<u>Response</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Feels strongly that nature exists for our use	17
Feels somewhat that nature exists for our use	5
Feels somewhat that nature should be preserved for its own sake	7
Feels strongly that nature should be preserved for its own sake	68
DK/NA	3

Table 6
Cross-tabulation of Environmental Spending and Government Effort
(Percent)*

<u>Environmental Spending</u>	<u>Government Effort</u>				<u>Total</u>
	<u>More</u>	<u>Same</u>	<u>Less</u>	<u>DK/NA</u>	
Increase	32	6	1	0	38
Keep the same	20	23	5	0	48
Decrease	2	4	5	0	11
DK/NA	2	0	0	0	3
Total	55	33	11	1	100

(*Here and below the marginal numbers may not appear to be consistent with the cells due to rounding)

Table 7
Cross-tabulation of Environmental Spending and Government Regulation
(Percent)

<u>Environmental Spending</u>	<u>Government Regulation</u>				<u>DK/NA</u>	<u>Total</u>
	<u>Favor Environment</u>		<u>Favor Business</u>			
	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>Strongly</u>		
Increase	28	5	1	4	1	38
Keep the same	20	9	7	10	2	48
Decrease	2	0	2	7	0	11
DK/NA	1	1	0	0	0	3
Total	50	15	10	22	3	100

Table 8

Cross-tabulation of Government Effort and Government Regulation
(Percent)

Government Effort	Government Regulation				DK/NA	Total
	Favor Environment		Favor Business			
	Strongly	Somewhat	Somewhat	Strongly		
More	38	8	3	5	1	55
Same	11	7	4	10	1	33
Less	0	0	3	7	2	11
DK/NA	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	50	15	10	22	3	100

Table 9
Cross-tabulation of Environmental Spending and Economics/Environmental Tradeoff
(Percent)

Response	Favor Environment			Favor Jobs			DK/NA	Total
	Strongly	Somewhat	If Forced	If Forced	Somewhat	Strongly		
Increase	20	6	1	0	5	3	3	38
Keep the same	11	12	1	3	12	7	3	48
Decrease	1	1	0	0	2	6	1	11
DK/NA	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
Total	33	19	2	4	19	17	8	100

Table 10
Cross-tabulation of Government Regulation and Economics/Environmental Tradeoff
(Percent)

Response	Favor Environment			Favor Jobs			DK/NA	Total
	Strongly	Somewhat	If Forced	If Forced	Somewhat	Strongly		
<i>Favor Environment</i>								
Strongly	27	9	1	0	5	5	3	50
Somewhat	3	4	1	1	5	1	0	15
<i>Favor Regulation</i>								
Somewhat	1	3	0	1	3	2	0	10
Strongly	3	4	0	1	6	8	0	22
DK/NA	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	3
Total	33	19	2	4	19	17	3	100

Table 11
Cross-tabulation of Environmental Spending and Purpose of Nature
(Percent)

Response	For Its Own Sake		For Our Use		DK/NA	Total
	Strongly	Somewhat	Somewhat	Strongly		
Increase	32	1	1	4	1	38
Keep the same	32	4	3	8	1	48
Decrease	3	1	1	5	0	11
DK/NA	2	0	0	1	0	3
Total	68	7	5	17	3	100

Table 12
Views on the Level of Governmental Effort to Protect the Environment
(Percent)

Item	More	Same	Less	DK/NA
Improving and protecting the environment	55	33	11	1
Cleaning up hazardous or toxic waste	77	19	2	1
Reducing solid waste	69	26	4	1
Managing natural resources	62	28	9	1
Reducing air pollution	58	35	6	1
Cleaning up lakes and parks	57	35	7	1
Addressing global warming	41	35	19	5

Table 13
Cross-tabulation of Views on Clinton's support for the Environment vs. Jobs and
Regulation vs. Business (Percent)

Response	Favor regulation	Favor businesses	DK/NA	Total
Favor environment	20	4	4	27
Favor jobs	25	18	8	51
DK/NA	7	4	11	21
Total	52	25	22	100

Table 14
 Cross-tabulation of Views on Democratic and Republican Party Support
 for the Environment vs. Jobs, by Educational Attainment
 (Percent)

Response	Republicans			Democrats		
	No College Degree	College Degree	Total	No College Degree	College Degree	Total
Strongly favors environment	12	0	8	16	18	17
Somewhat favors environment	13	5	11	16	21	18
Somewhat favors jobs	39	34	37	34	43	37
Strongly favors jobs	37	61	44	33	18	29

(Of the 414 respondents who answered this question)

Table 15
 Ordered Logit Analysis of Environmental Spending and Views on What Level of Government
 Should Be Primarily Responsible for Environmental Protection

Item	Coefficient	Standard Error	P> z	cut 1	cut2
Level of Government	-.307	.126	.015	-2.34	.18

Note: Responses were coded as follows: federal government: 0; state government: 1; local government: 2.

Table 16
 Cross-tabulation of Environmental Spending and Preferences on the
 Level of Government to Protect the Environment
 (Percent)

Item	Federal	State	Local	DK/NA	Total
Increase	15	14	8	1	38
Keep the Same	14	24	8	1	48
Decrease	3	5	4	0	11
DK/NA	1	1	0	0	3
Total	33	44	20	3	100

Table 17
Ratings for Air and Water Quality Nationally and in the Local Community
(Percent)

Response	Air		Water	
	Nation	Community	Nation	Community
Very good	6	29	11	35
Fairly good	58	48	55	44
Fairly bad	26	15	25	14
Very Bad	7	7	6	6
DK/NA	2	0	3	0
Total	100	100	100	100

Table 18
Cross-tabulation of Environmental Spending and National Air Ratings
(Percent)

Response	Good	Bad
Increase	33	48
Keep the same	51	45
Decrease	13	7
DK/NA	4	1
Total	100	100

Table 19
Cross-tabulation of Environmental Spending and Community Air Ratings
(Percent)

Response	Good	Bad
Increase	36	48
Keep the same	51	39
Decrease	11	12
DK/NA	3	1
Total	100	100

Table 20
 Cross-tabulation of Environmental Spending and National Water Ratings
 (Percent)

<u>Response</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Bad</u>
Increase	34	45
Keep the same	52	42
Decrease	11	10
DK/NA	3	3
Total	100	100

Table 21
 Cross-tabulation of Environmental Spending and Community Water Ratings
 (Percent)

<u>Response</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Bad</u>
Increase	35	50
Keep the same	51	37
Decrease	11	12
DK/NA	3	1
Total	100	100

Table 22
 Results from an Ordered Logit Analysis of Environmental Spending and
 Air and Water Quality Ratings

<u>Item</u>	<u>Coefficient</u>	<u>Standard Error</u>	<u>P> t </u>	<u>cut 1</u>	<u>cut 2</u>
Air quality nationally	-.248	.079	.002	-2.21	.39
Air quality locally	-.247	.075	.001	-2.29	.24
Water quality nationally	-.172	.077	.026	-2.17	.40
Water quality locally	-.161	.074	.029	-2.22	.30

Note:

Decrease: Pr (xb+u<cut1)

Same: Pr(cut1<xb+u<cut2)

Increase: Pr(cut2<xb+u)

Table 23

Results from an Ordered Logit Analysis of Air and Water Quality Ratings and
Ideology and Proximity to a Large City

Item	Coefficient	Standard Error	P> t	cut 1	cut 2	cut 3
Air quality nationally						
Residential Area	-.130	.081	.111	-2.58	-.68	2.75
Conservatives	.337	.187	.071			
Air quality locally						
Residential Area	-.682	.084	.000	-3.78	-2.36	.03
Conservatives	.221	.177	.212			
Water quality nationally						
Residential Area	-.092	.080	.250	-2.59	-.66	2.19
Conservatives	.490	.184	.008			
Water quality locally						
Residential Area	-.288	.077	.000	-2.98	-1.62	.36
Conservatives	.343	.174	.049			

Note: The four residential areas are coded as follows: Live in city with more than 2 million people: 0; Live in city with fewer than 2 million people: 1; Live in suburbs of city with fewer than 2 million people: 3; live in rural area: 4.

Quality is very bad: $\Pr(xb+u < \text{cut}1)$
 Quality is fairly bad: $\Pr(\text{cut}1 < xb+u < \text{cut}2)$
 Quality is fairly good: $\Pr(\text{cut}2 < xb+u < \text{cut}3)$
 Quality is very good: $\Pr(\text{cut}3 < xb+u)$

Table 24
Measures of Environmental Preferences and Demographics
(Ordered Probit Coefficients)

	Environmental Spending		Government Effort		Government Regulation		Environment vs. Jobs		Preservation vs. Conservation		Level of Government	
	Single	Full	Single	Full	Single	Full	Single	Full	Single	Full	Single	Full
Party**	(.000)	(.044)	(.000)	(.115)	(.000)	(.070)	(.015)	(.695)	(.000)	(.323)	(.529)	(.580)
Ideology	-.49*	-.29*	-.54*	-.39*	.40*	-.20	-.33*	.26*	-.38*	-.25*	.12	.15
Age	-.01*	-.02*	-.02*	-.03*	-.02*	-.02*	-.01*	-.02*	.00	-.00	.00	-.00
Education**	(.974)	(.903)	(.937)	(.935)	(.094)	(.648)	(.414)	(.934)	(.589)	(.939)	(.463)	(.413)
Female	.12	.07	.36	.08	.45*	.46*	-.20	-.07	.48*	.34	.56*	.47*
Black	-.22	-.14	1.16*	.95	.70	-.19	-.38	.99*	.62	-.12	.23	.57
Income	-.05	.41*	-.20	-.15	-.18	.22	.24	.30	-.29	.09	.10	.23
Attentiveness	-.76*	-.54*	-1.06*	.87*	-.79*	-.34	-.65*	-.48*	-.56*	-.23	.21	.20
Environmentalist	.64*	.60*	.80*	.73*	.88*	.80*	.76*	.53*	.56*	.34*	.08	.09

"Single" model coefficient is coefficient from ordered logit model of environmental preference measure on one demographic variable.

"Full" model coefficients are from ordered logit models of environmental preference measure on all demographic variables together.

* Indicates significant at the 95 percent level of confidence

** Party and education had multiple categories, so for these variables, the probability that they are jointly equal to zero is recorded

How the variables were recorded:

Party: Dummy variables for each of seven categories

Ideology: Liberal (0) - Conservative (6)

Age: Respondent's age

Education: Dummy variables for less than high school, high school degree, some college, and B.A. or more

Female: Dummy variable (1=female)

Black: Dummy variable (1=Black)

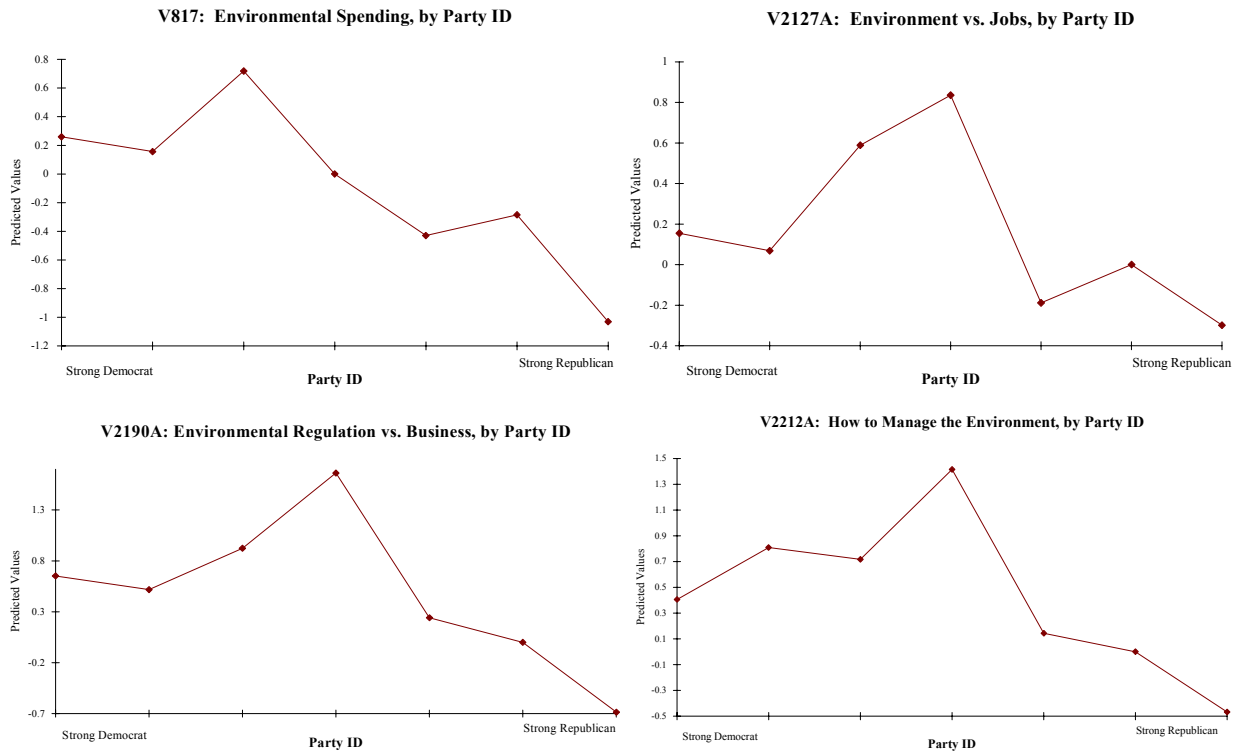
Income: Log of income

Attentiveness: Amount of attention to news stories on the environment - a lot (1), some (2), not much at all (3)

Environmentalist: Dummy variable (1=environmentalist)

Graph 1

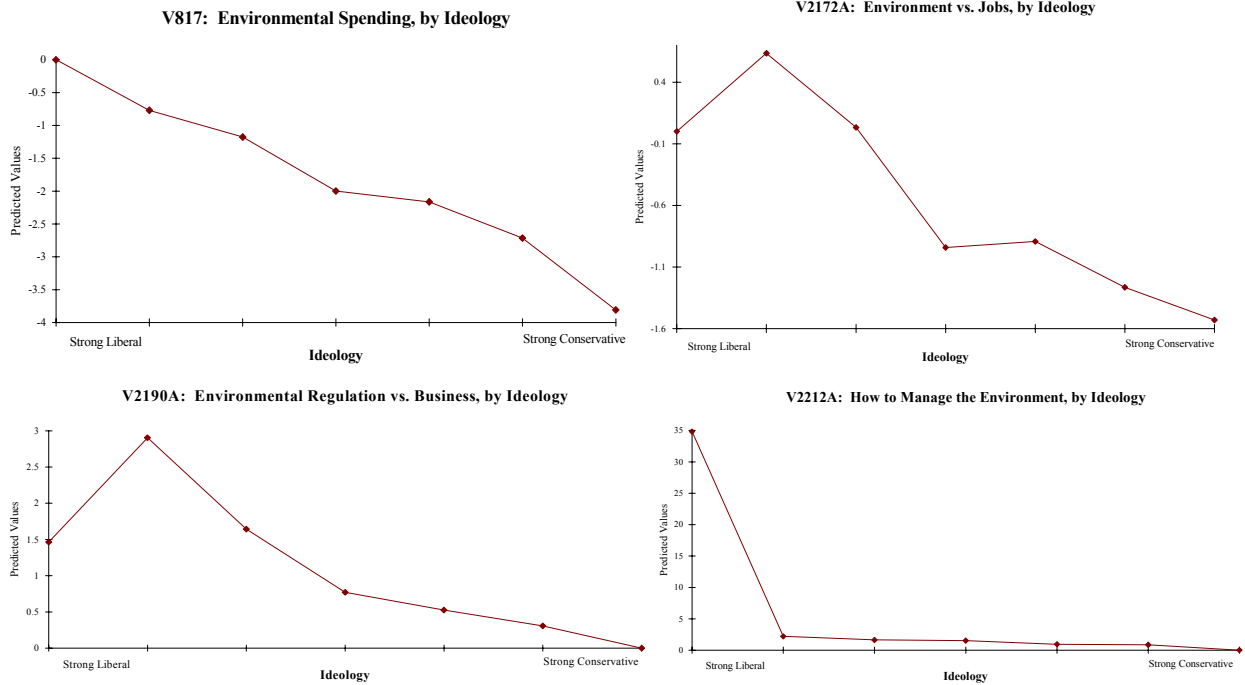
Environmental Preferences, by Party



Party is on a seven-point scale from Strong Democrat to Strong Republican.

Predicted values are ordered logit coefficients that were determined by first recoding responses to these four questions from nominal to ordinal form, with higher numbers representing stronger preferences for environmental protection, and then predicting the responses by party using an ordered logit model.

Graph 2 Environmental Preferences by Ideology



Ideology is on a seven-point scale from strongly liberal to strongly conservative.

Predicted values are ordered logit coefficients that were determined by first recoding responses to these four questions from nominal to ordinal form, with higher numbers representing stronger preferences for environmental protection, and then predicting the responses by ideology using an ordered logit model.