

CHAPTER 21

Environmental Policy

REVIEWING THE CHAPTER

CHAPTER FOCUS

Environmental policy, like economic or welfare policy, reflects the unique nature of the American political system. Unlike economic or welfare issues, however, environmental issues lend themselves to entrepreneurial politics, which requires mobilizing the media, dramatizing the issue, and convincing members of Congress that their political reputations will suffer if they do not cast the right vote. It is politics in which an unorganized public benefits at the expense of a well-organized group, such as a manufacturer. After reading and reviewing the material in this chapter, you should be able to do each of the following:

1. List three reasons environmental policy tends to be so controversial, providing examples of each reason.
2. Describe the role of the American political system and local politics in shaping environmental policy. Contrast these with environmental policy-making in England.
3. Distinguish among the following styles of politics in terms of who benefits and who pays: entrepreneurial, majoritarian, interest group, and client.
4. Describe the role of entrepreneurial politics in government's efforts to deal with the issues of global warming and endangered species.
5. Outline the major provisions of the Clean Air Act (1970), the Water Quality Improvement Act (1970), the revised Clean Air Act (1990), and the National Environmental Policy Act (1969).
6. Describe the role of majoritarian politics in government's efforts to reduce automobile emissions. Explain why majoritarian politics worked in some cases and not in others.
7. Describe the role of interest-group politics in government's efforts to resolve the acid rain controversy. List proposed alternative solutions, and outline the terms of the compromise that was reached by Congress and the Bush administration.
8. Describe the role of client politics in government's efforts to regulate the use of agricultural pesticides and timber cutting in U.S. forests.
9. Give three reasons why it is so difficult to develop a sane environmental policy in this country. Provide examples of how the EPA is dealing with these problems.
10. Discuss the results of environmental protection measures that have been taken since 1970.

STUDY OUTLINE

- I. Introduction
 - A. Why is environmental policy so controversial?
 1. Creates both winners and losers
 - a) Losers may be interest groups or average citizens
 - b) Losers may not want to pay costs
Example: auto exhaust control
 2. Shrouded in scientific uncertainty
Example: greenhouse effect
 3. Takes the form of entrepreneurial politics
 - a) Encourages emotional appeals: “good guys” versus “bad guys”
 - b) May lead to distorted priorities
Example: cancer versus water pollution
 4. Decisions affect federal and international relations
 - a) State laws on greenhouse gases and toxic waste cleanup
 - b) Kyoto Treaty and opposition in the Senate
- II. The American context
 - A. Environmental policy is shaped by unique features of American politics
 1. More adversarial than in Europe
 - a) Rules are often uniform nationally (auto emissions)
 - b) But require many regulators and rules, strict deadlines, and expensive technologies
 - c) Often government (pro-) versus business (anti-)
 - d) Example: Clean Air Act, which took thirteen years to revise in Congress
 - e) In England, rules are flexible and regional
 - (1) Compliance is voluntary
 - (2) Government and business cooperate
 - (3) Policies are effective
 2. Depends heavily on states
 - a) Standards are left to states, subject to federal control
 - b) Local politics decides allocations
 - c) Federalism reinforces adversarial politics; separation of powers provides multiple points of access
 - B. Types of politics
 1. Entrepreneurial politics
 - a) Most people benefit, few companies pay costs
 - b) Example: factories and other stationary sources
 2. Majoritarian
 - a) Most people benefit, most people pay
 - b) Example: air pollution from automobiles
 3. Interest group
 - a) Some groups benefit, other groups pay
 - b) Example: acid rain controversy
 4. Client
 - a) Most people pay, some groups benefit
 - b) Example: pesticide control

- III. Entrepreneurial politics: global warming
 - A. Entrepreneurial politics gave rise to environmental movement
 - 1. Santa Barbara oil spill, Earth Day
 - 2. Led to the formation of EPA and passage of the Water Quality Improvement Act and tougher Clean Air Act in 1970
 - 3. Two years later Congress passed laws designed to clean up water
 - 4. Three years later Congress adopted the Endangered Species Act
 - 5. New laws passed into the 1990s
 - 6. Existing environmental organizations grew in size and new ones formed
 - 7. Public opinion rallied behind environmental slogans
 - B. Global warming
 - 1. Earth's temperature rises from trapped gases in the atmosphere
 - 2. Predicted result: floods on coastal areas as the polar ice caps melt; wilder weather as more storms are created; and tropical diseases spread to North America
 - 3. Difficult questions
 - a) Has warming trend been mostly the result of natural climate changes or is it heavily influence by human activity?
 - b) What would it cost in lost productivity and income to reduce greenhouse gases?
 - c) How large would the gains be to mankind?
 - 4. Elites, ideology and "the facts"
 - a) Environmental activists raise money scaring people about the harms global warming will cause
 - b) Conservatives raise money scaring people about economic pain
 - c) Activists tend to dominate the discussion
 - C. Endangered species
 - 1. Endangered Species Act of 1973 prohibits buying or selling plants or animals on "endangered" species list
 - 2. Over six hundred species on list with about half plants
 - 3. Firms and government agencies seeking to build in areas with endangered species must comply with federal regulations
 - 4. Complaints outweigh public support for law
- IV. Majoritarian politics: pollution from automobiles
 - A. Clean Air Act imposed tough restrictions
 - 1. Public demanded improvements
 - 2. 1975: 90 percent reduction of hydrocarbons and carbon monoxide
 - 3. 1976: 90 percent reduction in nitrous oxides
 - 4. Required catalytic converters
 - B. Emergence of majoritarian politics in auto pollution
 - 1. States were required to restrict public use of cars
 - a) If auto emissions controls were insufficient—Los Angeles, Denver, New York—parking bans required, implementation of car pools, gas rationing
 - b) Efforts failed: opposition too great
 - c) Congress and the EPA backed down, postponed deadlines
 - 2. Consumers, auto industry, and unions objected
 - a) Loss of horsepower
 - b) Loss of competitiveness
 - c) Loss of jobs
 - 3. The Clean Air Act was weakened in 1977 but revived in 1990 with tougher standards
 - C. Public will support tough laws
 - 1. If costs are hidden (catalytic converters)

2. But not if they have to change habits (car pools)
- D. Majoritarian politics when people believe the costs are low: National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (NEPA)
 1. Requires environmental impact statement (EIS)
 2. Does not require specific action
 3. Passed Congress with overwhelming support
 4. But encouraged numerous lawsuits that block or delay projects
 5. Popular support remains strong: costs appear low, benefits high
- E. Majoritarian politics when people believe the costs are high
 1. Increased gasoline taxes
 - a) Would discourage driving, save fuel, and reduce smog
 - b) Most would pay, most would benefit
 - c) But costs come long before benefits
 - d) And benefits may not be obvious
 2. Easier to raise gas tax if benefits are concrete, for example, highways, bridges, and so forth
 3. Other approaches
 - a) Tax breaks and incentives for companies seeking to develop alternative energy sources
 - b) Incentive to car manufacturers to build vehicles that consume less fuel
- V. Interest group politics: acid rain
 - A. Source of acid rain
 1. Burning of high-sulfur coal in Midwestern factories
 2. Winds carry sulfuric acid eastward
 3. Rains bring acid to earth
 - B. Effects of acid rain
 1. Acidification of lakes
 2. Destruction of forests
 3. Long-term and some short-term effects are unclear
 - C. Regional battle
 1. East versus Midwest, Canada versus United States
 2. Midwestern businesses deny blame and costs
 - D. Solutions and compromise
 1. Burn low-sulfur coal one alternative
 - a) Effective but expensive
 - b) Low-sulfur coal comes from West, high-sulfur coal is local.
 2. Install smokestack scrubbers a second alternative
 - a) Costly, not always effective, and leave sludge
 - b) But allow use of inexpensive high-sulfur coal
 3. Congress voted for scrubbers for all new plants
 - a) Including those that burned low-sulfur coal
 - b) Even if plant was next to low-sulfur coal mine
 4. Political advantages
 - a) Protected jobs of high-sulfur coal miners; powerful allies in Congress
 - b) Environmentalists preferred scrubbers; “definitive” solution to problem
 - c) Scrubber manufacturers preferred scrubbers
 - d) Eastern governors preferred scrubbers; made their plants more competitive
 5. Practical disadvantages
 - a) Imposed scrubbers on plants right next to mines where they could get low-sulfur coal
 - b) Scrubbers didn’t work well

- c) Failed to address problem of existing plants
 - 6. Stalemate for thirteen years
 - 7. Two-step regulation proposed by Bush
 - a) Before 1995: some plants could choose their approach; fixed reduction but plants decide how to do
 - b) After 1995: sharper reductions for many more plants, requiring some use of scrubbers
 - c) Sulfur dioxide allowances could be bought and sold
 - d) Financial compensation for coal miners who lose jobs
 - 8. Became part of Clean Air Act of 1990
 - 9. A host of new laws (and potential battles) in 2004–2005
- E. Another example of interest-group politics: zoning regulations, residents versus developers
- F. New interest groups
 - 1. More fervent and committed than before
 - 2. Able to block change in policies
 - 3. Examples
 - a) Environmental protection industry
 - b) Environmental Defense Fund
 - c) Labor unions
 - 4. Shifts in public opinion
 - a) In 1980s and 1990s, public overwhelmingly rated environmental protection more important than economic growth
 - b) By the mid 2000s, importance of economic growth had increased
- VI. Client politics: agricultural pesticides
 - A. Issue: control of use and runoff of pesticides; farmers have mostly resisted policy entrepreneurs, with DDT an exception
 - B. EPA efforts to evaluate safety of all pesticides
 - 1. Given mandate by Congress in 1972
 - 2. Program has not succeeded
 - a) Too many pesticides to evaluate
 - (1) Many have only long-term effects needing extended study
 - (2) Expensive and time-consuming to evaluate
 - b) Benefits of pesticide may outweigh harm
 - 3. Political complications
 - a) Farmers are well-represented in Congress
 - b) Subsidies encourage overproduction, which encourages overuse of pesticides
 - c) Damage is hard to see and dramatize
 - 4. The EPA budget is small
 - 5. Few pesticides have been removed from the market; only those receiving heavy media coverage such as DDT in 1972
 - 6. Client politics has won out
 - C. Environmentalists versus loggers
 - 1. Issue: clear-cutting of forests
 - 2. Congress has supported loggers
 - a) Forest Service forced to sell lumber at below-market prices
 - b) Subsidizes industry
 - 3. Spotted owl: getting the media involved—entrepreneurial politics
- VII. The environmental uncertainties
 - A. Why is it so difficult to have a sane environmental policy?
 - 1. Many environmental problems are not clear cut
 - 2. Goals are often unclear; public opinion can shift

3. Means of achieving goals (command-and-control strategy) are complicated by
 - a) Local circumstances
 - b) Technological problems
 - c) Economic costs
- B. Examples of EPA and politics
 1. What is the problem?
 - a) The EPA not left alone to define problem
 - b) Scandals and congressional demands can shift priorities
 2. What are our goals?
 - a) Many are completely unrealistic
 - b) The EPA forced to ask for extensions and revisions
 3. How do we achieve our goals?
 - a) Rules have been replaced by incentives
 - (1) Offsets
 - (2) Bubble standards
 - (3) Pollution allowances
 - b) Complaints about command-and-control strategy are now coming from environmental groups and government
 - (1) Clinton administration is reexamining old approaches
 - (2) People are learning from experience

VIII. The results: the environment has improved since 1970 in some aspects

- A. Less air pollution
- B. Maybe less water pollution but harder to judge
- C. Hazardous wastes remain a problem

KEY TERMS MATCH

Match the following terms and descriptions:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. The type of politics best illustrated by the acid rain controversy | a. acid rain |
| 2. An EPA incentive that allows a company to decide how best to reduce air pollution from a given factory | b. bank (or pollution allowance) |
| 3. A national event held on April 22, 1970, celebrating the new environmental movement | c. bubble standard |
| 4. Called for a 5 percent reduction world-wide in greenhouse gases | d. catalytic converter |
| 5. A device designed to remove sulfurous pollutants from smoke as it comes out of coal-burning plants | e. Clean Air Act of 1970 |
| 6. The type of politics best illustrated by auto emission control rules | f. Clean Air Act of 1990 |
| 7. Gave the government power to sue any person or company that dumped waste | g. clear-cutting |
| | h. client politics |
| | i. command-and-control strategy |
| | j. DDT |
| | k. Earth Day |
| | l. entrepreneurial politics |
| | m. environmental impact statement (EIS) |
| | n. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) |

8. The setting of pollution standards and rules in order to improve air and water quality
9. The EPA incentive that allows a company higher pollution at one plant in exchange for lower pollution at another
10. A law that includes the compromise reached by Congress on acid rain
11. A pesticide banned by the EPA in 1972
12. Precipitation that may be caused by the burning of high-sulfur coal
13. The type of politics best illustrated by the continued use of agricultural pesticides
14. A law enacted in 1970 that made oil companies responsible for cleanup costs of oil spills
15. A document required before any federal agency undertakes an activity that “significantly” affects the environment
16. A major cause of acid rain
17. An EPA incentive that allows a company to apply credits for low-polluting emissions to future plant expansions, or to sell the credits
18. A law passed in 1969 that included a provision requiring environmental impact statements
19. The type of politics best illustrated by controversies over factory pollution
20. A logging method in which all trees in an area are removed
21. The device used in automobile engines to remove emission pollutants
22. The government agency established in 1970 to implement environmental legislation
23. Landmark environmental legislation that established national air-quality standards with specified deadlines
- o. interest-group politics
- p. Kyoto Protocol
- q. majoritarian politics
- r. National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA)
- s. offset
- t. scrubber
- u. sulfur dioxide
- v. Superfund
- w. Water Quality Improvement Act of 1970

DATA CHECK**Figure 21.1 (Page 564): Which Should Take Precedence: Environmental Protection or Economic Growth?: 1984–2006**

1. In what years did the highest percentage of respondents choose “environmental protection?”

2. In what years did the percentage of respondents choosing “environmental protection” fall below 50 percent?

3. In what year did the highest percentage of respondent choose “economic growth?”

PRACTICING FOR EXAMS**TRUE/FALSE QUESTIONS**

Read each statement carefully. Mark true statements *T*. If any part of the statement is false, mark it *F*, and write in the space provided a concise explanation of why the statement is false.

1. T F In a typical survey, college freshmen think the government is not doing enough to control pollution.

2. T F Many environmental issues are enmeshed in scientific uncertainty

3. T F President Clinton never pushed for the ratification of the Kyoto Protocol (1997).

4. T F President Bush supported ratification of the Kyoto Protocol (1997).

5. T F Environmental policy making in the United States tends to be more adversarial than in European countries.

6. T F Environmental policy depends heavily upon the states.

7. T F Allocation decisions regarding environmental policy are typically made on the basis of scientific evidence gathered by the federal government.

8. T F Interest-group politics created the environmental movement.

9. T F The Environmental Protection Agency was formed during the Great Depression as a means of lowering unemployment.
-
10. T F Majoritarian politics best explains the nation's policy approach to global warming.
-
11. T F We do not yet have an accurate measure of how much human activity has contributed to the warming of the earth.
-
12. T F Acting alone, American can eliminate greenhouse gases.
-
13. T F Of the several thousand things categorized by the government as "endangered," about half are plants.
-
14. T F The Clean Air Act of 1970 required states to restrict the public's use of cars.
-
15. T F Most clean air laws passed since 1990 have targeted particular industries.
-
16. T F Popular support for the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, including its call for environmental impact statements, remains strong.
-
17. T F The average citizen will support increased gasoline taxes if the benefits include cleaner air and a reduction of oil consumption.
-
18. T F The controversy over the problem of acid rain illustrates the importance of client politics in environmental policy making.
-
19. T F The major source of sulfur dioxide in the atmosphere is the burning of low-sulfur coal.
-
20. T F The two major opposing groups in the acid rain controversy are Midwestern power and coal companies and Southeastern environmentalists.
-
21. T F Environmentalists generally prefer reliance on incentives to buy low-sulfur coal to the use of scrubbers.
-
22. T F Under the compromise acid rain plan adopted by Congress, a power plant situated next to a low-sulfur coal mine must nevertheless install smokestack scrubbers.
-

23. T F The text reports the scrubbers which were legally imposed on all new coal-burning plants were generally effective devices.
-
24. T F A battle between residents and developers over the use of farmland is most likely to involve client politics.
-
25. T F Entrepreneurial politics often lacks the moral fervor of interest group politics.
-
26. T F The innovative environmental legislation of the 1970s is less difficult to duplicate today because groups that were once unorganized are now well organized.
-
27. T F Farmers have effectively resisted the efforts of policy entrepreneurs to restrict the use of agricultural pesticides.
-
28. T F Thousands of pesticides have been taken out of the market after EPA review.
-
29. T F Less than one-quarter of the U.S. Forest Reserve is off limits to logging.
-
30. T F Most forms of cancer have been steadily declining for many years.
-
31. T F Superfund was created during the administration of Richard Nixon.
-
32. T F Today, there are about 180 sites that still need to be addressed by Superfund.
-
33. T F A lot of Superfund money has gone to lawyers not waste removers.
-
34. T F Offsets, bubble standards, and banks (pollution allowances) are incentives used by the EPA to achieve its environmental protection goals.
-
35. T F The Clinton administration had the strong support of environmentalists and pushed ahead with a series of impressive command-and-control policies.
-
36. T F There is now much less carbon monoxide, sulfur dioxide and lead in the atmosphere than once was the case.
-

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

Circle the letter of the response that best answers the question or completes the statement.

1. One reason environmental policy tends to be so controversial is that
 - a. so many environmental policy decisions are based on scientific evidence, which tends to be highly political.
 - b. environmental policy often takes the form of majoritarian politics, which requires strong emotional appeals to overcome the political advantage of client groups.
 - c. environmental policy creates losers, who must pay the costs without getting enough of the benefits.
 - d. most people feel that government is already doing enough to control pollution; new programs are therefore likely to face stiff opposition.
 - e. all of the above.
2. The text speaks of the importance of *entrepreneurial politics* in many areas of environmental policy making. This term refers to a style of policy-making in which
 - a. an unorganized public benefits at the expense of a well-organized group.
 - b. an unorganized public benefits at its own expense.
 - c. two organized groups with a material stake in the outcome fight over who will pay and who will benefit.
 - d. an organized group benefits at the expense of an unorganized public.
 - e. an organized group benefits at the expense of a well-organized public.
3. Which of the following statements regarding the 1997 Kyoto Protocol is *incorrect*?
 - a. It called for a 5 percent reduction worldwide in greenhouse gases.
 - b. It was strongly opposed by the U.S. Senate.
 - c. President Clinton never pushed strongly for its ratification.
 - d. President Bush scrapped it completely.
 - e. None of the above.
4. An example cited in the text of the adversarial nature of environmental policy making in the United States is the fact that
 - a. rules designed to reduce air pollution were written by government and business acting cooperatively.
 - b. most environmental issues are settled through majoritarian politics.
 - c. the public is prohibited by law from suing the Environmental Protection Agency.
 - d. it took Congress thirteen years to revise the *Clean Air Act*.
 - e. Congress has not passed a substantive environmental law in over twenty-seven years.
5. Compared with U.S. regulations, rules controlling air pollution in Great Britain involve
 - a. strict deadlines.
 - b. voluntary compliance.
 - c. expensive technology.
 - d. a uniform national policy.
 - e. rigorous assessments.
6. According to the text, federalism and the separation of powers
 - a. have reduced the scope of conflicts in environmental policy making.
 - b. ensure efficiency in environmental policy making.
 - c. are responsible for the broad-based public support for anti-pollution laws.
 - d. reinforce adversarial politics in environmental policy making.
 - e. none of the above.

7. What type(s) of politics created the environmental movement?
 - a. entrepreneurial
 - b. client
 - c. majoritarian
 - d. interest group
 - e. c and d.
8. The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) was created by
 - a. Franklin D. Roosevelt.
 - b. Theodore Roosevelt.
 - c. Richard Nixon.
 - d. Gerald Ford.
 - e. Jimmy Carter.
9. Between 1970 and 1990, pollution from cars was cut by between _____ percent
 - a. 10 and 20
 - b. 25 and 30
 - c. 30 and 40
 - d. 45 and 55
 - e. 60 and 80
10. Currently, there are over ____ species on the “protected” species list.
 - a. six hundred
 - b. one hundred
 - c. fifty
 - d. thirty
 - e. fifteen
11. About half of the species on the protected species list are
 - a. snails.
 - b. plants.
 - c. fish.
 - d. birds.
 - e. insects.
12. Most of the debate over the Clean Air Act of 1970 centered on the issue of pollutants
 - a. associated with the production of automobile tires.
 - b. associated with air conditioning apparatus in new automobiles.
 - c. that could come out of automobile tail pipes.
 - d. in and around the manufacturers of mini-vans.
 - e. affecting air circulation in automobiles.
13. One provision of the Clean Air Act of 1970 required cities in which smog was still a problem, despite emissions controls placed on new cars, to impose rules restricting the public’s use of cars. Why did this provision fail?
 - a. The EPA adopted an overly zealous command-and-control strategy.
 - b. The provision was ruled unconstitutional.
 - c. Powerful client groups worked to defeat the provision.
 - d. Public opposition was too great.
 - e. Legislators vowed to strengthen the measure if there were not immediate results.

14. Congress has limited the impact of the Clean Air Act in various revisions by
 - a. extending deadlines for compliance.
 - b. decreasing the levels of required reductions.
 - c. increasing the level of acceptable emissions.
 - d. exempting major metropolitan areas.
 - e. forsaking a general interest in reducing smog in big cities.
15. The text suggests that the legislation requiring environmental impact statements (EISs) passed by overwhelming majorities because it was a “pro-environment law” and because
 - a. there was no requirement for specific action, only the need to create a “statement.”
 - b. there was a general sense that EISs would speed up governmental projects.
 - c. courts would not consider legal challenges to EISs.
 - d. opponents of projects would be silenced by EISs.
 - e. federal agencies lobbied Congress intensely for EISs.
16. Which of the following statements about environmental impact statements (EISs) is *correct*?
 - a. They were first mandated by a provision of the Clean Air Act of 1970.
 - b. They have most frequently been used by businesses to block or change projects.
 - c. They require specific action in response to a proposed project.
 - d. They apply only to federal agencies.
 - e. They apply only to state agencies.
17. Your state proposes an increase in gasoline taxes. The citizens of the state are most likely to support such an increase if the tax revenues will be used to
 - a. build a new highway.
 - b. reduce air pollution.
 - c. pay for measures to reduce traffic congestion.
 - d. finance a new crime prevention program.
 - e. finance a new weapons-exchange program.
18. Why should many residents of Canada be concerned about the type of coal burned in midwestern U.S. power plants?
 - a. Because acid rain caused by these plants affects lakes and forests in eastern Canada
 - b. Because the Canadian economy is heavily dependent on the sale of high-sulfur coal
 - c. Because the Canadian economy benefits directly from the sale of smokestack scrubbers
 - d. Because Canada is a major producer of sulfur dioxide and a source of acid rain
 - e. Because the extraction of low-sulfur coal in Canada is quite damaging to farm land
19. If burning low-sulfur coal significantly reduces the emission of sulfurous fumes and therefore reduces acid rain, why don't plants in the Midwest and Great Lakes region burn only low-sulfur coal?
 - a. Because it can be burned only if plants are equipped with scrubbers
 - b. Because it is expensive
 - c. Because it produces far less energy than does high-sulfur coal
 - d. Because the major source of low-sulfur coal is Canada
 - e. Because the major source of low-sulfur coal is Mexico
20. The compromise worked out by Congress to deal with acid rain calls for
 - a. scrubbers in all new plants.
 - b. the burning of only low-sulfur coal in all new plants.
 - c. both scrubbers and the burning of only low-sulfur coal in all new plants.
 - d. both scrubbers and the burning of only low-sulfur coal in all plants, both new and existing.
 - e. scrubbers in old plants and the burning of low-sulfur coal in half of all new plants.

21. As environmental policy has become more complex and new interest groups have been formed, it is increasingly more difficult to
 - a. interest Congress in environmental policy.
 - b. identify who supports or opposes any given policy.
 - c. provide cues to members of Congress.
 - d. attract public attention to issues.
 - e. change existing policy.
22. When Rachel Carson published *Silent Spring* in 1962, she set off a public outcry about the harm of wildlife caused by
 - a. a common pesticide.
 - b. gas-powered farming equipment.
 - c. a variety of synthetic fertilizers.
 - d. experimental crops.
 - e. Farm Bureau policies.
23. Today, there are well over _____ pesticides in use.
 - a. 5,000
 - b. 10,000
 - c. 15,000
 - d. 25,000
 - e. 50,000
24. Many policy entrepreneurs favor measures to control the use of agricultural pesticides. One reason they have not been successful in enacting legislation to do this is that
 - a. the EPA is opposed to such legislation.
 - b. extensive media coverage has lent support to farmers.
 - c. the risks associated with the use of pesticide use are undocumented.
 - d. farmers are well-represented in Congress.
 - e. Congress and the EPA cannot agree on relevant standards.
25. In cases in which pesticides, such as DDT, have been taken off the market, public debate of their effects tends to lend itself to
 - a. majoritarian politics.
 - b. entrepreneurial politics.
 - c. interest-group politics.
 - d. client politics.
 - e. club-based politics.
26. About ____ of the U.S. forest system is off limits to logging.
 - a. 1/8
 - b. 1/4
 - c. 1/2
 - d. 2/3
 - e. 3/4
27. Congress orders the U.S. Forest Service to sell timber to the timber industry at below-market prices and thereby subsidizes the timber industry. Such a program best illustrates
 - a. entrepreneurial politics.
 - b. majoritarian politics.
 - c. interest group politics.
 - d. client politics.
 - e. club-based politics.

28. All of the following are correct pairings of different styles of politics and examples of these styles in environmental policy making *except*
- entrepreneurial politics and global warming.
 - majoritarian politics and pollution from automobiles.
 - client politics and land-use controls.
 - interest group politics and acid rain.
 - a and d.
29. The EPA was given responsibility to administer certain laws governing
- air.
 - water.
 - pesticides.
 - all of the above.
 - a and b.
30. Under this program chemical and petroleum industries would be taxed and the proceeds, along with general tax revenues, were to be used to pay for cleaning up abandoned hazardous waste sites.
- Off-set
 - Superfund
 - Command-and-Control
 - Koyoto Protocol
 - a and d.
31. The inability of Superfund to treat more than 2,000 waste sites by the year 2000 was, in part, attributable to the fact that
- Superfund money went straight to the waste removers.
 - finding and suing responsible parties was difficult.
 - the government provided little in the way of funding.
 - President Reagan signed a bill that weakened the EPA.
 - environmental lobbyists were no longer able to exert pressure on the EPA.
32. The EPA was once instructed by Congress to eliminate *all* pollutants _____ by 1985.
- in the air
 - from automobiles
 - from factories
 - entering our water
 - from pesticides
33. The EPA began to shift from a command-and-control strategy for affected businesses during the _____ administration.
- Nixon
 - Ford
 - Carter
 - Reagan
 - Clinton
34. Offsets, bubble standards, and banks (pollution allowances) are all
- pollution control devices that effectively reduce air contamination.
 - tests conducted by the EPA on agricultural pesticides.
 - EPA incentives for companies to reduce pollution.
 - rules devised by the EPA under its command-and-control strategy to improve air and water quality.
 - standards which are employed in order to control the amount of hazardous nuclear waste that is discarded in waterbeds.

35. Which refers to a total amount of air pollution that can come from a given factory, allowing owners to decide which specific sources within the factory will be reduced?
- An air proxy card
 - An offset
 - The command-and-control strategy
 - The bubble standard
 - A pollution allowance
36. When a company reduces its polluting emissions by more than the law requires and uses the excess amount to cover a future plant expansion, it is taking advantage of
- an air proxy card.
 - an offset.
 - the command-and-control strategy.
 - the bubble standard.
 - a pollution allowance.
37. The Clinton administration has the strong support of environmentalists but
- tried to amend Superfund without much success.
 - pushed ahead with more command and control policies.
 - sided with lawyers who were being blamed for Superfund failures.
 - abolished Superfund.
 - reformed Superfund in a manner that displeased most environmentalists.

ESSAY QUESTIONS

Practice writing extended answers to the following questions. These test your ability to integrate and express the ideas that you have been studying in this chapter.

- What are four reasons why environmental policy is so controversial in the United States?
- Compare and contrast environmental policy making in the United States and in Great Britain.
- What do the authors consider three difficult questions which concerns about global warming must address?
- What was the most prominent feature of the Clean Air Act of 1970? How did the politics surrounding the act shift from being entrepreneurial to being majoritarian?
- Why would any politician suggest a gasoline tax and under what circumstances is such a recommendation likely to be more tolerable to the public?
- Summarize the compromise solution that was reached with respect to acid rain in 1977 and identify its “political” advantages.
- Explain what *Superfund* refers to and outline the reasons why the results of the program have been somewhat mixed.
- Identify and explain the types of incentives to improve air and water quality that were created during the Carter administration.

ANSWERS TO KEY TERMS MATCH QUESTIONS

1. o
2. c
3. k
4. p
5. t
6. q
7. v
8. i
9. s
10. f
11. j
12. a
13. h
14. w
15. m
16. u
17. b
18. r
19. l
20. g
21. d
22. n
23. e

ANSWERS TO DATA CHECK QUESTIONS

1. 1990 and 1991 (71 percent).
2. 2003 and 2004.
3. 2004 (44 percent).

ANSWERS TO TRUE/FALSE QUESTIONS

1. T
2. T
3. T
4. F President Clinton supported Kyoto, but did not push hard for Senate ratification. President Bush pushed it aside altogether.

5. T
6. T
7. F They are typically made on the basis of local concerns and practices.
8. F Entrepreneurial politics created the environmental movement.
9. F The EPA was formed during the Nixon administration (1970)
10. F This would, again, be an example of entrepreneurial politics.
11. T
12. F This cannot be done. China and India would need to assist in the effort.
13. T
14. T
15. T
16. T
17. F The benefit needs to be something more concrete, like a new highway.
18. F Acid rain has provoked interest group politics.
19. F We do not know what the “major” source it.
20. F The groups are the residents of Canada and New England and residents of the Midwest.
21. F With respect to acid rain, environmentalists prefer concrete action, like the installation of scrubbers on all new factories, regardless of their location.
22. T
23. F As predicted, they did not work very well.
24. F This would be an example of interest group politics.
25. F Entrepreneurial politics generally has no problem with such. It is interest group politics which tends to lack moral fervor and deep streams of public opinion.
26. T
27. T
28. F Very few are/have been.
29. F It would be more accurate to say 2/3 of the area is off-limits.
30. T
31. F It was created during the Carter administration.
32. F There are more than 2,000.
33. T
34. T
35. F It tried to reexamine this approach and make major changes, without succeeding.
36. T

ANSWERS TO MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

1. c
2. c
3. e
4. d
5. b
6. d
7. a
8. c
9. e
10. a
11. b
12. c
13. d
14. a
15. a
16. d
17. a
18. a
19. b
20. a
21. e
22. a
23. e
24. d
25. b
26. d
27. d
28. c
29. d
30. b
31. b
32. d
33. c
34. c
35. d
36. e
37. a