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LAKE TAHOE AND THE ENVIRONMENTAL IMPULSE:

A POLITICAL BEHAVIOR PERSPECTIVE*

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There is probably no one who has devoted as much time and talent to studying environmental problems at Lake Tahoe as the previous speaker. Over the course of the last decade, Dr. Goldman has documented the continuing threat to the quality of the waters of Lake Tahoe, joined by a number of other scientists and expert observers who have reported on additional forms of environmental degradation occurring in the Basin.

The overall picture drawn by these observers is ominous indeed. Not only is the renowned and highly valued clarity of the Lake threatened, but the Basin's scenic beauty is being marred by commercial strip development and the scarring of hillsides by subdividers and road builders. Air and noise pollution have emerged as matters of growing concern as more and more automobiles bring more and more people to the Basin. And with increasing population, demands on the area's limited, albeit bountiful, resources have been escalated to the point of saturation. In general, environmental problems have been compounded while the warnings of experts have multiplied, experts who assure us that the ecological doom of the Tahoe Basin is imminent if present patterns of activity and growth proceed unabated. Little wonder that those citizens within and without the Basin smitten with the "environmental impulse" have increasingly focussed attention on the area with the hope of "saving the Lake".

However, action in defense of environmental quality at Tahoe, as elsewhere, is not an irresistible, simple, unchallenged response to scientific fact or expert testimony. What matters is not how conditions actually are -- conditions as professional ecologists and other relevant experts declare them to be -- but how they are perceived and evaluated by those in a position to affect decisions regarding matters of environmental quality in the Basin. While there may be near universal agreement as to the value of Tahoe's natural splendor and the evils of environmental degradation here, this consensus quickly dissipates into disagreement when the issue moves from the abstract level to questions as to what constitutes environmental degradation, how much of it we can or should tolerate, and what price we are willing to pay to deal with it. Different people have different interests, and they value different things or even the same things differently. The environmental impulse, no matter how weighty the evidence of degradation may be, inevitably confronts competing, perhaps stronger impulses. As a consequence, answers to questions regarding what constitutes unacceptable environmental conditions and what to do about them are political, for it is in the political process that disagreement over significant social values and conflicting interests find expression and seek some form of resolution.

We are concerned here with two central ingredients in that process. First, we turn to the major actors affecting environmental decision-making at Tahoe and the way in which their beliefs or values and their interests are related to their orientation toward environmental problems in the Basin. Second, we turn to the framework of governmental institutions within which those beliefs and interests -- political inputs -- find expression and through which these inputs are converted into policy outputs.

Actor Attitudes and Interests: The Environmental Impulse and its Competitors

Data on the attitudes and interests of relevant actors -- on who they are and what they believe -- derive from a survey conducted last summer of over 300 persons, who, by virtue of their position, reputation and activity, were identified as having a significant impact on environmental decision-making in or affecting the Tahoe Basin.

Among items included in the survey was a series of statements designed to tap the respondent's orientation toward environmental issues at Tahoe. Some of these statements deal with specific, commonly identified environmental problems in the Basin; others involve specific, commonly proposed policy responses to such problems. Respondents were asked to indicate on a forced-choice format the extent of their agreement or disagreement with each statement. From these statements two six-item scales were constructed -- through the appropriate use of inter-item correlations, face validity assessment, and item analysis -- one of which we label environmental concern and the other environmental action. The concern scale measures degree of concern over environmental quality at Tahoe. An example

of the items included is one which asks the respondent to indicate the extent to which he believes "the scenic resources of the Basin are being destroyed."^{2/} The action scale measures extent of support for an action response to problems of environmental quality in the Basin. An example of the items included here is one which asks the respondent to indicate the extent to which he favors a "building moratorium until necessary studies regarding the Basin's population capacity have been made."^{3/}

While the two scales display response patterns which are highly similar, they each measure a sufficiently distinct dimension of environmental orientation to warrant separate treatment.^{4/} For ease of analysis, the respondent's score on each scale is used to place him among the high, the medium, or the low scorers on that scale. Not surprisingly, an individual's location in these three groups is highly related to his pattern of responses to other questions in the interview schedule which, to one extent or another, tap the respondent's perception of and sensitivity to environmental problems at Lake Tahoe and nationally. Not only are a respondent's scale scores related to other aspects of his environmental orientation, but they are also related to the degree of his involvement in organizations associated with the environmental movement. For example, those persons in the sample who have been active in the Basin's leading environmental groups -- the League to Save Lake Tahoe and the Sierra Club -- are virtually all found among the high group on each scale.

We feel confident that the two scales provide a useful shorthand measure of the distribution of what we call the environmental impulse among our respondents, (bearing in mind that one's place in the distribution of scale scores is merely a statement of his position in relation to others in the sample). Moreover, by examining the distribution of respondents defined in terms of their socio-political attitudes and interests among each scale's low, medium, and high groups, we are able to provide a measure of the way in which that impulse is related to other impulses, or the way in which environmentalism (concern and action) is related to the configuration of other dimensions of our respondents' system of beliefs and values and of salient characteristics of their social position.

We will forego regaling you with a recitation of statistical relationships between our measures of environmentalism and these other variables. Rather, we will confine ourselves chiefly to general statements regarding a limited number of statistically significant findings of relevance to the discussion here.

Socio-political Attitudes

The low, middle, and high scorers on the environmentalism scales prove significantly dissimilar in their pattern of responses to a series of questions directed at general socio-political dispositions. First, respondents relatively low in environmental concern and action are most likely to subscribe to a constellation of opinions which we characterize as comprising a "free enterprise impulse". Respondents were presented with items comprising two scales bearing on this point, each scale having been built upon earlier studies of political attitudes and each having been subjected to the same validation procedures adopted in devising the environmental scales. The pro-business scale measures the extent to which a respondent tends to be oriented toward the needs of the business community and to disapprove of government regulation of that community.^{5/} The laissez-faire scale measures the respondent's perception of conflict between individual rights and liberties on the one hand, and regulatory and planning activities of government, on the other.^{6/} Again, respondents were placed in low, medium, and high scoring groups on each of these scales on the basis of their scale scores and the configuration of scores for the whole sample.

The conclusion from cross-tabulating responses on these two scales with responses on the two environmentalism scales is clear: those low in environmental concern and environmental action are high on the pro-business and laissez-faire scales.^{7/} Reference to single items selected from each of the latter scales will illustrate these differences as well as indicate the kinds of items included in the scales: 51 percent of the low environmental concern group compared to only 28 percent of the high concern group agree that "Government laws and regulations should primarily ensure the prosperity of business since the health of the nation is dependent upon the well-being of business" (pro-business scales); 56 percent of the low action group compared to 25 percent of the high action group agree that "Government planning almost inevitably results in the loss of essential liberties and freedoms" (laissez-faire scale).

In view of these general socio-political orientations, it is not surprising that those low in environmental concern and in environmental action prove to be significantly more favorable to continued economic growth and development in the Basin than those high in concern and in action. Thus over one-half of the low concern and low action groups compared to only 10 percent of the high concern and high action groups agree that "there is too much concern for restricting growth in the Basin and not enough concern for encouraging it". Similarly, over one-half of the two low environmental groups compared to less than 20 percent of the two high groups agree that "we cannot afford to let policies claiming to promote 'environmental quality' prevent the continued economic development of the Basin."^{8/}

A concern for, and a willingness to subscribe to actionist responses to, the problems of environmental quality at Tahoe, then, tend to be challenged by a basic ingredient of the American socio-political culture, namely the free enterprise impulse with its pro-business mental set, its anti-government bias, and its commitment to economic growth and development. It is this commitment to growth and development, critical for the realization of the immediate interests of the business community at Tahoe, which is at odds with the restrictive implications of effective governmental controls imposed in the interest of environmental quality in the Basin.

A second aspect of the American socio-political culture also appears from the data to be at odds with the environmental impulse. One aspect of the American creed has been its belief that the individual can best realize his interest and obtain personal satisfaction at the local level. As a measure of the "localist impulse" among our respondents, we included items in the interview schedule drawn from a localism-cosmopolitanism scale devised by Thomas Dye and intended to identify persons whose interest and involvement are more local than supralocal, who perceive themselves primarily as members of a local community rather than as members of a larger social organization, and who bestow respect on individuals with local rather than national reputations.^{9/} The relationship between responses to the items on this scale and to those on the environmentalism scales is also clear: the low concern and low actionist respondents are significantly more localist than the high concern and high actionist respondents groups.^{10/}

Once again, the generalized socio-political attitude, in this case localism, is reflected in responses to items which are Tahoe-specific. For example, when respondents were asked which level of government they most trusted to do what is right for the Basin, over 60 percent of the low concern and low actionist groups compared to only 20 percent of the high concern and high actionist groups identified local government.^{11/}

The way in which the free-enterprise impulse and the localist impulse are inversely related to the environmental impulse is well-illustrated by responses to two questions not included in any of the scales used here; those low in concern and low in action are significantly more likely than those high in concern and in action to agree with the statements that "the best government is the least government" and "the best government is local government".^{12/}

Interests

The relationship between the environmental impulse, on the one hand, and the free enterprise and localist impulses, on the other, is illuminated when we turn from respondent attitudes to respondent interests. Not surprisingly, the low, medium, and high groups on the environmental concern and environmental action scales are significantly different in occupation and in degree of local anchorage. Thus it is the low concern and low action groups which are most likely to include members of the business community -- over 60 percent of these groups compared to 30 percent of the high concern and high action groups.^{13/} Indeed, there is a surfeit of data emerging from the interviews to demonstrate in a variety of ways the extent to which the members of the business community among our sample are on the whole less sensitive to environmental problems than others.

In terms of the dimension of local anchorage, the expected pattern emerges: it is those who are Tahoe residents and otherwise anchored in the Basin who prove to be the least environmentally concerned and actionist. Approximately 70 percent of the low concern and low action groups are permanent residents of the Basin, compared to approximately one half of the high groups. Moreover, among respondents whose primary residence is at Tahoe, the longer the duration of that residence the less likely they are to be high in environmental concern or environmental action.^{14/}

Turning to those members of the sample who are governmental officials, the local-nonlocal differences appear once again. The larger the geographic scope of the official's jurisdiction, the more environmentally concerned and actionist he is likely to be. That is, as we move from local to regional to state to national officials, the proportion of respondents falling into the high concern and high action groups increases.^{15/}

What emerges from the foregoing data is a fairly well-defined picture, schematically summarized as follows:

	ATTITUDES	INTERESTS
LOW ENVIRONMENTALISM	Free enterprise Localist	Business Locally anchored
HIGH ENVIRONMENTALISM	Government regulation Cosmopolitan	Government and Professional Non-locally anchored

On the one hand are those (1) whose attitudes are most closely associated with the business and laissez-faire ethic and who are themselves likely to be members of the business community, and (2) who are most likely to subscribe to the well-established American notion that local affairs and local politics are the best vehicles for the achievement of social values and who are themselves highly anchored in the Tahoe Basin. For persons sharing this constellation of attitudes and interests, concern for environmental problems are relatively low. In this sense, what we have termed the environmental impulse appears to confront free enterprise and localist impulses which are deeply embedded in the American belief system.

On the other hand are those (1) who in terms of attitudes are more receptive to government intervention for the achievement of social purposes even at the expense of property rights and who, in terms of occupation, are likely to be government officials or professionals, and (2) who tend to be cosmopolitan in orientation and less anchored in the Basin. Persons sharing this constellation of attitudes and interests are relatively high on our measures of environmentalism.

The close relationship between the localist and free enterprise impulses is not surprising. It is largely at the local level that government is most responsive to the business community, with its offices often manned by members of that community or their surrogates. As a consequence, Lynton Caldwell observes, "the local level of government is frequently the least satisfactory forum" for the consideration of measures designed to deal with environmental problems, for politics at this level "tends to become highly personal, and economic interests become intermeshed with friendships, enmities, and a variety of other self-interest motivations" [2, p. 215].

The resulting pattern is not dissimilar to that which has emerged in other areas of public policy: the progressive diminution of the relative power of local government in education, civil rights, social welfare, and so on, can be largely attributed to the failure of that government to be responsive to and concerned with these issues. Those who are responsive and concerned have quite naturally adopted a strategy designed in E. E. Schattschneider's phrase to "socialize the conflict", i.e., to find a broader political arena than the local one in which to mobilize support and appeal for an appropriate governmental response. In the case of environmental quality at Tahoe, the environmental impulse would seem to carry with it an attempt to turn to or create supralocal governmental institutions for the realization of environmental values.

Political Institutions: The Pyrrhic of the Environmental Impulse

Governmental institutions are not neutral; the rules of the game and the turf on which it is played tend to favor some players over others and to have a direct impact on who wins and who loses. At Tahoe, as elsewhere, the nature of policy responses to environmental problems is shaped or affected by the arrangement of political institutions within which relevant actors operate and through which their attitudes and interest are channeled.

Clearly an arrangement which provides disproportionate access and influence to the localist and free enterprise impulses is an unlikely arena for the formulation and enforcement of policies responsive to the environmental impulse. Historically, Basin politics have operated within just this kind of institutional arrangement. For those concerned over

the rapidly deteriorating quality of Tahoe's environment, it became increasingly clear that such an arrangement was not equal to the task.

From the environmentalist perspective, the situation seemed to require two fundamental modifications of existing values and institutions. First, the fragile environment of the Basin could no longer tolerate giving relatively free rein to the free enterprise impulse. If further despoilation of scenic and other resources was to be prevented, new and expanded forms of regulation and control of the existing haphazard and unplanned pattern of development and other forms of human activity would be necessary.

Second, if such controls were to be effective, the physical geography of the area made it equally imperative that they be comprehensive and Basin-wide in application. At the same time, the political geography of the area -- consisting of over 60 units of local government -- made it unlikely that such a comprehensive approach could be achieved without confronting the localist impulse by the imposition of some form of regional government.

For the achievement of these two ends, state and federal governments were turned to for help. Given the fact that the Basin represented an acknowledged "national resource", with far more than local interests at stake, the appeal found a receptive ear. The outcome was the establishment, by joint action of the two state legislatures and by Congress, of the Tahoe Regional Planning Agency. The mission of the Agency is explained by Congress in the preamble to the Act by which it is established:

It is . . . found and declared that there is a need [in the Basin] to maintain an equilibrium between the region's natural endowment and its manmade environment, to preserve the scenic beauty and recreational opportunities of the region, and it is recognized that for the purpose of enhancing the efficiency and governmental effectiveness of the region, it is imperative that there be established an areawide planning agency with power to adopt and enforce a regional plan of resource conservation and orderly development, to exercise effective environmental controls and to perform other essential functions, as enumerated in this title.

On the face of it, the establishment of the Agency suggests that the socialization of conflict strategy on the part of the environmentalists had resulted in a measure of success.

There are, however, regional governments and regional governments. Obviously, the effectiveness of the TRPA depends upon the extent to which it does indeed escape the traditional commitment to growth and development in the Basin and is not controlled by the very localist impulse it was designed to transcend. If, in fact, all that is changed is the formal context or arena in which the same people -- with the same attitudes and interests -- continue to dominate and to which they can quickly adapt, then little has been achieved. To a large extent, in other words, the effectiveness of the TRPA will be a function of the membership of its governing board.

This is not to deny that the formal power of the Agency was a major bone of contention in the legislative struggle leading to its creation. Indeed, concessions were exacted by localist and developer/gaming interests in the Basin which perceptibly altered the original version of the legislation. As one analysis of the history of that legislation concludes: "almost all changes in fact reduced the power and independence of the agency and secured more authority and influence for local governments and interests"[4].

Nevertheless, it would be difficult to argue that the TRPA's eventual impact rests upon the question of its formal authority. For it is well known that strong powers often go untouched, while weakness can be overcome by dynamic and imaginative leadership. The point that Board membership as well as Board power was a critical issue was not lost on either the proponents or opponents of the legislation leading to creation of the TRPA. Although adherents to the notions of local sovereignty and growth and development in the Basin were not able to prevent the imposition of regional authority, they were able to modify significantly the representation formula upon which the institution that did emerge was to be based.

It is clear that there was never any intention of stripping all authority with regard to Basin matters from local governments and vesting it in a regional super-agency. Apart from the value that local representation and participation in the regional agency might

have in itself, it is a fact of political life that no proposal excluding local participation would have had a chance of being approved. Rather the question was one of determining the balance to be struck on the governing board between representatives of the local governments and Basin residents, on the one hand, and representatives of the broader public and conservationist interests, on the other.

Despite the intention of the legislation originally introduced to provide these latter interests with the upper hand, the act as it finally emerged provides for a Board, a majority of whose 10 voting members are representatives from local governments in the Basin. Interestingly, all of the present Board members representing these governments are businessmen. Additionally, the original legislation was altered at the behest of local interests so as to provide for an Advisory Planning Commission, dominated by members of existing local planning commissions and other local officials. While reporting to the governing board of the Agency, the APC is given responsibility for the actual drafting of the Regional Master Plan that the Agency is to produce in September of this year.

It is testimony to the strength of the localist impulse that, despite concessions made to that impulse during the legislative history of the TRPA, the whole idea of the Agency has yet to achieve general acceptance at the Tahoe Basin. Indeed, some prominent public figures in the Basin continue to feel that it is nothing less than part of a collectivist plot to undermine the local lifeblood of our free institutions. And as of this moment, El Dorado and Placer Counties, with the city of South Lake Tahoe, continue to press suit challenging the constitutionality of the Agency. Yet, the performance of the Agency to date has provided little support for those who feared its potential for disrupting the traditional ways of doing things in the Basin.

An analysis of governing board roll call votes indicates that while local and non-local representatives tend to form distinct voting blocs, the non-local representatives have been unable to establish a significant presence regarding the thrust of Board decisions. To date, the Board has approved the construction of approximately 11,000 new dwelling units in the Basin, or 94 percent of all applications upon which it has acted. The future of the Master Plan, itself, is uncertain. A preliminary version produced by the professional staff of the Agency and generally characterized as a "tough" one in its approach, has been subjected to severe local criticism and the Board has turned the task of producing a counterplan over to the APC at the same time that it has prohibited its own staff from promoting the original version.

A definitive evaluation of the impact of the TRPA upon the Basin must await the adoption of the Master Plan this fall and its subsequent implementation. Nevertheless, it is not surprising that strong environmentalists, finding their original expectations or hopes unrealized, are already writing off the present institution as a failure. In view of this group of critics, the TRPA has itself, "just as the local jurisdictions whose actions it is supposed to monitor, . . . fallen on its knees before the sacred cows of home rule and the rights of private property . . ." [1, p. 48]. According to this argument, decisions which will affect the character of the Tahoe region for years to come are being made by "men of little vision who dance to the pipe of corporate land developers, Nevada gamblers and the Yahoo chambers of commerce of the cities and counties which control the Tahoe Basin" [1, p. 48].

In the words of Alfred Heller, prominent environmental actionist, ". . . it seems that without tough federal action and the leadership to bring it about, we will corrupt Tahoe beyond the economic and technical ability of this generation to redeem it" [1, p. 80]. Thus, those who share Heller's vision and evaluation of the TRPA's capacity for effective control, gird themselves for yet another assault on yet another higher level of government in their search for effective limitation upon the resilient localist and free enterprise impulses.

FOOTNOTES

- 1/ This is not, of course, to deny the reality of the objective environment as a set of constraints upon human action, but rather only to emphasize the importance of the "behavioral" orientation toward the environment, defined in terms of an individual's perceptions and orientations organized around his preferences, values, and attitudes.

2/ The items in the environmental concern scale, the distribution of responses on each item by our respondents and item/scale correlation for each item are:

	Agree Strongly	Agree	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Strongly	Item/Scale Correlation
1. The scenic resources of the Basin are being destroyed	25	43	28	7	.77
2. There are too many automobiles in the Basin	20	51	25	5	.78
3. There is too much erosion and runoff caused by highway and other construction	37	44	17	3	.74
4. There is too much noise in the Basin	6	36	55	4	.73
5. There is too much air pollution in the Basin	14	49	33	5	.75
6. There are too many ugly buildings and developments	30	53	16	2	.61
			(n = 303)		

3/ The items in the environmental action scale, the distribution of responses on each item by our respondents and item/scale correlations for each item are :

	Not at All	Very Little	Some- what	Very Much	Item/Scale Correlation
1. For the creation of a huge park in the Basin with emphasis on wilderness preservation	21	14	27	38	.72
2. For "undevelopment" program, with tearing down of structures considered aesthetically out-of-place in the Basin	21	17	35	26	.62
3. For removal of all non-premis signs and bill-boards in the Basin	2	7	22	70	.53
4. For requiring developers to dedicate for public ownership a prescribed number of acres in the Basin as recreational open space	10	5	22	62	.65
5. For sharply increasing the miles of shoreline available for public beaches and use	5	12	27	56	.57
6. For a building moratorium until necessary studies regarding the Basin's population capacity have been made	27	17	22	24	.72
			(n = 303)		

4/ Although it seems reasonable to assume that some threshold of concern for Tahoe's problems and their seriousness must be reached before strong actions designed to deal with those problems are acceptable, the two variables need not be indistinct. For example, some individuals may be sensitive to environmental issues but attitudinally unable to translate that concern into a commitment to action due to a more basic commitment to laissez-faire or similar beliefs. Likewise, some individuals may be action-oriented but not highly concerned about or sensitive to environmental problems as such, with the action orientation reflective of a general issue liberalism which is conducive to a positive response to recommendations for action regardless of the problem area involved.

5/ The business scale items, the pattern of responses of the total sample to each item, and item/scale correlations are:

	<u>Not at All</u>	<u>Very Little</u>	<u>Some-what</u> Percent	<u>Very Much</u>	<u>Item/Scale Correlation</u>
1. For less government regulation of business	17	20	35	28	.77
2. For revising the tax structure so that the burden falls more heavily upon corporations and persons with large incomes	18	23	35	24	.70
	<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u> Percent	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>	<u>Item/Scale Correlation</u>
3. Government laws and regulations should primarily ensure the prosperity of business since the health of the nation is dependent upon the well-being of business	6	36	51	7	.67

6/ The laissez-faire scale items, the patterns of responses of the total sample to each item, and item/scale correlations are

	<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u> Percent	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>	<u>Item/Scale Correlation</u>
1. Individuals with the ability and foresight to earn and accumulate wealth should have the right to enjoy that wealth without government interference and regulation	9	36	45	10	.77
2. The welfare state tends to destroy individual initiative	45	44	9	2	.67
3. A first consideration of any good political system is the protection of property rights	14	56	25	5	.76
4. Government planning almost inevitably results in the loss of essential liberties and freedoms	8	30	58	4	.65

7/

	<u>Environmental Concern</u>			<u>Environmental Action</u>		
	<u>Low</u> (83)	<u>Medium</u> (121)	<u>High</u> (99)	<u>Low</u> (64)	<u>Medium</u> (152)	<u>High</u> (87)
Business		Percent			Percent	
Low (91)	18	20	53	9	24	56
Medium (123)	39	50	30	27	52	31
High (89)	43	30	17	64	24	13
	$\chi^2 = 40.92, p < .001$			$\chi^2 = 76.88, p < .001$		
Laissez-faire						
Low (62)	10	15	38	9	15	38
Medium (185)	66	74	48	55	66	56
High (56)	24	12	14	36	18	6
	$\chi^2 = 30.31, p < .001$			$\chi^2 = 38.58, p < .001$		

8/

	Environmental Concern			Environmental Action		
	Low (83)	Medium (121)	High (99)	Low (64)	Medium (152)	High (87)

"There is too much concern for restricting growth in the Basin and not enough concern for encouraging it."

Agree	52	40	10	53	38	11
Disagree	48	59	90	47	62	88
	P < .001			p < .001		

"We cannot afford to let policies claiming to promote 'environmental quality' prevent the continued economic development of the Basin."

Agree	66	50	18	61	49	22
Disagree	34	50	82	38	51	78
	p < .001			p < .001		

9/ The four items are taken from a 5-item scale devised by Thomas Dye, [2]. The items, the distribution of responses for each item by the total sample, and item/scale correlations are:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Item/Scale Correlation
	Percent				
1. The most rewarding organizations a person can belong to are local clubs and associations rather than large nation-wide organizations.	8	53	37	2	.72
2. I have a greater respect for a man who is well-established in his local community than a man who is widely known in his field but who has no local roots.	7	42	46	5	.77
3. Despite all the newspaper and TV coverage, national and international happenings rarely seem as interesting as events that occur right in the local community in which one lives.	4	39	52	5	.66
4. No doubt many newcomers to the community are capable people; but when it comes to choosing a person for a responsible position in the community, I prefer a man whose family is well established in the community.	7	37	51	6	.64

10/

	Environmental Concern			Environmental Action		
	Low (83)	Medium (121)	High (99)	Low (64)	Medium (152)	High (87)

Cosmopolitanism	Low	24	15	18	22	18	16
	Medium	58	74	55	62	68	55
	High	18	12	27	16	14	29
		x ² = 13.16, p < .05			x ² = 9.09, p < .10		

11/

	Environmental Concern			Environmental Action		
	Low (71)	Medium (105)	High (90)	Low (56)	Medium (131)	High (79)
	Percent			Percent		
"Which governmental level do you most trust to do what is right for the Basin?"						
Local	61	41	21	62	42	19
Regional	23	37	47	27	35	46
State	13	16	18	9	14	24
Federal	4	6	14	2	9	11

12/

	Environmental Concern		Environmental Action	
	Low (83)	High (99)	Low (64)	High (87)
	Percent		Percent	
Agree				
1. "The best government is the least government."	61	44	70	42
2. "The best government is local government."	70	49	72	39

13/

Occupation	Environmental Concern			Environmental Action		
	Low (82)	Medium (121)	High (98)	Low (64)	Medium (151)	High (86)
	Percent			Percent		
Professional	15	31	35	22	26	36
Business	62	48	30	61	48	30
Fulltime government official	22	19	28	17	23	26
Other	1	2	8	-	3	7
	p < .001			p < .001		

14/

	Environmental Concern			Environmental Action		
	Low (82)	Medium (119)	High (97)	Low (64)	Medium (150)	High (84)
	Percent			Percent		
1. Percent for whom Tahoe is the primary residence	70	62	49	69	62	50
2. Length of residence at Tahoe (primary residents only)	(55)	(73)	(47)	(43)	(90)	(42)
Less than 4 years	16	22	32	21	21	29
4 - 7	15	23	19	16	18	26
8 -11	29	32	23	23	32	26
12-15	24	11	15	21	17	9
16 years or more	16	12	11	19	12	9

15/

Government level at which employed (government officials only)	Environmental Concern			Environmental Action		
	Low (34)	Medium (55)	High (59)	Low (30)	Medium (72)	High (48)
	Percent			Percent		
Local	78	60	37	73	65	29
Regional	5	13	12	7	10	15
State	17	22	31	20	18	35
Federal	0	5	20	0	7	21

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