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**EDUCATION**

A.B. University of California, Berkeley, 1975  
M.A. University of California, Berkeley, 1976  
Ph.D. University of California, Berkeley, 1982

**ACADEMIC POSITIONS**

Lecturer in Politics, Brandeis University, 1982  
Assistant Professor of Political Science, Columbia University, 1982-1986  
Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of California, Santa Barbara,  
1986-1990  
Associate Professor of Political Science, University of California, Santa Barbara,  
1990 –2003  
Director, University of California, Santa Barbara - Washington Center, 1996-1997  
Professor of Political Science, University of California, Santa Barbara,  
2003 to date  
Courtesy appointment to the Environmental Studies Program, U.C. Santa Barbara  
Courtesy appointment to the Bren School of Environmental Science and Management,  
U.C. Santa Barbara

**TEACHING FIELDS**

Environmental Politics, Public Opinion and Voting Behavior, Quantitative Methodology,  
Political Parties, Congress.

**BOOKS**

*Turned-On Television and Turned Off Voters: Policy Options for Election Projections* (Percy Tannenbaum and Leslie Kostrich with Eric Smith and Michael Berg). Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1983.

*The Unchanging American Voter*. Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1989.

*Energy, the Environment, and Public Opinion*. Boulder, Colorado: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002.

## **TEXTBOOKS**

- Dynamics of Democracy* (with Peverill Squire, James M. Lindsay, and Cary R. Covington). Madison, Wisconsin: Brown-Benchmark, 1995.
- Dynamics of Democracy*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. (with Peverill Squire, James M. Lindsay, and Cary R. Covington). Madison, Wisconsin: Brown-Benchmark, 1997.
- Dynamics of Democracy*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. (with Peverill Squire, James M. Lindsay, and Cary R. Covington). St. Paul, Minnesota: Atomic Dog, 2001.
- Dynamics of Democracy*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, 2004 version. (with Peverill Squire, James M. Lindsay, and Cary R. Covington). St. Paul, Minnesota: Atomic Dog, 2004.
- Dynamics of Democracy*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition. (with Peverill Squire, James M. Lindsay, and Cary R. Covington). St. Paul, Minnesota: Atomic Dog, 2006.
- Dynamics of Democracy*, 5<sup>th</sup> edition. (with Peverill Squire, James M. Lindsay, and Cary R. Covington). St. Paul, Minnesota: Atomic Dog, 2008.
- Dynamics of Democracy*, 6<sup>th</sup> edition. (with Peverill Squire, James M. Lindsay, and Cary R. Covington). St. Paul, Minnesota: Atomic Dog, 2010.

## **JOURNAL ARTICLES, CHAPTERS, AND REPORTS**

- "The Levels of Conceptualization: False Measures of Ideological Sophistication." *American Political Science Review*, 74: 685-96, 1980.
- "Reply." *American Political Science Review*, 75: 152-55, 1981.
- "Repeat Challengers in Congressional Elections" (with Peverill Squire). *American Politics Quarterly*, 12: 51-70, 1984.
- Review of *Party Identification, Political Behavior and the American Electorate* by Sheldon Kamieniecki. *Political Science Quarterly*, 101: 482-83, 1986.
- "Direct Election of the President and the Power of the States" (with Peverill Squire). *Western Political Quarterly*, 40: 29-44, 1987.
- "State and National Politics in the Intermountain West" (with Peverill Squire). In Peter Galderisi et al. (eds), *The Politics of Realignment: Partisan Change in the Intermountain West*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1987.
- "The Effect of Partisan Information on Voters in Non-partisan Elections" (with Peverill Squire). *Journal of Politics*, 50: 169-79, 1988.
- "The Effects of Prestige Names in Question Wording" (with Peverill Squire). *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 54: 97-116, 1990.

- "The Measurement Characteristics of Congressional Roll Call Indexes" (with Richard Herrera and Cheryl L. Herrera). *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 15: 283-95, 1990.
- "Public Opinion and Congressional Representation" (with Cheryl L. Herrera and Richard Herrera). *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 56: 185-205, 1992.
- "Changes in the Public's Political Sophistication." Richard G. Niemi and Herbert F. Weisberg (eds.), *Controversies in Voting Behavior*, 3rd edition. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1992. (Reprinted from *The Unchanging American Voter*.)
- Trends in Public Opinion on Offshore Oil Development in California*. Final Study Report to the Minerals Management Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, March, 1995.
- "The Stability of Congressional Roll-Call Indexes" (with Richard Herrera and Thomas Epperlein). *Political Research Quarterly*, 48: 403-16, 1995.
- "Evolving California Opinion on Offshore Oil Development" (with Sonia R. Garcia). *Ocean and Coastal Management*, 26: 41-56, 1995.
- "A Further Examination of Challenger Quality in Senate Elections" (with Peverill Squire). *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 21: 235-48, 1996.
- "What is Public Opinion?" *Critical Review*, 10: 95-105, 1996.
- Review of Byron E. Shafer and William J.M. Claggett, *The Two Majorities: The Issue Context of Modern American Politics*. *American Political Science Review*, 91, 1997.
- Review of Michael X. Delli Carpini and Scott Keeter, *What Americans Know about Politics and Why It Matters*. *Political Science Quarterly*, 112: 314-15, 1997.
- "The Role of Candidate Sex in Voter Decision-Making" (with Richard Fox). *Political Psychology*, 19: 405-19, 1998.
- How Political Activists See Offshore Oil Development: An In-depth Investigation of Attitudes on Energy Development*. Final Study Report to the Minerals Management Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, December, 1998.
- "The Other Side of the NIMBY Syndrome" (with Marisela Marquez). *Society & Natural Resources*, 13: 273-80, 2000.
- "Democratic Values vs. Environmentalism?" In Richard J. Ellis and Fred Thompson, *The Culture Wars by Other Means*. University of British Columbia, Centre for Business and Government, 82-89, 2000.
- Santa Barbara South Coast Community Indicators 2000* (with Bill Watkins and Juliet Carlisle). Santa Barbara, CA: UCSB Institutional Advancement, 2000.
- "The Electoral Fortunes of Women Candidates for Congress" (with Richard L. Fox). *Political Research Quarterly*, 54: 205-21, 2001.

*The Role of Knowledge in the Public's Trust in Science and Offshore Oil and Gas Development.* Report to the Minerals Management Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, October, 2001.

“Who Benefits? September 11 and Partisan Politics.” In James M. Lindsay (ed.), *American Politics after September 11*. Cincinnati, Ohio: Atomic Dog, 2002.

*Recent Trends in Public Opinion toward Offshore Oil Development.* Report to the Minerals Management Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, December, 2002.

*Santa Barbara South Coast Community Indicators 2003* (with Bill Watkins, Amal Bendimerad, and Juliet Carlisle). Santa Barbara, CA: UCSB Institutional Advancement, 2003.

“How Much Knowledge Does Democracy Require?” *Phi Kappa Phi Forum*, 84: 16-19, 2004.

Review of Deborah Lynn Guber, *The Grassroots of a Green Revolution: Polling America on the Environment*. *Political Science Quarterly*, 118: 696-97, 2004.

*Measuring Environmental Hazards in the Childcare Industry: Pesticides, Lead, and Indoor Air Quality - Survey Brief* (with Phil Boise and Jana Carey). Community Environmental Council, 2004.

“Public Reaction to Energy, Overview.” In Cutler J. Cleveland (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Energy*, 5: 169-79. San Diego: Academic Press/Elsevier Science, 2004.

*Public Attitudes toward Oil and Gas Drilling among Californians: Support, Risk Perceptions, Trust, and Nimbyism* (with Juliet Carlisle and Kristy Michaud). Report to the Minerals Management Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, July, 2004.

*2005 South Coast Community Survey.* Report to the Santa Barbara Region Economic Community Project, 2005.

“Initiatives and Referenda.” *CQ's Guide to Political Campaigns*. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2005.

“Postmaterialism vs. Egalitarianism as Predictors of Energy-related Attitudes” (with Juliet Carlisle). *Environmental Politics*, 14: 527-40, 2005.

Review of Michael Kraft, *Environmental Politics and Policy*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition. *Environments*

“Nimbyism vs. Environmentalism in Attitudes toward Energy Development” (with Kristy Michaud and Juliet E. Carlisle). *Environmental Politics*, 17: 20-39, 2008.

“The Relationship between Cultural Values and Political Ideology, and the Role of Political Knowledge” (with Kristy Michaud and Juliet E. Carlisle). *Political Psychology*, 30: 27-42, 2009.

“The Green Case for Offshore Oil.” *Washington Post*, 2 April 2010, a17.

“The Conversation: Is It Time to Get Beyond the Santa Barbara Oil Spill? Yes.” *Sacramento Bee*, 18 April 2010.

## **WORK IN PRESS**

"Public Understanding of and Support for Wind Power in the United States" (with Holly Klick). *Renewable Energy*, forthcoming 2010.

"The Public's Trust in Scientific Claims Regarding Offshore Oil Drilling" (with Juliet E. Carlisle, Jessica T. Feezell, Kristy E. H. Michaud, and Leeanna Smith). *Public Understanding of Science*, forthcoming, 2010.

"Think Again: Offshore Drilling." *Foreign Policy*, forthcoming 2010.

*The Central Coast Survey* (with David Cleveland, Paolo Gardinali, Michael McGinnis, John Mohr, Megan Carney, and Lauren Copeland). Social Science Survey Center/Benton Survey Research Lab, UCSB Institute for Social, Behavioral, and Economic Research, <http://www.survey.ucsb.edu/ccs/>, forthcoming 2010.

## **WORK IN PROGRESS**

*The Politics of Energy Crises* (with Juliet E. Carlisle, Kristy E. H. Michaud, Leeanna Smith, and Jessica T. Feezell). Book manuscript.

*The Struggle to Save the World: Peak Oil, Global Warming, and Energy Crises*. Book manuscript.

## **CONFERENCE PAPERS AND INVITED LECTURES**

"The Flat Dollar Pay Increase of 1976 for State Employees, Extending It to Local Employees and the Private Sector: Californians' Response" (with William E. Bicker). Paper delivered at the Joint Conference of the American Society for Public Administration and the Western Governmental Research Association. Sacramento, California, February 3, 1977.

"The Building of a Majority for Tax Limitation in California: 1968-78" (with Jack Citrin). State Data Program, Research Report No. 1, 1979.

"The Measurement Characteristics of the Levels of Conceptualization and What They Can Tell Us About Ideological Thinking (Not Much)." Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, September 2, 1983.

"Realignment and State and National Politics in the Intermountain West" (with Peverill Squire). Paper delivered at the Conference on "Politics in the Intermountain West: Forerunner to Realignment?" Park City, Utah, September 20-21, 1985.

"Separating Reliability and Stability in Three-Wave, Multi-Variable Models." Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, September 2-5, 1987.

"Public Opinion and Congressional Representation" (with Cheryl Lynn Herrera and Richard Herrera). Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, San Francisco, California, March 10-12, 1988.

- "The Measurement Characteristics of Congressional Roll Call Indexes" (with Richard Herrera and Cheryl Lynn Herrera). Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 1-3, 1988.
- "Modeling the Decline of Turnout in American Elections" (with Michael Dolny). Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, March, 1989.
- "Feeling Thermometers vs. Social Distance Scales as Measures of Tolerance" (with Marisella Marquez). Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, March, 1989.
- "The Spiral of Silence and Participation in American Elections" (with Susan A. Banducci, Richard L. Fox, Sonia R. Garcia, Donald E. Mason, Audrey E. O'Connell and Dale W. Wheatley). Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, March, 1990.
- "Voter Sophistication and Evaluation of Senate Challengers" (with Peverill Squire). Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September, 1991. A revised and extended version of this paper was presented at the Stanford Hoover Conference on U.S. Senate Elections, November 15-16, 1991.
- "Jesse Jackson as a Policy Cue" (with Peverill Squire). Paper delivered at the 1992 Annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association, San Francisco, March 19, 1992.
- "Problems with the Single Peaked Preference Assumption in the Spatial Theory of Elections" (with Sharon Woodlief). Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Pasadena, California, March 18-20, 1993.
- "Evolving California Opinion on Offshore Oil Development." Talk delivered at the U.S. Minerals Management Service 1993 Information Transfer Meeting, Santa Barbara, California, May 11-13, 1993.
- "Californians Attitudes toward Energy Policy" (with Sonia R. Garcia). Paper delivered at the 1994 Annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Albuquerque, New Mexico, March, 1994.
- "A Comparison of Elite and Mass Attitudes" (with Richard Herrera). Paper delivered at the 1995 annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Portland, Oregon, March 1995.
- "Prestige Cues and Policy Attitudes" (with Peverill Squire). Paper delivered at the 1995 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, September 1995.
- "The Role of Gender Stereotyping in Voter Decision-Making (with Richard L. Fox). Paper delivered at the 1996 annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association, San Francisco, California, March 1996.
- "Public Opinion and the Politics of Offshore Oil Development." Talk delivered at the U.S. Minerals Management Service, Camarillo, California, 18 April 1996.

- “Uncovering the Complexity of Gender Bias in Voters” (with Richard L. Fox and Barbara Whitaker Wright). Paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 1996.
- “Interpreting Elections.” Lecture delivered at the Interdisciplinary Humanities Center’s “Voting Matters” Conference, U.C. Santa Barbara, 1 November 1996.
- “Public Opinion on Offshore Oil Development.” Lecture delivered at the U.S. Minerals Management Service, Washington, D.C., 20 August 1997.
- “Voter Stereotyping and the Interaction of Candidate Sex and Candidate Issue Positions” (with Richard L. Fox). Paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Los Angeles, California March 1998.
- “What the Public Thinks about Offshore Oil Development in California.” Report to the U.S. Minerals Management Service, April 1998.
- “The Role of Knowledge in Attitudes toward Risky Environmental Technologies.” Talk delivered at the U.S. Minerals Management Service, Camarillo, California, 8 February 2000.
- “The Role of Knowledge in Attitudes toward Risky Environmental Technologies.” Paper delivered at the annual meeting of the World Association for Public Opinion Research, Portland, Oregon, May 2000.
- “Confidence in Expert Claims about Environmental Risks” (with Juliet Carlisle). Paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Association for Public Opinion Research, Montreal, Canada, May 17-20, 2001.
- “Postmaterialism vs. Egalitarianism as the Key Environmental Variable” (with Juliet Carlisle). Paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, California, August 2001.
- “Support for Offshore Oil and Gas Drilling among the California Public.” Poster presentation at the California and the World Ocean ’02 Conference, Santa Barbara, California, October 2002.
- “Trends in Public Support for Offshore Oil and Gas Drilling.” Presentation delivered at the Policy Committee meeting of the U.S. Minerals Management Service, Department of the Interior, New Orleans, Louisiana, November 2002.
- “Trust during an Energy Crisis” (with Juliet Carlisle and Kristi Michaud). Paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Association for Public Opinion Research, Nashville, Tennessee, May 2003.
- “Public Opinion about Energy Development: Nimbyism vs. Environmentalism” (with Juliet Carlisle and Kristy Michaud). Paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Association for Public Opinion Research, Phoenix, Arizona, May 13-16, 2004.
- “The Public’s Trust in Scientific Claims and Policy Advocates during Energy Crises” (with Juliet Carlisle, Kristy Michaud, Leeanna Smith, and Jessica Timpany). Paper delivered at the

annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, August 30 – September 2, 2007.

“Explaining the Growing Support for Gay and Lesbian Equality Since 1990” (with Alison Keleher). Paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, August 28 – September 1, 2008.

“Explaining Nimby Opposition to Wind Power” (with Holly Klick). Paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, August 28 – September 1, 2008.

“Public Understanding of and Support for Wind Power” (with Holly Klick). Paper delivered at the 2009 Annual Meeting of the American Association for Public Opinion Research. Hollywood, Florida. May 14-16, 2009

“Salvation by Science: The Role of Optimism in Environmental Behavior” (with Holly Klick). Paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association, San Francisco, April 3, 2010.

“What the California Public Thinks about Offshore Oil Development: Past Trends and Future Possibilities” (with Kristy E.H. Michaud and Juliet E. Carlisle). Paper delivered at the Oil+Water Conference: The Case of Santa Barbara and Southern California, Santa Barbara, April 8, 2010.

“Racial and Gender Bias in Voting for U.S. House of Representatives” (with Jeanette Yih Harvie, Emiliana Inez Patlan, Lauren M. Copeland, and Richard L. Fox.). Paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 23, 2010.

#### **RECENT RESEARCH GRANTS**

2000-01 U.S. Department of Interior, Minerals Management Service, “Public Perceptions of Risk Associated with Offshore Oil Development,” \$29,933.

2001-02 University of California Energy Institute, California Energy Studies Program, “Public Perception of Risks Associated with Energy Development in California,” \$40,000.

2002-04 U.S. Department of Interior, Minerals Management Service, “Public Perceptions of Risk Associated with Offshore Oil Development--Extension,” \$29,495.

2007-08 UCSB Institute for Social, Behavioral, and Economic Research (ISBER), “Public Reactions to Wind Power.” \$5,000.

#### **RECENT UNIVERSITY AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICE**

Member, Academic Senate Committee on Rules and Jurisdiction, 1999-2001

Member, Graduate Committee, Political Science Department, 1999-2001

Member, Dehlsen Chair Search Committee, Environmental Studies Program, 2000



Panel chair and discussant, *Campaign Studies 2000: Lessons Learned Conference*, U.C. Santa Barbara, June 2001

Chair, Chancellor's Working Group on the Student Elections Process, 2001

Chair, Search Committee for environmental politics position, Political Science Department, 2001

Chair, Academic Senate Committee on Rules and Jurisdiction, 2001-2004

Member, Search Committee for environmental politics position, Bren School of Environmental Management and Science, 2001-2002

Member, Search Committee for environmental political-economist position, Bren School of Environmental Management and Science, 2002-2003

Chair, American Association for Public Opinion Research Student Paper Contest, 2002-2003.

Panel participant, "The California Recall and its Aftermath," a UCSB Political Science Department Roundtable discussion. October 14, 2003.

Member, Search Committee for environmental political-scientist position, Bren School of Environmental Management and Science, 2003-2004.

"The Recall: Californians have Chosen to Change Governors" [Interviewed by UCSB's *Coastlines Magazine*, 34 (Winter 2004), 10-12.

Member, Vice Chancellor's Task Group on Environmental Interests at UCSB, 2004-2005.

Member, National Science Foundation Advisory Panel for the Human and Social Dynamics FY2004 competition, 2004.

Panelist, "Scientific Integrity Panel Discussion." Bren School of Environmental Management and Science, May 20, 2005.

Member, Search Committee, Bren School of Environmental Science and Management, 2006-2007.

Participant in roundtable discussion, "Global Warming Discourse." Dept. of English, December 7, 2007

Panelist, "Picking a President: How to Make Sense of Your Vote." Panel discussion sponsored by the College of Letters & Science Honors Programs and the Associated Students of UCSB, October 23, 2008.

Member, Academic Senate Task Force on Sustainability, 2009-2011

Parliamentarian, Academic Senate, 2009-2010

Member, UCSB Graduate Division, Central Fellowship Committee, 2010

Member, Central Coast Survey Research Committee, Social Science Survey Center, 2010

Chair, Academic Senate Committee on Rules and Jurisdiction, 2010-2011

Parliamentarian, Academic Senate, 2010-2011

Reviewer: *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*, *American Politics Quarterly*, Brown & Benchmark Publishers, Columbia University Press, *Congress and the Presidency*, Israel Science Foundation, *Journal of Politics*, *Journal of Women, Politics, and Policy*, National Science Foundation, *Ocean and Coastal Management*, *Political Behavior*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Political Science Quarterly*, *Politics and Gender*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *Risk Analysis*, Routledge Press, *Western Political Quarterly*, University of California Press, Wadsworth Publishing Co.

### **RECENT COMMUNITY SERVICE**

Vice President, La Colina Junior High School PTA, 1998-2000

Member, Hope School District, Vision-Issues-Planning Committee, 2000

Member, Santa Barbara ComNet Board of Directors, 2000-2001

President, La Colina Junior High School PTA, 2000-2002

Soccer Coach, San Marcos High School, 2000-2004

Member, Santa Barbara Elementary and High School District Committee on Flyer Distribution, 2001

Delivered lecture for Santa Barbara City College Adult Education Class, "Super Tuesday Salvos Fired . . . Where Will It End?" Schott Center, March 4, 2004

Host and commentator for "The China Syndrome," a film presented by the Center for Information Technology and Society, Isla Vista Theater, April 1, 2004

Delivered lecture for Santa Barbara City College Adult Education Class, "A Ferocious Election War: 33 days and counting." Schott Center, September 23, 2004

Guest, "In Focus," KEYT TV with Tracy Lehr, September 30, 2004

Delivered lecture for Santa Barbara City College Adult Education Class, "Explaining the Election Outcome." Schott Center, November 18, 2004

Presentation to the Santa Barbara County Board of Supervisors on the Economic Community Project 2005 Survey, June 3, 2005

Presentation to the City-County Joint Task Force on Affordable Housing on the Economic Community Project 2005 Survey, June 23, 2005

Presentation to the Santa Barbara County Association of Governments 101 in Motion Project on the Economic Community Project 2005 Survey, August 3, 2005

Presentation to the Santa Barbara Citizens' Planning Association Planning Committee on the Economic Community Project 2005 Survey, September 26, 2005

Presentation to the League of Women Voters on the Economic Community Project 2005 Survey, October 19, 2005

Delivered lecture, "The 2005 special election," Democratic Club of the Conejo Valley, Thousand Oaks Library, November 9, 2005

Presentation to the Santa Barbara County Coastal Housing Alliance on the Economic Community Project 2005 Survey, December 5, 2005

Delivered lecture, "Beyond Peak Oil," Oxnard Public Library, April 8, 2006

Delivered lecture, "The 2006 Midterm Elections," Thousand Oaks Public Library, November 8, 2006

Delivered lecture, "The 2006 Midterm Elections," Democratic Club of Ojai, November 18, 2006

Panelist in public forum, "UCSB Reads for Earth Day." Goleta Public Library, April 9, 2007

Delivered lecture, "The 2008 Elections: Race, Gender, and American Voters." UCSB Affiliates, Santa Barbara, May 2, 2008.

Deputy Wedding Commissioner, September 29, 2008.

Panel member, "Picking a President: How to Make Sense of Your Vote." Panel discussion of the 2008 presidential elections, hosted by the UCSB College of Letters and Science Honors Program and Associated Students. October 23, 2008.

Delivered lecture, "Changing Public Opinion about LGBT Issues." UCSB Campus Democrats, May 11, 2010

Commentator/Interviewed about public opinion, elections, and environmental issues by local and national media