

Challenges of Changing Public Perception and Effective Leadership for Energy Policy:

KAM VI

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Breadth Abstract

There are three major components that one must consider with respect to an organization's ability to wield an effective change campaign: 1) power structure, 2) public opinion, and 3) leadership. The effective leader will understand and work these areas to the advantage of the mission. Reviewing ideas about power and agenda setting from Mills and Domhoff, successful public policy campaigns will have to consider how a policy might be perceived by higher strata people and whether they may work to subvert the campaign. As noted in previous discussions, public opinion is essential to gaining momentum on issues and pushing political change. There are various ideas (pandering or shirking) of how much public opinion actually impacts policy, but there are some successful strategies that have been employed by organizations to gain power elite support by using public opinion. Through incremental successes, engaging leadership and collaborations, organizations have built effective campaigns. These points will be critical to reviewing current energy policy alternatives.

SBSF 8612: Classical and Emerging Paradigms of Leadership and Organizational  
Change

Breadth: Public Opinion, Power Elites, Perceptions, and Collaborations

In the review of sustainable energy policy alternatives, a common theme was revealed in the need for an ability to make a policy change occur (Hansen, 2009a). That change requires an understanding the dynamics of public opinion, apparent power structures in society and politics, as well as effective leadership that leverages the public opinion and power. We know that each previous attempt to change energy policy including the current efforts have revealed parallel issues and political conditions and the effective campaign will need to prepare to handle those conditions in order to get sustainable energy policy objectives implemented.

The first part of this critique will be to analyze traditional theories of public policy perceptions. Considering the strengths and weaknesses of the theories, we can consider how the public may respond to particular initiatives or discuss potential mechanisms for gaining a more favorable response. We must understand the reactionary nature of public opinion especially with regard to public crisis interventions.

In this respect, the perception will be molded by effective leadership and power structures that influence the public opinion as well as the legislative political shifts. Understanding the power structures will be critical to implementing bold initiatives since effective communications and networks will leverage those power structures in support of the initiatives.

While the examination of theoretical concepts of public opinion and power elites are useful, we must also review how past organizations have used these theories or if

these theories have any real basis in the application by the past attempts to change policy. In this respect, one can see that most policy changes have originated in minority efforts that used collaborations to spread across communities and networks eventually gaining elite support.

The organization or campaign leadership approaches, collaborative efforts, the power structures, and the public opinion all impact the outcome of energy policy implementations. Those implementations affect future policy initiatives. We will be able to see how the previous efforts towards energy have been largely dependent upon these factors despite the actual needs and promise of particular options that were ignored or simply rejected.

Identified in the critique of energy policy and democratic governance, as part of the challenges to sustainable energy, is the public perception of policy alternatives, effective leadership strategies and resistance issues that may arise (Hansen, 2009a). The breath demonstration will review literature that discusses theoretical context of social class, political power, public opinion, and campaign leadership with respect to perceptions of energy policy and change. This will provide a foundation for understanding contemporary research and possible applications that may yield positive changes in public perception of policy alternatives for sustainable energy policy objectives. The ideas of power structures, crisis issues, leadership and collaboration schemes then will have to be analyzed as well to determine whether (or how) the power structures wield influence over public opinion (or the reverse) in addition to subsequent alternative ideas of policy and social change. The discussions will relate potential changes in policy to learned cultural traditions and to perceptions of the issues as much as

the organizational capacity to provide a change in perception that enables an ultimate change in actual policy.

### Power Elites and Who Rules America

When trying to create change in political environments, the organizations involved have to consider who controls the means and ability to make things happen. In this respect there are a few theories of who has power and how they will use the power. For this discussion, Domhoff (2002) and Mills (1968), provide significant insight to so-called power elites that affect public policy as well as public opinion towards the issues. These two theories have a principle agreement in a power elite, but they have different perspectives what that power elite is and how that elite operates. Additionally, when qualitatively asking a number of people, the definition of “power elite” derives different connotations depending upon one’s feeling of political efficacy or effective democratic institutions such as elections (Dutcher, Finley, Luloff & Johnson, 2004).

#### *Power Elite*

C. Wright Mills (1958) classic “The Power Elite” (updated with an afterward by Alan Wolfe (2000)) attempts to describe the formation and maintenance of a so-called power elite through empirical observation and deduction logic. This “power elite” is comprised of the ultra rich, corporate executives, and military warlords with a collective power that influences economic, political and military determinism of public policy. This “power elite” is not an aristocracy or a ruling class but rather the higher agents in the higher circles that enjoy some autonomy with intricate coalitions.

Immediately, Mills (1958) pegs corporate executives as part of this structure ever since the 14<sup>th</sup> amendment enshrined corporate power in the Constitution. The executives have the ability to use private corporations to run as well as to control life and government either through use of production means or facilities. This influence may likely be through the direct campaign contributions (Mills, 1958; Domhoff, 2002). He claims that despite attempts for progressive tax systems in the mid 1900s, there has always been a way to minimize or to avoid paying taxes. Meanwhile, policies and tax policy are developed to assist with corporate expansion (Mills, 1958).

He frequently infers that money can move power where in 1952 only 7% people held a majority of stock. Today, the percentage of holdings might be different through use of 401K and retail stock brokers that have wrapped more middle-class money into stock exchanges. In both 1952 and today, when a public company makes profit, improving stock positions will correspond to improving wealth positions (especially for those with higher percentage stake in the firm). To further that aim, holding companies were designed for corporations to hold stock in other corporations and further accumulate wealth.

Private property is key to the existence of the corporations, but that property as well as the key is in supporting transportation systems that are, in many cases, awarded by governments at various levels. Examples can be found in modern day “big-box” retail outlets like malls and Wal-Mart or Home Depot. We have seen in the challenge to sustainable energy policy that the federal government as well as state governments have promoted trade agreements and treaties for the benefit of a few companies (especially with respect to oil supply) (Hansen, 2009). In times of war (from World War II to second

Gulf War), he points out that many supply contracts are awarded to few companies (Mills, 1958; Wolfe, 2000).

Mills (1958) also discusses how moving up the ladder of wealth (ultra rich) can not happen by merely being a spend thrift and saving surpluses from salary or wages. He uses the term “appropriate speculation” to describe how people have been able to double and triple investments. Yet, there are networks of people with an interest in the success of the investment where creditors that are owed \$2 million dollars vs \$50,000 are more willing to find ways for a person to repay the investment. Here, he insists that a slow bureaucratic crawl can not serve to make one rich, but rather that fortunes are due to “economic politicians” and networks of important cliques that enable power positions through permit use and accumulation. Otherwise, the best way to achieve wealth is to be born into this stratum of society (a point shared by billionaire Steve Forbes of Forbes, Inc. at a motivation seminar (2003)).

Mills argues that a theory of balance exists where no one interest can impose its will or foster a stalemate by citing John Adams that there is a choice between equilibrium of power or despotism. He argues that larger entities can condemn smaller ones by claiming them to be disturbers of the peace and good traditions. “Those who profit by the general framework of the status quo can afford more easily than those who are dissatisfied” (Mills, 1968: 247). For this reason, he advocates (a Marxist principle) that forceful revolutionary direction of change against the status quo is required.

As long as the markets could expand seemingly indefinitely, a “harmony of interest” of the markets will parallel with so called common good and affluence where lower groups that cause struggles would be considered disharmonious. We can see

examples of this with the virtual exclusion of solar energy goals from PURPA while coal and gas resources were provided generous subsidies for expansion of generation since they did not support current investment structures. Generally in modern politics, one might see examples of this idea in the third party advocates (e.g. Ralph Nader or Ross Perot), in reaction to the feminist movement or towards libertarian ideals that would argue against the traditional two-party political structure or given culture conditions.

In this respect, money plays a significant role where lobbyists may have honest intentions and politicians may be well intentioned lobbyists, but money is used to finance campaigns more than specific payoffs for actual favors. Through media, wealth and corporate structure, the independent middle class is politically and economically dependent upon the machinery of the state and corporation (Mills, 1958). He argues the middle class was and is losing power and autonomy due to the active manipulation by the power elite. The middle class is not organized and labor leaders have been in concert with their corporate counterparts.

Mills argues that the power elite do not unilaterally act or make all decisions of national importance. This implies that the power elite wields its influence when threatened or has a compelling reason to subject its collective efforts into the national discourse. This also suggests the power elite as a homogenous group that uses a coordinated and collective strength to affect public opinion. He argues there may be examples of ideological representation of lower strata groups in the power elite and holds that stereotypes would not accurately paint a picture of a person that is a part of the power elite.

The strongest contention that Mills raises is how he believes that the American society has moved towards an Orwellian brand of so-called “mass society” rather than “community of publics” (Mills, 1968: 281). He believes there is movement towards centralized powers and monopoly control where small neighborhood shops are replaced by corporate entities and mass advertisement replaces personal influence. Political leaders can project opinions to people never visited or will ever visit. In present society, there is a distinct decline of downtown, locally-run businesses in favor of encouraging the big-box retail complexes where that favoritism provides significant empirical evidence for this idea. Energy consumption is also a matter of switching a switch or turning a key with an unobservable source or chemical reaction with little interaction with personnel of the utility or fuel generation.

The difference between the community of publics and mass society is how communication channels are used and whether there is an ability of institutions to penetrate the autonomy of the public (privacy). The mass society moves towards more controlled and organized mechanism that actually limits access and response capability from the public. As well, opinions and beliefs can be conditioned in these mechanisms for power elite acceptance through an expectation of loyalty. He considers the mass media to encroach upon small discussions through television is a destruction of privacy and that public opinion makers use media to relay views through intricate networks. The mass media has an ability to create an appearance that a majority of people have a viewpoint or belief.

Given the explosion of the Internet and the mass adoption of social networking (e.g. MySpace and Facebook), one could argue that the mass media of three nationwide

television networks of the 1950 has been expanded into hundreds of networks that have a greater degree and capability of direct or targeted communication thanks to specific tastes of channels like Weather, 24 hour news or ESPN sports. In today's 24 hour new cycle, there are more channels present, however the expansive list of channels is funneled through the media providers (e.g. Mediacom and DirecTV) and the few corporate entities that generate the content (e.g. Disney, Murdoch, Turner and NBC). They have adapted to the Internet to stream media to users that is even more targeted towards specific interests.

Mills also argues the growth of metropolitan society has led to more isolated or narrowed practices and environments that perpetuate the loss of an effective public. The alienation and loss of efficacy allow for deference of actual controls to others. This would justify the power of the elite. People in this view of society do not want to look beyond their stereotypes of others, and mass media can target attributes. Distortions of truth lead some (e.g. more conservatives) to believe they have been tricked by liberals that argue irrational of tradition or that liberals feel that conservatives want to control individual life choices. Each side is becoming increasingly polarized, hostile and distrustful towards the other (PEW, Dec 18, 2008).

People that isolate themselves in a set of surroundings will likely not be willing to change perceptions or interpretations of things without substantial proof or compelling requirement to change. Change, in their minds, may be inherently irrational despite any potential good that is possible with the change. Furthermore, the loss of communication will raise the level of mistrust within those people.

One can use the afterward by Wolfe to help critique Mills pointed attacks upon American society of the 1950s. Wolfe (2002) argues that some of the Mills's notions of

society and corporate structure have changed since then and some have perpetuated through the years. He suggests that American capitalism is too dynamic to be controlled by a static power elite advocated by Mills by providing the different lists of top companies in 1952 and 1998 where half of the list has changed (Wolfe, 2002: 371). He also argues that the budget outlays for defense as a percentage of GDP has changed to lower the ability of the military complex to have an influence through the power elite. Yet, Wolfe's argument here fails because while defense has lowered in budget percentage, the outlays for defense spending is still more than all discretionary spending combined (excluding entitlements) (Hansen, 2008; CBO, 2009).

#### *Who Rules America*

Domhoff (2006) argues that there is an apparent economic class or loose membership network that has a collective power. This collective power of a group, he argues, is apparent to the degree at which a community has a capacity to perform effectively in pursuit of its common goals. This echoes Mills collective notions of the power elite. The group has exclusive social memberships where interactions are informal (e.g. social clubs). The primary attributes or indicators of power are 1) who is benefited by action, 2) who governs, and 3) who wins.

Using these points, he argues that power can be seen in different communities and he points (like Mills) at corporate community. He provides the example of Citigroup connections to over 25 other corporations at one time. As well, many of those organizations are interconnected. This infers a strategic alliance and producer network across the corporate community into community organizations and foundations.

He argues that small business and small farms are no counterweight to corporate power since they are relatively unorganized and decreasing in percentage of full labor market. Some growth coalitions and small business alliances exist but can not compete with unions and corporation networks where government has adamantly supported advancing power of corporation and labor unions. This is a principle argument made in challenges to sustainable energy since government support of oligopoly and monopoly structures have stifled innovation and entrepreneurship under more purely competitive markets (Hansen, 2009a). This also brings into question the validity of those government agreements that have enriched some over others.

Domhoff (2002) advocates that there may be solitary examples of failure do not suggest a lack of cohesion among the power elite since problems can be discovered in all groups). He would contend with Wolfe's (2000) assertion that observing significant changes in the top executives and companies are not critical enough when the list of the Forbes 400 has 56% from millionaire families (a central argument to Mills idea of power elite) and 14% of the group have come from the top 10% income bracket (Domhoff, 2006). Domhoff asserts that newcomers and rising executives to the elites are assimilated into the power elite.

He is arguing an institutional definition of power elite that takes roles in corporate community and policy networks along with high-level employees that have a vested interest. He points out the 2362 corporation foundations existed in 2003 where they are funded directly by the corporations and directed by the some of the same officers. He points to how Ford Foundation was able to subsidize mainstream environmental groups or Wal-Mart can give back to the community through the Children Miracle Network.

Domhoff's arguments update Mill's arguments (rooted in 1952 society) to be relevant in today's society while filling some holes in Mill's arguments. Domhoff's description of politicians and rhetoric pits a balance between a median voter image and costs of party line support. Due to the cost of campaigns, power elites can channel communication programs and contribution campaigns in order to indirectly influence the outcome towards a favorable interest.

Domhoff (2006: 81) diagrams how corporate power elites use foundations, universities, think tanks, and policy discussion groups to influence the public vote and government. Reduction of union power and business opposition to social welfare shifted politics to the right away from centrist positions. As well, rhetoric of capitalism and class awareness perpetuates inherent role definitions of decision maker and followers.

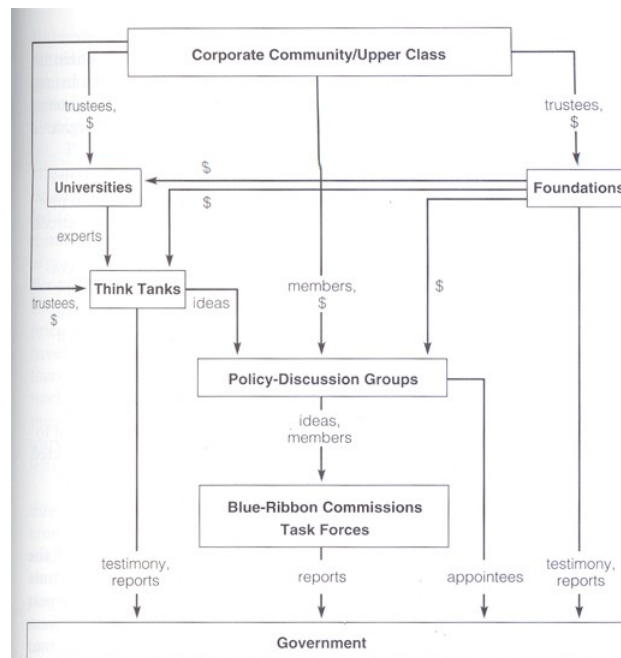


Figure 4.1 The Flow of Policy from the Corporate Community and Upper Class to Government through the Policy-Planning Network.

Figure 1: Corporate Influence of Government (Domhoff, 2006)

### Public Opinion, Macro Polity and Crisis

As noted in the KAM 5 review of sustainable policy (Hansen, 2009), changes in policy will require the engagement of public discourse and public demand for change. The dynamics of public opinion provide organizations and policy makers with a significant challenge due to three specific attributes of public opinion that will be reviewed. Public opinion is historically short-term and fickle towards an issue. Public opinion is most affected by crisis and crisis management. As well, public opinion can be persuaded or manipulated through average changes in income and expenditures of the general public. In this section, organizations and policy advocates should consider the impact of public opinion upon issues as well as what affects public opinion using the compiled information and studies from Manza, Lomax Cook, & Page (2002); and Erikson, Mackuen, & Stimson, (2002).

#### *Navigating Public Opinion*

There are key questions that are considered in collective writings from Manza, Lomax Cook & Page (2002). If public opinion affects public policy, we must understand how. If there is a power elite, we have to consider the role and mechanisms they engage to change policy. If decision-makers do not “pander” to the public, then we must consider how one goes about making policy change occur.

There is a range of large effect, small effect or institutional variations for public opinion to affect policy outcomes (Manza & Lomax Cook, 2002). There may be an appearance of accordance with citizens’ wishes (if one accepts the politician’s definition of citizens’ wishes). One could also argue that politicians that pander to public opinion submit to mob rule. Voters may vote towards candidates that align closest with public

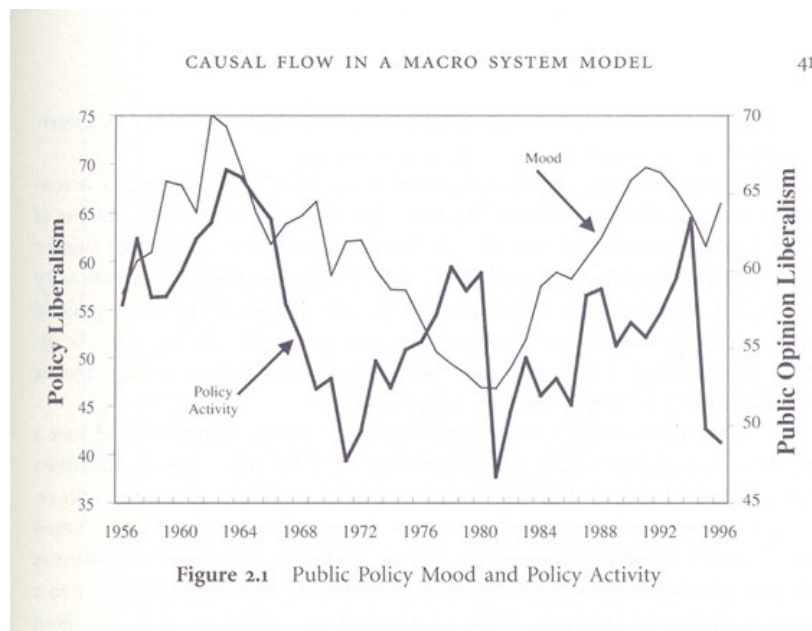
opinion. Public mood would shift and political actors might sense the shift to act or speak accordingly. They argue that well-informed politicians will perform better than non-informed ones where rhetoric can be altered to coincide with data (Manza & Lomax Cook, 2002).

At the same time, politicians do not want to give impression of inconsistent opinion or decision-making. In this, many decision-makers may “shirk” public opinion based upon intrinsic philosophy differences, or the power elite may impose a direct influence over the politician. Rhetoric can be tested for framing of issues prior to presentation. They provide the example of Clinton’s design for health care program and the accumulated rhetoric for beating the proposal by various interests (Manza & Lomax Cook, 2002).

The contingency theory advocates that responsiveness depends upon the policy makers particular exposure to public opinion or the electorate. Lifetime judicial appointments and many bureaucratic officials are not compelled to follow public opinion. As well, the salience of the issue becomes essential where understanding and intensity of attitudes for an issue will build effective discourse, leadership and cooperation towards a policy objective (Manza & Lomax Cook, 2002).

Erikson, Mackuen, & Stimson (2002b) argue that if policy liberalism correlates with the views of a governing elite that this assumes that voters are mindless sheep susceptible to power elite propaganda. Politician will try to gain via elections and through persuasive discussions. They suggest that the politicians must stay in touch with public opinion in order to exert any leverage over the public. Yet, politicians have to balance public preferences with personal interests or philosophical differences.

They consider the idea that public opinion will cause a government response (if any affect at all) viewable in a time-order series chart. They diagram the political “mood” with the liberalism of policy activity (Figure 2). The diagram shows that political mood generally precedes political activity.



**Figure 2: Aggregate Public Policy Mood vs Policy Activity (Erikson, Mackuen, & Stimson, 2002b)**

This graph and apparent correlation they find begs to ask if someone realize a change in public opinion and work campaigns to change or is there a natural cyclical motion for policy mood such that the public will be liberal and then conservative and return. The graph seems to suggest that mood is reflexive of current policy in that public demands more liberal policy when there is more conservative legislation and vice versa. These public opinion shifts incorporate general economic performance, presidential approval, macro participation as well as public mood and elite participation of the process by default (Erikson, Mackuen, & Stimson, 2002b).

This graph also suggests that policy activity moves slower than apparent public opinion trends. Jacobs and Shapiro (2002) claim that impact is merely circumstantial.

They suggest several examples where government decisions supposedly defy public opinion from wars to Bush tax cuts. They suggest that politicians have their own policy goals, are increasingly driving major policy decisions, and conducting public opinion research to justify the alternative (identifying language, symbolism, and arguments) to garner more support for a specific objective. This would substantiate a reason why politicians vote party line even if that party line vote is professed as diametrically different as current public opinion polls are reporting.

Reviewing this idea, a problem with public polls is they gauge the majority or plurality opinion of an issue or issues, but there is no distinction for whether that opinion is rooted in truth or actual risk perception. A majority opinion does not by itself indicate a truth value of a belief of the risk or opinion of that risk. For example, the old adage “if a friend jumps off a bridge should you?” is rooted in the premise of fools following a fool. Perhaps important facts are not known or being considered in the debate. Therefore, can one really associate or equate majority opinion with a truth value of an issue?

In this case, a poll can be designed to outline a party position by asking the question in terms of rhetoric that will be resonated with public opinion. A party is able to stall or defeat a measure that is not in the actual public interest or public favor.

Jacobs and Shapiro (2002) offer these reasons

- 1) Motivated politicians exercise discretion to pursue unpopular policies.
- 2) Muting responsiveness to centrist opinion is more beneficial in elections within more politically homogeneous districts.

- 3) Crafted rhetoric can present of a so-called centrist opinion in order to obscure true intentions.

As well, some politicians interpret elections as a motivation by the public towards an ideology, as was the case for the Republican Contract for America in 1996 or for health care reform in 1993. The politicians may find resistance to this interpretation once in power where the public changes opinion or desires not to go too far away from a centrist position. Politicians may act more boldly if they believe that the majority wishes a policy action, and may appear to lead because they an interest in pursuing the policy or gaining public favor.

This idea suggest that a macro polity aggregation conducted by Erikson, Mackuen, & Stimson (2000, 2002b) does not show an accurate interpretation of public opinion affect upon policy. There are institutions in and around government that can block initiatives, and the macro polity may underestimate the elite willingness or power to affect the perception of an issue. Jacobs and Shapiro (2002) suggest that generally the mechanisms and institutions helps to bring policy into equilibrium with elite interests.

#### *Incremental Movement*

Each of the writers have referenced a power elite in some form or another. If the power elite is not homogeneous as directly suggested by Mills (1968) and Domhoff (2006), there may be inferred power elites that have a corresponding agenda that is not conducive to a public interest rather than a self serving interest. Weaver (2002) and Burstein (2002) suggests that policy change is dependent upon whom one trusts and upon the salience of the issue. When the public cares little about an issue, the issue can drift

away from public discourse. When the public cares, structures in and around political power will activate to protect interests.

How far the issue can drift from public discourse will be dependent upon the nature of the public mood and desire of the interest group. Considering the cyclical nature of political mood, groups will want to consider when to raise an issue into the public salience and when to “limit conflict in order to keep issues off of the table” (Weaver, 2002: 87). As well, legislators have to conform to district moods rather than national moods. An example of this is former Republican congressman Jim Leach, whose district in Iowa leans liberal, had to vote left of his party position on some issues in order to keep getting reelected (responsive to the public mood of his district) but had a philosophical opinion difference.

Weaver (2002) and Burstein (2002) appear to agree that incremental moves and eventual public attention to an issue have provided for advancement of issues (e.g. civil rights). They each suggest that when the attention for an issue is high more action is possible. Yet, the public will have to trust the government action and politician to pass desired policy to activate mechanisms to encourage desired policy interests.

Organizations will have to be conscious of the public opinion environment that may be fertile for politicians to bring forward issues.

They also contend that increase salience forces elite cooperation with public consensus about a particular set. With trust and little attention, there is deference to a particular leader or active group to implement the reform. If there is growing antipathy for the status quo the public may assist in prompting willingness to change (Weaver, 2002). Further, polls to represent public opinion can be used when “advantageous to use

[to the leader] and put off when not to the advantage” (Herbst, as quoted by Domhoff, 2006).

In terms of energy policy, we have observed that supply and crisis over oil embargos have brought the salience of the issue to forefront of American policy discussions in 1970s and 2000s, but the issues appear to fade as time progresses away from the conditions that caused the crisis change. As well, other events appear on the mainstream views that impact the overall attention such as hostages in Iran or general price reduction of the energy (Hansen, 2009a).

Empirically, this appears to correspond with assertions by Weaver and Burstein and at the same time, this does not dismiss the interference by power elite to alter the public opinion or public attention for the issues. Thus, public policy change and leadership will need to coordinate efforts across organizations while addressing public opinion and elite interest levels.

#### Leadership Affect upon Perceptions

Leadership is not complete instinctive work by some gifted person except in rare examples. There are interpersonal relationship development, organizational skills, and goal motivation needs that have to take place with respect to leadership. Those skills have to be honed in order for someone to an effective leader. They also have to understand the concepts of planning with flexibility in order to work for contingency needs. Anyone can be a leader, but to be an effective campaign leader, one has to be an effective organizer, motivator, and planner.

Leadership has many different styles or focuses, and from the perspective of policy development and public administration, one has to consider the approach of

leadership towards the organization, the community and the campaign. There are a few different theories of leadership of which three will be discussed here: 1) power-based leadership, 2) transformational leadership, and 3) servant leadership. This section will review types of leadership approach as to how they can influence public perception and change.

The first approach is a classic definition of leadership via a power based approach where leadership influence using characteristics that may be coercive or directive (top-down) towards decision and remediation of any conflicts. MacGregor Burns (1978) suggests that there are two essentials to power or leadership: motive and resources. MacGregor Burns (1978) suggests that power based leadership will only collaborate with others into the extent that one's own objectives can be reached. He also says that leadership may be obtained and maintained through a system of manipulations. Followers are mobilized through motives and directed purpose. This leadership style focuses immensely upon competition and conflict to achieve results rather than cohesion or interdependence.

Power based approach is an idea from Plato and Socrates that believes people are inherently blind to their own fate and needs where a superior person or mind can guide them to what they truly need and want. The power based leadership invokes Machiavelli techniques for maintaining power or pursuing successful campaigns. Extreme political examples of this style can be revealed in Adolf Hitler and Joseph Stalin.

A second style of leadership approach is transcending or transformational leadership. Transformational leadership, (sometimes referred to as a form of transactional leadership), is a process where the leader attempts to get organizational

participants (or collaborative participants) to look beyond self-interests and more into the social well-being and more into the intentions of the organization (Stone, Russell, & Patterson, 2003; Kuzimenko, 2004). This leadership style focuses followers upon “shared vision and values” (Kuzimenko, 2004: 2) as well as realizing personal potential through the empowerment of the group vision. Transformational leadership focuses upon a commitment to task and project completion through inspirational, charismatic, intellectual, or mentoring-type motivation techniques (Stone, Russell, & Patterson, 2003; Kuzimenko, 2004).

MacGregor Burns (1978) argues that the transformational leadership engages people in a more dynamic fashion. The transformational leadership will raise each others’ motives, inspire, uplift or preach. This approach is common to raising the level of leadership to a moral authority or purpose (e.g. Martin Luth King Jr or Gandhi). The transformational leaders are more heavily focused upon building the organizational visions and building people towards those visions and purpose.

The third style referenced is servant leadership and derives many attributes from transformational leadership approach. Greenleaf (as cited by Stone, Russell, & Patterson, 2003; Kuzimenko, 2004), suggests that leadership must respond to the needs of others rather than dictating them. Servant leadership subjects the leader as a servant of the followers where the interests of the followers are given priority over those of the leader. In this approach, leadership acts as facilitators that mutually builds and values people to prosper towards the shared vision. This leadership approach attempts to focus upon an opportunity to serve others and the focus upon the development of the entire team instead of just the followers. Thus, the servant leadership attempts a style of what one might call

“lead-by-example” where everyone is expected to participate and to build toward the agreed vision. One could characterize Senator John McCain as an example since he often referred to himself as a servant of the people (noted in a campaign speech, 2008).

The two later approaches share similar traits of empowering individuals and of focusing upon mutual goals that contrast from the power-based approach. This might be due to the generation and systems that surrounded the theory proposals. The two approaches are newer theories, with less rigid structure or manipulation, that proposes leadership to build individuals and both models that employ a sense of reverence to social interest in values and goals. Both of the styles value influence, vision, trust, earned authenticity, delegation, integrity and community (Stone, Russell, & Patterson, 2003).

MacGregor Burns (1978) suggest that leaders and followers may be inseparable in function through the latter approaches, but they are not identical. The leader has to take the initiative, create links or collaborations, enable communication and exchanges as well as being a skillful evaluator of the power base and follower motives. Further, effective “... power and leadership can be measured by the degree of production of intended effect” (MacGregor Burns, 1978: 25). The leadership can also be measured by the unintended effects.

Tucker (1981) argues that leadership may be viewed as effective or ineffective; wise or unwise; and beneficial or disastrous. He argues that leadership is a struggle between forces and uses the Marxist idea of class struggle where elites struggle to maintain control over a rebellious minority attempting to overthrow the state apparatus. He argues that the power approach does not say what a leader actually does or what is expected of that leader. Tucker believes the primary functions of the leader are to

diagnose the issue(s), to prescribe the solution and to mobilize to correct the issue. The definition and effectiveness of a particular leadership will be revealed in the various relationships between the leader and others (within and around the organizations).

Thus, we can extend these ideas to develop a strategy that builds the organization and builds effective relationships around the organization in order to have an effective campaign. Effective leadership of a campaign that engages participants and a collaboration network becomes the critical element to a successful campaign to change perceptions (especially over broad populations), and that is as true for non-profit organizations as much as for-profit corporations (Hansen, 2009a).

As noted with respect to navigating public opinion, changes in civil rights code have occurred due to persistent and incremental change that forced elite groups to align with a public interest. A group that desires to change a public policy is at a huge disadvantage considering the power elite and political winds that shift in society if that group works in solitary force.

#### Breadth Discussion

To borrow a line from *Star Wars III: Revenge of the Sith*, “All those who gain power are afraid to lose it” (LucasFlims, 2005). This quote in a popular culture film parallels with the idea that power elites, as well as individual perceptions of personal efficacy, attempt to maintain their influence and power upon systems and communication. This may suppose that this is a popular belief that this is a feature of today’s as well as yesterday’s society, and upon reading several corporate missions statements, a common theme is to be the leader in whatever their field is with a implied (if not explicit) belief that their technology or expertise is superior than competition.

The way power and messages are distributed can influence people, but we have to consider the difficulty of a coordinated power elite to organize messages for a so-called scheme of mutual interest to change public opinion. There is no doubt that companies will collaborate on many topics where executives of corporations are part of many different boards (as noted by Domhoff (2002)). Yet, there are many opposing interests with those elites.

A power elite may fail to change things when there are equal strength and competing interests working against each other. A difference is in that monopolies and oligopolies do not have strong enough competitive interests that would challenge the elite nature of the executives (as is the case with energy and utilities). Mills (1958) points about power elites derives from people who were able to build massive companies (e.g. Standard Oil, Carnegie Steel & JP Morgan) (virtual monopolies that could out compete anyone in their markets), and then they were able to secure their respective families' futures with those fortunes. They who gain power or status will not want to see their work destroyed or wealth vanish, and they will be motivated to maintain their status including use of manipulation of public opinion on threatening issues.

The Internet and 24-hour news cycle may have changed the way people perceive issues as salient and whether they are motivated by elite propaganda. Yet, as noted in this discussion, power elite have more channels to project a targeted message and are more able to target to specific tastes due to the specialization of television channels and Internet sites. Public opinion is cyclical thinking and short term especially with the advent of the 24 hour news cycle that requires "breaking news" coverage of items on the hour. Public attention is affected by the "breaking news" coverage that tends to

sensationalize the crisis as shocking or requiring of immediate attention. People who succumb to persistent shocks over a period of time may become resilient or numb to the affect of “shocking news”.

Outside of an immediate physical crisis, public opinion may be affected by changes in income and expenditures through artful work from elites or market forces. As noted before, motivated power elite realize and understand that they can alter the mechanism of communication or flow of information. As well, they can change the means of production in order to affect the outcome of a public policy measure. The affect and the effort may be subtle, but public opinion can be persuaded if the resulting outcome is enough to provide reason to rescind or to change a course of action. Whether there is intentional and coordinated manipulation of the markets or simple market mechanisms that affect supply and demand, oil price volatility lessen during significant debates about energy policy which may change the tone of public demand for energy policy reforms (Hansen, 2009).

#### Breadth Conclusion

Energy policy is pivotal to economic progress and technology development in the United States, and the foundation of economic development and security is rooted in appropriate energy policy formations as noted in the examination of challenges to sustainable energy (Hansen, 2009). Further, energy policy can directly impact public opinion due to the leverage via changes in energy prices have corresponding changes to family budgets and purchase power. One can observe empirical, if not direct, evidence that industry players have garnered government support for policy alternatives that have

maintained the exploitation of carbon fuel supplies rather than more sustainable renewable energy generation of solar or wind (Viotor, 1981; Laird, 2001; Hansen, 2009).

One may question whether a power elite exists and Wolfe argues that the elite can not be static due to the some changes in top companies over the past 40 years. Yet with energy, the primary generation and transmission companies are the same companies that existed in 1950s (perhaps with different names, merged companies but relatively the companies are the same). This is due to the monopoly business structure in energy markets that has been supported over the decades. Whether the power elite is static or in cooperation with each other, the ability of a single company in the industry to manipulate energy price is unparalleled to other markets since there is a government supported monopoly of generation where monopoly business can dictate prices (regardless of actual demand) for products that are unavailable outside of the monopoly.

Energy policy management is critical to the economic interests and long-term growth of the United States since all production is affected by the price of power. Thus, the energy we use today has considerable strategic issues attached to the supply capacity and price structure in order to maintain affluence and growth capability in domestic operations. Change in energy policy will have to root in the ability of leadership to change perceptions and to understand the nature of public opinion as well as supporting power structures.

There are three major components that one must consider with respect to an organization's ability to wield a policy change campaign: 1) power structure, 2) public opinion, and 3) effective leadership (especially for building broad national campaigns like sustainable energy). The effective leaders will understand and manage these areas

towards the advantage of the mission. Reviewing ideas about power and agenda setting from Mills and Domhoff, successful public policy campaigns will have to consider how a policy might be perceived by higher strata people and whether they may work to subvert the campaign. Leaders can plan to interact with power elite or to build coalitions that bring incremental change that would ultimately force acceptance by the power elite.

As noted in discussions, public opinion is essential to gaining momentum on issues and pushing political change. There are various ideas (pandering or shirking) of how much public opinion actually impacts policy, but there are some successful strategies that have been employed by organizations to gain power elite support as well as public opinion. Through incremental successes and collaborations, organizations have built effective campaigns. These concepts provide a foundation to building a successful public relations and political support strategy with respect to reviewing, proposing or building campaigns for energy policy alternatives.

The next part of this discussion will consider these basic elements of public opinion, power elites, leadership techniques and collaboration to review perceptions and supporters of current proposals in the American Clean Energy Act of 2009. Examining this case can help to identify potential power elite, affect of public opinion, and if there is manipulation of communication. In any case, the organizations desiring to create energy policy reform will need to consider these basic components of public policy debates: power elite, public opinion and effective leadership approaches across networks.

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Challenges of Changing Public Perception and Effective Leadership for Energy Policy:

Depth Component for KAM VI

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SBSF 8622: Contemporary Challenges to Change and Public Perceptions

Mentor: Richard Worch

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### Depth Abstract

Three specific potential obstacles should be considered with respect to changing public policy: power elites, public opinion, and effective leadership. Those elements require an organization to have effective strategy that is flexible and the organization has to plan for contingencies (especially with respect to national level policy change). Effective leadership will align strategic support in various sectors of the population to gain public support and find power elites that can help perpetuate (raise the salience for) the public interest.

Public opinion is a matter of collective perception of issues and standards. Perception of issues is as much a cultural aspect as how one feels connected to the issue. A qualitative study about riparian buffer zones reveals that people with direct interest in changing may not realize their own impact upon the issue and may actually reject that idea in favor of a placing blame upon a so-called bigger entity (e.g. corporate elites, government or agricultural interests). Some may not realize or want to realize actual risk of the issues, and some will not trust outside sources or power influences.

Essentially, public perception can not be expected to change quickly, but rather perceptions can be changed through incremental efforts and a sense of urgency that allow for realization. Proposed eventual scarcity of fuel may require more decisive action and less ignorance of the risks because there are mutual interests in loss of lifestyle and collective technological prowess. The challenge for good leadership is to find economic interests that can directly compete against status quo pursuits that may be paths to inevitable failure. Doing this requires a strategic plan that engages networks across sectors and regions as well as effective leadership that can transcend community and

social strata in order to bring real sustainable energy policy to a strong public interest.

That public realization must occur well before actual scarcity is the driver of price rather than the current undemocratic cartel that are more interested in padding foreign treasuries than American interests.

SBSF 8622: Current Research on Leadership and Organizational Change

Depth: Contemporary Challenges to Change and Public Perceptions

The breadth demonstration identified three major aspects to consider with respect to public policy changes 1) power structure, 2) public opinion, and 3) leadership approaches (especially with respect to building cooperative and collaboration networks) (Wallner, 2008; Agranoff, 2003; Vaughan & Arsneault, 2008). Some contemporary research augments these basic foundations further to investigate culture and individual perceptions with respect to issues (Wilk, 2002; Baker, 2002; Vaughan & Arsneault, 2008).

This section will investigate some of the current research that discusses public perception of energy alternatives and potential strategies for encouraging more sustainable energy in the public. The discussion will review how other issue campaigns were able to lead and to organize efforts at local and eventually national levels to build effective policy. Those campaigns could be models for changing public perceptions of renewable energy options. As well, leadership facilitates a campaign and organization that realizes successful policy goals through active networks and education. Using the theories and concepts, we can strategically build a campaign that works to raise awareness and change public perception of energy policy alternatives.

The first part of this examination will review a description of energy culture and consumption (Wilk, 2002) as well as public perception of energy policy (Baker, 2002). These two papers help to characterize a public opinion that has formed around the issues in terms of culture as well as how public opinion has changed over the course of the decades. Again, since public opinion is a cornerstone to policy change, these

characterizations may help this campaign develop broad and effective education to invoke public desire for change for sustainable energy policy.

This paper then will review studies that examine individual perceptions of individual affects and personal risk (Dutcher, Finley, Luloff, & Johnson, 2004; Smith et al, 1992). This study provides qualitative and quantitative insight to how some people view their roles in their environment as well as general viewpoints of elites and possible opinions for collaborative arrangements. These aspects can help shape campaigns to be more effective at gaining public support by addressing mutual concerns of the campaign and the people.

In addition, the breadth demonstration discussed the requirement for leadership to be effective in building relatable connections and communications between people within and around the organization using transformational or servant leadership approaches. Effective leadership will leverage networks, be flexible to changes and plan a strategy to handle various contingencies and issues while helping other organizations accomplish mutual goals. That leadership will guide the campaign and public towards a stronger public interest for broadening the sustainable energy policy and behaviors. Campaign leadership will be more effective with a strategy that effectively and sustainably uses resources, wields social motives, fosters collaboration and understands the complex human relationships (MacGregor Burns, 1978; Agranoff, 2003).

This depth demonstration will review how these ideas are founded in the three core principles, before illustrated, of public policy change. Public perceptions and leadership can greatly affect any campaign, public opinion and power elite to secure a

policy change because they add to the complexity of the core principles. Thus, there are recognizable strategies that a campaign can employ to encourage success.

### *Culture and Energy Consumption*

Wilk (2002) and Baker (2002) share some ideas about how the American public views energy policy and consumption issues. Wilk suggests that energy process is the service of meeting human wants and needs that are affected by cultural determinants, consumerism and consumption patterns. Wilk asserts the energy issues in America today stem from cultural designs and that “the key to culture is that it is learned” (2002: 110) through social groups or communities. Assumptions and what people take for granted is may be a cultural variable between the groups in this respect.

Wilk (2002) notes that the changes in household size correlate with energy use and efficiency where declines in the average household sizes have pushed home energy consumption higher. He suggests that materialistic opinions about possessions in richer countries (e.g. United States) allows for attitudes that consume more than poor societies. As well, he suggests that increases of energy use have correlated to improvements in general social standings and a rise of productivity (e.g. societies use more energy that produces more products).

The higher productivity with low-cost energy and higher sense of affluence has lifted people from survival and more frugal instincts into higher pleasures like music, literature, and education. The irony of low-cost energy, however, is that African farmers will yield more calories of food per calories spent while Americans use far more calories to yield a set of food calories (Wilk, 2002).

The culture and marketing systems have embraced obsolescence as intrinsic to growth and higher pleasures where people have become mass consumers (similar in some respect to Mill's mass society). Wilk (2002) claims that mass consumer societies are less connected to the production and goods are consumed by wider percentage of the population. He argues that this society extends around the world and mass media with marketing have become more important to turning luxuries into necessities as "needs" continue to expand since they are mutually motivated by profit rather than the public needs.

The mass consumer invokes a blame game where social destruction is occurring because of so called moral weaknesses, bad habits of poor people, or the rise of multinational corporations (elites). The "blame game" perpetuates a decline of rational, effective communities and social cohesion while self-absorbed individualism rises. To rise in the so-called status competition, people compete to get the newer or best items and they feel an increasing need for identity in an insecure world because they are attached to their possessions. As well, there is a preference towards comfort and convenience in order to pursue pleasures (Wilk, 2002). These are affected heavily by consumption that builds social networks as well as emulation of role model types that iconize these myths.

The affect of marketing campaigns and power elites can invoke these ideas to get people to change habits or tastes. Wilk (2002) cites Marxist ideology that suggests workers will become more alienated from the products and labors with a lingering unhappiness.

Cycles of consumption are, however, visible from an individual level as well as a macro-level where expansion and growth reach an inevitable bursting point. People that

over consume and suddenly have to be frugal do not readily shed memories of extravagance they may have enjoyed. A round of the blame game may ensue to ask who is to blame, who should pay for solutions, who should sacrifice and what is fair without considering personal affect upon the issue. Additionally, a belief in a right to spend money one's own way, regardless of social consequence, is perpetuated as a democratic value rather than more of a selfish individual instinct.

This idea approaches a legitimate concern for public policy to intervene or reduce consumption when that consumption threatens self destructive behavior or the common good. Yet who is willing to deny people so-called rights to spend one's own wealth? Perceived common good should take precedence over individual desires and sustainable behaviors and energy policy are a common good. The energy problems are a consequence of cultural problems as much as political or economic ones where consumption has been perpetuated as the means to a growing capitalism but has segregated social problems from individual impacts. In this case, Wilk argues that crisis may be the only way to force people to seriously address the issues when marketing is not effective.

Concurrently, Baker (2002) asks how would we know if we had or have an energy crisis. A partial glimpse of this argument was revealed in the Arab embargo of the 1970s, but that was an "oil crisis not an energy crisis" (Baker, 2002: 133) where the crisis had a limited effect upon other fuels despite the revelation of a fragile foreign dependency. We have to consider whether an energy crisis is one of commodity supply and scarcity or of price issues. Baker argues that oil price has actually lowered over the

years and that the confrontation is over more generating capacity rather than moving towards renewable energy.

Baker points out that tax as part of oil price is much lower in the U.S. than other developed countries because Europeans have a “tradition of higher taxes” that tolerates higher rates. Thus, perception of taxes and wealth rights in the domestic markets are important to developing policy alternatives, and interestingly, Doak (2009) finds that younger generations do not have severe opposition to taxes as older generations. Europe also has a higher density, shorter journeys and feasible public transit systems Americans enjoy increasing vehicle sizes and rise of SUV. He argues however that transportation accounts for more than half of domestic oil imports which suggests corporate America is “not the only guilty party”.

Marginal uses (such as TVs always switched on), low efficiency of some fuels, and low density of residential areas contribute to larger energy dependency that is unused. As a security issue, France converted electricity generation to almost 70% nuclear power in response to the oil crisis while the United States did little to introduce alternative fuels once the hysteria over price shocks dissipated. The public found other issues and the perception of energy problems were “market imperfections”, and thus, the any initiatives to promote efficiency or sustainability were dwarfed by bigger interest to find more oil (Baker, 2002).

The conservation of mid to late 1970s faded into a fruitful market for highly inefficient, over-consuming SUVs and caravan vehicles. This begs the question of how did such crisis hysteria dwindle with no plans to address the issues that caused the crisis, how did conservation turn into consumption, and why were oil interests “bigger”. The

costs associated with pursuing this option has to include use of military to secure supply (e.g Iraq wars or Iranian coups). There are sunk costs that influence industry away from investing in new technologies or invalidate existing infrastructure. As well, any more change away from fossil fuel infrastructure will have to be supported by a comparable renewable energy infrastructure at minimal cost to the producer (Baker, 2002; Hansen, 2009).

Despite the public resonance around President Carter's 1979 speech about sacrifice to get energy independent, there is currently strong resistance to taxes to support any development even though non-renewable energy is exhaustible and still depends upon risky foreign entanglements. Baker (2002) argues that the public is simply unwilling to accept anything looking like a tax increase, like a sacrifice, or like price distortions using public money (despite the many current agriculture or industry subsidies). Thus, we either prepare for a crisis or we deal with the event when the time comes.

In this discussion, Baker (2002) points out that energy policy often happens as a consequence of environment issues. Further, the challenge of sustainable energy proposals is to iterate that a problem exists since various messages and cynicism to the widespread information flow may provide an impression of imagined problem rather than actual one. If life appears to be just fine the way things are today or if the crisis is perceived as inevitable or uncorrectable (as is the rhetoric coming from some climate change proponents), people will resolve to do nothing.

The oil crisis revealed however that people will respond when there is significant change in prices or when extreme events (e.g. droughts, hurricanes) is connected to the

issue. Baker advises that one would have a delusionary perception to distinguish an international issue of global supply or climate change from national issues since competitiveness of expanding energy systems and expanding supplies. Significant events may also reveal how isolated from the truth people are.

The problem is that policy can not be short term or emotional in approach that promotes “I before the community” mentality which has helped corporate elites profit from the status quo conditions for decades. Despite recent volatility in energy prices, there is, even today, softening pressure for a comprehensive energy policy that challenges myths or cultural assumptions about viable options (including the American Clean Energy and Security Act of 2009). Baker suggests that a “radical” policy would address economic productivity, oil supply vulnerability, system reliability, managing environmental change, controlling for extreme events, and continuity of lifestyle.

That policy is influenced by the broad cultural perception and the ability of the power elite to affect culture, but as well by one’s perception of the issue. Thus, the objective of campaigns is then to work with people to change perceptions and mentalities that serve only self-interests at the expense of community and long term needs.

#### *Perceptions of Personal Affects and Improving Communications*

Perception of policy and mutual needs can help to define the framework for the debate about the issues (Lakoff, 2004). Perceptions of risk and one’s role in the process are even sometimes interchangeable. With respect to energy policy, a sense of ambivalence and non-efficacy effect the way people perceive the issue as long as people can turn on the lights and fuel the vehicle without much despair. If the lights continue to work, ambivalence is also likely. As well, one opinion made to NPR (2009) suggests that

movement in energy policy will be a consequence of movements in environmental policy due to a parallel connection of issues. Thus, studying how people perceive risk and issues in these other areas will help to define how people may perceive sustainable energy issues.

Further, the way campaigns use communication may impact or influence how people perceive the issues and the actual risks involved. In this section, a qualitative study about landowners' perceptions of riparian buffer zones provides unique perspectives for researchers and campaign developers. In addition, a study about people's perception of risk towards radon yields a quantitative window to how people generally perceive actual risks where the risk is invisible and seemingly non-imminent as is the case with radon. We can use both of these studies to review the types of communication to deliver the message for a campaign (Smith, Desvousges, Johnson, & Fisher (1990), Johnson Tew & Havitz, 2002). Given the need for public opinion and winning elite support, designing effective communications will be critical to addressing perceptions and winning the general public opinion support.

Riparian buffer zones are important for maintaining water quality, controlling flooding, and providing natural ecology systems around streams and rivers (Llewellyn, n.d; Virginia Department of Forestry, 2009). The purpose of that study was to examine landowner perceptions of protecting and conserving riparian forests in central Pennsylvania. The study examines a dichotomy of expressed concerns to actual actions where people realized an importance of the riparian forests but did not see their own contribution to the issues. Reviewing statistical reviews and issues of riparian buffer decay as well the current situation, the authors present a qualitative study that interviews

the landowners for their behaviors and responses to the issues. The study reveals implications of these types of perceptions towards environmental conditions, perceived responsibilities, and government intervention.

Smith, Desvousges, Johnson, & Fisher (1990) reveal how people interpret risk and risk perception with respect to information about radon. Radon is an invisible, tasteless and odorless naturally occurring pollutant that can cause severe health issues when exposed to large quantities over time (US EPA, 2009; UI Healthcare, 2005; Smith, Desvousges, Johnson, & Fisher, 1990). This particular study reviews methods of disseminating information and the context of which the message was presented. These methods were then gauged to understand whether risks perceptions changed over the course of time due to the particular communication pieces.

Additionally, Dutcher, Finley, Luloff & Johnson (2004) focused upon semi-structured interviews to gain a “direct understanding of the study population and hypothesis for testing” (330). The rationale for using qualitative methods authors believe that quantitative methods would not be able to present “contextual details” to truly understand the findings (Carey, as cited by Dutch, Finley, Luloff and Johnson, 2004: 332). In this way, they attempted to build and to conduct the interviews without preconception or hypothesis in order to gain a “discovery” of results or phenomena that may be present. In contrast, Smith, Desvousges, Johnson, & Fisher (1990) study uses quantitative methods to study the differences between types of communication about the risk perceptions of radon.

#### *Data Collection and Analysis*

The data collection of the examples should be characterized by Trochim and Donnelly (2008) as unobtrusive measures of indirect and secondary analysis. As well, qualitative data is considered by Trochim and Donnelly (2008: 253) to be “descriptive non-numerical characteristic” of an event. This assumes that there are variables that can not be accurately measured in quantitative terms, and further, the focus away from preconceived measurements avoids potential induction problems (Sayer, 1992). Yet, quantitative methods can derive and predict behaviors based upon a sample. Using the two types of study we can build a better foundation for studying communication strategies for affecting public opinion (perceptions). As well, by using the two methods together avoids preconception or essentialism, which suggests one can obtain the absolute essence of the subject in question because we realize the inherent limitations of each method (Sayer, 1992).

Dutcher, Finley, Luloff & Johnson (2004) research based upon forty interviews of the landholders of the riparian zones in Pennsylvania in a qualitative study in order to discover attitudes rather than preclude with an assumed idea of those attitudes to measure. The sample consisted of landowners (with and without riparian buffers) that have various land use around the riparian zones (e.g. farming, residence, or woodlot) (Dutcher, Finley, Luloff & Johnson, 2004). A sample of 2300 homeowners (single-family, detached homes) agreed to participate in the Smith, Desvousges, Johnson, & Fisher (1990) study. Here, three radon detectors were placed around the home: one to be tested in two months with the others remaining for a year in the basement and living areas. Interviews were then conducted there as follow ups to the readings, and the interviews were accompanied by information materials that explained the radon risks.

Finally, a questionnaire was mailed after the results of the annual readings were sent to the households to review the effect of the intervention-communication technique applied.

For the qualitative study, each respondent was presented with a series of questions by the interviewer, shown information about water quality issues, and then asked more questions to gain a reaction to the information. The questionnaire was developed as a lenient framework in order to allow for a more subjective focus upon the relationship between the landowner and the riparian buffer concerns as well as issues and descriptive information about the types of property. This quantitative study, in contrast, used information materials and interviews to study the variance between how material was presented (e.g. varied color code levels and action commands) and how the users perceived risk (Smith et al 1990).

The researchers were able to discover unique perspectives about perceptions and effective methods of communication. This study aligns with some of the ideas presented by Stein (2008) that suggest that people are environmentally conscious but only to a degree perhaps of convenience and as well to the realization of risk. There is a distinct feeling of “expressed concern” versus actual behavior that evident in the findings here and correlates with Stein’s assertions of dichotomies of the green movement in general. Further, actual risk may not directly translate perceived risk if the presentation does not use a proper technique.

The qualitative findings suggested that people are willing to point fingers at corporations, government or others without realizing or desiring to change one’s own impact upon the situation. The quantitative findings further this due to generally lower tendency to reduce the actual risk despite the information presented. Given reasons

(aesthetic quality, lack of education, or peer pressure) for the resistance, the each study can generate potential recommendations to future community policies and information techniques for conveying impact or risk that address the concerns by the population. For example, Dutcher, Finley, Luloff & Johnson (2004) observe a general distrust and lack of confidence for outside information or the appearance of “meddling” especially by federal government in sustainable policy suggestions regardless of credentials presented. This may explain a similar resistance or ambivalence to information that may have impacted some of the responses in the radon study.

Variance of what is involved with a single issue, the risks, or the definitions is observed in these studies (Dutch, Finley, Luloff and Johnson, 2004; Smith, Desvousges, Johnson, & Fisher, 1990) The qualitative study showed clear examples where landowners had different ideas of what buffer systems were or the effects of runoff on water quality. There was a clear, definable interest in the reported responses against regulations and support of property rights despite a so-called social interest of having a well functioning riparian forest buffers. There was an emphasis upon tradition, legal paradox, and order especially with respect to those landowners that mowed or farmed right up to the streams because of ordinances for proper lawn care and perceptions of stream management. The study revealed different ideas of how to preserve the buffer zones since some people suggested that local wardens might useful for streams and some suggested to build a “framework” (Dutch, Finley, Luloff and Johnson, 2004: 338) instead of mandatory regulations. While frameworks may allow for flexibly of program application, they also allow people to avoid compliance despite any common good.

The quantitative radon study found that age and education level may impact some of those perceptions where they suggest that people are more concerned with risks as they age or educate and are more concerned when presented with the information at timely intervals that serve as reminders of the issues. This can be augmented with the communications mix advocated by Johnson Tew & Havitz (2002: 3) that asserts using “personal selling, customer service, advertising, promotion, instructional materials ... public relations and sponsorship.” They further suggest that formation of effective “promotional strategies” is important and must provide more than “just information” (Johnson Tew & Havitz, 2002:3). In fact, the radon risk study relied solely upon passive information techniques through distribution of brochures and fact sheets (despite discounting against fact sheets) to communicate the effectiveness of the information to changing risk perception belies the point of effective communication.

Passive information may not help people intrinsically understand the reality or the potential of the issue in relation to the personal situation. As well, passive information may be easily ignored versus more interactive, assertive, or personal means of communication that engage the senses and attention of the respondents (Johnson Tew & Havitz, 2002; Nathan, Joanning, Duckro, & Beal, 1978). The Johnson Tew & Havitz, (2002) own recommendations also realize that brochures should not be the only channel of information for a campaign aimed at changing public perceptions.

There is a clear interest in the buffer study against regulations while in support of property rights despite any social interest of having a well functioning ecosystem around the riparian forest buffers. There is an emphasis upon tradition and order especially with

respect to in-town landowners that mowed lawns right up to the streams because of perceptions and ordinances for proper lawn care and stream management.

Observers of these studies may argue that a narrow qualitative study may not be representative of a whole population that is involved with energy systems. Yet, these fall into line with Baker's (2002) assertion that people's perception of policy will impact the level of change and salience of the issue in national policy. A study that yields these opinions can be further examined in full detail to see if some of the qualitative findings apply to others in other regions. As well, the use and reception of particular communication techniques are important to the ability of an organization to build a message. Using the expressed opinions of the qualitative study as well as findings of the radon study, an organization can build their effective communications strategy to affect public opinion for the issue campaigns towards actual risk perceptions.

These studies appear to showcase how important education and systemic action can be to developing a policy or policy alternative. Likewise, other researchers and policy analyst use review the results here for building a coordinated policy change effort. Given the level of distrust in government echoed by Baker (2002), Wilk (2002) and Dutcher et al (2004), these studies suggest that the federal policy makers as well as the policy organizations (particular special interest groups) will need to gain the trust and confidence of population by emphasizing a shared responsibility towards energy systems while promoting individual efficacy in the issues. Furthermore, McKenzie-Mohr and Smith (2008) suggest that emphasis has to be more than just an economic interest to move people to action.

*Effective Leadership - Collaboration Affect Perceptions toward Common Goals*

As mentioned in the breadth section, leadership that engages the participants and is responsive to the needs of the campaign or organization will be able to have a more successful outcome (Hansen, 2009). That outcome will heavily depend upon managing networks and collaborations in order to win popular support for issues especially radical proposals. Schorr (1997) discusses how using the concept of “common purpose” can dramatically improve the results of organizations as well as to have a long-term view and plan with respect to project success.

This “common purpose” fits well with the transformational and servant leadership styles since they encourage development and motivation of the participants as much as the leadership. Vaughan and Arsneault (2008) analysis of two campaigns furthers the importance of working to build a message to change the policy image through symbols and presentation of causal factors. They realize that groups may face economic interests in their respective policy areas (as is the case for energy industry and utilities). Further, discussions in Agranoff (2004), and Snyder and de Souza Briggs (2003) describe how a campaign’s mission objectives (e.g. sustainable energy, wind power, conservation, smart grid) can be achieved using networks with strength and weakness critical analysis of the partnerships in addition to building the issue rhetoric. Each of the authors describe effective messages and collaborations between organizations to address their issue campaigns as public interest rather than special interest in order to leverage public opinion and power elite structures to advance agendas.

While Schorr and Vaughan & Arsneault (2008) focus upon grassroots coordinated efforts and messages with respect to poverty and child protection issues, the papers can

help to emphasize successful tactics used towards successful campaigns. The common themes include education, honing the message as a public interest, leveraging networks and governance. This section discusses these themes as they were presented and what they suggest to development of an issue campaign energy sustainability and conservation.

*Planning- Leading a Change Campaign across Networks & Sectors*

An organization does not always have to do everything alone (nor should) in order to succeed with the campaign mission (Schorr, 1997; Agranoff, 2003; Vaughan & Arsneault, 2008). Schorr (1997: 363) suggest that “successful initiatives draw extensively on outside resources...” and then argues that leadership has to be involved with the process as part of developing and leveraging some of those networks. Given the principles of running single organization require planning, organizing, human resources, delegating, reporting and budgeting where public managers have an increasing need to work across organizations and sectors to accomplish tasks and issue goals that expand these basic functions (Agranoff, 2003: 62).

Successful campaigns have realized the dynamics of power structures (locally and nationally), education, media coverage, affect of public opinion cycles, and the dynamics of effective leadership approaches across various social structures between the organizations. Of the types of networks, coalitions (or a national organization) can tap into the various networks (especially local or regional networks) as an action network that works towards more successful and incremental implementation of policy reform engaging the power elite while educating the public opinion on several tiers of the risk and issues (Leiter, 2008).

With coalitions and networks, campaign leadership has an additional task load required to support the networks or to engage the network resources (especially with respect to broad and national policy reform goals like sustainable energy policy). The campaign leaders will have to remember that other decision makers in the network also have organizational responsibilities and duties where planning and implementation requires coordination of those assets and resources without negative impact upon them. Their issues and pressures (e.g. budget, funding or staffing) are common across organizations and leaders as previously noted by Agranoff (2003). Certain foundations, as suggested by Domhoff (2002) and Carnegie (1889), may impose restrictions of action upon an organization's ability to act. Yet, beneficial partnerships occur when there is normal exercise of the network as well as a sense of reciprocity for labors among the various participants (Schorr, 1997; Agranoff, 2003). Legitimacy of common issues as well as the partnerships will have to be promoted in order to yield support for the primary initiative or any initiative (Wallner, 2008).

Trust and action are mutually binding within these collaborations as is with supported politicians in the decision-maker areas. Without faith in abilities or willingness to conduct a full campaign, the network degrades to a supply chain of organization and vendors where members become disillusioned with the process and the network. In this respect, networks should observe the guidelines suggested by Agranoff (2003). These guidelines enumerate how to represent the campaign, to have a plan, as well as how to delegate responsibilities, patience, and recognition. This recommendation parallels sentiments from Carnegie's guidelines about philanthropy where gifts can help the community, but philanthropists should not help community organizations that do not

have a plan to further the community good. Networks can provide opportunities for specialization towards achieving a public good and expansion of the public good to other communities (Carnegie, 1889).

Thus, a coalition of organizations with an interest in sustainable energy can form among organizations that encourage weatherization, wind power, solar advocates, responsible land use and conservationists. Each partner has a specialization that can be included in the whole effort. As we see with the American Clean Energy and Security Act of 2009, the list of supporters is a broad sample of the public and private sectors working seemingly independent of each other. With a coordinated message and campaign, they may have a better chance of success at effective legislation since some of the supporters include corporate elite companies and utilities (e.g. Duke Energy, GE, John Deere and Exelon) as well as special interest groups (e.g. Center for American Progress and United Methodist Church). Using GE's media channels, a coordinated effort have a communications network with the public if they choose to use this.

Yet, dependency upon specific relations can doom a campaign and network. Snyder and de Souza Briggs (2003) suggest that some of the program suffered setbacks due to inability to recreate models that depended upon personal relations or specific community supporters (some elite influence affects). Wallner (2008) argued that some campaigns like health care efforts fail due to performance shortfalls and inefficiency as well as improper dependencies. Therefore, servant leadership styles may be most useful in order to build relationships with other strong willed leaders and gain subsequent campaign success.

Thus, the stewardship of campaigns requires engaging leadership that works strategically, efficiently, consistently and that appreciates the possibilities within the collaboration (e.g. expansion of support, leaders, liaisons, logistics, and infrastructure) while continuing to educate the public about the issues as a public interest. Yet, those relationships are restricted to the trust and reciprocity within the networks that is expected from each network participant. This also coincides with Schorr (1997) statement about keeping duplication models independent of personalities and interaction requirements. Thus, the impact of a dependency upon wavering power elite support to succeed can be minimized. The campaign and relationships should focus upon incremental successes that provide a roadmap for overall reform rather than massive changes that may shock the public (Hansen, 2009). In order to change completely, massive reform, as is with sustainable energy policy, would require a serious and unquestionable crisis or a sustained strategy that uses active people with networks to build messages and change public opinion that compels new strategies to deploy. The sustained strategy offers the ability to plan where crisis may leaves few choices.

### *Community and Participatory Government*

To affect change in a positive manner for the community, we have to educate the public, we have to involve the public and we have to promote active participatory governance rather than wait for good government to simply happen (Baker, 2002). Snyder and de Souza Briggs (2003: 239) identify a need for “philosophical commitment to participatory government” (Mills might refer to this as the “public”). They suggest that a so-called community of practice becomes more difficult as more collaboration, communication, ideas and practices develop due to the increasing ability to make

mistakes and conflicts. Despite any growing difficulty, cultivation of the public to affect public policy across diverse organizations can be mutually beneficial, if planned and lead effectively, because more people are engaged in democratic processes that favor more government accountability and obligate the elite to support the actions (Schorr, 1997). As well, leadership rooted in ethics, and values will be received by the public in more honorable and willing reception.

Distancing of the public from the issue and lack of education has resulted in either failed policy initiatives like the Clinton's health care reform, perpetuation of resource exploitation (rather than expansion of renewable energy) under Carter, or complicated privatization of Medicare Part D during George W. Bush (Wallner, 2008; Domhoff, 2002; Hansen, 2009). Therefore, the collaborative efforts within and around campaigns can greatly increase the successful chances of reform if pursued in a methodical, efficient and respectable manner to all participants while engaging the public interest.

### Depth Discussion

Given the basic elements of change (e.g. power, public and leadership), the task for any significant campaign is to use those elements together to create or to build a change environment. Culture affects perceptions as much as personal efficacy towards an issue. Policy entrepreneurs, as termed by Wallner (2008), have to build a strategy that goes deep into personal and cultural perceptions of issues in order to build an effective method and messages. The message will help leadership engage other sectors and collaborative arrangements due to a common goal in a mutual or public interest.

American Clean Energy Act of 2009 represents, in theory, some of the ambitious goals since there is a heavy emphasis upon encouraging renewable energy and putting a

market value upon emissions. If this is going to cost money or change lifestyles for people, proponents will need to invest in raising public opinion to get the bill passed.

According to Morin (2009), a majority of the middle class is feeling satisfied with their current lifestyle and may be initially resistant to change without the proper motivation. The middle class is also the largest segment of the population and can sway the support and eventual policy options that get considered if enough are active in the process. Through education and incremental development, the middle classes can be a significant source of public opinion as well as any real conservation effort.

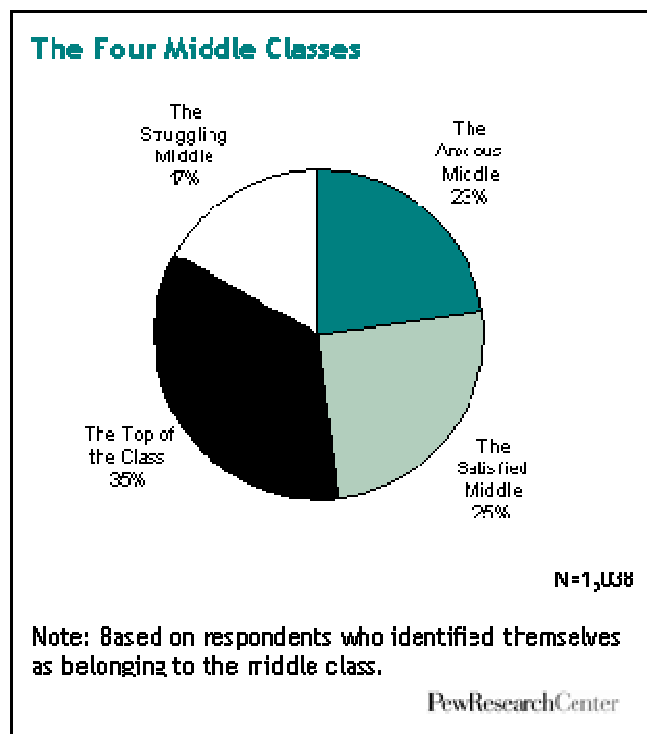


Figure 3: Diagram of Middle Class (Morin, 2009)

Wilk (2002) and Baker (2002) make a significant point about how and what people perceive as needs has evolved over the decades where once luxuries are considered to be necessities. Their assertions are substantiated by another Morin &

Taylor (2009) study that observed changes in perceived necessities are generational as well as the whole society in general. They further suggest that people with larger incomes will have a broader definition of necessities than those with lower income households. Given the timing of the study as prior to and after the financial collapses in 2007 and high unemployment that ensued, one might ask if the recession altered these perceptions. This materialism and rise in consumption, as whole, is a critical part of the energy issues that have to be addressed (whether painful or not) as noted by Baker (2002) and Wilk (2002).

The cultural aspects here and the need to gain public opinion support for the policy alternative requires that the leadership of organizations and the political officials are willing to 1) educate the public, 2) engage the public, and 3) take action even if that may appear to shirk public opinion when necessary to achieve the long term public interest rather than the short term narrow interests. The leadership will have to leverage networks, work communications, and build a consistent message that addresses some intimate needs of the public rather than rely simply upon economic interests since eventual economic interests may not influence people to move without an actual crisis. Further, leadership by organizations will greatly increase the risks as one moves issues from an isolated region to national attention where stronger and larger interests can impact the success of the campaign. That message will have to resonate with different middle class needs and lifestyles.

### Depth Conclusion

In the breadth section, three specific obstacles should be considered with respect to changing public policy: power elites, public opinion, and effective leadership. These elements affect public and individual perception, culture, and possible cooperative

arrangements as well as an understanding of the population attributes. Those elements require an organization to have effective strategy that is flexible and considers various contingencies (especially with respect to national level policy change). Effective leadership will align strategic support in various sectors of the population to gain public support and find power elites that can help perpetuate (and raise the salience for) the public interest in the issue.

Public perception and individual perception of issues is as much a cultural aspect as how one feels connected to the issue. A qualitative study about riparian buffer zones shows that people with direct interest in changing may not realize their own impact upon the issue and may actually reject that idea in favor of placing blame upon a bigger entity (corporate elites, government, or agricultural interests) (Dutcher et al, 2004). Some may not realize or understand the actual risks involved with the issues, and some will not trust outside sources or power influences. Essentially, public perception can not be expected to change quickly, but through a sense of urgency and incremental efforts that allow for adjustment and realization of the issues, perceptions can be changed.

With respect to energy issues, however, the United States is in an awkward position if the supply is indeed going to become severely scarce or depleted within next 30 to 50 years (Baker, 2002). Public perception needs to change to a sense of urgency in order to avoid a potential eventual cataclysmic destruction of the economy and society rather than an ignorance of the real issues. Katrina, oil crises, and the Iraqi wars have provided instances where people lifted the blinds of cultural norms for the real situation that demands attention since vulnerabilities were revealed in those stark examples. Yet, there are institutions and economic interests (domestic and foreign) that are invested or

sunk costs in the current way of things, and there are intricate networks to help push a message that supports a status quo policy despite the actual risk of depletion (Domhoff, 2002; Baker, 2002).

The challenge for good leadership is to find economic interests that can directly compete against status quo pursuits. The information provided by the Morin reports can give the campaign an idea of population layers that will impact the long-term objectives of sustainability. Doing this requires a strategic plan that engages networks across sectors and regions as well as effective leadership that can transcend community and social strata in order to bring real sustainable energy policy into the American Clean Energy and Security Act of 2009 as a strong public interest before actual scarcity is the driver of price rather than an undemocratic cartel that are more interested in padding foreign treasuries than American interests.

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Recommended Strategy for Effecting Positive Public Perception of Sustainable Energy:

Application Component for KAM6

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SBSF 8632: Professional Practice and Application of a Theory of Leadership and

Organizational Change: KAM VI

Mentor: Richard Worch

24 August 2009

### Application Abstract

The strategy for changing public perceptions via effective leadership is founded in the principles of power, public opinion, and effective leadership. Further, organizational efforts must understand the culture and common perceptions of issues, power, and leadership in order to effectively build a campaign (especially for a national campaign for sustainable energy). In the demonstration here, a local market can provide valuable information about how to proceed with building a national coalition for sustainable behaviors. The debates surrounding the energy initiatives (e.g. American Clean Energy Act of 2009) are founded in fundamental resistance to change. People get that the current system is weighted toward the energy companies (especially oil), but people are willing to tolerate business as usual. Meanwhile, we have supported dictatorships, seen rising costs, dwindling supply, aging technology, and other countries have built cutting edge technologies and engaged their populations in sustainable behaviors. The problem with doing nothing substantially different than we are doing today is highly risky considering inevitable depletion will dramatically reverse any sense of affluence.

The energy industry is multifaceted and has made money on the current policies and monopoly structure, and that power elite will resist changing the current profit formula. If we continue to allow public opinion to be swayed by the profit motivated arguments of the status quo, we will continue to have aging infrastructure, reduction of available resources, a missed opportunity, and severe reduced ability to pay for future changes. As well, we easily forget our own participation in the processes.

The proposal here is to build a campaign to make meaningful change and legislation instead of relying upon a belief that the private sector will find the cure to

what ails the system. Today, we are importing over 70% of the oil we use thanks to status quo perceptions (Hansen, 2009; DOE, 2009; Pickens, 2008). The imports contribute to our huge trade and federal budget deficits (due to the subsidies and government support for the consumption and market structure). Thus, the premise that the private sector will find a way is misguided at best. We need a new direction instead of ignoring the real issues or of ignoring the hard sacrifices required. Yet, there is a chance for us to profit in new ways that are mutually beneficial to the companies and the population if we move beyond consumption trends and blind feelings of affluence.

The saying, “kicking the can down the road” is appropriate, and the people that can make the change are you and me. One can not expect future generations to pick up the can (do the work) if that have only been examples of how to “kick the can more” (avoid the real issue). We know what needs to be done and we know the transition may not be easy. Yet, we can not continue to push the issues to future generations or we will lose a great opportunity to invest in a bountiful future.

When we push the burden towards future generations, we miss the opportunity to be inventive and innovative in this generation. At the same time, we hand our global competitors the crown of technological prowess. Today, we can calculate what the costs are and provide a plan for them. Today, we can creatively build technologies and processes that the rest of the world will need.

In the future, if we do not change our habits and perceptions today, those cost structures will not be flexible and the technology may no longer be ours to design. Further, procrastination and scarcity will force unpopular decisions against our economic security and our present affluence since foreign powers are competing for the same

dwindling supply. We will be forced into abrupt changes and drastic costs (more than the oil crises of 1970s or prices in 2008) regardless of our means to address them at the time.

The energy issues are not new today, but with leadership and collaborative effort, we can change social perceptions and public policy because we are running out of time to get sustainable energy and to reduce risky dependence upon foreign resources. Absent of alternatives when the oil supply depletes, the today's mobile economies will slow to a virtual crawl with slower transportation (along with a severe depression) (Hansen, 2009). Thus, we must persuade the public, gain power elite support, and foster sustainable behaviors within the community while persuading legislators to seek sustainable energy policy rather than focus upon exploiting the dwindling limited supplies.

We can not continue to ignore the facts unless we plan to fail, and we simply can not afford to miss this opportunity to do something great for our future. We have to change the cultural habits and consumption trends through a sustained effort that uses local people and local examples that people can relate. Then we can gain power elite support and persuade legislators to pass real sustainable energy policy that encourages innovation, encourages conservation, and secures our economic future as well as lifestyles. Individually, we can review our own habits and see what we can do to consume less and be more productive with what we have. For example, we can get energy audits for our homes, drive less aggressively, and unplug unused devices. The status quo, however, is a path to great failure, but we can plan now and change now to build technology and techniques that propel economic growth and sustainable energy.

SBSF 8632: Professional Practice and Application of a Theory of Leadership and  
Organizational Change: KAM VI

Application: Strategic Plans to Create Effective Change in Public Perceptions

The strategy for changing public perceptions via effective leadership and cultural understanding is founded in the principles of power, public opinion, and effective leadership. Further, organizational efforts must understand the culture and common perceptions of issues, power, and leadership in order to effectively build a campaign that addresses concerns (especially for a national campaign for sustainable energy). These are fundamental to planning for contingency and working across networks or sectors.

This application demonstration will review these principles as part of a proposed strategy for organizing and gaining public support for legislation that features sustainable energy policies. The primary needs of an effective campaign are to communicate a strategy, to educate the public, to work with local organizations to build coalitions, and to invoke persistent as well as diligent leadership (inside and outside of the organization). Thus, the plan for this strategic plan is to consider how a small local organization can move public policy through national political realms.

Even in a time of extreme competition or emergency, panic, belligerence, and impatience can destroy efforts to have an effective campaign that requires considerable thought and involvement by various sectors of the society. There is a quip that says that a stiff tree is easy to break while a drooping willow tree is able to survive the strongest storms. Similarly, one can not negotiate terms with other entities if one is not willing to negotiate or collaborate, but one can perpetuate another's goal. This can work to the community benefit where a true collaboration realizes how each other is working towards

mutual benefit. One can work to build a message through familiar channels in the network rather than through isolated and inert bureaucratic institutions.

Therefore, the effective leadership that seeks to change public policy must be willing to assist other in achieving their goals and their progress. Given the theories of power, public opinion, and leadership as well as an understanding of culture and the dynamics of collaborations, an organization will be able to build the effective strategy towards public policy change.

Thus, the program strategy here is to focus upon education, to work with local entities that have established networks, and to build effective leadership. By engaging activist networks, the campaign can test messages and suggestions to people that are already engaged in public discussions. Those active people will have other active associations that can help move the sustainable behavior messages as more endorse and accept the campaign. Thus the campaign will be able to reach other communities quicker. Through education by example, motivation behaviors, and mutual management training, the campaign will be able to move forward with sustainability energy practices, policies, and ethics that hope to change public policy as well as cultural materialism.

#### *Education – building the Groundwork*

If there is a power elite and mass media/society as described by Domhoff (2002) and Mills (1958), one has to consider the options of working against current mainstream opinions and powers. This will require organizers to build effective campaigns that have long term goals rather than short-term objectives with lapses in service. The effective leadership that works to enable others appears to be regarded as the more effective approach to building an effective campaign. Further, public opinion can be affected in

multiple ways, rather than just through elites and mass media. Effective leadership has to understand why someone would vote (or hold opinions) that are seemingly direct opposition to actual needs or risks (Frank, 2002; Lakoff, 2004; Dutcher et al, 2004).

Each of the authors in the Manza, Lomax-Cook & Page (2002) as well as Schorr (1997), Baker (2002), Wallner (2008), and Dutcher et al (2004) have realized that education is the primary tool and most effective tool for gaining public support. The objective then is not simply to educate people but to garner support and perhaps an active base from which pressure can be applied. If one were to target education to the most effective population, the ripple effect of education is an actively supporting population. Thus the strategy is to focus upon education in terms of the actual issues but also how people can use the information.

Given the skepticism of foreign information, mass media and federal government emphasized by Dutcher, Finley, Luloff & Johnson (2004), we have to target education towards recognizable local figures to bring the messages to their respective local areas. Thus, the proposal is to build a program that first educates the local activists and organization leaders in order for them to educate the population. This is intrinsically a collaborative effort since the attempt is to educate organizational leaders.

This program will not just teach about energy issues, but about effective leadership and efficient sustainable operations as a way of business and personal lifestyle (e.g. conservation techniques). This will hopefully yield the perspective of mutual growth among the leadership attendance in the program. From here and the information gained from the local program, the program can be expanded to other localities by

leveraging the networks of the leadership in attendance of the original program, and the program will evolve into a series of conferences.

The education will focus upon three specific areas:

- 1) Personal responsibilities and teaching by example
- 2) Motivating principles of energy conservation and strategic development of goals
- 3) Financial planning, profit and resource management

As Wilk (2002) and Baker (2002) point out, consumerism and consumption are patterns developed by a cultural behavior and expectation and that culture that perpetuates to teach that behavior to future generations. Further, we know from Dutcher et al (2004), Smith, Desvousges, Johnson, & Fisher (1990) and Johnson-Tew and Havitz (2002) that people have different perspectives of risk, of personal involvement in the issues, and of how information is presented. The frame of the issue is important to people's perception of the issue. Additionally, the presentation can not solely focus upon economics alone for success (McKenzie-Mohr & Smith, 2008), and therefore, we must motivate with an interest in economics but more broad interests to the individuals.

#### *Fostering Social Change Locally – a Message Campaign*

Cultural perception of policy and mutual needs define the framework for the current campaigns. The objective of the organizer is to frame the issue in particular terms even among like-minded people due to the mass society and mass media myths that have become mainstream beliefs. Essentially, the sustainable energy alternatives proposals must invoke parameters of environmental issues (since many energy issues involve environmental issues (Wilk, 2002)), economic scarcity, and personal responsibility

towards the issues. This reframing of issue requires knowledge of the audience and coordinated effort that recognizes effective progress among participants in the campaign. The theme of the social change (driving sustainable energy) campaign is that success grows when more people buy into the program or the message of the campaign.

Lakoff (2004) provides avenues for people to consider how to frame a message in public discourse. While his work is clearly partisan work, the relative nature of message framing is appropriate in the context of energy policy debate where several entities and elites have attempted to shape the debate or change the dynamics of the environment around the debate. By understanding how an issue is presented, leadership can reduce barriers and open audiences.

His belief is that simply arguing the current argument is defeating one's own point since one has fundamentally accepted the "frame" of the issue presented regardless of the strength of one's position. Instead, the objective is to reframe the issue into contexts that attract different emotions. The frame must avoid argumentative or logical traps of a particular frame to be persuasive in hostile audiences. Using images and words in specific and strategic manner can provoke a series of thought based upon a presumed understanding of an issue. An example, in terms of sustainable energy, is that opponents might argue that moving to renewable energy sources is more expensive. Yet that invokes a frame of current budgets and current technology without consideration of what is behind the costs and does not address the issue of scarcity. If we reject the frame and then reframe the issue what is left for children, the cost equation changes considerably since there is an inevitable dwindling supply that will affect price regardless of efforts to exploit more regions of the planet. As well, we can reframe the issue in terms that

current policy has made our energy supply more vulnerable to foreign influence that can jeopardize any cost containment efforts by the utilities. This also begs the cost of supporting foreign regimes to support our exploitation of resources.

Lakoff (2004) strongly recommends against negative language that perpetuates a blame game since such language only stirs conflict rather than resolves the issue. Thus the campaign has to teach organizers to use effective methods of communication that speak positively and affirms positivism in people rather than demoralizing, angering, or accusing since that invokes notions of self survival and retribution response by opposing sides. Such repudiation can be contrary to a hopeful campaign that seeks to gain popular support for necessary work and positive attitudes.

*Fostering Social Change Locally – a locally based National Campaign*

McKenzie-Mohr & Smith (2008) write that an effective program has to understand constraints of the participants. This follows the suggestions from Schorr, (1997), Hansen, (2009), and Agranoff (2003) where recognition that people have other commitments and constraints in the form of resistant staff, time constraints, beliefs in barriers, as well as financial constraints (in addition to those requested by the campaign). Therefore, the campaign should attempt to resolve these potential resistance barriers through mutual benefits to the campaign and the participants. There will always be someone who is not willing to participate for any reason, but this process will resolve many initial barriers (excuses) that people may exhibit in response to the proposed campaign which will help to gain more participants.

For an effective campaign, deeds are definitive of the process more than words and consistency of effort, message, and organization is vital (McKenzie-Mohr & Smith,

2008). They suggest that campaigns are most successful with use of commitments to goals and cite a statistic of 3 of 4 programs using commitments are “successful” ventures. Therefore, the suggestion is to promote as much commitment in the campaign as possible. Through recognition of individual contributions, efforts, elite actions, organizational efforts, or neighborhood awards, commitment can be reinforced in a positive way towards the campaign needs. The program that recognizes elite action can help to persuade other elites to support the campaign. A program that focuses upon organizational leadership as the focus of training (as proposed here) can also recognize the networks involved with the effort behind the organization. Use of that recognition will further promotion of more commitments to the campaign (McKenzie-Mohr and Smith, 2008).

Commitments, by themselves, are meaningless without some intervention or meaningful action that measures or even symbolically requires something from the participant. McKenzie-Mohr and Smith (2008) recommend to get written commitments and to get participants to get others to commit. Gaining written commitments to goals can help people visualize the needs and responsibilities. As noted by Dutcher et al (2004), efforts by local people and neighbors will resonant more with others because of relatively of community rather than leveraging a distinctly unrelated influence that not acclimated to the community. Thus, using the local resources and leadership can be useful for gaining popular support within the community.

Like Lakoff, McKenzie-Mohr and Smith (2008) suggest using prompts and simple messages rather than long winded or complicate dialogue that can dilute the real risks and attention of participants as well as the community. In this respect, keeping

messages simple will help push the same message across networks and communities. More complicated messages will be refused due to lack of time and interest to pursue the meaning or worse the message may be so complicated that the receiver is actually insulted. This follows the work presented by Johnson Tew and Havitz (2002) that suggest the format and message contents can affect the risk perception by the individual.

### *Motivating Change and Knowing the Audience*

Social norms will not change overnight even with some crisis (except for extreme events). As noted by Baker (2002), people will gravitate towards habits and behaviors that they enjoyed prior to the crisis. Using, the recognition of block and precinct leaders can positively affect attitudes and success of the program to show people how much better they are doing and how successful the efforts are.

Thus, motivation begins with persuasion and capturing the audience. The local person (organization leaders as campaign participants) can provide some credibility to the campaign and help to persuade people towards the goals. Capturing the attention of the audience may require astute facts that address specific and personal concerns of the participants such as loss of lifestyle and property value if the status quo continues unabated.

This is where Lakoff's arguments and McKenzie-Mohr and Smith agree most because capturing the audience attention requires that one knows the audience. The local organization leader has already investigated the needs and wants of the community or the audience where the campaign can also address those concerns in presentation of the issues, message, and the programs. For example, if people in Kansas City do not care

about an Iowa program, the campaign can build upon what people in Kansas City want and need that the program in Iowa was able to deliver. Arguing in that frame rather than simply suggesting the program, as a whole, worked in Iowa will gain more support in Kansas City. This makes the program and successes relative to the interest and needs of the community. This is an example of framing the message in terms of the local audience that helps to foster creativity and interest in the campaign.

McKenzie-Mohr and Smith agree with Lakoff to avoid fearful, exploitive, or threatening messages. These kinds of messages can have a negative impact upon the campaign and may cause people to do unpredictable actions in so-called name of the cause. Thus the poor action or judgment by people, acting on behalf of the so-called movement, will bring negative reaction and community view to the campaign. This requires a campaign commitment to a community good, respect for people, ethical conduct, transparency, and accountability.

Thus, the campaign may endeavor to follow the path of least resistance to the issue resolution, and the path of least resistance means to keep things simple as well and cordial to the various interests. Especially with a national program, messages should be tested against populations to better ensure that the received idea is the campaign-envisioned idea. The campaigns that emphasize potential loss (e.g. lifestyle, freedoms, or budget) may be more effective according to McKenzie-Mohr and Smith (2008).

Effective messages from the various sources here suggest promoting “win-win” scenarios that transcend political lines, communities, or activism (Schorr, 1997; Agranoff, 2003; McKenzie-Mohr and Smith, 2008; Lakoff, 2004). In terms of energy policy, the message must engage and reframe the opposing viewpoint into scarcity terms

as well as significant risk to luxuries and enjoyment of life. We know from the limited quantities (especially of petroleum) that scarcity is inevitable, and thus, sustainability argument must invoke a sense of urgency and commitment to changing habits in order to mitigate against an inevitable supply depletion.

As part of knowing your audience, one should understand the relative needs and interests of the generation and the differing viewpoints of economic classes (Morin, 2009; Doak, 2009). In the Des Moines Register, Doak (2009) comments that the generation gap of interests has to be considered with respect to arguments. The participation by a particular generation (specifically younger generations) in elections will impact whether legislation may move or not. As well, each individual electoral district will exhibit different levels of engagement from the different generations due to variance in efficacy, education, and affluence.

The level of message will have to work to engage the younger audience or community in terms of income inequality and financial concern that will go farther in message continuity than echoing concerns of socialism, marriage or so-called market freedom (Doak, 2009). To invoke the Baby Boomer generation's interest in religious activity, a message could align with John F Kennedy's (1961) address "that God's work here on Earth must truly be our own." Kennedy's message suggests faith alone will not solve the problems, reduce one's trash, or raise incomes, but the work must start from the individual. These examples are possible and critical to reframing the debate and to address the consumption culture issues as well as the individual efficacy (Wilk, 2002; Baker, 2002; Dutcher et al 2004).

The message will resonate from within the community when there is someone there willing to perpetuate the message. McKenzie-Mohr and Smith argue that people will ignore mass media in favor of the personal contact because of an intrinsic faith in one's neighbors and friends. Thus, we return to the importance of educating local leadership in terms of the sustainable issues so that they can provide the message to people.

*Campaigns for Sustainable Energy must be Examples of sustainable Budgets*

Campaigns and organizations require sound financial processes. There is nothing more detrimental to a campaign than inefficient fund raising and treasury management. This is a fact iterated by the nonprofit center at the University of Iowa that says "no funding, no program" (2009: 16) because funding is critical to the work and campaign. Thus, funding and grant solicitation require plans and knowledge of strong fiscal practice (Carnegie, 1889; Kaufman Foundation, 2009). As well, joint ventures with other sectors, organizations and entities will not want to be associated with poor financial structures as such a relation can impact their own efforts to gain funding or resources.

The large consideration with this part of this proposed collaboration is to teach each other how to be more efficient and cost-controlling rather than blind consumption and expansion (as a feature of sustainability). This will be a mutual benefit to soliciting assistance between organization leaders, and the knowledge will help to build a more productive community that as well fosters sustainable energy goals.

To view the organization mission in terms of financial capability will help to solidify positions with lenders, other organizations and philanthropy (Carnegie, 1889). The financial analysis of one's own organization may reveal where inefficiency exists

and where corrections need to be made in order to be a sustainable campaign. Thus, the campaign grant opportunities or joint ventures with other organizations have to build a strategy for those variables by performing a due diligence check. This is a mutual need for organizations (profit and non-profit) where the organization has to review these important parts.

- 1) how much money does the campaign need
- 2) where or how does the organization obtain the funds
- 3) responsibilities and requirements sought by the venture or grant
- 4) cost to implement supporting elements
- 5) benefit or problems from association(s)
- 6) division of labor

Teaching to ask the right questions here can help organizations to become sustainable in their participation in the campaign. We must consider the “need” in order to present any proposal to a grant or venture. This campaign will need to show with reasonable accuracy the amounts sought and as well were supplemental funds are planned. The budgeting and forecasting will be important because one does not want to ask for \$7000 when \$70,000 is needed. Otherwise objectives may be underfunded.

Responsibilities and requirements (Kauffman Foundation (2008) calls this “Funding Guidelines” or Ben and Jerry’s (2008) “Funding Priorities”). Our requests have to show that we have and are willing to maintain a vision that is in concert with these guidelines as well as prudence towards the needs and wants (University of Iowa, 2009). Furthermore, the campaign has to pay attention to what the Foundation will not fund and make sure specific requests are within the guidelines. Thus, any planned

financial incentive for promoting the sustainable goals has to seriously consider the source of the funds, ensure the budgeted funds are going to proper use and in compliance with regulations (Reed & Swain, 1997).

Part of this aspect then is to combine the education and financial objectives. A strategy for gaining funds and providing education at the same time is to hold regular “sustainable” fundraising dinners or “recyclable brown bag” lunches that have corresponding lectures about topics. The organizational leaders, as campaign participants, can meet during these dinners and network with each other to discuss how progress is moving. Additionally, dinners and thought provoking lectures will help people feel like they are getting value for their money and time as well as being intimately involved with the campaign, the mission and the goals. They can also see fellowship and community interest in the mission when attending these dinners as happens with many faith-based organizations that use large dinners and festivals as fundraisers.

#### Application Discussion

Given the basic elements of change, a campaign has to plan to make the most effective use of time and money. The proposal here is to build a program campaign that engages local organizational leaders as the core framework for obtaining the principle mission of gaining public support for sustainable energy policy. By engaging this population, we are building a collaborative network of activists that have experience with their own campaigns and public interests.

This will help to foster an active base from which future expansion can be modeled. The collaborations will help organizations to understand impacts and individual perceptions of energy consumption. The education will provide the

organizations, involved in the campaign, useful educational opportunities and networking opportunities about sustainable practices including models (e.g. conservation, reduction of costs through reduction of consumption).

The leadership of the campaign has to be a model of sustainable behaviors and effective change. The perception of the leadership must be founded in personal responsibility to the tasks, one's own consumption, and one's use of resources. From here, the campaign will leverage and build the collaborative network to utilize their corresponding strengths and capabilities in the campaign to become models for others. By recognizing community service and capability, there will be a mutual benefit of the campaign and the partner organizations to promote the educational and motivational opportunities sought by the campaign goals (sustainable energy and behavior support).

Using the techniques for motivation and recognition, we can build a network of volunteers throughout neighborhoods to wield neighborly influence to support conservation programs and sustainable behaviors. This will help to reduce potential resistance to information and ideas presented when local people are in front of the issues.

The coordinated efforts will build a message that is simple and easy to translate rather than requiring a specific type of intervention to occur.

The campaign will have to be mindful of manipulative efforts or unethical behaviors that may distort mission parameters and program objectives. The model will be grounded in expectations of ethical practice and accountability. Thus, the campaign will have to continuously survey for feedback and attitudes. If an effort appears to be malicious or appears as less than genuine intent, the campaign will have to take measures to minimize that affect before the affect becomes a major obstacle to the campaign.

Some of this will be avoided through the servant leadership style that gets people involved at the grassroots level where transparency will become synonymous with visibility and accessibility rather than being isolated in an office environment, as well as the campaign's continuous insistence upon ethics, accountability and responsible model leadership.

In addition, the part of the program that attempts to instruct NGOs about budgeting will shy away from direct financial advice and direct financial involvement in partner organizations transactions except for awards and minor financial incentives that reward the sustainable energy behavior models. This will avoid favoritism and provide a level of isolation for the processes with less intrusion in the financial affairs of participating organizations on the part of the campaign. The minimal involvement will help the campaign be clear of financial requirements or risky entanglements.

As well, the campaign will focus upon white listing of positive power elites instead maintaining a "blacklist" that may reinforce a sense of negativity within the campaign. The campaign will have to be conscious of the opposing viewpoints and will have to be prepared to counter arguments clearly, distinctly and relatively to the audience where the argument is presented. This will provide a needed sense of consistency and preparedness to meet the demands of the public through positive and hopeful outlook (McKenzie-Mohr & Smith, 2008). As well, opponents to sustainable energy have reasonable concerns that should be answered, but the questions should be addressed in the frame of sustainable and long-term objectives.

For example, the American Clean Energy Act of 2009 is listed with the proponents of the bill. These entities can provide options, funding, networks and labor to

use for projecting the campaign goals here into national markets once the initial program is running and appears successful in the local markets. Cost savings and individual connections to the campaign goals will drive more people to the campaign and garner the attention (as well as support) of more elites that may not have a current opinion, or may not be aware, of the issues. Correspondingly, the salience of the issue will rise where the public will begin to demand a more robust legislative policy for sustainable energy.

Focusing the message upon what people have today and what people may lose in the future will need to provide the relatable examples that will garner support even among more affluent people that may feel removed, ambivalent or isolated from the risks. Gaining middle class support and youth support will be crucial to keeping the campaign moving in the future. Thus, using Doak and Morin analysis will help design initial stages of the campaign. Otherwise, relying solely upon the current public opinion and power structure will bring the campaign possible delusions of what people want and need when those entities change. As well, by gaining support from these demographics, we can gain a wider population that is engaged in education, conservation and sustainable behaviors (as well as voting interests).

#### Application Conclusion

In the proposal here, a local market can provide valuable information about how to proceed with building a national coalition for sustainable behaviors. The debates surrounding the energy initiatives (e.g. American Clean Energy Act of 2009) are founded in fundamental resistance to change. Many people understand that the current system is weighted toward elites and the energy companies (especially oil), but people are willing to tolerate business as usual. Meanwhile, we have supported dictatorships, seen rising

costs, dwindling supply, aging technology, and other countries have built cutting edge technologies and engaged their populations in sustainable behaviors. The problem with doing nothing substantially different than we are doing today is highly risky considering inevitable depletion will dramatically reverse any sense of affluence.

The energy industry is multifaceted and has profited upon on the current policies and monopoly structure, and that part of the power elite will resist changing the current profit formula. If we continue to allow public opinion to be swayed by the profit motivated arguments of the status quo, we will continue to have aging infrastructure, reduction of available resources, a missed opportunity, and severe reduced ability to pay for future changes. As well, we easily forget our own participation in the processes.

The proposal here is to build a campaign to make meaningful change and legislation through individual attitudes and behaviors instead of relying upon a belief that the private sector will find the cure to what ails the system. Today, we are importing over 70% of the oil we use thanks to status quo perceptions (Hansen, 2009; DOE, 2009; Pickens, 2008). The imports contribute to our huge trade and federal budget deficits (due to the subsidies and government support for the consumption and market structure). Thus, the premise that the private sector will find a way is misguided at best. We need a new direction instead of ignoring the real issues or of ignoring the hard sacrifices required. There is a chance for us to profit in new ways that are mutually beneficial to the companies and the population if we move beyond consumption trends and blind feelings of affluence.

“Kicking the can down the road” is not a good strategy to continue, and the people that can make the change are you and me. One can not expect future generations

to pick up the can (do the work) if there have only been examples of how to “kick the can more” (avoid the real issue). We know what needs to be done and we know the transition may not be easy. Yet, we can not continue to push the issues to future generations or we will lose a great opportunity to invest in a bountiful future.

When we push the burden towards future generations, we miss the opportunity to be inventive and innovative in this generation. At the same time, we hand our global competitors the crown of technological prowess. Today, we can calculate what the costs are and provide a plan for them. Today, we can creatively build technologies and processes that the rest of the world will need. Today we can foster sustainable behaviors and culture through active communities that will compel elites to support the effort.

In the future, if we do not change our habits and perceptions today, those cost structures will not be flexible and the technology may no longer be ours to design. Further, procrastination and scarcity will force unpopular decisions against our economic security and our present affluence since foreign powers are competing for the same dwindling supply. We will be forced into abrupt changes and drastic costs (far more than the oil crises of 1970s or prices in 2008) regardless of our means to address them at the time (Hansen, 2009a).

The energy issues are not new today, but with leadership, active public, and collaborative effort, we can change cultural perceptions and public policy. Time is running out to gain technological advances and profit from sustainable energy in addition to a need to reduce risky dependence upon foreign resources. Absent of alternatives when the oil supply depletes, the today’s mobile economies will slow to a virtual crawl with slower transportation (along with a severe depression) (Hansen, 2009). Thus, we

must persuade the public, gain power elite support, and foster sustainable behaviors within the community while persuading legislators to seek sustainable energy policy rather than focus upon exploiting the dwindling limited supplies.

We can not continue to ignore the facts unless we plan to fail, and we simply can not afford to miss this opportunity to do something great for our future. We have to change the cultural habits and consumption trends through a sustained effort that uses local people, active networks, and local examples that people can relate. Then we can gain power elite support and persuade legislators to pass real sustainable energy policy that encourages innovation, encourages conservation, and secures our economic future as well as lifestyles. Individually, we can review our own habits and see what we can do to consume less and be more productive with what we have (personally and in business). For example, we can get energy audits for our homes, drive less aggressively, and unplug unused devices. The status quo, however, is a path to great failure, but we can plan now and change now to build technology and techniques that propel economic growth and sustainable energy.

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