

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

KAM VI

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

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24 August 2009

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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.

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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 breadth 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 14th 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.

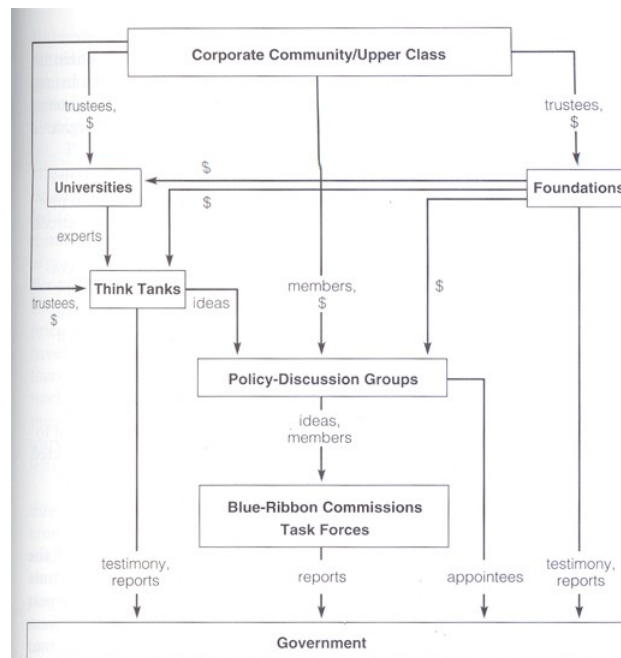


Figure 4.1 The Flow of Policy from the Corporate Community and Upper Class to Government through the Policy-Planning Network.

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 accord 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.

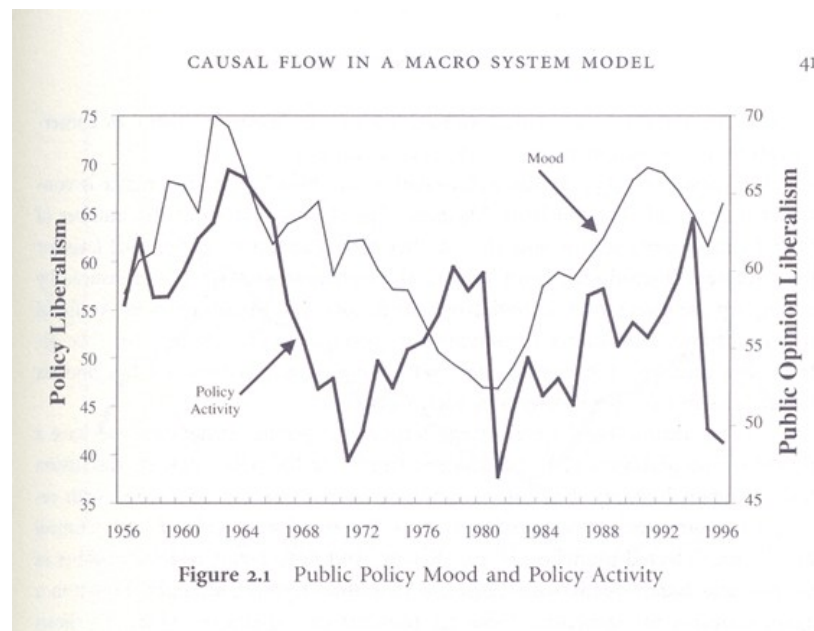


Figure 2: Aggregate Public Policy Mood vs Policy Activity (Erikson, Mackuen, & Stimson, 2002b)

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 than 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.

Organizational Theory and 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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