Guide to Generating Political Will and Public Will

PPW Toolkit

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

WHY USE THE PPW TOOLKIT?

Long-term, effective change in complex issue areas typically happens only if the government and key public stakeholders are pushing in the same direction. Political actions are not enough to effect large-scale change if the public opposes or undermines such actions. Efforts originating with the government often involve laws that demand change, but social pressures, cultural norms, and systemic barriers can limit citizen adherence to such laws. Similarly, social change efforts driven by citizens and other nongovernmental entities will flounder if government opposes or refuses to reinforce the change. To achieve success, the government and large segments of the public must be willing to recognize the problem, understand the problem in a similar way, and agree on solutions.

The Political Will and Public Will (PPW) Approach differs from other approaches to enacting social change. The PPW Approach calls for systematic assessment of both political will and public will and also maps to potential tools. Parallel definitional structures for the two concepts allow assessment of interactions between political will and public will. Through the application of observation-based analysis, the assessment procedures help to identify shortcomings in political will, public will, or both.

Political will *exists when a sufficient set of decision makers with a common understanding of a particular problem on the formal agenda is committed to supporting a commonly perceived, potentially effective policy solution* [18]

This holistic approach calls for collecting various forms of information before choosing the appropriate tactics and techniques for generating political will and public will and for promoting mutual accountability. The PPW Approach emphasizes the importance of broad groups of stakeholders agreeing upon aligned problem and solution definitions. Common understanding of a problem serves as the foundation for effective shared accountability across stakeholders. All this information then informs the choice of tactics for unifying understanding and for holding stakeholders mutually accountable. Parts of the process repeat as necessary. Paying attention to these tasks in a holistic and connected manner improves the chances of success.

Public will *exists when a social system has a shared recognition of a particular problem and resolves to address the situation in a particular way through sustained collective action* [19]

HOW IS THE PPW APPROACH INNOVATIVE?

- The recognition that all these tasks must be carried out in a coordinated way
- The willingness to integrate ideas and tools from a variety of social and behavioral sciences, including political science, communication, psychology, sociology, business, and economics
- The recognition of strong context dependence (i.e., places, issues, understandings)
- An overriding focus on the alignment of problem and solution definitions among stakeholders
- An argument that mutual accountability is more durable if produced through this approach

WHAT DOES THE PPW TOOLKIT INCLUDE?

This PPW Toolkit provides an overview of the general tasks necessary in developing an effective PPW campaign around a particular problem. Because interpretation of problems can differ across contexts, one-size-fits-all "solutions" often fail to meet their goals. The toolkit is flexible to allow local context, knowledge, and understanding to play prominent roles. This flexibility also means that the toolkit can be applied across contexts to a variety of different social problems. This document includes:

- An overview of the PPW Approach
- Tasks to identify shortcomings and build will
- Introductions to specific tools available to change agents

> Dealing effectively with significant social problems requires collective action and coordinated commitment. Those most affected typically lack real representation in the halls of power. Without strong mutual accountability mechanisms, stepping back from the social and policy changes necessary to address complex issues is simply too easy and too tempting.

OVERVIEW OF PPW APPROACH

WHAT TASKS ARE RECOMMENDED TO GENERATE PPW?

Following the conceptual definitions, this toolkit outlines four key tasks in building political will and public will for targeted social or public policy change in a way that also produces mutual accountability.

	Political Will Definition[18]	**Public Will Definition**[19]	**PPW Toolkit**
Stakeholders	Sufficient set of decision makers	Specific social system	Task 1: Identify key stakeholders in issue area
Existing Views	Understanding of a particular problem and solution(s)	Recognition of a particular problem and solution(s)	Task 2: Determine existing problem and solution definitions
Alignment	*Common* understanding of a particular problem with a *commonly perceived, potentially effective* policy solution	*Shared* recognition of a particular problem that should be resolved in a *particular* way	Task 3: Align problem and solution definitions
Determination	Committed to supporting	Resolve to address the situation through sustained collective action	Task 4: Build firm commitments and mutual accountability

These tasks are listed roughly in order, though some repetition and combination are typically necessary.

Task 1: Identify key stakeholders in issue area
Task 2: Determine existing problem and solution definitions
Task 3: Align problem and solution definitions, as necessary
Task 4: Build firm commitments and mutual accountability

Tasks 1 and 2 entail measurement of system characteristics, while Tasks 3 and 4 involve persuasion and accountability mechanisms.

HOW DOES THE PPW APPROACH VIEW SOCIAL CHANGE?

The PPW Approach encourages constructive participation of all major stakeholders to share local and technical knowledge and aims to engage all key stakeholders in dialogue. The PPW Toolkit takes a pragmatic action research approach. Action research involves collaboration and partnership with stakeholders while engaging in a sequence of events.[6,12] Application of the PPW Toolkit requires systems thinking, which means change agents using the PPW Toolkit seek to understand dynamic contexts holistically. Change agents should consider interdependent individuals and consider systems that arise out of multiple different causes and effects over time. No single social scientific methodology can address all tasks necessary for interventions into systems. [10] The tasks in the PPW Toolkit align with the assessment of system elements in order to understand these elements and in order to think about how to change them.

> *A checklist of simple tasks linked to readily available data points that can be plugged into an existing formula is quite unlikely to lead to successful change in the complex contexts of significant social, economic, and political problems.*

Long-term change within complex social systems is hard work. No formulas guarantee success. Efforts that lack meaningful participation from local experts are unlikely to succeed. In order to be successful, efforts for long-term change must account for the complexity of social systems and employ pragmatic action research techniques. A checklist of simple tasks linked to readily available data points that can be plugged into an existing formula is quite unlikely to lead to successful change in the complex contexts of significant social, economic, and political problems.

WHAT QUESTIONS WILL THE PPW TOOLKIT HELP TO ANSWER?

The PPW Toolkit provides change agents with an overview of social science methodologies to answer this series of questions:

- Who are the key political and public stakeholders in the issue area? (Task 1)
- How do those stakeholders view the problem and potential solutions? (Task 2)
- What can be done to align stakeholder views of problems and solutions? (Task 3)
- How can we produce meaningful mutual accountability among stakeholders around clear, shared goals? (Task 4)

TASK 1: IDENTIFY KEY POLITICAL AND PUBLIC STAKEHOLDERS IN THE ISSUE AREA

KEY QUESTIONS:

- Who needs to be involved in the change effort?
- Who are the key stakeholders for the issue area?

TARGETS/GOALS TO TRACK PROGRESS:

- Identify stakeholders within government
- Identify public stakeholders, including individuals and groups
- Understand relationships among stakeholders

TASK OVERVIEW:

A careful analysis should identify the political and public stakeholders who are crucial for a social change or public policy effort to be successful. On the political side, the change agent must identify both necessary and sufficient political actors. Necessary actors are ones whose participation is crucial to success or ones who can block the change effort. Sufficient actors are a set that contains the right combination of political actors for the change effort to be successful.

This analysis needs to take into account the particular configuration of political institutions. Some of these institutions are more formalized, like the legal organization of the government. Other important institutions tend to be less formal, like political parties and coalitions. The change agent must perform a similar evaluation of the public side, identifying important nongovernmental actors and evaluating their cohesion (i.e., the extent to which they already form a social system). In practice, this analysis must combine with Task 2 below, as communication about problem and solution definitions is part of what determines the existence of a social system.

The analysis associated with Task 1 will help with ascertaining whether a shortfall in support exists on the political side, the public side, or both. Further, the analysis will help identify leaders and likely routes for the spread of innovations and information, which will aid in accomplishing the remaining tasks.

POTENTIAL ACTIVITIES/ANALYSIS TOOLS:

- Diffusion modeling
- Network analysis
- Political institutions analysis

TASK 2: DETERMINE EXISTING PROBLEM AND SOLUTION DEFINITIONS

KEY QUESTIONS:

- What are problem and solution definitions among the stakeholders?
- To what extent has the analysis evaluated the linkages between problem and solution definitions?

TARGETS/GOALS TO TRACK PROGRESS:

- Identify stakeholder perceptions of problems
- Identify stakeholder perceptions of solutions
- Evaluate differences in problem/solution perceptions among stakeholders and/or stakeholder groups

TASK OVERVIEW:

This task involves assessing how stakeholders view the issue and the extent to which they view the situation as problematic. Varying interpretations of the problem and its existence will limit political will and public will. This task links directly to the first, as the stakeholder analysis will aid in determining who needs to care about the problem and determining whose problem and solution definitions need to align for change to be possible.

Solution definitions are often tied closely to problem definitions. In other words, certain solutions seem more appropriate for certain types of problems. Thus, stakeholders with varying perspectives on the problem will perceive different solutions as appropriate. Change is easier if key stakeholders share the same problem definition and attach that definition to a commonly understood solution.

Consequently, the change agent must collect information about stakeholder views of problems and solutions. This data collection can proceed through two potential mechanisms: asking the stakeholders or examining public statements made by stakeholders. Both approaches aim to gather data on local knowledge and understanding. The change agent is looking for differences or convergence in terminology. In the case of public statements, the change agent may also assess the volume and prominence of this discussion.

POTENTIAL ACTIVITIES/ANALYSIS TOOLS:

- Content analysis
- Focus groups
- Interviews
- Surveys

TASK 3: ALIGN PROBLEM AND SOLUTION DEFINITIONS

KEY QUESTIONS:

- Given the data collected for Tasks 1 and 2, what are the optimal techniques for aligning problem and solution definitions?
- After campaigns, to what extent do the problem and solution definitions align with one another and with identified best practice?

TARGETS/GOALS TO TRACK PROGRESS:

- Alignment of stakeholder perceptions of problem(s)
- Alignment of stakeholder perceptions of solution(s)
- Alignment of problem perceptions with solution perceptions

TASK OVERVIEW:

The change agent must work with stakeholders to reduce discrepancies in perceptions of the problem and the corresponding solution. Without the information produced in Tasks 1 and 2, campaigns to build political will and public will are not likely to be successful. The participatory communication approach, which emphasizes inclusiveness and dialogue among key stakeholders, can be used to develop a coherent frame of the problem and its solution. The change agent must also work to make sure that solutions are ones for which capacity exists or can be built and are ones that have a reasonable chance of being effective.

Depending on the number of stakeholders, this task might involve a mix of negotiations, campaigns framing the problem and solution, and/or influential stakeholders engaging in dialogue within their social and political systems. Small groups could engage in a process of integrative negotiation, which emphasizes shared interests. Rather than focusing on stated positions, the involved parties articulate their underlying interests and needs and explore overlapping areas. A campaign focused on larger stakeholder groups may seize upon a "critical" or "focusing" event to help stakeholders see an issue in the same way. Emphasizing shared interests or values (for example, strongly held cultural beliefs) can lead the stakeholders to common ground that facilitates shared definition of problems and solutions.

POTENTIAL ACTIVITIES/ANALYSIS TOOLS:

- Diffusion modeling
- Integrative negotiation
- Issue framing
- Persuasion tactics
- Social marketing

TASK 4: BUILD FIRM COMMITMENTS AND MUTUAL ACCOUNTABILITY

KEY QUESTIONS:

- Who needs to be held accountable?
- To what have these stakeholders committed?
- To what extent have stakeholders made public commitments to implement the agreed-upon evidence-based measures?
- Have change agents acted as necessary to enhance the strength of these commitments?
- Have change agents periodically evaluated the effectiveness of the commitments?
- For what will stakeholders be held accountable?
- How will stakeholders be held accountable?
- What happens if individuals or organizations do not meet their commitments?

TARGETS/GOALS TO TRACK PROGRESS:

- Public commitments made by stakeholders
- Mutual accountability mechanisms for commitments

TASK OVERVIEW:

Once the broad coalition of stakeholders has agreed upon an evidence-based solution, the change agent can proceed with making sure that the stakeholders follow through with implementation. Commitments from individuals and groups are not collectively meaningful if they are aimed at divergent problems and solutions; just as importantly, holding individuals and groups jointly accountable for results will be difficult if differing expectations exist. Ultimately, agreement on the nature of the problem and solution is the foundation for the success for any of these mechanisms.

The identification of stakeholders should have produced a clear idea of the most important stakeholders and leaders who should be the focus of these mutual accountability efforts. A number of tactics can be used to enhance commitments of stakeholders. If the commitments do not appear to be binding in a formal manner, the change agent can advocate for the use of formal transparency and agenda-setting mechanisms. Getting stakeholders to make smaller initial expenditures can make deviating from the chosen solution more difficult due to sunk costs and due to reputational costs of changing. Early resource commitments can also help to ensure that appropriate capacity exists for the effort to achieve its goals.

The change agent should assess the effectiveness of commitments periodically. Though this is a sizeable topic on its own, standard program evaluation tools and procedures are capable of providing the necessary feedback. Examples of such tools and procedures include performance monitoring, cost-benefit analysis, customer satisfaction evaluation, and risk assessment.

POTENTIAL ACTIVITIES/ ANALYSIS TOOLS:

- Agenda setting
- Cognitive biases
- Cultural norms
- Incentives for social marketing
- Initial expenditures
- Institutional analysis
- Network analysis
- Program evaluation tools and procedures
- Review of integrative negotiation results

TASK 5:

EVALUATE PROGRESS IN STEPS 1-4 AND ADJUST AS NECESSARY

Real-world dynamics can change situations and make the work done in Tasks 1-4 outdated. Consequently, ongoing evaluation is necessary to ensure that all the tasks are aligned in this holistic approach. Change agents may need to make adjustments as events unfold.

COGNITIVE BIASES

Researchers have identified dozens of cognitive biases that shape decision making. Here are a few examples of how those biases might be used to reinforce commitments.

Cognitive consistency helps explain the effectiveness of publicly committing to a course of action in a detailed and specific manner. The human need for cognitive consistency makes our decisions "sticky," so that changing positions later is cognitively difficult and is often viewed by others as an undesirable action.

Scarcity effects emphasize that the time and resources for implementing a particular solution are limited. By reminding stakeholders of expiring opportunities, change agents are more likely to gain compliance.

Reciprocity norms emphasize our responsibility to one another. A change agent could remind the stakeholders of the sacrifices being made by other stakeholders.

Change agents could remind stakeholders of the harms that could come to the *in-group* if stakeholders did not follow through with commitments.

Change agents can also utilize many other cognitive biases to reinforce commitments and to maintain mutual accountability.

TOOL SELECTION

HOW SHOULD I SELECT A TOOL?

As change agents work through each task, the nature of the context and the desired outcomes should inform the tool used. Multiple tools might be necessary for a given task. Sometimes, work on a later task may necessitate additional work on a previous task using another tool. Paying attention to the characteristics of a situation and selecting the approach that has the best chance of success is key. Change agents should consider working with social scientists who have specific training in these tools along the way. This toolkit is not an exhaustive list of potential tools, nor does it provide comprehensive coverage of any tool. The PPW Toolkit is meant to suggest different tools, with the understanding that change agents interested in the success of initiatives will use this information as a starting point to complete their work.

WHICH TOOL SHOULD I USE?

	Context	Tool	Outcome
Task 1: Identify key political and public stakeholders in the issue area	Need better understanding of who must be involved in change process	Institutional analysis	Identification of important stakeholders and leaders
	Need better understanding of relationships in established group to identify key stakeholders in a social network or to understand communicative structure of stakeholder groups	Network analysis	Identification of key communicators in social system
	Need to understand influential parties and potential innovators and/or early adopters in a social system	Diffusion modeling	Identification of potential innovators or influencers in social system
Task 2: Determine existing problem and solution definitions	Public statements from stakeholders are available; constraints limit access to stakeholders	Content analysis	Identification of stakeholder definitions of problems and solutions
	Small groups of stakeholders can be convened; open dialogue is possible	Focus groups	Understanding problem and solution definitions and any differences in perceptions
	Limited number of stakeholders who can be directly accessed	Interviews	Understanding problem and solution definitions and any differences in perceptions
	Large number of diverse stakeholders who may be geographically distributed	Surveys	Understanding problem and solution definitions and any differences in perceptions
	Context	**Tool**	**Outcome**

Task 3: Align problem and solution definitions	Small groups of stakeholders can be convened; convergence on underlying interests is likely	Integrative negotiation	Focus on common interests and needs leads to common understanding of problem/solution
	Need to convince broader constituencies of nature of problem/solution agreed upon by major stakeholders	Issue framing and narrative building	Broadly shared understanding of issue
	Large groups of stakeholders need to be persuaded of frame; individual social connections are more likely to persuade than media campaigns	Social marketing	Dissemination of problem/solution frame to larger social networks
	Need to understand how to disseminate preferred problem/solution frame in social system effectively	Diffusion modeling	Successful transmission of frames through social system
	Change agent has specific problem/solution frame in mind	Persuasion tactics	Attitudinal and behavioral shifts
Task 4: Build firm commitments and mutual accountability	Need better understanding of who must make commitments and be held accountable	Institutional and/or network analysis	Identification of important stakeholders and leaders
	Must remind stakeholders of their specific commitments	Review of integrative negotiation results	Renewed understanding of shared interests and needs
	Need formal means of strengthening commitments	Agenda setting & expenditures	Formal, publicized, and trackable actions that serve as strong cues to constituencies
	Need informal means of strengthening commitments	Cognitive biases; cultural norms; incentives for social marketing	Increased cognitive, cultural, and/or constituency pressures for sticking to commitments
	Need to evaluate effectiveness of commitments	Program evaluation tools & procedures	Results can be used to convince stakeholders to enhance commitments or to restart process with new information

The following section of the PPW Toolkit provides brief overviews of selected tools. These overviews are meant to familiarize change agents with the basics of some social scientific research methods useful in generating political will and public will. Tools are listed alphabetically and are color coded to match their associated tasks.

TOOL: DIFFUSION MODELING

CONTEXT(S)

- Need to understand influential actors, potential innovators, and/or early adopters in social system
- Need to understand how to disseminate preferred problem/solution frame in social system effectively

BRIEF OVERVIEW OF TOOL

"Diffusion is the process in which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among members of a social system." [20] Like the PPW Approach, diffusion of innovation highlights the importance of understanding the social system and individual reactions to innovations. Individuals follow five sequential stages[20] when making decisions about an innovation:

1. Knowledge of innovation
2. Persuasion (i.e., attitude formation about innovation)
3. Decision to adopt or reject innovation
4. Implementation of innovation (if innovation is adopted)
5. Confirmation of decision about innovation

ADOPTER CATEGORIES[20]

Innovators/Cosmopolites
(first 2.5% of adopters)
Early adopters/Localites
(next 13.5%)
Early majority
(next 34%)
Late majority/Skeptics
(next 34%)

Political will and public will for particular problem/solution frames can be generated by identifying key individuals within a social system who are also likely to be open to innovation and to move through the innovation-decision process relatively quickly. Early adopters are idea leaders who are embedded within social systems and are advantageous partners for external change agents. These early adopters are key members of the diffusion networks at the social system level. Within social systems, change agents can follow the five sequential stages. In the initial stages, a shared recognition of a need for change (comparable to PPW's problem identification) is mapped to a specific innovation (i.e., solution definition) by key organizational stakeholders. Once a decision to adopt a particular innovation is made, the implementation stages begin. Redefining/restricting occurs to make the innovation fit the specific need; the particular connection between the issue and the innovation is disseminated and then routinized until all have adopted the innovation.

ANTICIPATED OUTCOMES

- Ability to identify early adopters, innovators, and/or influencers and to classify other stakeholders
- Successful transmission of problem/solution frames through social system

TOOL: INTEGRATIVE NEGOTIATION

CONTEXT(S)

- Small groups of stakeholders can be convened, and convergence on underlying interests is likely
- Need to remind stakeholders of their specific commitments

BRIEF OVERVIEW OF TOOL

A desire to reach a solution/agreement that equally benefits all stakeholders underlies integrative approaches to negotiation. This approach stands in contrast to more competitive distributive approaches. One widely used approach to integrative negotiation is principled negotiation.[9] Instead of viewing themselves as competing to get a better outcome, parties should view themselves as working together to address a mutual issue. Then, they can focus on their underlying interests, desires, and concerns. When parties focus on a position (typically an outcome they wish to obtain), they are not addressing the fundamental needs driving the negotiation. Opposing positions may share underlying interests. Probing and listening to uncover these underlying interests require trust and open communication. Integrative negotiation requires consideration of both the parties and the underlying interests involved.

Principled Negotiation [9]
(1) Separate the people from the problem
(2) Focus on interests, not positions
(3) Invent options for mutual gain
(4) Insist on using objective criteria

After the stakeholders understand the underlying interests of all parties, they can focus on inventing options for an agreement. The goal of identifying these options is for mutual/equivalent gain among stakeholders. Brainstorming techniques can help to identify options, and then parties can build on that brainstorming with an eye toward options that address the underlying interests of all parties. Using agreed-upon objective criteria is a key aspect of this process. Recognizing issues of equity and fairness in all aspects of the negotiation process – including the identification of decision criteria – is vital to the integrative negotiation process.

ANTICIPATED OUTCOMES

- A focus on common interests and needs results in common understanding of problem/solution
- Renewed understanding of shared interests and needs

TOOL: INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS

CONTEXT(S)

- Need better understanding of who must be involved in change process
- Need better understanding of who must make commitments and be held accountable

BRIEF OVERVIEW OF TOOL

Analysis of political institutions (i.e., the rules that structure politics and governance) can aid greatly in the identification of relevant decision makers. Identifying decision makers might be easy in an authoritarian regime, though sometimes the real decision makers remain hidden behind puppet figures. Sorting out the latter situation can require sophistication and good information from local sources. In a consolidated (i.e., stable) democracy, the analysis of formal institutions often provides the necessary information. How does the constitution distribute authority and decision-making power? How do other laws structure governance? Who is capable of blocking formal action? How do the organizations of government work? While actual decision-making power and processes sometimes deviate from formal rules, such analysis of publicly available information is often an excellent starting point.

Identification of key decision makers via the analysis of institutions can be most difficult in regimes that are in the process of democratizing (or are reversing course toward authoritarianism). Here deviations from the formal institutions and application of informal practices can be significant. While formal documentation is often a reasonable starting point for analysis, the gathering of local views – particularly from experts – can improve understanding in crucial ways. Evaluations made by international experts can also be highly useful. Starting broadly, assessments of the level of democracy in a country almost always provide good information about the distribution of decision-making power, the nature of executive institutions, or limitations on the rights of the public. Examples of information sources include Freedom House, the Polity 5 project, and World Bank governance indicators, though many other assessments are typically also available.

Documentation about lower levels of government (e.g., province, community, village) can be much more scarce. Here local experts and citizens can be extraordinarily valuable resources. Who do they see as influential decision makers? Whom do others follow?

ANTICIPATED OUTCOMES

- Identification of important stakeholders and leaders

TOOL: ISSUE FRAMING

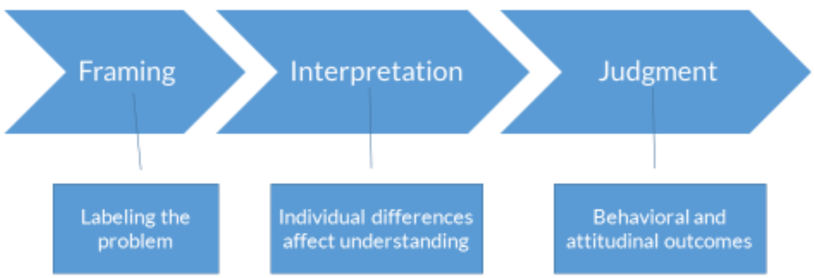
CONTEXT(S)

- Need to convince broader constituencies of problem/solution agreed upon by major stakeholders

BRIEF OVERVIEW OF TOOL

Issue framing can be viewed as either how a problem or solution is communicated or how a problem or solution is processed and understood.[7] Because the goal here is shaping how problems and solutions are viewed and understood, frames in communication are a key tool for change agents. How an issue is framed (i.e., labeled or discussed) leads to framing effects, which are "behavioral or attitudinal outcomes that are not due to differences in what is being communicated, but rather to variations in how a given piece of information is being presented (or framed) in public discourse." [21]

Equivalency framing effects occur when preferences are altered in response to the use of words and phrases that are different but logically equivalent. [7] To understand how reactions to these frames differ, change agents must put frames into competition to understand relationships between different frames and different effects. [5] By testing equivalent frames, change agents can understand how different ways of talking about the same issue influence attitudes.[5]



Using a new frame to relabel an existing problem can enable stakeholders to re-engage with an issue without losing face by appearing to change their minds.[23] Thus, choosing an equivalent frame for either a problem or solution with neutral or positive connotations can be an effective way to "unstick" progress around an issue. However, if multiple stakeholders continue to use conflicting frames to discuss a problem or solution, progress is unlikely. Thus, issue framing must be used in conjunction with other tools (e.g., persuasion tactics, negotiation, social marketing) to ensure that the need for agreement around a problem definition and policy solution is met. If stakeholders rely on different frames for problems and/or solutions, they are unlikely establish a shared or common will to address the issue.

ANTICIPATED OUTCOMES

- Broadly shared understanding of issue

TOOL: NETWORK ANALYSIS

CONTEXT(S)

- Need better understanding of relationships in established group
- Need to identify key stakeholders in a social network who should be involved in change process
- Need to understand communicative structure of stakeholder groups

BRIEF OVERVIEW OF TOOL

An analysis of the interactions among stakeholders can provide valuable information for a PPW campaign. When working to develop PPW around a particular issue, understanding how information flows among individuals in political and social systems can help change agents to understand how problems and corresponding solutions are socially constructed. By understanding who talks to whom and about what, change agents can identify potential partners and gain insight into channels for dissemination of information about a particular social problem.

Analysis of communication networks can help change agents understand how different individuals are connected, how information about certain topics flows through a system, and where communication connections among stakeholders exist. Capturing multidimensional networks offers the ability to depict complex social relationships among stakeholders and/or stakeholder groups. The information used to measure and understand communication networks depends on the kind of questions asked. A number of different communication relations[22] can be studied through network analysis:

- Perceived and actual flow relations: depict the exchange of information
- Affinity relations: depict relationships (e.g., friendships and alliances)
- Representational relations: highlight associations among actors and portray them to outsiders
- Semantic relations: focus on shared meanings or word use

Questions can be crafted to gain information about any of these types of relationships. Researchers have uncovered considerable variation between perceived/reported and actual relationships; [22] thus, observations and/or self-reports might be used to gather data. Change agents using social network analysis set the boundaries of the network[22] and identify the type of relations to be studied.[14] Ultimately, the network structure depends heavily on the these choices, which should be driven by the needed information in a particular context.

ANTICIPATED OUTCOMES

- Identification of key members, isolates, cliques, and information flows
- Quantitative data that could be used to describe and compare different social networks and individuals members within those networks
- Visualizations of social networks

TOOL: PERSUASION TACTICS

CONTEXT(S)

- Change agent has specific problem/solution frame in mind

BRIEF OVERVIEW OF TOOL

Persuasion occurs when a change agent affects the attitudes or opinions of others. Changes in attitude are often linked with changes in behavior,[3] and longstanding behavioral and attitudinal change are often the dual goals of persuaders.[11] Based on their initial analyses, change agents should search this literature to find a specific model to employ in persuading different types of stakeholders across contexts.

PPW change agents might employ three types of persuasion: [15]

- *Response shaping (forming a new attitude)*
- *Response reinforcement (strengthening an existing attitude)*
- *Response change (altering an existing attitude)*

Depending on the stakeholders to be addressed, persuasion tactics may be individual or aimed toward a group. Considerable research on both individualized influence tactics and persuasive campaigns is available to shape the work of PPW change agents in these situations. For example, research has identified connections between particular tactics and outcomes.[8, 24, 25, 26] PPW change agents could reference this literature to identify tactics to generate specific outcomes through personally crafted messages.

Campaigns tend to focus more on social influence to persuade individuals. One model used in social influence campaigns is the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB).[1, 2] Using models like this one, researchers incorporate information about norms, the desired behavior, and how to overcome barriers into campaign materials. Even at the campaign level, messages often focus on individual characteristics like perceptions of social norms and barriers to enacting a particular behavior.

One consistent finding is the importance of a logical argument in persuasive outcomes;[17] thus, building a strong argument should be a focus of PPW campaigns, regardless of the scope, context, and stakeholders.

ANTICIPATED OUTCOMES

- Attitudinal and behavioral shifts

TOOL: PRIMARY SOURCE DATA COLLECTION

CONTEXT(S)

- Direct access to stakeholders for focus groups, surveys, and/or interviews

BRIEF OVERVIEW OF TOOLS

Assessing views and perceptions is crucial for tasks in the PPW Approach. Available methodologies include focus groups, surveys, interviews, and group interviews. A few key considerations guide the selection of a methodology (though use of more than one methodology is also often an option).

1. **From how many people should views be gathered? What does the sufficient set of political actors look like? How many people or organizations are in the social system? How many different social systems are relevant?**
   Other tasks in the toolkit will inform this answer. *Surveys* tend to be preferable when dealing with large numbers of people or organizations. However, the feasibility and wisdom of using a survey also depend on the remaining considerations.
2. **Would interaction among the participants provide useful information?**
   If yes, a *focus group* is the preferred methodology. Focus groups are gatherings of about 6-10 people in which a facilitator poses questions and then watches how group members respond and build off each other's comments.
3. **Which is more important: gathering in-depth information about views or getting a representative picture of the views?**
   If in-depth understanding of views is valuable, *interviews* are the appropriate approach.
   If numbers are larger and representativeness is important, *surveys* are the preferred methodology.
   If the number of people or organizations is small, *interviews or group interviews* (though time consuming) might be a feasible way to gather representative views. Group interviews are different from focus groups in that interactions among participants are typically not as important and the topics might not be as closely related to one another.
4. **What types of resources are available?**
   Survey modes include paper, mail, web, computer-assisted personal interviewing, and computer-assisted telephone interviewing. Costs vary across these modes, but a survey can be expensive if it requires many workers to implement. Using a web-based survey or distributing paper surveys at gatherings are ways of economizing. Computer-assisted personal interviewing is often achieved now by walking around with a tablet or smartphone. The other methods can also be time consuming, particularly if transcribing (i.e., typing out) the results of an interview or focus group.

BASIC TIPS FOR DIFFERENT METHODS

Interviews

- The person asking the questions should generally talk very little.
- The interviewer should use prompts, follow-up questions, and silences effectively.
- The interviewer should also try to make sure the interviewee (i.e., the person answering the questions) is comfortable.
- Field notes and audio recordings improve the accuracy of recollection a great deal.

Focus groups

- The facilitator should talk relatively little and should not push the discussion.
- The interaction of participants, allowing them to build off each other's comments, is an important part of the focus group method.
- The facilitator should give everyone a chance to talk.
- Field notes and audio recordings are similarly helpful here.

Surveys

- Clearly defining the objective of the data collection and identifying information that needs to be understood are vital.
- Writing multiple questions to capture perspectives on a specific issue will increase validity.
- Constructing clear, appropriate wording for questions and for response options is a key to success.
- Response options should cover all potential responses and should not overlap. The use of "other" or "unsure" response options can be very useful in this respect.

ANTICIPATED OUTCOMES

- Identification of stakeholder definitions of problems and solutions
- Understanding of problem and solution definitions and any differences in perceptions

TOOL: SOCIAL MARKETING

CONTEXT(S)

- Large groups of stakeholders need to be persuaded of frame
- Change agent has identified problem and solution

BRIEF OVERVIEW OF TOOL

Social marketing aims to address social issues by influencing individual behaviors through the use of traditional marketing models. Traditional approaches (see the section on persuasion tactics) to social marketing target "downstream applications," which focus on the individuals behaving in problematic ways.[4] By focusing efforts "upstream," change agents can address the complex social factors that relate to individual behaviors, such as policies and social incentives. Consistent with public will campaigns, social marketing is a way to make individuals both aware of social issues and also willing to act to address those issues. [4]

SOCIAL MARKETING CYCLE

1. Inattention to the problem
2. Discovery of the problem
3. Climbing the agenda
4. Outlining the choices
5. Choosing courses of action
6. Launching initial interventions
7. Reassessing and redirecting efforts
8. Achieving success, failure, or neglect

To develop a campaign to move a particular social issue through the social marketing cycle, change agents must listen to stakeholders, plan the campaign, pretest key points, implement the campaign, monitor results, and re-examine and revise efforts as needed. To make "upstream" changes, larger communities and political stakeholders need to be targeted through campaigns tailored to their specific characteristics, concerns, and preferences. The takeaway from social marketing as it applies to the PPW Toolkit is that traditional marketing campaign approaches should be used to address larger social groups rather than only working to intervene with affected individuals. Following the eight stages outlined in the box, particular issues can garner the political will and public will necessary to enact policy changes.

Comparable to the diffusion of innovations approach, social marketing is often used when a change agent has pre-selected a particular issue and/or solution. To be successful, social marketing campaigns should use negotiations among stakeholders to socially construct problems and associated solutions and result in successful labeling.

ANTICIPATED OUTCOMES

- Large-scale changes to awareness of and attitudes about particular issues
- Dissemination of problem/solution frame to larger stakeholder groups

THE INTERDEPENDENT NATURE OF POLITICAL WILL AND PUBLIC WILL

ARE BOTH POLITICAL WILL AND PUBLIC WILL NECESSARY?

Though policy change is often required for longstanding structural changes to occur, political will and public will are interdependent. Typically, both political will and public will are vital to the success of policies. In order for societies to make progress in dealing with social problems, large segments of the government and the public must be willing to address the issue. Neither political will nor public will is sufficient to result in lasting social change on its own.

HOW DO POLITICAL WILL AND PUBLIC WILL INTERACT?

Political will and public will are distinct yet interdependent necessities for driving social change. Political will and public will can be arranged on two separate axes with the simple distinctions of "high" versus "low." Admittedly, the high/low split does not capture all the nuances and complexities of this process. However, this exercise helps better to distinguish between political will and public will and establish their interdependence.

	Political Will "High"	**Political Will "Low"**
Public Will "High"	Movement toward desirable social outcome likely	Grassroots and electoral pressures; possibly social conflict and rebellion
Public Will "Low"	Persuasion, use of incentives, coercion, manipulation; government attempts to engage public (e.g., public hearings, advisory panels)	No social change likely

Political Will and Public Will Low

In the first situation, neither political will nor public will is high. An issue here may not be widely recognized as a problem by a country's political structure or the general public. Conversely, the issue may be widely recognized and heavily debated. In such a situation, no dominant definition of the problem has emerged and no solution has been identified. To a limited extent, certain segments of the public and political establishment might recognize the social problem, but they lack a shared definition of the problem and/or its possible solutions. Obviously, social change will not result in such a situation – public will and political will are necessary for that to occur.

Political Will High, Public Will Low

A second potential situation is one in which political will exists in the absence of public will. In such situations, governments might engage in campaigns aimed at changing individual attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. Decision makers typically attempt to generate public will. These attempts may take more positive forms, such as citizen engagement, persuasion, and the use of incentives, or may take more negative forms, such as coercion and manipulation of the public.

Political Will Low, Public Will High

A third situation occurs when public will is high, but political will is not. Change agents might seek widespread participation and involvement across communities, attempting to engage or pressure policymakers, thereby leading to structural changes. In certain contexts, activists risk government condemnation at best and death at worst in the face of strong government resistance. When political will is lacking but public will is rather strong, grassroots and electoral pressures on decision makers are more likely. Social conflict and rebellion are also possibilities if the policy issue is meaningful enough and institutions for bargaining and for electoral accountability are lacking.

Political Will and Public Will High

Ultimately, the fourth situation is most desirable – one in which both political will and public will are high and both the government and the general public work together to address a particular issue. However, such situations often take time to develop. Typically, a particular social problem will be recognized by social systems and policymakers, but a common understanding of the issue and the "best" solution are not agreed upon. Either public will or political will is attained in the absence of the other. Then, either the social system or policymakers resolve to address the social problem by placing it on the agenda. When both political will and public will are aligned for a particular topic, lasting social change can result. Facilitating contexts in which both political will and public will align to address a specific problem is the goal of the PPW Toolkit.

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