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FINAL REPORT TO THE
DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY

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The New England Energy Congress Project
June 1978 - July 1980

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Medford, Mass. 02155

MASTER

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ABSTRACT

From May 1978 until April 1979, one hundred and twenty New Englanders volunteered for one of six committees to devise and consider energy policy recommendations for the region's twenty-five Member, six state Congressional delegation. Sponsored by the New England Congressional Caucus and Tufts University, the New England Energy Congress was funded by grants from the Economic Development Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce and the Office of Environment, U.S. Department of Energy. The results of the work of the 120 delegates and nine staff was a 500 page report, Blueprint for Energy Action, containing over 150 policy recommendations to the Congress, Executive agencies, state legislatures and municipalities. The New England Congressional Caucus responded in June 1979 with an Energy Package, including twenty (and ultimately twenty-five) legislative bills and several letters to federal agencies, based on the recommendations of the Energy Congress.

Following the release of the report in June 1979, 55 delegates continued their efforts as members of the Implementation Group of the Energy Congress. In July 1980, this group released a volume of Strategy Papers designed to assist in the implementation of Energy Congress recommendations. As a result of this work, a broad array of energy activities were initiated in New England and in Washington. By January 1981, 20 of the 25 bills in the Caucus package had been passed in whole or in part.

This final report discusses the Energy Congress' activities, consensus decision-making process and its findings. The report reviews the results of a thorough evaluation conducted through the mail and by phone of participants, outside observers and from Capitol Hill. The clear conclusion is that the Energy Congress made a unique and significant contribution towards enabling New Englanders, both in the region and in Washington, to set energy goals and priorities and to begin serious efforts to reduce the region's precarious dependence on oil imports.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
I. Methodology	2
II. The New England Energy Situation: The Problems of Supply and Price	3
III. Evolution of the New England Energy Congress	4
A. The Selection Process	7
B. The First Three Months: Structuring the Process	9
C. The Second Three Months: Producing the Preliminary Report for Public Review	11
D. The Public Reacts: Months 7 and 8	13
E. Concluding the Energy Congress: Debate and Synthesis	14
F. Phases Two and Three of the Energy Congress: 1979-1982	16
IV. Evaluating Phase One of the N. E. Energy Congress	17
A. The Delegates Assess Their Experience: Committee Perspectives	17
B. Constituency Perceptions and Participation in the Energy Congress	25
C. Delegate Frustrations and Satisfactions	30
D. Evaluation by Non-Participants	32
E. Capital Hill Responses	34
V. The Political and Environmental Context of the Energy Congress	37
VI. Conclusion	39
References	41
Appendix 1	
Appendix 2	
Appendix 3	

Introduction

From May 1978 until April 1979, one hundred twenty New Englanders volunteered for one of six committees to devise and consider energy policy recommendations for the region's twenty-five member, six-state Congressional delegation. Sponsored by the New England Congressional Caucus and Tufts University, the New England Energy Congress was funded by grants from the Economic Development Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce and the Office of Environment, U.S. Department of Energy. The final product of the 120 "delegates" and nine staff was a 500 page report, Blueprint for Energy Action, containing over 150 policy recommendations to the Congress, Executive agencies, state legislatures, and municipalities. The New England Congressional Caucus responded in June 1979 with an Energy Package, including twenty legislative bills and several letters to federal agencies, based on the recommendations of the Energy Congress.

The size, duration, breadth of issues covered, sponsorship by members of Congress, and consensus decision-making process of the New England Energy Congress make it unique among experiments in policy deliberations by citizen advisory groups. Many observers, participants and nonparticipants alike, judged the Energy Congress to be a successful demonstration of sound energy policy formulation and an effective political instrument for Congressional action in an issue area plagued nationally by conflict, stalemate, and a crisis atmosphere. Others, both inside and outside the Energy Congress, noting that its recommendations failed to address some very fundamental legislative issues then before Congress, judged it irrelevant and without impact on state, regional, and national decision-making determining energy policy.

What did the New England Energy Congress accomplish? What was the quality of the final report's recommendations and findings? What impacts, intended and unintended, did it have on Congress and others involved in energy policy formulation? Since an analysis of these impact questions reveals some qualified successes, another set of questions arises. These concern the underlying reasons for the successes as well as the distinguishing character-

istics of obvious failures.

The second set of questions examines the political context and the particular attributes of the process which contributed to effective (or ineffective) functioning of the delegate body. This investigation centers upon the peculiar characteristics of the policy conflict under consideration and the structural, procedural, staffing and leadership attributes of the committees which deliberated for ten months. The existence of six working committees with similar mandates, composition, and staff resources invites comparative analysis for isolation of characteristics which may explain the greatest variability in performance among them.

To provide some guidance for government agencies considering the relevance of this form of citizen group involvement in policy deliberations characterized by considerable conflict, another analysis is in order: the experience of other similarly structured efforts across the country. While this research and analysis effort requires elaboration beyond the scope of this investigation, a summary discussion will position the Energy Congress in the context of other consensus deliberations undertaken in recent years.

I. Methodology

To examine the quality and impact of the Energy Congress, and to assess the relative contributions of various structural and process variables to the final report's strengths and weaknesses, a number of primary and secondary sources are utilized. Among them are questionnaires mailed to participating Energy Congress delegates; interviews with Congressmen and/or their staff; academic papers written by graduate students, based on interviews with delegates and analysis of written documents; personal statements, meeting minutes, preliminary drafts and the final reports of each committee; testimony from public hearings; and newspaper articles.

An analysis of the New England Congress begins with a narrative enumerating the dimensions of the energy problems faced, the formulation of the Energy Congress concept, the selection process, and the initial structuring and deliberations of the six empaneled committees. The evolution of committee guidelines, rules, schedules and decision-making patterns deserves mention. The process for agreeing to policy recommendations, circulating them among interested publics and approving final recommendations is an important one to document.

The implementation actions which followed the formal printing and release of Blueprint for Energy Action are important indicators of the project's overall impact. The evaluation proceeds to examine the significance of the accomplishments; the project's influence on regional decision-makers; the perceptions of representatives and fair-mindedness by participants; and their views on attitudinal changes, successes, failures, and suggestions for process improvements. This paper concludes with a summary of the salient factors of success, the identification of failures, suggestions for process improvements, and a comment on this project's relevance to future public policy debates.

II. The New England Energy Situation: The Problems of Supply and Price

In 1977, New England's energy predicament appeared quite serious: 80% of the region's total energy needs were met by oil, versus a 47% national average. Almost 80% of the region's oil was imported, versus a national average of 39%. Altogether, 40% of the region's energy was supplied by OPEC oil, compared to a 13% national average. And finally, energy costs were 26% higher per unit of fuel than the national average.

A lack of indigenous fossil fuels is responsible for many of the region's energy disadvantages. New England is located at the end of domestic oil and gas pipelines and remote from the nation's coal mines. Federal price regulations on gas have severely restricted the availability of the nation's cheapest conventional space heating fuel. Economic, health and environmental difficulties had practically ended coal burning in the region. Since coal

provided 50% of electric utility fuel nationally, New England paid dearly for its 60% reliance on oil for electricity generation. While nuclear power supplied one third of the region's electricity (compared to 12% for the country as a whole), revised demand forecasts, escalating costs, regulatory delays, environmental, health and safety concerns and political controversy had all contributed to a slower than predicted growth in nuclear generating capacity. Finally, the energy sources which the region does enjoy in relative abundance - wood, hydroelectric, solar, solid waste, and wind - had not benefitted from the massive governmental financial incentives which had been extended to fossil fuels and nuclear power.

The Arab oil embargo of 1973-'74 marked the end of the era of cheap foreign oil. The intermittent supply disruptions and tripling of oil prices that followed had hit New England especially hard. Many looked to the nation's elected officials for relief from an increasingly unstable and untenable situation.

Despite President Carter's pledge to make the formulation of a coherent energy policy the "moral equivalent of war" in April 1977, the Administration's lobbying and Congress's response lacked the fervor and coherent vision required for major legislative change. Proposals for deregulating gas, decontrolling oil and launching an ambitious conservation and solar program foundered that summer and fall. The nation's elected officials seemed stalemated, unable or unwilling to forge a national policy in the midst of competing regional interests, fuel source advocates, and heavy lobbying by the country's major energy industries.

III. Evolution of the New England Energy Congress

The first suggestion for bringing together New Englanders from a variety of backgrounds to formulate energy policy recommendations for the Congressional delegation surfaced during the summer of 1977. An ad hoc meeting on energy issues was sponsored by Rep. Paul Tsongas (D-Mass.), Energy Task Force co-chairman of the New England Congressional Caucus. Attended by a diverse group of Congressional staff and state, academic and private sector representatives, this meeting resulted in a decision to have the New England Caucus organize a New England Energy Policy Conference. It was this decision and the efforts of the New England Caucus that ultimately led to the creation of the Energy Congress.

Established in 1973 to provide policy analysis and research on issues of regional interest, the New England Congressional Caucus is composed of all twenty-

five Congressional members from the six-state region. The bipartisan Caucus employs a full-time staff of three, and provides analysis to the delegates covering issues with significant and long-term consequences for New England: economic development, energy, and transportation are three central concerns. Examples of Caucus studies include Defense Department expenditures in the region; drinking water supply and quality issues; oil and gas supply; coal conversion potential among regional utilities; Northeast Corridor rail problems; etc. Congressional members rotate responsibility for chairing task forces created to provide guidance and review for particular project areas undertaken by the Caucus. Representatives Edward Boland (D-Mass.) and Silvio Conte (R-Mass.) have co-chaired the Congressional Caucus since 1978.

At the meeting in the summer of 1977, Dr. Arpad Von Lazar, professor at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, suggested that the region bring together New England's energy experts in Blue Ribbon Task Forces to consider and recommend national energy policy initiatives to the Caucus. Von Lazar first envisioned a one-day conference or workshop as a forum for formulating a consensus on energy policy initiatives. In discussions with Representative Tsongas and others present, the concept enlarged to include the formation of several functional groups deliberating for 6-8 months developing concrete recommendations for presentations at a conference for the public and Congressional members. The group asked Caucus Executive Director Robert Pratt to empanel a New England Energy Conference Advisory Committee to plan the formation of a 1978 New England Energy Policy Conference. In January 1978, the Advisory Committee had its first meeting. Lazar, along with a banker, an independent oil company president, a consulting firm executive, and the directors of the three regional energy organizations with public mandates comprised the committee. In addition to Lazar, Robert Mitchell, Acting Regional Representative of the Department of Energy's Region One, Robert Keating, Energy Program Director of the New England Regional Commission, and Dr. Seymour Blum, Director of Energy and Resources Planning, Mitre Corporation were especially active contributors to the planning process. The early participation of these key public regional energy organizations in the planning process pre-empted potential jurisdictional disputes in establishing the project.

Rob Pratt drafted a memorandum for the initial January 12th meeting of the Energy Advisory Committee. The memo highlighted the region's supply vulnerability and price disadvantages. It suggested a basic concept of establishing five or six balanced panels "to meet and produce a findings and recommendations" policy paper in their issue areas two months in advance of a formal public conference to be scheduled in December 1978.¹ The primary objective of the Conference was "that a consensus will emerge on a New England Energy Policy."

The committee met, endorsed the general sense of the Pratt memo, decided to submit proposals for funding to the Economic Development Administration within the Department of Commerce, and to the Department of Energy. Tufts University offered to co-sponsor the project and host its staff in New England. The committee spent considerable time determining a fair selection process for delegates to the Conference. To represent additional interests on the Advisory Committee, consumer, labor, environmental, low-income, and Congressional staff members were invited to join. The Committee also recommended that two reports be produced by the Energy Congress. The first, a preliminary report, would be subject to public review. The second, Blueprint for Energy Action, would be published at the conclusion of the project.

At its January meeting, the Advisory Committee hired H. Bailey Spencer, an aide to Representative Robert Drinan (D-Mass), as Coordinator of the Energy Conference. Spencer worked closely with Pratt and the Advisory Committee in structuring the delegate selection process and the mandates for the task forces. The planning group agreed in March to six committees: Supply, Demand, Conservation, Economic Development through Alternative Energy Sources, Regulatory and Institutional Processes, and Economics and Financing. The name New England Energy Congress was selected to highlight its policy making mandate and its link to the Congressional delegation. Committee guidelines were drafted to focus the efforts of the prospective "delegates". Among these were: singling out areas of agreement; making factual findings as well as recommendations; relying on existing analyses rather than original research; putting emphasis on identifying short-term governmental actions which could be taken to remedy agreed upon problems at the federal, state and local levels.² Two time frames were selected: short-term (1978-1985); and mid-term (1985-2000). The committees' projections would be confined to these planning periods. Consensus was to be the decision-making process adopted for each committee.

A. The Selection Process

Upon preliminary approval for funding from the Economic Development Administration (Commerce) and the Office of Environment (DOE) in March, the Committee issued a news release announcing the project and soliciting applications for delegate participation as volunteers on one of the six committees. Working through newspaper stories and mailings from interest group and trade associations, thousands of New Englanders with an interest in energy received invitations to apply through March and April, 1978. The Committee met frequently in April to screen applications and solicit others from constituencies not responding to initial mailings. Geographical and constituency balance were preeminent objectives in the selection process. Racial and sexual diversity was a second priority in screening applicants.

The letter to prospective participants summarized the purposes and work expectations of the project:

With the goal of developing an energy action plan for the region, the New England Energy Congress will bring together delegates representing the six New England states and the various constituency groups involved in the energy debate (i.e., private industry, labor, consumer groups, the financial community, low income organizations, utilities, environmentalists, small businesses, etc.). Working to achieve consensus, the six committees of the Energy Congress will frame a "New England Blueprint for Energy Action."

Prospective delegates should note that a major commitment of time will be necessary. A minimum of one weekend a month should be expected. In addition, travel to and from the meetings will be necessary. A limited budget to cover transportation expenses is available, with priority given to delegates representing non-profit groups and small businesses.

Response to the invitations from the region was uneven among the constituencies. Environmentalists and utilities met among themselves to select representatives for the Energy Congress. The financial community, labor unions, and low-income groups evidenced only minimal interest. Various advisory committee members, Pratt, and Spencer, called prominent people who worked in these areas and solicited their help in generating more applications. By May, over 500 people applied to be delegates. Every constituency had made a sufficient number of applications to provide the balance sought by the Advisory Committee. The final selection reflects the following geographical and constituency group balance:

Table 1
GEOGRAPHICAL AND CONSTITUENCY GROUP BALANCE

<u>State</u>		<u>Constituency Group</u>	
Connecticut	27	Consumers	11
Maine	13	Educators	9
Massachusetts	47	Environment	11
New Hampshire	11	Finance	7
Rhode Island	12	Government	16
Vermont	10	Ind. & Mfg.	11
	<u>120</u>	Labor	6
		Low-Income	12
		R & D	11
		Small Business	9
		Unaffiliated	4
		Utilities	13
			<u>120</u>

Among the 120 delegates numbered twenty women and five blacks.

A questionnaire mailed to all delegates following the completion of the Final Report queried delegate motivations for applying to the Energy Congress. Among the 69 respondents to the questionnaire, three reasons for applying stood out. In order of importance mentioned they are:

1. To have an impact on regional decision-making on energy issues;
2. to assure my organization or trade association would be represented; and
3. to learn more about energy issues.

To meet others in the energy field, to provide a forum for my ideas or business, and curiosity were other reasons given by some delegates. This response suggests that the Energy Congress affiliation to the Congressional delegation attracted considerable interest among people who wished to influence their national legislators.

B. The First Three Months: Structuring the Process

The initial meetings of each committee in late May served to introduce delegates to each other, elect chairpersons, and establish ground rules, schedules and issues to pursue. After much discussion among Advisory Committee members, agreement was reached not to elaborate on the jurisdictional mandates delivered to the six committees. The task of fine-tuning the committee mandates and structuring the work assignments was left to the delegates.

For most committees these tasks required at least one additional meeting to complete. For two committees, agreeing to the ground rules took a third and fourth meeting. All of the committees eventually formed subcommittees to perform fact-finding tasks and suggest recommendations. A few disbanded their subcommittees upon completion of their assignments and formed new ones. Several committees later formed joint subcommittees with members of other full committees who were pursuing overlapping issues.

For the May and June meeting of committees, Bailey Spencer and his two administrative staff attended and took minutes. The six committee staff researchers were not hired and working until July. The backgrounds of the research people varied: two were social science Ph.D.'s in their early thirties;

two had bachelor's degrees in the social sciences, and had worked recently in public policy settings addressing energy issues and were in their early-to-mid twenties; one was a graduate student in the Tufts Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; and the sixth, in his fifties, had a technical background, hydro-electric power policy analysis experience, and two master's degrees.

The staff researchers' responsibilities included both administrative and policy research and analysis tasks. Minute-taking, meeting arranging, mailing, printing and other communications chores were among the administrative chores; issue briefs, legislative analysis, committee report editing and occasional original research were among the policy tasks assumed by staff. Along with Spencer, the committee staff were responsible for sharing work and delivering updates to committees considering overlapping or identical issues.

Additionally the low-income delegates had submitted a proposal, supported by the Advisory Committee, to the Economic Development Administration for staff support of their interests. The delegates argued that their lack of expertise in energy, their organizations' shortage of funds, and their own shortage of time severely limited their participation in the Energy Congress. They argued that a separate staff capability was necessary to place low-income concerns on an equal footing with those of other constituencies. The proposal was funded in July and two staff people were hired in August. One was a recent college graduate with an activist background; the other was an economist and lawyer in his mid-thirties who had worked previously for low-income advocacy organizations. The latter worked half-time for the twelve low-income delegates, who called themselves the low-income caucus. Rather than follow the progress of any one committee, the low-income caucus staff provided research and analysis for issues considered by the low-income caucus to be significant legislative concerns for the Ninety-Sixth Congress. The decontrol of oil prices, emergency energy assistance, weatherization, and the need for future electrical generation were among the issues receiving attention from the staff. Every one of the six committees considered at least one of these issues. The low-income caucus staff worked on a separate floor in the same building as the Energy Congress staff.

By the end of July, staff were hired, most committees had agreed upon their

leadership, ground rules, and task schedules, and subcommittee work had commenced. The work of accepting data, confirming facts, and debating recommendations had not yet begun. Despite the difficulty of scheduling meetings in the summer months amidst vacations, most subcommittees met at least monthly.

C. The Second Three Months: Producing the Preliminary Report for Public Review

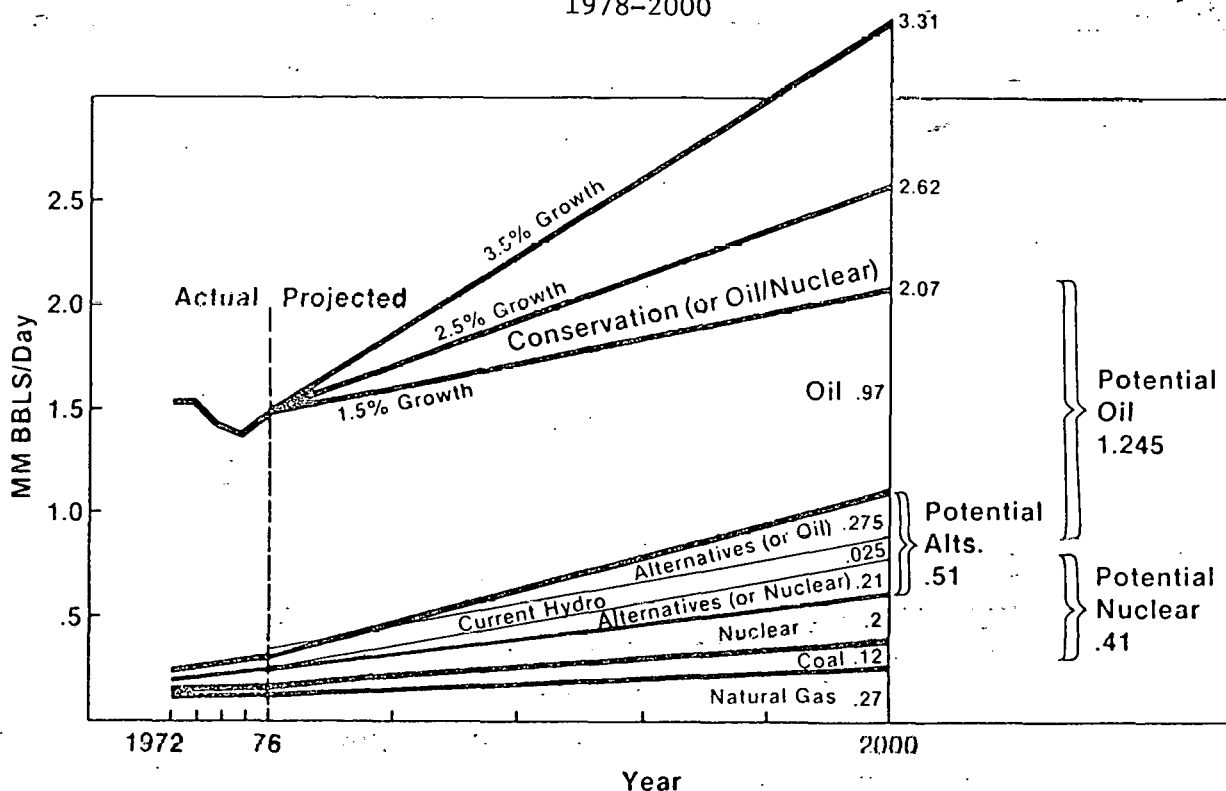
The committees faced a November 1 deadline for preliminary agreements to a description of the regional energy situation bounded by their jurisdictions and to recommendations for action addressed to federal, state and local governments. In early September the elected chairpeople of each committee met with Spencer and the Advisory Committee to agree on common terms for expressing the quantitative analysis and to evolve a common format for writing committee reports. The meeting included committee progress reports and a discussion of means for minimizing committee duplications and facilitating communications concerning issues of joint interest. Several of those in attendance suggested that a coherent report required the completion of work by the Supply and Demand Committees before the commencement of serious discussions in the other four subcommittees. Some delegates argued that these two committees had to provide quantitative "boundaries" within which the other committees would work to make their recommendations. The group finally agreed that frequent progress reports by each committee to the others could enable the work of all committees to proceed concurrently. The "boundaries" argument was dismissed on the grounds that (a) most of the preliminary supply and demand projections and assumptions had been determined already during the summer; and (b) the recommendations from other committees should not be highly sensitive to those projections anyway. Rather they should be viewed as road maps to an optimal and realizable future each committee imagined for itself--informed, of course, by the work and conclusions of the other committees. Agreeing to the essential facts of the current regional situation and to the critical factors underlying those facts would require considerable time and discussion, the delegates and Advisory Committee concluded.

In September, the Demand Committee tentatively agreed to project a growth

rate of approximately 1.5% per year. The Supply Committee refined the estimate to include a band of 1.5 to 3.5% in annual growth, and agreed to an optimal electricity growth rate of 2.2%. In October, the Supply Committee agreed to the contributions each fuel source would make to the overall consumption totals for 1985 and 2000 (Table 2). The Demand Committee made growth projections for the four major consumption sectors—commercial, residential, industrial and transportation. Other committees identified the major problems in their areas and suggested recommendations. For some of the committees, agreement on both problem identification and the solutions was elusive. During early November the 300-page Preliminary Report for Public Review was edited, printed and distributed to almost 3000 individuals and organizations in the region.

The number of reports and recommendations in the Preliminary Report varied considerably from committee to committee. The Supply Committee posted over seventy recommendations and issued a dozen reports; the Energy Economics and Financing Committee had not agreed to any recommendations nor drafted any reports meeting full committee approval. Most of the other committees issued

Table 2
New England Energy Mix
1978-2000



Projection calculated for the single year 2000.

Growth rates are represented as a straight line between point estimates for 1976-2000.

5-7 reports and offered 10-20 recommendations. The recommendations ranged from very broad—"subsidize state of the art alternatives as necessary to expedite a market development"—to very specific—"provide federal loan guarantees for commercial scale high-BTU coal gasification and liquification plants and encourage the rapid development of environmental standards for such plants."

D. The Public Reacts: Months 7 and 8

On December 1 and 2, 1978 the Energy Congress hosted a public meeting for all the delegates, the Congressional delegation and their staff, and interested observers. Several panels of regional experts addressed various aspects of the report. One hundred delegates, five members of Congress, a governor, several state legislators and ten Congressional staff were among those who attended. Stuart Eisenstadt, President Carter's Special Assistant for Domestic Affairs addressed the delegates and announced an Administration decision to roll back an oil import tariff.

Representative Anthony Moffett (D-Connecticut) praised the report generally, but criticized an Energy Congress recommendation to lift price controls on oil. Since the question of price decontrol was at that juncture the most controversial energy legislation facing the Congress, the Energy Congress recommendation (made by the Supply Committee) endorsing oil decontrol in exchange for expanded fuel assistance for low-income people generated the most attention and controversy. Many of the low-income and consumer delegates met during the convention to plan a strategy encouraging the Supply Committee to reconsider its position on decontrol. The full Energy Congress would not be voting on every committee's recommendations until its final meeting in late February.

From December 5 to December 15 the Energy Congress held public hearings in each of the six New England states. Committee chair and vice-chairpeople served on panels hosting the hearings in the their own state. After people testified, the delegates on the panel asked clarifying or follow-up questions of the speakers. The staff recorded the public comments. Over one hundred seventy people spoke at the hearings, mailed written testimony, or both. Seventy-two of these gave no affiliation when they testified. Another twenty were government employees; fourteen represented environmental or anti-nuclear

organizations; nine worked for low-income organizations; eight represented utilities; eight spoke for consumers; engineering societies, R&D firms, small businesses, industrial and manufacturing firms, and universities each had approximately six speakers.

The issues receiving greatest attention were oil decontrol, projected electrical growth rates and planned generating stations, and low-income weatherization and emergency assistance programs. The oil decontrol and nuclear issues drew most of the controversy. The Supply Committee's assertion that three new nuclear plants would be needed given the agreed upon growth projections drew fire from both sides. The anti-nuclear advocates wanted none; the pro-nuclear spokesmen wanted at least six of the eight planned for by New England utilities.

The same groups attacked the projected growth rate as either too high or too low. Consumer and low-income advocates attacked the oil decontrol recommendations; most others endorsed it. The significant recommendations that very little additional new coal and a great deal more natural gas enter the region did not meet with objections among most of those commenting on the report.

E. Concluding the Energy Congress: Debate and Synthesis

In January and February the committees continued to meet, incorporating the public input, refining recommendations, completing research, and integrating and synthesizing their findings with the findings of other committees. Three joint committees were formed to generate recommendations for alternative energy sources, transportation, and residential conservation.

The Supply Committee reconsidered their earlier support for decontrol of crude oil prices. The committee voted 19-1 for a somewhat softer version of the same recommendation. Demonstrating respect for the one low-income delegate's objections, the committee redrafted and agreed to another recommendation which made support for phased decontrol of oil prices contingent upon a variety of pre-existing conditions, including an expanded low-income assistance program, evidence of competition in the refining industry, and stand-by price controls for an emergency.

On February 29, 1979, a plenary session for all delegates was held to review, debate and approve, by majority vote, the reports of each committee. Open debate followed committee reports and further refinements resulted. Finally committee reports were voted upon in their entirety and each was approved overwhelmingly. The vote totals are noted below.

Table 3

Vote Totals of Committee Reports

	<u>Supply</u>		<u>Altern</u>		<u>Demand</u>		<u>Conser</u>		<u>R & I</u>		<u>E & F</u>		<u>Res Pkg</u>	
	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
February 24	44	12	48	4	49	3	51	1	43	6	50	2	46	1
Phone Poll	34	2	35	3	35	2	37	1	35	2	35	2	35	3
TOTAL	78	14	84	7	84	5	88	2	78	8	85	4	81	4

Executive summaries of each committee's final report were drafted in March. Following up a mailing of these summaries to every delegate in April, the staff conducted a telephone poll. The vote was again overwhelming approval, as the following table illustrates.

Table 4

Vote Totals of Executive Summaries

	<u>Congress Wide</u>		<u>Supply</u>		<u>Altern</u>		<u>Demand</u>		<u>Conser</u>		<u>R & I</u>		<u>E & F</u>	
	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
Phone Poll	90	6	84	11	92	3	94	2	94	1	94	1	95	1
Total														

In April and May the staff prepared the final report for printing. The New England Congressional Caucus staff used the final recommendations to assemble a package of twenty legislative bills and a number of letters to executive agencies urging adoption of measures recommended by the Energy Congress. Most of the twenty bills filed by Congressional members provided incentives for renewables and conservation and funding for low-income programs. One resolution expressing support for purchase of additional Mexican oil and gas and a bill to set safety standards for the transportation and operation of gas facilities comprised the actions concerning conventional fuels addressed by the New England delegation. Fifteen to twenty members co-sponsored each of the bills put together for the Energy Congress package.

At seven simultaneous press conferences in Washington and in the six New England states, the Congressional delegation and the Energy Congress delegates released the legislative energy package and final Blueprint for Energy Action in June 1979. The legislation, Blueprint findings and recommendations were page one news in many newspapers across the six states. Media coverage continued with local interviews of Energy Congress delegates for weeks. Three thousand copies of Blueprint and 300 Executive Summaries were printed; over two thousand requests were received within the first several months following publication. Hundreds of copies were sent to federal agencies, state and local governments, for each of whom recommendations were directed.

F. Phases Two and Three of the Energy Congress: 1979-1982

The Division of Environment, Department of Energy accepted a proposal by the staff and Advisory Committee to fund a second year of the Energy Congress from September 1979 to July 1980. In Phase Two, five committees were established to fine-tune and elaborate recommendations made in the Blueprint. A fifty-five member Implementation Task Force participated in one or more of these committees: Wood, Solid Waste and Peat; Electric Issues; Conservation, Solar and Low-Income; Oil and Transportation; and Gas, Coal and Synfuels. In addition to the committee work producing eighteen policy papers for Congress and the states in these areas, the Energy Congress published the Energy Forum, a quarterly publication highlighting energy success stories in the region and updating Congressional and state legislation activity. Ten thousand New Englanders receive the Energy Forum. The work of the Implementation Task Force is capsuled in a Summary of Strategy Papers (Appendix 1).

To oversee and coordinate the continued implementation of the Blueprint and its successor Strategy Papers, the Energy Congress moved its central office to Washington, D.C., in July 1980. The Division of Environment approved Phase Three implementation work for two years, ending in July 1982. With three staff in Washington and one half-time person in Boston, the Energy Congress convenes quarterly delegate sessions, sponsors workshops, continues to publish Energy Forum and provides research and analysis help to the Congressional Caucus and other organizations in the region. *

* The continuing work for Phase Three is not being conducted under Contract DE-AC02-78EV10131.

IV. Evaluating Phase One of the New England Energy Congress

By the fall of 1980, twenty of twenty-five bills eventually included in the Congressional package had been passed in whole or in part. Not all of these bills were introduced as a direct consequence of the Energy Congress, but many were. For the remainder, the Energy Congress Blueprint report stimulated a burst of new legislative co-sponsors and focused additional Congressional attention on the measures. The success of the bills which passed cannot be attributed solely to the work of the Energy Congress. Clearly other reports, including Energy Future (Harvard Business School), Energy: The Next Twenty Years (Ford Foundation), and other national studies contributed to the intellectual and political understanding of energy issues which evolved from 1978 to 1980. Events in the Middle East, oil price increases and Three Mile Island also contributed to the political environment in which the legislative initiatives were considered.

Determining what effect the Energy Congress had on these enactments is difficult to do; as many other factors enter into the political cauldron from which the legislation emerged. Assessing the impacts the Energy Congress had on regional decision-makers is no less difficult to measure. Somewhat easier to assess are the opinions of Energy Congress delegates concerning the value of their experience.

The following sections of this paper review the impacts of the Energy Congress in these areas, beginning with the delegates themselves. The questionnaires mailed to all 120 delegates in July 1979 and various written documents and reports provide a reasonable foundation for evaluating the initial phase's successes and failures on a comparative basis from one committee to the next. The data provided offers some evidence for what aspects of the Energy Congress process worked well and why. Similarly it suggests what did not work well and why it did not. This analysis precedes an examination of the Energy Congress as seen by interested observers who did not participate as delegates and viewed the project over the two years since publication of the Blueprint for Energy Action.

A. The Delegates Assess Their Experience : Committee Perspectives

Responses from the sixty-nine questionnaires returned in July and August 1979 provides a wealth of data for analysis. The forty-one questions probed delegate assessments of individual goals, accomplishments, committee processes, products, and overall accomplishments of the Energy Congress

between May of 1978 and publication of Blueprint in June of 1979.

Although the responses on the questionnaires are imprecise tools for gauging imprecise measures, they generally corroborate evidence discovered in interviews, minutes, and other written documents produced by the committees. The questionnaires are useful additionally because so many delegates returned them: over 50% from five of six committees and in excess of 75% of those still active on their committee at the conclusion of the project.*

Analysis begins with delegate perceptions of the first three meetings their committees held. The questionnaires reveal considerable variation in delegate perceptions of how well the division of labor, schedules, decision-making, and other formal rules were handled within each committee. The questionnaire asked delegates to rate their own committee's performance only.

The importance of committee mandate to later committee success in producing high quality recommendations and final reports is a strong linkage that the questionnaire reveals. Answering "Was the formal mandate to your committee clear and well articulated?", 87% of the delegates from the Supply Committee said "yes," but only 25% of the Energy Economics and Financing Committee answered affirmatively. The Supply Committee generated more reports and recommendations than any other committee. The Energy Economics and Finance Committee generated the fewest. (See Table 5.) The other four committees also line up similarly in ranking on both the mandate clarity and overall performance measures. It is not surprising that the "Regulatory and Institutional Processes" Committee and the "Energy Economics and Financing" Committee would have the most trouble clarifying their jurisdictions and tasks. Their issues cut across the jurisdictions of the other four committees. Their scope was harder to define. Agreeing upon the issue boundaries of these two committees and structuring the sequence of tasks to follow and subcommittees to carry out those tasks took three-four months for these two committees and demoralized many delegates.

*The original non-response bias was minimized by telephoning all delegates two weeks after the questionnaires were mailed out. When comparing responses by constituency, 7 of 12 had majority responses, and 10 of 12 received 40% of better responses.

To probe further how well the committees organized their work, gathered data, and made decisions, the questionnaire posed several questions to delegates. To the question "Do you feel your committee established a worthwhile, logical, timely and feasible sequence of tasks for the time constraints and resource limitations under which it labored?", the Supply and Demand Committees answered overwhelmingly "yes." (See Table 6.) Only three of nine of the Regulatory and Institutional Issues Committee members so responded, and just five of 12 Conservation Committee members. While the responses to this question do not array the committees in the same way as does the mandate clarity questions, the two committees rated highest on several performance measures and the mandate clarity question are highest on this measure too; two of the bottom three committees on performance measures and mandate clarity rate themselves among the lowest three on the task organization question.

Most of the committees delegated the initial fact-finding and report-writing tasks to subcommittees of 5-6 members each. In so doing, committees hoped to establish trust among people with diverse backgrounds and viewpoints. Meeting in small, informal groups to agree on facts rather than debate recommendations proved to be a worthwhile strategy for the committees which could agree upon their jurisdictions, tasks, and related ground rules. To the question "How important was the initial investigative work done by each subcommittee in your committee's success or lack of success?", three of the committees indicated it was "important" and three were non-committal. (See Table 7.) The three who considered subcommittee work important were the three most productive committees, as determined by the number of committee reports, number of recommendations, and delegate evaluations.

Only the Supply Committee members strongly defended the fact-finding process completed by their subcommittees. Eleven of the fifteen Supply Committee respondents answered "no" to the question "Do you think the Committee's overall work would have been better served by some other fact-finding process?" No other committee had more than half respond "no" and three committees -- Demand, Alternatives and Conservation -- had one-third or fewer respond "no." The alternatives suggested were more technical staff hiring, seminars with well-known experts, and the presentation of technical papers by qualified consultants. This response and interviews with selected delegates and staff indicate that several committees might have been better served with more technical expertise.

TABLE 5

Was the formal mandate to your Committee clear and well articulated?

	Supply	Demand	Altern.	Conser.	Reg & Inst.	Econ. & Fin.
Ranking:	1	2	3	4	5	6
Percentage Yes	87	67	38	33	30	25

(Percentage Responding "Yes")

	Committee Products					
Ranking:	2	1	3	4	5	6
Number of Recommendations	60	81	28	25	12	12
Ranking:	1	1	2	1	3	4
Number of Reports	19	19	7	19	5	2

TABLE 6

Do you feel your Committee established a worthwhile, logical, timely and feasible sequence of tasks for the time constraints and resource limitations under which it labored?

	Supply	Demand	Altern.	Conser.	Reg. & Inst.	Econ. & Fin.
Ranking:	1	2	4	5	6	3
% Yes	80	67	54	42	30	62.5

(Percentage Responding "Yes")

TABLE 7

Do you think the Committee's overall work would have been better served by some other fact-finding process (e.g., invited experts hosting seminars)?

	Supply	Demand	Altern.	Conser.	Reg. & Inst.	Econ. & Fin.
Ranking:	1	5	4	6	2	5
% No	75	25	30	0	50	50

supplied by outside consultants or by additional technically-qualified staff.

Perhaps the most important decision-making ground rule to establish was defining consensus. Spencer, Pratt, and the Advisory Committee again felt each committee should determine that process by themselves. For most committees it proved to be a difficult decision to make. Only two committees agreed that consensus decisions were unanimous decisions. The Supply Committee agreed to that definition in their first meeting; the Economics and Financing Committee in their third. The Demand Committee agreed that consensus would be defined by a two-thirds vote. The other three committees did not definitively resolve the issue of consensus, according to the delegates questioned about it. About half in each of these three committees felt it was defined as "unanimous agreement;" the other half responded that no definition was approved or they were "not sure" a decision had been reached concerning the definition of consensus.

Another question probed to what extent the consensus process determined which issues received committee attention. The two committees with the fewest recommendations and reports responded near unanimously "A great deal." The other four committees clustered their responses in between "A great deal" and "Very little or none." This pattern suggests that consensus decision-making is viewed as somewhat irrelevant to the issues agenda established by committees with clear mandates and well-organized subcommittees and as a restrictive barrier to those lacking both. Very likely some interaction effect among the three variables is operating. Clear mandates facilitate logical structuring of tasks and schedules and provide an environment open to consideration of all issues under most forms of decision-making. Alternatively, researchers of consensus decision-making have argued that consensus decision-making inspires trust, straightforward discussion, a balancing of viewpoints, and consideration of issues considered important to any one participant.*

* See for example, William Ouchi's Theory Z (Addison-Wellesley Publishing Co., Reading, MA, 1981) p. 42; and Dee G. Appley and Alvin E. Winder, "An Evolving Definition of Collaboration and Some Implications for the World of Work," Journal of Applied Behavioral Science (Vol. 13, No. 3, 1979).

In addition to the organizational structure and ground rules variables, committee leadership and competent staffing are important factors contributing to the performance of all six committees. Consistent with the findings of scholars observing organizational behavior and development, the significance of these two committee attributes should not be discounted. Three of the six committees responded to the question "To what degree do you attribute your committee's success or lack of success to the chairperson?", with an rating above "4" on a scale of 1-5 in escalating importance. The other three rate this question just above "3". The Supply Committee respondents gave the question an average 4.6 rating. The Demand Committee, surpassing the Supply Committee in number of recommendations and equal in number of reports, recorded an average 4.2 rating. Since a high rating could also reflect disappointment in the perceived poor performance of a chairman, the lack of a consistent pattern among the other four committees is not surprising.

Interestingly, the "evenhandedness" of the chairperson appears to be unrelated to his or her effectiveness and unrelated to the committee's performance. The Alternatives Committee chairman, who enjoyed the highest rating of evenhandedness (4.5), worked for the committee who ranked their chairman least important (3.2) to the overall success of the committee. Alternatively, the Supply Committee ranked their chairman only somewhat evenhanded (3.8), the fifth lowest rating any committee gave to their chairperson.

Respondents to the question "How satisfied were you with the performance of your committee staff person?" mirrored committee performance as measured by number of reports and recommendations and committee member evaluation. Two of the top three committees in overall performance provided better than 4.5 ratings for their staff researchers. The third committee received a 4.1, in part a hybrid rating of two people who shared the job over the course of the year. The second staffer received an average 4.5 rating by those who rated him alone. The other three staff rankings ranged from 3.5 to 4.

TABLE 8

A. How important was the Chair to your Committee? To what degree do you attribute your Committee's success or lack of success to the Chairperson?

B. How would you rate the evenhandedness of your Chairperson?

C. How satisfied were you with the performance of your Committee staff person?

	Low 1 2 3 4 5 High					
	Supply	Demand	Altern.	Conser.	Reg. & Inst.	Econ. & Fin.
A.						
Ranking:	1	3	6	4	2	5
Raw Score	4.6	4.2	3.2	3.3	4.3	3.25
B.						
Ranking:	5	2	1	6	4	2
Raw Score	3.8	4.2	4.5	2.9	4	4
C.						
Ranking:	1	4	2	3	5	5
Raw Score	4.8	4.1	4.6	3.9	3.6	3.9

The administration staff received a 4.1 rating, approximately the same rating which committee staff researchers received collectively from respondents. The question posed to delegates was "How well do you feel the administrative staff, as distinguished from the Committee staff person, performed in managing the day-to-day organizational issues affecting your Committee and the overall functioning of the Energy Congress?" The generally high rating enjoyed by administrative and committee staff reflects general satisfaction with the support and direction provided the delegates during the first year of the Energy Congress.

Three questions examined the delegates' perceptions of the value of their experience with the Energy Congress. One probed the knowledge gained during the process. The average response to the question, "How much new knowledge did you gain as a result of your participation in the Energy Congress?", is a 3.4, indicating some modest improvement in learning associated with the experience. The Committee variation ranged from a high of 4.2 from the Supply Committee to a low of 3.1 from the Regulatory and Institutional Processes Committee. To the question, "In general, how would you rate your involvement in the Energy Congress?", delegates rated their experience along a 1-5 "Unsatisfactory" to "Very Satisfactory" range. The average overall

rating is 3.5, indicating lukewarm satisfaction. The range extends from a 4.5 rating from Supply Committee members to a 2.9 average from the Energy Economics and Financing Committee.

TABLE 9

In General, How Would You Rate Your Involvement in the Energy Congress?

[Unsatisfactory 1 2 3 4 5 Satisfactory]

	Supply	Demand	Altern.	Conser.	Reg. & Inst.	Econ. & Fin.
Ranking	1	3	2	5	4	6
Raw Score	4.4	3.6	3.9	3	3.3	2.9

The top three committees in volume of reports and recommendations earned committee ratings above 3.5; the bottom three were all below 3.5.

The third indication of delegate perceptions of the value of their participation is the time each invested in Energy Congress activities. Since no one was paid directly for time spent on Energy Congress matters, this barometer of delegate interest is a significant one. The range varies from the Demand Committee's respondents' reported average of ten hours per week to the Conservation and Regulatory and Institutional Processes Committees' 4.5 hours per week average. Since not all delegates answered this or any other question, some discounting must occur to accommodate the non-respondents. Two other measures inform this discounting process: the number of delegates from each committee responding to the questionnaire, and the average attendance at full committee meetings.* Table 10 reveals the distribution of questionnaires returned and meeting attendance by committee.

TABLE 10

"Personal Time Commitment, Questionnaire Response by Committee, and Attendance at Meetings"

- A. Average Hours per Week
- B. Number Returning Questionnaire
- C. Average Meeting Attendance

	Supply	Demand	Altern.	Conser.	Reg. & Inst.	Econ. & Fin.
A.						
Ranking	2	1	3	5	3	5
Hours/Week	8	10	5	4.5	5	4.5
B.						
Ranking	1	2	2	3	5	6
Ques'nrs Ret'd	15	12	12	12	10	8
C.						
Ranking	1	2	2	4	5	5
Delegates	15	12	12	10	8	8
ending Mtgs.						

* The number of delegates attending meetings is averaged for the entire year from meeting minutes and estimates provided by committee staffers.

Not surprisingly, the data is quite consistent with the indicators of knowledge gained, relative satisfaction of involvement, and time spent on Energy Congress activities. The distinctions between the three top committees in performance and the three least productive committees maintain themselves. Although the marginal differences in ratings between the third and fourth committees are generally not significant, the consistency in ranking from one measure to the next is significant.

In summary, the committees which were most prolific in generating reports and recommendations were also going to more meetings, spending more time, and were more satisfied with their involvement than the least prolific committees. The committees with clear mandates organized themselves more efficiently and also produced more work. Consensus decision-making was clearly established as unanimous agreement by the committees which produced the most and least respectively; for the rest, unanimity did not operate and delegates disagreed about what the decision-making process was. The committees with more competent staff also tended to perform better. The leadership of committee chairmen was deemed important by two of the three committees which generated the most work, and not very significant by two of the three committees which produced the least work. Of all the variables, clear mandate, staff competence, and committee leadership appear to be most decisive in determining committee output. The organization of work, decision-making rules, and presence or absence of unanimous agreement are important, but subordinate, attributes related to committee production. Some or all of these attributes are also most probably associated with mandate clarity, staff competence and/or committee leadership.

B. Constituency Perceptions and Participation in the Energy Congress

The twelve constituencies represented in the Energy Congress committees differed in their experiencing of the process in some predictable and some quite unpredictable ways. Table 11 breaks out the constituencies, their representation among the 120 delegates, the number responding to the questionnaire, and their time commitments.

TABLE 11

	Time in Hours/Wk.	No. Questionnaires Returned	Total Delegates Participating
Consumer	2	4	11
Environment	10	6	11
Finance	5	4	7
Government	6	10	16
Ind. & Mfg.	4.5	5	11
Labor	1	2	6
Low Income	7.4	10	12
R & D	4.5	9	11
Small Business	4	6	9
Education	6.3	7	9
Utilities	4.5	6	13
Unaffiliated	2	1	4

Since the universe of delegates in each constituency is relatively small, and the number of questionnaires returned from each constituency even smaller, generalizations about constituency patterns are difficult to make with confidence. One relationship between number of questionnaire responses and time commitments does seem to hold up to evidence presented by committee minutes and staff interviews: the constituencies with few active participants on their committees returned few questionnaires. As Table 11 demonstrates, the consumer organization representatives, the labor delegates and unaffiliated delegates contributed the least time to the Energy Congress activities. Environmental, low-income, education (from universities), and government representatives contributed the most time to their respective committees.*

The time commitment by each constituency is also somewhat related to delegate ratings of their relative satisfaction accorded their involvement with the Energy Congress. The education, low-income, environmental, R&D, and governmental constituencies rated their involvement between somewhat satisfactory and satisfactory; the consumer and utility representatives were midway between satisfaction and dissatisfaction in their assessments. (See Table 12.)

To the question, "What impact do you think the Energy Congress findings and recommendations will have on the New England Congressional Delegation," the overall response was midway between none (1) and great (5). But there were important committee variations, most of which are related to the results of the time commitment and degree of satisfaction questions. The government, low-income, and education constituencies clustered near a "4" or "great" impact assessment. Surprising is the additional presence of consumer organizations in this category. On the other hand, utility, finance, industry and manufacturing, and small business delivered ratings between 2 and 3. This finding may reflect in part the relative pleasure or displeasure with which delegates viewed the thrust of recommendations directed to the Congress.

* Except for this question, which has corroboration from other sources, the questionnaire responses of unaffiliated and labor representatives are not listed because only one of the former and two of the latter groups returned questionnaires.

TABLE 12

In general, how would you rate your involvement in the Energy Congress?

Very Satisfactory 5 4 3 2 1 Unsatisfactory

	Rating
Consumer	2.8
Environment	3.7
Finance	3.3
Government	3.6
Ind. & Mfg.	3.4
Low Income	4.1
R & D	3.7
Small Business	3.3
Education	4.3
Utilities	3.3

Consistent with the assessment of impact on Congress by constituencies is the rating by delegates to the question, "To what extent did your involvement in the Energy Congress achieve the personal goals you had when you started?" As Table 13 reveals, environmentalists, low income representatives and educators were very pleased; utility, industry and manufacturing and consumer representatives were somewhat displeased. The consumer displeasure may be related to the general dissatisfaction with the Preliminary Report's endorsement of oil decontrol and the fact that three of the four consumer delegates responding served on two of the least productive committees.

An interesting finding was the degree to which delegates trusted other delegates to attempt compromise on important issues. To the question, "At the outset, did you generally trust that delegates with differing perspectives and attitudes from your own would attempt to compromise on important issues?", only about 30% answered yes. The remainder answered "no" or "not sure." Yet three of

TABLE 13

To what extent did your involvement in the Energy Congress achieve the personal goals you had when you started?

A Great Extent 5 4 3 2 1 Not At All

	Rating
Consumer	2.8
Environment	4.7
Finance	3.3
Government	3.4
Ind. & Mfg.	2.6
Low Income	4.3
R & D	3.5
Small Business	1.3
Education	4.3
Utilities	2.7

five industrial and manufacturing delegates and two of four finance representatives answered yes. In contrast, one of six utility delegates said yes; one of six environmentalists; two of ten low-income representatives; and one of four consumer advocates.

If initial trust was low, attitude change was high across the board. In all but two constituencies over half of the respondents answered affirmatively to the question, "Did your attitude about the value of your involvement in the Energy Congress change at any time during the course of your participation?" Those two were finance and education. No explanations for the two aberrations are readily apparent.

The final question of interest concerning constituencies addresses the perception of committee balance. Delegates were asked: "Did you feel that all important constituencies were adequately balanced on your committee?" Better

than two-thirds of the environmentalists, educators, government employees, low income, consumer, and R & D representatives said yes. Fewer than half of the utilities (2 of 6), finance (1 of 4), and industry and manufacturing (2 of 5) answered affirmatively. Generally these groups wanted more of their own kind sitting in the room with them. This perspective may reflect the general experience of these groups in which decision-making and meetings of substance do not generally include environmentalists, low income groups and consumer advocates. These more traditional "Chamber of Commerce" delegates may have resented to some degree the inclusion of their adversaries in meeting rooms. Conversely, the general satisfaction among the other constituencies may reflect in part the realization that participation in a forum of this kind was a rare and welcome opportunity for many delegates.

In summary, the environmentalists, low income representatives, governmental employees, and educators put more into the Energy Congress, and felt they got more out of it. The utility, industrial and manufacturing, small business, finance and consumer representatives put less in, and were less enthusiastic about their involvement and the final product. Unfortunately, most of the labor delegates did not participate actively from the beginning, so this lack of involvement was a disappointment to all.

Most of the delegates, regardless of constituency, entered the project with a great deal of curiosity and very little faith that compromise and consensus decision-making would work. The great majority changed their attitude about the value of their participation, either gaining respect for their fellow delegates (in a few cases, less respect), or changing their mind on a particular issue. This attitudinal change bears no significant relationship to constituency.

C. Delegate Frustrations and Satisfaction

Among the questions whose responses are not associated with committee or constituency are delegate recollections of the greatest frustrations and greatest satisfactions. The responses to these open-ended questions struck some oft-repeated themes.* Among frustrations, the lack of time was most frequently

* The open-ended nature, multiple response, and lack of committee or constituency association with particular responses does not readily lend this question to quantitative analysis.

mentioned. Delegates wished they had had more of their own time to give to resolving stalemated or complex issues. The varying levels of knowledge among delegates bothered the technically-trained delegates who were impatient with the learning process required of many delegates to understand the dimensions of energy issues. The failure to resolve oil decontrol and the nuclear stalemate question bothered many delegates, particularly those in favor of decontrol and construction of more nuclear plants. The perceived unwillingness of delegates to compromise on some significant issues irritated delegates in practically every constituency. A related frustration was the ability of a single delegate or a small group to block agreement on a recommendation. Several delegates complained about the lack of a clear mandate for their committees or the lack of clarity concerning the decision-making process. A few delegates were upset that communications between committees was not more frequent and more detailed. And finally, a handful of delegates objected to the "special interest" pressures bearing upon delegates after the release of the Preliminary Report. These "special interests" referred to were probably the strong, organized opposition to the oil price decontrol recommendation expressed by low income and consumer organizations to their Energy Congress delegates.

The greatest satisfactions mentioned centered on three closely related themes: (1) working with people of diverse backgrounds; (2) agreeing to many conclusions and recommendations in a consensus process; and (3) generating a final product of high calibre. Some delegates mentioned that agreements on particular issues brought them great satisfaction. The three issues named frequently either in conjunction with this question or in responding to a question concerning issues about which delegates changed their minds are low income assistance, the importance of conservation, and the significant potential of renewable fuel sources.

A third question asked what changes in the Energy Congress structure, staffing or decision-making delegates would recommend if the project were starting over. Table 14 presents the suggestions given and the number of

delegates making them.

TABLE 14
Recommended Changes in Structuring the Energy Congress

"If the Energy Congress began today, what would you urge it to do to structure itself, staff it, establish deadlines or organize itself differently?"

<u>Suggestions:</u>	<u># of Delegates*</u>
Do nothing differently	24
Make mandates clearer, structure committees differently	16
Start staff earlier, hire additional or more technical staff	8
Bring in more technical experts from the region	6
Define consensus more clearly	4
Provide a more balanced delegation	4
Others	25

* Some delegates made more than one suggestion

Better than a third of the delegates made no recommendations. The most frequently mentioned suggestions concerned the definition and mandate of the committees. Several of these also urged that fewer committees be created. Eight delegates made staffing suggestions. Most of these recommended that committee staff be hired earlier and/or that more staff with technical backgrounds be hired. Six delegates felt the contributions of more technically competent experts should be utilized frequently. Four wanted a clearer definition of consensus; the same number wanted a more "balanced" delegation.

D. Evaluation by Non-Participants

In the summer of 1979 and two years later, separate groups of non-participants were queried about the impact of the New England Energy Congress. In 1979 fifty

key energy decision-makers in the public and private sectors who worked in New England received questionnaires seeking their assessments of the quality of findings and recommendations contained in the Blueprint for Energy Action. In the summer of 1981 four regional leaders in public policy positions were asked their opinions of the Energy Congress's impact. In Washington, Congressional Caucus and staff of Congressional members and a Congressman were asked to evaluate the effect of the Energy Congress on their members. The responses from all these groups are very positive.

Of the fifty energy decision-makers mailed questionnaires who did not participate in the Energy Congress in 1979, thirty-two responded. Twenty-four rated the quality of the findings and recommendations as "good" or "very good." Four felt they were "poor" or "very poor" and four rated them "average." Since presumably only those who read at least the Executive Summary of Blueprint could evaluate its findings and recommendations, this evaluation represents a high response rate and strong support for the product generated by the Energy Congress.

Two years later observers have a better perspective for judging the impact of the Energy Congress on events in Washington and in the region. The four non-participants interviewed in the region include the director of a university energy program, the former regional director of the Department of Energy, the director of alternate energy programs for the New England Regional Commission and a policy planning director in a state energy office. All praised the report. Typical comments were "very positive", a source of "useful information", and an "excellent forum for the exchange of ideas". Three pointed out that they still used Blueprint as a reference for its depth of quantitative data.

One interviewee concluded that the central value of the Energy Congress was its role in raising consciousness about energy issues among "key players" in the region. The long-term value of conservation was the point it made best, he observed. It forced people to "think through issues and set objectives for the first time" was another comment. It promoted "good will", "generated lots of concepts", and involved a large percentage of the "movers and shakers" in the region.

Two observers said that the fuel mix scenarios outlined in the report were useful planning guides for the state energy offices. In fact two state energy offices have changed their policy planning methodologies to incorporate more

of the qualitative analysis mode contained in Blueprint.

There were some criticisms. The large volume of recommendations and the committee process does not lead to a clear sense of priorities among recommendations, concluded one regional leader. The linear projections of fuel use by the Supply Committee was criticized as unrealistic. Another person felt that the momentum for implementation of the recommendations was insufficient. The effort needed more milestones and a regional organization like the Tennessee Valley Authority with the power and capital resources to invest in a successful implementation, he concluded.

The author has witnessed other observations from delegates and non-participants alike over the past two years. Regional impacts of note commented upon by former delegates include the influence of the Energy Congress on the formulation of NEESPLAN, a long-term power plan released by the New England Electric System. The plan's emphasis on conservation, load management, and renewables for supplying future demand fulfills many of the recommendations declared in Blueprint. The chairman of the Supply Committee was a top executive with New England Electric, and a major booster of the Energy Congress. While New England Electric does not credit the Energy Congress for inspiring NEESPLAN, company officials do concede that the Energy Congress had an effect on its content and its timing.

The Conservation Law Foundation, a regional environmental organization, had virtually no previous involvement in energy issues beyond oil exploration and refinery issues. As a result of their representatives' learning in the Energy Congress, the organization moved into utility and conservation areas, working often with other organizations whose representatives they met during the Energy Congress. In fact, a network of contacts among people who did not know each other before the Energy Congress was established and maintained in the ensuing two years. These contacts resulted in new jobs for several delegates and new cooperative arrangements among organizations in many more. The networking conceived in this common, intense experience has facilitated the exchange of technical and policy information throughout the region.

E. Capitol Hill Responses

The New England Congressional delegation and their staff were very enthusiastic interviewees concerning the Energy Congress. Congressman Stewart McKinney's assessment "wildly effective" only slightly exaggerates the reception

that Blueprint for Energy Action received in Washington. Representative McKinney (R-CT) called his involvement "one of the most pleasant I've had since coming to Washington". He cited the extent of Congressional participation in Energy Congress events and the bipartisanship as testaments to the project's effectiveness.

Larry Halloran, former Legislative Assistant to McKinney, recalls that the Blueprint "diffused the crybaby image" the region had in Congress given members' frequent pleading for price breaks on foreign and domestic fuels because New England lacked indigenous resources. Halloran remembers a Texas Congressman attacking the region in a speech on the House floor for its "do-nothingness" on energy. After receiving a copy of the Blueprint, the Congressman told Representative McKinney, "I don't agree with much you've said in here, but I'm impressed that you're working so hard at it." Since that day the Congressman has not uttered a disparaging word on the subject of New England and energy, reports Rep. McKinney.

The effect of Blueprint on the New England delegation varied according to congressional office, but it was basically a consciousness-raising vehicle. For the great majority of members, it demonstrated that conservation and renewables held substantial near-term potential to displace foreign oil. Many had thought of conservation as inconsequential and renewables as exotic before the report. For the few members who had been active in promoting more Federal government activity in conservation and renewables, the Blueprint served to bring credibility and respectability to their campaigns. Sponsors of wood legislation in northern New England, for example, could now enlist sponsors from southern New England—even from members whose districts burned very little wood. Active support of the wood stove tax credit, the Conservation and Solar Bank, and the hydroelectric tax credit among Caucus members rose dramatically within six months of the reports' publication, according to several Congressional staff members.

Low-income fuel assistance and weatherization advocacy among the New England delegation also increased significantly. What had been a concern became a priority for many members. New England is viewed as a bastion of support for low-income energy programs nationally since late 1979. While not all of these shifts can be attributed solely to the Energy Congress, Congressional staff members allocate to it considerable credit.

The prospects for natural gas and synfuel projects in the region also gained momentum from recommendations and findings published in Blueprint. Many in the delegation were not aware of the extent to which natural gas could displace heating oil in the urban residential sector. Regional synfuels demonstrations fueled by wood, coal, and peat attracted the attention of legislators who viewed the synfuels program solely as a Western bonanza.

Several staff members interviewed said that their offices used Blueprint as their chief reference on energy issues. Recent committee hearings and legislative initiatives liberally quote passages and data from Blueprint, according to several observers. Another Capitol Hill staffer knowledgeable in energy issues summarized his view: "There was nothing original offered, but Blueprint made energy a regional priority, moving the delegation from rhetoric to action."

If the comments are overwhelmingly favorable, they are not unanimous. Rep. David Emery (R-Maine) criticized the Energy Congress's under-emphasis of the impacts nuclear energy and coal can make in addressing the regions' oil dependence problem. Emery's view has been shared by some utility executives, who have expressed their negative views through newspaper columns in the region. Yet other utility executives have praised the work of the Energy Congress, and utility lobbyists in Washington have not attempted to attack or undermine the essential findings and recommendations of Blueprint.

Caucus Director Pratt estimates he has cited the Blueprint in twenty memoranda, urging support or providing updates to New England members on energy issues since 1979. "It's remarkable," Pratt observes, "that members and their staff, operating in an environment of healthy skepticism, have never once challenged the accuracy of a finding or statement reported in Blueprint."

In summary, the Energy Congress process appears to have generated a communications and information network in the region among people who shared an intense and generally productive experience and some common perspectives for viewing New England's energy situation. For raising consciousness about the region's problems and opportunities, the Blueprint has had at least a modest impact on public and private leaders in the energy field. The Energy Congress has brought specific people and organizations together who have now embarked upon cooperative ventures not anticipated before their meeting. Some have even argued that the consensus mode of the Energy Congress has inspired more cooperative undertakings to anticipate and resolve energy-related disputes..

While this is an intriguing hypothesis, no compelling evidence exists to support the notion that the Energy Congress is responsible for the few consensus mediation projects underway in the Northeast.

In Washington, the consciousness-raising impact of the Blueprint is demonstrable. Interviews with Congressional staff and Representative McKinney prompt the conclusion that the report also accelerated Congressional action in behalf of conservation, renewables, and low-income assistance legislation and appropriations. The follow-on activities of Phases Two and Three, particularly enhanced by the presence of Energy Congress staff in Washington to provide research and analysis support for the Congressional Caucus, have enabled the initial momentum to continue. As one staffer put it, "I can't finally evaluate the Energy Congress today because it's still paying benefits; it's not over."

V. The Political and Environmental Context of the Energy Congress

For government agencies interested in the replicability of an Energy Congress, understanding its political and environmental context is important. Consensus decision-making to resolve environmental and energy disputes did not originate with the New England Energy Congress. In recent years site-specific consensus procedures have been initiated for disputes arising from the proposed operation of small hydroelectric dams to the uses of national forestland. To avoid the narrowly-defined, time-consuming, and expensive processes of legal adjudication in courtrooms, disputants have increasingly chosen mediation as an alternative. Moderated by professional mediators, the successful mediation sessions have been examined by scholars. Already a theoretical approach to mediation has appeared. In a soon-to-be-published article, Lawrence Susskind and Alan Weinstein have isolated the critical elements to successful environmental mediation. "Towards a Theory of Environmental Dispute Resolution" lists the essential attributes of mediation:

- (1) the existence of a stalemate;
- (2) motivation by all parties to break the stalemate;
- (3) identification of stakeholders;
- (4) representation of stakeholders in mediation process;
- (5) narrow the agenda and confront differences;
- (6) generate a sufficient number of options;
- (7) agree on boundaries, schedule;

- (8) weigh, scale and amalgamate judgements about costs and benefits;
- (9) mediate data and share it; agree upon facts;
- (10) determine fair compensation;
- (11) implement bargain;
- (12) hold parties to commitment.

Most of these elements fit well with the Energy Congress's prior situation and ultimate process. No one was willing to accept the precarious status quo of the region's energy situation. The "stakeholders" were identified in an elaborate process and selected in an equitable manner. The agenda was not nearly so narrow as a site-specific dispute; this was a regional issue and more a "conflict anticipation" process since particular disputes in the sense encountered by environmental mediation efforts were not at issue. Rather, a broad public policy received attention for a wide geographical area. This facet of the Energy Congress sets it apart from almost every predecessor. Perhaps only the National Coal Policy Project is an analogue (although its agenda was much more narrowly focused and its participation did not include all stakeholder groups.)

The Energy Congress' agreement on boundaries was not precise, according to many delegates. It was the chief criticism voiced in delegate evaluations. The schedule was clearly established at the outset, however. Making judgements about costs and benefits and mediating data were particular strengths of the Energy Congress committees, with many reports and recommendations. The process of agreeing to facts first at the subcommittee level established a solid basis of trust and cooperation for full committee deliberations on costs and benefits. The determination of fair compensation was not a salient issue because participants were not bargaining away their own resources. This kind of policy discussion is one step removed from the horse trading involved in site-specific dispute resolution. Yet delegates did compromise positions on issues in order to agree to recommendations which could lead to benefits for their constituencies. Without such compromises, the entire process could have foundered.

The regional and policy orientation of the Energy Congress makes the last two elements of the successful process particularly elusive. The Energy Congress itself cannot implement any of the recommendations. Instead its co-sponsor, the New England Congressional delegation, must work towards policy implementation. And members of Congress must bring along their colleagues from the rest of the country. While many of the recommendations are directed to

state legislators and municipalities and some to federal and state agencies, there exists the same separation between source of recommendations and source of implementation.

Yet the co-sponsorship of the Congressional delegation, the breadth of policy issues considered, the inclusion of all stakeholders and the consensus process combined to make the force of Blueprint recommendations considerably stronger than those of typical advisory groups established by federal agencies. As Congressional staff members repeatedly observed, the report had credibility because of its inclusive membership and its near-unanimous approval process.

The Energy Congress's special relationship to the legislative branch, its effort to include all stakeholders, its consensus process, its public hearings phase, and its peculiar boundaries, schedules and staffing raise both expectations and questions about its applicability in other situations. For what kinds of disputes or potential disputes is this kind of structure and process most appropriate? How directly should government actors be involved? What structural, process or staffing adaptations should be made under what circumstances? These and related questions require a broader analysis of dispute resolution and citizen participatory policy deliberations than the scope of this paper allows. A second paper will investigate other consensus processes in this country to better advise government agencies and other interested parties concerning the limits and opportunities for similarly structured projects.

VI. Conclusion

By most indicators, the Energy Congress succeeded in convincing decision-makers in the region and the New England Congressional delegation that concerted political action could alleviate the region's untenable energy situation. Blueprint for Energy Action did outline a scenario for alleviating New England's oil dependence, and recommended specific steps for making a transition to a more self-sufficient energy economy. More importantly, the specific recommendations and findings were credible and compelling to especially the Congressional delegation. While a host of other reports and events contributed to the

delegation's advocacy of particular legislative initiatives in conservation, renewables and low-income energy assistance, the Energy Congress was preeminent among them. The delegation's interest in natural gas, synfuels, and coal conversions also grew as a consequence of the exposure Blueprint recommendations received.

To the degree that the Energy Congress succeeded in creating a vision and a strategy for a more palatable energy future in the region, several key environmental, structural and process elements stand out as contributing factors. Among these are the impatience with traditional institutions for resolving the region's energy predicament and the leadership and sponsorship of the Congressional Caucus in establishing the Energy Congress. The inclusion of all stakeholders in a selection process perceived to be fair was critically important. So too was mandating a consensus decision-making process. Clarity of issues and agenda definition, strict scheduling, committee leadership, staff competence, and task organization were all important contributors to high-quality products. Not all committees exhibited these attributes, but enough did to produce an overall document which received good reviews throughout the region.

Furthermore both the Congressional delegation and the Energy Congress participants judged the experience to be a satisfactory one. The continuing regional contacts, information exchange and good-will produce a stream of benefits impossible to measure. The continuing Congressional delegation reliance on the information and staff associated with the Energy Congress has helped the delegation to focus and work together on energy issues and heightened the credibility and effectiveness of the Caucus staff in energy and non-energy issues.

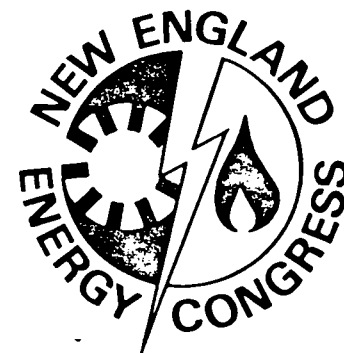
The full agenda of Blueprint for Energy Action has not yet been taken up by Congress. The delegation's interest in it has not yet abated. A final assessment of the Energy Congress's impact awaits the passage of a few more years.

References

1. "New England Energy Policy Conference Prospects and Options for Regional Energy and Economic Development," a memorandum from Rob Pratt, Executive Director of New England Congressional Caucus to New England Energy Conference Advisory Committee, January 9, 1978, p. 2.
2. "New England Congressional Caucus Energy Congress Committee Guidelines," draft, March 17, 1978. William F. Morrill, Advisory Committee member.

Summary of Strategy Papers

Prepared by the
Implementation Group
of the
New England Energy Congress
July, 1980



Introduction

Over the last nine months, a 55 member task force has been at work developing strategies and program initiatives to implement the New England Energy Congress' *Blueprint for Energy Action*, released in June 1979. Prepared for the bi-partisan, six state New England Congressional Caucus, the *Blueprint* was the result of a first in the nation effort to formulate a regional energy plan.

Comprised of representatives of eleven constituencies ranging from environmental organizations to industry to state and federal agencies, the Implementation Group of the Energy Congress divided itself into five working committees: Wood, Solid Waste and Peat; Electric Issues; Conservation, Solar and Low Income; Oil; and Natural Gas, Coal and Synfuels. Each committee developed strategy papers and program initiatives, which were reviewed and approved by the full Implementation Group, and are summarized below.

Although the formal deliberations of the Energy Congress are now complete, the goals developed by the group are just beginning to be fulfilled. Initiatives in both the public and private sectors have been put into motion to achieve Energy Congress objectives. A number of recently enacted federal and state laws directly reflect the group's input.

To oversee and coordinate the continuing implementation of these goals, the New England Energy Congress has moved (effective July, 1980) its central office to Washington, DC. This office, together with an active program in the region, including quarterly delegate sessions, conferences, workshops, and publication of the *Energy Forum* newsletter, will sustain the on-going implementation momentum that has been generated. The summary below provides a sense of the priorities that will be pursued.

Copies of all strategy papers and program initiatives may be obtained by filling out and returning the attached order form. The full 500 page *Blueprint* can be ordered from the National Technical Information Center at the address given on page 6.

Renewable Energy Sources

1. A MODEL DOE/USDA WOOD COMMERCIALIZATION AND R & D PROGRAM FOR FY '81 (41 pages)

That wood could provide 12% of New England's total energy needs by the year 2000 is becoming fact with astonishing speed. 30% of the region's households burned wood in the winter of '79-'80, saving an estimated 650 million gallons of oil. Factoring in industrial consumption, wood energy displaced almost 1 billion gallons of oil last year.

Despite New England's growing reliance on this renewable indigenous resource, serious problems afflict many aspects of processing and use, and greater environmental, economic, and social dilemmas loom ahead. Since the Department of Energy's (DOE) and the U.S. Department of Agriculture's (USDA) near-term wood program is practically non-existent (\$4 million nationally last year), the Energy Congress has proposed a model wood program for these two agencies. The program would complement DOE's emphasis on long-term, large-scale technologies with projects that have high near-term potential and need.

Specific programs are proposed to: 1) inventory resource availability, 2) provide loggers and marketers with information on equipment and business planning, 3) provide educational and consulting services so landowners can better manage their woodlots, 4) educate consumers about woodcutting and woodstove use, 5) accelerate R & D and provide financial assistance for industrial/commercial wood users and 6) coordinate forest resource planning in the nation's small landholding institutional framework.

The joint DOE/USDA program would add \$100 million to budget authorization, and \$150 million in loans to the combined DOE/USDA request of \$63 million for FY '81. The initial step towards meeting these goals was taken in May 1980 when Congress reprogrammed \$3 million for near-term wood combus-

tion demonstration and testing programming instead of long-term basic biomass research efforts in the FY '81 DOE budget. This reprogramming was a direct response to the Energy Congress wood commercialization report. Final budget action awaits Congressional approval this summer.

SOLID WASTE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR STATE AND FEDERAL ASSISTANCE (4 pages)

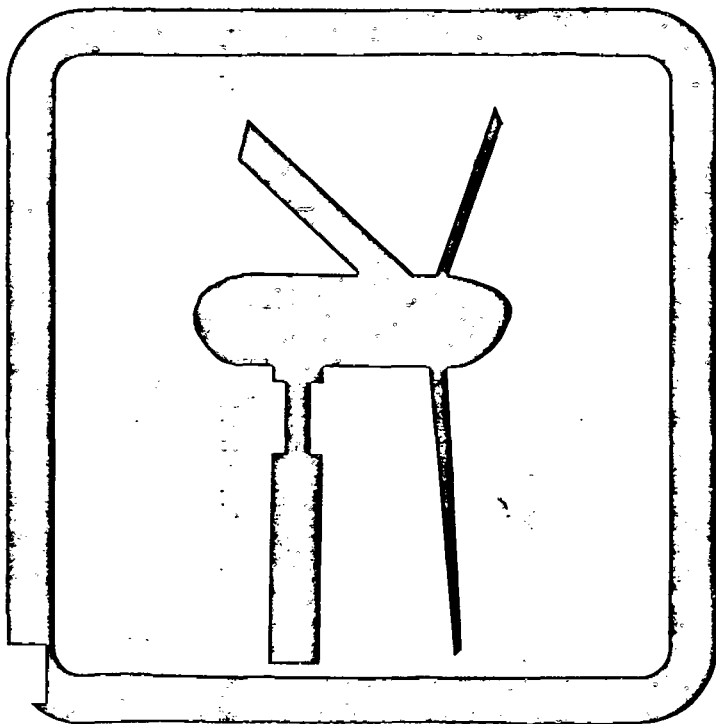
At several locations in New England, refuse from homes and industry is burned to produce usable energy at competitive rates. In many other communities landfill sites are quickly filling, creating potential problems and requiring urgent attention.

After simultaneously addressing the solid waste disposal situation and energy production requirements, the Energy Congress determined steps federal and state agencies can take to plan for energy-producing solid waste disposal facilities. Towards this end, the Energy Congress analysed state solid waste budgets and assessed the federal Environmental Protection Agency's (EPA) programs. Recommendations include continued EPA state technical assistance and funding programs and increased DOE funding to cities and states for solid waste planning. In addition, states should inspect sites and enforce violators more vigorously. Providing adequate staff for state agencies responsible for inspecting landfill sites is viewed as essential. Financial barriers associated with capital formation and utility power purchases were also addressed.

3. DOE WIND ENERGY CONVERSION SYSTEMS BUDGET FOR FY '81 (4 pages)

Because of its geography and climate, New England is ideally suited to generate electricity from wind. Numerous potential sites for locating wind machines exist along the region's long coastline and mountain ranges. In its *Blueprint for Energy Action*, the Energy Congress estimated that 1820 Megawatts of capacity, capable of displacing 8.6 million barrels of oil per year, could realistically be expected to be installed by the year 2000.

The federal wind program currently falls short in its support of this goal and the ultimate wind potential for New England and the nation as a whole. The budget for DOE's Wind Energy Conversion Systems Program in FY '81 should be redirected from its current emphasis on R & D for large-scale machines towards



encouraging market development and technical improvement of small and intermediate-sized machines. Recommendations are made to develop site inventories with greater detail, and establish a federal wind purchase program. The FY '81 budget would be raised by \$20 million to \$93 million, a figure consistent with the \$100 million recommended by the President's Domestic Policy Review for Solar Energy.

4. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A FEDERAL PEAT PROGRAM FOR FY 1981 (3 pages)

As part of its fossil fuels research and development program, DOE is investigating various methods of deriving energy from peat — focusing mainly on producing a natural gas substitute.

The Energy Congress supports DOE's current efforts to accelerate its peat program by authorizing a FY '81 budget of \$13 million — up from \$3 million in FY '80 and \$4.5 million in FY '79. In addition to the ongoing gasification projects, the Energy Congress encourages programs to assess inventories, to perform environmental and social impact studies, and to conduct feasibility studies on peat harvesting. Instead of burning peat for electrical generation (low thermodynamic efficiency) or gasification (poorly developed gas supply network close to resource), New England would benefit most from development of technologies that produce solid fuels. These include pelletization, briquetting, and others. Funding construction of a few pilot plants is recommended.

ALSO SEE ELECTRIC ISSUES SECTION

Fossil Fuels

5. EXPANDING NATURAL GAS SUPPLIES IN NEW ENGLAND: A JOINT GAS INDUSTRY/CITIZEN'S EFFORT (8 pages)

Doubling natural gas usage in New England over the next 20 years is a primary goal of the Energy Congress. A variety of potential sources for fulfilling these needs have been identified, including domestic sources, Canada, supplies made available under the Fuel Use Act of 1978, unconventional sources, and others.

While it was determined that no physical or market constraints preclude achievement of this 575 billion cubic feet per year objective, it was concluded that the region's 37 gas utility companies will need to coordinate their energy planning efforts. Development of a two part coordinating mechanism is proposed. First, a New England Gas Industry Supply Planning Group would be created by the New England Gas Association. By providing the necessary research capability for the gas industry, the group would serve as a catalyst to bring project components together. Second, a Regional Gas Development Advisory Board, composed of representatives from various public, public interest, and private constituencies, would also be created. The Advisory Board, supported with adequate funding and staff, would serve as a vehicle for communication between the gas industry and the constituencies represented.

6. THE DIRECT USE OF COAL IN NEW ENGLAND (6 pages)

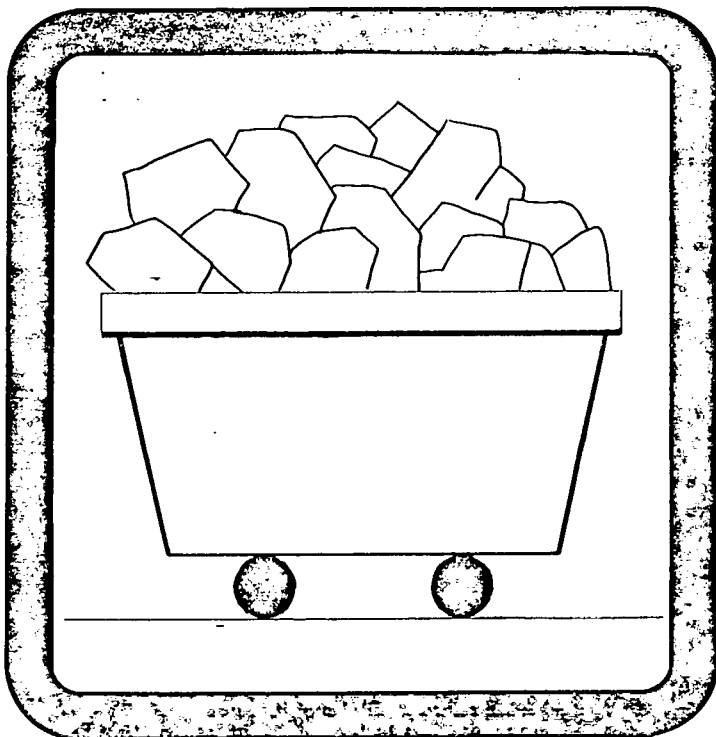
Six areas of coal use were addressed: 1) utility coal conversion, 2) utility plans for new facilities/fuel displacement, 3) residential coal use, 4) industrial coal use, 5) disposal of solid wastes, and 6) a facility siting forum.

With respect to utilities converting oil-fired generating facilities to coal, it was concluded that because the impact on air quality is a national issue and has not been addressed adequately on a state level, a national program must be developed and implemented. In addition, federal funds should be made available to utilities to convert to coal and to install pollution control

equipment on existing coal-fired plants. In regards to new facilities, it was recommended that a program be implemented which encourages the construction of new Best Available Control Technology coal facilities within comprehensive, multi-year, conservation, load management and alternative energy development plans.

Because of the potentially serious air quality impacts, the Energy Congress recommended that direct residential coal combustion not be encouraged by the state or federal government. In terms of industrial coal use, many companies are putting off coal and conservation related investments because the Treasury Department has not yet issued final regulations regarding the 10% tax credits authorized by the National Energy Act of 1978 to encourage such improvements. The Energy Congress urged these regulations be promulgated promptly.

Finally, the Energy Congress called for the EPA to promulgate its regulations classifying toxic wastes and underscored the need for maintaining the option to create a regional forum to continue a dialogue on coal conversion policy.



7. SYNFUELS: PROSPECTS AND IMPACT ON NEW ENGLAND (6 pages)

In its review of the impact of synthetic fuels development on New England, the Energy Congress determined that three synfuel technologies might prove beneficial to the region. They are fuels produced from: 1) coal/peat, 2) biomass, and 3) solid waste. Gas with low and medium BTU content could be produced from large eastern coal deposits and used in electric power generation, industrial application, and as chemical feedstocks to reduce the region's dependence upon oil. Support to assess indigenous coal and peat deposits was reaffirmed. Although direct combustion of biomass and waste could limit synfuel production from these sources, it was determined that well conceived projects could receive support.

However, before the desirability of locating a plant can be adequately determined, the Energy Congress deemed that environmental impact and economic feasibility studies are necessary. It is recommended that the New England Congressional Caucus support responsible parties seeking to undertake such studies, including those applying through the DOE Alternative Fuels Production Program.

8. A REGIONAL PETROLEUM RESERVE FOR NEW ENGLAND (2 pages)

97% of the residual fuel oil New England uses to generate electricity, heat buildings and fuel industry is imported. In the event of a severe shortage or another embargo, the region would run out of supplies in about a month. Numerous studies have already established the need for a strategic petroleum reserve in New England. The Energy Congress recommended that siting criteria be established, sites to be analysed accordingly and, finally, funds be authorized and appropriated for a regional petroleum reserve.

Conservation

9. DOE BUILDING AND COMMUNITY SYSTEMS BUDGET FOR FY '81 (8 pages)

The fact that half of New England's homes were built prior to 1940 makes the region's housing stock among the oldest in the nation. One-quarter of the region's energy is consumed in the residential sector, and because older buildings will far outnumber new energy-efficient buildings even 20 years from now, it is critically important that federal programs address energy conservation in existing structures.

The major DOE residential energy conservation program, operated by the Office of Buildings and Community Systems (BCS), targets 30% more money for new buildings than existing stock. Changes in current programs and creation of new ones would correct this deficiency. Recommendations to increase the FY '81 BCS budget by \$11.5 million or 44% are proposed. The additional money would be devoted to 1) urban housing research, demonstration and information dissemination (\$5 million), 2) grants to states to help administer the Residential Conservation Service Program, whereby utilities provide home energy audits. (\$5 million), and 3) technical assistance to the small business community (\$1.5 million).

10. SMALL BUSINESS ENERGY BROKER PROPOSAL (10 pages)

The Energy Congress concluded in its *Blueprint for Energy Action* that the federal government had inadequately addressed the needs of the nation's small businesses to make conservation improvements. The Energy Broker proposal would provide small businesses with technical assistance on energy problems. When contacted by a small business, the Energy Broker would recommend vendors of conservation equipment and services, and then notify those vendors that that firm was in the market for their wares.

95% of the nation's commercial and industrial businesses are defined by the Commerce Department as being small in size. In contrast with larger firms, they lack expertise and capital to make conservation improvements. In New England, small businesses are typically located in older, inefficient buildings. The Energy Broker would serve as an energy conservation catalyst by providing decision-relevant information.

Discussion with the six state energy offices, DOE and others are ongoing. As of June, 1980, prospects for a regional pilot program are encouraging.

11. REGIONAL TRANSPORTATION ROUNDTABLE: POLICY FOR THE '80'S (4 pages)

Last summer's gas lines and continued price increases in gasoline have created a major watershed in transportation planning. Shifting away from today's heavy reliance upon the automobile necessitates the close cooperation of numerous federal, state, and local officials responsible for transportation decisions.

A major regional transportation conference and round table is proposed to inventory current federal, state and local plans, and consider how the current process can be streamlined. Specific problems and strengths in urban, middle-density and rural transportation areas, addressed by the Energy Congress, should be reviewed in greater detail. Underlying this effort should be the assumption — now common in Europe — that public transportation is a public good and should be evaluated on grounds more broadly defined than simple profitability.

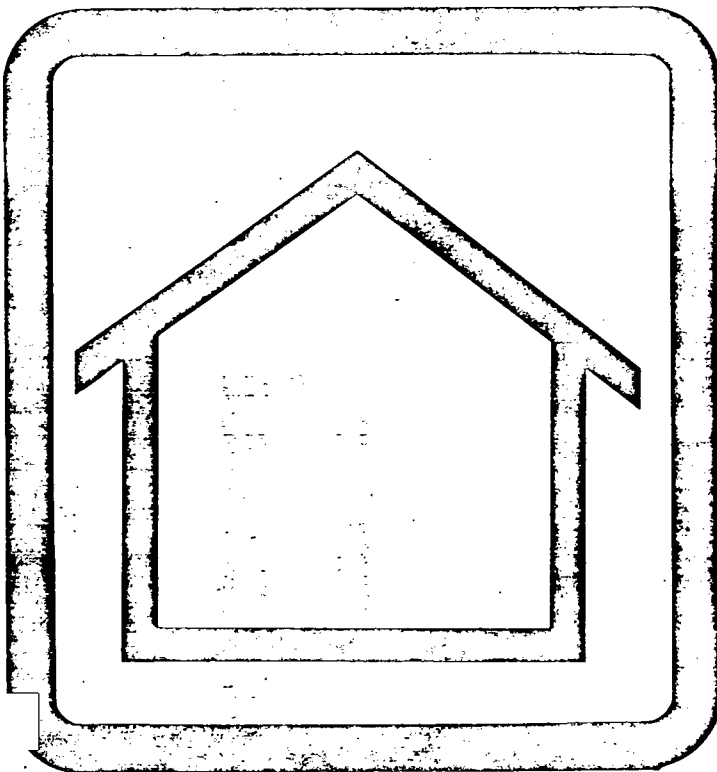
12. PROCEEDINGS FROM BUILDING ENERGY PERFORMANCE STANDARDS CONFERENCE (243 pages)

The nation's residential and commercial buildings account for one-third of the total energy consumed in the United States. Since the vast majority of these structures were built when energy costs were very much lower than today, few incorporate energy conserving designs or features.

As part of the Energy Conservation and Production Act of 1976, DOE was ordered to develop standards to significantly reduce energy consumption in new buildings. The law specified that these standards be based on a performance approach, allowing each building designer maximum flexibility to achieve the allowable energy usage for that building. Since the Building Energy Performance Standards (BEPS) will affect all new construction once the regulations are promulgated, DOE has made a considerable effort to encourage public input in their preparation. As part of this process, public hearings were recently held in major cities throughout the nation.

To better prepare New Englanders for the Boston hearing last April, the Energy Congress, with support from DOE-Region I and the Massachusetts State Building Code Commission, sponsored a day-long symposium in February. Architects, builders, legislators and federal and state officials described their concerns regarding BEPS and how the proposed regulations might be altered to better reflect regional needs and opportunities.

The participants' presentations, as well as the informative discussion that followed, were transcribed. Major comments were synthesized and presented by the Energy Congress staff for DOE consideration at the BEPS hearings in Boston.



13. RENTAL UNIT RETROFIT PROPOSAL (3 pages)

Although one-third of the nation's 77 million housing units are rented, no effective federal program exists to address the conservation needs of the private single and multi-family rental market. This situation is difficult to resolve because tenants often pay their own energy bills, giving landlords little incentive to make conservation improvements. Furthermore, rental units are generally in a relatively poor state of repair, and are disproportionately located in older, colder urban areas where energy costs are highest.

The Rental Unit Retrofit Proposal suggests a carrot and stick program to address the problem of improving the energy efficiency in rental housing. It is recommended that the 1981-1984 funding for the Conservation/Solar Bank, by raised by \$1 billion from the current level of just over \$3 billion. These monies would subsidize loans to landlords to weatherize and improve heating system efficiencies in residential rental buildings.

In addition, the Energy Management Partnership Act (EMPA) would be amended to require each state to develop a rental unit conservation plan that would penalize landlords if improvements were not made. States failing to do so would be ineligible for EMPA-related grants.

The program is expected to pay for itself in fuel savings in 6 years, and, by the end of FY '91, an expenditure of \$4.0 billion will yield a cumulative savings of \$7.6 billion (1980 \$).

14. ENERGY CONSERVATION LEGISLATION IN THE NEW ENGLAND STATES (6 pages)

Energy conservation legislation, proposed and enacted by the region's six state legislatures, was compiled to provide state decision-makers with a comprehensive listing of innovative regional strategies to reduce consumption of oil. Thirty-three bills, ranging from financing techniques to consumer protection, to transportation issues, are summarized, and bill numbers are given by state.

15. THE RESIDENTIAL CONSERVATION SERVICE PROGRAM: A REVIEW OF AMENDMENTS (3 pages)

DOE's Residential Conservation Service Program (RCS), requiring utilities and encouraging residential fuel dealers to provide audits to residential customers, will be operational throughout the nation in 1981. Several changes to the program, in the form of amendments to S. 932 and H.R. 5726, were reviewed by the Energy Congress.

These amendments would: 1) extend the program to cover existing multi-family buildings, 2) allow utilities to make conservation loans or payments to cover insulation costs, 3) spread audit costs among all customers, and 4) provide adequate consumer protection.

ALSO SEE ELECTRIC UTILITIES SECTION

Electric Issues (16-18: 13 pages)

16. CONSERVATION, LOAD MANAGEMENT, AND ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF ENERGY

In the *Blueprint for Energy Action*, the Energy Congress projected that electricity use in New England would grow at the rate of 2.2% annually until 2000. Renewable sources could optimally contribute 48 billion kilowatt hours per year by that time. Achieving this goal is dependent upon many factors:

- New England electric utilities, with the cooperation and assistance of state governments, regulatory agencies, and consumers, should first plan for and then implement strategies to:
 - a) promote the conservation of electrical energy;
 - b) apply techniques for the management of electrical load;

- c) develop the generation of electric power from renewable indigenous sources; and.
- d) convert, where practicable, present oil-fired facilities to burn indigenous fuels.

These goals should be tempered by the needs to safeguard the environment from undue harm and to protect ratepayers and taxpayers from unreasonable costs.

Perhaps the most notable indication that this is, indeed, a realistic target is a 15-year corporate plan forwarded last summer by the New England Electric System, the region's largest electric utility. Critically reviewed by the Energy Congress, it was enthusiastically endorsed for its comprehensive nature and potential impact on oil displacement.

17. RECOMMENDATIONS TO FACILITATE DEVELOPMENT OF SMALL SCALE HYDROELECTRIC FACILITIES

New England has always depended upon falling water as a major source of power. Today, hydropower figures most prominently in the energy picture of the three northern states (VT, NH & ME): supplying 20% of those states' electrical needs.

Despite this significant contribution, many hundred existing dams lie dormant. A thorough review by the New England River Basins Commission estimates these sites could supply as much as 1,000 MW of added capacity — or 40% of the region's 10 year projected electrical needs.

Developing New England's hydro sites has already been the focus of significant attention in both the private and public sectors. Concentrating on mitigating barriers that impede development of small-scale sites, the Energy Congress made 18 specific recommendations in 5 topical areas aimed at: 1) providing financial assistance, 2) implementing recommendations contained within the Public Utilities Regulatory Policy Act of 1978, 3) simplifying state and federal licensing requirements, 4) reducing environmental uncertainties, and 5) expanding DOE hydro-related activities within the region.

18. RECOMMENDATIONS TO IMPROVE THE ELECTRIC UTILITY REGULATORY PROCESS

With the objective of improving the electric utility regulatory process, the Energy Congress developed recommendations addressing 1) who should participate and what should be discussed in regulatory proceedings, 2) a review of state regulatory statutes and agency structure, and 3) issues that require a regional focus.

Regulatory proceedings, it was decided, can be made more efficient by discussing certain issues in conferences prior to formal hearings. In addition, the Energy Congress agreed it would be beneficial to develop a standardized rate tariff package, to encourage state energy offices to participate in hearings, and to identify a single lead agency to shepherd applications for siting power plants and transmission lines.

The Energy Congress recommended that state legislatures review statutes pertaining to electric utilities and the agencies that regulate them, suggested that each state regulatory agency undergo a management audit of its operations, and requested that these agencies be properly staffed.

Finally, it was suggested that many topics could be more adequately resolved if addressed on a regional, and not simply a state, basis.

19. Energy Laws Enacted in New England (14 pages)

In addition to the summary of energy conservation bills described above, a comprehensive listing of all energy-related legislation enacted by the region's six state legislatures over the last four years was compiled. Over 250 laws are cited, and the outline format in twelve topical areas facilitates quick comparison between states.

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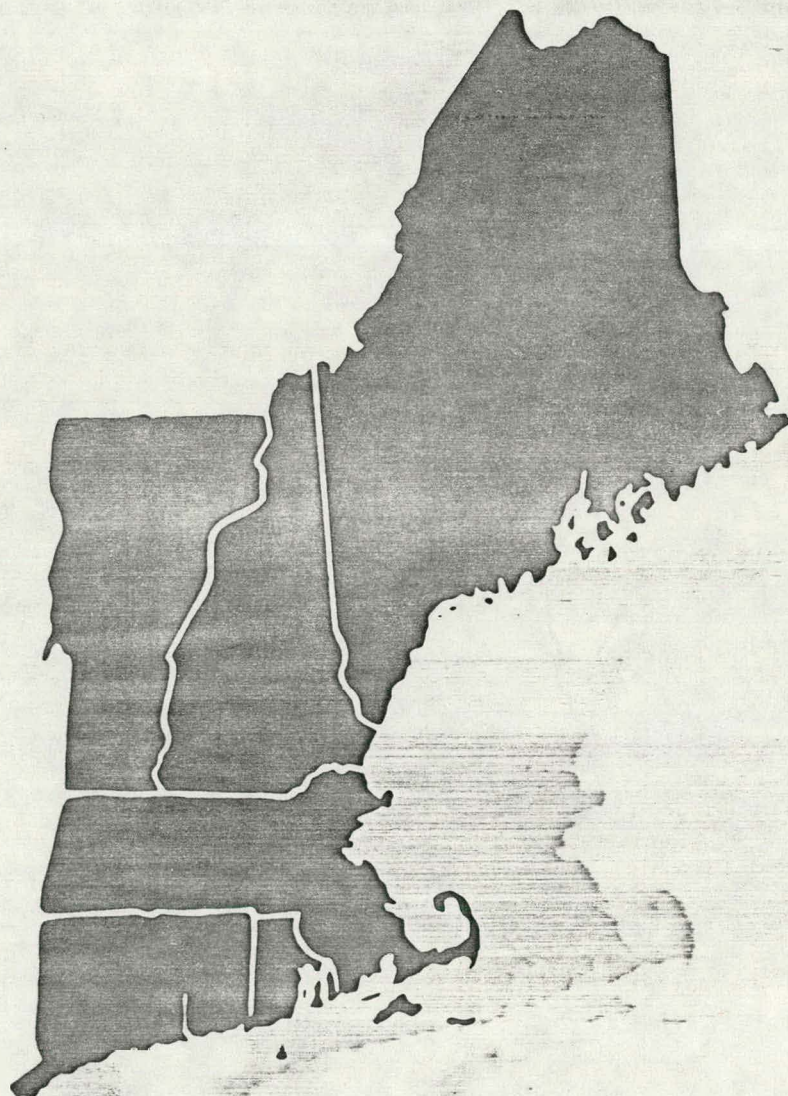
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When first released in June 1979, 3000 copies of the *Blueprint for Energy Action* and 5,000 copies of its *Executive Summary* were published. Copies were distributed free of charge until the original supply was exhausted.

Both reports may be obtained from the National Technical Information Service in Virginia. To request copies, refer to the information given below, and write or call:

National Technical Information Service
 5285 Port Royal Road
 Springfield, VA 22161
 (703) 557-4650

- 1) *Final Report of the New England Energy Congress: A Blueprint for Energy Action — Executive Summary*, (includes Executive Summary and recommendations, 60 pages)
 # PB 80-144009: microfilm — \$3.50,
 paperbound — \$8.00
- 2) *Final Report of the New England Energy Congress: A Blueprint for Energy Action*, (includes Executive Summary, recommendations, and detailed substantiating information and analysis, 500 pages)
 # PB 80-154461: microfilm — \$3.50,
 paperbound — \$24.00



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Energy Systems Research Group, Boston, MA

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Low Income Planning Agency, Hartford, CT

Roland Rouse
Office of Energy Resources, Boston, MA

Peggy St. Clair
Office of Energy Resources, Boston, MA

George Sakellaris
New England Electric System, Westborough, MA

Michael Sartori
Office of Policy & Management, Hartford, CT

T. P. Schwartz
Center for Energy Policy, Boston, MA

Hervey Scudder
Center for Energy Policy, Boston, MA

David K. Smith
Middlebury College, Middlebury, VT

Sen. Chester Scott
Springfield, VT

Thomas Scott
Center for Energy Policy, Boston, MA

Jacqueline Shaffer
Low Income Planning Agency, Hartford, CT

George Sterzinger
New England Regional Project, Burlington, VT

Elizabeth Swain
Maine Audubon Society, Falmouth, ME

Thomas Tillotson
Tillotson Rubber Co., Dixville Notch, NH

Alan Turner
Vermont Energy Office, Montpelier, VT

Daniel Waintroob
Cranston Community Action Project, Cranston, RI

Arnold Wallenstein
Northeast Solar Energy Center, Boston, MA

Linzee Weld
Conservation Law Foundation, Boston, MA

Allen White
Northern Energy Corp., Boston, MA

Eric Wormser
Wormser Scientific, Stamford, CT

NEW ENGLAND ENERGY CONGRESS STAFF

H. Bailey Spencer, *Director*

Francie Mericle, *Administrative Assistant*

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Norman Stein, *Research Associate*

NEW ENGLAND CONGRESSIONAL CAUCUS

The New England Energy Congress is sponsored by the New England Congressional Caucus and Tufts University. The New England Congressional Caucus is a bi-partisan organization composed of all 25 members of the U.S. House of Representatives from the six New England states. Its members are listed below:

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Silvio O. Conte

Energy Task Force Co-Chairmen

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Edward J. Markey

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Stewart B. McKinney
William R. Ratchford
Toby J. Moffett

Maine

David F. Emery
Olympia J. Snowe

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Gerry E. Studds

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James C. Cleveland

Rhode Island

Fernand J. St. Germain
Edward P. Beard

Vermont

James M. Jeffords

Executive Director

Robert L. Pratt

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New Address: (effective July, 1980)

NEW ENGLAND ENERGY CONGRESS
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Washington, D.C. 20003

New England Energy Congress/Tufts University
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Boston, MA 02108

Nonprofit Organization
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NEW ENGLAND ENERGY CONGRESS

Sponsored by New England Congressional Caucus & Tufts University
28 Sawyer Ave., Medford, MA. 02155 (617) 625-6528

DELEGATE QUESTIONNAIRE: PLEASE RETURN NO LATER THAN JULY 27

H. Bailey Spencer, Coordinator

NAME (optional) _____

COMMITTEE (optional) _____

CONSTITUENCY (circle one) consumer environment finance government
industry and manufacturing labor low-income R & D
small business education utility unaffiliated

1. WHY DID YOU APPLY TO BECOME A DELEGATE? Rank three (3) in order of importance:

- _____ To meet others in the energy field
- _____ To learn more about energy issues
- _____ To have an impact on regional decision-making on energy issues
- _____ To assure your organization or trade association would be represented
- _____ To provide a forum for your ideas or business
- _____ Curiosity
- _____ Other (please specify)

2. WHAT DID YOU EXPECT TO ACCOMPLISH BY YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THE ENERGY CONGRESS?

3. AT THE OUTSET, DID YOU GENERALLY TRUST THAT DELEGATES WITH DIFFERING PERSPECTIVES AND ATTITUDES FROM YOUR OWN WOULD ATTEMPT TO COMPROMISE ON IMPORTANT ISSUES?
(Circle one)

Yes

No

Not Sure

4. HOW WOULD YOU RATE YOUR LEVEL OF KNOWLEDGE ON ENERGY ISSUES PRIOR TO YOUR INVOLVEMENT IN THE ENERGY CONGRESS?

High

Medium

Low

5. HOW MUCH NEW KNOWLEDGE DID YOU GAIN AS A RESULT OF YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THE ENERGY CONGRESS? (Circle number most appropriate)

A Great Deal 5 4 3 2 1 None

6. DO YOU CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN PROFESSIONAL CONTACTS INITIALLY MADE IN YOUR ENERGY CONGRESS WORK?

Yes

No

7. WHEN YOU BEGAN MEETING IN YOUR COMMITTEE LAST MAY AND JUNE, DID YOU FEEL OPTIMISTIC THAT THE CONSENSUS DECISION-MAKING PROCESS COULD GENERATE SIGNIFICANT AGREEMENTS ON ISSUES CONGRESS SHOULD ADDRESS?

Very Optimistic 5 4 3 2 1 Very Pessimistic

8. DID YOUR ATTITUDE ABOUT THE VALUE OF YOUR INVOLVEMENT IN THE ENERGY CONGRESS CHANGE AT ANY TIME DURING THE COURSE OF YOUR PARTICIPATION?

Yes

No

If yes, IN WHAT DIRECTION DID IT CHANGE AND TO WHAT DO YOU ATTRIBUTE THE CHANGE, AND WHEN DID THE CHANGE TAKE PLACE?

9. DID YOU FEEL ALL IMPORTANT CONSTITUENCIES WERE ADEQUATELY REPRESENTED ON YOUR COMMITTEE?

Yes

No

Not Sure

If Not, WHAT PERSPECTIVE OR CONSTITUENCY WAS MISSING OR INADEQUATELY REPRESENTED?

10. WAS THE FORMAL MANDATE TO YOUR COMMITTEE CLEAR AND WELL ARTICULATED?

Yes

No

Not Sure

11. DID YOUR COMMITTEE SET SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES AND TASKS TO MEET ITS MANDATE?

Yes

No

Not Sure

12. DO YOU FEEL YOUR COMMITTEE ESTABLISHED A WORTHWHILE, LOGICAL, TIMELY AND FEASIBLE SEQUENCE OF TASKS FOR THE TIME CONSTRAINTS AND RESOURCE LIMITATIONS UNDER WHICH IT LABORED?

Yes

No

Not Sure

13. DID THE CHARGES TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE SEEM SENSIBLE TO YOU?

Yes

No

Not Sure

14. DID YOU FEEL THE SUBCOMMITTEES DIVIDED UP THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES IN A SENSIBLE MANNER?

Yes

No

Not Sure

15. HOW IMPORTANT WAS THE CHAIR TO YOUR COMMITTEE? TO WHAT DEGREE DO YOU ATTRIBUTE YOUR COMMITTEE'S SUCCESS OR LACK OF SUCCESS TO THE CHAIRPERSON?

A great deal 5 4 3 2 1 Very little or none

16. HOW WOULD YOU RATE THE EVENHANDEDNESS OF YOUR CHAIRPERSON?

Excellent 5 4 3 2 1 Poor

17. HOW IMPORTANT WAS THE INITIAL INVESTIGATIVE WORK DONE BY EACH SUBCOMMITTEE IN YOUR COMMITTEE'S SUCCESS OR LACK OF SUCCESS?

Very important 5 4 3 2 1 Not important

18. DO YOU THINK THE COMMITTEE'S OVERALL WORK WOULD HAVE BEEN BETTER SERVED BY SOME OTHER FACT-FINDING PROCESS (e.g. INVITED EXPERTS HOSTING SEMINARS)?

Yes/ No Not Sure

If yes, please describe desirable alternatives:

19. DID YOUR COMMITTEE DEFINE HOW THE CONSENSUS WOULD WORK FOR APPROVING RECOMMENDATIONS?

Yes No Not Sure

If so, when?

WHAT WAS THE DEFINITION?

DID YOU REQUIRE UNANIMOUS AGREEMENT ON RECOMMENDATIONS? Yes No Not Sure

20. TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU THINK THIS AGREEMENT PROCESS WAS A FACTOR IN DETERMINING WHAT ISSUES WERE DISCUSSED?

A great deal 5 4 3 2 1 Very little or none

21. HOW DID YOU DECIDE TO HANDLE ISSUES WHICH DID NOT RECEIVE CONSENSUS AGREEMENT INITIALLY? IN OTHER WORDS, DID YOU DROP THE ISSUE, DEFER DISCUSSION, REFER ISSUES BACK TO SUBCOMMITTEE, OR MAKE PROVISIONS FOR MAJORITY AND MINORITY REPORTS OR VOTES, OR SOME OTHER EXERCISE? Please explain.

22. PLEASE ESTIMATE APPROXIMATELY HOW MUCH TIME YOU CONTRIBUTED TO THE ENERGY CONGRESS, IF ANY, BESIDES TRAVELING TO AND ATTENDING MEETINGS. Specify in hours per week, days per month, hours per month, or whatever unit of time is easiest for you to recollect.

23. HOW SATISFIED WERE YOU WITH THE PERFORMANCE OF YOUR COMMITTEE STAFF PERSON?

Very much 5 4 3 2 1 Very little

24. WHAT ADDITIONAL RESOURCES, IF ANY, DID OR WOULD HAVE SIGNIFICANTLY ASSISTED YOUR COMMITTEE'S WORK?

25. HOW WELL DO YOU FEEL THE ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF, AS DISTINGUISHED FROM THE COMMITTEE STAFF PERSON, PERFORMED IN MANAGING THE DAY-TO-DAY ORGANIZATIONAL ISSUES AFFECTING YOUR COMMITTEE AND THE OVERALL FUNCTIONING OF THE ENERGY CONGRESS?

Very Well 5 4 3 2 1 Poor

26. WHAT WAS YOUR GREATEST FRUSTRATION(S) WITH YOUR INVOLVEMENT WITH THE ENERGY CONGRESS?

27. WHAT WAS YOUR GREATEST SATISFACTION(S) WITH YOUR INVOLVEMENT WITH THE ENERGY CONGRESS?

28. HOW VALUABLE DID YOU FEEL THE COMMENTS ON THE PRELIMINARY REPORT FOR PUBLIC REVIEW FROM THE PUBLIC HEARINGS AND THE WRITTEN TESTIMONY FROM THE PUBLIC WERE TO IMPROVING THE EVENTUAL QUALITY OF THE FINAL RECOMMENDATIONS?

Very Valuable 5 4 3 2 1 Counterproductive

29. WHAT PERCENTAGE OF THE OVERALL CONGRESS FINAL RECOMMENDATIONS DO YOU THINK ARE OF TOP QUALITY?

90% or higher 75% - 90% 50% - 75% 25% - 50% less than 25%

30. WHAT CONTRIBUTED MOST TO HIGH QUALITY RECOMMENDATIONS? (LONG DISCUSSION, ADEQUATE DATA, MANY DIFFERING VIEWPOINTS EXPRESSED, OUTSTANDING INDIVIDUAL EFFORT, ETC...)

31. WERE YOU SATISFIED WITH THE CONGRESS WIDE APPROVAL PROCESS FOR RECOMMENDATIONS AND EXECUTIVE SUMMARIES FROM OTHER COMMITTEES?

Yes No Not sure

32. HOW WOULD YOU RATE THE OVERALL QUALITY OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS MADE BY MOST OF THE OTHER DELEGATES ON YOUR COMMITTEE?

Outstanding 5 4 3 2 1 Poor

33. WHAT IMPACT DO YOU THINK THE ENERGY CONGRESS FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS WILL HAVE ON THE NEW ENGLAND CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION?

Very Great 5 4 3 2 1 None

34. WHAT OTHER INSTITUTIONS, IF ANY, IN THE REGION OR ELSEWHERE WILL BE AFFECTED BY THE FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS?

She has a number of other institutions in the region.
In what ways?

35. IN GENERAL HOW WOULD YOU RATE YOUR INVOLVEMENT IN THE ENERGY CONGRESS?

Very Satisfactory 5 4 3 2 1 Unsatisfactory

36. DID YOU CHANGE YOUR VIEWS ON ANY PARTICULAR ISSUE OR ISSUES AS A RESULT OF YOUR INVOLVEMENT WITH THE ENERGY CONGRESS?

If so, which issues and how?

37. TO WHAT EXTENT DID YOUR INVOLVEMENT IN THE ENERGY CONGRESS ACHIEVE THE PERSONAL GOALS YOU HAD WHEN YOU STARTED?

A great extent 5 4 3 2 1 Not at all

38. IF THE ENERGY CONGRESS BEGAN TODAY, WHAT WOULD YOU URGE IT TO DO TO STRUCTURE ITSELF STAFF IT, ESTABLISH DEADLINES OR ORGANIZE ITSELF DIFFERENTLY?

39. TO WHAT EXTENT HAS THE ENERGY CONGRESS CONTRIBUTED TO THE OBJECTIVE OF PROVIDING A SIGNIFICANT AND ACHIEVABLE SOLUTION TO THE NEW ENGLAND ENERGY SITUATION?

Very Great 5 4 3 2 1 Very little or none

40. HOW WELL DO YOU THINK THE ENERGY CONGRESS FORMAT COULD SUCCEED IN ADDRESSING THE PROBLEMS OF OTHER U.S. REGIONS?

Very Well 5 4 3 2 1 Not well

41. ARE THERE OTHER GENERIC NON-ENERGY OR SPECIFIC ENERGY ISSUES WHICH MIGHT ESPECIALLY BENEFIT FROM AN ENERGY CONGRESS-TYPE APPROACH?

If so, specify.

ANY ADDITIONAL COMMENTS ARE WELCOME ON THE REVERSE SIDE OF THIS PAGE.

APPENDIX 3

1981 Interviews for Energy Congress Evaluation

Rep. Stewart McKinney	(R-Connecticut)
Greg Dole	Legislative Assistant to Rep. Silvio Conte (R-Mass.)
Margaret Downs	Former Administrative Assistant to Rep. Jim Jeffords (R-Vt.)
Howard Gaines	Former Legislative Assistant to Rep. Norman D'Amours (D-N.H.)
Larry Halloran	Former Legislative Assistant to Rep. Stewart McKinney
Kathy Hurwit	Former Legislative Assistant to Rep. Anthony Moffett (D-Ct.)
Mike Sheehy	Legislative Assistant to Rep. Edward Boland (D-Mass.)
Lisa Shulock	Legislative Assistant to Rep. Edward Markey (D-Mass.)
Clark Ziegler	Former Legislative Assistant to Rep. Robert Drinan (D-Mass.)
Henry Lee	Director, Energy and Environmental Program, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University
Fred Nemergut	Economic Regulation Analyst, Mass. Office of Energy Resources
Harold Keohane	Department of Energy, Boston
Gordon Deane	Former Director, Alternative Energy Programs, New England Regional Commission, Boston
H. Bailey Spencer	Director, New England Congressional Institute
Robert Pratt	Executive Director, New England Congressional Caucus