How-To-Guide

GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING

On Texas Water Issues

Sierra Club
FOUNDED 1892
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Grassroots Organizing on Texas Water Issues, produced by the Lone Star Chapter Sierra Club, is a publication of the Texas Living Waters Project. This project is a collaborative effort of the National Wildlife Federation, Environmental Defense, and the Lone Star Chapter. The goals of the project are to (1) ensure adequate water for people and environmental needs, (2) reduce future demand for water and foster efficient and sustainable use of current water supplies, (3) educate the public and decision makers about the impact of wasteful water use and the opportunities for water conservation, and (4) involve citizens in the decision making process for water management. More information about the project and about water issues is available at www.texaswatermatters.org and www.texas.sierraclub.org or by writing Lone Star Chapter, Sierra Club, P.O. Box 1931, Austin, TX 78767.

The Texas Living Waters Project has received generous support from The Houston Endowment, Inc.; The Meadows Foundation; The Brown Foundation, Inc.; The Jacob and Terese Hershey Foundation; and Magnolia Charitable Trust.

The Lone Star Chapter of the Sierra Club would like to express its appreciation to the following people for their contributions to the production of this publication: Karin Ascot and Elizabeth M unger Engle (research & writing), Scott Byers (layout & design); Margot Clarke and Ken Kramer (editing); Jackie McFadden (additional editing & design); Stuart Henry (sharing his files on the Paluxy Dam fight); and Janice Bezanson, Mary Lou Campbell, Karen Chapman, and members of the Save the Paluxy Association, the Sulphur Oversight Society, and No Aquifer Big Box coalition (sharing their grassroots experiences). The Lone Star Chapter also acknowledges the inspiration provided by Sierra Club Grassroots Organizing Training Manual, copyright 1999 by the Sierra Club, from which many of the concepts in this publication were drawn.

November 2004

Copyright © 2004 by the Lone Star Chapter Sierra Club
Printed in USA

Printed on recycled paper.
How-To-Guide

GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING
On Texas Water Issues
Contents

Introduction ....................................................................................................................... 1

Section One: Organizing ................................................................................................. 7

Section Two: Effective Campaigns ................................................................................ 8
  Phase One: Creating Demand ...................................................................................... 8
  Phase Two: Establishing Accountability ...................................................................... 8
  Phase Three: Taking Delivery, Achieving Your Goal ................................................... 9

Section Three: Organization Building ......................................................................... 10
  Informing Stage ........................................................................................................... 11
  Involving Stage ........................................................................................................... 11
  Asking Stage .............................................................................................................. 12
  Thanking Stage ........................................................................................................... 12

Section Four: Building Leaders .................................................................................... 13
  Checking for Leadership Skills .................................................................................. 13

Section Five: Planning Campaigns, The Matrix .......................................................... 14
  Getting Started ........................................................................................................ 15
  Defining Your Campaign Issue ................................................................................ 16
  Defining Your Campaign Goals ................................................................................ 17
  Conservation Goals .................................................................................................. 18
  Organizational Goals ............................................................................................... 18
  Assessing the Lay of the Land .................................................................................. 19
  Strategizing ............................................................................................................... 21
  Strategic Vehicle ....................................................................................................... 21
  Summary of Major Water Supply Decision-Makers .................................................. 22
  Communicating Your Campaign .............................................................................. 26
  Developing Tactics and Timeline ............................................................................. 28
  Media Tactics Pros & Cons Chart .......................................................................... 34
  The Tactics Criteria Checklist .................................................................................. 38

Section Six: Following Up on Four Texas Case Studies ................................................. 44

Appendices
  One: Water Supply and Regulatory Entities in Texas ............................................... 47
  Two: List of Environmental Organizations ............................................................... 51
  Three: Threatened and Endangered Species in Texas ............................................... 53
Introduction

Water is our most precious resource. If all the earth’s water fit into a gallon jug, available fresh water would equal just over a tablespoon, less than half of one percent of the total. About 97 percent of the planet’s water is seawater, and another two percent is contained in icecaps and glaciers. Although we live on the blue planet, only the smallest fraction of the resource is available for human use.

In Texas the big question has been, "Will we have sufficient water in the future to meet the demands of all – municipal, agricultural, and industrial – and at what costs?"

The purpose of this book is to provide guidance for citizens who wish to become active on water issues in Texas. It will demonstrate how to influence decisions regarding water policy planning in this state. Here you will find basic information on:

- Campaign organizing
- Water management and water protection resources
- Steps on how to affect decisions concerning public water supplies
- Inspiring examples of successful grassroots activism on water issues.

The Sierra Club nationally has previously published the Grassroots Organizing Training Manual, which lays out a comprehensive campaign Planning Matrix, on which much of this state-level manual is based. Two other booklets on water issues in Texas are Facts about Texas Water and Simple Steps to Appreciate, Conserve and Protect our Most Valuable Resource and Your Water Supply: Who Provides and Makes Decisions about Your Water. The publication at hand incorporates the salient information from each of these to give citizens a starter course in how to influence issues affecting them, with examples drawn from real cases in Texas. In addition, three appendices have been included here: Appendix 1: Water Supply and Regulatory Entities in Texas (a condensed version of Your Water Supply), Appendix 2: List of Environmental Organizations, and Appendix 3: Threatened and Endangered Species in Texas.

Whatever your water issue, you are not alone. All over the world, citizens are fighting to preserve water quality and quantity in their local lakes and rivers and their towns; sometimes it is an environmental struggle, an attempt to preserve natural areas, other times it is an effort to protect municipal water supplies.

1 The Sierra Club Grassroots Organizing Training Manual can be obtained from the Sierra Club, 415-977-5500 (published San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1999, call No. JK467.G76 1999); the two other publications on water can be obtained from the Lone Star Chapter of the Sierra Club (contact information is found in Appendix 2).
Reviewing Global Water Issues

Many experts predict that the major global conflicts of the next century will center on water. Already it is a bone of contention between countries in the Middle East and Africa and has long been the focus of struggles in the American West. The United States and Mexico are currently grappling with how to share the dwindling water of the Rio Grande. While most water supply and demand projections show that Texas, as a state, currently has sufficient water to meet demand, there are growing parts of the state where more water is being pumped out than is being replenished.

Global water demand has tripled over the last 50 years. In the agricultural state of Guanajuato, Mexico, the water table is dropping by 1.8 – 3.3 meters per year. Countries all over the world are running up regional water deficits that will be difficult, if not impossible, to reverse in our lifetimes.

Seventy percent of the world’s freshwater resources are used for irrigation, so a global water shortage will eventually lead to a global food shortage. Until very recently, water shortages were always regional problems. Now local shortages can have international effects. One ton of grain requires approximately one thousand tons of water to grow, so the most efficient way to import water is by importing grain. Countries that lack sufficient water for their needs frequently divert water to cities and industrial facilities and make up the difference with grain imports. Iran and Egypt now import more than 40 percent of their total grain consumption, Algeria and Saudi Arabia import more than 70 percent of their grain, and Israel imports more than 90 percent.

China pumps more water from its aquifers than is replenished, and much of it is used for agriculture; despite this, the country is depleting its grain reserves. For the past three years, China has experienced annual grain deficits of around 40 million tons. This trend – which cannot be permanently reversed unless water consumption falls drastically, an unlikely scenario in the world’s most populous country – means that soon China will be importing grain (i.e., water) through global markets.

This will impact grain prices worldwide and will affect water supplies in other areas.

In Mexico, 15 percent of the population must haul or carry water. In the United States as recently as 1993, nearly two percent of homes had no running water. Millions of people around the world and hundreds of thousands in the United States still obtain their water from flowing public springs, hauling home multiple five-gallon buckets several times a week. Yet typical U.S. households – with apparently infinite supplies of piped-in, running water – use upwards of 100 gallons of water per person, per day (gpcd).
Reviewing Texas Water Issues

In Texas, water has always been the center of controversy, as evidenced by the old saw, "Whiskey’s for drinkin’ and water’s for fightin’." The western part of the state is arid and never seems to have enough water, while the eastern part along the Gulf Coast frequently has an excess, suffering hurricanes and flooding on a regular basis. Even Central Texas experiences the extremes rather than a happy medium: flash floods in one season and two-month dry periods on other occasions.

Texas has only one natural lake, Lake Caddo. Its hundreds of artificially created lakes are made possible by dams on the major rivers and their tributaries, which flow across the state from northwest to southeast. There are several aquifers underlying the state as well, including the Ogallala, the Edwards, and the Trinity. In some ways, we are rich in water. But modern cities guzzle huge volumes, especially when millions of non-native grass lawns are watered in scorching summer temperatures.

The era of great dam building has passed, and surface water rights are no longer easily available. Permittees pumping from aquifers are starting to encounter problems as some wells go dry during long periods without rain. Spring flows are threatened as aquifer levels sink. The population of Texas is growing, and controversy over water quality and quantity is growing along with it.

Clearly, events on the global scale have local effects. Conversely, citizens can impact both local and global events by taking action on local issues.

Previewing Four Texas Case Studies

Four case histories are particularly exemplary. They concern the Paluxy River, the Brownsville Dam, the Marvin Nichols Reservoir, and the fight against a Wal-M art Supercenter over the Edwards Aquifer.

The Paluxy River, less than 40 miles long, flows between limestone bluffs and grassy banks covered with majestic pecan trees in North Texas, a few hours’ drive from the Dallas-Fort Worth metroplex. Generations ago, several families from the islands of Scotland settled in the river valley, and a century later their descendants still live there, raising cattle, growing crops, harvesting pecans. In the summers the valley fills with visitors who come to fish, swim, and picnic in this idyllic place.

In 1982 the residents’ tranquility was shattered when they received notice that their land was to be condemned for a dam and reservoir, the waters of which would inundate their ancestral homesteads. From that moment, the market value of their property plummeted, and their entire way of life was threatened. The families would be forced to leave the place they had called home for generations, scattering to distant and unfamiliar places.

Proponents of the reservoir included the City of Stephenville, the City of Glen Rose, and Somervell County. The Paluxy is a tributary that meets the Brazos River at Glen Rose in Somervell County after passing through Dinosaur Valley State Park. This area of North Texas is home to a number of huge CAFOs, Confined Animal Feeding Operations, also known as industrial dairy farms. People in Glen Rose and Stephenville wanted to lure agricultural business into the area, but to do so they needed a large and reliable water supply, hence the proposal to dam the nearby river and create a reservoir.
The idea was met with outrage. The families of the Paluxy River Valley had no intention of allowing their heritage to be taken from them without a fight. The proponents of the dam had nothing to lose and everything to gain: they would have a lake with opportunities for "economic development" in the form of marinas, fishing and boating supply shops, and bait shops and the like, and the recreational opportunities that go along with these. Some people, of course, would profit greatly from land development and business expansion as the area would change from peaceful rural land to expanses of fast food restaurants, gas stations, and parking lots. The residents along the river, however, stood to lose their land and their way of life, with only little monetary compensation, especially as property values had already sunk. So began a long effort to save the Paluxy, one of the last free-flowing rivers in Texas.

The Brownsville Dam was a project first proposed by the City of Brownsville about twenty years ago to provide more drinking water for the growing region along the Rio Grande. The City of Harlingen and several other entities joined Brownsville in promoting the dam, and the water district banded together with several others to form a regional water authority whose purpose also was to promote the project. It was billed as a far-sighted move to provide for the future of the area.

At the beginning, the overwhelming majority of citizens of Brownsville supported the project for this reason, and not many individuals or groups opposed it. Awareness and a loose coalition against the project grew gradually. The National Audubon Society owns the Sabal Palm Wildlife Sanctuary, which contains the last big stand of native (sabal) palms along the Rio Grande, and the United States Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) owns wildlife corridor river frontage.

Karen Chapman was the manager of the Audubon wildlife sanctuary at the time. The sanctuary owns 1000 acre-feet of water rights to the river and hence has a strong interest in maintaining its flow. As many people are aware, the Rio Grande no longer flows constantly into the Gulf of Mexico, due to frequent droughts and over-pumping of its waters. The sanctuary pumps river water exclusively for the purpose of filling the oxbow lake within its grounds. This lake provides habitat for the Least Grebe, which nests there, as well as the Brownsville Yellowthroat and the Rio Grande Lesser Siren, an amphibian with external gills.

The Sierra Club and Audubon Society also opposed the project. Mary Lou Campbell served as the Sierra Club's Conservation Chair in that region. Her concerns were more general, relating to the habitats and wildlife in the area. The Rio Grande supports several endangered species, though none are at the mouth. Ocelot and jaguarundi, two species of wild cats, are both endangered and depend on the riverine habitat up and down the Rio Grande. The in-channel dam would affect 40 river miles and cause peripheral flooding along the way. At the moment, the low water flow allows many animals to use the river corridor itself to get from one place to another.

The Marvin Nichols Reservoir is a project proposed for Northeast Texas, on the Sulphur River. Spawned from the planning process brought into being by Senate Bill 1, the reservoir would be built on the Sulphur River in water planning Region D (Northeast Texas) to provide water for Region C, comprised of the Dallas-Fort Worth area and North Texas. It would permanently inundate 62,000 acres of land, much of it bottomland hardwood forest, of which there is little remaining in the state, and periodically flood another 10,000 acres. It would

---

2 An acre-foot is the amount of water required to cover one acre of land one foot deep, 325,851 gallons.
require about 150 miles of pipeline, and estimates of cost for the dam, pipeline, pump stations, and other associated equipment vary between $1.7 and $5.1 billion.

Many of the landowners in Region D found themselves in a similar position to that of the people living along the Paluxy River. The water was not needed in their area, but they would suffer the consequences of providing it for the benefit of others. They were told that it was essentially a done deal and there was no way to fight the project, and that they would not be acting like good neighbors if they objected to sending their water to the metroplex. In reality, there was enormous scope to fight, and Dallas and Fort Worth could meet their own needs through other methods, not the least of which would be water conservation.

The Texas Committee on Natural Resources (TCONR) has worked to oppose new dams and reservoirs in Texas for a number of years. Texas already has hundreds of dams and artificial lakes, and precious few free-flowing rivers are left. Janice Bezanson works with TCONR and was aware of the Marvin Nichols proposal from its inception. Through the coincidence of mutual acquaintances, a few of the landowners in the Sulphur River basin heard of Bezanson and asked for assistance. She agreed to

**Senator Bill 1, passed in 1997, divided Texas into 16 water planning regions and mandated that each come up with a long-term plan for ensuring its own water supply. Prior to that time, water planning was done from the top down through state agencies such as the Water Development Board, Texas Natural Resources Conservation Commission (TNRCC, now the Texas Commission on Environmental Quality, TCEQ), and Texas Parks and Wildlife Department.**

Now the planning process runs in five-year cycles, which started in 1998. Plans from the regions went to the Water Development Board for review in 2000 and were published in 2002, and the process immediately started again. This repetition means there is regular opportunity for public input.

By law, each regional water planning group must represent 11 designated interest groups: the public, counties, municipalities, industry, agriculture, environment, small business, electric generating utilities, river authorities, water districts, and water utilities.

Many of the regional planning groups have proposed constructing new dams and reservoirs to increase their long-term water supplies. This is problematic because dams and reservoirs generally have a significant negative effect on the environment, and often on the people living in the area. A large reservoir inundates tens of thousands of acres of land, drowning wildlife habitats, drastically changing the local landscape, and reducing natural flow of the river, which may also affect wildlife and their habitats at the estuary. Implementation of water conservation strategies frequently provides more water at a much lower cost than do engineered structures.

---

**Marvin Nichols**

They were told that it was essentially a done deal and there was no way to fight the project...
travel from Austin to meet with them if they could assure her there would be a few people serious about making an effort to fight the dam. When she arrived with Dave Moldol of the National Wildlife Federation, they found more than 40 citizens fired up and ready to go. Having believed there was nothing they could do, these people had not yet taken any serious action against the project, but once they heard that there was indeed hope, they became determined to fight it. Janice calls it one of the most amazing grassroots organizing efforts she’s ever seen.

The Edwards Aquifer is a karst limestone aquifer that underlies hundreds of square miles of Central Texas. Because of the cavernous nature of the limestone and the thin soils and sparse vegetation on the ground surface, water from rain and irrigation or other runoff receives little to no filtration before entering the aquifer. This aquifer is the sole source of drinking water for 1.5 million people and is home to more than 60 endemic species that live nowhere else in the world. The method acknowledged to be most effective in protecting water quality is limitation of impervious cover (pavement in the form of road and building construction) on the ground surface above the aquifer. The struggle between citizens seeking to protect the aquifer on behalf of humans and the endangered species inhabiting it, and those seeking to develop the land, has been waged on many fronts for more than a decade.

One recent battle involved Austin residents trying to prevent Wal-Mart from locating a new Supercenter in their neighborhood over the aquifer. The store (well over 100,000 square feet of impervious cover), along with its immense parking lot and the increased traffic it would cause, would have significant negative impacts on residents’ quality of life, species’ habitats, and water quality of the aquifer. The neighbors connected with environmental groups to organize a broad grassroots coalition, the No Aquifer Big Box Coalition, whose campaign over a few months resulted in the decision not to build a Wal-Mart on that site.

Defining Grassroots Organizing

Grassroots organizing is about going to the very source of democracy: the people. It is about figuring out how they feel and what their self-interest is. It is about listening to their needs, communicating in words they understand, and caring about making a real, tangible difference in their daily lives. To be an effective organizer, you must always remember that people are the core of any campaign.

Explaining Campaign Types

There are many different types of campaigns besides candidates’ electoral campaigns: lobby campaigns in which activists are mobilized to make appeals to elected officials on behalf of the passage or defeat of a particular piece of legislation; regulatory reform campaigns, in which troops are gathered to testify before appointed governmental bodies in favor of environmental protections; and issue advocacy or public education campaigns that organize community support around a local environmental issue. Regardless of what type of campaign you are engaged in, the same basic principles of planning and organizing apply.

Serious activism takes some serious effort. The good news is that it can be fun. In addition, the organizing methods discussed here have been used successfully around the country, so, while success is not guaranteed, you will have a good chance.
The most important and fundamental strategy for activism is to organize. Projects like dams and reservoirs are generally driven by economic interests - those of the few, not the many. Proponents tout such projects as being for the common good, but generally there is only a small group of involved individuals who profit, while the public may actually suffer, especially in the long term.

Unfortunately it's a sad fact of life that those who wish to protect the environment or stop a project like a dam rarely have as much cash as those who are trying to make it happen. Almost every environmental fight comes down to a question of powerful and moneyed interests versus the People. The People can compete only by organizing together to create a coalition that has enough power to affect the outcome of the decision. If we all had the money of a large corporation, we wouldn't need to bother with the great effort of organizing: we would be able to influence the outcome in other ways. The trick is to get sufficient dedicated, passionate people to work together long enough to affect decision-makers in the right way; and the only means of making that happen is to organize a coalition. A broad and diversified coalition is the best way to gain influence to reach decision-makers, whether these are elected officials or the voting public.

The citizens of Northeast Texas opposing the Marvin Nichols Reservoir exemplified this principle. Their coalition managed to unite environmentalists and the owners and employees of Ward Timber Company, along with a number of residents of the area who would lose their land to the inundation area of the reservoir.

Saul Alinsky, a Chicago community activist, discusses in his book *Rules for Radicals* the vital importance of communication for effective organization: Your job in building a coalition is to figure out what groups will share your goal in the protection of a water resource and find ways of persuading them that it is in their interest to work with you on this campaign.

Detailing Three Principles of Effective Organizing

Alinsky developed three principles of effective organizing.

- **Win real, immediate, and concrete improvements in people's lives.** If you are organizing to prevent the creation of a reservoir in your area, you are fighting to preserve homes, forest, farmland, or other attractive open space or wildlife habitat. The kinds of campaigns addressed in this booklet are for achieving tangible victories on issues such as this.

- **Re-align power relationships by building a strong and effective organization.** This may be a secondary goal for your organization, but it is useful for long-term efforts. If you are working on this campaign as part of an organization, the campaign should leave your group stronger and more powerful than beforehand. You should have more members, more contacts and more respect in the community by the end of it, all of which will help in any future effort.

- **Empower people to become active and effective in the political process and in their communities.** You are fortunate to live in a country in which public protest and citizen action are possible. Progressive issues cannot move forward without citizen participation in the democratic process. It is important to involve a number of people, to gain new allies, and to empower all those interested in the cause to take action.

A broad-based and diverse coalition is the best way to influence decision-makers.
Good things come in threes. Now that you know the principles of effective organizing, here are the three phases of effective campaigns as outlined by the Sierra Club.

Phase One: Creating Demand

Survey after survey has demonstrated that Texans want the environment to be protected. The challenge is to translate this vague and passive support into active participation. Most people need to perceive a direct risk to a specific resource before they are motivated enough to get involved in an issue. They also need information about how they can affect the outcome. Announcing the fact that the world’s oceans are being overfished may result in listeners becoming depressed and apathetic, but publicizing a list of seafood species to avoid eating, or food companies to boycott due to poor industrial practices, allows people to take action.

You may well need a higher level of citizen involvement than this. One primary method utilized by the Sierra Club is to develop a story to tell about the problem and its effects, as well as the proposed solution. The basic characteristics of the story include a victim, a villain, a hero, and a solution or an opportunity for positive action.

For example, "The Callous Corporation [villain] is dumping toxic chemicals into the Rambling River and poisoning the drinking water supply in our community [victims]. The citizens of Johnsboro [heroes] must take action now and rescue this important resource [plot resolution]."

Notice that there is overlap among the various characters: some of the victims, who are residents of the community, can also be heroes, like the citizens of Johnsboro. In the case of the Paluxy River and Marvin Nichols reservoirs, the people who lived along the rivers were the potential victims, and they had to be their own heroes, organizing to fight against the proposed projects.

Phase Two: Establishing Accountability

After creating demand for a certain outcome, the next step is to get the public to hold decision-makers accountable for meeting that demand. Decision-makers, whether elected officials such as City Council members, or political appointees such as the commissioners for the Texas Commission on Environmental Quality (TCEQ), need to know that the public is interested in a particular issue. The process involves criticizing decision-makers who do the wrong thing and thanking those who do the right thing. This may require some diplomacy. Remember that success for your coalition may mean persuading an official to change her position. If your public criticism is too strong and personal, you may burn your bridges. Focus on the issue and why it is so important for the official to take a certain action, as opposed to talking about why the “villain” of your story is evil. On the other hand, praise should be personalized, and will be greatly appreciated! Think of your own past experiences, seeing how a child praised for good behavior is.
more likely to repeat it, or how an office colleague glows when given a sincere compliment. This can work with politicians too.

This phase requires identifying your targets: who are the people who can make things happen for you? This question is discussed in detail in the sections on strategy and targets.

**Phase Three: Taking Delivery, Achieving Your Goal**

In a successful campaign, the end result is referred to as taking delivery, which means accomplishing something tangible and achieving your campaign goal. There are various ways a group can take delivery: passing a bond proposition to purchase land for protecting water quality, winning a lawsuit, or defeating the permit for an unwanted dam, etc.

Taking delivery is the payoff. It is about three things (there's that magic number again!):

- **a)** choosing an appropriate and achievable goal;
- **b)** targeting key decision-makers who have the power to produce the desired result and who can be reached through activities that focus on creating demand and accountability; and
- **c)** building good relationships with those targets, being persistent with and respectful of your opponents, and investing time and effort in those who are persuadable.

The latter two points will apply to almost any campaign. However, choosing an appropriate and achievable goal is not always a matter of choice. Many people reading this manual may be in a situation in which the issue and goal were chosen for them, as is the case in all of our case histories. If your entire livelihood and quality of life depend on preventing construction of a dam, your goal will be defined for you, and you will need to go carefully in choosing your targets and building relationships with them.

Here's the story and the solution.

Develop a story to tell about the problem and its effect, as well as the proposed solution, to gain a higher level of citizen involvement. The story will need a victim, villain, hero, and solution or opportunity for positive action.
Organization building is critical to a campaign’s success. The three key resources for building an organization are people, money, and connection. The first two are fairly obvious; the concept of “connection” is slightly more elusive. It refers to all of the intangible things that connect the people to the organization: a common vision; the money, effort, and/or skills they contribute; time spent together; a sense of responsibility, appreciation, and/or empowerment; shared trials and tribulations; etc. It is the glue that holds everyone together. This is where the concept of fun comes into play: campaigns that enable participants to have fun while working, to enjoy camaraderie and make new friends, are more likely to succeed because volunteers are less likely to suffer burnout. Even in issues where the goal is a given and the volunteers are people who will be directly affected by the result – the Marvin Nichols project, for example – the longer the fight goes on, the more likely it is that some people will eventually drop out from exhaustion. Some may finally decide it is easier to give up or sell at a loss and move away. Volunteers who are less directly involved, such as those fighting on behalf of wilderness preservation rather than their own livelihoods, will also be vulnerable to burnout. If campaign organizers can maintain a supportive, inspiring, and empowering spirit over a long period of time, everyone will be happier and more motivated, and chances of success increase.

Of the three key resources, the most important is people. Because we will never have the financial resources our opponents have, we must always cherish, nurture, train, and inspire our volunteers and donors.

The Sierra Club Grassroots Organizing Training Manual contains a good section on building an effective organization (mainly Chapter 2). Of course there is also a wealth of general management information available at your local bookstore or library, ranging from The 5-Minute Manager for basic management tips, to Machiavelli’s The Prince, for anyone seeking broader insight into Texas and American politics today. Obviously, the stronger your group or coalition, the more it can accomplish, so if you have multiple goals over the long term, it is appropriate to put some energy into improving the organization. In addition, it is essential to realize that your coalition itself represents an organization for the duration of the campaign.

According to one of the core participants in the Brownsville coalition, they might have accomplished more if they had structured their coalition as an organization in itself. In hindsight they realized they had erred in their assumption that the disparate members of the coalition shared identical goals. Because of this mistaken assumption, each group acted somewhat independently, rather than all working together as a single organization. On the other hand, the Marvin Nichols coalition allied residents, environmentalists, and loggers into a single, structured organization with one very focused goal. It was all the more impressive because the proposed dam is in a very rural area where “large” towns may
The Marvin Nichols coalition allied residents, environmentalists, and loggers into a single structured organization with one very focused goal.

have a population of 15,000, and people live far apart from one another.

To some extent it is chance that these situations each evolved as they did. When one is caught up in a cause like this, so many things happen so quickly that it is difficult to know what course to take. Hindsight is 20/20. The analysis provided by this book offers you the opportunity to learn from others’ experiences.

The organization-building cycle consists of four stages:

- **Inform**
  
  You must inform people about what you are doing. Tell potential volunteers and donors how the overall issue affects them personally. Explain tasks at hand by describing also how they fit into the bigger picture of the campaign. Make sure that volunteers have the information and skills necessary to do the task assigned to them. Realize that if they are new to this kind of job, you may need to reiterate goals and strategies several times. If organizing a phone-bank, explain the message and goal of this activity to your volunteers, create a script to follow, and provide the list of telephone numbers.

  The telephone script should also follow the same strategy to involve those being called: provide a brief outline of the issue at hand and why people should take what action to accomplish a goal. For example: "Hello, my name is Mary, and I’m a volunteer with the No Aquifer Big Box Coalition. Wal-Mart is planning to build a Supercenter over the aquifer, which would threaten water quality in Barton Springs because of polluted runoff. We are calling to ask you to contact City Council members and urge them to deny the zoning change for Wal-Mart and stop the Supercenter. Our website, www.NoAquiferBigBox.org, has all the council members’ telephone numbers and email addresses. Thank you very much!"

- **Ask**

  The grassroots campaign plan should define specific, concrete tasks that can be assigned to volunteers. People need to feel welcome and at ease in order to be effective; when newcomers attend, make sure they are introduced and included in the discussion. Create a friendly environment and match people to their interests. If a man shows up with his hammer to put together yard signs, don’t ask him to do data entry!

  Of course, advance planning, preparation, and communication will help. Be specific about requests to volunteers for what kind of help is needed for every activity.

- **Involve**

- **Thank**
Asking Stage
Define your needs and ask for them. A campaign may need volunteers to staff a phone-bank, maintain a database, or present petitions at community events. See what your volunteers want to get out of their involvement, aside from the main campaign goal. Students may desire a specific type of experience to round out their resumes: some may wish to learn a particular skill, and some may wish to make new friends while working for a good cause. Try to find various activities that have a range of time commitments so people can be involved at whatever level is comfortable for them, whether that is one hour per week or three hours per day.

When asking for funds, do some research to establish the potential giving capacity of the donor beforehand. People who might willingly contribute $50 are likely to give nothing at all if you ask them for $1000. On the other hand, if a donor is willing and able to contribute $10,000 you don’t want to ask only for $50.

Always keep the final goal in mind. Be generous about sharing the glory and celebrating victories large and small: let everybody feel that they contributed to the success. Encourage future leaders in every way. Some campaigns will last for years; it is important to keep as many people motivated as possible and ensure that there are successors to carry on.

Thanking Stage
People who feel unappreciated are unlikely to help out the next time. Even though everybody is working for the same cause which will benefit all, and – in theory – they should gain satisfaction from their accomplishments, people need to be continually thanked for the time and effort they are donating. Thank people when they agree to help, and thank them again every time they give time or money. For major donors, the rule of thumb is to thank them seven times for their donation. You can’t thank people too often.

TIMING-The Importance of “Backwards Planning”

Time is the principal constraint faced by an organization. Funds can be raised for most causes, but in campaigns, many deadlines are set by external entities and events over which you have no control, such as the scheduling of a public hearing; and most such deadlines are inflexible. In such cases, it is essential to plan backwards: you will need to assess what steps are needed to accomplish your goal by the date given, and plot tasks backwards from the deadline at realistic intervals in order to determine at what point you will need to begin. In many cases, you will be seeking information (about procedures or a legal process, or making Open Records requests) and may need to wait for replies from agencies or officials, and such delays must be accounted for in your timeline.

If you are working to organize citizen turnout for a public hearing, you need to consider what your strategy is (e.g., e-mail, phone-banking, direct mail) and how much time is required to implement it. When organizing a phone-bank, you need to recruit volunteers, obtain lists of telephone numbers of people to contact, and find a place from which to make the calls. If you’ve worked on similar campaigns before, you might already know exactly how to accomplish each of these things; but especially if this is the first time, you may need a couple of weeks to get everything in place, so it is important to be well aware of how much time is required for each.

Sometimes, despite your best efforts, a deadline will loom suddenly before you, giving you very little time to organize the troops. This is why having a well-organized group is critical.
The following section briefly describes some of the qualities of value in a leader. Here again, for more in-depth discussion of the topic, refer to the Sierra Club grassroots training manual, Chapter 2. Few people will have all of the skills on this list, but most are good at some of these things. People often do not see themselves as leaders and are hesitant to step forward as such. But, for example, good listening skills and attention to detail may be exactly what is called for. Do not let this list discourage you; use it simply as a framework for what to look for in yourself and those with whom you work. Sometimes it only takes a little encouragement, and during the course of the campaign, leaders will emerge.

Checking for Leadership Skills

◆ Self-knowledge – Know yourself well enough to know when and how to delegate tasks, assume authority only when appropriate, and instill confidence in others.

◆ Good listening skills – Understand what makes people tick and what will be persuasive to different individuals. This requires patience, sensitivity, and empathy, along with dedication, time, and practice.

◆ Understanding of group dynamics – People from varied backgrounds working together toward a common goal will inevitably develop some tensions within the group, and a good leader will help the group navigate through such difficulties.

◆ Effective communication – You must possess the ability to make an effective argument orally and in writing. You must also be able to clearly articulate what you expect from people, efficiently solicit information from others, and mediate resolutions when conflicts arise.

◆ Critical thinking – You need the ability to assess and analyze information, to quickly decide what data is relevant, weigh the credibility of various sources, and determine how to use the information obtained. You will need efficient information management, analytical thinking, and sound judgment to maintain the required focus.

◆ Organization skills – Mundane details like establishing goals and deadlines, tracking progress and maintaining records are essential for success. The leader needs to keep himself organized and others on track. Time invested at the beginning in setting up organized systems will save much time later on.

◆ Ability to make a decision – Although it is important to have the group buy into major aspects of the campaign, there will be times when the leader needs to make a decision quickly. Constant decision-by-committee leads to frustration for all. A good campaign manager can determine when other opinions need to be solicited and when to be autocratic and keep things moving.

◆ Giving and receiving constructive feedback – Criticism can make people uncomfortable, but sometimes it is necessary to air grievances in order to allow the team to work together better. As the leader, you should create a comfortable environment in which people can communicate feelings openly and honestly; you must also establish ground rules to ensure that feedback is given in a constructive and sensitive manner.

◆ Having faith in people and the democratic process – Remember that it is the group effort that will win a campaign; all your strength and power will come from the people involved.

◆ Encouraging others – Learn how to give credit where credit is due – and sometimes give more than others have actually earned. Reflected glory still puts the leader in a good light, and volunteers who feel they have accomplished something will work that much harder in the future.
Successful campaigns are well thought out and organized with a clear message and goal. Change happens when individuals come together as a group, create a strategic plan and stick to that plan. A Campaign Planning Matrix has been developed by the Sierra Club over years of campaigning, issue advocacy and organization building for environmental battles. This booklet describes the Matrix and how several organizations in Texas have applied aspects of it in their local environmental battles.

Grassroots organizing comes from the bottom up. If you’ve ever gardened, you may be familiar with the battle to keep the grass out of the flowerbeds. You pull up one tuft, but it has a long root that stretches three feet more around the flowers. If you aren’t out there every week removing those roots, the grass takes over. That’s how you want your campaign to be. Wherever public officials go, and whichever direction they look, there will be another citizen urging them to do the right thing on your issue. Obviously this requires a lot of people; otherwise your few volunteers get burned out fast. The Sierra Club manual says, "Grassroots organizing is nothing more than building political strength by empowering large numbers of people to affect public policy through their involvement in the political process."

From the very beginning of the campaign, when getting together in the very first small group to determine if there is an interest in organizing to solve a problem, it is important to define the following in that initial meeting:

♦ Issue Focus
♦ Goals
♦ Strategic Targets
♦ Message

Start with the bare bones and delegate and make arrangements to flesh out the details. For maximum success, it is critical that you start at the beginning of the matrix and work through it in order.

That said, remember that everything in this book applies to an "ideal" campaign. Many campaigns have achieved success utilizing the resources at hand and implementing only some of the suggestions here; but
your chances of success increase if you go about organizing your campaign in a methodical fashion and incorporate as much of this matrix as is feasible. If you have ever worked on a campaign before, the following cartoon may look familiar to you. A group of people is gathered around a kitchen table. Everyone is busily discussing what needs to be done...

The first frame of this cartoon is not a planning meeting! This is a bunch of people working together on a "to do" list. There is no discussion of goals, research, targeting, strategy, or message. This is just a brainstorming session on tactics with no productive focus. Do not allow yourselves to get sidetracked with such trivia. These questions can be delegated to specific committees or individuals after the significant decisions have been made. The Matrix ("Meeting to Create Matrix" in the cartoon) can help your group remain focused on the significant questions if you start at the beginning and follow it in order.

There is an old organizing adage: "If it ain't written down, it ain't a plan." It is not enough to discuss what you are going to do; it must be written, copied, and shared with campaign coordinators. The written plan is the team's shared understanding of the campaign's goals, message, and strategy. The point of a written plan is to provide direction and focus for the entire team throughout the duration of the campaign.

Getting Started with the Campaign Planning Matrix

You should launch your campaign effort with a planning meeting to create your Matrix. It will need to be a much more structured and productive discussion than the “bogus” one illustrated in the cartoon! Below is a list of what you will need:

THE SETTING - A quiet, comfortable environment with no distractions - no phones to answer, no small children, no people walking in and out.

THE SUPPLIES - Easel, lots of large sheets of paper, masking tape to display recorded thoughts around the room, and thick colored markers.

THE ROLES - A designated facilitator, who encourages full participation from all planning participants and ensures that the conversation flows and progress is being made. A recorder, who takes thorough notes. You may also want to consider having a designated timekeeper to monitor the flow of the agenda and keep things moving.

The role of the facilitator is an important one and this person should be chosen carefully. The role of the facilitator at the planning meeting is not to

The role of the facilitator is not to dominate the discussion but to move the agenda along, drawing out reluctant participants.
dominate the discussion, but rather to move the agenda along, drawing out reluctant participants, managing over-talkative ones and self-proclaimed “experts,” building a consensus, and keeping the topic on track. Perhaps an experienced person from another organization who has run an environmental campaign can be tapped to facilitate.

THE ATTENDEES - All people who may have a stake in the outcome. These could be veterans of other campaigns, people who know the community well and understand the issues involved or have important political connections, or just people who need to be part of the team to ensure their buy-in later on.

THE TIME FRAME - Usually three to five hours, depending upon the complexity of the situation.

THE PREPARATION - The facilitator and other key organizers need to be familiar with the Matrix and background information regarding the issue, the community, and the context of the proposed campaign. It is helpful to have information surrounding the campaign issues on handouts for attendees to read.

THE RULES - Often meetings begin by the group establishing the ground rules for discussion. These might include: no interrupting each other, no “side-bar” discussions, no repeating or rephrasing things that have already been said, and staying on topic. The facilitator will be responsible for making sure the rules are followed throughout the meeting.

THE NEXT STEPS - After the initial planning meeting, the leaders will need to do some additional work to turn the completed Matrix into a more comprehensive written plan. This will include developing the group’s strategy, fine-tuning the message, designing an earned media program, (“earned” meaning your organization does something to make news), finalizing a budget, etc.

---

**Defining Your Campaign Issue**

The first step is defining your campaign issue. It must be clear and to-the-point so that it can be easily communicated and understood in a sentence or two.

What water issue will your campaign address? Most of the campaigns for which this book will be used will have that question answered for them. For the citizens involved in the Paluxy River coalition, the Brownsville Dam, and the Marvin Nichols project, the issue was given: in each case, residents sought to preserve the rivers in their current state and prevent the dams and reservoirs from being built. In the Austin example, the issue was to protect water quality in the Edwards Aquifer by preventing excess development over the aquifer, in this case specifically, construction of the Wal-Mart.

The Sierra Club training manual offers an issue criteria checklist to help determine whether your campaign is appropriate to your circumstances. Again, some of these points may not be applicable to your situation, but this list can help you focus more specifically on some aspect of the issue.

◆ Will your campaign result in a concrete and quantifiable improvement in the environment (or, alternatively, will it prevent significant harm from being done)?

◆ Is it an issue that a broad range of people will understand and care deeply about? If not, can you reshape it so that more people will care? Sometimes this requires adjusting your message so that people recognize that it does affect them, even if they did not realize that before.

◆ Is the issue widely and deeply felt in your community? In the case histories given here, the answer to this question is a resounding Yes, which is why the campaigns accomplished what they did. The members of the community cared deeply enough to be compelled to action.

◆ Does your organization have the resources (money, people and connections) necessary to win the campaign? Sometimes a campaign starts with next to none of these resources, but determination may be

---

**Remember…**

"Soon" is not a date.
"Some" is not an amount.
"Someone" is not a name.
sufficient to prevail anyway. The families of the Paluxy River hired a lawyer to help them through the long legal processes with state agencies; year after year, they held monthly fish fries on their beautiful properties along the river. They became renowned for these events and raised a good portion of their legal fees this way. They started with little, but they never gave up.

◆ Will the issue bring people together and avoid alienating outside individuals and/or organizations that might be needed as allies in the future? Once again, you may have no choice in your selection of an issue, but do bear in mind the importance of maintaining good relationships with other people and organizations.

◆ Is the campaign winnable? Do you have clear targets, a realistic time frame, and achievable goals? In many cases, the opposition will have you believe that your campaign can never be won, as with the Marvin Nichols project. But if you can get enough people involved and draw enough attention to your issue, almost any campaign can be won.

Once you’ve defined the issue, do some homework. Contact environmental organizations, scientific experts, university professors, relevant Web sites, etc. to locate reliable and comprehensive data regarding the potential environmental, economic, and social impacts of the proposed project or policy changes.

The importance of knowing your facts cannot be overemphasized. Both the Brownsville Dam and Marvin Nichols coalitions produced informational booklets about the issues. In both cases, activists documented the significant negative environmental, social, and economic effects that these projects would have and demonstrated that solutions other than dams and reservoirs were superior and less expensive methods of assuring water supply. This information helped to persuade other citizens to join their coalitions, and it helped to convince some decision-makers not to support the projects in question. See Appendix 3 for information on Threatened and Endangered Species in Texas.

The presence of threatened or endangered species is sometimes sufficient to slow down or even prevent certain projects, so research whether any of these species exists in your area and would be affected by proposed projects there.

Defining Your Campaign Goals

A formal plan with stated goals, strategies, and tactics is key to a successful campaign. None of these can be accomplished without a successful organization. As you grow your campaign, you should make sure that your organization grows in size and resources so that it can achieve the conservation goals.

In the Paluxy River case, at the start of their struggle, only a small number of people felt strongly about the issue, and they certainly did not have the resources necessary to win; nor was the campaign necessarily winnable. Nonetheless they refused to give up. Don’t get discouraged just because your campaign starts out small.

Once you’ve developed your issue focus, your group will determine the campaign’s goals, both conservation and organizational, and your focus will become much more specific. Goals must be expressed clearly, aiming toward a tangible result. You need to define what is a victory and what will be the end of your campaign. Something like “improving the water quality” of the local river is too vague and specifies no end point. Your goal should be quantified and expressed as “adopting an agency rule that requires a reduction in the level of Pollutant X to N parts per billion.” Defeating a potentially destructive initiative, like one of these dam projects, is also a clearly
defined goal for a campaign. In our examples, the
goals became further defined and specified as the
people acquired more information about the process
involved.

Sometimes, as you evaluate your campaign focus
and available resources, you may rethink your
original concept entirely. Sometimes there isn’t a
choice. If, as in the case of the Paluxy River families,
your livelihood and happiness depend on the
outcome of the campaign, your only choices are to
give up or to fight under the given constraints. They
chose to fight.

Conservation Goals

Some campaigns may last for a very long time. The
Paluxy River families fought their local project for 16
years. The Brownsville Dam project has been
ongoing for 20 years, and as the issue has evolved, so
have the goals of the coalition fighting the project.
Sometimes, especially when a campaign lasts for
years, the conservation goal can be described in three
stages: immediate, interim, and long-term. For
example:

**Immediate goal:** "Stop the local authorities from
approving this (specific) construction project."

**Interim goal:** "Inform targeted public audiences
that such projects impair wildlife habitats and are not
necessary for providing water to the region."

**Long-term goal:** "Keep the river flowing
continuously."

Sometimes the goal has only one stage, and
sometimes the goal changes and expands in scope as
organization members get more involved in fighting
the problem. As your campaign and its goals evolve,
the campaign may gain and lose people over time.
Do not become discouraged over this fact. Instead,
help to motivate and recruit people by remembering
always to thank them for their involvement and
efforts and celebrating all victories, even small ones.

The Marvin Nichols coalition’s overall goal was to
prevent the dam and reservoir project from being
built. The first step was to remove it from the Region
D water plan, then from the Region C plan as well.
Each of these steps required numerous different
campaign activities and was a goal in itself. The No
Aquifer Big Box coalition started out trying to
prevent Wal-Mart from building a Supercenter on the
aquifer; at this point in time, they are working for
comprehensive regulations to prevent all such “big
box” projects from being built in the aquifer’s
recharge zone.

It may take several years to secure some victories;
therefore, your immediate and interim goals would be
incremental but important steps toward your ultimate
destination. For instance, let’s say it takes five votes
on the city council to pass a new law preventing big
boxes over the aquifer, but you know you can only
secure four votes. However, it only takes four votes
to place a moratorium on big box construction in that
area. It is a temporary solution, and it’s a smaller
win, but it may be the right choice for now.

Organizational Goals

Your organizational goals will strengthen the
organization so that it is able to support the
conservation goal(s). As the campaign grows in
scope, so will the needs of the organization in order
to support the goals. Organizational goals could look
something like this:

**ORGANIZATIONAL GOALS**
- Develop two new leaders willing to take on a
  specific responsibility
- Establish good working relationships with two
  new coalition partners
- Create a comprehensive list or database that
  includes lists or contacts at three TV stations,
  three newspapers, five radio stations, and two
  magazines
- Raise $1,000

As you know by now, both the conservation and
organization goals should be written down and
monitored throughout the campaign. Monitoring and
adjusting as situations change will allow you to be
aware of how these changes will affect your
organization.
Assessing the Lay of the Land

At the initial planning meeting, the group needs to assess the lay of the land, which consists of a) organizational strengths and weaknesses, and b) allies and opponents. These will help you determine what are realistic goals for both your campaign and your organization. Note that assessing your opponents also includes evaluating their strengths and weaknesses to know what you will need on your side. See Appendix 2 for a list of environmental organizations that may be able to offer you some assistance.

Defining your group's strengths and weaknesses is a critical part of the process. What resources do you have? Think in terms of people, money, time, and connections. Find out who in your group has what skills. Who is good at data entry – or at least willing to do it? This will be crucial for keeping track of your volunteers and their contact information, primary and secondary targets (decision-makers), the public you contact, and so on. Is somebody in your group a talented public speaker who can help to inform other groups about this issue? Do you have people with legal knowledge or good research skills? Does someone personally know one of the local elected officials? Do you have any attorneys or wealthy landowners in your group, or could you recruit some to your cause?

What resources do you lack? Is this a campaign that will require a lot of money? Do you have the information you need to fight your opponent? Being properly informed about the issue, the decision-making timeline, and the legal rules is critical. If your group has funds available, hire someone who already knows the rules and has experience in this area, such as a consultant or an attorney. The choice of issue may be a weakness in itself (if, for example, only very few people care about it in the beginning), but this may be unavoidable. The point is to be aware of that fact and determine a way to deal with it.

After having assessed strengths and weaknesses, you will know better what allies to seek. Ideally, your allies will help to compensate for some of your weaknesses. However, some individuals and groups will be your natural allies anyway, whose strengths may overlap your own, but do not discount these people. It's important to have as many allies as possible, because it is likely that your opponents will be well-funded and more powerful than you are. The biggest key to success will be a broad-based coalition, but sheer numbers do help.

Which special-interest groups or community organizations are likely allies – who shares your campaign goals? What are their strengths and weaknesses, and what resources can they contribute? Think outside the box.

Knowing your enemies and their strengths and weaknesses is essential. Evaluate your opponents in the same way you have evaluated your own and your allies' resources and lack thereof. This might entail using the Web, calling their public relations departments, reading their annual reports, soliciting information from other groups who have already done battle with them, as well as simply paying attention to the daily news, especially as your campaign heats up. The objective is to get to know your opponents as well as you know yourself.

The No Aquifer Big Box coalition had the great strength of being broad-based, unifying unlikely allies. Neighborhood residents who had never been active on aquifer protection issues started working in close coordination with environmentalists who were passionate about such issues. In addition, the coalition discovered through research and communication with other groups that Wal-Mart had a poor environmental record, with numerous fines from the EPA for violation of the Clean Water Act on its construction sites. They also found out that there was already an array of organizations battling the company on several fronts, from employment
conditions to discrimination in hiring and promotional practices. This was ammunition in the public relations battle to demonstrate that Wal-Mart was not a good neighbor and was not likely to abide by water quality regulations.

The Marvin Nichols coalition recognized early that their weakness was lack of knowledge and experience with the type of situation they found themselves in. They called Janice Bezanson and TC O N R to help them organize and provide more information about the process. They became a cohesive group, no mean feat in such a rural area. Bezanson was an ally who helped offset their weakness by providing expertise on the topic, along with organizing experience.

Eventually this coalition also grew into a very broad-based one, which became a terrific strength. The owner and upper management of Ward Timber Company, a company active in the area, became involved in opposing the project because the proposed inundation area of the reservoir included thousands of acres of rare hardwood forest. Environmentalists allied with loggers - “tree-huggers" united with "tree-choppers" - made a rare, impressive, and newsworthy combination.

The key weakness of the Brownsville Dam coalition was the failure to recognize the importance of agreeing upon a single, firm goal for the entire group at the beginning. Each organization involved opposed the project for different reasons: USFWS had concerns about their refuge; Audubon had concerns about their wildlife sanctuary; Sierra Club had general concerns about the environment and wildlife habitat along the entire affected segment of the river; and a few citizens had concerns about potentially poor engineering and possible flooding in Matamoros, Mexico.

Because of the wildlife refuge in the area, USFWS first declared the project “incompatible" with the refuge, and had that ruling stood, it would have stopped the project completely. However, at that point, the Public Utilities Board (who were proponents of project) negotiated with USFWS and offered them as mitigation some land the Service had long wanted to acquire. USFWS agreed, dropping their opposition to the overall project. The PUB effectively employed the “divide and conquer" strategy, which demonstrates a weakness that coalitions must guard against. In this case no one recognized the fact that they did not really all share the same goal: they failed to articulate their goals clearly. It is easy to assume that environmental groups share a common vision, but every organization, even when working steadily toward the broader goal of environmental protection, has somewhat different long-term goals and hence its own specific agenda on any given issue. It may be natural to assume that Sierra Club, as an environmental organization, will be your ally in preserving wilderness. This is probably the case, but you must find out whether your issue aligns with the current goals they have defined for their organization, and whether they have the staff or volunteers available to work on it or go the distance with you. Involved citizens need to be aware of such complications and address such points early on when forming coalitions.

One member of the Brownsville Dam coalition said that in retrospect they might have done better had they also made more efforts to inform and involve groups in the urban area, as opposed to only the environmental groups. Coalition members could have spoken at the Lion’s Club or Rotary Club, for example, to let them know why some people were opposing the project and why, contrary to popular
belief, the project was not actually necessary for the region’s water supply. In addition, they could have targeted decision-makers at the USFWS to align the agency’s goal with their own.

On the other hand, the Brownsville Dam coalition had the great advantage of counting among its members several activists with campaign organizing experience. Having a federal agency on their side was also a boon.

The Paluxy River families recognized their weakness early on in that there were few of them, while their opponents had great financial resources and political clout. They realized they would need an attorney and hired Stuart Henry, a lawyer with decades of experience in environmental issues. Their strength was their unflagging determination. They worked incessantly to raise the money to pay their legal fees, and they also continued for years to travel to Austin and other places to attend public hearings whenever necessary.

Strategizing

Now that your organization has developed its goals in Section Two, the strategy is where you figure out how to achieve those goals, who will support the effort, and who will meet your demands. This is your blueprint for victory!

Strategic Vehicle

The strategic vehicle is the means to the end, how you will carry out your strategy. There are many different ways that you can effect change. Once you have defined your goals you will need to decide on a method of achieving them. This may mean stopping specific actions by a company or developer, pressuring a regulatory agency or persuading a city council to support your campaign goals, or getting a planning group to drop a reservoir project. The important thing is to select a strategic vehicle that is appropriate, given your group’s particular situation when considering the current political climate, your relationships with various government officials, and your group’s resources. In short, you have assessed your strengths and weaknesses and your allies and opponents; now you are deciding how you can best achieve the campaign goals you identified earlier, given your assets and limitations.

In the Wal-Mart fight, the No Aquifer Big Box coalition originally thought their strategic vehicle would be to influence the Austin City Council to prevent construction of the Supercenter over the Edwards Aquifer. In the end, the issue was resolved in a different way, but their chosen methods were still successful.

Choosing your strategic vehicle is again a point at which information becomes essential, as the more information you have, the better able you are to determine what strategies will be effective in achieving your campaign goals. The No Aquifer Big Box group used the negative information they gathered about the corporation to influence public opinion and generate more comments.

Once you have selected a strategic vehicle you will need to figure out what individual(s) you need to target in order to deliver your conservation goal. This is where you involve the public in holding the targeted decision-makers accountable for meeting your demands. First, the appropriate decision-makers must be identified. Who is it that can make the decision (or influence the decision-makers) and will support your conservation goal?

There’s more than one way to achieve our goal!

Various Methods to Achieve Goals:
1. stopping specific actions
2. pressuring an agency
3. persuading public officials
4. getting a water planning group to drop a proposed reservoir project

---

21
Decision-makers, whether elected officials such as City Council members, or political appointees such as the commissioners for the Texas Commission on Environmental Quality (TCEQ), need to know that the public is interested in a particular issue. Holding them accountable involves criticizing decision-makers who do the wrong thing and thanking those who do the right thing.

A strategic campaign is one that focuses all of its time, money, people, and effort solely on those primary targets that are worthy of the investment. Therefore, strategy is as much about what you will not be doing as it is about what you will be doing. There are several key things to remember. Don’t get sidetracked! Do not spend resources on an activity that won’t influence your primary target. Some of your resources will be used to influence secondary targets or public audiences that can influence your primary target. Developing a solid matrix will help you evaluate where to effectively allocate resources. It is easy to think that you need to participate in every fair or event that your group hears about, but not all of these opportunities will have the same ability to reach your targets. Pre-planning and evaluation is critical!

The Sierra Club publication, Your Water Supply, can help you greatly in determining who is responsible for making the decisions that will affect you. In Texas there are hundreds of entities with influence over water supplies. These include state entities like the Texas Legislature and the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department, regional entities such as river authorities and groundwater conservation districts, and local entities such as municipal water suppliers, municipal utility districts, private water suppliers, and more. You need to know who controls the water supply in order to know what decision-makers to target.

Here is a brief summary of the major water supply decision-makers in Texas; more information is given in Appendix 1: Water Supply and Regulatory Entities in Texas.

The Texas Legislature, which meets from January through May of each odd-numbered year, is the law-making body for state government and is therefore ultimately responsible for making and revising state water laws, providing financial appropriations to state water agencies, and setting the legal requirements and procedures for creating various local and regional water entities. Most water-related legislation goes through the House and Senate Natural Resources Committees.

www.capitol.state.tx.us

The Texas Commission on Environmental Quality (TCEQ) is the state’s primary environmental regulatory agency, involved with water quality, quantity, regulations, permits, prices, suppliers, and consumers. It is governed by three Commissioners appointed by the Governor.

www.tceq.state.tx.us

The Texas Parks and Wildlife Department (TPWD) regulates recreational fishing in Texas’ waters and commercial fishing on the coast, but it has no direct regulatory authority to ensure water quality and quantity for fish, wildlife, and recreational resources. The TPW Commission, which governs TPWD, consists of nine members appointed by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Senate.

www.tpwd.state.tx.us

The Texas Water Development Board (TWDB) is the state agency primarily responsible for water planning and for administering water financing for the state; it is governed by a six-member board of directors whose members are appointed by the Governor.
The TWDB mission is to provide leadership, technical services, and financial assistance to support planning, conservation, and development of water for Texas.  
www.twdb.state.tx.us

The Texas State Soil & Water Conservation Board (TSSWCB) is the state agency that implements the Texas Soil Conservation Law, enacted to combat soil erosion. In the 1970s the agency was also designated as the lead state agency for addressing nonpoint source pollution of water from agricultural and silvicultural (timbering) operations. Each of the five members of this governing board is elected by soil and water conservation district directors in the state district they represent.  
www.tsswcb.state.tx.us

Groundwater conservation districts (GCDs) are regional entities authorized by the Texas Legislature to provide for the conservation, preservation, protection, recharge, and prevention of waste of groundwater and groundwater reservoirs. No state agency has the right to regulate the production or use of groundwater, but GCDs can provide some local controls - indeed, they are the only entities devoted to conserving groundwater supplies. The TWDB website has a map of GCDs in Texas, and the website of the Texas Alliance of Groundwater Districts has more information on GCDs in general. 
www.texasgroundwater.org

River authorities own rights to more than 70 percent of the state's surface water; their primary function is to distribute and conserve surface water. Some may also monitor and enforce surface water quality, finance and conduct water projects, manage wastewater systems, and oversee permit application processes. The water to which river authorities have rights is either sold directly to consumers or to other suppliers of water. The TCEQ’s water supply division can help you find more information about the many river authorities in Texas; call 512-239-4691.

There are other regional entities such as the Edwards Aquifer Authority (EAA) and the Harris-Galveston Coastal Subsidence District, which have some authority over groundwater in specific regions.

Local entities include municipal water suppliers, municipal utility districts, water supply corporations, private water suppliers, water control and improvement districts, special utility districts, and freshwater supply districts.

Although the mission statement of a number of these entities includes the concept of conserving water, in reality many have not been especially active in that regard historically, which is part of the reason why citizens in Texas have so often found themselves in the position of fighting the construction of dams and reservoirs when water conservation might be more effective. In Texas, private businesses are generally a high priority, even when profits come at the expense of the public good. This demonstrates again why it is so important to choose your targets wisely and exert significant public pressure on the right people.

...citizens in Texas find themselves fighting dam and reservoir construction when water conservation might be more effective.
Decision-makers (primary targets)

Who will make the decisions regarding your issue? Having names of the specific individuals is critical. The "city council" or "the Legislature" isn't going to help your cause, but specific individuals within these organizations might. Which individuals will you target to secure victory? Not sure who to target? Find out everything you can about how the governing body operates: when it meets, its policies and procedures, etc. Then research everything you can about its various members: their past voting records, their individual ideologies, their political connections, their campaign contributors, and so on. If you can identify a likely ally, that person may provide useful information about his peers.

To determine which decision-makers to target within a larger body, start by using the research you have conducted to determine where they stand on your issue. For example, let's say that you are trying to pass a new zoning ordinance at the city council level. There are seven members and you need a simple majority (four votes) to win. You have assessed the current sentiment among the council members regarding your proposal and you have divided them up as follows:

- Happy and Doc are supportive - they make up your base and need to be solidified and thanked.
- Grumpy and Dopey are solidly opposed - you would waste your time with them and should therefore write them off.
- Sleepy, Bashful, and Sneezy are persuadable - you need to work to secure the support of at least two of them to make up your four votes.

Overall, your objective is to hold these targeted decision-makers accountable to public demand and make them deliver on your conservation goals. How will you accomplish this? You will need to look at each target within the decision-making body, and determine exactly what you want from them and what tactics you will employ to accomplish your goal. For example, you might want your base supporters (Happy and Doc) to help you persuade the swing votes (Sleepy, Bashful, Sneezy). Or you might want to have them try to persuade one of the opponents (Grumpy or Dopey) to abstain from voting. You will need to design an individual strategy for reaching each of the key decision-makers, and a set of specific tactics for achieving that strategy (see page 34, Designing Media Tactics).

The Marvin Nichols coalition contacted each member of the water planning group that represented them in Region D to speak about their opposition to the Marvin Nichols dam and reservoir. They informed the decision-makers about the harm the project would inflict on the area, and the negative economic effects if valuable trees were inundated and lost to harvest, landowners lost their hunting leases, families were forced to sell land for decreased value, and tens of thousands of acres of property were lost from the tax rolls. They also discussed the devastation inflicted by drowning precious wetland habitats.

Secondary targets

Once you have determined which particular decision-makers are key to this campaign, consider who can influence them and whether you can enlist those people to your cause. These will be your secondary targets. They may be other elected officials or community leaders. They must be people who share your goals, or whom you can persuade to share your goals. For example, the Marvin Nichols coalition enlisted Congressman Max Sandlin, who represented much of the Sulphur River basin at the time, to speak for them at a public hearing. As he "outranked" all other elected officials in the room, his presence had a strong influence. Prior to the coalition contacting him, this was not a high priority...
for him; but his constituents educated him regarding the significant negative impacts the project would have on their lives and in the region.

Before approaching your potential secondary targets, consider whether they would be willing to use their connections to your primary targets to advance your goal. Think about who has a relationship or connection with the decision-makers that could prove useful to you. This could be anyone from the governor to a county commissioner to the president of the local PTA. Think about what you can ask these various individuals to contribute to your campaign (an endorsement, a meeting with or letter to your targeted decision-maker(s), a speech at a public hearing, etc.).

Public Audiences
Finally, in developing your strategy, take a look at the community in which you are waging this campaign and determine which specific groups of people you will enlist to create demand and hold the decision-makers accountable for meeting that demand. What types of people live here? Who are the major employers? Use census information, city or county data, information from other organizations that have run campaigns in the past, and just general knowledge gathered from various people at your planning meeting. This information will help your organization to identify specific constituency groups and develop strategies and media messages specifically for these groups. Think in terms of:

- geography: counties, towns, neighborhoods, etc.
- demography: women 25-40, men over 60, African-Americans, etc.
- constituencies: hunters and anglers, soccer moms, etc.

It is important to select no more than two or three public audiences. Once you have identified your audiences, you will need to focus the campaign exclusively on persuading these people to join your effort (using the inform-involve-ask-thank cycle), and not waste any resources (money, time, or effort) on individuals who are not in the targeted group. Enforcing strategic discipline is critical! As the momentum builds over the course of the campaign, it may become increasingly difficult to remain focused on your designated strategy. Some members of the team may start to panic when the opposition launches a bruising attack and may argue strenuously for a whole new approach. Others may feel uncomfortable with limiting the effort to sway only the identified targets among the decision-makers and may argue for "expanding our box."

It is very easy to get sidetracked and spend limited resources to participate in community events because they take little preparation and are fun. Ask yourself whether the event focuses on the right target and if it does so efficiently. Staffing a table to distribute information about a local water issue at a PTA event is likely to be easy, but it only makes sense if you will be reaching significant numbers of your identified target groups, and if you have a specific action that you are asking these targets to take. A table and volunteers with educational literature and a call to action at a local fishing tournament or bait shop may be more effective. Without a comprehensive strategy-identification process using the Matrix in the beginning, it is very easy to dilute your effectiveness. Time invested in the planning phase will pay off in the strategy phase. Stay the course.

When working to influence the Region D water planning group, the Marvin Nichols coalition focused on their public audiences, activating large numbers of citizens to contact the planning group members. Due to ongoing pressure, the Region D water planning committee decided to consider an amendment to remove the project from the plan. Between the time the public hearing was scheduled and the time it was held, the coalition had generated more than 5,000 emails, telephone calls, and general comments. At
that meeting, the committee decided to amend the plan to remove the dam and reservoir from it. The coalition had succeeded in their goal for this part of the campaign.

Communicating Your Campaign

Now that you know who your targets are, you will need to determine what you are going to say. This is not as easy as it seems. It can be one of the most time-consuming and contentious debates in your planning process, and it should be. You will not win a campaign by merely telling people to "do the right thing" and hoping that they "step up to the plate." You must make your case. Remember, not everyone has the same perspective that you do. One common activist's mantra is to "start where they are." What this means is that you must start by recognizing the viewpoint and attitude of the people you are working to influence. Learn what is important to them and how they feel about an issue. You cannot "start where you are" and expect them to understand. Be careful not to talk down to people because you think they should just get it; review regularly where they are and start with that.

Working to prevent development over the aquifer may seem to be the obviously correct thing to do, but others may only see the job opportunities or necessities of building new schools to relieve overcrowding. Therefore, you must frame the debate for the campaign, controlling how the issue will be discussed by the general public, the media, and most importantly, the decision-makers. Your communication must let people know who is the good guy and who is the bad guy. You must pose this public policy question in such a way that any reasonable person would side with you.

This is achieved by establishing just a few, carefully selected phrases during the planning process which will guide all of your communication. Political candidates are always told to stay on message, and you must, too! Every piece of campaign communication – be it a speech, a direct-mail piece, or a letter-to-the-editor, must pass the test: "Does this tell our story?" and "Does this drive home and reinforce our message?"

The following "Seven Cs of Effective Campaign Communication" will help you to evaluate your campaign communication. It needs to be:

- CLEAR -- simple and easy to understand
- CONCISE -- brief and to the point
- CONNECTED -- relates directly to the local community and what is happening right there, right now
- COMPELLING -- connects on an emotional or gut level (not just an intellectual one) with the targeted public audience, and communicates a sense of urgency
- CONTRASTING -- is something only your side can claim, and clearly distinguishes between the two choices (right vs. wrong)
- CREDIBLE -- is not only factual, but also "rings true"
- CONSISTENT -- is repeated over and over again throughout your group's campaign communication
A. Message/slogan - you need to develop one very clear message of 10 words or fewer that will be used throughout the campaign to summarize your position - this is your message, simple, easy to understand and compelling. This message will be repeated so many times by so many people that you will be dreaming it. Remember, however, that by the time the message begins to penetrate the public consciousness, campaign volunteers will be feeling nauseated when they hear it!

The No Aquifer Big Box coalition placed ads in the local paper and created t-shirts with the slogan “Clean Water or Cheap Underwear?” A visual of a pair of underwear illustrated the point and made it memorable, not to mention amusing.

B. Story - an important element of your communication. You need to create a story to communicate the situation to the public, and the story needs some very basic elements: a villain, a victim, a problem, a hero, and a proposed resolution. For example:

"Wal-Mart Corporation (villain) is planning to build a Supercenter over the recharge zone of the Edwards Aquifer (problem). The runoff will impair the water quality of the aquifer, the sole source of drinking water for thousands of citizens (victims), and damage the habitat of the Barton Springs salamander (victims). The citizens of Central Texas (heroes) must take action now to rescue this important resource, by telling the CEO of Wal-Mart to drop the plans for this store (plot resolution)."

This story conveys the fundamental problem to the public, along with how the problem can be solved, while giving people an idea of how they can take action.

C. Media Outlets - consider which specific media outlets will be most effective in communicating the message and story to your target and public audiences. Consider targeting all types of media outlets, including television stations (network and cable), radio stations, newspapers (dailies, weeklies, alternative press, campus papers), magazines, constituency group newsletters, and electronic media (Web sites and on-line services). Remember, you must choose the media outlets that will reach your targeted public audiences, primary targets, and secondary targets.

For example: You can reach a big portion of most public audiences by getting coverage on the local evening TV news. However, if you are targeting hunters and anglers, you will also want to target the outdoor column in the local newspaper and the fishing report that airs on the country music radio station on Saturday morning.

You will almost definitely want to get coverage in the local daily newspaper. But your targeting should be more specific than that: Based on your public audience, where do you want to be covered in the newspaper? In the editorials, where it is more likely to influence community leaders? In the weekly health section, to influence parents? On the front page, to get the attention of all targeted audiences? Focus is critical!

In order to ensure that your story pitch will be successful, you should target individual reporters and producers as much as possible. If the local evening news is in a targeted media outlet, specify, for example, that your campaign will pitch stories to Jill Smith, producer of the evening news on Channel 2. Producers and reporters receive hundreds of leads a day, so no matter how compelling your story is, it won’t get covered if it reaches the desk of the wrong person. The more specifically you target a media outlet, the more effective your media work will be. If you don’t have a media directory, check the internet or call the media outlet and ask who is responsible for the type of coverage you are interested in getting. See the Designing Media tactics section of the Sierra Club Grassroots Organizing Training Manual to get more information about types of newspaper coverage and other types of outlets to target.

Once you have targeted your media outlets, review previously published articles and editorials to
Developing Tactics and Timeline

Now that you’ve defined your goals, strategy, and campaign communication, we will look at how to develop a set of tactics for achieving your goals and communicating your story. Too many campaign groups try to start their planning process by brainstorming a "to do" list before they have done all the research and analysis necessary to determine the right tactics for accomplishing their goals.

The Domino Effect

Ideally, your grassroots campaign will have a logical and coherent rhythm, such as starting with a well-planned public announcement of your conservation goals, followed up by a set of strategic activities that each build upon one another like dominoes falling in sequence to generate energy and momentum, and culminating in a triumphant climax and celebration. Remember, first create demand. Then hold decision-makers accountable to that demand. And finally, take delivery.

This is the theory of escalating tactics: the effect should be that of gradually turning up the volume on the radio, starting quietly and building to a crescendo that cannot be ignored. Start small and get bigger. Again, remember that your starting point should be "where they are" rather than where you are.

Creating Demand

Creating demand is about more than just providing the public with information about an environmental problem. It is also about communicating a compelling message, explaining how individual citizens can become engaged in working toward a solution, and providing an easy vehicle for their engagement. In other words, it is about informing, involving, asking, and thanking the community - and then starting the cycle all over again.

In creating demand, you should always look for ways you can:

◆ inform as many people as possible about what is at stake
◆ turn your issue into a story with a hero, villain, victim, and resolution - and tell it over and over again
◆ involve people in the issue - have them spend time in the place you are trying to protect, have them collect water samples, show them the creatures that depend on the water and explain their role in the ecosystem, demonstrate the far-reaching effects a dam or development would have on surrounding areas
◆ ask them to take the easiest possible action, and then thank them for their participation
◆ connect them to other people who can help them to feel empowered and part of a greater whole
◆ create as much coverage in the media as possible to encourage public discussion
◆ continue to inform, involve, ask, and thank them to solidify a connection, so they will take part in holding the decision-makers accountable, and, ultimately, become the heroes of this story.
There are three general types of tactics you can employ to create demand: direct contact activities, general visibility, and media tactics. Since media tactics are critical for all three phases of the campaign (creating demand, establishing accountability, taking delivery), media is discussed in a separate section at the end of this chapter.

**Direct Contact Activities**
These activities are aimed at your targeted public audience and are focused on personally engaging people in the campaign as volunteers, donors, and/or active supporters. Keep in mind Cesar Chavez’ secret to organizing: "Talk to one person, then another, then another... "

The No Aquifer Big Box coalition created a user-friendly website, www.NoAquiferBigBox.org, which allowed the public to easily contact City Council members, decision-makers in the real estate development company, and Wal-Mart management. The Paluxy River families hosted their monthly fish fries every summer, attracting hundreds of members of the public who otherwise would never have heard of their issue.

Other direct contact activities might include:

**PHONE BANKS** – These can be very time- and labor-intensive but highly effective. The most productive method is to recruit volunteers to make calls to a strategically selected phone list, at a designated time, from a single central location, with a carefully constructed script or talking points. Volunteers might ask you if they may just take a list of names and numbers home with them to work through at their leisure, but this should be discouraged. A phone banking event produces camaraderie among volunteers, and provides a support system for those who happen to reach unfriendly respondents. You should have a targeted list that is likely to yield positive results, but it is nevertheless inevitable that a few of your callers will receive unkind responses. In these cases, it is a great benefit for volunteers to be working together and reminding one another of the reason they are there, and the fact that most of the people on the list probably do want to become informed about this issue affecting them.

In the Marvin Nichols reservoir struggle, one woman went door-to-door to inform her neighbors of the threat to their area and ask them to write letters on the topic.

You should estimate that each volunteer will be able to reach approximately 10 people per hour. The phone calls should be very brief, courteous, and focused on one specific goal. For example: (a) putting up a yard sign, (b) attending a rally or public hearing, (c) making a donation, but not "all of the above."

**DOOR-TO-DOOR CANVASSING** – For an even more personal approach, you may want to enlist volunteers to walk door-to-door through targeted neighborhoods, or to specific homes, using voter lists (for example households with Independent women 25-45 years old) to distribute literature and/or secure signatures on a petition. The volunteers should have a brief script or talking points to guide their conversation, and leave each person they contact with a compelling flyer or brochure that reinforces the campaign’s message. If you do not have the time or people required for this activity, you may want to consider doing a "lit drop," where the volunteers do not ring the doorbells, but rather just leave the literature at each designated house. (If you have the budget for printing door hangers, these are highly recommended.) Note that the United States Postal Service prohibits anyone other than a mail carrier from placing items in a mailbox; also, homeowners get very annoyed when flyers fall down to an inaccessible spot between a screen and the surface of the door, so be sure your volunteers know to roll flyers and wedge them between doorknob and frame, or to place them under the doormat.

In the Marvin Nichols reservoir struggle, one woman went door-to-door to inform her neighbors of the threat to their area and ask them to write letters
on the topic. She went back later to pick them up and came home with several hundred letters. This is particularly impressive, given that it was in a rural area where just getting from one house to the next takes a significant investment of time. This example also demonstrates how effective the personal touch can be.

These forms of communication are not as personal as the ones listed above, and therefore, generally not as effective in engaging participation, but they are significantly less labor- and time-intensive.

Visibility Activities
The other way that a campaign works to create demand is through visibility activities, which are directed toward all of your targets – those within the community, decision-makers, and media outlets. Their purpose is to demonstrate widespread support for your position, generate community "buzz" and set your campaign up for the accountability phase. Whereas the direct contact activities listed above are like spraying a garden hose full-force at a particular target, visibility activities are like a lawn sprinkler, covering more ground but with much less intensity.

Visibility activities might include the following:

RALLIES, DEMONSTRATIONS, AND MARCHES - These can be great morale boosters for volunteers. However, in order to secure press coverage, these events also need to include something newsworthy. Be sure to use your creativity to maximize the visual impact of the event. (For instance if you are trying to clean up a local river, you might want to organize a flotilla, with a large fleet of supporters sailing down the endangered waterway, waving flags and chanting your message.) In addition, it is important that you work hard to ensure a strong turnout for such events. If the media does attend but only a handful of supporters are there, that could end up being the story, which would be an embarrassing flop. Conversely, if you get a nice crowd, it can serve to attract attention, inform people, and generate supporters even if reporters don't show up.

YARD SIGNS - If you decide to make signs to advertise your campaign, you should keep it very simple, with no more than 7-10 words in bold, easy-to-read print. The most convincing ones are yard signs, since these communicate to people throughout the neighborhood that someone they know is committed enough to publicize his support. Posters plastered on telephone polls and other public locations are not nearly as persuasive and are often illegal.
OTHER VISIBILITY MATERIALS - These include campaign buttons, T-shirts, bumper stickers, signs/placards, and anything else that communicates the campaign slogan. Although volunteers may clamor for such paraphernalia, your group may not be able to afford it. If you do make such an investment, keep it to a minimum, as these do not provide quite as much bang for the buck. Eye-catching t-shirts can be helpful if worn by gregarious volunteers who are always ready to converse with strangers about the issue, but in many cases the money might be better spent. Of course, if you get an in-kind contribution, by all means take it and use it to publicize your campaign slogan.

Making Leaders Accountable
Accountability entails both thanking leaders who do the right thing, and criticizing leaders who do the wrong thing. Accountability activities focus on a particular decision-maker and highlight past actions - votes, co-sponsorships, or public statements about the environment and water issues in particular - and are designed to influence a future action.

Once you have developed tactics for creating public demand, you will need to shift your focus to the decision-makers and how to compel them to respond to that demand. This entails engaging both the public and the media in:

◆ solidifying, mobilizing, and thanking current supporters
◆ aggressively pressuring undecided officials to "do the right thing"
◆ publicly criticizing those who come out against your issue, and thanking those who did the right thing

At this point in the campaign, you have already set forth your story. Now it is time to find out who will be the good guys and who will be the bad guys.

The point of your accountability work is to make it painful for the decision-makers to oppose you, and pleasurable to join you. Of course, we’re not talking about inflicting physical pain (or pleasure for that matter). We’re talking about evaluating each of your targeted decision-makers and demonstrating how it would be in their best interests to support your position (to ensure their community standing, profits, reputation for fairness, or whatever else may be important to them.)

In your accountability work you will, once again, be employing the organization-building-cycle: asking, thanking, informing, and involving the targeted decision-makers. Here's how it works:

First, you ask the decision-maker to support your position. For instance, if the immediate conservation goal is to stop a channelization project in your local watershed, ask your member of Congress to write a letter to the Army Corps of Engineers opposing the project, or to come to a citizens' meeting to speak about it. If there is already a public hearing scheduled, ask your Congresswoman to come to that meeting. If there is not, schedule a citizens’ meeting, so that she will be asked to support your position.

If the Congresswoman opposes the project, write a letter to the editor praising her (thanks) – and then send her office a copy. Have someone attend the next town meeting to get up, tell everyone what she did, and thank her.

Next, let the Congresswoman know you are going to inform the community about whether the decision-maker responded to its environmental demands. (Note that you are now informing both your target and the community - informing the community is the first step in the cycle with the community, since the ask-thank-inform-involve cycle can begin anywhere on the circle.)
If your Congresswoman refuses to support your cause, continue to pressure her, but more intensely. Write letters to the editor. Arrange phonebanks to ask any potentially interested citizens to call and protest. Attend the town meeting, but also consider a silent vigil outside the district office. Invite (involve) her to join you on an outing to the area. Take the media with you whether or not she comes.

Involve the community in thanking - or criticizing - the decision. Circulate a petition at the shopping center, either thanking or criticizing the Congresswoman. Call the local radio talk show to urge listeners to write the district office, contact campaign contributors, local officials, and community leaders. Ask them to call the congresswoman to thank or criticize her.

Begin the cycle again. If a vote is coming up on funding for the channelization project, ask the Congresswoman to vote against the funds. Inform everyone who got involved in the last cycle of accountability that the Congresswoman has a chance to help protect the local watershed. Build an even stronger public involvement component to hold her accountable.

Here is a brief description of the various tactics you might employ in your accountability work:

WRITTEN COMMUNICATION - This includes mobilizing supporters to send constituent letters, postcards, e-mails, and/or faxes to the decision-makers. Each and every type of communication should reiterate the campaign message. It should establish the record by clearly stating the action by the decision-maker on which this accountability tactic is based. The key to successfully employing this particular tactic is volume. A couple of letters trickling in over a few months will not make an impact; only an all-out barrage of endorsements for your campaign's position will get their attention.

PUBLIC HEARINGS - Another method of communication with the decision-makers involves having supporters provide testimony at public meetings. The policy makers may have already scheduled a hearing, or you may need to exert some pressure on them to do so. Either way, once you have a forum, you should prepare your side's testimony very carefully.

Here are a few tips:

- Try to recruit a wide array of respected community leaders to speak, reaching beyond your group to show a broad coalition of support (such as teachers, nurses, scientists, ministers, etc.)
- Draft talking points or write out full speeches, making sure that each one communicates the campaign's message but addresses different salient points that are appropriate to that particular speaker's unique perspective.
- Do your homework. Find out ahead of time as much as you can about who will be attending the hearing, incorporating issues into the testimony that you think will resonate particularly well with those individuals.
- Research and respect the guidelines that have been established for the forum (for example, don't bring a 10-page speech when testimony will be limited to three minutes per person).
- Anticipate the opposition and construct your statements to defuse their arguments.
- Arrive at the meeting well prepared, appropriately attired, and be courteous and professional.
- Finally, and most importantly, make sure your supporters are visible. Have folks with signs, buttons, and/or stickers which display your central campaign message. (If you know your group will be attending public hearings, this is a case in which it might well be worthwhile to invest in buttons and stickers. But remember also that most home computers and printers these days can generate colorful paper buttons that could be pinned to clothing; these are extremely inexpensive.)

BIRD-DOGging - This involves following your opposition around from one event to another (town meetings, press conferences, and rallies), to ask them pointed questions, getting them on the record with the media present, and then using their responses in future accountability work. To increase your odds of
garnering media attention for your bird-dogging activities, you should consider various visual aids, such as having volunteers wear gas masks to dramatize an air-quality problem, or dress up as hogs to illustrate someone's misguided support of animal factories. Or you might create a continuing character that will serve as your campaign's mascot, such as "Tommy the Toxic Waste Drum" to represent the villain's pollution. Have fun with your bird-dogging, but make sure you: (a) always have your facts straight; and (b) stay within the boundaries of good taste, common sense, and most importantly, the law.

**Taking Delivery**
Your tactics for taking delivery will depend on what you are trying to accomplish and will vary widely from arena to arena. Taking delivery - the actual achievement of the goal - is an area in which specific knowledge of the arena and the decision-makers is critical. A courtroom has very different dynamics than the planning commission or a congressional election. The reason for this difference is that demand and accountability flow from general human nature and psychology; they are about creating power. Taking delivery involves using power in specific circumstances and using it intelligently to win a victory. It is about understanding the venue in which you are working, targeting key decision-makers, building good relationships with them, and executing your strategy.

**Assessing Your Media Resources**
In determining how much media coverage your campaign can realistically garner, you must first assess your available resources, including money, staff time, volunteer time, your activists' previous press experience and skills, your current relationships with local media outlets, etc.

Considering your resources, put together an earned media program that is ambitious but achievable. For instance, if your organization has very limited experience interacting with the press and has never received much coverage in the local outlets, it would be rather foolish to develop a plan that calls for weekly press conferences. On the other hand, if you have substantial media experience and savvy, it would be equally foolish not to capitalize fully on your potential.

**Earned media**
Often referred to as "free publicity," it is really earned publicity. News coverage does not happen spontaneously. It comes to those campaigns that work hard to attract, maintain, and control the attention of the press. It is critical to develop and execute an aggressive and strategic earned media program. It can make or break your grassroots organizing effort.

**Designing a Media Strategy**
Strategically, the media can be used to:
◆ Influence decision-makers
◆ Generate activism
◆ Flush out and verify the record
◆ Force a position to be taken or revealed
◆ Reveal motives
◆ Hold an official or corporation accountable for the good or bad record they have compiled
Ask yourself: How will we use media in this particular campaign? What is the strategic goal? What type of coverage, and which particular outlets, will we need to achieve that goal? There are many different types of coverage and many different media outlets that might cover your campaign. The goal is to match the media tactic to your need. Your media strategy will be defined by the target you are trying to influence. With the knowledge of which decision-makers and public audiences you are targeting, and an understanding of which type of media coverage tends to influence them, you can develop an effective, efficient, and winning media strategy. For each targeted decision-maker and for each targeted public audience, you should list the type of coverage that would help to influence them, and the specific outlets you need to target to reach them.

You should not view your media program as a separate operation within the campaign, but rather as a fully integrated component of the overall effort. The media is a powerful tool that you will be employing to communicate your message to your targets in order to achieve your ultimate strategic goals. In other words, it is a means to an end, not an end unto itself.

**Designing Media Tactics**

Invite the local press to cover all of your organizing, visibility, and accountability activities, in order to broaden each event’s potential impact. However, you cannot always count on the media to show up; in fact, they will frequently fail to show up, or promise to come but then get diverted to a more exciting event at the last minute. That’s why, in addition to the activities you’ve already planned, you will also need to invest some energy in designing tactics targeted exclusively to the media. (See the Appendix beginning on page 89 of the Grassroots Organizing Training Manual for detailed instructions on these tactics.)

A critical step to success is to prepare your organization to be ready to respond to inquiries as the result of media exposure. Prepare a fact sheet or information about the issues and what you need volunteers to do. Media coverage can be a wasted opportunity if the organization isn’t prepared.

### MEDIA TACTICS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PITCHING NEWS STORIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PROS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Selling&quot; your story to reporters - engaging their interest, feeding them enough information to make them want to cover the story - is one of the best ways to reach a broad spectrum of your community and to infuse your campaign with a sense of legitimacy. If your campaign shows up on the front page of the local newspaper or is one of the lead stories on the evening TV news, then your targets will see it as one of the things that is &quot;happening&quot; in the community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CONS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You should not use this tool, however, unless you have something that is truly &quot;newsworthy.&quot; If you are trying to reach a specific audience, there are often more efficient ways than general news coverage. If, for example, you are trying to reach hunters and anglers, you will likely reach more of them in a column in the Outdoors section of the newspaper or through the local fishing TV show, than with a news story in the metro section of the paper.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Selling the story.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEDIA TACTICS</th>
<th>PROS</th>
<th>CONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PITCHING FEATURE STORIES</strong>&lt;br&gt; Much time and space that was once dedicated to news coverage is now filled with feature stories.</td>
<td>If the media want local characters, pitch them the story of your group's conservation chair, who has been fighting for 30 years to protect a nearby wilderness area. If they want human interest, share with them the story of the 12-year-old asthmatic son of one of your clean-air campaign volunteers, and how he can't ride his bike or play baseball on dirty air days. This kind of coverage can tell your campaign's story very powerfully, and is likely to be covered because of the ever-increasing feature coverage from many media outlets.</td>
<td>On the downside, however, features coverage is usually very &quot;soft&quot; in nature, so it is less likely to include any issue angles. This makes it most effective during the creating-demand segment of your campaign, but less useful when you are ensuring accountability and taking delivery. By their nature, ensuring accountability and taking delivery require harder-hitting stories that don't work as well as features.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| PRESS CONFERENCES | If you have something really newsworthy to report, these can be very effective at getting broad coverage. | If you are working in a large media market, however, most reporters are too busy to leave their desks to see just a bunch of talking heads in front of a podium, and will need to be enticed with some great visuals for the cameras (for example, something on fire, or large props). Also be careful not to overuse this tactic; press conferences require a great deal of time, planning, and labor. |

<p>| ACCESS TV -- This is public interest television provided free of charge or at very low cost; members of the public host their own programs. | Inexpensive, relatively easy way to get television coverage. | Shows can run at strange times; audiences tend to be small and disparate. Research well to ensure that time spent on Access TV is productive and will reach a target audience. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEDIA TACTICS</th>
<th>PROS</th>
<th>CONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LETTERS-TO-THE-EDITOR or LTEs</td>
<td>These are among the most widely read portions of a newspaper and should be used in almost every grassroots campaign. Having several letters printed about your campaign will make it clear that you are working on an issue of great concern to the community and help create demand. LTEs are much easier to place than news or features coverage and are a great way to raise the visibility early on in your campaign and get more volunteers involved.</td>
<td>There is no guarantee that your letters will be printed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OP-EDS</td>
<td>These give you the opportunity to tell your campaign story in a much longer format than a letter-to-the-editor, in a section of the newspaper that is also well read. In contrast to news coverage, feature coverage, and editorials, you control the content of the op-ed, although the newspaper may edit it.</td>
<td>Unfortunately, writing a good op-ed does take some time, without any guarantee that it will get printed. Op-eds don’t carry the authority that an editorial does, but they are seen as more authoritative than a LTE.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDITORIALS</td>
<td>Having your local newspaper editorialize in favor of your campaign is one of the most powerful media hits available. Decision-makers always read the editorials and are definitely influenced by their content.</td>
<td>Positive editorials are not always easy to place. You are competing with every other local issue for very limited space. You also have very little control over the details of the editorial. You can provide the editorial board with the facts, but the board will decide how to use them. Editorial boards pride themselves on their objectivity and independence, and they don’t want to be seen as being influenced by interest groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEDIA TACTICS</td>
<td>PROS</td>
<td>CONS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLUMN COVERAGE -- Most newspapers have their own columnists and also publish syndicated columns.</td>
<td>Columnists are generally seen as authoritative. Columns are a good way to raise the visibility of your campaign with a broad audience.</td>
<td>Their opinion carries less weight than an editorial, but more weight than an op-ed or LTE. However, as with editorials, getting a columnist to cover your campaign can be difficult, and you don’t have a lot of control over the content.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RADIO ACTUALITY -- This is a pre-recorded, brief statement or interview for radio stations to use during their news broadcasts.</td>
<td>This is broad-spectrum coverage that may not closely target your audience but can get a large number of people to hear your message. Research stations to choose a program and time that will best target your audience.</td>
<td>An actuality requires having the technology to tape the statement (a high-quality tape recorder and microphone) and to transmit the statement over the phone (a device called a phone patch which connects to your phone to transmit the recording without losing sound quality). Many public relations agencies have this technology.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RADIO TALK SHOWS</td>
<td>You don’t need to write a report or plan a news conference; you just need to pick up the phone and dial (and re-dial and re-dial, depending on how popular the show is). If you have a well planned talk radio strategy, with volunteers covering all of the major local shows over a period of a couple of weeks, you can significantly raise the presence of your campaign in the community.</td>
<td>On the downside, however, talk radio tends to err towards the extremes, so if your campaign is at all controversial, you can expect some backlash. You can avoid some of this by knowing which shows to go on and avoiding the knee-jerk anti-environmentalists in the crowd. You also can’t target a particular demographic audience because the radio audience is very broad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRESS TOURS</td>
<td>You might want to consider inviting members of the press on a little &quot;field trip:&quot; have them come see and take pictures of the endangered wetland, forest, lake, etc., and bring along an expert who can provide them with important information about its fragile ecosystems.</td>
<td>Press tours take some effort to organize and coordinate.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PUBLIC SERVICE ANNOUNCEMENTS (PSAs) - Both radio and television stations dedicate a small percentage of air time to these.  

PSAs allow you to reach a fairly broad audience with a basic campaign message as long as it can be phrased as a true public service announcement. They increase the visibility of your organization and campaign, and are fairly easy to place.

The air time for PSAs is free, but only available for messages that are truly “public service.” You will need the money to produce them, and this is not an insignificant expense, particularly for TV. PSAs are almost always aired at times with small audiences, mostly during the overnight hours so you will reach a small, diffuse audience.

Remember: Keep your conservation goals in the forefront of your mind. Each and every one of your media events must be targeted to specific media outlets. These events should be strategically focused on communicating your campaign message and story to your campaign targets and/or targeted public audiences. Even if you are using an outlet with a very broad audience (the local evening TV news) your goal is to reach only a designated portion of that audience - your strategic targets (women 25-40 years old) - and your story must be tailored accordingly.

The Tactics Criteria Check-List

Before committing to any particular activity, always ask yourself the following questions:

- Which specific goal do we hope to achieve through this activity?
- Who is our target for this tactic – among the identified decision-makers, audience, and/or media outlets?
- How will this tactic communicate our campaign's message?
- Will this activity alienate any of our strategic targets or hurt our organization’s overall credibility?
- Do we have the time, money, and people necessary to execute this tactic, is this really “newsworthy”?
- How will our coalition partners be contributing to this effort (in terms of money, people, and connections)?
- Will this be fun? Will it sufficiently engage and inspire our base of supporters?
- Is this tactic simple, achievable, and effective?
- How will this activity set us up for our next one, in terms of strengthening our organization, creating demand and/or accountability, and building momentum?

If you cannot satisfactorily answer all of these questions for a given activity, don’t do it. It is very easy for a group to get carried away with a clever idea without fully weighing its ultimate strategic value. This can end up not only being wasteful; sometimes the ploy can actually backfire and cost the campaign much-needed credibility and support. We therefore encourage you to be creative and have fun with your tactics, but also caution you to keep your strategy, message, and targets firmly in mind at all times.
Now that you've developed what you are going to do (tactics), you'll need to have a plan for how to do it.

Dealing with the Media
A reporter's job is to fill time (on radio and TV) or space (in newspapers, magazines, and online). Your job is to make sure they fill it with your story, and that your story meets their needs. No reporter or editor wants to spend precious time covering a story, only to find out that there was little news value for their effort.

Making a Story Newsworthy
Here are the basic components of a "newsworthy" story:
◆ New - current, timely, and fresh
◆ Local - tie into what is going on in that particular community
◆ Human Interest - put a human face on your story, each story should have a victim, a villain, a problem, a hero, and a plot resolution
◆ Appeals to What Reporters Love - Stories that are filled with conflict, controversy, contradictions, and colorful quotes and images

Doing the Legwork
It is important to remember that reporters are busy professionals. The more you can assist them in doing the footwork, the more likely they are to use your stories. At the beginning of the campaign, you should distribute press kits with information about the issue at stake, what you are trying to accomplish, a list of your coalition partners, etc. A few days later, the designated spokesperson for the campaign should follow up and see if the reporter has any questions.

Press Kit Contents:
◆ Issue Info
◆ Goals
◆ List of Coalition Members

He should then maintain contact throughout the campaign, not only to pitch specific stories, but also to provide research, offer quotes for other articles, and distribute any additional information. Occasionally, give someone a "scoop" that none of the other outlets will have. The goal is to become a respected, responsible news source. Developing and sustaining good working relationships will be a vital component to generating positive press attention for your campaign's activities.

Talking with the Press
Here are six rules to follow when talking with reporters and other representatives of the media:
◆ Nothing is ever "off the record" - If you want something to be off the record, do not tell a reporter.
◆ Stick to the message - It is a reporter's job to frame a story in a way that is newsworthy and interesting. A reporter may ask you questions that appear intrusive, leading, biased, or inflammatory.

Plan media events for the morning.

If that happens, use your answer time to move the conversation back to what you want to talk about and stick to your message. It is difficult to master those kinds of transitions, so it is worthwhile for you to practice with a colleague when an important interview is anticipated.

◆ Always meet deadlines - If you want press coverage of an event, plan it to accommodate the deadlines of the media outlets that you expect to cover the story; generally, media events should be planned in the morning.
◆ Be prepared - Anticipate questions reporters might ask, and have fact sheets available that respond to those issues.
◆ Be honest - Never misrepresent information to a reporter.
◆ Be quotable - This can mean being clever, insightful, or humorous, but it always means being brief.

In addition, it is important to consider:
◆ The timing of the media coverage - it can be strategically timed to create a drumbeat, to raise both awareness of and intensity around an issue within a particularly advantageous period of time.
◆ Using other messengers besides your organization by enlisting the help of your various coalition partners or others, such as university professors, small business owners, sportsmen, etc.
◆ Proactive vs. Reactive Media - your earned media program should include a certain set of aggressive, proactive tactics you will execute, as well as a reactive media strategy, for responding to new developments in the course of the campaign.

Managing Resources: Money and People
In running a grassroots organizing campaign, you'll invariably find yourself wanting more of two things - money and people. Skillful resource management is one of the most important and challenging aspects of grassroots organizing.

Writing a Fundraising Plan
When developing your fundraising plan, the key is to be ambitious but realistic. Your written fundraising plan should establish an overall financial goal for the campaign, as well as goals by source (different accounts, organizations, and individuals) and solicitation method (mail solicitations, neighborhood coffees, and "dialing for dollars" phonebanks). There are three very easy components to successful fundraising:

KNOWING WHO TO ASK
Who has money to spare? Who has a vested interest in the outcome of this campaign? Who can be persuaded to contribute? Make lists, starting with the easiest targets (your family, close friends, other people involved with groups of the coalition, colleagues at work, etc.), and then move outward toward more distant targets (members of similar organizations, community leaders, politicians, etc.)

ASKING
Asking for money is often uncomfortable for the asker. Instead of assuming that people don't want to give, assume that they do, and convey that with your body language and words. Tell them (rather than ask) how they can make a significant investment in protecting the environment through contributing a specific dollar amount. If the response is no, ask what they think they can contribute and offer them another choice or two. If maybe or yes is the response, ask them to write the check or give you the cash right then and there or make arrangements to pick it up. Keep in mind that some of your expenses may be met through in-kind donations. These should be included in the fundraising section. Sometimes printing costs, food, or technical assistance can be provided by local businesses that may be affected by your issue or are simply interested in supporting the cause for free publicity.

Remember that unless your organization is a 501 (c)(3) charitable nonprofit organization registered with the IRS, donations are not tax-deductible. However, before you decide that your grassroots organization must become a charitable nonprofit, understand that not only is the process to become a 501 (c)(3) time consuming, but the IRS restricts the types of activities in which these organizations may participate. Charitable nonprofits cannot engage in any kind of legislative lobbying or electioneering.
activities. In contrast, 501(c)(4) nonprofit organizations can engage in these activities and more; but donations to (c)(4) nonprofits are not tax-deductible. It is much easier to raise money for (c)(3) nonprofits than for (c)(4)s, but it is harder to spend (c)(3) money than (c)(4) money, due to the restrictions. This is a complex issue which is explained in more detail in the Grassroots Organizing Training Manual and on the website of Charity Lobbying in the Public Interest: http://www.clpi.org/lobby_law_hm.html.

Budgeting a Campaign

Now that you've determined what you can realistically raise through fundraising efforts it is time to determine what your expenses will be. How much will this campaign cost?

Start by reviewing each component of your campaign plan, and carefully calculate the anticipated costs for each activity. Don't just assign random, ballpark figures; itemize each expenditure. For example, make some phone calls, and find out exactly how much it will cost to buy postcards, yard signs, buttons, etc. Put any donated, “in-kind“ contributions in parentheses, such as refreshments for volunteers or free phones, but always include them for accounting purposes. Use an assessment of your organizational resources, your allies' resources, and the cost of implementing your tactics to create a campaign budget.

As you add to the budget, ask yourself these three questions:

◆ Is this expenditure really necessary?
◆ Which specific strategic goal does this investment further?
◆ Is there a cheaper or free way to do this?

If, for example, you find yourself responding with, "Well, it's not really part of the strategy, but So-and-So really thinks it's a good idea," - cut it out! Include a contingency fund of approximately 5-10 percent of your overall fundraising goal. Even after your budget is finalized, unexpected expenditures will arise. But every time they do, ask, "What specific strategic goal will this expenditure further? Is there a better investment I could make? If I write this check and we don't raise any additional money, what am I willing to sacrifice?" Developing and managing a budget is about making tough choices, exercising self-discipline, and maintaining a razor-sharp strategic focus.

Keep going back and forth between the fundraising plan and the campaign budget, until you have reconciled all the numbers. If you have more expenses than income - which is usually the case - can you raise some more money, or will you have to eliminate some of your tactics?

Include in your budget a contingency fund of 5-10% of your overall fundraising goal to cover unexpected expenses.

Creating a Cash Flow Chart

Once you have finalized your fundraising plan and budget, you should create a cash flow chart, showing exactly how much money will be coming in when, and how much money will be going out when. Your cash flow should be monitored on a regular basis throughout the campaign to ensure that you will reach your ultimate goal, and have the available cash on hand when expenses arise. If you fall behind, you will need to either redouble your fundraising efforts or reduce your campaign budget.
Managing People

Clearly, some of the most important elements of a successful grassroots organizing campaign are recruiting, training, and mobilizing supporters to volunteer their time, energy, and talent to your cause. You can develop a superb strategy and craft a marvelous message - but if you don't have the forces necessary to actually implement your plan, it's all rather moot.

Recruiting Volunteers

This is the ask part of the organization-building cycle. The three principles of volunteer recruitment are the same as fundraising: asking, knowing who to ask, and what to ask.

Asking

A good ask has the following components:

INTRODUCTION - "I'm Emily. I'm a volunteer with the local Grassroots Group. Thanks for signing our clean-water petition at the grocery store last weekend and for indicating that you would like more information. Are you concerned about the quality of the city's drinking water?"

PROBLEM - "As you heard at the grocery store, the Edwards Aquifer is at risk of serious contamination if the Texasville Housing Complex is approved for development. Have you been reading about this in the paper?"

SOLUTION - "The Planning and Zoning Commission will be meeting in three weeks to vote on the permit application for the Texasville complex. We know that three key supervisors are still undecided, and with their support we can defeat the development. Have you been to a Planning Commission hearing before?"

OPPOSITION - "The Austin Real Estate Association has been lobbying these members of the Planning Commission heavily and will be out in full force at the hearing."

REQUEST - "We need citizens such as yourself to attend the hearing and let the commission know that you want our water protected. Can we count on you to attend?"

Knowing Who and What to Ask

Brainstorm with your planning group on ways to obtain lists of potential volunteers. Most volunteers today want to start off with short-term volunteer opportunities. Too often, a brand new volunteer is asked to be a committee chair or take on another time-consuming leadership position right off the bat. In order to match a volunteer's potential with the tasks at hand, it is useful to "interview" the volunteer. This consists of simply getting to know them and understanding why they are interested in the issue. Is he a small business owner with children whose livelihood is threatened by the proposed action, or is he a college student hoping to fight big business? Both of these volunteers bring specific and different skills, networks, resources, level of commitment, and time constraints to your organization. Only by knowing what each individual's resources and constraints are, can you use them effectively. The interview is also an opportunity to inform the volunteer about the details of why and what you are doing and to match them with the best choice of volunteer opportunities.

Volunteer management does not end here! Volunteers may need to be trained. Simply because someone volunteers for a task doesn't mean that they understand what it will entail. If you need letter writers, petition-gatherers, or researchers it is well worth your while to develop a set of written instructions in addition to reviewing the task. This helps tremendously in retaining volunteers.

Appreciating Volunteers

Thank your volunteers again and again! Simple things can make all the difference. Let them know that you know who they are - call them by name.
Defining Roles and Responsibilities
During the campaign planning process, it is important to define exactly who will be responsible for what. Give each leader a title and spell out exactly what the duties associated with each title are. Specifying individual responsibilities up-front (who has the authority to talk to the press, and who does not) will help hold people accountable and alleviate ugly turf wars later on. Defining roles and responsibilities ensures that the volunteers’ work is focused on achieving the campaign goals. Your campaign plan must be written down and distributed to core campaign coordinators. This embodies the team’s shared understanding of the campaign’s organizational and conservation goals, message, and strategy. It sets forth the campaign’s priorities. It defines how resources will be allocated and serves as a compass for future activities.

Now Go Out and Do It!
You now have your blueprint for victory. Your written campaign plan lays out the why, who, what, when, and how of your entire endeavor. Now it is time to “just do it.” If you follow what you have planned – maintaining a focus on your strategy, enforcing message discipline, following the specified guidelines for your tactics - we are confident that you will run an efficient and effective campaign. Keep the faith, work hard, have fun, and you will do well!

Call volunteers BY NAME, ask them for feedback, include them in decisions and feed them!

Ask for feedback from someone who has led a specific task. Be very specific about who is responsible for what. Make a follow-up thank-you phone call. Keep all volunteers informed about campaign issues. Include them in decision-making sessions. Never assume that they know what is happening. Take photos of volunteers at work and publish them in the newspaper, and last but never least - feed them!
The Paluxy River families spent over 16 years fighting to prevent construction of the dam and reservoir that would inundate their familial homesteads along one of Texas’ last free-flowing rivers. They had superb legal help, but they also had their own unyielding determination to never give up. The proposed project would have terminated their entire way of life and stolen their children’s heritage, so they felt they had little choice but to oppose it. At the beginning they thought they had an ally in Texas Parks and Wildlife Department, which has jurisdiction over Dinosaur Valley State Park, containing some of the best preserved dinosaur tracks in the world. The tracks are located in the riverbed itself, and damming of the river would have risked freezing and cracking the tracks when they were exposed to the air during winter.

Discussions regarding the project began with a permit application to the Texas Water Commission in 1981. There were hearings in Austin from 1984 through 1987. Travis County District Court heard the case from 1988 through 1991, and finally ruled against the dam proponents in January 1995. Then the case went to the Third Court of Appeals, the Texas Supreme Court, and the Texas Natural Resources Conservation Commission (TNRCC, the successor agency to the Texas Water Commission, now known as the TCEQ). After the first round of hearings, the TNRCC issued a permit for a dam with the requirement that enough water be let through at all times to prevent the problem of freezing and cracking the dinosaur tracks. With that decision, the TPWD dropped its opposition to the project, leaving the Paluxy citizens without this powerful ally.

For all those years, the Paluxy families attended hearings in Austin, canceled vacations at short notice in order to travel to the capital instead, hosted big fish fry events along the river from April through September for 10 years to raise money for legal fees, wrote letters to decision-makers, and generally fought the project at every turn. The Fort Worth Sierra Club provided some assistance, but the main responsibility was theirs all along. Their opponents had more money, supporters, and lawyers. Some of the public from the City of Glen Rose turned up at one hearing to support the project, citing the recreational benefits of having a new lake in the area. But the Paluxy River families had nothing to gain and everything to lose. They even lost the ability to relocate and start again with the same standard of living, due to the fact that their property values sank drastically the moment the condemnation notices arrived. Through their efforts, they managed to delay the dam permits again and again.

Finally there was a new twist to the saga. The TNRCC granted a permit to the Cities of Stephenville and Glen Rose and the County of Somervell for the dam, but, partly due to the TPWD involvement, the permit did not authorize as much water as dam proponents had requested, and the permit required flood flow releases several times per year to prevent vegetative encroachment in the riverbed. Wanting to obtain more water, proponents asked for a re-hearing. At this point, one of their lawyers, together with a county judge, contacted one
of the TN R C C Commissioners, Ralph Roming, and essentially promised to ensure his re-
appointment by the Governor if he would vote for the project.

This is an excellent example of how to target the appropriate decision-maker – except, of course, that in this case, the method chosen by the project proponents was illegal. Eventually the judge found all three actors guilty of civil bribery. Dam proponents appealed, but the Courts of Appeal refused to hear the case and denied the permit, a clear victory for the Paluxy families. They also won on the merits of the case, as the applicants were found to be speculating on water and had not shown that the water would be put to some beneficial use, which is a requirement of the law. However, the bribery scandal tainted the case so badly that it overshadowed the other issues. Though this may appear to be a lucky coincidence that could never be repeated, the fact is that the dam proponents would never have resorted to such desperate measures had not the opponents fought them so long and hard. The Paluxy families won fair and square through their own Herculean efforts.

The conflict regarding the Brownsville Dam similarly has dragged on for decades. Over time, some of the original proponents of the project dropped out, mainly due to the opposition that arose. It was clear that there was not enough money to implement the project quickly, and the demand for public hearings delayed the process further. As of 2004, the project has shrunk from a dam to a weir, a similar but smaller project, which will have less damaging consequences. In addition, proposed mitigation measures have improved greatly from those in the original plan, which had essentially none. Project proponents still do not have all the requisite permits: they need a 404 permit from the Army Corps of Engineers, permission from Mexico because the river is an international boundary, and permission from the International Boundary and Water Commission (IBWC), as well as from an analogous entity in Mexico. Each of the permitting processes offers an opportunity for public input, and each of the issues (flooding, endangered species, proximity to a national wildlife refuge, etc.) offers a different angle for protest.

Mary Lou Campbell considers that the citizens opposing the dam have been victorious, for though the project has not been permanently prevented, after 20 years it still has not been built and perhaps never will be. Postponement can be expensive for proponents of any project, and sometimes that suffices to kill it.

The Marvin Nichols dam and reservoir project has not had quite such a long history. The residents of northeast Texas in Region D, the proposed inundation area, successfully inspired so many other citizens to contact the members of the Region D water planning group that the project was removed from the Region D plan entirely. Unfortunately, it remains in the plan for Region C, which means it is still a threat, especially as one of the big players in Region C is the city of Dallas.

In Region C their message (Campaign Communication) changed. They produced a comprehensive booklet discussing the dam and reservoir and the environmental, social and economic impacts of the project. The book also emphasized the fact that this project is likely to cost far more than the
official projection (perhaps up to three times more), and even if it costs what is budgeted, it is a much more expensive way for the municipality to obtain water than would be implementation of a water conservation program like those already successful in San Antonio and El Paso. The issue is still not fully resolved; the coalition is working to persuade the City of Dallas not to support the project any longer, which would make the task of removing it from the Region C plan much easier. The good news is that their impressive success to date bodes well for the future.

The No Aquifer Big Box coalition achieved its goal. They galvanized public opinion, involved the local independent business alliance as an ally, and generated great amounts of publicity. Neighborhood residents allied with environmentalists and created a very visible campaign to get the general public involved in speaking out against the Wal-Mart proposal. The coalition placed ads in the local newspaper and made t-shirts with the slogan “Clean Water or Cheap Underwear?” They created a website that allowed people to send email to the CEO of the real estate development company, to upper management of Wal-Mart, and to the Austin City Council. Campaign activists organized a town hall meeting attended by more than a hundred people and the media. There were photos in the newspaper and coverage on television. At the meeting, the Wal-Mart representative revealed the corporation’s plan to locate Supercenters within a three-mile radius of each other throughout Austin, and, suddenly feeling threatened themselves, people all over town took action, mainly through the website. The City Council was sympathetic to the campaign but claimed that they were bound by the terms of a much earlier development agreement governing that property and were therefore unable to prevent construction of the Wal-Mart. Nonetheless, the site plans would still need to go through the standard approval process in which city staff can impose conditions, which may be more or less stringent. The environmental sensitivity of the site, with its sinkholes providing water recharge directly into the aquifer, and the huge publicity of the campaign, made it much easier for elected officials and city staff to take a harder line on development conditions. The real estate development firm had a contract with Wal-Mart and the owner of the tract, and at some point they needed to either renew the contract or give it up. When they reached that point, there was so much controversy that the firm elected to give up and walk away from the deal.

These case histories exemplify successful citizen action in various parts of Texas. Environmental battles, when lost, are generally lost permanently; but when won, the victory may be only “until the next time.” Nonetheless, the more times that citizens succeed in protecting public interests and environmental resources, the more likely it is that decision-makers and lawmakers will consider these interests before acting next time. Over time, citizens can create a societal environment in which damaging public interests for private gain is no longer acceptable. As discussed earlier, events on the global scale have local effects. At the same time, citizens like yourself can have a greater impact by working on your local issues. They are all part of the larger picture.
Appendix 1
Water Supply and Regulatory Entities in Texas

This Appendix is a guide to the state, regional and local government entities responsible for management and protection of water supplies in Texas. The information has been condensed from the Sierra Club publication, Your Water Supply: Discovering Who Provides and Makes Decisions about Your Water. Please refer to that publication for more detailed information about any of these entities.

State Entities

The Texas Legislature is composed of the Texas House of Representatives and the Texas Senate. It is ultimately responsible (subject to the provisions of the Texas Constitution and in some cases federal laws and regulations governing water) for making and revising state water law, providing financial appropriations to state water agencies, and creating or setting the legal requirements and procedures for creating various local and regional water entities.

Appropriations for state agencies and programs addressing water go through the House Appropriations Committee and the Senate Finance Committee before going to the respective floors of each house and then to a joint House-Senate conference committee that reconciles the differences between the House and Senate versions of the appropriations bill. The House and Senate then each adopt the conference committee's appropriations bill, which then goes to the Governor (who may exercise the power of "line item" veto over the appropriations in the bill).

http://www.capitol.state.tx.us

Texas Commission on Environmental Quality (TCEQ) is the State's primary environmental regulatory agency. Among other environmental issues, the TCEQ is involved with the following aspects of water: quality, quantity, regulations, permits, prices, suppliers, and consumers.

The TCEQ sets the standards for surface water quality for bodies of water in the state (subject to approval by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency) and implements those standards by monitoring and assessing surface water resources. The agency also focuses on addressing potential threats to water quality.

In the water quantity area, the TCEQ processes and acts on applications for permits to use the state's surface water or "water rights."

The TCEQ oversees water entities within Texas and has authority over many areas such as district bond issues and rates charged by private and member-owned water utilities. The agency also has the authority to regulate the operations of certain water suppliers. Furthermore, the TCEQ processes petitions for new districts and handles requests for designation of utility service areas.

http://www.tceq.state.tx.us (512) 239-1000

Texas Parks and Wildlife Department (TPWD) is the state agency with primary responsibility for protecting the state's fish and wildlife resources and holds regulatory responsibility for recreational fishing in Texas' waters and commercial fishing on the coast. TPWD is designated as the state trustee for aquatic resources, but it has no direct regulatory authority to ensure water quality and quantity for fish, wildlife and recreational resources. TPWD also works to maintain and restore sustainable aquatic life and maintain water quality for fishing and swimming.

TPWD works with state and regional water planning stakeholders and regulatory agencies in an advisory capacity, to protect and enhance water quality and to assure adequate instream flows for rivers and freshwater inflows for bays and estuaries.

http://www.tpwd.state.tx.us (800) 792-1112
(512) 389-4800

Texas Water Development Board (TWDB) is the state agency primarily responsible for water planning and administering water financing for the state.

The mission of the TWDB is to provide leadership, technical services, and financial assistance...
to support planning, conservation, and development of water for Texas. The first goal of the Board is to plan and guide the conservation and orderly, cost-effective development and best management of the state’s water resources for the benefit of all Texans.

The second goal is to provide cost-effective financing for the development of water supply, for water quality protection, and other water related projects. The Board considers loan applications from eligible applicants, awards grants for water-related research, and conducts other TWDB business such as approving the State Water Plan.

http://www.twdb.state.tx.us (512) 463-7847

Texas State Soil and Water Conservation Board (TSSWCB) is the state agency that implements the Texas Soil Conservation Law, enacted to combat soil erosion. The agency is the lead state agency for addressing nonpoint source pollution from diffuse sources such as storm water runoff from an agricultural field.

Another major program is the Water Quality Management Plan Program. Participation by local landowners is voluntary. The program assists agricultural and silvicultural (timbering) producers in preparing water quality management plans to control pollution from their operations.

http://www.tsswcb.state.tx.us (254) 773-2250

Regional Entities

Groundwater Conservation Districts are important primarily for two reasons. First, they provide some form of groundwater management in a state where groundwater withdrawals operate under the “rule of capture.” The rule of capture is the basic groundwater law for Texas that allows landowners to pump an unlimited amount of groundwater from under their land. Second, the state’s groundwater supplies, which provide water for most of West Texas and much of East Texas, are decreasing at an alarming rate in many areas and the only entities devoted to conserving them are groundwater conservation districts.

http://www.texasgroundwater.org

River Authorities

Texas’ elaborate river systems supply water for the state’s inhabitants and ecosystems. To protect and monitor this precious resource, the Texas Legislature created river authorities. River authorities own rights to over 70 percent of the state’s surface water. Therefore, they play a crucial role in determining the future of Texas water.

The primary function of a river authority is to distribute and conserve the state’s surface water. In addition, some river authorities, depending upon the laws setting up and empowering them (known as their “enabling legislation”), may perform one or more of the following specific functions:

- Monitor and enforce surface water quality throughout an entire watershed
- Finance and conduct water projects
- Manage waste water systems
- Oversee permit application processes

Links for sites related to river authorities:
http://www.txwin.net/Monitoring/SW/RA%27s.htm
http://www.texaswater.org/network/default.htm

Edwards Aquifer Authority (EAA) is a regulatory agency created by the Texas Legislature – the Edwards Aquifer Authority Act of 1993 (also as SB 1477) – to (1) manage, conserve, preserve and protect the aquifer, (2) increase the recharge to the aquifer, and (3) prevent waste or pollution in the aquifer.

According to the EAA, its objectives are to do the following:

- Develop an effective, comprehensive management plan based on sound, consensus-based scientific research and technical data
- Fully implement the requirements of the Edwards Aquifer Authority
- Maintain continuous spring flow at Comal and San Marcos Springs
- Protect and ensure the quality of ground to surface water in Authority’s jurisdiction
- Forge solutions that ensure public trust
- Promote healthy economics in all parts of the region
- Research and develop additional sources of water

http://www.edwardsaquifer.org/Pages/frames_regulations.html
Harris-Galveston Coastal Subsidence District (HGCSD) Harris and Galveston Counties have experienced significant subsidence as a result of the withdrawal of groundwater. Subsidence in this region of the Gulf Coast is most notable in the critical areas along Galveston Bay, where the land surface has sunk as much as 19 feet since 1906, causing serious flooding and inundation. The HGCSD was created "for the purpose of ending subsidence, which contributes to or precipitates flooding, inundation, or overflow of the district, including without limitation rising waters resulting from storms or hurricanes."

http://www.hgsubsidence.org (281) 486-1105

Local Entities

Municipal Utility Districts are non-profit political subdivision of the state of Texas created for the purposes of providing water, wastewater and other services. They are usually created for areas undergoing residential and commercial development where no local retail water supplier is providing service to the area. The primary duties of MUDs include the following:

◆ controlling, storing, preserving, and distributing water resources for irrigation, power, and all other useful functions for municipal, commercial, and domestic purposes
◆ managing any shortage or excess of water
◆ protecting, preserving, and restoring the purity and sanitary condition of Texas water
◆ providing parks and recreational facilities for inhabitants within the district
◆ collecting, transporting, processing and disposing of waste
◆ overseeing the conservation and development of natural resources

Contact your local MUD or call the TCEQ’s Water Supply Division at (512) 239-4691 and Refer to Ch. 54 of the Texas Water Code.

Water Control and Improvement Districts (WCIDs) are general law districts and can be created by petition of landowners or the county commissioner’s court. General law districts must comply with the Texas Water Code. WCIDs have many broad powers and duties, including the ability to:

◆ Supply treated and untreated water
◆ Provide wastewater service
◆ Manage drainage and flood control
◆ Oversee irrigation and navigation
◆ Exercise eminent domain
◆ Generate hydroelectric power
◆ Utilize taxing and bond authority

Contact the TCEQ at (512) 239-6170 to find out how to contact your water supplier and its board members. WCIDs are covered extensively in Chapter 51 of the Texas Water Code.

Municipal Water Suppliers provide water to city residents and often to suburban communities surrounding cities. These suppliers set the water rate. Visit the following TCEQ website for a 2002 survey of municipal water suppliers:
http://www.tceq.state.tx.us/permitting/waterperm/wrp/a/results.pdf

Water Supply Corporations (WSCs) are nonprofit entities that supply potable water and/or sewer service to their members (who own and control the corporation) in areas not served by a municipality or other governmental water supplier. WSCs can receive tax advantages, access to government grants, and government loans at low interest rates. These are the primary suppliers of water services to residents in the rural areas of Texas who do not obtain their water from private wells or surface bodies of water on or adjacent to their property.

Private Water Suppliers operate for a profit and include investor owned utilities (IOUs) and private water companies. They tend to rely upon different and more costly funding mechanisms and may be less influenced than other providers by public comment, as they are not required to comply with the Texas Public Information Act. The recommended method of submitting comments and complaints is to contact the TCEQ or agencies contracting with your private water supplier.

Special Utility Districts (SUDs) must be created, i.e., converted, from a nonprofit water supply or sewer
service corporation. Chapter 65 of the Texas Water Code (see notes below) describes the formation and operation of SUDs.

**Freshwater Supply Districts (FWSD)** are created via petition, hearing and election for the purpose of providing and distributing water for domestic and commercial use. They have elected boards and must comply with the Open Meeting and Open Records Act.

**Notes:**
Water-related legislation includes:

- Texas Water Code (major rewrites and additions) - 1985
  You can view the Code online at http://www.capitol.state.tx.us/statites/wa/wa0005100toc.html
- Senate Bill 1 - 1997
- Senate Bill 2 - 2001.
Appendix 2

List of Environmental Organizations

This is not intended to be a comprehensive list; however, it may help you to find various organizations that could have enough interest in your issue to provide you some resources, i.e., information, volunteers, or staff.

Audubon Society
Audubon's mission is to conserve and restore natural ecosystems, focusing on birds, other wildlife, and their habitats for the benefit of humanity and the earth's biological diversity.

www.audubon.org/states/tx

Clean Water Action (CWA). CWA’s national goals include clean, safe and affordable water; prevention of health-threatening pollution; creation of environmentally safe jobs and businesses; and empowerment of people to make democracy work. CWA organizes strong grassroots groups and coalitions, and campaigns to elect environmental candidates and solve environmental and community problems. It is an organization of diverse people and groups, joined together to protect our environment, health, economic well being, and community quality of life.

www.cleanwateraction.org  Austin: (512) 474-0605; Houston: (713) 529-9426

Environmental Defense is dedicated to protecting the environmental rights of all people, including future generations. Among these rights are clean air and water, healthy and nourishing food, and a flourishing ecosystem. Guided by science, Environmental Defense evaluates environmental problems and works to create and advocate solutions that win lasting political, economic, and social support because they are nonpartisan, cost-efficient, and fair.

www.environmentaldefense.org/home.cfm  Austin: (512) 478-5161

The Lone Star Chapter of the Sierra Club consists of over 23,000 members. The Chapter spans the entire state of Texas, excepting El Paso, which is part of the Rio Grande Chapter. Local Sierra Club Groups can be found in many areas throughout the state.

Located in Austin, the Lone Star Chapter's State Conservation Office serves Sierrans as their grassroots communications center. It also provide Sierrans with a full-time professional activist staff employed to serve Sierrans as they fight at the state level to protect and preserve Texas' diverse and valuable natural heritage.

www.texas.sierraclub.org  Austin: (512) 477-1729

The National Wildlife Federation (NWF). NWF’s Gulf States Natural Resource Center works to protect and restore fish and wildlife habitat in a region that spans seven states (NM, TX, OK, AR, MO, LA, MS) and two U.S. territories (Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands). NWF’s focus in the region is on restoring clean rivers and estuaries, conserving wetlands, springs, and natural river systems, protecting wildlife populations, promoting sustainable land and water use, and educating children and adults about the natural world.

www.nwf.org  (800) 822-9919

Save Barton Creek Association (SBCA) is a nonprofit citizen group based in Austin, working to protect and conserve the six watersheds of the Barton Springs Edwards Aquifer (Barton, Bear, Little Bear, Onion, Slaughter, and Williamson). SBCA incorporated in September 1979 in response to community concerns about the impact of urbanization on Barton Creek and Barton Springs. For more than twenty years, SBCA has been one of the leading conservation organizations, working to ensure that future generations may enjoy the cool, clean waters of Barton Springs.

www.savebartoncreek.org  Austin: (512) 480-0055

Save Our Springs Alliance (SO SA). SO SA's mission is to protect the Edwards Aquifer, its springs and contributing streams, and the natural and cultural heritage of its Hill Country watersheds, with special emphasis on the Barton Springs Edwards Aquifer.
SO SA advocates five basic strategies for protecting the Edwards Aquifer:
◆ Public infrastructure and private development must be directed away from the Edwards Aquifer.
◆ Reasonable regulations must be enforced to protect water quality in the Barton Springs watershed.
◆ Permanent preservation of land in the watershed is the best protection for the Springs.
◆ Education is key because we can’t take the right actions if we don’t know what to do.
◆ Restoration is needed due to pollution and over-pumping from development.

www.sosalliance.org    Austin: (512) 477-2320

Texas Campaign for the Environment (TC E) is dedicated to informing and mobilizing Texans to protect the quality of their lives, their health and the environment. TC E believes that people have a right to know and a right to act on issues that fundamentally affect their lives and future.

www.texasenvironment.org    Austin: (512) 326-5655

The Texas Public Interest Research Group (TexPIRG) is an advocate for the public interest. When consumers are cheated, the natural environment is threatened, or the voices of ordinary citizens are drowned out by special interest lobbyists, TexPIRG speaks up and takes action. Using the time-tested tools of investigative research, media exposés, grassroots organizing, and direct advocacy, TexPIRG uncovers threats to the public interest and seeks to end them. TexPIRG’s mission is to deliver persistent, result-oriented activism that protects the environment, encourages a fair, sustainable economy, and fosters responsive, democratic government.

www.texpirg.org    Austin: (512) 479-7287
Appendix 3

Threatened and Endangered Species in Texas

All species depend on water in some way, and making significant changes to their local water sources, such as inundation, stopping the stream flow, changing the river course, reducing flow, or pollution can seriously affect them. The presence of threatened or endangered species is sometimes sufficient to slow down or even prevent certain projects, so research whether any of these species exists in your area and would be affected by proposed projects there.

The list below includes all threatened and endangered species found in Texas and is taken from the following website: http://www.endangeredspecie.com

Legend:
E - Endangered
T - Threatened
EXPN, XN - Experimental Population, Non-Essential
T(S/A) - Similarity of Appearance to a Threatened Taxon

Texas has 91 threatened and endangered plant and animal species. Animals—63

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Listing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T(S/A)</td>
<td>Alligator, American (Alligator mississippiensis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Amphipod, Peck's cave (Stygobromus pecki)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Bat, Mexican long-nosed (Leptonycteris nivalis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T(S/A)</td>
<td>Bear, American black (County range of LA b.bear) (Ursus americanus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Bear, Louisiana black (Ursus americanus luteolus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Beetle, Coffin Cave mold (Batrisodes texanus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Beetle, Comal Springs dryopid (Stygoparnus comalensis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Beetle, Comal Springs riffle (Heterelmis comalensis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Beetle, Kretschmarr Cave mold (Texamaurops reddelli)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Beetle, Tooth Cave ground (Rhadine persephone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Crane, whooping (except where XN) (Grus americana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Curlew, Eskimo (Numenius borealis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Darter, fountain (Etheostoma fonticola)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Eagle, bald (lower 48 States) (Haliaeetus leucocephalus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Falcon, northern aplomado (Falco femoralis septentrionalis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Flycatcher, southwestern willow (Empidonax traillii extimus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Gambusia, Big Bend (Gambusia gaigei)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Gambusia, Clear Creek (Gambusia heterochir)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Listing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Gambusia, Pecos (Gambusia nobilis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Gambusia, San Marcos (Gambusia georgei)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Ground beetle, [unnamed] (Rhadine exilis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Ground beetle, [unnamed] (Rhadine infernalis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Harvestman, Bee Creek Cave (Texella reddelli)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Harvestman, Bone Cave (Texella reyesi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Harvestman, Robber Baron Cave (Texella cokendolpheri)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Jaguar (Panthera onca)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Jaguarundi, Gulf Coast (Herpailurus yagouaroundi cacomitli)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Manatee, West Indian (Trichechus manatus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Minnow, Devils River (Dionda diaboli)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Minnow, Rio Grande silvery (Hybognathus amarus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Old beetle, Helotes (Batrisodes venyivi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Ocelot (Leopardus pardalis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Owl, Mexican spotted (Strix occidentalis lucida)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Pelican, brown (except U.S. Atlantic coast, FL, AL) (Pelecanus occidentalis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Plover, piping (except Great Lakes watershed) (Charadrius melodus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Prairie-chicken, Attwater's greater (Tympanuchus cupido attwateri)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Pseudoscorpion, Tooth Cave (Tartarocreagris texana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Pupfish, Comanche Springs (Cyprinodon elegans)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Pupfish, Leon Springs (Cyprinodon bovinus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Salamander, Barton Springs (Eurycea sosorum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Salamander, San Marcos (Eurycea nana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Salamander, Texas blind (Typhlomolge rathbuni)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Sea turtle, green (except where endangered) (Chelonia mydas)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Sea turtle, hawksbill (Eretmochelys imbricata)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Sea turtle, Kemp's ridley (Lepidochelys kempii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Sea turtle, leatherback (Dermochelys coriacea)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Sea turtle, loggerhead (Caretta caretta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Shiner, Arkansas River (Arkansas R. Basin) (Notropis girardi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Snake, Concho water (Nerodia paucimaculata)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Spider, Government Canyon cave (Neoleptoneta microps)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Spider, Madla's cave (Cicurina madla)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Spider, Robber Baron cave (Cicurina baronia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Spider, Tooth Cave (Neoleptoneta myopica)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Spider, Vesper cave (Cicurina vespera)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Spider, [unnamed] (Cicurina venii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Tern, least (interior pop.) (Sterna antillarum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Listing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Toad, Houston (Bufo houstonensis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Vireo, black-capped (Vireo atricapillus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Warbler, golden-cheeked (Dendroica chrysoparia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Whale, finback (Balaenoptera physalus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Whale, humpback (Megaptera novaeangliae)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XN</td>
<td>Wolf, gray Mexican gray wolf, EXPN population (Canis lupus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Woodpecker, red-cockaded (Picoides borealis)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Plants—28

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Listing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Sand-verbena, large-fruited (Abronia macrocarpa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Ambrosia, south Texas (Ambrosia cheiranthifolia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Cactus, Tobusch fishhook (Ancistrocactus tobuschii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Cactus, star (Astrophytum asterias)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Ayenia, Texas (Ayenia limitaris)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Poppy-mallow, Texas (Callirhoe scabriuscula)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Cactus, Nellie cory (Coryphantha minima)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Cactus, bunched (Coryphantha ramillosa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Cactus, Sneed pincushion (Coryphantha sneedi sneedii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Cat's-eye, Terlingua Creek (Cryptantha crassipes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Cactus, Chisos Mtn. hedgehog (Echinocereus chisoensis chisoensis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Cactus, black lace (Echinocereus reichenbachii albertii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Pitaya, Davis' green (Echinocereus viridiflorus davisii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Cactus, Lloyd's Mariposa (Echinomastus mariposensis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Frankenia, Johnston's (Frankenia johnstonii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Sunflower, Pecos (Helianthus paradoxus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Rush-pea, slender (Hoffmannseggia tenella)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Dawn-flower, Texas prairie (Hymenoxys texana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Bladderpod, white (Lesquerella pallida)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Bladderpod, Zapata (Lesquerella thamnophila)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Manioc, Walker's (Manihot walkerae)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Phlox, Texas trailing (Phlox nivalis texensis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Pondweed, Little Aguja Creek (Potamogeton clystocarpus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Oak, Hinckley (Quercus hinckleyi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Ladies'-tresses, Navasota (Spiranthes parksii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Snowbells, Texas (Styrax texanus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Dogweed, ashy (Thymophylla tephroleuca)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Wild-rice, Texas (Zizania texana)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Additional copies of this book may be obtained from the Lone Star Chapter Sierra Club by calling 512-477-1729, or by e-mailing at lonestar.chapter@sierraclub.org