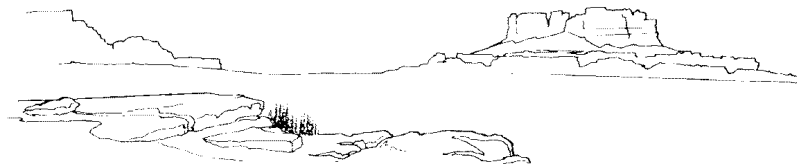

Building a Successful Wilderness Campaign

**Lessons from the 1998 Wilderness Mentoring
Conference**



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Foreword

by Tim Mahoney

I'm an "inside-the-beltway" type, and if I have a complaint about the environmental movement, it's that it is sometimes not as pragmatic as it needs to be.

I was struck by a quote Lyndon Johnson made when he was the majority leader of the Senate in the late '50s and the NAACP was trying to get the very first Civil Rights Bill through. A lobbyist, Clarence Mitchell Jr., came to Johnson with his wish list. Johnson said, "Clarence, you can get anything you want if you've got the votes—how many votes you got?"

That's all we're going to try to teach you. I revel in that, I think it's true. I think that might be jarring to some of you; I hope it won't be by the end of the weekend.

You can pick up some of my "inside-the-beltway" realism, and you can rub some of your "outside-of-beltway" idealism off on me. I have a very strong point of view about this, but I'm not so different from you, and you're not so different from each other.

We all have one thing in common: we have a common bond that brought us here—a love of wilderness, a love of place.

We love the wilderness so much it is burned in our souls, and most of us screwed up family, friends, and opportunities because of our need to work on this. Or maybe a better way to say it, instead of "screwing it up," is to say that we are more complete, because as well as having family, friends, jobs, and baseball, we have this drive that we all share.

The other odd thing is that while we all have this very same bond, we all came about it uniquely. They told me that I had to talk about myself, and how I came to my bond—and I think the good thing about this is it may remind you during the weekend, as we thrash you for pragmatism and realism, that we all come at it from the same perspective.

Now let me tell you before I start that it's not easy for a guilt-ridden, Irish Catholic, Red Sox fan, male to talk about feelings—I think I was brought into some of this appreciation for wilderness growing up in New Hampshire with my dad, who walked in the woods and took me with him. He picked mushrooms and identified birds, and plants, and flowers. I became particularly interested in trees.

In 1966, I came across a little book on the trees of New Hampshire. It began with a little piece about the last virgin forest in New Hampshire; one was near the university and one was in a town very close to mine, about 25 miles away. I'd just got my driver's license so we drove there to see them.

This was a virgin stand of white pine dating from colonial times, and according to this book, there were about one hundred trees left. So we drove to Sutton, New Hampshire, and found our way up the interstate, and found the trees between the interstate and the old road.

They were amazing trees, tall and wide. The only problem was they were all dead. The trees were so much taller than all the trees around them, and between the time the little booklet was printed and the time I had read it, ice storms had come through and knocked the tops off all of them. Not a single, living, virgin white pine remained.

I think that moved me some, in a way that you probably understand better than I can explain.

After graduate school, I was employed in the Western office of the Wilderness Society. It's amazing how young, ambitious people, with some talent and willingness to do a lot of work for little pay, can rise in the wilderness movement. It wasn't long before I was put in charge of the Rare II program.

When I came to Washington, D.C., I was asked by Ernie Dickerman to appear at a workshop; I was to talk about wilderness, and Ernie was going to talk about organizing and lobbying. Fortunately, I listened a little bit, and I learned more about lobbying from Ernie that day than I had ever known. I was trying to tell legislators what I knew, and Ernie was suggesting to actually listen to what *they* were thinking and try to find ways that doing what *we* wanted could actually help *them*.

This was a whole different perspective. Without actually admitting at the time that I hadn't known what I was doing up to that point, I quickly adopted this into my portfolio. I worked on dozens of wilderness campaigns—they all sound very successful and glorious in retrospect—but of course they weren't.

Some of them were terrifying—in how much pressure can be brought to bear against you (you probably know that), in how terrifying and uphill it can feel from time to time, and in how responsible you feel for it.

In 1987, I became chair of the Alaska coalition to defend the Alaska Wildlife Refuge. There were days, trying to hold together and build the coalition and stall the opposition, when it was very hard to go to work and maintain that cheerful optimism needed to rally the troops.

The problem with defensive campaigns is they aren't permanent unless you lose. We really need to learn the alternative. We need to work on offensive campaigns and win.

I don't like the climate in Washington, D.C. But I stayed because I learned how to pass legislation, make a living at it, and protect the land that I so cared about (and do so care about).

You can't stay away from these defensive fights; they're always being hoisted on you, particularly when you're weak or complacent. But each defensive fight and each defeat must be a precursor to a positive campaign.

I think there's a great glory in fighting defensively, and perhaps hopelessly, against greater forces. But I'd rather be clever, and make some friends, organize some folks, pick up some strategy, and try to control the agenda. Frankly, we're not going to protect anything we care about permanently unless we can do this.

We put this conference together because we've all been on the defensive for a while. Maybe we've skipped a generation of people who moved bills.

I must tell you it's very difficult to move bills—there are a lot of risks. You can lose them, and you can lose wilderness areas in them; you can lose boundaries. And there's this awesome feeling of responsibility from all of the people who want so very much to save every area that deserves to be saved.

In some ways it's easier to play glorious defense against some overwhelming force and be defeated because it wasn't your fault and you fought as hard as you could. But I am here to say that we need to take the responsibility and take the risk to move forward even if there are some casualties.

You are in the company of old pragmatists, organizers, lobbyists, historians, and teachers. And if you don't think you qualify yet, you will. This is the weekend where we learn that we can get anything we want if we have the votes.

I ask you only to open up your minds (and I'll try to open up mine) and listen. Be creative. Don't think about rote or lists. Know there isn't one way to skin a cat; there are a thousand ways to skin a cat, move the ball, make the sale, or fight the war, or get the votes, or win your true love.

We are not writing a cookbook this weekend; we are learning to cook—to endure every tragedy, every upset that can be thrown at you, to understand how each one works, and to prevail despite all that and make a magnificent contribution.

Introduction

Over the Memorial Day weekend in 1998, sixty-three people active in (or suffering a tenuous retirement from) wilderness advocacy met at the Rex Ranch in Amado, Arizona, for the first Wilderness Mentoring Conference.

The conference brought together the last generation of “closers,” those who know how to take an idea and run with it all the way to the president’s desk, with a new generation of eager, thoughtful wilderness advocates. The younger generation was encouraged to think critically and to identify strategies, tools, and tactics for developing and leading successful wilderness campaigns. The purpose of the conference was not, as our keynote speaker Tim Mahoney said, to write a cookbook, but “to learn how to cook.” This book is a record of the lessons from the conference.

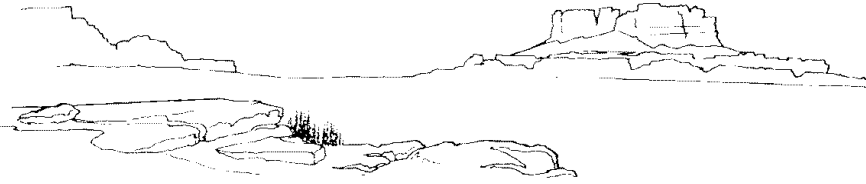
Tom Price and Brian O’Donnell thank the staff of the Rex Ranch for their hospitality, kindness, and encouragement: Meredith Nygaard, Patricia Ross, Connie Ann Transue, Wayne Ross, Marcia Olney, Corey Sullivan, and Michael Gilliland.

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The Importance of History

“The wilderness activists of today cannot hope to succeed in their work without having a very solid footing in the history—both the philosophical history and the political history—of wilderness preservation.”

Douglas Scott

The history of the wilderness movement is the best and most accessible tool for developing and leading successful wilderness campaigns. Unfortunately, it is underused or completely ignored by wilderness advocates. Our history must be learned, remembered, and incorporated into today’s campaigns. Our success depends on our willingness to study the movement’s past efforts, strategies, victories, defeats, and principles.

The history of the wilderness movement can be examined in two contexts:

- Philosophical
- Political

Reviewing the Philosophical Context

The philosophical foundations of our movement spring from the nature-loving philosophies of Henry Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson, George Perkins Marsh, and John Muir. From the 1920s to 1950s, early leaders in the wilderness movement began coalescing those general ideas into a practical philosophy for protecting the wilderness.

Those early leaders—including Aldo Leopold, Bob Marshall, Howard Zahniser, and Dave Brower—created our concept of federal land management. Their ideas are based on the five critical wilderness philosophies described here:

1. **Wilderness is a natural resource.** Wilderness is not what is left after we have extracted from it all that we need. It is inherently valuable in itself.
2. **Individuals and our society have a fundamental need for wilderness.** The human need for wilderness, the experience in and knowledge of wild places, is as necessary, or more necessary, than what we extract from it. During the 1940s Zahniser wrote, “We are part of the wilderness of the universe. That is our nature. Out of the wilderness, we realize, has come the substance of our culture. . . .”

3. **Wilderness is imperiled and disappearing.** Beginning in the 1920s, leaders were galvanized by the realization that wilderness was rapidly being lost. At that time, there was vastly more roadless wilderness than we can easily imagine today, yet these leaders had the foresight to see a trend that few others saw. This mobilized their leadership.
4. **Because it is disappearing, wilderness must be saved.** The writings and efforts of early wilderness leaders demonstrate a very real sense of crusade. In 1924, Aldo Leopold wrote of “the last stand for wilderness.” In 1942, Sigurd Olsen echoed this theme as he rallied people to defend the northern Minnesota canoe country: “If wilderness . . . is on the way out, then there is work to do.”
5. **Wilderness must be saved in perpetuity.** In 1940, in reaction to the common sentiment that wilderness was getting in the way of development, Zanhiser said “. . . we see before us a farther vision, a hope for the preservation of wilderness in perpetuity. . . The wilderness that has come to us from the eternity of the past we have the boldness to project into the eternity of the future.”

The younger generation of environmental activists has an obligation to understand the philosophical history of wilderness appreciation and to integrate it in their work. Several books are available on this subject, but the best single source is Roderick Nash’s *Wilderness and the American Mind*.

Reviewing the Political Context

No one was doing wilderness advocacy work 75 years ago. The older generation of leaders can’t offer a cookbook of foolproof recipes for success in passing legislation to designate additional wilderness areas. To do this work most effectively and efficiently, activists must know the history of strategic choices and tactical maneuvers that got our movement to where it stands now.

We can reach our goals. The trick is to think imaginatively and to move toward an offensive position that sets a wilderness agenda, rather than defend against wilderness encroachment.

The following is a brief outline of significant historical events. It is of note that the pioneers and advocates for wilderness worked effectively in government agencies—the same agencies that we often recognize today as opponents of wilderness.

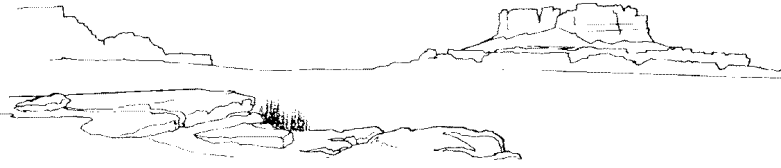
- 1924. The first wilderness area, the Gila Wilderness Area, is designated.
- 1929. The Forest Service issues an L-20 regulation, which set national policy and procedures for designating and managing wilderness areas (called “primitive areas”).
- 1935. The Wilderness Society is founded.

- 1937. Bob Marshall, founder and funder of The Wilderness Society, becomes Chief of the Recreation & Lands Division of the Forest Service, in Washington, D.C.
- 1939. Approximately 14 million acres are designated as primitive areas thanks to Marshall's tireless efforts.
- 1938. The Secretary of Agriculture issues two new, higher level regulations for wilderness protection. Each of the old primitive areas is reviewed, and public hearings are held, to reclassify the land as either U-1 or U-2 areas.
- 1956. The first wilderness bill is introduced in the House of Representatives.

Conclusion

Although it is important to pioneer new wilderness strategies, we must do so with knowledge of what has come before. We must study the efforts, philosophies, strategies, and humility of the men and women of the early wilderness movement.

Not only do we owe an enormous debt to our forebears for their vision and courage, but the recognition and use of our history will determine our success or failure with future wilderness campaigns. It is foolish, arrogant, and wasteful to believe that our passion about wilderness is original or that the work we are doing now is without precedent.



Lessons Learned from Wilderness Campaigns

“We slowly and surely convinced everyone that we were crazy, and eventually they agreed and gave us what we wanted.” Bart Koehler

This chapter highlights lessons learned from years of successful and unsuccessful wilderness campaigns and lists some strategies for getting your own campaign started. These lessons are not meant to be steadfast rules; rather, you should use these ideas as guidelines when planning your own campaign.

At the end of this chapter, the details of a 10-year campaign, the Tongass Timber Reform Act, are described to provide context for the lessons outlined here.

The sections include the following:

- Listening to campaign advice
- Beginning a successful campaign
- Putting lessons learned in the context of the Tongass Timber Reform Act Campaign

Listening to Campaign Advice

Although every campaign is unique, the following strategies for planning and executing successful campaigns apply in most cases:

- Externalize your message
- Empower the community
- Maintain perspective

Externalize your message

An effective campaigner will do some work outside of communities directly involved in wilderness initiatives in an effort to bolster claims and win allies.

To build a thorough campaign, consider the following tips:

- **Get to know every decision-maker’s priorities, history, concerns, and sympathies.** Conduct research and talk to decision makers to learn where they stand on certain issues and how they have voted in the past. Ask lots of questions to get a good sense of each decision-maker’s politics, position, and motivation.
- **Understand and use laws to your advantage.** Educate yourself on wilderness laws and any proposed legislation that may protect the land, the community, or the local economy. List all the groups you may want to build alliances with and research the laws that protect each group’s interests.
- **Choose the right mentor and communicate with him or her regularly.** Talk to other experienced lobbyists, for example, to learn how they may have dealt with a similar situation. They may have the right distance and perspective to give you well-founded advice.
- **Gather widespread support—every ally is helpful.** Gather support from and form coalitions with people who are already sympathetic to your cause or who share the same opponent. Do not underestimate the importance of even one more voice on your side. Find a common cause that allows you to adopt other groups as allies.
- **Deliver your message using an unexpected source.** Increase your credibility by asking a hunter or rancher to deliver a message of support to Congress or the media. Speakers from outside of the environmental movement are often perceived as more objective. Also, emotional appeals are more effective when they come from community members. As a member of the environmental group, you don’t want to feed the stereotype that you are simply a fanatical “tree hugger.”
- **Use scientific evidence to support your claims and quell suspicion and distrust.** Whenever possible, support your claims using scientific data or quotes. Hard evidence indicates to Congress and other decision makers that the issue is not merely emotionally based. For example, offer statistics and charts that demonstrate how a dam will hurt the ecosystem and, ultimately, contaminate the local water supply.
- **Hire a professional consultant to help you organize and communicate.** A professional, outside consultant can help you organize the campaign and offer advice about the most appropriate communication strategies. Moreover, he or she will provide the necessary distance from the issue to help you see the task from a different perspective. Choose a professional with expertise in the specific area where you need help.
- **Understand and use the media.** See the media chapter for more information about the best way to use the media during your campaign.

Empower the community

As an outsider, you will not have immediate credibility and members of the community may not want to share their opinions and feelings with you. The

best way to gather support, build trust, and gain momentum for your initiative is to empower members of the community to make change. Proselytizing will not work in most situations.

To empower the community, apply some of the following strategies:

- **Listen to as many people from the community as possible to learn their concerns and feelings.** Do not assume that you already know every community member's position on an issue. Go to local coffee shops, town meetings, or door-to-door and ask questions. Try to discover all the issues that matter to the community members so you can later show how your campaign addresses their concerns. Demonstrate good listening skills by taking notes and repeating your interpretation of a comment back to the speaker to validate that you heard correctly.
- **Educate people in a non-threatening manner by asking open-ended questions or by making statements and asking them if they agree.** Allow people an opportunity to discover the problem on their own. One way to do this is by asking open-ended questions. Or, you can indicate the potential consequences of a proposed environmental act and ask the people if they agree or disagree. Try to engage in intelligent dialog about the cause in a respectful and non-threatening way.
- **Value and respect everyone's opinions and abilities.** Be humble about your position and opinions when you visit the community. Don't walk in as the expert and don't make derogatory comments; rather, listen to and show respect for everyone's thoughts and concerns on the issue.
- **Say thank you and offer constant updates.** Once you have conducted your initial interviews with community members, don't ignore them. Thank everyone for his or her time and input. Let them know that you will keep them apprised of the campaign's progress, and then do so.

Maintain perspective

Your attitude and approach to the campaign will influence its success or failure. Campaigns succeed because of commitment and perseverance. Keep your perspective by doing the following:

- **Be patient.** The campaigning process can last a few months, a couple of years, or maybe even a few decades. Change is a slow process—resist the temptation to give up because it is taking too long. Remain focused and continually search for alternate sources of energy and motivation.
- **Maintain a positive attitude.** At times, you will feel highly energized and your campaign will seem to have a growing coalition of support. In other instances, you will feel the pain of setbacks and losses. Recognize that losses are inherent in the campaign process, and your task is to remain optimistic and energized. Continue to thank your friends for their support and never give up!
- **Know what you want before you ask for it.** Before you approach a relevant member of Congress for support, be very clear and confident about what you're requesting. Do your homework before you make the

call. Be completely informed on the issue so you don't lose your credibility.

- **Don't overlook or underestimate the small victories.** Make sure everyone on the campaign team feels a sense of accomplishment, ownership, and pride when they achieve even a small win. Spread the good news in a newsletter or press release—or throw a party to keep up the energy level and build teamwork.
- **Keep your own ego in check.** When visiting Congress, leave your righteousness at the door. You will be much more effective if you approach legislators with a clear goal and purpose. Demonstrate your passion for the issue, but remain focused on the facts. Avoid getting angry or upset if you do not get the response you want. Even an ambiguous response is better than an absolute “no.”
- **Don't assume alliances.** Do not make assumptions that certain people or groups will support your campaign without talking to them first.
- **Learn from your losses and move on.** Despite your best intentions and the best arguments, things will probably go wrong during your campaign. Learn from your losses, search for new opportunities, and be ready to implement an alternative strategy.

Beginning a Successful Campaign

This chapter lists some considerations for starting a successful campaign. While it is unlikely that a single campaign would follow all these steps, use these as guidelines to get your campaign off the ground:

- Talk to other groups with similar interests such as other environmental groups, businesses, social issues groups, human rights advocates, and cultural preservationists to learn their ideas and strategies for successful campaigning.
- Meet with the congressperson and congressional committees to learn their positions.
- Define your purpose.
- Determine who is on your side, who is against you, and who is apathetic.
- Determine the funding situation and write grants, if necessary.
- Invite members of Congress to the wilderness site.
- Get to know members of the community by talking with them face-to-face or over the phone.
- Educate yourself about any extractive or subsistent uses of the area.
- Make sure you have accurate and complete maps indicating roads, habitats, watersheds, and other important geographical information.
- Discover all of the area's unique characteristics.

- Appeal to the economy.
- Appeal to local pride.
- Appeal to a wider audience by publishing in scientific magazines and other legitimate media sources.
- Take professional photos of the area and use them in your presentations.

Putting Lessons Learned in the Context of the Tongass Timber Reform Act Campaign

On December 3, 1980, Congress passed Section 705 of ANILCA (Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act) requiring the U.S. Forest Service to produce 450 million board feet from the Tongass National Forest annually. After nearly a decade of rigorous campaigning to protect the forest, the Tongass Timber Reform Act was passed and millions of acres of forest were protected. Since that time, two pulp mills were closed and the contract between two pulp mills and the U.S. Forest Service was nullified.

This section tells the story of the successful, 10-year campaign to protect the Tongass National Forest in Alaska:

- Defining the problem
- Building coalitions

Defining the problem

Defining the problem goes beyond an environmental analysis. It includes learning about the entire cultural, political, and economic situation.

In 1981, SEACC (Southeast Alaska Conservation Council) began a campaign to save the Tongass National Forest from mandated logging. Early in the campaign, experts in rural organizing visited several small communities and gathered information about local concerns. Based on their conversations, they learned that many people in these small, rural towns loved the forest but hated the pulp mills. From interviews with local residents, they learned the following information:

- The pulp mills had a history of unfair labor practices.
- The pulp mills dominated the people and the land.
- The pulp mill employees were dissatisfied with their employers.
- Small, local timber companies were losing business because the U.S. Forest Service was under contract with the pulp mills.
- Fishing streams and rivers were threatened by the pollution from the pulp mills.

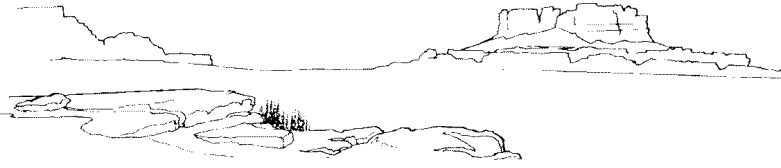
- The interviews with local community members laid the foundation for the next step in the campaign: building coalitions.

Building coalitions

Based on their knowledge of the feelings and concerns of the local community, SEACC organized a powerful coalition of pulp mill workers, timber companies, organized labor advocates, the NRA (National Rifle Association), international woodworkers, conservation groups, and other dedicated, energized people who shared their cause. Innovation and fun brought more support to the campaign. These allies brought much needed support to the campaign. When 14 communities passed resolutions urging protection of small forest areas, the campaign gained momentum. The campaign team was able to approach members of congress for support, and that eventually forced Alaska's delegates to support their effort.

Conclusion

The ultimate goal of environmental organizing is to change people's attitudes toward the environment. The process can be laborious, frustrating, and time-consuming. To succeed, you must externalize your message, empower communities, and maintain perspective during a campaign. The Tongass campaign gives a great example of complete assessment and successful coalition building. In the end, the TTRA passed in the senate 99-0.



Offensive and Defensive Campaigns

“Every liability, if you think creatively, is an asset.” Mike Matz

All wilderness campaigns combine aggressive and protective tactics, but passing a bill generally calls for a more offensive approach, while stopping a bill generally calls for a defensive approach. In an offensive campaign, you call the shots rather than just defend against them. This chapter gives an overview of both approaches and describes effective offensive campaign tactics:

- Defining offensive and defensive campaigns
- Moving from a defensive campaign to an offensive campaign
- Measuring risk and accountability in offensive campaigns

Defining Offensive and Defensive Campaigns

While you need both a good offense and a good defense to win, you obviously can't "score," or pass a bill, unless you are in offensive mode. You can only protect yourself from someone else's initiative. If you are in offensive mode, you keep your opponents from having the chance to attack you.

Defensive and offensive campaigns often have different tones:

- The tone in a defensive campaign is sometimes hostile, shrill, or urgent—for very good reasons. You rally support from local activists and congressional sponsors by emphasizing a threat to the environment.
- The tone in an offensive campaign can be reassuring, inspiring, and confidence building because you are not reacting, but acting. Instead of being defensive and proclaiming, "You can't do that to us," you are saying, "Here is what we want to accomplish and here is how you can work with us."

What is a defensive campaign?

A defensive campaign builds a sense of threat. For example, you might tell supporters, “This mining company is coming in here. It is going to destroy this mountain.” The mountain has no protection. A threat becomes a motivation to campaign for legislative action. You don’t, of course, always get everything you are after in a defensive campaign. For example, protection might amount to an oil company having to temporarily halt, rather than stop, drilling.

While defensive campaigns can be necessary and important, defense alone will not give you a win because your opponent will be setting the agenda and controlling the substance of the campaign. It may be easier tactically to defend, but it is harder psychologically. You are the victim, not the actor. You are responding to an agenda.

Some pros and cons of a defensive campaign are described below.

Pros of a defensive campaign

- **The campaign has a sense of urgency, and the target is easier to fight because it is clearly defined.** In a defensive campaign, the steps you need to take are apparent. The process is more like playing checkers than chess. You don’t necessarily have to think three moves ahead—you just have to get to the other side of the board.
- **A stalemate is a win.** As long as you keep your opponent from scoring against you, you win.
- **The goal is easy to assess.** You can easily see what you don’t want to happen in this situation. It takes less planning and less risk to stop something from happening than it does to initiate an action.
- **Coalitions are easy to build.** A defensive campaign is obvious—you and your group are against something specific. Very little education or persuasion is necessary to gain support.
- **Your base can be tapped.** You probably can easily identify your supporting base for a defensive campaign—at least for issues that come up again and again. You needn’t confront them with new challenges. It’s business as usual. You don’t need to explore new territory or explain new ideas.

Cons of a defensive campaign

- **It’s less rewarding.** People are basically just getting on a familiar bandwagon. There is not a lot of room for rewarding new ideas or strategies. Even if you win, all you get is what you had before. Your protected area could be threatened again at any time.
- **It’s harder to sustain interest.** There’s no new ground being broken. People may be sick of the same old fight over and over and believe that they can’t win. They may lose interest in even trying.

- **It doesn't build your organization.** In a defensive campaign, you tend to rely on your standard supporting base of people. You go back to the same groups, and you do not widen your circle. New ideas or viewpoints rarely come into play.
- **It creates cynicism.** People feel like they are victims, as usual, with no power except to try and stop initiatives.

What is an offensive campaign?

An offensive campaign is an action campaign. You set the agenda for what you want to achieve. Offensive campaigns require creativity, an agenda, and a timeline, as well as extensive, up-front planning. You have to state what you value and create a plan for it, instead of just reacting to someone else's plan. You are defining the objectives that will drive your campaign. Therefore, your depth of understanding must be greater. A good example of an offensive campaign is lobbying for full protection for land that already has partial protection.

Some pros and cons of an offensive campaign are described below.

Pros of an offensive campaign

- **You broaden your base and gain support from strangers.** With new initiatives, you might have to seek out new groups and people in order to get a well-rounded perspective. This broadens your base and builds your organization for future initiatives.
- **You encourage creativity.** An offensive campaign lends itself to creative thinking. You might be trying something new and not be able to rely on standard defensive methods. This is not to say that defensive methods can't be creative. It's just that reaction doesn't lend itself to creativity as well as action does.
- **It's easier to sustain interest.** New ground is being broken. People feel creative and on the cutting edge.
- **It creates optimism.** People don't feel like they are victims with no power except to react against initiatives in which they had no say.

Cons of an offensive campaign

- **A stalemate is not a win.** The only win possible in an offensive initiative is to pass a bill. You don't win just by maintaining the status quo.
- **Your victory may not be definitive.** Victory might come in small, incremental steps that are less easy to cheer than a big win over an opponent.
- **The campaign may lack a sense of urgency, and your target may be harder to fight because it is not clearly defined.** The steps you need to take might not be apparent. As with a chess game, you might have to think, plan, and plot three or four moves ahead.

- **The goal is harder to assess.** Your goal may not be simple. The long-range effects might be hard to estimate. Your overall objective might consist of a number of complex, intermittent steps.
- **Coalitions are more difficult to build.** An offensive campaign is not always clear cut. Therefore, it can be much harder to convince people to support you. What's in it for them might not be as easily defined as it is in a defensive campaign.
- **Your base can't always be tapped.** People don't always react well to new challenges or anything other than "business as usual." Your standard supporters might think you are going in a dangerous or pointless direction.

Moving from a Defensive Campaign to an Offensive Campaign

Wilderness advocates need to be well versed in both defensive and offensive tactics. You are always working both offense and defense, and you must choose your offensive and defensive battles wisely. Obviously, it is much easier to rally around a threat and be defensive than it is to take the offense. Therefore, the ability to build an offensive strategy and apply it as often as possible is a powerful skill.

In a defensive campaign, the threat you are defending against prioritizes your actions. Sometimes it is hard to see how you can move in an offensive direction when so many things seem to demand a defensive reaction. Here are some questions you might ask:

- **How do you move forward on the offensive without losing site of what you need to defend?** Checks and balances are important. Maybe you lose a mountain, but gain a range. Usually, you shouldn't move ahead unless you know the original area is secure, completely lost, or available as a bargaining tool. There's no one method that always works. You need to be creative with each campaign.
- **How do you decide on a campaign direction?** For example, should you move areas that have some protection into full protection? Should you risk losing areas that have some protection to help areas that have none?

Building tactics for an offensive campaign

Here are some effective tactics you can use to build an offensive campaign:

- Make your moves count
- Turn liabilities into assets
- Build an offense based on your defensive tactics
- Make and keep allies—and know your opponents
- Set clear objectives
- Be creative
- Be consistent

Make your moves count

One method for shifting gears from defensive to offensive is to turn your opponent's campaign into a positive launching pad for your offensive campaign. For example, an initiative to eradicate wolves could be answered by a campaign to reintroduce wolves to a wilderness area.

A classic example of moving from a defensive to an offensive campaign is the campaign that was behind the Utah Wilderness bill, where campaigners started by fighting to protect areas from development and then proposed a new 5.7 acres of wilderness.

Attaching latch strings to your proposed wilderness area is an effective strategy. For example, within an entire proposed wilderness area, you may not get it all marked as designated wilderness the first time. Instead, you can work to provide areas that do not receive full protection with some protection, and re-approach those areas later.

Turn liabilities into assets

When in defensive mode, you have to guard against every liability; in offensive mode, you can use liabilities as assets. Your losses can be opportunities if you think creatively. For example, if a company destroys a mountain, maybe you can get the local people angry enough about it to help you with your next initiative. Maybe you can use it for leverage with a Congressperson: "We were disappointed on that one. Now help us with this new initiative."

Build an offense based on your defensive tactics

Help your supporters understand that a successful defensive campaign does not necessarily mean that an area is protected. For example, the Alaskan Wildlife Refuge is very much threatened by oil companies, but it's hard to rally public support because people hear the word "refuge" and believe that the area is safe. This ignorance makes it much harder to sustain support for ongoing defensive measures.

On the other hand, a good defensive effort can help your offensive campaign by keeping your allies aware of your small victories and building momentum

for progressive action. For example, the designation of the Utah Grand Staircase-Escalante was not a complete victory, but it was a morale booster.

Make and keep allies—and know your opponents

A successful wilderness advocate knows how to find future allies and work with opponents:

- **Do not “trash” or ignore anyone during a campaign.** You should thank the people you are grateful to and always try to make and retain allies. Don’t overlook potential allies in any campaign.
- **Know your opponents.** Develop a working relationship with your opponents. Study and learn from their rhetoric, tactics, and goals.
- **Don’t be negative.** Don’t alienate anyone with negativity or the idea that “those bullies are going to beat us.”
- **Understand how to woo Congress.** Establish a relationship with congressional members. For example, give a new group of representatives a small, pleasing wilderness bill that is easy to approve. They will congratulate themselves, feel good, and like working with you.

Set clear objectives

To stay on course and reach your goals, you must map your campaign against clear objectives.

- **Choose your areas and battles carefully.** Note who is in power and for how long, and be an “incrementalist” based on that knowledge. Choose the best time to introduce a bill. For example, don’t introduce a big, important bill to Congress when Congress really wants to impress its anti-wilderness delegates.
- **Frame your goals.** An offensive campaign should have a goal that is both credible and visionary. This involves knowing how to gain small victories with long-term success in mind.

Be creative

Creativity can help you get bills passed. For example, it’s harder to rally support for damaged areas than for pristine areas—even though the former may be extremely valuable. Maybe it’s a unique ecosystem, or a rare species of bird lives there. If you can figure out a way to make these things important to people, you can gain their support.

Creativity can also help keep your supporters invigorated and focused. The more fun and tolerable you can make a campaign, the less chance of burnout there is.

Be consistent

There is a benefit in going back to Washington with the same bill, year after year. Frequency enables you to build relationships, work with the same

activist base, show your commitment, and stress the importance of your cause. This isn't easy, but this is how it goes.

Measuring Risk and Accountability in Offensive Campaigns

Remember that you will be judged on your assessment of risk, but if you don't take risks, nothing happens. A defensive campaign is usually black and white, whereas an offensive campaign has shades of gray. In other words, with an offensive move, *you* might take the risk of choosing which areas to protect and which to give up.

A good offensive player analyzes risks and sets priorities. During that process, it is sometimes hard to meld your idealism and pragmatism. Here are some things to do and consider:

- **Talk to a mentor.** People with a lot of experience are available by e-mail and phone. They are very willing to share stories, resources, and advice.
- **Learn to deal with insiders who believe that any compromise is selling out.** You are not always going to be popular for your choices. You just have to do the best you can.
- **If people aren't behind your vision, appeal to something that matters to them.** For example, if a community wants clean, safe drinking water, you might say that they could get it if a certain area can be designated as a wilderness area.

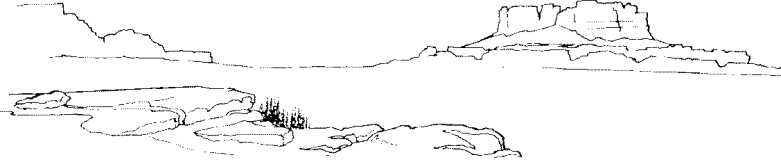
Conclusion

It's sometimes hard to face the fact that you will be judged and held accountable for the hard choices you have to make. Despite hard choices, you still have to take chances. For example, no one ever thought at the outset that the Tongass initiative would be a success.

When deciding on an offensive or defensive approach, remember that each campaign is unique. There is no exact formula you can follow, and although you can learn from each campaign and apply its lessons to future campaigns, you must always do up-front planning and careful analysis for each initiative.

Relying on rhetoric and current convictions alone to make a choice about a defensive or an offensive approach can be dangerous. Instead, use careful strategizing to make intelligent choices and, when necessary, revise and strengthen your discourse and opinions.

In this world of wilderness advocacy, you have to be proud that you put an idea into action and saw it through until the end. You have to remember that small victories can build momentum.



Effective Lobbying

“Respect, honesty, and courtesy will carry you far in lobbying. Lobbying succeeds through trust.” Ernie Dickerman

The workings of Congress are complex. If you don't know its intricacies and rules, you will not be a successful lobbyist. This chapter offers suggestions for effective lobbying:

- Preparing to lobby for your cause
- Gaining access to Congress
- Lobbying on the Hill
- Employing effective tactics

Preparing to Lobby for Your Cause

Successful lobbyists are well prepared. There are many things to consider and plan before you state your case to a member of Congress. It is not enough to understand your issue. You must research what motivates Congress and use that knowledge to help your campaign. The way to bend Congress to your will is to understand its priorities, not just your own.

Here are some points to consider and things to do as you prepare to lobby:

- **Remember that you have only one bill to contend with.** As you prepare your pitch, keep in mind that in the world of introducing, passing, and stopping bills, you only have to deal with your issue or your proposed bill. Congress has thousands of bills to consider. For example, in the 104th Congress, over 6,000 bills were proposed and only 330 were passed.
- **Note that Congress may see wilderness legislation as a service it provides constituents.** Members are not necessarily concerned about the details of your arguments. Instead, they'll probably make the decision based on how voters will react to it. After the vote, they'll want to take credit for it and talk about it.
- **Prepare a straight pitch and note important points about your position.** Practice your presentation before you go to Washington. You don't have to relay every minute detail about your position. On the other hand, don't assume that the person you are pitching to has any knowledge about your cause.

- **Prepare well-written, concise information.** Before you go to Washington, write a brief paper on your position and be prepared to leave it with an aide. Always give aides a copy of your meeting notes instead of relying on theirs to be complete.
- **Don't lobby by yourself.** So long as all members are prepared, it is best to lobby Congress in numbers. Get a well-prepared group together before you lobby. You might want to include a paid lobbyist, a local constituent, a scientist, or a local activist.
- **Know your topic.** You can cause more harm with incorrect facts than admitted ignorance. Be prepared. Don't lie or make things up.
- **Communicate staff to staff.** Send clear, helpful materials to staff members and congressional members before and after your meetings.
- **Send the right materials.** Here is a partial list of effective lobbying tools:
 - Prepared floor statements
 - Status memos from your group
 - Local press clips
 - Local anecdotes
 - Simple, 1-2 page documents that break the campaign down to issues
 - One-page maps (not wall maps)
- **Don't send ineffective materials.** The items shown here get lost in the shuffle or take up too much time and space:
 - Videos
 - Coffee table books and binders
 - Postcards
- **Simplify your electronic communication.** Don't create slow Web pages that no one will ever bother to download. Send concise e-mail.

Gaining Access to Congress

You gain access to Congress by being prepared and understanding the correct protocol. It is, for example, essential that you develop a good relationship with congressional staff members. If you don't, you will never get through to any member of Congress.

- **Be concise.** Communicate what is most important. Don't waste the time of legislators or their aides.
- **Work when congressional staff work.** Respect and understand their schedules. Keep in mind that they are very busy.
- **Make an appointment.** It is essential that you make an appointment in advance of meeting with a member of Congress.

- **Know how to get in touch with staff.** Staff members are not on the floor. They are at their desks. Know their phone and fax numbers and e-mail addresses and know how they prefer to be contacted.

Lobbying on the Hill

Lobbying is about information: who has it, who understands it, who knows best how to present and use it, and who makes a decision based on it. You need to know who fills each of these roles before you lobby for your cause. Lobbying is a fine art. Here are some things to remember before you try it:

- **When you call on congressional members, you are unlikely to get a definitive answer.** In fact, most of the time, you will be talking to an aide. Therefore, you also need to know what motivates the staff. Keep in mind that they are busy and probably overwhelmed.
- **Congresspeople talk to each other and compare notes.** After many meetings with many groups, congressional members may talk among themselves and recognize if there is tremendous support for a cause. Therefore, you want to make a good impression and make your presentations memorable and consistent.
- **Congresspeople are as selfish as anyone else.** When you speak with a member of Congress, use arguments that appeal to him or her, not just what sounds good and obvious to you.
- **Congressional members have one top priority—to get re-elected.** You must pitch your cause in a way that appeals to a Congressperson. He or she may make a quick decision if it is apparent how the decision will affect the next election.

Employing Effective Tactics

In addition to understanding the motivations of congressional members and following the best procedures for lobbying, you also have to use effective tactics to get the attention of Congress.

Keep in mind that the policies and procedures involved in passing legislation are complex and time-consuming. Filibusters, vetoes, inertia, and basically any determined opponent can hold up progress. Therefore, to get legislation passed, you must use your time wisely, apply pressure in the correct places, and target the right people.

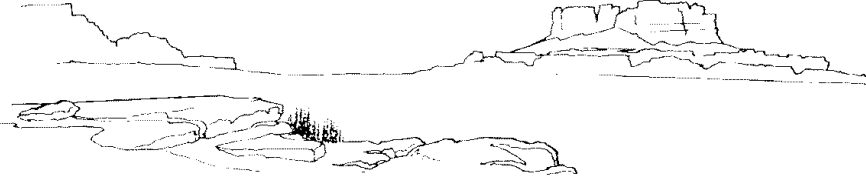
Here are some effective lobbying techniques:

- **Use defensive campaign tactics to put pressure on congressional members.** Before a vote, do things to start the process of holding key members accountable for their decisions. Use paid advertising to raise issues. Use phone banking to let them know what the people want.
- **Make members accountable for their votes.** Chastise those members who vote against protection and thank those who vote for it.

- **Target people you can influence.** If you have few resources, don't target your friends. Instead, create a target list of people whom you can't count on, but can influence.
- **Know about places Congress cares about.** If a Congressperson is focused on Alaska, target him or her to support your Alaskan cause. Get the easy folks as co-sponsors.
- **Hold back if your base is limited.** Show Congress that you have wide and ongoing support. If you have a base and you are probably not going to get any more help with your cause, it's a mistake to have everyone come in at once. Instead, hold back, and display your supporters in a steady trickle so that it looks like you have momentum building.
- **Use letter drops right before a bill goes to the floor.** These are very useful for getting attention. The letter drop might make the congressperson say, "I need more information before I vote. It looks like my constituents care more about this than I thought. Maybe I should talk to them."
- **Listen and learn.** You can help your cause by understanding what ideas, concerns, or misgivings a congressional member might have about your campaign. If you listen, you might realize that you need a new approach, or discover that you can overcome an obstacle and win.
- **Treat people with respect.** Listen to them, stroke their egos, and speak to their concerns.
- **Don't get angry.** An outburst gets you nowhere but excluded.
- **Don't gossip.** You never know who knows whom. Be careful what you say about people. It will probably get back to them. If they are unhappy with what they hear, it can have a bad effect on your campaign.

Conclusion

A good lobbyist is well prepared, patient, and polite. You must understand the procedures and protocol of the Hill to get anywhere. Understanding, respecting, and listening to opinions that differ from yours is a very valuable skill.



The Workings of the Executive Branch

“The agencies don’t always make sense, and they’re difficult to work with, but sometimes, if you’re patient and you persevere, you can get through.”
Cindy Shogan

To get legislation passed, you need support in both the legislative and executive branches. Therefore, you need to be familiar with each branch.

This chapter explains the divisions of the executive branch and offers tips for working with government agencies to pass legislation:

- Pinpointing the decision makers
- Working with the U.S. Forest Service
- Understanding the logic of the executive branch
- Getting the administration on your side

Pinpointing the Decision Makers

The Department of Interior is the primary agency responsible for making legislative decisions about wilderness issues. When trying to influence any agency, be sure to send your ideas up the chain of command. If you are not certain about who is in charge of what, ask. You also should talk to a mentor—someone who has dealt with each of these departments.

The two agencies of the Department of the Interior that make decisions on wilderness and public land are the following:

- BLM (Bureau of Land Management)
- U.S. Forest Service

These two executive branches influence decisions:

- White House Council on Environmental Quality
- OMB (Office of Management and Budget)

Working with the US Forest Service

The Forest Service is a very hierarchical organization. To gather support there, consider the following strategies:

- **Understand that they want to retain authority.** As a general rule, the Forest Service and the BLM never wants to lose any land it oversees. To gain support from Forest Service employees, you need to know the facts better than they do. Learn all you can about a particular wilderness area so you can speak intelligently and convincingly about that site.
- **Convince the Forest Service that its predecessors are your heroes.** Explain in a non-threatening manner that their responsibility is to manage the public trust.
- **Follow the chain of command.** Always know and adhere to an agency's hierarchy.
- **Don't ask people to do what they can not or will not do.** Research the history and limitations of the group or individual you are approaching.

Understanding the Logic of the Executive Branch

Before you lobby the administration, do some research. Make certain you know its structure, policies, and procedures. Below are some facts and tips for understanding and working with the executive branch:

- Although there are 535 members of Congress, we have only one president. Everyone in the executive branch works for the president, who has the final word.
- Within the executive branch, only the president takes risks, and then only in a campaign year.
- When an issue gets to the White House, its fate may depend on deals or arrangements related to wholly unrelated issues.
- Each agency has a different mission and history; each responds to different constituencies.
- You may convince your primary agency, but that doesn't mean you have convinced the entire administration. Other agencies may oppose your cause for their own reasons.
- Just because you have the White House on your side, doesn't mean you have the agencies; the White House can't do much by itself.
- Every agency has a congressional network that it must respond to.
- Agencies are by nature schizophrenic: Their political leadership works for the president, but their bread is buttered in Congress.

- The first instinct of career bureaucrats is to survive; they made it through Carter, Reagan, and Bush, and they will certainly survive us.
- To get an administration to take your position, you have to build a campaign inside it, and in the congressional and state networks to which it responds

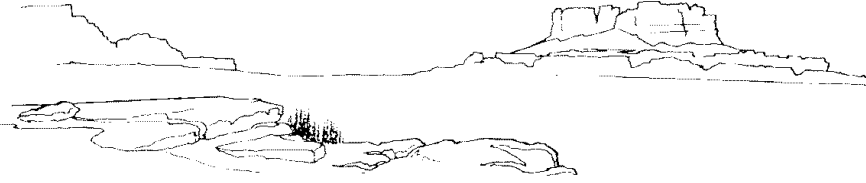
Getting the Administration on Your Side

In order to get the administration to support your cause, you first need to know its workings. The following hypothetical steps describe the process the administration follows to take a position on an environmental initiative:

6. A presidential candidate makes a promise.
7. Upon election, the president asks the primary action agency how it plans to deliver on a particular promise or set of promises.
8. The agency answers based on a review of presidential promises; White House statements; its own mission, laws, and regulations; and the most likely congressional response. The agency then asks itself the two most important questions: What does our agency really want? Who would we least like to have angry with us?
9. The cabinet secretary proposes a bold initiative to OMB and the White House.
10. The OMB gives a characteristic response: “What are they, crazy?” and then goes through its checklist.
11. What do other agencies think?
 - What will it cost?
 - Is it consistent with past policy?
 - Are we sure this is what the president meant?
 - Isn’t there some esoteric budgetary or policy reason for saying “no”?
12. OMB reluctantly says “yes” and consults the White House.
13. The White House asks itself the following questions:
 - Where is this state, anyway?
 - What does the Governor say?
 - Can you give us 10 good reasons to face this headache.
 - Who thinks this is a good idea?
14. If the right people think it is a good idea, the agency makes a promise to support the secretary’s bold initiative.

Conclusion

You cannot lobby effectively if you don't understand the structure and workings of the executive branch and the best and most expedient ways to work within it. You should know the chain of command to so you can follow the rules, policies, and procedures of the executive branch and all agencies associated with it



The Role of Media in Wilderness Campaigns

“Car companies and makers of sports drinks use wilderness to sell their products. We have to market wilderness as a product people want to have.”
Michael Carroll

Media play an important and necessary role in a wilderness campaign. Indiscriminate use of media can harm your campaign; careful and strategic use can aid it. The latter cannot be accomplished without careful analysis.

This chapter offers suggestions, cautions, and statistics to help you decide on the best ways to use media to bolster your campaigns:

- Defining media
- Using the media strategically
- Getting into the media
- Marketing wilderness

Defining Media

Media are agencies of mass communication such as newspapers, magazines, radio, television, and the Internet. These agencies offer many tools for wilderness advocates such as press releases, editorials, advertisements, and articles. There are two types of media:

- **Earned media.** An example of this is an editorial or an article written by a reporter.
- **Paid media.** An example of this is a radio spot or a magazine advertisement that you purchase.

How North Americans use media (from <i>Enough is Enough</i>)	
Identify television as their main source of news	65%
Think television is the most believable news source	49%
Own televisions	98%
Read newspapers	63%
Listen to radio at work	53%
Listen to radio in the morning	66%
Listen to radio in their car	77%

In addition to the above statistics, note that there is a combined readership of 62.6 million people for 16,000 daily newspapers.

Using the Media Strategically

Using the media can be an expensive and very public venture. As a result, you have to approach the media in a strategic and careful manner. If you don't, publicity of any sort can harm, rather than help, your campaign. Remember, you don't have to talk to media if you are not ready, or if it's not in your best interest to do so. Here are some tips for using media to help your campaign:

- **Research the media.** Figure out who might be on your side and which reporters are sympathetic to causes like your own. At the same time, know your opponents. Stay on top of television, radio, magazine, and newspaper coverage.
- **Weigh its cost and value against your other issues.** Before you make a decision to use media, ask yourself these questions: Is media coverage the best use of your money? Will this bite out of your budget weaken your efforts elsewhere in the campaign? For example, will there be less money for training your team?
- **Be realistic about the time it's going to take.** Representing yourself well in the media takes a great deal of practice. If you are careless about it, your message can be garbled, misunderstood, or misrepresented. This can cause irreparable harm to your campaign. Take the time to be able to present your cause in a positive way. Practice your presentation. Ask people to evaluate it.
- **Realize that not all news is good news.** All publicity is not necessarily good. A story that is based on some and not all of the facts, for example, can cause you to lose rather than gain supporters. Your public image is very important to your campaign. If you are not prepared when a reporter interviews you, your portrayal in the media can make people assume that you are careless and not to be taken seriously.

- **Give your stories a positive spin.** No one wants to read a defensive diatribe. Instead, focus on the positive aspects of your campaign. Let readers, listeners, or viewers know what's in it for them if they join forces with you.
- **Note that just getting media is not enough.** Let people know when your piece will be on the air. Advertise your advertising by word of mouth, phone, mail, e-mail, and posted signs and notices. Cut copies of favorable editorials and articles and keep them in a scrapbook for people who might have missed them. Tape television and radio spots for future use and evaluation.
- **Target specific audiences.** If the support of certain groups will help your cause, target them. For example, if you want chain stores to start recycling their paper, see if you can get an article in *Chain Store Age*.

Getting into the Media

One big part of being media savvy is knowing not only *where* to place your message, but *how* to get it placed.

- **Collect and share your clips.** Build a portfolio that contains your media clips. Make it available to your staff, communities, coalitions, congressional staff, and reporters.
- **Use coverage in one place to get into another.** If you manage for example, to get a story on the Op-Ed page of *The New York Times*, other newspapers may pick it up and run it verbatim.
- **Create relationships with reporters.** Don't wait for reporters to come to you. Contact reporters and market yourself and your cause to them. Ask them to write editorials and/or articles about your cause. Use smart lobbying skills when you speak to them. Be polite. Return their calls promptly. If you can, give them tips about good stories elsewhere. They'll appreciate it, remember you, and come back to you.
- **Widen your availability.** Don't just aim for newspaper coverage. Talk to local radio show hosts and see if they can interview you. Ask local groups to run a story in their newsletters. Look for local weeklies that can support your cause with an ad or a story. Brainstorm good coverage ideas.
- **Videotape your congressional co-sponsor.** Have your House or Senate co-sponsor speak about your issue on the floor before 3:00 p.m. Video feed the spot to newspeople so it is available for that evening's local news. The representative will provide the video feed and may pay for it. Before you do this, research where the issue is relevant, talk to stations about coverage availability, get other footage related to your issue, and have a local wilderness spokesperson available for an interview.
- **Use "Presponse."** Call the media *before* you stage an event.
- **Hold a press conference.** Anyone or any group can call a press conference. The trick is to have a hook that will attract the media. To do this, you need to know your local media. If you can tie your press

conference to an event (e.g., an oil spill happens in your bay), you have a good chance of getting coverage.

Marketing Wilderness

When you are learning to cook up a campaign, media are an essential utensil. In addition to using media strategically, you need to know how to market your cause effectively once there. Think of wilderness as a product that needs to be marketed. Many companies use wilderness to sell their products, but no one is marketing wilderness as a product. Here are some things you can do to market wilderness:

- **Get people's attention.** Use an unexpected messenger to get your message across. Do something unexpected and unique. Gimmicks can be very effective for capturing people's attention, as long as you don't let your gimmick overshadow your message. For example, whether you like the idea or not, the Forest Service has effectively used Smokey the Bear as a spokesperson for preventing forest fires.
- **Market to unlikely supporters.** Look at more than your target audience. Don't just advertise your cause to people who are likely to agree with you. Instead, target a wide range of people and speak to the concerns of all audiences, particularly those that might be a hard sell.
- **Use a catchy slogan.** Use alliteration or a clever rhyme to make a slogan stick in people's head. For example, many years ago, the line, "Don't be a litterbug," made people more aware of their littering habits.
- **Get help from associations.** Ask sympathetic local and national associations to support your cause. They might have a marketing budget that could be used to advertise your ideas, a mailing list you could borrow, or a newsletter that could include a story about your campaign.
- **Appeal to people's interests.** Use marketing to let people know how a certain initiative will help them in particular. For example, get families' attention by talking about their children's future.
- **Ask experts to endorse your "product."** Ask a scientist, a geologist, or any pertinent expert to help market your campaign. Maybe they will let you quote them or refer to them in an article or ad.
- **Develop a spokesperson.** Get people used to a recognizable, quotable, and believable spokesperson. If Joe Movie Star thinks saving the wilderness is a good idea and is vocal about it, his support might be enough to convince some people to back you. Who is a local hero in your city or town? Might he or she be willing to support your cause?
- **Use other products to sell wilderness.** Note the byproducts of protected wilderness, such as clean air, clean water, and pristine places to visit and enjoy.
- **Contrast real wilderness with fake wilderness.** Show how much better the real thing is than Disney or cyberspace, for example.

- **Take back your leaders' quotes.** Many companies that don't seem to have the best interests of wilderness in mind, such as ATV manufacturers, often cleverly use quotes of well-known wilderness advocates to sell their products. Use quotes (e.g., John Muir's) in a context that supports saving wilderness.
- **Make it funny.** People like humor. Make good-natured jokes about anti-wilderness initiatives. People also like the possibility of good times. Show people having fun in the wilderness.

Conclusion

The media give you a powerful and necessary tool for wilderness advocacy. Learn to be savvy, inventive, and creative with media. Be prepared to present yourself and your cause in a positive manner. Develop relationships with reporters and use your best lobbying skills to get them on your side. Track, save, and create a portfolio of your media pieces. Always be on the lookout for clever ways to market wilderness.

Biographies

Doug Scott, Friday Harbor, Washington

A summer job near the Cascade Mountains sparked Doug's interest in the park service. In 1966, Doug received a forestry degree from the University of Michigan and began working as a grassroots activist for The Wilderness Society (TWS) and the Sierra Club. From 1970 to 1973, Doug worked as a full-time lobbyist for TWS where he learned about grassroots-based legislative strategy from some of the greatest wilderness strategists. Doug's accomplishments include his role in the successful campaign to stop federal funding for supersonic transport, his work for the National Interest Lands Amendment to the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, and his contribution to the Eastern Wilderness Areas Act.

In 1973, Doug served as Northwest Representative for the Sierra Club where he helped develop the Endangered American Wilderness Act signed by President Carter.

From 1978 to 1980, Doug served as Lobbying Coordinator for the Alaska Coalition in the great drive for the Alaska National Interest Lands Act. From there, he was transferred to the Sierra Club headquarters in San Francisco for a decade of leadership roles in the Club's conservation staff. In 1990, Doug resigned as Associate Executive Director of the Sierra Club to move to San Juan Island. In 1991, Doug became Executive Director of the Friends of the San Juans, a local environmental advocacy group. He currently serves on the Conservation Committee of REI and on the board of People for Puget Sound.

Ernie Dickerman, Buffalo Gap, Virginia

Leaving Buffalo Gap at the age of 23, Ernie went to Knoxville where he took a position with the TVA. After 35 years, Ernie joined the Conservation Committee of the Smoky Mountains Hiking Club and became close friends with Wilderness Society founder Harvey Broome. In 1966, he joined the TWS staff where he helped successfully defeat the proposed highway through wilderness in the Great Smoky Mountains Park and urged citizens to protect lands under the new Wilderness Act of 1964.

In 1976, Ernie moved to a mountain farm near Buffalo Gap where he served as President of the Virginia Wilderness Committee (VWC). Ernie led the effort to pass the Virginia Wilderness Act in 1984, and he contributed to the success of several subsequent wilderness and conservation laws for the state. Today, Ernie is an active member of the VWC and is currently working on a proposal to protect and preserve numerous roadless areas. Ernie is recognized as a leading activist in Virginia in the effort to protect the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

Bart Koehler, Juneau, Alaska

Bart's career began in 1973 as an employee of The Wilderness Society (TWS) in Denver. In 1974, Bart became TWS's Wyoming field representative and directed the Wyoming Outdoor Council. For two years, Bart worked on several individual wilderness proposals, the Wyoming RARE II process, the Endangered American Wilderness Bill, and the Alaska Lands Act.

In 1980, Bart co-founded "Earth First!" with Dave Foreman and, simultaneously, continued to work with the Nevada and Wyoming Wilderness Associations. His accomplishments include spearheading the Wyoming Wilderness Act of 1984.

As Executive Director of the Southeast Alaska Conservation Council from 1984 to 1991, and from 1995 to present, Bart introduced and worked on the successful Tongass Timber Reform Act in 1990 and helped defend 17 bills by the Alaska delegation to roll it back. In addition, he has served as Associate Program Director for the Greater Yellowstone Coalition and worked on the Montana wilderness bill, the Gallatin Range Consolidation, and the Porcupine Valley LWCF purchase. In 1990, Bart received the Olaus Murie Award from the Alaska Conservation Fund for the defense of Alaska's wildlands.

Jay W. Nelson, Juneau, Alaska

Born and raised in Billings, Montana, Jay attended graduate school in Arizona and then moved to Alaska in 1973. From 1983 to 1984, Jay worked as the Director of the Alaska Environmental Lobby in Juneau. In 1987, he lobbied for the Southeast Alaska Conservation Council, and in 1994, he lobbied for the Alaska Marine Conservation Council on reauthorization of the Magnuson-Stevens Fisheries Conservation and Management Act. Jay has also helped the USFWS in Alaska with marine birds, whales, and sea otters and worked seasonally as a road engineer for the U.S. Forest Service in Oregon, Montana, and Alaska. His political work includes five years in the Alaska legislature as senior committee staff for the greenest chairman of the Alaska legislature.

Since 1994, Jay has worked as a special assistant in the Department of Fish and Game and is now the Governor's special assistant for fisheries and wildlife.

Russell Shay, Washington D.C.

The Sierra Club hired Russell in 1976 to edit a newsletter on off-road vehicles. At the same time, Russell began working on BLM planning and wilderness inventory in the California Desert and, in 1977, he went to Washington D.C. In 1979, Russell was named Public Lands Coordinator for Northern California where he was responsible for coordinating work on California RARE II wilderness legislation.

In 1985, Rep. John Seiberling (D-OH) hired Russell for the majority staff of the House Public Lands Subcommittee. Russell drafted numerous wilderness

bills and helped organize hearings, including work on below-cost timber sales. In 1987, Russell went to work for Rep. Gerry Studds (D-MA) as staff for the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. He was responsible for wildlife refuges and related matters. At that time, Russell acted as the point person for the successful fight against the development of Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

In 1988, Russell worked for Senator Timothy E. Wirth (D-CO) drafting wilderness legislation and changing the timber program in the Tongass National Forest. He led a successful Senate floor fight to stop development of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge; drafted, negotiated, and passed a Colorado Wilderness Bill with Senator Hank Brown (R-CO); and worked on numerous other environmental, energy, natural resources, pollution, and Indian affairs issues.

Russell's most recent accomplishment was helping The Greater Yellowstone Coalition win a \$60 million appropriation to purchase the New World Mine site.

Brooks B. Yeager, Wheaton, MD

Brooks has been involved in numerous conservation battles for over twenty years. Today, Brooks is the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Policy and International Affairs at the Interior Department. Before going into the Administration, Brooks ran the National Audubon Society's lobbying effort in Washington. During the Reagan Administration, he represented the Sierra Club on several energy and public lands issues.

Brooks accomplishments include fighting to protect the Bisti Badlands, stopping Watt's coal leasing program, blocking oil and gas development in the Yellowstone ecosystem, reforming the oil and gas leasing law to better protect roadless areas, stopping DOE from targeting Canyonlands for HLW disposal, instigating the restoration of the Everglades, and, helping to protect the coastal plain of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

He has also been involved in many non-wilderness efforts, including campaigns to strengthen the Endangered Species Act, to encourage international agreement to a climate convention, and to protect tigers and rhinos against the threat of extinction from poaching.

Maggie Fox, Boulder, Colorado

Maggie is a Senior Regional Representative, a 14 year regional representative veteran of Sierra Club Southwest Office, and a lawyer and policy analyst. She has worked closely on numerous wilderness bills that are now law in New Mexico (San Juan Wilderness Protection Act, El Malpais); in Arizona on both Forest Service and BLM bills; in Utah for its 5.7(+) Utah BLM wilderness effort; and in Colorado, for wilderness, wild, and scenic legislation (1993 Colorado Wilderness Act and the Cache La Poudre Wild and Scenic).

She has also lent her efforts to current proposals for a wilderness designation for Spanish Peaks, to an expanded bill for the Arapahoe-Roosevelt National

Forest, and to the Citizen's proposal for Colorado BLM wilderness. Maggie also consulted on Wyoming wilderness and several other proposed wild and scenic bills (a few of which are now law) and did general consulting on the water rights language and other technical aspects of several other western wilderness bills.

Maggie attended Northwestern School of Law, Lewis and Clark College, in Portland, Ore. While in law school, she worked for the Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission, the Native American Project of Oregon Legal Services Corp. and did a year long externship with the Native American Rights Fund in Boulder, Colorado. She also worked for the NWF's Rocky Mountain Legal Clinic at the University of Colorado, focusing on oil and gas leasing on USFS and BLM lands.

Patrick Higgins, Arcata, California

Patrick Higgins is a consulting fisheries biologist from Arcata, California, who specializes in salmon and steelhead restoration. Pat has written extensively about protection of northwestern California salmon stocks and has helped to craft numerous watershed restoration plans. He has given slide presentations to thousands of people on salmon conservation and has also produced an hour long documentary, *Last Chance for the Pacific Salmon*.

For the last four years, Pat has been helping to develop a comprehensive fish and water quality database and geographic information system (GIS) for the Klamath River Basin called the Klamath Resource Information System (KRIS). KRIS is a custom program developed for IBM-type computers that allows easy integration and access to data, charts, photographs, bibliographic resources and maps. KRIS is currently being distributed on CD and, since the program is custom-made, it requires no acquisition of software. The program is designed to be user update-able and users can easily cut and paste any charts, photos or map displays in KRIS into reports or letters.

Steve Kallick, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Steve received his law degree from Northwestern School of Law, Lewis and Clark College, 1983. He has done conservation work with Columbia River Intertribal Fish Commission in Portland between 1982 and 1983 and was SCLDF's special projects attorney from 1983 to 1985.

Between 1985 and 1990, Steve was a staff attorney for SEACC and was instrumental in the passage of the Tongass Timber Reform Act. Alaska State Legislature, staff counsel for House Labor and Commerce Committee, 1991-92 (worked on legislation to spend Exxon settlement funds to buy and protect endangered private timberlands)

Steve was the Alaska Rainforest Campaign, campaign director from 1993 to 1996, during which time he coordinated the campaign to end Tongass 50-year logging contracts, reform forest planning in Tongass. He also coordinated a successful defensive effort to stop 17 separate legislative proposals in the 104th Congress to increase logging in Tongass.

Presently, he is a program for the Pew Charitable Trusts.

Lenny Kobm, Boone, North Carolina

Lenny has photographed the Gwich'in people since 1986 while on a photo assignment to the village of Old Crow, Yukon Territory. The Gwich'in of northern Alaska, Yukon and the North West Territories were faced with the proposed oil development of the Arctic coastal plain in Alaska, the calving grounds for the caribou herd upon which their culture and their lives depended..

In 1987 he arrived back in California and visited Sierra Club headquarters with an offer to fight the Arctic drilling legislation by showing a slide show he had developed. Lenny began traveling and meeting folks, and has never stopped.

He has brought Gwich'in from Alaska and Canada to appear with him on the road show and to speak to representatives in Washington D.C.

Mike Matz, Salt Lake City, Utah

After graduating from Carleton in 1982 with a B.A. in History, Mike moved to Fairbanks, Alaska, where he volunteered with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, the Northern Alaska Environmental Center, and the Alaska Environmental Lobby in various capacities. His professional environmental career began in 1984 when the Northern Center hired him as associate director, and in 1986 the Sierra Club hired him as its associate field representative in its Anchorage office. In both jobs a major focus was implementation of the newly passed Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act.

After a year in Anchorage, the Sierra Club asked if Mike would be interested in a six-month stint in Washington, D.C., to lobby Congress against the drilling proposal. Eventually, the Sierra Club hired him as one of its Washington directors of public lands. In 1989, he succeeded Tim Mahoney as chair of the Alaska Coalition. In 1989-90, he worked to secure passage of the oil spill reform and contingency legislation in the wake of the Exxon Valdez disaster. In 1991, he worked to defeat energy legislation that would have opened the Arctic Refuge coastal plain to oil and gas leasing and development and in 1993 he and others formed the Alaska Wilderness League.

In September of 1993 he became executive director of the Southern Utah Wilderness Alliance, a position he holds today.

John McComb, Arlington, Virginia

John joined the Sierra Club in 1962. He was involved in conservation during the fight over dams in the Grand Canyon while a graduate student at the

University of Arizona. At that time, John was asked by David Brower to testify before the House Interior Committee, then chaired by Wayne Aspinall and Mo Udall

John was hired by the Sierra Club in late 1969 as their Southwest Field Representative. In 1977, he moved to Washington, D.C. to work for the Sierra Club primarily on public lands. John was deeply involved the FLPMA and the Alaska lands legislation. Eventually, John became Director of the Washington Office of the Sierra Club and later on Conservation Director.

John left the Sierra Club in 1986 to seek new challenges. He worked briefly for The Wilderness Society, and became a computer consultant with clients primarily in the environmental and political community. John worked for three years in Cambridge, England for the World Conservation Monitoring Centre, where he managed a project to produce a book of information, published in 1992, *Global Biodiversity - Status of the Earth's Living Resources*

Debbie Sease, Washington, D. C.

Debbie Sease is the Legislative Director for the Sierra Club, and is responsible for coordinating the Sierra Club's legislative and administrative campaigns and managing the 30 staff members in its Washington office. She has been a conservation professional in Washington, D.C. since 1978, and has been with the Sierra Club since 1980. Prior to being appointed Legislative Director, she directed the Sierra Club's public lands protection programs and coordinated their efforts on a variety of wilderness and park protection measures, including the decade-long campaign which led to enactment of the California Desert Protection Act in 1994.

Ms. Sease was involved in numerous other successful wilderness campaigns, including: San Juan Basin Wilderness Act, the El Malpais wilderness, national monument and conservation area in New Mexico, the Aravaipa national conservation area in Arizona, the Arizona Desert Wilderness Act the Arizona Strip Wilderness Act, the Nevada Wilderness Act, and additions to the Ventana Wilderness in California. Wild and Scenic River campaigns include: the Rio Grande in Texas, the Chama in New Mexico, the Merced in California.

Ms. Sease has also played a major role in ongoing campaigns to reform forestry, mining and grazing policies on public lands. Prior to coming to the Sierra Club, Ms. Sease worked for The Wilderness Society.

Ms. Sease grew up in New Mexico, and before moving to Washington, D.C., managed a nonprofit educational wilderness trip program in the Southwest. She served for six years on the board of directors of American Rivers, and currently serves on the board of directors of the League of Conservation Voters.

Suggested Reading

A Rage for Justice: The Passion and Politics of Phillip Burton, John Jacobs, University of California Press, 1995.

A Sand County Almanac, Aldo Leopold, Ballantine Books, 1991.

A Symbol of Wilderness: Echo Park and the American Conservation Movement, Mark W. T. Harvey, University of New Mexico Press, 1994.

Airships, Barry Hannah, Grove/Atlantic, 1994.

American Primitive, Mary Oliver, Little, Brown & Co. 1984.

Battle for the Wilderness, Michael Frome, University of Utah Press, 1997.

Congressional Procedures and the Policy Process, Walter J. Oleszek, CQ Press, 1996.

Coyotes and Town Dogs: Earth First! and the Environmental Movement, Susan Zakin, Viking, 1993.

Desert Solitaire, Edward Abbey, University of Arizona Press, 1988.

Enough is Enough: How to Organize a Successful Campaign for Change, Diane MacEachern, Avon Books, 1994.

Hardball, Chris Matthews, HarperCollins, 1989.

How You Can Influence Congress: The complete handbook for the citizen lobbyist, George Alderson and Everett Sentman, Dutton, 1979.

In Service of the Wild : Restoring and Reinhabiting Damaged Land, Stephanie Mills, Beacon Press, 1996.

Let the Mountains Talk, Let the Rivers Run: A Call to Those Who Would Save the Earth, David R. Brower, Steve Chapple, Harper San Francisco, 1996.

Milagro Beanfield War, John Treadwell Nichols, Ballantine Books, 1996.

Organizing for Social Change: A Manual for Activists in the 1990s Kim Bobo, Jackie Kendall, Steve Max, Kimberly A. Bobo, Jacquelyn A. Kendall, Seven Locks Press, 1996.

Overstory: Zero: Real Life in Timber Country, Robert Leo Heilman, Sasquatch Books, 1996.

Rachel Carson: Witness for Nature, Linda Lear, Henry Holt & Co., Inc. 1997.

Rules for Radicals, Saul Alinsky, Vintage Books, 1971.

The Abstract Wild, Jack Turner, University of Arizona Press, 1996.

The American Conservation Movement: John Muir and His Legacy, Stephen R. Fox, University of Wisconsin Press, 1986.

The Diversity of Life, Edward O. Wilson, W.W. Norton & Company, 1993.

The Politics of Wilderness Preservation, Craig W. Allin, Greenwood Publishing Group, 1982.

The Science of Conservation Planning: Habitat Conservation under the Endangered Species Act, Reed F. Noss, Michael H. O'Connell, and Dennis D. Murphy, Island Press, 1997.

The Wilderness Movement and the National Forests, Dennis M. Roth, Intaglio Press, 1995.

This is Dinosaur: Echo Park Country and its Magic River, Wallace Stegner, Roberts Rinehart, 1955.

Wilderness and the American Mind, Roderick Nash, Yale University Press, 1982.

Suggested Listening

Coyotes Sing All Night, Coyote Angel Band (Bart Koehler's songs for wild lands, wildlife, and the wild at heart), Coyote Raven Music, PO Box 21106, Juneau, AK, 99802-1106.

Wild Heart, Coyote Angel Band (Bart Koehler's songs for wild lands, wildlife, and the wild at heart), Coyote Raven Music, PO Box 21106, Juneau, AK, 99802-1106.