

PUTTING THE TOWN ON THE MAP: POWER STRUGGLE OVER
FRAC(K)ING IN THE CITY OF DENTON

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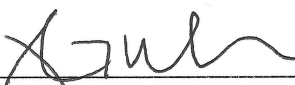
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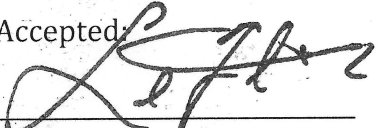

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DEDICATION

For my overachiever wife, Gonca Feyza Soyer, and my lovely children, Azra Sena and Melih Bera.

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ABSTRACT

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PUTTING THE TOWN ON THE MAP: POWER STRUGGLE OVER FRAC(K)ING IN THE CITY OF DENTON

DECEMBER 2015

The main focus in this study is to use the theoretical frameworks of value-conflict (Fuller and Myers 1941) and social construction of social problems (Best 1995) to scrutinize the power struggle of two groups (Frack Free Denton and Denton Tax Payers for a Strong Economy) over fracking in Denton. To be able to explain this phenomenon, I accumulated data from in-depth interviews, newspaper articles, letters to the editor, and campaign advertisements. Since the election resulted in a fracking ban in Denton, this dissertation assumes that the anti-fracking grassroots group reached out to the citizens to generate local consciousness of constructing fracking as a social problem. This study focused on the campaign of the two groups on each side of the debate. I examined the stages of awareness, policy determination, and reform (Fuller and Myers 1941) concerning fracking by observing “claims,” “claims-makers,” and “claims-making activities” as defined by Spector and Kitsuse (1977). Merging the theoretical frameworks of value-conflict and social construction of social problems helped to elucidate how each of these two groups have challenged the claims-making activities and goals of their adversaries.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the last decade, the natural gas industry has grown rapidly and North Texas has become a major shale gas-producing area. The Barnett Shale, located in North Texas, is one of the largest natural gas fields in the United States. However, the natural gas development in the region engenders controversies that are “filled with struggles over ‘facts’” (Gullion 2015:173). Supporters of hydraulic fracturing (fracking) focus on the economic growth that gas-drilling companies are able to produce. Meanwhile, opponents focus on concerns over the health and the environmental impact from fracking because of the use of large amounts of toxic chemicals in close proximity to homes, schools, towns and cities, and restaurants. (Earthworks 2011).

When the documentary *Gasland* first appeared in 2010, YouTube became replete with videos of people living in proximity to fracking operations lighting their water on fire. People questioned the safety of these operations and their videos captured the attention of landowners and environmentalists (Hargrove 2011). The story captured public attention and concern, and it became integrated into the community’s discourse on natural gas drilling.

We are living through images of the world around us that are generated by the media and that shape our understanding of politics and social problems (Gamson et al. 1992). Since access to first-hand public discourse for research is

likely to be minimal, through the analysis of media, we can analyze how grassroots groups try to inform and educate people about environmental threats such as the greenhouse effect, climate change, ozone layer depletion, water, and air pollution. Such efforts have an influence on the general public's understanding and attitude towards their environment (Shanahan et al. 1997).

During the election on November 4th 2014, Denton city voters banned fracking. Approximately 59 percent of voters supported the ordinance that read as follows: "Shall an ordinance be enacted prohibiting, within the corporate limits of the city of Denton, Texas, hydraulic fracturing, a well stimulation process involving the use of water, sand and/or chemical additives pumped under high pressure to fracture subsurface non-porous rock formations such as shale to improve the flow of natural gas, oil, or other hydrocarbons into the well, with subsequent high rate, extended flowback to expel fracture fluids and solids." ¹ The gas companies stopped the fracking in the city of Denton because of the ban. However, the fracking ban was overturned by legislation at Austin when it passed the House Bill 40 restricting the ability of cities to control the oil and gas industry. Subsequently, the gas companies have resumed to frack the wells in the city of Denton.

PURPOSE

The purpose of this dissertation is to use the theoretical frameworks of value-conflict (Fuller and Myers 1941) and social construction of social problems

¹ <http://www.cityofdenton.com/departments-services/general-election>

(Best 1995) to scrutinize the power struggle of two groups (Frack Free Denton and Denton Tax Payers for a Strong Economy) over fracking in Denton. To be able to explain this phenomenon, I accumulated data from in-depth interviews, newspaper articles, letters to the editor, and campaign advertisements. Since the election resulted in a fracking ban in Denton, this dissertation assumes that the anti-fracking grassroots group reached out to the citizens to generate local consciousness of constructing fracking as a social problem. This study focused on the campaign of the two groups on each side of the debate. I examined the stages of awareness, policy determination, and reform (as indicated by Fuller and Myers 1941) concerning fracking by observing “claims,” “claims-makers,” and “claims-making activities” as defined by Spector and Kitsuse (1977). Merging the theoretical framework of value-conflict and social construction of social problems helped to elucidate how each of these two groups have challenged the claims-making activities and goals of their adversaries.

The central questions this research attempts to address are:

1. What role did the local newspaper (Denton Record Chronicle) play in the power-struggle between the groups Frack Free Denton and Denton Tax Payers For Strong Economy over fracking?
2. How did campaign advocates from Frack Free Denton and Denton Tax Payers For Strong Economy construct the issue of fracking?
3. How did each of these groups challenge the claims-making activities and goals of their adversaries?

RATIONALE

The Barnett Shale in North Texas is one of the largest natural gas fields in the United States. Since Denton County is one of the “core counties” (Denton, Wise, Tarrant, and Johnson) with active natural gas drilling², the fracking industry has come under greater scrutiny in this region.

This study focused on the debates surrounding environmental and public health concerns and the economic benefits of fracking in the city of Denton, Texas. This study contributes to a better understanding of the role of local newspapers in the power-struggle between grassroots groups. This dissertation studied local media’s coverage and the discourse that claims-making groups generate to influence public opinion about an emerging social problem of gas drilling in the region. The integrated model of the theoretical framework to analyze the power struggle between two contending groups contributes to the social movement literature. The research addressed political debates weighing economic advantage against public health, for which advocates and citizens alike turn to local news media and the City Hall.

SOCIAL CONTEXT

I focus on the interaction of two claims-making groups on the issue of fracking in Denton. There are two opponent groups fighting over fracking. They are Frack Free Denton and Denton Tax Payers for a Strong Economy.

² <http://www.rrc.state.tx.us/barnettshale/index.php>

Frack Free Denton

The Denton Drilling Awareness Group chose the title Frack Free Denton for its campaign. The Denton Drilling Awareness Group (Denton DAG) is a non-profit organization of citizens who are dedicated to informing the community about the potential threats of fracking on public health, the environment, and real estate values in the city of Denton. Moreover, this grassroots group introduced a residents' petition to ban hydraulic fracturing within the Denton city limits until the drilling has been proven harmless for environment and public health. The Denton Drilling Awareness Group (DAG) is incorporated as a non-profit educational group acknowledged by the State of Texas.

Denton Tax Payers for a Strong Economy

Denton Tax Payers is a pro-drilling interest group, collecting more than 8,000 signatures in Denton city supporting "responsible" local regulation instead of an "arbitrary and unconstitutional fracking ban." This interest group supports fracking in order to stimulate the economic development in the city of Denton. They support property owner and mineral owner rights. Moreover, they assert that they protect taxpayers from future estate tax increases due to the fracking ban.

OVERVIEW

This dissertation consists of five chapters. Chapter 1 includes the introduction, the purpose of the study, and rationale. Chapter 2 reviews literature regarding theory, news media, and fracking. Chapter 3 describes the data, methods,

data collection, and data analysis. Chapter 4 discusses the findings, and addresses the research questions. Chapter 5 summarizes the results, limitations, theoretical and policy implications, and offers suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The first part of this chapter will examine an in-depth explanation of objective and subjective sociology of a social problem. The second part will discuss value conflict theory and social construction theories, which are in the area of sociology of social problems. These theories constitute the theoretical framework for this study. I synthesize theories for this research. Finally, I review the literature related to the news media. The chapter concludes with a discussion of hydraulic fracturing (a.k.a. fracking).

In order to understand the reason the fracking controversy is “filled with struggles over ‘facts’” (Gullion 2015:173), the objective and subjective perspectives in the sociology of social problems need to be distinguished.

OBJECTIVE VERSUS SUBJECTIVE SOCIOLOGY OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Social problems have been defined by (Bassis et al. 1982) as specific social conditions that cause harm to the society as a whole or directly to the individuals in it. This definition uses “objective” criteria to evaluate individual social cases as genuine social problems based on their potential or actual harm to society and individuals.

There are two problems with objectivist definitions. First, they tend to obscure the potential subjective aspects of social problems. For example, the majority of scientists have a consensus regarding the destructive role of certain manufactured chemicals in corroding the ozone layer, which in turn directly contributes to a rise of skin cancer incidents, agriculture crop damage, and other undesirable consequences. Thus, at first glance, this phenomenon might easily be classified as a social problem under objectivist terms. However, this consensus first had to be reached by scientists in the past through socio-cultural consensus-making processes. Scientists had to first discover ozone depletion and its causes, then convince their colleagues and the general public of the seriousness of the problem. In addition, this process had to be carried out while the chemical industry fought to deny such claims, and politicians and the press had their own incentives to bring the issue to the public attention. All of the above indicate the subjective aspect of social problems. In the hypothetical cases where scientists did not succeed in making such discoveries, or politicians and the press did not push to bring these factors in to the public light, ozone depletion might not have been recognized as an official and objective issue. However, this lack of objective recognition would not have altered the objective truth about its severe side effects, such as skin cancer, etc., continuing to occur on an increasing scale (Bassis et al. 1982).

The second flaw of using objectivist definitions is in determining what objective criteria to use in this defining process. Even in the case that a consensus is

reached regarding what issues are considered as actual social problems, it is unlikely that another consensus will be reached regarding the criteria used to define their objectivity. Aside from the general fact that they all have negative effects on society, it is quite a difficult task to generate other underlying causes and criteria that can be considered objective and universal (Bassis et al. 1982).

Due to such evident limitations of the objectivist approach, some sociologists have turned to developing subjective approaches to classify social problems. Spector and Kitsuse (1977) have identified this theory, sometimes called the subjectivist approach, as social constructionism. Social constructionism is based on the belief that social problems are produced or 'constructed' in the eyes of society and individuals via exposure and participation in social activities. For constructionism, it is not the mere existence of an issue, but rather its induction into social life through media coverage, public demonstrations, and legal discussions in courts and political bodies that 'constructs' and establishes it as a social problem. The key event in this process is the contending groups' activities. This is what Spector and Kitsuse (1977) call claims-making.

Objective sociologists consider issues as social problems based on their effects, whereas constructionists consider their classification based on their claims-making and how concretely they are recognized by society as social problems. Objectivists recognize that subjectivity and recognition of social conditions is a relevant factor, but do not take them into consideration in classifying the conditions

as social problems or not. For objectivists, the focus is on the conditions and the adverse byproducts of a social problem. On the contrary, subjectivists do not put emphasis on the conditions themselves, but rather focus on how well society recognizes these conditions and how well it accepts them as reasons for concern.

This difference in defining social problems does not imply that constructionists are concerned regarding society's well being. The difference in definition applies to the methodology in analyzing social problems and their construction. Constructionists will focus on the claims-making aspects and attempt to analyze how social conditions lying beneath the problems are constructed into recognized issues for society.

VALUES-CONFLICT THEORY

Richard Fuller and Richard Myers declared "every social problem has a natural history and that the natural history approach is a promising conceptual framework within which to study specific social problems" (1941:320). This perspective has been adopted in a number of the subsequent studies of social problems. Nancy M. Henley in her book, *Women as a Social Problem*, uses this perspective for "the definition and redefinition of social issues, with special attention to women's relation to them, and to women as social problems themselves" (Henley 1986:65). Derek Linton (1991) applies the natural history of the social problems to examine the 1900s when young workers were considered as an official social problem in the Imperial Germany. Janice Irvine (2006) defines the

moral social problems from the perspective of the natural history of the social problems. She explores the way in which “national organizations of religious conservatives shaped local debates through specific discursive strategies that have influenced not only how citizens thought but also how they felt about sex education” (83). Mahmood Shahabi (2007) examines the natural history of the arguments and rules concerning the private use of video tapes and the operation of video clubs in Iran. He elaborates on politico-cultural climate that affected these concerns and influenced policymaking in this regard. Focusing on the natural history of a social problem, one study examined “how knowledge of power and an analyst’s normative view of power affect a public policy analysis” (Clemons and McBeth 2009:4) while analyzing the transformation of “gay disease”. Another study focused on the natural history of school shooting. The authors indicated “the development of the perception of school shootings as a social problem is accompanied by an increase in public discourse about the problem” (Heitmeyer et al 2014:353), another study, Christina Julios (2015) utilized the notion of natural history of a social problems to examine the way in which ‘honor’ killing has become the center of the UK government’s policy agenda. In her study, the claims-making activities of the grassroots groups helped the government shape the policy about the ‘honor’ violence. This perspective has not been without its critics. Edwin Lemert (1951:217) stated that Fuller and Myers “made no effort to test their formulation but rather sought to sustain it by way of illustration with empirical data gathered

by graduate students on the rise of and public reaction to trailer camps in the city of Detroit.”

Fuller and Myers identified developmental stages of a social problem which will be discussed on in the following parts of this chapter. However, first, it is necessary to explain how certain conditions become social problems.

Fuller and Myers (1941) presented four propositions to explain the natural history of social problems. The first proposition is that social problems are viewed as a deviation from the norm. The society considers the deviation as a threat; therefore, deviation does have an objective condition and a subjective definition. From this point of view, objective conditions do not constitute social problems. An objective condition is a verifiable situation that can be measurable and observable by experts. For example, air pollution is a verifiable situation and can be measured and reported to the public. However, different groups in the society construct the reasons for the consequences of air pollution differently. The subjective definition is based on the awareness of a condition as a threat to societal norms. Therefore, different societal phenomena can give different meanings to the deviations and define them accordingly.

The second proposition emphasizes the fact that the existence of an objective condition is not sufficient for phenomena to become a social problem. If the people in the society do not define a condition as a problem, it will not be treated as a social problem. This is because social problems are what people consider them to be. The

conditions can be a problem for others in the society, but not necessarily for this specific group as long as they do not define the condition as a problem. For example, air pollution can be stated as a social problem for some specific environmental groups in a specific area, but the society in that specific area may not define the condition as a social problem. Once the society is convinced that the condition exists, it becomes a social problem. Overall, the objective condition holds importance in terms of defining a social problem, but this is not sufficient if subjective definitions are not in play (Fuller and Myers 1941).

The third proposition states that cultural values have a direct causal relationship to the social problem development through the objective condition. As a society meets on a common ground when it comes to cultural values and beliefs, individuals are able to maintain social institutions and order (Fuller and Myers 1941).

The fourth proposition builds on the sustainability of cultural values and beliefs. Fuller and Myers (1941) state that cultural values can turn into obstacles every now and then. The idea behind this reasoning is that since society is focused on sustaining these values and beliefs, any deviation from the norm is a potential threat to the social institution. Therefore, individuals become reluctant to declare any amelioration to the situation. In such cases, the solution will be considered as a violation of the mores, and abandonment of beliefs. As a result, the cultural values become an obstacle in the phase of transformation.

Dual conflict of values follows the previous proposition. Dual conflict arises when one party considers the condition as a threat and the other party doesn't. The discrepancy results from the opposing beliefs of the parties involved. There are two different versions of the dual conflict. The first one occurs when the disagreement is over the deviation from fundamental values, and the second one happens when there is an agreement over the existence of the threat but the ways to resolve the issue are in dispute. Therefore, social problems exist and are sustained so long as the individuals do not share the same values and beliefs (Fuller and Myers 1941).

Finally, in the field of sociology, we do not study the objective condition alone, but also subjective definitions. A condition can exist in a society in which different parties may have different values, different definitions and different solutions to the condition. Therefore, value judgments of the involved people become a key part of the development of a social problem.

Fuller and Myers (1941) propose this framework as a useful tool to study social problems. They also refer to the “natural history” of the rise of the social problem. The framework underlines the shared characteristics of all social problems. Built on the aforementioned propositions, all social problems go through a common sequence: the awareness stage, the policy determination stage, and the reform stage. Each stage will be discussed in greater detail.

THE STAGES OF NATURAL HISTORY OF A SOCIAL PROBLEM

Awareness

The core of the awareness stage is problem-consciousness: the emergence of awareness of an unofficial and undefined social problem. The origin of every social problem dwells in “the awakening of people in a given locality to a realization that certain cherished values are threatened by conditions that have become acute” (Fuller and Myers 1941:322). The very first spark of awareness is hard to capture; however, as individuals come together for shared values and interests, awareness towards the condition arises. These members of society express their concerns in a measurable and observable form to inform others in the society. The message is, “something should be done.” However, there is no exact definition of the condition or a solution to the problem. Therefore, the individuals engage in unsynchronized random behaviors and are in a state of protest. The next move of these individuals or groups is to create common value or interest groups. These groups seek to raise consciousness about the potential threat to common values. Official complaints to press and civic authorities take place in order to gain attention to the social problem and move onto the next stage of social problem development (Fuller and Myers 1941).

Policy Determination

The policy determination stage starts when the debate over policy implications causes a conflict of interest. At this stage, opposing grassroots groups

are constructed and each one takes action to reach out and create broader awareness from institutions such as health organizations, police departments, universities, and media. For policy determination, both broad questions as to ends and narrow questions to means are taken into consideration. Each group is now focused on “what should be done” and proposes their own solution to the social problem.

This stage consists of three interrelated levels (Fuller and Myers 1941). The first level is discussion by neighbors and other concerned individuals but in unorganized groups. The second level is discussion by interest groups and grassroots groups such as environmental groups, taxpayers, parent-teacher associations, women’s clubs, and men’s clubs. Finally, there is discussion among specialists and administrators in government or quasi-governmental units –the police departments, health officials, city council, social workers, and school boards. Therefore, these three interrelated stages characterize the dynamics of policy determination (Fuller and Myers 1941). The unique characteristic of this stage is that the protests are now multisided, organized and concentrated. Focus is given to the specific programs that are collaboratively created by grassroots groups.

Reform

The last phase of the natural history of a social problem is reform. In the previous phase, the policy plan is developed and became the action plan. Now, the action is under the administrators’ responsibility. The action has two sides though;

one is the public stage and the second one is the private stage. Since action is exercised to protect the shared values of one or more parties, general policies of the specific social problem have been discussed and described by interest groups and experts. In addition, there is still a probability of complicated legal issues to be cleared out before the action can be applied (Fuller and Myers 1941).

In this phase, policy inquiries may be “taken out of the hands of the administrators whenever the general public exercises its powers of censorship, veto or referendum” (Fuller and Myers 1941:326). The emphasis is on the fact that “this and that are being done.” Institutionalization of the social problem makes this stage unique. Now that the policies are initiated by authorized policy enforcement agencies, the public agencies may prove to be sufficient or new agencies can be necessary in the face of another social problem.

Fuller and Myers (1941) point out that, theoretically speaking, each stage marks itself off of its predecessor. However, it doesn't mean that the stages cannot coexist. The stages are not mutually exclusive; therefore, the development of the social problem can contain characteristics of each stage at any specific time.

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION THEORY

The social construction of social problems is a complementary theoretical framework that explains how social phenomena are depicted as social problems through claims-making activities. In the 1970s, Spector and Kitsuse (1977:75) were the first sociologists to define social problems as “the activities of individuals or

groups making assertions of grievances and claims with respect to some putative conditions". The social constructionist perspective has been adopted in several studies. The social constructionist perspective considers social problems without regard to their physical properties. Social problems are understood as "the definitional activities of people around conditions and conduct they find troublesome, including others' definitional activities" (Schneider 1985:209). From a sociological perspective, people make claims about "alleged conditions." For example, feminist movements made substantial changes in the construction of rape as a social problem (Plummer 1995). The grassroots groups and social movements engaged in a power struggle for the ownership of the social problem and the power to coin the terminology that determines its public importance (Reinarman 1988). That is, many individuals or groups construct claims and counter-claims to compete for the social problem status (Loseke 1999). In addition, Joel Best (2012) uses the social constructionist approach to explicate the differences in the construction of the immigration dispute in the mass media in the United States and in France. Therefore, social problems are generated through claims-making activities (Best 1995). The claims-makers construct the social problem (claim) through claims-making activities that aim at shaping the public perception. Best (1995) describes social problems as "emerging through the efforts of claims-makers who bring issues to public attention. By typifying a problem and characterizing it as a particular sort, claims-makers can shape policymaking and public response to the problem."

Therefore, social constructionism requires focusing on the claims, the claims-makers, and the claims-making process.

Constructionism claims that society's perceptions of social problems are social constructs. However, the role of claims-making in creating these social constructs goes beyond just raising awareness about that social problem. Claims-makers go as far as to influence society's perception of what the problem actually is. Any social condition has a potential to be a social problem, and thus can be the subject matter of claims-making. How the claims-makers go about doing that will define society's perceptions, whether it is through their choices of which aspects of the issue they will focus on or even how they chose to name the problem. This process of characterizing and classifying a social problem by the claims-maker is known as typification (Best 1995). A significant example of typification is the claims-maker choosing the orientation of approach to the social problem. By giving an orientation, the claims-maker suggests that the social problem be considered a certain type of problem, such as an economic, political, or moral problem. Thus, different orientations put different spins on social problems, leading to various interpretations of the issue along with its suggested root causes and potential solutions (Best 1995).

Claims-makers can target different audiences with different goals. Claims-making can be tailored to raise public awareness, target smaller groups that are being directly affected, aim to dissuade the ones responsible for the problem, or

possibly influence the lawmakers or other points of authority and regulation. This can be carried out through various methods such as direct communication.

However, more effective and wide-reaching modes of communication, such as mass and social media, are preferred. In cases where they see fit, the press will also propagate the claims-makings and assist with the construction of social problems (Best 1995).

At its core, claims-making is an attempt at persuasion. Claims-makers aim to convince their audience that their topic at hand is an actual social problem and/or that the problem should be solved through his proposed solutions. Thus, the success of the claims-maker is measured by whether his audience was convinced by his claims. Furthermore, analyzing these claims through regular rhetorical methods can give insight into their legitimacy and typifying effects. In cases when social problems are still very much open to debate, there can be multiple claims-making cases for the same problem that compete with each other to gain legitimacy. This is expected since there can potentially be numerous varying typifications for the same social problem. Audiences will usually disregard most claims in such cases of ambiguity until certain claim gains dominance through a persuasive typification of the problem (Best 1995).

NEWS MEDIA

The news media is a significant arena of claims-makers for “power struggles.” In this project, the battle was between pro-drillers pointing at the economic

advantages of drilling and anti-drillers pointing at environmental health concerns. While gas drilling companies have economic power, their media-source relations do not always determine what the media coverage is about natural gas development, particularly at a time when varying political and economic groups, as well as NGOs, have their own agendas, and lobby their own perspectives as the most legitimate and immediate concern (MacDonald 2003). The news coverage is a highly selective account of events. News coverage is a version of social reality constructed mainly by journalistic or editorial norms and conventions. Moreover, journalists are influenced by pressure groups that have a vested interest in the subject matter or the newspaper (Dispensa and Brulle 2003).

Media industries “collect information, make decisions about the selection and presentation of ‘programs’ and to a certain extent control the entry of topics, contributions, and authors into the mass-media dominated public sphere” (Habermas 1996:376). Media is an important source of environmental knowledge for individuals (Pompper 2004). In addition, media has the potential to inform individuals regarding environmental issues and supplements their knowledge about it (Smith 2002). Therefore, the grassroots groups see media as a venue to reach out to the public.

Local newspapers play a more dynamic role in the civic life of local communities than many Americans believe. In this survey, local newspapers were mentioned as the most relied-upon source for information concerning local crime,

taxes, government activities, schools, politics, job opportunities, community events, arts events, zoning information, social services, and real estate among all adults. Consequently, local newspapers continue to be key information sources to mobilize public opinion (Rosenstiel et al. 2011). Moreover, local residents trust local newspaper over the assertions of the government and corporations (Riffe and Knight 2002). However, one study suggested that local newspaper in small city may hesitate to cover local environmental problems due to economic interest dependency (Dunwoody 1992).

Everyday reporters go through the same routine to decide which news to cover. The story should be publicly recognized as significant and interesting. After assessing the reports, the editorial staff accept only 25 % of the information and report they receive as potentially newsworthy. (Dispensa and Brulle 2003). The grassroots group needs to work hard in their claims-making activities in order to get the reporter's attention and to be admitted by the editorial staff into the status of newsworthy events.

If the news media focuses on a particular issue, it will become more visible to the general public (McCombs et al. 1997). Accordingly, claims-makers are wont to capture the attention of the media outlets through their claims-making activities. The claims-makers need to generate newsworthy events so that the media covers the event as an important and interesting issue for the public. Anders Hansen (2002) argued that media help shape the controversy and understanding of

environmental problems. The grassroots groups utilized the media in order to reach out to the citizens. The media is where many social groups, movements, organizations, institutions, and ideologies struggle over the construction of social reality (Gurevitch and Levy 1985). Therefore, it is safe to say that the local news media are an important venue for grassroots groups to influence the public discourse about the possible impact of natural gas development.

FRACKING

The focus of this study is on how grassroots groups engage in power struggles over fracking. A review concerning the fracking controversy will be helpful to understand how these grassroots groups (gas drilling companies, environmental entities, etc.) are grounded on their side of the controversy.

To be able to grasp the fracking debate, the procedure of fracking needs to be understood. Fracking (hydraulic fracturing) is one way of extracting natural gas from shale rock. Natural gas development involves “clearing land for well pads; construction of access roads and ancillary infrastructure (e.g., pipelines, compressor stations); transporting and processing fossil fuels extracted; transporting millions of gallons of water and wastewater for treatment/disposal; and bringing large (and often transient) populations to a community” (Boudet et al. 2014:2).

One study indicates that the fracking process contaminates water sources and that the proximity of the drilling to the living areas results in public health and environmental problems. The author acknowledges the role of the grassroots

claims-making activities in bringing attention to this issue (Carre 2012). Another article concludes that: “the image of fracking as green, inevitable, and necessary is fictitious. Fracking is itself a form of ecological warfare. It is the epitome of violence against nature, which includes all of us” (Russel 2013:552). Previous literature about communities’ perceptions on natural gas development is focused on the negative environmental and health impacts of fracking (Theodori 2009). David and Fisk (2014:1) found that “the opposition to fracking and support for current or increased levels of regulation are strongly related to Democratic Party identification and to pro-environmental policy attitudes.”

One study about the public perception concerning fracking at United Kingdom has argued that local opponent groups were well-mobilized and effectively utilized communication technologies and social media. The authors of this study also found out that the public relations and media outlets had a key role to play in achieving the contending groups (Jones, Hillier, and Comfort 2013)

Braiser et al. (2011) found out that wealth creation, job creation, increased business activity, and tax revenue are the four positive local economic impacts of natural gas drilling. Yet, they also underline that residents experience community dissatisfaction and feelings of alienation (Braiser et al. 2011). In the case of fracking in Denton, the issue is constructed as a community-level health threat, which is characterized as follows:

There is a flurry of discursive practice after the identification of the object of harm. The response from governmental officials is either minimal or

confusing. Perceptions of the event vary, and risky is disputed. Grassroots activity responds to the threat in some manner. Talismans are used to help mitigate the risk (Gullion 2015:175).

Some sources focus on the impacts of environmental health problems from fracking. As reported by a Health Impact Assessment (HIA) in Colorado, there are eight environment-related health issues. These are air emissions, water contamination, truck traffic, noise and light pollution, accidents and malfunctions, strain on health care systems, psychosocial stress associated with community changes, and housing value depression (Witter et al. 2013). Moreover, some studies emphasized the possible air and water pollution impacts of gas drilling (Gullion et al. 2012; Rabe and Borick 2011). In this report, residents in Flower Mound, TX expressed their concerns that benzene contamination in the air as a result of fracking was causing cancer. As a response to increased public discontent, the Texas Department of State Health Services (DSHS) conducted an investigation on the incidence of cancer in Flower Mound, a city in North Texas with a significant amount of urban natural gas drilling. Although DSHS found higher levels of breast cancer than expected in the region, the officials declared that it is because of population growth in Flower Mound, not necessarily from fracking (DSHS 2010). These explanations from officials contributed to mistrust between the community and the officials.

In the case of fracking in Denton, the first place to experience the controversy about fracking was Robson Ranch area, called an active adult luxury retirement

community. Interestingly, gas companies built social facilities to attract people of the neighborhood. Most of the drilling was taking place in the western parts of the city of Denton that were still rural and sparsely populated. However, even here some residents from the neighborhood along with dozens of doctors from the hospital in the vicinity of the drilling sites signed a petition declaring their objection to the project (Briggle 2015).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this project, I merge the theoretical frameworks of value-conflict theory (Fuller and Myers 1941) and social construction of social problems (Best 1995). Merging the theoretical frameworks of value-conflict and social construction of social problems suggests that it is necessary to analyze the stages of awareness, policy determination, and reform concerning fracking by observing their claims, claims-makers, and claims-making activities.

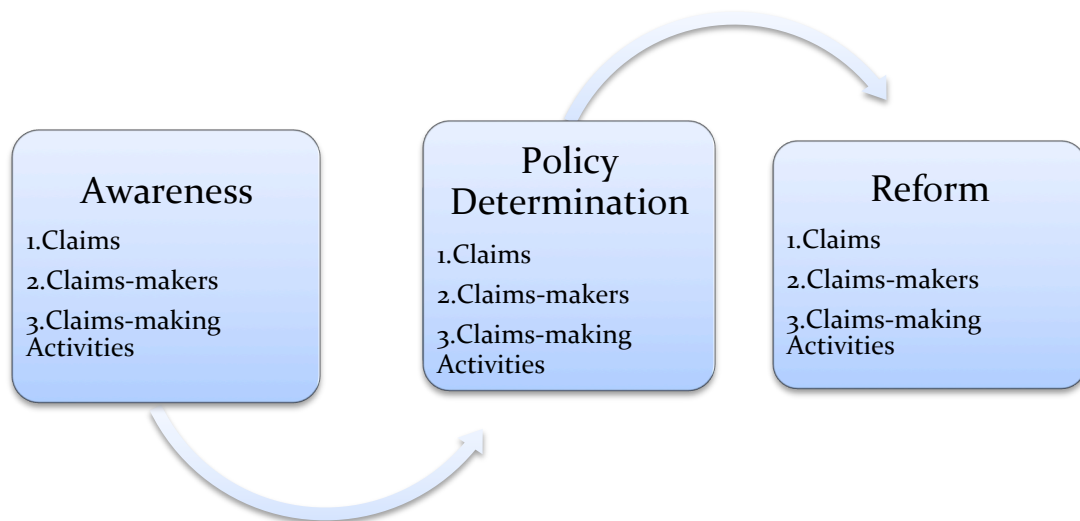


Figure 1: Integrated Theoretical Framework

In this theoretical framework, there are transitory stages in the natural history of a social problem. Transitory stages are not pre-determined. In other words, there are no guarantees that a social problem will move from the first to the second, or from the second to the third stage. It will if the parties can mobilize enough resources to push the process to the next stage. Therefore, the continuation of the process is contingent upon the longevity of the power of claims-makers. This process can be cyclical as well. In other words, the reform stage is ridden with objective possibilities for the next round of the three-stage process. The following model merges the value conflict and social construction models.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The first part of this chapter describes the data. The second part explains the sampling. The third part discusses the data collection. The fourth part describes the data analysis.

DATA

I accumulated data from in-depth interviews, newspaper articles, letters to the editor, and campaign advertisements. The newspaper data were derived from the NewsBank database through the Texas Woman's University library with a focus on specifically on the Denton Record Chronicle with a base of 318,400 weekly readers.³ This newspaper was chosen because of its large readership and local influence. For this research, the news coverage, letters to the editor, and campaign advertisements between the years 2013-2015 were gathered. The reason for choosing the period from 2013-2015 as the time frame is due to the increased frequency of news coverage, letters to the editor, and advertisements. The time frame for data collection is from the time grassroots groups started to make claims on DRC for claims-making activities and continues until the legal process is concluded.

³ 2013 Release 1 Scarborough Report. Copyright 2013. Scarbrough Research.

I conducted interviews with campaign advocates from Frack Free Denton (10) and Denton Tax Payers For A Strong Economy (10). I interviewed 20 individuals from these groups. The data collection continued until the researcher reached saturation. Interviews were held during the month of April 2015. The interviews are in-depth and semi-structured. The interviews were audio-recorded and lasted approximately an hour each.

SAMPLING

I selected the news coverage, letters to the editor, and campaign advertisements between the years 2013-2015 for the sample which included a mixture of various interests groups' voices (i.e. purposive sampling). The data were copied into Microsoft Word, organized, and printed out for analysis. Interview participants were recruited through word of mouth and social media networking sites such as Facebook. I then used snowball sampling to identify other possible participants. Snowball sampling "begins with one or a few people or cases and spreads out on the basis of links to the initial cases" (Neuman 2006:223). At the conclusion of the interviews, I asked if the participants knew of other individuals who might be interested in taking part in the study, and if so, I asked them to forward my contact information to those individuals. I contacted each potential participant either by phone or by email.

DATA COLLECTION

Protocols for interview data collection were approved by the TWU IRB (See Appendix A). Interview participants were recruited through word of mouth alongside social media platforms, e.g. Facebook. Additional targets were also identified through snowball sampling. I introduced myself to the potential participants and informed them about the project using uniform scripts. If the interview was face-to-face, the interviewee was provided with informational sheet. If the participant agreed to the terms of the interview, an interview was scheduled, either at that time or at a later date, depending on the availability and convenience of the interviewee.

In addition to the time, a location for the interview was also agreed upon after the individual agreed to participate. Interviews were held in public spaces, e.g. local coffee shops, at the convenience of the participant. Privacy issues were also addressed in order to ensure the participants' confidentiality was maintained. No follow-ups were conducted. Before the interview, the participant was given two copies of the consent letter to read and sign. The participant was asked whether the participant had any questions. One copy of the consent letter was given to the interviewee for his/her records. The participant was also asked for his/her consent for the audio recording of the interview. The audio recorder was placed between the interviewee and the interviewer, and the interview was recorded. After the interviews, the principal researcher reiterated that the consent information had been reviewed by both of us and that he/she has agreed to be recorded. At the end of the interview, the

interviewees were asked whether they had any questions. All their concerns and questions were addressed and they were thanked for their time. Back in the office, the audio recordings were sent to private company to transcribe and subsequently erased from the recorder. All the relevant data were then deleted and purged from the computer.

The recordings and the audio recorder were accessible only to the PI, research advisor, and the advisory committee. The advisory committee and the research advisor were granted access for the purpose of assisting the PI in transcription.

DATA ANALYSIS

This study involves qualitative research using interviews for exploratory research and media content for content analysis to ensure accuracy in the data analysis. Content analysis (Krippendorff 2012), focused on how claims are delivered, and with what intended or actual effects. I scrutinized news coverage, letters to the editor, and campaign advertisements. As the theoretical framework suggested, news media data were analyzed through claims-making statements, the coverage of each text was coded through identifying the claims, the claims-makers, and the claims-making activities.

In the second phase of data analysis, the audio recordings of the interviews were transcribed. I coded all collected data into the three main categories. However, the constant comparison of data enlarged the focus of the analysis. Coding started with open coding in order to code data according to preliminary characteristics.

Axial coding followed the open coding by selecting key concepts leading to the research topic. Selective coding (see Appendix B) completed the coding. Mapping (see Appendix B), as a third stage of the analysis of the organized data, helped the researcher see all collected data in a logical order (Strauss and Corbin 1998).

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The findings represent an exploration of how anti-fracking and pro-fracking groups engaged in a power struggle over fracking in Denton, TX. The findings should contribute to filling part of the gap in information on the propaganda activities of two rival groups as claims-makers. In addition, the findings contribute to the general body of literature in environmental and media sociology. The major claims are identified with the analyses of the in-depth interviews, which explored the claims of each group in greater detail. The major claims are discussed through the stages of awareness, policy determination, and reform. Then, I discuss how each group as claim-makers engages in claims-making activities in alignment with the stages of awareness, policy determination, and reform. Moreover, the advertisements, letters to the editor, and newspaper coverage of Denton Record Chronicle are analyzed to show how the local newspaper become the field of power-struggle of grassroots groups (Frack Free Denton and Denton Tax Payers For Strong Economy) over fracking. In the following part of the chapter, the specific findings for each question will be presented and discussed in relation to the merged model.

RESEARCH QUESTION ONE: HOW DID CAMPAIGN ADVOCATES FROM FRACK FREE DENTON AND DENTON TAX PAYERS FOR STRONG ECONOMY CONSTRUCT FRACKING IN GENERAL?

Due to the integrated theoretical framework, the question generates multiple major claims. Some claims have several further underlying claims. Therefore, I will present each one of them with examples from the interviews. Both groups engage in power struggle through constructing their own claims. The interview transcripts associated with the first research question highlighted the 12 major claims. One of the major claims has two minor claims. Another major claim has five minor claims. The other major claim holds five minor claims. The major claims are as follows.

Property Rights or Human Rights

Both groups construct fracking from a human rights and property rights point of view. According to the interviews with FFD members, fracking is against human rights. The FFD group states that to frack within city limits will harmfully affect local citizens.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 6: Well, it was personal. I just wanted to be able to breathe. And that combined with, "I love this town." I really love this town. The culture here has been so welcoming as an artist. And so, the thing that kind of tip me over, though and when I really felt like something has to be done. This is a human rights issue is--when I saw the neighborhood...I saw this heavy industry in a neighborhood and they saw children on tricycles that were covered in the silica dust that blows after the frack wells. And I saw them outside playing with these fumes going to the neighborhood. I just thought, "This is a human right issue. This is horrible, and that's a property rights issue." These people has spent all of their money on this new homes,

only to watch their values be depleted and their children have nosebleeds and asthma.

On the other side, the DTPSE group states individual and property rights are guaranteed by the Constitution. To ban fracking in city limits is therefore illegal.

Interviewees also declared that they are fighting to protect their property and mineral rights.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 13: we feel very strongly that we could and we feel like that there is ban just took our property from us, just robbed us because we own the minerals here. It's no different that you own the surface or you own your car, or your home, it is something that we own. Just because we are in the minority, surface owners versus mineral owners that did not mean that the majority can just take that from us, we still have property rights. To me it is a property rights issue, if we are going to have that kind of mentality then, should we just apply that to everything?

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 1 states [Only] 2% of the residents who live in Denton are mineral owners." This claim is making sure that there are not many local mineral owners if fracking is banned in city limits. However, PRO-FRACK: CASE 13 states, "You can take their property because they do not live here? That is not right. You cannot take something somebody else owned because they do not live here. It did not matter who owns it, its somebody else's property."

Here are some more examples from the interviews in terms of constitutional rights of individuals.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 10: ...in Texas personal right, personal freedom; personal rights are a big deal, so that really was a point I tried to drive home. And I would tell people "This is not a party line vote, we all own our property, we all have a right to having a healthy environment. And we all have a right to have people not doing this on land that we own and they can do whatever the heck they want.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 19: ...because of human rights and property rights you know, it doesn't matter if I'm for it or against it, we've got certain things in the constitution that says we got, we do you know government can't control us and that's why you know that's why I'm pro-fracking, you know among other things... constitutional rights of the property owners and the fact that it helps build a strong economy.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 16: The city has the capability to enact regulations or ordinances that affect the health and welfare of the local population where I think this anti fracking bill will eventually probably be proven unconstitutional because I don't think the city has the right to regulate energy acquiring underground energy resources. I think that's reserved for the railroad commission

Economy

Both groups discuss whether fracking contributes to the local economy in Denton. In particular, the DTPSE group grounded their campaign strategy on the economic benefits of fracking. However, the FFD group emphasized that fracking contributes very little to Denton in terms of economic benefits.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 1: ...Less than 1% of our city budget comes from fracking... Our schools won't go bankrupt because only \$21/yr. per child is generated from fracking. So I'm sure parents would just as soon pay that \$21/yr. to keep the wells off of the playground. The way you got people involved was you let the industry guide you.

The DTPSE group stated that if the city passed a fracking ban, the city of Denton will go bankrupt. The individuals, the school systems, and local businesses take advantages of royalties from fracking. One of the leaders of DTPSE, PRO-FRACK: CASE 11, mentioned that in case of a ban, “we’re going to be relying on the Middle East again and Russia.”

PRO-FRACK: CASE 16: Well economic benefit from the fact that these companies are going to buy local materials, they are going to buy local services so that causes economic benefit. And then the people who all knows mineral rights there going to get a lot of money out of the recovery of gas and so of course they got more money than are going to spend more money.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 14: ... if we could continue drilling, we could maybe then become energy independent and energy secure. So that we don't have to rely on Saudi Arabia or other countries that hate us to go ahead and furnishes all in gas, though could continue drilling.

Public Health

The main concern over fracking within the interviewees of FFD was public health. While the DTPSE group considered these claims as not true, all of the members of FFD had something to say about public health. Some provided general concerns, some provided specific evidence.

One of the volunteers of FFD, ANTI-FRACK: CASE 4, stated that “the health impacts are the same, everywhere you go. The complaints are the same and the science is starting to catch-up. The science is starting to catch-up, so that people are realizing that these impacts are real.” Yet, the DTPSE points out the public health claims are not based on scientific evidence, and there are no reports, therefore the claims are yet to be proved.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 4: So there is a lot of chemicals, a lot of resources. In just a small frack job, they use somewhere around 8000 tons of sand and that sand has to be mined and generally the frack sand mines are near some community that suffers the impacts... One of the main problems are the air impacts, we're producing methane and the industry is claiming that the methane levels are falling, that's just not true. The methane levels are increasing and we're four times the historical level of methane. So, the methane is what is our biggest, most imminent threat to global warming, even more so than CO₂. So there are some problems with it.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 15: What I think the frack free people did is they capitalized on emotion as compared to fact. And they would make these health claims or safety claims or air pollution claims just like when they had the blowout. But at the end of the day, when the report comes out, no violation of air standards.

Asthma. Asthma is one of the specific health concerns that is constructed as a health consequence of fracking by the FFD group. Some examples are provided below.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 2: We have an incredibly high asthma rates in Denton and I'm sure there is a relationships. So and I also know that it's very difficult, a lot of public health research is correlational, it's not cause-effect. It's very difficult to ferret out what's actually going on, but I was not mollified by the argument that, 'Well, we have a lot of asthma because we're in this metropolitan area or we have a lot of asthma because of those cement plants, south of us, the wind blowing. No, we have a lot of asthma because we have all of that plus we have the heavy incidence of the oil and gas industry.

One of the participants, studying music, cried during the interview.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 6: I usually use my inhaler everyday. It's an emergency inhaler and at least once a day, I have to. I have to use it before I go on stage, before I teach music lessons just to be able to catch my breath so that I can teach my students or so that I can project my voice on stage. So yeah, it's been a challenge.

However, the DTPSE group reached different conclusions.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 13: How is something that goes on 2 miles down into the earth going to affect asthma, I do not understand that all. You will get more emissions in Benzene levels off of R35, many times more than you will offer of the drill site or well site. The drilling process is temporary. It takes 2 to 3 weeks to drill a well, 5 to 6 days to frack it, then its done.

Allergy. Some participants from the FFD group indicated that they were suffering from allergies due to air pollution. They held fracking responsible for their symptoms. The allergy issue is another specific concern brought to light by the FFD group interviewees. Some examples are presented below.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 9: No one should have to live next to something that poses this risk, but also the fact that I am allergic to air and more specifically I'm allergic to sulfur and one of the things that's released into the air with fracking is sulfur and so I can tell whenever they are fracking a well because I can't breathe.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 8: Quality of health inside of Denton for sure was my biggest issue. I have a sinus issues already and not that against totally from Fracking because my job is pretty dusty but you know, I'm sure it contributes to it.

Environment

There are also controversies over environmental issues, whether fracking causes environmental harm. The claims from the FFD group are grounded on the potential hazards of the fracking process. However, the DTPSE group argues that there is no scientific evidence to prove that environmental problems are due to fracking. In addition, DTPSE points out that in case of an accident, the company should take the blame not the whole fracking industry.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 5: there is nothing about fracking that's good. The obvious things that bad about it are the environmental and health impacts.

Its damaging to air quality in the immediate region, the process can contaminate water, it's been linked to earthquakes and all of that can negatively impact people in the direct area.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 16: I am concerned about the environment. You know they always want to say that people from my side of the aisle are not concerned about that and I am very concerned about the environment but I have not seen anything that shows that fracking is going to affect the environment. No one else has been able to produce a study that shows that it affects the environment.

Water contamination. Unlike the DTPSE, the FFD declares that water becomes contaminated due to fracking. The chemicals are released to the environment with the water that has been used to drill. Therefore, both water and the environment are affected by fracking. The DTPSE released the court file falsifying the incident that the water from hose got burned. (See Appendix C)

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 1: They started the fracturing, all of a sudden, the water from the tank was gone because they were sucking it out for the fracking. Then two days later, the tank was full of all the water that was produced from the fracking and four cows died overnight? Horrible deaths. You could hear them mooing and crying out in the night and in the morning they were all dead... the veterinarians came out and said they had all died of pulmonary edema which is where all the fluid in your body goes to your lungs and they basically suffocated. So I started looking at the chemicals they were using. One of them was antifreeze, which causes pulmonary edema. So can I say that was a cause? No. Can I say as soon as the tank was filled back up with the produced water, four healthy cows died overnight? Yes.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 18: Some of the 19, 20-year-old kids, they just have no idea. All they hear is they want to be anti-fracking, fracking has to be banned. They think the water is bad. They don't realize we ... They think it's contaminating their water. They don't realize Denton gets its water from surface water, which is really outside of the...Yeah, we get it from. Half comes from lake, the water supply, and half comes from Lewisville Lake. So, it's really not in the well. So, even if the wells are contaminated, some of the house in the farms, maybe they have their own well water. The Denton's water supply comes from surface water.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 12: You saw my kids. They don't stay in the house all day long. We have horses and stuff. We have a pond and there we go fishing. We eat the fish out of our pond. I mean, I have water well over here. They say well your water gets contaminated. I have it checked twice, and the only thing it's on high is sodium. That's I guess is common with this area. But there is no adverse chemicals because I don't know. The fracking of five wells around here. Around my place, on my place and around it.

Air pollution. FFD contended that fracking results in polluting Denton's air.

Therefore, another claim that supports the environmental issues is air pollution.

However, DTPSE indicated that air pollution in Denton is caused by reasons other than fracking. Some claims from both groups are provided below.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 10: it's hard to argue with wanting a healthy community, near your home especially; having diesel fumes near your home, having light on all night near your home, having your water potentially polluted and you drink that water out of the lake. So from a human health standpoint, I always emphasize that first, but then I also emphasize "this is a proximity to our property and we have no rights". These folks could come in and get around zoning and find loopholes, and find rules and Texas is big on property owner rights and mineral rights trumping surface rights is a big issue. Too many Texans, many land owners when they find that, they own 250 acres of land, that they don't own their minerals, a company could come in and set up a rig 250 feet, 300 feet from their home; I don't care what party you are, that resonates with you.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 18: Everyone wants clean air... I don't know of anyone that just wants dirty air, right? Everyone wants clean air. And the air here is pretty clean. Most of the pollution I think comes from the traffic that Denton gets, and cars and trucks. And the ozone comes from... From gasoline, not from methane, you know, from the wells...It's pretty clean. Now, another factor is, by the way, up here in north Texas, the wind comes from the south about 80% of the time, it's a southern wind. So the winds are coming up from across the street, and to say about 80% of the time, so the winds are coming this way... So, if we get any pollution, it's really not coming from Denton itself, it's coming from out here.

Climate change. Some participants from the FFD group indicated there is a correlation between greenhouse effects and fracking. Unlike DTPSE, the climate change argument is underlined by the FFD interviewees. They claim that as a result of environmental problems of fracking, climate change will become a serious problem. Here are some examples from both groups.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 4: ... So there you have that and even the Oil and Gas industry is admitting that, climate changes really are serious so, there is that.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 13: They do not want hydrocarbons. I do not think hydrocarbons are a problem. They believe in man-made global warming, I do not. I mean its big, its big and its basic beliefs.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 9: I tend to view things as a socialist, as a bigger picture issue, that this is not just, Denton has this problem and Denton has to fix it, but globally. And Texas produces more than the top three other states in natural gas combined. So, we have this issue of, "we are the largest natural gas producer in the US and US is one of the largest natural gas producers globally". The 64 cubic tons produced of natural gas is from Texas, it means that we are A, consider it a sacrifice done, everyone here is considered expandable for money. And B, we are contributing on a mass scale to global warming that we can't fix. So, yeah it sucks that I can't breathe, but I've done a lot of things, for it put my health at risk.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 10: I think the pollution is definitely- they are proving that it's increasing greenhouse gases since fracking started this area; our ozone levels have gone right up. And there is a direct correlation here and other parts of the country too.

Earthquake. The earthquake claim has also been broached in the interviews.

The DTPSE groups stated that there is no scientific evidence that fracking causes earthquakes, whereas the FFD group insisted that that amount of earthquakes increased with the growth of fracking in the region.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 4: It's very new, so we don't know what the long-term impacts are going to be, in regards to the earthquakes that it causes because fracking itself causes earthquakes but also because of fracking generates so much waste water, you know the injection of the waste also causes earthquakes but be clear that fracking itself has been scientifically linked to earthquakes.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 14: Fracking has not caused earthquakes. That's not what the environmentalists want you to believe. Because they are looking for anything they can blame. Anything on the whole business. So, after the earthquake out there—you look at the one's that just happened recently, North of Texas Stadium remember, there has been a whole onslaught of mud there last month. There was an earthquake in 2008, they draw one horizontal well in 2009 and it produced for a couple of years. They had a pipeline prominence, has been showed it ever since then. Since 2010 or '11, like that. And then, all these earthquakes happened just a month ago, January, I think it was.

Methane. The FFD group has concerns over methane gas. Methane was released during a natural gas processing. This accident was mentioned several times in the interviews as harmful to the environment.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 5: The methane that is released by the process and the process pretty much use methane all around."... "The chemicals and the methane and the volatile organic compounds put off by fracking can also affect people globally because it is one of the worst kinds of green house gases that we're aware of. It's much worse than CO₂ so if you're concerned about the effects of global climate change, which might be described like you said as a butterfly effect where too many emissions from the fracking boom in America could lead to disastrous weather events and catastrophic climate change in other parts of the region.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 14: If you go 310 feet there's on below that has gas land so many wells in the early days when the water well drillers were drunk, they've make a little trip right here and kicks that, be a big flairs and they were had flairs of wells near this guy's home before any wells were ever drilled out there. The people drilling water wells accidentally going 10 feet too deep and got in to a gas land and therefore the fresh water well would

burn gas and so they've been burning gas out there I mean it's so close you've got to be really careful.

Fracking is (un)safe

Drilling has been going on in the United States for over 100 years. The DTPSE group states that drilling activities may have caused a certain amount of damage and continue to be risky. However, they believe drilling conditions and technology have developed for the better. Some examples are provided below.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 15: ...but we are smart, we use technology and we build in safety procedures and are able to conduct whatever that activity may be... Apparently within a relatively quick period of time the Texas commission on environmental quality has to go out there, they set up about four or five monitoring stations around it, up wind, down wind. Their ultimate report that came out really took them it seems to me a pretty large number of months after the incident for them to come out with their final report. When that happened in 2013, I don't think the report came out in 2014 or something and the report said they were not able to detect any chemicals that they measured for that exceeded their standards. So if somebody asked a question on that Blowout, I had the report that said we did on this report and there were no violations of any of the state's air quality standards.

In addition to previous claims, FFD considers the fracking process as poisonous due to fracking itself.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 2: You can't even put in a bakery 200 feet from your house, but you can bring in the oil and gas industry 200 feet from your house.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 5: The entire natural gas drilling process including fracking, but even before the fracking process begins, bringing in the trucks, building the apparatus, fracking and then once the fracking is done, all the collection of the materials that have to be done and even when the well is done and retired and for years and years and years afterwards, this entire process poisons life and leaves the land toxic.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 14: Accidents do happen. No doubt that some blowouts do happen. Do you think there are man that control people, but occasionally

there will be-- sometimes, you will penetrate a formation that you're going for the main formation than here the shale mostly. But all of the sudden, you find a nice, clean sandstone and it got a lot of pressure and you're drilling to it and it will kick on you. You didn't-- what you do is when you start drilling, you put mud in the hole and that's to keep anything from blowing up, they have a heavy mud. The mud is heavier than the pressure down below. But a lot of time to drill down to that point, they were use real lightweight mud, not heavy weight mud. They don't start muddy enough and getting heavier weight, heavier weight until they get closer to the formation they're trying to get into. You will see that happen and occasionally, you'll penetrate this on ahead of time, and it will blow out and you got to get the people out there and get into a lake, found and then gather and they control that one well that we're talking about. But, this happens and this kind of like, because you don't want pilot to kill everybody, we understand that one. Because if it went blow out, we got a quick drill, is that make sense?

"Othering" One Another "Us" vs "Them"

The exclusionary language used by both groups is remarkable. There were a lot of "we, us" and "they, them" words used to indicate the opposing group. Some examples are provided below to illustrate the type of "othering" language that is used in the interviews.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 20: Well the Chamber, very intentionally, Chamber leadership very intentionally decided not to go to either polarized extreme. We disused it and decided that that is not what we would do. We would not come out and say absolutely the ban is bad let's do away with the ban. We said no. The ban is bad but we must reasonably regulate. And so- so we took a middle ground and then we get attacked which tends to be what happens to middle ground. When you're being reasonable sometimes. The emotions of the extremes attack anyone in the middle. It's just what happens.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 11: They would call in, ask for a sign, we'd go take it and put it in. Now we had to do several of them a lot because they [FFD] kept stealing them.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 13: No respect for the law, no respect for somebody else's property. Our signs were still on and off from our fence and we actually caught the guy and he was written a citation for it...You still going to act

within the law, just because you got a different belief on an issue, you can not break the law.

Eco-Terrorist. The FFD group mentioned that they have been called various names such as eco-terrorist by the DTPSE group. They also claimed that their opponents either made a list of their names or pre-intended doing so. Some examples are below.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 6: So, we had a barbeque in a front yard, we had like water games for the kids and popcorn and it was a fundraiser and the industry came and they took pictures of everybody is license plates on the street. I was like, Why? What they going to use that for? But it's just an intimidation tactic...they just want information and so they have-- it was creepy. One of the town meetings, it was like a neighborhood meeting, right? And this industry guy showed up to the neighborhood meeting with his personal security. And all these like, old homeowners are like, Did you really need that? Like, we're really rowdy, like we are-- and he goes, Well, you never know. There is people in Denton preaching civil disobedience. As of that's a horrible thing, right? And they said, Well, and he goes, But don't worry, they're on the list. And the people were like, What list? This is all recorded.... They try to put as much as on this of eco-terrorist. They try to put this-- it's like the red scare again. It's crazy. And so, it's creepy and I just don't mess with that, you know?

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 6: We stayed pretty anonymous...I don't want to really have my name attached to it. So during the campaign, we received death threats from people and it was scary.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 9: I've been even called an "eco-terrorist" so many times that now many times someone says the word "terrorist" that I might listen and giggle. Like, there was someone in Mansfield who said that he needed a bodyguard because the eco-terrorists were going to get him.

Tree huggers. This is another label that has been attributed to FFD group members. One of the participants from the DTPSE group labeled FFD activists as tree huggers.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 16: What happened was lots and lots and lots and lots turned up to vote because they will not have liquor by the drink well they are all many many students or you know tree huggers they think there's a cause here so they are going to vote for ban of fracking and now they are voting but they are not going to be influenced to this because their vote for these they graduate and they are gone.

Russian ties. The DTPSE makes an official claims in their website the FFD

group has Russian ties. The interviews also provide examples of this claim.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 15: Russians were against wanting to ban Fracking because it had been so successful in the United States and made us energy independent...And they are aware we used to import a whole lot, in fact, one of the charts in my power point, it shows how we have reduced our dependence on foreign Oil and in about 2020, we will be at the break-even point, that is we are going to be producing as much oil as we consume and so we do not really need to import. By the time you get down to 2040 or something, we are like one of the world's largest exporters. The theory was that the Russians were behind part of the disinformation campaign to be against Fracking because if we can start banning Fracking in the United States.

Terrorizing the Planet. The DTPSE group has also been called names by the

FFD group. "Terrorizing the planet" is one of them. An example is provided below.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 5: these industries in no uncertain terms are holding the future of our planet hostage. They're bad actors that have violated very law and every agreement that they can get away with. They're not held accountable to the law in the same way that you and I are. They are in very real sense above the law and depending on how you wanna look at it, America as a functioning state it really belongs to them more than it belongs to us. if you were to ask me, whether or not we live in a democracy I would tell you that we don't. We live in a Plutocracy and they are the owners, nothing exclusively but the five or six major fossil fuel industries that are currently terrorizing the planet. They are more or less own America; this is their political mechanism...That's another reason why these industries-- it's not just that fracking is dirty, and that the process is dirty. That's also true, but these industries they've been terrorizing people for hundred years. Coal particularly has been doing this, coal has a long and racist history of having

to take advantage of disposable people basically. The whole logic of burning fossil fuels is this notion of disposing of what you don't want, you can just pump whatever you want that the atmosphere, dumped the chemicals wherever you can you can get away with it and it'll be fine.

Shadow organization or fake grassroots. The “othering” language is used by the FFD group on other occasions documented below. The FFD volunteers see the DTPSE as a shadow organization for large corporations. The FFD group has stated that DTPSE does not have any local volunteers.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 5: It is just kind of really a shadow organization, the Denton Taxpayers for A Stronger Economy is a board that exist on paper that is sort of exist on paper between two people who live in Denton, who just have ties to the oil and gas industry and have a lot of money invested in it...The group is meant to up here as a kind of equal but opposite community movement, and it's not. It is something that exist on paper between two individuals, have a lot of money, invested it and keeping the status quo, and lots of money funneled through them by all kinds of outside interests for obvious reasons. I think that they are both probably scoundrels and I am glad that it did not work. There is truly nothing to be said. They paid for advertisements. They paid for publicity. They needed somebody with the zip code in Denton that they could this money through, they found them and I think, the guy's kind of a jerk.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 9: They're kind of just not real, there is an activist thing that we use, it goes like, you have your turf, which is where you're from as grassroots people. You live here, you build communities here. And then there are people, who like come in or who inorganically create things and call them astro-turfers, that's what they are. And we've been dealing with their kind for like the entirety of this. Just because you find like, one dude who is willing to be your face doesn't make your organization grassroots, that makes your organization like, you stop putting tires and you start putting.... on your fake grass but it's still fake grass.

The fear mongering claim. The fear factor has been emphasized several times by the DTPSE group. Some examples are provided below. These two contending

groups have blamed each other for manufacturing “facts to manipulate the locals to get their support.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 17: It's gotten such bad publicity because suddenly people knew about it and there's always this fear factor, this fear mongering that goes on by environmentalists basically. They got people whipped up about fracking is going to damage our ground water, all these scenarios that just have never happened. There's never been a case of ground water contamination from a frack job. There's been ground water contamination from poorly cased wells, poorly cemented wells but that's all up towards the surface...All these stuff with the fracturing is taking place in many cases a mile or two below the ground at least. The ground water zones are protected from any communication with the wellbore by cement, by hard casing so there's no way the fracture fluid can ever...or the proppant or any chemicals that are used and the chemicals that are used are very, very minute. It's like 99% water and fresh water. There's no way that that can communicate with the upper water reservoirs.” “Again it's fear mongering, it's false precept that because there's a well there, because there's some sort of industrial development going on that it's going to be harmful if it's near a school or a hospital, any other business. It's a femoral there's no reason to be against it. On the other hand you're taking away the rights of the mineral owner by saying, “You can't frack here.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 12: There was the frack free people standing over here and then the support responsible drilling us over here. She came walking up to as I was taking these people water, she walked up to them and she said, “See these people right here, they are killing you.” And then she said, “See those people over there, (She pointed to the frack free people) they are trying to save your life.” And I thought how can I possibly get anything through that young man's head in this point because his grandmother just told him our group was trying to kill him.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 17: Environmentalists that propagate lies and for the most part you know they were promoted and boosted by a lot of outside money, a lot of outside influence, they weren't citizens of Denton or citizens of Texas. Sierra Club, Green Peace, you know all these, these environmental groups they get together and they get, you know they get their message out.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 14: That's what they have done and that is how they have convinced all those people that do not know better of what is happening

rather than the facts that the fracking job itself. But they want to blame everything on fracking so they could ban fracking.

"Immorality" Against Common Values

The DTPSE group states that the members of the FFD group engage in unlawful and immoral activities, such as stealing, painting, or re-wording the DTPSE's signs. Here are some examples from the interviews and visuals.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 11: ...They're bullying that election...Steal signs. Badmouth ya. And I know that when you have a bigger group you can't control everybody. But they tore up a billboard over here we had to redo. I saw it the next morning. I made a phone call [unknown] he said you gotta be kidding me...we got attacked by a few of them on Facebook. One guy that kept sending me personal messages. To tell you the truth I didn't even reply to him. I'm not going to lower myself that low. If that gets you going.. if that gets you off to act that way, then so be it....Oh we got some dirty ass mail...



Figure 2. Sprayed DTPSE Bilboard to make “drilling” into “killing” (Picture taken by Graham Garrett)

PRO-FRACK: CASE 14: F-R-A-C is how frack is spelled in oiling gas industry and what happened was--Do you ever heard of movie called Battle Star Galactica?now they're spelling it wrong there. They put a K on it. But that's a

history, that's a pattern for the first frac job, back in 1866, 1865.... I had a little battle with the Webster dictionary, you believe it or not. They just put the word fracing in their dictionary recently because they don't have it before. Now I'm gonna show you how fracing got there...So you came up with the idea to get the frack out of here because in Battle Star Galactica, the urban dictionary can you read that?...Frack is word using the most recent Battle Star Galactica series. Frack is simply "Oh! F word" but is spacy in model and gets based the...So the environmentalist came to that idea, like the guy who puts this out is an environmentalist. When he first started it was called Frac Dallas because he know it was spelled without K. So the environmentalist picked it up. You know what that says right there?...The mother frackers...And he list all who up in his so they came up with the idea of F-R-A-C-K so they could say get the frack outta here, get the fuck outta here...



Figure 3. Distorted DTPSE Flyer. Masks are painted in. (Picture taken by Graham Garrett)

PRO-FRACK: CASE 2: it's interesting because they took our logo and our staff and they put the thumb up with the same logo saying "Support the ban". It almost look like our stuff and then with the people at the poles were very

confused because they said, “Hold on. Are we supporting it or we are not supporting it?” I kept some of the signs so you could hold the signs up. But I was like maybe they saw that. That tactic was kind of a...I guess it was a good tactic but it was really kind of under the table.

The Slippery Slope” Banning All Kinds of Drilling

The DTPSE group perceives the FFD group as against to all kinds of drilling in addition to fracking (i.e., fossil fuel). Some claims are provided below as examples.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 15: The ban on the Fracking really wasn't against the use of Fracking technology, the anti Fracking people want to stop drilling. Fracking just happen to be the political vehicle to try to stop the drilling.... The ultimate goal is to stop all drilling in fact the debate that I participated in, one of the two people said that, well, we just don't want any drilling. So this is the vehicle to stop drilling...Some people are to one extreme and there are others in the other extreme and most of us are kinda somewhere in the middle. But there are extremists who wanna ban all fossil fuels, sure.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 13: Nobody is going to drill a well that you can not frack. You will lose money. The producer will lose money. It costs about \$6 million to drill a well, \$6 to \$9 million to do it well. If you can not frack it, you do not going to drill it. They are going to go someplace where they can frack it. You are going to go away from Denton. And that is what this group wants. This group does not want any drilling around Denton.

Racial Disparity

Some Frack Free Denton members point out that the executive board, as decision makers for FFD, should embrace ethnic diversity. Board members are mostly White Americans, which was pointed out by some of the interviewees. This issue also gained attention in social media. Some examples are provided below.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 5: I don't think what I just said is really on the radar in general of the frack-free Denton movement and some people have pointed that out. It's been pointed out, but hasn't really been dealt with because the majority of people in frack-free Denton are white middle class people and that's not the way Denton is. It's not because Denton is majority middle class

white people it's not like they aren't communities that could be involved and it's not like they aren't under served in poor communities in Denton that ought to be represented at the table. It's not anybody's fault necessarily, it's just what happens. When communities are divided unless you go out of your way to like you said, or I guess like I said, to not be talking to the same group of people all the time, to go out and find common cause with other people. Some people have criticized this movement of not being diverse enough and of not reaching out to lower income communities and to try and have people of color represented in their movement. I don't think anybody's doing that deliberately and purposeful I think that it's just part of what happens when people are not thinking about these things and they're stressed out and they're.

Corruption

Corruption is another claim that has been advanced several times in the interviews. Both sides state that the other group will engage in dirty politics in the process of passing local control bills and other legislation. Some examples are below.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 14: The council members came and I know couple of them and then the environmentalist and then they all got up and hugged each other. I say "How the hell did they know" you know what I mean lobby in them for years before we being the industry even knew what was going on. Where are already beat before we started? They did the same thing in Denton them just like you said. They started knocking on those doors and just the worlds coming to an end.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 7: They're just waiting to buy the councilmen, buy their votes, spend the money, stuff it in somebody's pocket. But really, we have five downs, we did this, we passed the city level. So, they took their money and spent that on state level. That's why all the bills went up to state now trying to take away home rule. So, they didn't win the battle here, so they took it to the state level trying to fight it there where they can bribe the senator lobbying the councilman.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 1: My only concern about the lawsuits is that our Texas courts, the judges are elected. So because they are elected, that means the industry gives them lots of campaign contributions. You would hate to think

that that would buy a vote but you can't absolutely say it doesn't. I feel the lawsuits- we knew it was gonna happen. We were ready for it to happen. I wish it wouldn't because it's taking a lot of time and money away. But it is what it is. That's democracy. I'm gonna sound very jaded and very cynical but I think the industry- as in Austin right now trying to buy our elected officials to get them to pass laws to keep this from happening in the future and to overturn the ban.

Students Are The Reason For The Pass

The presence of university students in Denton has also been pointed out as a factor in passing the ban. Some volunteers of the FFD group consist of students from the University of North Texas's Socialist Student Association and from another UNT group called Rising Tide. The opponent group states that inclusion of the student body provided FFD the numbers to pass the ban. Examples of claims are below.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 19: the student voting block basically won the election. I read some statistics that it would have been 56 percent would have been against the ban if you know those students or those people I consider non-permanent residents had voted, so that's my you know that's my opinion on that, I don't you know want to take anybody's vote, right to vote away but other places I've been if you go to school here, you vote where you live, you vote where you came from, unless you're moving to this city permanently you know if you're just there for 4 years, that's not a permanent move I mean that's a temporary thing, you know that's my opinion on why it got defeated. I mean why the ban got put in place or one opinion...

PRO-FRACK: CASE 15: ...How many people registered between November 2012 and in March 2014 primary? Smaller number. How many people registered between March 2014 and November 2014? I call this the regular day in and day out voters. You had a pretty good number of students who change their registration. Let say someone lives in Dallas or they're from San Antonio and they're going to school here. I think what happened at the UNT area many new voters were registered for the first time. It was their first time to vote...because remember what I told you number one, a lot of people don't register to vote and then those who register don't bother to vote.

FFD did a Good Job vs. DTPSE did a Poor Job

Since 59 percent of voters supported the fracking ban ordinance, both groups pronounced the FFD successful in running their campaign. Also, DTPSE was criticized due to the lack of campaign efforts. Some examples are provided below.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 15: ...I think by being guided by Earth Works, because they have been fighting these battles back east apparently, that's what I came to learn. They were a lot further along the learning curve on how to run a campaign to fight drilling and specifically the tool being to ban fracking...the Frack free Denton group did an excellent job in the mechanics of elections. In elections, who do you think matters? Who do you think matters in election?.....That's a helpful information to have but when I look at the newspaper same amount of ads and same amount of billboards. The point you made which I want to made is they had a better ground game. There was really no ground game by the industry...part of the excellent ground game that the Frack Free Denton people did is to take an issue that resonated well with the students and then got them registered and then got them out to vote.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 5: the art and the puppetry and the crafts is that it appeals to all ages, because one of the disadvantages of the world of insular college activism that I come from is that you tend to be talking to the same people all the time and looking at the same faces and they tend to be your age and they tend to be going through the same thing you're going through. A lot of the most successful movements have been inter-generational and diverse movements that get lots of people together who wouldn't normally be all hanging out together. It's not unusual for college students to hang out with college students, and in this Frack Free Denton movement, you see a lot of diversity, you see a lot of kids involved, and anyway

The first research question was “How did campaign advocates from Frack Free Denton and Denton Tax Payers for a Strong Economy construct fracking in general?” The major claims constructed by both groups were drawn from the participants’ interviews. The FFD group has generated more claims and counter-

claims than DTPSE. The FFD group's claims are extended in various areas of concern such as public health and environmental impacts, whereas the DTPSE group's claims predominantly focus on economic issues.

RESEARCH QUESTION TWO: HOW DID EACH OF THESE GROUPS CHALLENGE THE CLAIMS-MAKING ACTIVITIES AND GOALS FO THEIR ADVERSERIES.

In order to address this research question, I have merged the two theories that are mentioned in Chapter 2. The model I have suggested is a combination of social construction and value-conflict of social problem theoretical frameworks. Based on the integrated theory, the claims-making activities of the rival groups were analyzed through the three stages of the social problem, which are awareness, policy determination, and reform. Then, each stage was analyzed through the claims, claims-makers and claims-making activities. The claims-makers of this study are the interviewees of opposing groups, which are referred as the FFD and the DTPSE. The claims-making activities will be embedded in the aforementioned stages of development of a social problem. Due to the overlapping nature of the stages, they could not be specified individually in every case.

CLAIMS-MAKING ACTIVITIES

Claims-making activities are drawn from the interviews that I conducted. The Frack Free Denton group outnumbered the Denton Taxpayers for a Strong Economy group's activities. The FFD group recruited volunteers from local citizens to

accomplish their goals during the campaign. On the other hand, the DTPSE worked with a private PR company in order to raise awareness during this stage.

AWARENESS STAGE-FRACK FREE DENTON

To raise social problem awareness, the FFD group used various venues to reach out to local residents and explain their cause during the awareness stage.

These venues are listed and supported with an example below.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 4: One of our first venues, well we had the signing party at Sweetwater Grill which is a place that's very popular in Denton. Then we went to the Mardi Gras party. We went to Churches, we had Gas Land movie showings, we set-up on the Square, just set-up. Puppet shows, music events, all kinds of things like that.

Canvassing

The FFD group knocked on 90% of the doors in Denton with the help of volunteers. The leaders of FFD prepared literature to hand out. Volunteers were trained to use talking points during their canvassing. They also had maps with the exact location of houses they needed to visit. The volunteers were wearing I live in Denton and We're not getting paid stickers.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 9: Basically to canvas is, you get a map with the house like, build houses on it and you break it down, in eight hours of canvassing, you might be able to do like one street block. Like from, I don't know, from Welsh to McCormick, you might be able to do maybe, 15 or 16 houses.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 6: ...I had knocked out the whole city of Denton and I had broken it down into little black walkable areas, maybe five to ten streets....There's just these little maps and so people would get an assignment, a map assignment, and then, they were go block knock. They would knock every single door on that block, talk to their neighborhoods, say, "Hi, I'm your Frack Free Denton. This is what fracking is. Here's some materials.

Demonstration

The FFD group mobilized locals to protest HB40 rules restricting local control. In these demonstrations volunteers carried posters and banners. Moreover, some volunteers presented their art works to show their stance against fracking.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 7: ...I tried running to bring that forward and that's just the way of doing it. My deal was my degree of activism would be I will walk. That's the key point. Everybody's got a place and they grab it and take it. As long as we diversify we have a better chance to conquer.

Information Booth

The FFD volunteers set up booths on the University of North Texas campus and attended other local events to raise the social problem consciousness regarding fracking.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 6: we use printed materials. We use a lot of just hand-to-hand flyers. Then, we tabled, so we would set up tables in front of coffee shops, in front of a recycled bookstore, or on campus. And we would talk to people face-to-face.

Panel

The FFD group organize panel to inform locals about the potential risks of fracking concerning environment and public health.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 2: I attended some of the meetings they held, the Denton Advisory Group, Denton Drilling project at, I believe, they were UNT. So, when I heard how few regulations there were, the party made that really interesting public health and public policy, got very engaged.

Websites

Frack Free Denton owns an operational website: www.frackfreedenton.com.

The claims and counter-claims are presented in this website. The website is frequently updated.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 2: I'm on a web-based neighborhood communication site and during the campaign, it was very active site. A lot of people didn't want us talking about it, but we kept talking about it anyway, because that's part of the whole set-up and the communication site is that you're to discuss things that have an impact on your community.

It is noteworthy that one of the interviewees owns a website to inform people about fracking and the hits are around 2.5 million. The website address is www.texasharon.com.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 4: While I was living in the country I started my own website to put-up videos and photos of what I was seeing and kind of, show people what was really happening because those are very shocking. And so, other people found me through the internet and connected and said, "This has happened to me too" and I gradually learned, how to document the impacts, how to wade through the regulatory system. So, I became a source for people and that's how the people in Denton found me and we connected and started working on this issue.

Blog Entries

Some of the FFD volunteers engaged in writing their reflections regarding the fracking issue in their blogs, sharing the photos and videos, and posting their blog entries on their Facebook and Twitter account to spread the word.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 3: Personally me well social media yes the big one. So I mean a blog. I used to have my own blog, Denton Drilling and then as the campaign heated up for the ban, I felt the need for us to speak more in unified voice and have sort of one platform so I switch my blogging over to Frack Free Denton and so I got lots of blogs automatically, yeah feel free to move

stuff around...So and then you know you post those on Facebook, Twitter but then as a gangs team you know we are just fortunate enough in terms of exposure that the media got really interested. So then you have reporters coming that's another way to reach hill and getting interviews occasionally able to place a top ad in the local and regional paper stuff like that.

Facebook

The FFD group actively used Facebook to share information. More than 9500 people followed their pages. The FFD group announces events and posts updates in this account.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 8: Did a lot of advance help with social media like sharing stories on Facebook and creating little memes and stuff and posting online Facebook. And then also just getting the word out by mouth and telling whoever would listen about the Frack Free Denton campaign. And then right-up at the election, we were doing a lot of the poll watching and I guess not really poll watching but you know, handing out fliers at the polls. And you know letting people know like if you want to ban Fracking, you have to vote for the ban and not against.

Yard Sign and Billboards

The FFD group distributed yard sign to whoever wanted to display them. Moreover, FFD volunteers asked locals in Denton if they would like to have yard sign to show their support while doing canvassing.



Figure 4. Yard Signs⁴

The Art of “Fracktivism”

Puppet show. The FFD group utilized the universal language of arts to reach out to the locals. The FFD group made their claims through puppet show to reach out kids and families in the city of Denton.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 5: ...includes the families and otherwise and it sucks when families have to get somebody to take care of their kids so that they can go participate in politics. She described music as a universal language that can appeal to all ages and that puppets can appeal to all ages. It’s good because they educate everyone, the opposite of that would be things that are locked in to really academic jargon, buried in the papers. You can’t expect everybody in Denton to read a dissertation but you could get them all to watch a puppet show.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 6: ...we were up this sock puppet show like five minutes before and we went sort of crazy. It was of dinosaurs and cows and earthquakes and everything, it was crazy. The reason that we started doing that is because the industry was making coloring books for children about-- they had a dinosaur and how great fracking was and-- yeah, which is I run on it great because fossil fuels are made out of like dinosaur or about it’s just the whole thing was so absurd...we wrote how the grinch fracked Denton and we made it as a Doctor Seuss story. We wrote this giant, all rhyming story about

⁴ <https://www.facebook.com/frackfreedenton>

Denton.... we read it so in the city council we will each use our three minutes to read the story. We walk to the stand with the story but and we read this story to the city council.



Figure 5. Anti-fracking Puppetry⁵

Soapbox derby. FFD activist organized a “coffin racer” event. They used scrap materials to make coffins to race at the Halloween death festival in Denton. The participation of FFD at death festival got the attention of the local newspaper and was covered by Denton Record Chronicle.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 8: I would say I volunteered quite a bit. Yeah, I went to all the Frack Free Denton meetings. I went to the city council meetings, volunteered my time to build a coffin raiser for the coffin raises at a day of death festival... So I built a soap box derby racer from the ground up with about a \$150 budget. Luckily, I had them because of my job. I had scrap materials just laying around that I could use and buy wheels and things like that; few little pieces to make it all come together.

⁵ <https://www.facebook.com/frackfreedenton>



Figure 6. Anti-fracking Soapbox derby (Picture is taken by Jim Tuttle)

Sculpture. One artist from FFD group made the sculpture titled “We all fiddled while Rome burned” presented at the art exhibition to show the way of his activism by art.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 8: “One that's just titled "We all fiddled while Rome Burned" I'm saying with peace that you know, we wasted time on oil and gas while the whole thing burned and the world burned basically.”



Figure 7. Anti-fracking sculpture entitled: “We all fiddled while Rome burned” (Picture taken by Jeff McClung)

It is cast bronze, about 6"x6"x12". It is about how we were all complacent about fossil fuels while the earth is being ruined for human habitation. The base is the state of Texas and there is a cowboy swinging a violin to symbolize our cavalier attitude about climate change.

Light Brigade. Before the election on November 4th, FFD volunteers exhibited a sign made of led lights that read: “Vote for the Fracking Ban” and raised it at the downtown area of the city of Denton.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 8: Mostly the younger members who were out on the square and had the pass the band sign made out of LED lights. And they were out there at night so it was very visible.



Figure 8. FFD Light Brigade⁶

Flash mob dance show. Two dance professors from Texas Woman University coordinated a flash mob dance show whose theme was: banning fracking.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 8: Basically like an improvisational dance routine that's some of the TWU dance professors. They were the ones that coordinated that.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 6: We had on the Flash Mobs. For that, we had R. but we also had there is this other Lady who did the dance. Her name is SG. SG, she is also a professional TWU. She's a dance professor.

Media outlets: music, documentary, YouTube. FFD group actively utilized the media outlets. They organized a concert for fund raising and also to raise social problem consciousness. Brave Combo, a Grammy award winner and nationally

⁶ <https://www.facebook.com/frackfreedenton>

recognized band that is located in Denton, composed a song about fracking called “No Fracking Way.”

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 2: Brave Combo is a local band who had been together for 30 year and they started as a garage band, we call them. They're just a bunch of kids playing together. And then, won two Grammy's and they are like a V-band from Denton.



Figure 9. FFD activists: the music band “Brave Combo”⁷

Song: NO FRACKING WAY!

Words and music by Little Jack Melody of Brave Combo

Denton, Texas— Home of Happiness today.
But tomorrow? Tell the suits, “No Fracking Way!”
Carpetbaggers— keep those buccaneers at bay;
tell those pirates, “No, not here, No Fracking Way!”
Captains courageous? Just captains of industry,
singing half-baked half-truths, some satanic symphony.
If you love this special place, don’t go with Big Money’s flow,
fight the power for your children, raise your
voices, “Frack No! Frack No! Frack No!”
Read the memo, David and Goliath day!
Slay the giant, tell your friends, “No Fracking Way!”
Greed-spawned earthquakes, don’t trade blue skies for the gray;
it’s a green world after all, “No Fracking Way!”
Captains courageous? Just captains of industry,
singing half-baked half-truths, some satanic symphony.
If you love this special place, don’t go with Big Money’s flow,

⁷ <https://www.facebook.com/frackfreedenton>

fight the power for your children, raise your
voices, "Frack No! Frack No! Frack No!"
Denton, Texas—Home of Happiness today.
But tomorrow? Tell your friends, "No Fracking Way!"
Tell the suits, "No Fracking Way!"
Tell the world, "No Fracking Way!"

One of the volunteers of FFD group prepared the frackettes video, hits of
21,000, and a famous environmental activist, Erin Brockovich, shared it on her
Facebook page. The video can be seen at :

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MD5r8WGYAug>



Figure 10. FFD dance team: The Frackettes⁸

Kids in action. FFD organized family friendly events to reach out to children
of the city. One of the activities was painting yard signs and drawing pictures about
fracking.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 6: There is one of the first thing that we ever put on the
Frack Free Denton website, was a drawing that one of the children from the
neighborhood made. And it said, on one side it was bright and cherry and it
said, Denton without fracking, and the other side was dark, the home was
cracked and it said, Denton with fracking. Those kind of ideas like that, I

⁸ <https://www.facebook.com/frackfreedenton>

think, they do, they tell of it's I don't know and yet it is very important to see the way children see it.



Figure 11. Featured student art work: Denton without Fracking and Denton with Fracking⁹

POLICY DETERMINATION-FRACK FREE DENTON

During the policy determination stage, focusing on “what should be done” and proposing solutions to the social problem, the FFD group used several venues to reach out to the public figures, authorities, community leaders, and local politicians in order to shape the ordinance of the fracking regulation and to discuss the petition. A quote from one of the interviews summarizes the whole stage pretty well.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 3: They were planning in making a park there and somebody told us about the gas wells are going in and no idea what they are talking about so I went down to a protest at city hall because we had heard about it and it was mostly just the educate ourselves and talk to people. And they were protesting those wells and I started to learn about on my own a bit what fracking is this is before gas lane came out. All right so I think it was all there. It wasn't on the national consciousness here and so it was about a year later that KR who was newly like the city council member came here and approaches me and others at the former center for the studies and the

⁹ <https://www.facebook.com/frackfreedenton>

disciplinary, which used to exist here and the UNT but they defunded it recently. And he said look, we are revising our ordinance. This is an interdisciplinary issue you know it's engineering, its science, its law, its ethics, it's all of the stuff mixed together. Would you like to form a grass roots shadow advisory commission, that's the way he put it, unofficial but the city had formed an official task force which they have majority industry members on it and Kevin said, we need more of a counter balance from citizen prospective. So that's how I got really officially involved. I mean our group was unofficial by grass root really involved was through him coming to me and that was a birth of what we called then the Denton's, they called Drilling Advisory Group DAG.

I have provided the policy determination claims-making activities below with examples from the interviews.

City Council Meetings

The supporters of the FFD group regularly attended city council meetings.

They used public hearings as a strategy to talk about their concerns regarding fracking.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 3: I always thought civil and respectful discourse was key, yeah. I didn't always live up to that on my own sometimes passions take over but I think for the most part I did really a good job and I think for the most part our group did a really good job at that. I know that there are some folks who in facts during the January 2013, public hearing when they adopted that ordinance. We had sort of met beforehand and some people wanted to speak over their time limit as a sort of civil disobedience, right because they didn't like the ordinance, others me included didn't wanted to do that but we did agree to stand up in solidarity with people doing that like in the audience.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 1: ...we went door to door, asked neighbors if they were experiencing any health problems. We had meetings at the library, we put fliers on doors, we had blog sites and email groups, and we attended every City Council meeting. We had rallies in the park, we did everything. We talked to all our City Council and our Mayor. We even went to the County Commissioner's but they said there was nothing they could do because it was inside the city limits. And then we went to Austin to talk about the problem.

Austin said, You need to go back to Denton and talk to your elected officials. That's where you make change at a grassroots level with your local elected officials. So we came back to Denton.



Figure 12. Rhonda Love addresses the city council meeting. (Picture taken by Tony Gutierrez)

Petition Drive

One of the most important tactics to make changes regarding fracking regulation in policy determination stage was a petition drive. It was due to the petition drive effort that the fracking ordinance was put to a vote during the election. The FFD group gathered around 2,000 signatures of registered voters in order to ban fracking within Denton city.

The FFD group used Facebook very actively to announce their activities. It set up a table to encourage locals to sign the petition to ban the fracking in Denton. The volunteers from FFD set up booth at Farmers Market to recruit people to sign the petition to ban fracking in Denton.



Figure 13. Booth for Petition Drive¹⁰

Protest during City Council Meeting

During one of the city council meetings, the activists protested the current regulation of fracking. The protesters asserted that the fracking in Denton polluted our environment.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 5: ...Media is the one thing that I can really do but prior to that, my role was not very big but I would participate in the demonstrations, I would show up city council meetings, there was a YouTube video that I made a long time ago when Occupy Denton, mic checked the city council. I don't know if you are familiar with that strategy. You have to have permission to get the microphone but if you all work together, you can overpower that and you could get your message out so even though the city council has the microphone after they made their decision to drag their feet or whatever they do, somebody yells mic check and that means get ready we're about to do this, so mic check and then everybody else yells mic check and then one person shouts basically a message.

REFORM-FRACK FREE DENTON

Reform stage is the final phase of the natural history of a social problem. At this stage local or national governments act to ameliorate the alleged problem. The decision whether fracking ban will continue be referred to the legislature at Austin.

¹⁰ <https://www.facebook.com/frackfreedenton>

FFD group organized activities such as calling politicians, social media campaign, bus trip to Austin, and civil disobedience.

Calling Politicians at Austin

The FFD group encouraged the volunteers to call their local representatives to talk about the local residents' concerns about the abrogation of local autonomy by HB40.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 6: I called every single one of the members of the Energy Resources Committee, and also the people who were sponsoring some of these bills that we take away local control... When we've got there, far fewer of the actual representatives came out to talk to this and I had hoped they sent a lot of staff to talk to this. And we just talk to them about why local control is important and how our main focus with that argument, is how it's a property rights issue.

Social Media Campaign

The FFD group organized social media campaigns for local control. The volunteers created hash tags such as #ProtectLocalControl. They encouraged their followers to tweet and share a photo of a sign stating why protecting local control is important. They urged their followers to reach out to the local representatives and the local media sources to help spread the word. They continued to create hash tags such as #ProtectLocalControl, #StandWithDenton, #StopHB40, #Stop1165, #DefendDemocracy, #frackfreedenton.

Bus Trip to Austin

The FFD volunteers organized a bus trip to advocate local control. The volunteers met with the senators, the representatives, and the members of the Energy Resources Committee to stop HB 40 regulation

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 3: We did the bus trip with this other trip down to Austin, yeah and we keep what we can in terms of posting things and writing things but it's just been really hard frankly it's been a tough discussion. It was in the group like how do we energies people you know we are thinking about another fund raising thinks. We'll need money for law suits so maybe more of a party something fund.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 8: We had a bunch of citizens come out and try to explain to that city council about the health issues that they were experiencing. Yet a whole bunch of industry people come out and basically try to do a lot of spin talk basically where they said over, come out with solutions, will work together and finding when one of us city council members asks them, "Well can you give us at least one solution, something just anything" and they couldn't come up with anything at all.



Figure 14. Fighting for Local Control¹¹

¹¹ <https://www.facebook.com/frackfreedenton>

Civil Disobedience

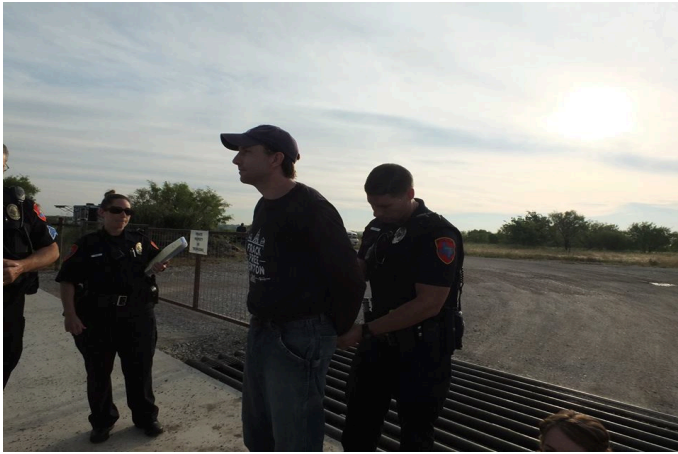
The FFD activists gathered to protest HB40 that over turned the fracking ban from legislation. The activists engaged in civil disobedience. The photo below presents the example of the civil disobedience in which protesters blocked the entrance of a drilling well. The protester being handcuffed is a professor of philosophy in the University of North Texas who subsequently published a book entitled: “A Field Philosopher’s Guide to Fracking: How One Texas Town Stood Up to Big Oil and Gas” (Briggle 2015).



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Figure 15. Civil Disobedience: Blocking-1

¹² <https://www.facebook.com/frackfreedenton>



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Figure 16. Civil Disobedience: Blocking-2

AWARENESS- DENTON TAX PAYERS FOR A STRONG ECONOMY

DTPSE was working with a public relations company to do their campaign during the election. The company had never lost any election in previous jobs. I requested permission to conduct an interview with the individual at the PR Company to discuss the campaign strategy of DTPSE. However, the individual declined to be interviewed. The claims-making activities of DTPSE, organized by a public relations firm, included erecting of billboards and yard sign, setting up information booths, TV ads, YouTube ads, panels, “kids in action” events, and mail campaigns.

Public Relations with Private Company

DTPSE worked with private public relations company to persuade the locals to vote no to the ban. The PR Company hired paid advocates to spread their message in the period prior to election.

¹³ <https://www.facebook.com/frackfreedenton>

PRO-RS: That was one of the things I should have done, but I thought that the company did, was doing all the PR work and stuff. They had people that were knocking doors supposedly. Going out, getting the word out, and getting the facts out to people. I just don't know and they were supposedly a good company that they never lost a campaign and so forth. But I just think the whole approach and stuff just kind of got off on the wrong skew or something. We are all money driven and the environment we didn't care about.

Billboards and Yard Sign

The leaders of DTPSE indicated that they distributed yard signs to the local residents who wanted to show their support. They were reached via phone or website to have yard signs.

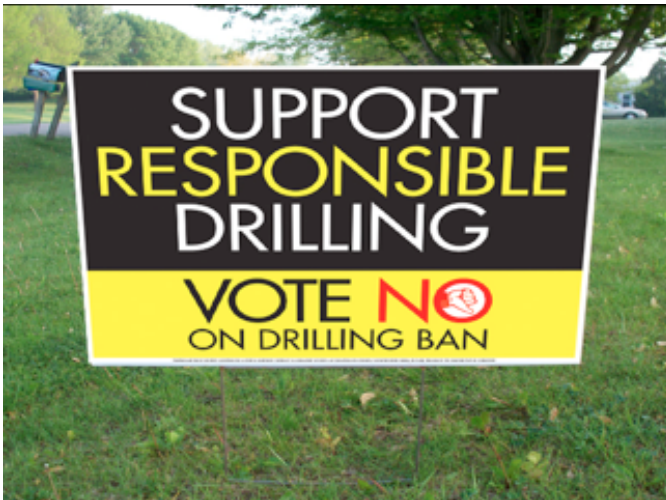


Figure 17. DTPSE Yard Sign¹⁴

The billboards functioned as media outlets to reach out to more local residents. Even though the participants from both groups mentioned that wording “responsible drilling” is smart way to influence the locals. Some supporters from

¹⁴ <http://www.dentontaxpayers.com>

DTPSE stated that to write vote no drilling ban is somewhat confusing since people vote “for” or “against” the ban.



Figure 18. DTPSE’s billboard (Photo is taken by Julie Dermansky)

Information Booths

The supporters of DTPSE from Denton County Republican Party set up information booths to inform the locals regarding fracking.



Figure 19. DTPSE’s Booth¹⁵

¹⁵ <http://www.dentontaxpayers.com>

TV Ads and YouTube Ads

The DTPSE bought YouTube ads to persuade the local population to vote for or against the ban. They emphasized that oil and gas revenue helps fund the schools in Denton. Moreover, the DTPSE group purchased TV ads to state how fracking contributes to the local economy. The TV ads can be watched at <https://vimeo.com/109253262>

Panels



Figure 20. Panel organized by the Denton Republican Women's Club. The speakers are Cathy McMullen and Tom Giovanetti¹⁶

Raising Fracking Consciousness for Kids

One of the oil and gas companies made a coloring book about fracking for kids. They made claims about how fracking is safe for our environment. The oil company supported DTPSE. The sample screenshot of the paint book is below.

¹⁶ <https://stateimpact.npr.org/texas/author/mbuchele/page/4/>

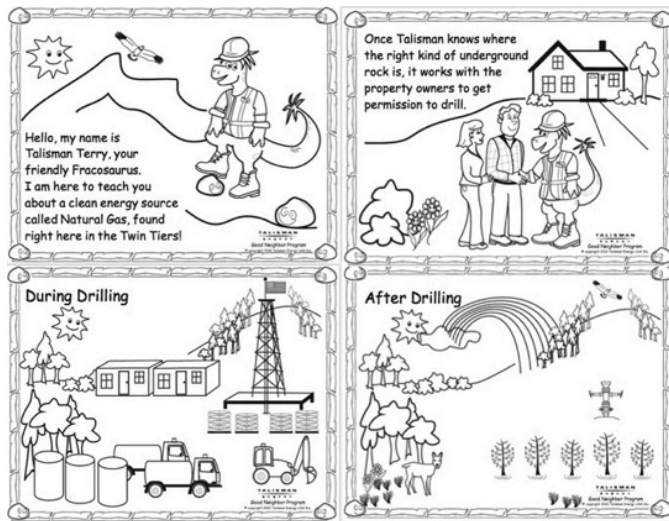


Figure 21. Educational Coloring Book about Fracking¹⁷

Mails

One of the campaign strategies was to send informative mail to local residents. The ads in the Denton Record Chronicle and the mailing materials were similar. Since the mailing brochures are expensive, FFD advocates did not use mailing as a strategy to reach out locals. Instead, they were knocking doors to hand their informational brochures to the locals. Some examples are below.

¹⁷ http://www.naturalgaswatch.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/talisman_terry_coloringbook.pdf



Figure 22: DTPSE's Poster Mail-1



Figure 23. DTPSE's Poster Mail-2

POLICY DETERMINATION-DENTON TAX PAYERS FOR A STRONG ECONOMY

One participant from DTPSE group, PRO-FRACK: CASE 15, summarized the policy determination stage of the fracking issue in Denton eloquently.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 15: ...the ordinance has been amended a number of times...Somewhere in this process, there was a committee and one of the

criticisms that I heard and I do not know if it is true was that the committee was too industry friendly because it had this industry person and I cant remember who that was. Anyway it was either three, it was an odd number three people or five people, somehow the criticism was that they were industry friendly and I can not tell you if that is in fact true or not, I just remember that but ultimately it ended with an ordinance. I think what happened through that process there were certain people that were really engaged in that process and it is the people that ended up being known as the Frack Free Denton. That had some engagements for several years when our most recent ordinance came about and they were not happy about that. I think the group really got better organized...They went into the petition drive, and we had the petition signatures to ban Fracking and it was introduced to the city council and city council said, we'll put it to the vote. They had an option either we're going to ban it or we're going to put it to vote, so they put it to vote.

The DTPSE also took action to shape the ordinance while attending the public hearings. However, they were not as proactive in reaching out the city council members as FFD were.

City Council Meeting- Public Hearing

One of the leaders of DTPSE asserted that the city council members should request his opinion about the ordinance and other concerns regarding fracking.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 11: ...Denton City Council has not come to me and asked me one thing about anything...If you're a good city councilman and you knew there was a local person that's been here all 57 years of his life, you might want to pick up the phone and call him. My phone number is the same and my mother's phone number is the same her phone number I think she probably had for 57 years.



Figure 24. Bobby Jones (President of DTPSE), Randy Sorrels (Secretary), Addressing the City Council.¹⁸

Petition Drive

DTPSE also organized the petition drive and collected more than 8000 signatures in Denton. They opened petition booth table to collect signatures.

REFORM-DENTON TAX PAYERS FOR A STRONG ECONOMY

The leaders of DTPSE stated that they are not engaging in claims-making activities in the reform stage. However, the oil and gas corporations took action in this stage to lobby at Austin to overturn the fracking ban in Denton. One example from the participant from DTPSE is below.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 17: "TIPRO which I mentioned earlier Texas Independent Producers and Royalty Owners Association, they're headquartered in Austin and they have a lobbyist and a lobby group that routinely lobbies legislatures to stay legislature on our behalf."

The second research question was "How did each of these groups challenge the claims-making activities and goals of their adversaries?" The findings showed that both groups participated in claims-making activities to win the power struggle

¹⁸ www.dentontaxpayers.com

over fracking during the campaign. The numbers of claims-making activities were higher for the FFD. The FFD volunteers took the platform and declared their concerns repetitively. Since claims-making activities are tools to influence audiences, FFD persuaded local citizens in Denton that fracking is an actual social problem and that the fracking should be banned.

RESEARCH QUESTION THREE: HOW DID THE LOCAL NEWSPAPER (DRC) BECOME THE FIELD OF POWER-STRUGGLE OF GRASSROOTS GROUPS (FRACK FREE DENTON AND DENTON TAX PAYERS FOR STRONG ECONOMY) OVER FRACKING?

Denton Record Chronicle is a prominent local newspaper in Denton. Each group has used the DRC as a venue to reach out and inform local citizens. Even though both groups used DRC as a tool, they also voiced reservations.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 11: ...that's very one-sided and recorded everything very one-sided from the get go. I'm not going to say any names. Very one-sided. The first time I was called about this election.. because they said we want you to know – because I call them an ad agency – you got a one-sided report up here. And I said oh you ain't gotta tell me nothing. A bunch of us already know that. The thing is they keep going to talking about... you had one blowout. And it was solved in some 8 hours. Nobody hurt. No injuries. No nothing.

FFD group reached out to DRC if they had any events. They called or emailed or they issued press releases to DRC. However, DTPSE group's perspective on reaching out differs from FFD group. One interviewee from DTPSE, PRO-FRACK: CASE 13, states, "X is the reporter. X is the one that should reach out in my opinion. If X is needing a story, then X should reach out to both sides, not just one side. X never reached out to our side." However, one of the reporters from DRC pointed out that when he/she

called a representative from Denton Taxpayers for a Strong Economy, DTPSE did not answer the phone or did not return the call for a comment.

PRO-FRACK: CASE 16: I conveyed my message with a letter to the editor. I conveyed my message that fracking that this was not the way to solve the problem. The fracking ban, in the first place I'm opposed to total ban. You can't have total ban on everything. What we really needed to do in my opinion was we needed better regulations for how and when you drill, not the fracking. The fracking was the issue that the opposition realized that they could stop the drilling because if we can't frack your not going to drill you can't frack your not going to drill. Its not economical because you drill but then you can't recover the assets. You have to frack to be able to get the gas out of the shale.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 1: Well, we had to buy ads. When we were doing the Brave Combo thing, we did a porch party at my house. We asked the Denton Record Chronicle if they would put it in their community. What's happening in Denton and they wouldn't do it so we bought adverts... I get it because I wouldn't want them to let industry come in and put something in the paper. All you hear is industry in the park doing "Bathe Your Dog Day, come on down." I mean they made them buy the ads also. We weren't treated any differently than industry and I appreciate it.

In order to analyze the last research question, I will first discuss the letters to the editor section of the Denton Record Chronicle. Later on, I will discuss the advertisements that were published in the DRC from both groups, as well as the news coverage about fracking.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

One of the strategies used during the campaign was sending letters to the editor. Both groups took advantages of this section of the newspaper at Denton Record Chronicle to make their voice heard by public. These letters raised attention for readers and the readers wrote controversial commentaries about the issue.

Sometimes the readers had heated debates with their commentaries. FFD was more organized in using this tool than DTPSE. The supporters of FFD outnumbered DTPSE in terms of sending letters to the editor. As a result, both groups have been found to use letters to the editor to convey their messages and to engage in power struggle over fracking. Both groups constructed the issue of fracking in different ways in favor of their positions. Since a social problem is constructed through conflicting values and interests, each group emphasizes the cultural values that are important to them. Therefore, the construction of the problem through local news media involves these two groups as claims-makers clashing over the issue of fracking.

Denton Taxpayers for a Strong Economy strongly asserts that the fracking ban is unconstitutional under the law. They believe that the case is sure to be overturned from legislation eventually. An excerpt from the DRC's letters to the editor is presented below as an example.

...As Dr. Ed Ireland pointed out in the *DRC* opinion column on May 14, fracking bans across the country are costing taxpayers. Cities and counties are hiring lawyers to defend the policies, which are being overturned left and right as illegal or even unconstitutional. We Denton residents deserve to know how much it has cost us to defend our ban... (Sweet 2015).

DRC archives revealed that the trend of the power struggle is continuing. If FFD supporters have claims about fracking, DTPSE supporters provide counter arguments and it goes back and forth between both parties. Here are some excerpts exemplifying the debates.

Bill Lawson's retort [*DRC*, Feb. 9] to an earlier letter of mine relating to the fracking ban vote scores a technical point (even if it wasn't his own) but also exposes a flaw with the state's power over "local control" as well as his own self-serving view on this issue. The rule of law is a concept we honor in this country, but it is not infallible. In fact, it can often be used to defy the will of the people when special interests effectively control elected officials. The special interests in this and other states that deny the rights of citizens to protect their families from intrusive businesses and health-threatening activities under the guise of mineral property rights too often weighs in favor of the gas and oil industry when strong evidence shows their safety records for citizens in close proximity to their activities are lacking...For Mr. Lawson or anyone else to champion the "state's right" to negate the will of a citizen majority on such critical issues is callous and irresponsible (Beck 2015).

Larry Beck's letter to the editor, "Loud and clear" [*DRC*, Jan. 2], asserts that lawsuits by the state and industry related to the fracking ban "take our vote away." Beck champions democracy and complains that our elected state officials "serve the needs of a few ... over ... we the people"...Beck's clamor ignores the fact that the governing principal is the rule of law, not local control...No principle of "local control" supersedes this authority. Our elected state officials take an oath to uphold the Texas Constitution, which mandates that the Railroad Commission of Texas has the authority over gas and oil permitting. Although local governments can be more responsive to the people, they are just as capable as the feds in passing laws that violate the presumption of liberty in the Constitution. Approval by the majority does not justify tyranny. The judicial process of law will determine the constitutionality of the fracking ban (Lawson 2015).

Another argument that has been highlighted in the DRC is whether fracking is safe or unsafe. The DTPSE's argument is that fracking is safe, whereas the FFD continuously refer to fracking as unsafe. On the one hand, the DTPSE emphasizes that whatever evidence the FFD presents on this issue is unscientific, and highly partisan. The FFD indicates the DTPSE focuses on the economic benefits (minor) of fracking, at the expense of harmful consequences of the fracking.

The following letter to the Editor in the DRC illustrates these arguments.

I am offended by the propaganda mailed out by the gas-industry funded opposition to the ban. The suggestion that fracking benefits our children is ludicrous. Due to the fracking near our home earlier this year, and the continued presence of a compressor station in our neighborhood, my children can no longer play in their yard...Without a ban on hydraulic fracturing, these areas will be fracked again, and again, and again, and they will never be safe for our children. Having lived the nightmare that is fracking firsthand, I do not want another Denton family to have to go through this. For our community and for our children, please vote for the ban on hydraulic fracturing (Bush 2014).

Denton is facing a big decision this November to decide whether or not to pass a ban on hydraulic fracturing within city limits. This is not a partisan issue. This is not a conservative or liberal issue. At its heart, this is an issue of health and safety for our fellow citizens. Hydraulic fracturing of wells near neighborhoods is dangerous and risky, so that's why this November I'll be voting to pass the ban (Wicks 2014).

I have not experienced any of the problems that people have related to fracking. All three of my children are completely healthy and have never had any of those health complications allegedly caused by fracking. They are at the top of their classes and Duke scholars. We own over 40 animals and have not had any problems with them either. On our property, we also have a water well. Our water is clean and is not unhealthy or contaminated in any manner. I believe with proper and reasonable regulations, that fracking is one of the most important parts of our local economy and community (Sorrells 2014).

Thank you, Devon Energy, EnerVest, EOG Resources and XTO... With their help maybe we can reverse the hysteria and hype for the ban on hydraulic fracturing. The frac ban proponents make these corporations out to be big, bad, evil companies...This raises a couple of questions: 1. If fracking or drilling is responsible for all of the health problems it's being accused of, then why haven't these "victims" filed and won civil cases? Is it because none of this can be proven? 2. If fracking and drilling is responsible for all the health problems it's being accused of, then why aren't the people who work on the drilling rigs sick? They stand directly over drill sites for days at a time (Allen 2014).

One argument I've heard from the anti-fracking activists is that it is all about "quality of life." They want to wean us off fossil fuels, yet they fail to visualize what Denton would look like, plastered with wind turbines and solar

farms...Not one activist thought it worthwhile to want to reduce emissions from buses or trucks by migrating to compressed natural gas vehicles. Natural gas is a far cleaner fuel. The byproduct of natural gas combustion is CO₂ and water. Air pollution from Interstate 35E and I-35W will get worse as growth continues. With all the pollution from autos and trucks, the activists try to link childhood asthma with the several-day fracking procedure. Any air pollution would be from the diesel engine compressors used to compress the fluids. This amount is quite small compared to the overall truck traffic exhaust on I-35. Vote no on the ban and save the taxpayers legal expenses that can be better applied to important projects (Sweet 2014).

DTPSE supporters state that the FFD group uses the fear factor to manipulate the truth about natural gas drilling. DTPSE supporters mentioned in the letters the local residents should know the facts, rather than appealing to false manipulative information. Moreover, based on the truth about fracking, they encourage the local residents to vote no on the ban. Some examples are below.

A Halloween scare tactic from the Frack Free Denton mailer alleges that fracking is the reason Denton has the most unhealthy air in Texas. The facts refute this myth: Since 2000, ozone levels have fallen while the number of gas wells has increased in the entire 10-county area of North Texas. A study at Southern Methodist University concluded that there is no clear relationship between Barnett Shale natural gas production activities and the highest average ozone levels. Most Barnett Shale natural gas wells produce dry gas, meaning that they produce no other liquids. Road and non-road vehicles produce more than 75 percent of the unhealthy emissions, and Denton's air also is affected by coal and other pollutants coming from points south by our prevailing winds...Base your vote on facts, not false scare tactics. Vote no on the ban (Edmondson 2014).

The scare tactic used in the Frack Free Denton mailer "One Fracking Blowout" should be reserved for Halloween. Only ghosts are missing. The myth alleges that dangerous levels of emissions were released during an April 19, gas well incident in Denton. The facts from the Texas Commission on Environmental Quality (TCEQ) determined that the well owned by EagleRidge Energy, suffered a pipe separation. It

was capped off the same day with no fire, explosion, danger or health risk to the public, while following OSHA rules. TCEQ air samples for determination of volatile organic compounds (VOCs) in the air both before and after the incident, determined that no compounds exceeding the air monitoring comparison values (MCV) for either long-term or short-term exposure existed (Lawson 2014).

DTPSE stated that the intention of FFD is actually to ban natural gas drilling activities. They indicated that the industry would not drill the wells if they were not able to use the hydraulic fracturing technique, extracting significant amounts of natural gas. Some examples from letters to the editor are below.

Some, opposing hydraulic fracturing, have claimed that a frack ban is not a ban on drilling...Without the ability to hydraulically fracture the producing zone, the vast majority of vertically drilled wells would not produce oil or gas in commercial quantities, not justifying the cost to drill and complete the well. And, until the late 1980s, all wells were vertically drilled wells. A number of wells drilled today are still done vertically. And, horizontally drilled wells must be fracked. Industry experts have known about the oil/gas shales for years, but shale development was not feasible without recent horizontal drilling and multistage fracturing technology. Before you vote on banning this technology in the city of Denton, please understand the true ramifications of approving a frack ban, which is a de facto drilling ban...(Sloan 2014).

Many state opinions that the fracking ban in Denton will not prevent drilling for gas, just that the land owners and drilling operators cannot use fracking technology...Preventing a land owner or operator from fracking is the equivalent of the government telling you that you can purchase a car but are not allowed to drive it. This is environmental madness taken to the extreme. No one would be stupid enough to drill for natural gas without fracking the well, as the net result would be a totally uncompetitive production cost. This means plenty of lawsuits to be paid for by Denton residents...It's unfortunate so many sensible people are taken in by the far left environmental nut cases and are buying into their propaganda. There is plenty of evidence from the Texas Commission on Environmental Quality to ensure Denton

residents that fracking does not impair the air and water quality in our neighborhoods... (Cajka 2014).

Anti-fracking drilling folks are quick to point out that they support drilling, but not hydraulic fracturing. This is simply not possible — you can't effectively drill in the Barnett Shale without fracking, so without it, no new drilling will take place. Maybe that job-killing consequence is what they really want? Many people believe that passing a ban on the upcoming ballot will all of the sudden shut down projects already in existence. That is not true...(McDaniels 2014).

Along with economic benefits of fracking in Denton, DTPSE supporters also stated the fracking ban in Denton will cost millions of dollars to local residents. Moreover, the mineral owners will sue the city.

Although I recently retired as chancellor of Texas Woman's University, I remain interested in the future of Denton...Before moving here, I had never known a city that advertised it was "closed for business." That attitude reversed and the results are obvious: * The Square and downtown are destinations for urban living, entertainment, dining and other business; * The three higher education institutions bring students, but much more in the dollars spent as consumers and in the workforce they provide; * The city has successfully made Denton a destination for medical care. All this and more suggest a vibrant, forward-looking city. To shut out a bedrock industry of Texas from producing in Denton is, in my opinion, going backward. Absolutely, the industry must be regulated...I hope that the referendum to ban hydraulic fracturing within Denton city limits is defeated and that Denton chooses to continue being a city that seeks economic well being for itself and its residents (Stuart 2014).

The fracking issue became a power struggle for city council member candidates. To endorse one of the council member candidates, the FFD group was urged in letters to the editor to recruit more people during city council member elections.

Amber for service on the Denton City Council, among them her service as a Planning and Zoning commissioner and her leadership roles with Frack Free

Denton, Denton for Fair Towing, the Denton Bike Plan Task Force and the Denton Community Splashpark. Each of these activities offers an example of a time when Amber saw a problem in our community and went to work to find a solution... (Hammer and Hammer 2015)

Denton needs Kathleen Wazny to represent District 3 on the Denton City Council...Kathleen was one of the pioneers in the fight to restrict fracking activities within the city limits of Denton... (Morris 2015)

I urge my fellow citizens to vote for Kevin Roden in District 1, Amber Briggie in District 3 and Keely G. Briggs for District 2 during the upcoming City Council election...active in the frack ban that called her into political service, is also poised to be a new independent voice for the people, at City Hall. I believe these dedicated women would bring a badly needed perspective to the City Council, one which puts our children, families and communities first (Treat 2015).

To ban fracking in Denton by local residents' votes brought a lot of attention from all around the country. Indeed it was frequently mentioned that this vote "put Denton on the map." Both groups indicated that the oil and gas corporations are very powerful organizations in Texas. Then, these corporations would lobby in Austin to change the proposed ban. Recently, the counter claims-making activities culminated in passing HB40 bill, which restricts local control over industrial development. Both groups generated claims on HB40 and struggled over HB40. FFD used HB40 bills to exert pressure over elected officials.

Legislation has been proposed in Austin that will deny the local control and citizens' initiatives to protect the health and safety of every city and town in the state. Reps. Phil King and Tan Parker along with Sens. Don Huffines and Konni Burton have filed bills that will require the attorney general's approval for getting a citizens' referendum on a local ballot (H.B. 540); require a city to reimburse the state government for lost tax revenues incurred with a ban such as Denton's (H.B. 539); prohibit all fracking bans (S.B. 440); and, prohibit any ordinance that is more stringent than a state statute (S.B. 343). The same folks who decry "big government" are doing their best to take away

our local control and silence our voices. Visit the websites of our elected officials, Rep. Myra Crownover and Sen. Craig Estes, and let them know that if they want our votes, they had better stand up for our rights and vote against these bills (Soph 2015).

It appears that Myra Crownover, who supposedly represents Denton, voted for HB 40, which takes away Denton's right to regulate what the oil and gas industries can do inside our own city limits. The people of Denton voted to ban fracking. Ms. Crownover seems to not care what we think. Perhaps it is time to vote her out of office and vote in someone who cares about the people and not the big corporations (Kobler 2015).

House Bill 40 limits cities' abilities to regulate the gas and oil industry to enforcing rules that are deemed "commercially reasonable." Blaming Denton's fracking ban for the production of HB 40 is inaccurate since the bill is written to essentially annihilate local protective measures the industry deems "commercially unreasonable."...Texans need to fight HB 40 and its companion bill SB 1165 by calling and writing all state senators and House representatives and urging them to vote against these bills...(Mattox 2015)

NEWS ADVERTISEMENTS

The newspaper advertisements were also the claims-making activities to make raise awareness about the fracking issue. Both groups accused each other of using scare tactics and manipulation of facts.

Frack Free Denton-Ads

The FFD sees fracking as a social problem. The major claims of the FFD group were emphasized in the local newspaper ads. In the ads, the FFD stressed the harmful effects of fracking on Denton's children and the minor economic benefits of fracking on Denton's schools. They highlighted that the mineral owners are the one who make the money from fracking. Moreover, the FFD highlighted the rights of Denton residents since they deserve clean air, a safe environment, and more

valuable homes. Some representative advertisements are provided (see Appendix B).

Denton Tax Payers for Strong Economy-Ads

Interviewees from both groups indicated using “responsible drilling” in the ads was a good strategy to recruit local residents. DTPSE highlighted the economic benefits of fracking. As FFD emphasized the future of Denton’s children, DTPSE highlighted how fracking will benefit the schools, the universities, and the parks through taxes. One of the criticisms of the FFD group was that DTPSE group did not use the local children in their ads.

ANTI-FRACK: CASE 1: They bought stock pools from Germany. Like the little girl in the swing, swinging, looking so happy, if you ban fracking, if you ban drilling then that poor kid won't have any money in her school. So what did we do? We looked it up, it's a stock photo from Germany, and we said, "Hell yeah, she looks happy. There is no Fracking in Germany." That's how stupid they were.

In the ads, they underlined the fact that the ban will cost millions of dollars to the city and the local residents. In the ads, the testimonies of the local leaders (previous mayor, previous TWU president, etc.) and the local organizations (Chamber of Commerce, State Fair) have been covered. Some representative advertisements are provided (see Appendix C).

NEWS COVERAGE

Both Frack Free Denton and Denton Taxpayers for Strong Economy used the Denton Record Chronicle as a venue to reach out to local citizens. Since local newspapers focus on local problems, both groups published advertisements,

reached to the editor of the DRC for commentaries, and have been cited several times in news coverage. The focus is on the claims-making activities of both groups. These groups and their news need to attract reporters to find a place in the coverage since the reporters in editorial meeting are deciding which coverage will take place. Moreover, sometimes the groups reach out to the local newspaper for a press release or reporters do reach out to them.

The claims, claims-making activities, and claims-makers of both groups were covered in the local newspaper in great detail. The coverage also included some details of each campaign's fundraising activities. Some local business concerns have shown support for various claims-makers on the fracking issue. For example, some local coffee shops and restaurants welcomed FFD meetings. Also, even though the Denton Chamber of Commerce encouraged local residents to vote no on the ban, they stated that they did not authorize their testimony to be used in campaign materials produced by DTPSE.

Some local organizations publicized their side on the fracking issue. Even though Denton Chamber of Commerce encouraged local residents to vote no on the ban, it stated that it had not consented to the use of its testimony in DTPSE's campaign flyers.

With a little more than a month left before city residents vote whether to ban hydraulic fracturing in the city, issues have arisen around the Denton Chamber of Commerce's opposition to the ban. Locally, the Denton Taxpayers for a Strong Economy has increased its efforts to encourage locals to vote "no" on the proposed ban. Recently, the group mailed voters a campaign flier that reprinted the Denton chamber's entire news release about its resolution

opposing the ban. However, the chamber didn't know it would be used in materials until the mailer was distributed, Carpenter said. "We didn't put a penny into that. It was not authorized by us or paid [for] by us, but it implies that it was a chamber initiative," he said (Duncan 2014).

...Denton Taxpayers for a Strong Economy, which opposed the ban, far outraised and outspent Pass the Ban in its Frack-Free Denton campaign. Denton Taxpayers pulled in close to \$700,000 through Oct. 25, the latest campaign finance reporting date, a figure nearly 10 times the \$75,000 raised by Pass the Ban...Denton Taxpayers sent out several mailers and had ads running in print, broadcast and social media, many of them with an image of a pink piggy bank being smashed by a gavel, in the final days before the election. The group also secured testimonials from former Texas Woman's University chancellor Ann Stuart and former mayor Perry McNeill as well as support from the North Texas State Fair Association, the Denton Chamber of Commerce and the Denton County Republican Party, which bought its own ads opposing the ban... (Heinkel-wolfe 2014e).

The efforts of the FFD group to launch a petition drive to put the ordinance in the ballot are covered in the DRC. The leaders of the group made their statements about the petition as well.

Denton Drilling Awareness Group is expected to announce the drive today, plans to formally launch the petition drive Thursday in downtown Denton. Once they start, they will have 180 days to gather the 571 signatures needed to put the measure before the City Council. The group plans to hold more educational presentations and signing sessions in the coming months, Briggie said. "We want people to make an informed decision about whether to sign," said. For more information about the initiative, visit the group's website, frackfreedenton.com, which is expected to launch today (Heinkel-Wolfe 2014b).

A petition to force a vote on whether to ban hydraulic fracturing in the Denton city limits has been validated, meaning the City Council must either approve a ban or let voters decide the issue. Denton resident Cathy McMullen, who helped circulate the petition, said members of the Denton Drilling Awareness Group worked hard and did their best to make sure they didn't do anything that would cause the petition to be rejected on a technicality. "I'm so excited," McMullen said (Heinkel-Wolfe 2014c).

Since the FFD group has made effective use of visual arts, sculpture, and painting as well as music, the Denton Record Chronicle also covered some claims-making activities of the FFD group. It also covered claims-making activities even though they were fewer in numbers. Local news reports illustrate this fact.

One such attention-getter was a mobile coffin. “We figured the coffin would go well with the theme of fracking — fracking causing health issues and things like that,” said Jeff McClung, a sculptor and staffer in UNT’s College of Visual Arts and Design who worked on the Frack Free Denton campaign. He built a coffin with wheels and entered it in the coffin races held during Denton’s Day of the Dead Festival on Oct. 25... the group held weekly meetings at private homes and the Greenhouse Restaurant to organize public awareness events and to train new canvassers in the art and craft of political persuasion (Battaglia 2014).

...A behind-the-scenes look at the anti-fracking campaign reveals how a relatively tiny group of combatants relied on creative tactics and political gimmickry to outmaneuver pro-fracking forces that outspent them 10-to-1. Their arsenal included puppet shows, flash mob-style improvisational dances and coffin races....The pro-fracking crowd watched the vote turn against them Tuesday night during an election watch party sponsored by U.S. Rep. Michael Burgess at the University of North Texas’ Apogee Stadium...(Battaglia 2014).

The oil and gas corporations mostly supporting Denton Taxpayers found places in the news coverage to express their opinion about the fracking ban.

A Devon Energy representative told the City Council on Tuesday night that proposed rules to consolidate gas well sites on the city’s west side would not allow the company to fully develop its holdings. Speaking on behalf of a small delegation of Devon employees at the city’s public hearing, Chance Wilson said company representatives had met with city staff several times to get an exception for operators that have already negotiated agreements with surface owners. If the city’s new rules go into effect, Wilson said, “we would be effectively prohibited from drilling any new wells in Denton.” Late last year, the city unveiled an innovative plan to have energy companies select a single location for the gas wells they want to operate in hopes of freeing up land for development on the city’s west side. During his public testimony in Austin on Monday, Mayor Chris Watts told state leaders that Denton had

already seen developers walk away from projects because they could not negotiate with energy companies (Heinkel-wolfe 2015b).

The editorial board of the DRC declared its position against the fracking ban for particular reasons as explained in their editorial letter before the election. The DRC's Editorial declared their positions with the headlines "Vote No on Fracking Ban," stating:

We urge Denton residents to vote "No" on the Nov. 4 ballot proposal to ban hydraulic fracturing. In our view, this proposition is misguided and could ultimately result in unfair burdens for local taxpayers, unjust restrictions and penalties for a valued Texas industry and unprecedented risks for the Denton County economy. Like proponents of the proposed ban, we are concerned about air quality, noise and potential water contamination — but we believe there are more effective ways to achieve our goals to be free from those things. The proposed ban on fracking is an all-or-nothing approach that leaves no room for negotiation or compromise. Approval of the ban could result in litigation that would not only be costly to local taxpayers but would also make it difficult if not impossible to achieve the very goals that proponents of the ban desire to achieve (Editorial 2014).

However, the editorial in Denton Record Chronicle also declared its position against House Bill 40 (HB40) that restricts local control.

The biblical story of David and Goliath is used to illustrate that little guys — if they are tough and smart — can defeat big guys in battle. Denton played the role of David last November when its residents voted overwhelmingly to ban hydraulic fracturing inside the city limits. The Texas oil and gas industry played the role of Goliath. The story in Denton is playing out a bit differently than the ancient biblical version. Goliath didn't die. He got mad and sued David to overturn the frack ban. And then Goliath recruited his minions in the Legislature to change the rules that govern how citizen groups petition their local government to hold elections on issues such as fracking. The worst idea to surface in Austin — thank God the Legislature only meets every other year — would allow the state attorney general to restrict the ability of Denton and other home-rule cities to hold elections on important issue. It's about cities having the power to do what they think best for their residents. We should not change the system to invest more power in a statewide

elected official in Austin. We hope Rep. King's misguided bill never makes it out of committee (Editorial 2015).

One of the supporters of FFD released a documentary film, *Don't Frack with Denton*, as another claims-making activity to convey FFD's message. The DRC covered this release in the following news item.

"Don't Frack With Denton" isn't the first film to examine a Texas grassroots movement to defy the oil and gas industry. The film reveals the anti-fracking camp to be a microcosm of the city itself: college students who believe in "green" energy link up with mothers who worry that fracking is at least part of their children's breathing troubles. "This film is as much about Denton as it is about fracking," Graham wrote on the film's site, "and it will reveal what this community means to the people fighting for it and how that affects the way that they organize...Among Graham's footage is an anti-fracking concert, where local musicians performed political songs. It includes vignettes of the key players and looks into the lives of families anxious about the health and well-being of their children (Breeding 2015).

Both groups debated fracking and questioned each other's polemics and campaign strategies. The campaign strategies of the contending groups are grounded on claims, counter-claims, and claims-making activities.

Opponents of the ban accused the other side of engaging in "a lot of misinformation that we were unfortunately the victims of," said Denton County GOP chairwoman Dianne Edmondson. "I'm disappointed as a citizen and a taxpayer. My taxes will probably go up, and my services will probably go down because of all the legal fees and loss of revenue. But it will be challenged and found unconstitutional. It's not over." Bobby Jones, co-chairman and treasurer of Denton Taxpayers for a Strong Economy, which fought the ban, said the ban on fracking will diminish his family income from mineral royalties. "We're going to give it a little bit of time, and then we'll be taking legal action," he said (Battaglia 2014).

...Frack Free Denton's voting drive on campus encountered stiff resistance from student groups opposed to the fracking ban: the UNT chapters of College Republicans and Young Conservatives of Texas. The groups enlisted about 20 students to campaign against the ban — manning tables to pass out

pro-fracking literature intended to undermine what they considered to be biased, anti-industry press coverage. “It’s not a fair fight,” claimed Baileigh Poston, vice chairwoman of College Republicans. The groups opposed to fracking agreed that it’s not a fair fight — not because of the press coverage but because Denton Taxpayers for a Strong Economy, the main group opposing the ban, raised more than \$700,000 since July attempting to foil ban supporters through a barrage of mailings, Internet advertisements, billboards and other means. Outgunned on the advertising and marketing front — the Frack Free Denton campaign raised only \$75,000 — the anti-fracking organizers decided the only way they could possibly win the battle was through entertainment venues that would attract big crowds and call attention to their cause (Battaglia 2014).

One of the leaders of FFD wrote a column in response to the DRC’s editorial against fracking ban and adduced counter arguments. He provided an informative article.

...With all due respect, the *Denton Record-Chronicle*’s editorial is an insult to the Denton citizens who have spent more than four years working with the city and industry to do just that...But the editorial dismisses this behavior as just what happens when things get political, implying that ban supporters are equally to blame for ban opponents’ lies...The editorial references the fracking industry commissioned study regarding the ban’s economic impacts. Even if we accept their numbers (we don’t), the industry’s own report shows that fracking accounts for only 0.2 percent of the local economy, 0.25 percent of the workforce, 0.5 percent of tax revenues, and 0.2 percent of our school district’s budget...The editorial fails to mention that Texas home-rule cities, like Denton, are Texas tough. The editorial, like the industry, acknowledges there is a problem with fracking in Denton, but it offers no viable, concrete solutions. Like industry, the editorial makes vague suggestions that would allow business as usual to continue. We have played that game for too long. And we have paid the price with our health, our safety and our property values. To continue down that path is the real irresponsible choice. Enough. Vote for the fracking ban (Briggle 2014).

Moreover, one of the supporters of DTPSE wrote a guest column to express his opinion that fracking ban will cost the city monetarily.

When it comes to fracking bans, there is a monetary cost, and taxpayers foot the bill...if Denton taxpayers knew how much the ban would cost them, it may have changed the outcome of the election. This is important, because

courts all across the country have ruled consistently that fracking bans are illegal...Taxpayers are being forced to fund the legal defense of policies that take away property rights and, as a result, have been deemed illegal... People from across the country are moving to Texas to take advantage of our incredible economic opportunities, including the fact that we have no state income tax. Time will tell how much Denton's ban will cost. (Ireland 2015).

The reporter, Peggy Heinkel-Wolfe, incorporates arguments of both sides in her article. She also asks both groups' opinion about the testimony of the Denton Chamber of Commerce against the fracking ban.

The Denton Chamber of Commerce has formally recommended that its employees and members vote against a proposed ban on hydraulic fracturing that will appear on the city's Nov. 4 general election ballot. Chamber officials, who represent businesses large and small, cited possible revenue losses for the University of North Texas, the city and the Denton school district. Instead, the chamber called for "reasonable regulation of local well sites." "We don't disagree that it is an issue, and I understand what it can do to property, but an outright ban is not the answer," chamber President Chuck Carpenter said by phone Thursday. "We prefer it be dealt with through management of the regulations. Good, sound regulation of any kind of drilling should be in place, but what's more important is the implementation of those rules and making sure they are enforced fairly." Adam Briggie, a member of Denton Drilling Awareness Group, was among the leaders of the petition drive that led to the ballot proposition. We greatly appreciate the support offered by the Denton Chamber of Commerce and will continue to work with all stakeholders " (Heinkel-Wolfe 2014a).

Bobby Jones, which opposes the proposed ban, said his family has some of those old wells. They have watched the city grow toward their property on South Bonnie Brae Street for decades. "The City Council keeps wanting to change the rules, but I don't think they ever told the citizens that we are grandfathered," Jones said. Both leaseholders and developers got permits from the city for the work they did..."The well that's by Apogee Stadium — Apogee wasn't there when the well was drilled," Ireland said. Resident Cathy McMullen sounded the alarm in 2009, with the first wells that came close to a Denton neighborhood, park and hospital. She and others with the Denton Drilling Advisory Group, which brought the petition to ban fracking, said

there's no regulation that could get the city out of the mess (Heinkel-Wolfe 2014d).

FFD continue its struggle against fracking. For example, the leaders of "Frack Free Denton" traveled to Austin to make their opinion on HB 40, the restriction of local control over fracking issue, known to the Texas legislation. Some representative coverage of these activities follows.

Gov. Greg Abbott signed HB 40 on Monday afternoon, a sweeping new law that limits the ability of Texas cities and local governments in writing local rules for oil and gas operators. The legislation came after Denton voters overwhelmingly approved a ban on hydraulic fracturing in November...Technically, the hard-fought citizen's initiative is still on the books...The Denton City Council put a moratorium on new gas well drilling permits in May 2014 and has continued that moratorium for more than a year... Adam Briggles, president of Frack Free Denton, which campaigned for the ban, said the group has watched the state's politicians and the oil and gas industry work for the past six months to undo the ban. But he expected Denton residents to continue to fight. "We cannot say how this story will unfold, but we do know this dark chapter shall not be the last one written," Briggles said in a prepared statement on behalf of Frack Free Denton. In an interview, Briggles said he couldn't confirm whether people would stage protests at the site. "But it wouldn't be a stretch to imagine it," Briggles said (Heinkel-wolfe 2015a).

The president of the FFD group published an open letter in the DRC in order to exert pressure on elected officials and to let people know that the state representative acted against local residents' perspective on the fracking ban.

Denton's state Rep. Myra Crownover voted recently for House Bill 40, a piece of legislation that will kill Denton's fracking ban. Once the voters of Denton understand what HB 40 really means, they might think twice next time they see her name on a ballot. HB 40 doesn't just ban fracking bans. It threatens hundreds of local ordinances that protect health and safety, and it marks a sweeping and ominous shift in Texas law...We need to bear witness to the fact a grass-roots democratic decision has been gutted solely on the basis of money and power. Together, we must also join in solidarity with the

hundreds of communities across Texas that have been stripped of their local control. It is time to elect legislators who believe in the reasonableness of the communities that they serve and not the rapaciousness of the industry that buys their votes (Briggle 2015).

The last research question was “How did the local newspaper (DRC) become the field of power-struggle of grassroots groups (Frack Free Denton and Denton Tax Payers For Strong Economy) over fracking?” The study revealed that the news media became an arena of power struggle of the two groups. The supporters of both groups wrote letters to the editor and guest columns in support of their respective positions. Moreover, the claims-making activities of both groups found expression in the news coverage. Since the FFD created many claims-making activities, the FFD’s activities received greater coverage by the DRC than those of the DTPSE.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The first part of this chapter summarizes key findings. The second part explores the theoretical and policy implications of the findings. The third part discusses the limitations, and suggestions for future research.

SUMMARY

This dissertation details actions and interactions of two groups, Frack Free Denton and Denton Tax Payers for Strong Economy, as claims-makers while clashing over social construction of fracking in Denton. To be able to explain this phenomenon, I gathered data from in-depth interviews, newspaper articles, letters to the editor, and campaign advertisements. I have used a integrated model comprised of value-conflict and social construction perspectives for the study of Denton's fracking problem. Data analyses show that the contending groups constructed the fracking issue according to their respective values and interests. The study had three primary questions focused on the power struggle of two groups over fracking in Denton.

RESEARCH QUESTION ONE

The first question was "How did campaign advocates from Frack Free Denton and Denton Tax Payers For Strong Economy construct fracking in general?" The groups constructed their claims using respectively, the discourses of human rights

or property rights. The values of both groups are divergent and their interests are different. FFD's main claim has been the negative environmental (such as water and air pollution and earthquakes) and health impact (such as asthma and allergies) of the activity, compared to its minimal economic advantages, whereas DTPSE's main claims revolve around the property rights and economic advantages of the fracking. Each group minimizes the negative impacts claimed by the other side. As a rule, DTPSE interviewees did not dwell on public health concerns or else insisted that there are no harmful effects of fracking on public health since fracking companies apply advanced technology to frack. They conceded that some companies may not play by the rules, which explains occasional explosions and other accidents. In contrast, FFD interviewees dwelt on environmental and wellness impact of the activity and tried to explain away its economic advantages. Larger controversies such as the climate change debate constitute the backdrop against which the local debates are constructed.

Both groups used accusatory language against each other. DTPSE's epithets for FFD included: "eco-terrorists," "tree huggers," "fear mongering," and having "Russian ties." FFD dubs DTPSE with attributes such as: "terrorizing the planet," and being a "shadow organization."

Both groups accused each other of unlawful behavior. The DTPSE group indicated FFD activists engaged in actions such as stealing, painting, or re-wording DTPSE's signs. FFD interviewees claimed that DTPSE was guilty of corruption.

Finally, both groups perceive that the other has intents that it does not exhibit in its rhetoric. DTPSE suggests that FFD group is against all kinds of drilling and any use of fossil fuel and has ties to the extreme radical left as indicated by their alliance with leftist student associations at local universities. FFD suggests that DTPSE hides its deep seated motives such as absolving the oil industry of any accountability and responsibility and denying democratic rights of the citizens.

RESEARCH QUESTION TWO

The second question was “How did each of these groups challenge the claims-making activities and goals of their adversaries?” Claims-making activities are drawn from the in-depth interviews as well. The FFD group recruited volunteers from locals in Denton to accomplish their goals during the campaign. On the other hand, DTPSE worked with a private public relations company in order to raise awareness during this stage. A public relations company intern hired advocates for the DTPSE cause. The claims-making activities of the FFD outnumbered the DTPSE’s activities. This may explain the victory of the FFD in the campaign. The DTPSE had more sources and hired a public relations company, yet they lost the vote. They lost to volunteers. This validates the social construction perspective in which the preponderance of claims-making activities foreshadows the outcome of the campaign. The claims-makers as FFD and DTPSE participate in the claims-making activities to construct their claims about fracking.

In the awareness stage, the FFD organized several activities to raise awareness. The claims-making activities in this stage are as follows: canvassing, demonstration, information booth, websites, blog entries, Facebook, puppet show, soapbox derby, sculpture, light brigade, flash mob dance show, media outlets (concert, documentary, YouTube), kids in action, yard signs, billboards. In the policy determination stage, the FFD engaged in activities to construct the ordinance about fracking to make fracking safe to Denton. The claims-making activities in this stage included letters to the editor, panels, city council meetings, and mic checks in the city council meetings. In the reform stage, FFD participated in activities to put pressure on elected officials and to inform the locals about the current development about fracking. The claims-making activities in this stage involved: phone calling officials, and a bus trip to Austin.

In the awareness stage, DTPSE also engaged in activities to promote the awareness of pro-fracking atmosphere, with the help of a private public relations company. All the campaign work was designed by the public relations company. I sent e-mails to request an interview from the public relations company concerning the campaign details. However, they did not grant an interview. Unlike the volunteers of the FFD, the campaign workers of the DTPSE were all paid. The claims-making activities in this stage are all reflected in the respective group's website, billboards and newspaper ads, information booth, yard signs, TV ads, support letters form prominent locals, and ads during games at Cowboy Stadium. In the policy

determination stage, DTPSE also engaged in claims-making activities to be part of the policy making stage. The claims-making activities in this stage included: letters to the editor, panels, participating in city council meetings, and a petition booth. In the reform stage, DTPSE did not engage in any claims-making activities as a group. Instead, the oil and gas corporations engaged in claims-making activities through lobbying at Austin to pass HB40.

RESEARCH QUESTION THREE

The third question was “How did the local newspaper (DRC) become the field of power-struggle of grassroots groups Frack Free Denton and Denton Tax Payers For Strong Economy over fracking?” Both groups used the Denton Record Chronicle as a venue to explain themselves and inform the local citizens. DRC is a powerful ground to engage in power struggle. The power struggle over fracking of both groups is located in the letters to the editor, news coverage and advertisements in the DRC.

The major claims of both groups are embedded in the letters to the editor. The FFD group organized systematically to write letters to the editor for their supporters. The FFD wrote more letters to the editor than the DTPSE did. The claims, claims-makers, and claims-making activities of both groups are reported in the news coverage. Unlike the DTPSE group, the FFD group let reporters know of their claims-making activities. The leaders of DTPSE group were of the opinion that the reporters need to reach them, not the other way around. Both groups paid for

several ads in the DRC. The major claims are embedded in the ads. The DTPSE collected 15 times more political contributions than the FFD (Briggle 2015) (see Appendix D). However, the money the FFD collected was from predominantly Denton residents. The DTPSE mostly collected campaign funds from oil and gas companies.

Since HB40 passed voiding Denton's vote to ban fracking within city limits, the gas companies started to resume fracking in Denton. This means the power struggle over fracking continues. My model recommends that the process could be cyclical and contingent upon the efforts of both groups. At this point, DTPSE has left its claims-maker position to the oil and gas corporations. However, FFD continues to construct the claims and claims-making activities. The supporters of FFD protested HB40 in front of the drilling wells. FFD has organized demonstrations to establish that the bill is disrespectful of democracy since 59 percent of local voters were for the ban. Recently, the police handcuffed one of the leaders of FFD, Adam Briggle, due to the fact that the group was protesting and blocking the drilling site. During a protest, FFD activists were arrested for blocking trucks to enter the drilling well.

THEORETICAL AND POLICY IMPLICATION

According to the social construction perspective, social problems do not "come," they are "made." My model, merging the theoretical framework of value-conflict and social construction of social problems, analyzes the stages of awareness, policy determination, and reform in relation to fracking by observing the claims,

claims-makers, and claims-making activities in stage. However, the stages utilized in the study overlap; there are no clean-cut borderlines among the stages. For example, FFD group has been pursuing a dynamic strategy to inform and mobilize its members and local residents throughout the campaign. After House Bill 40 (HB40) passed, the FFD group started to raise awareness regarding current development of fracking regulations, therefore, potentially starting a new phase of the cycle.

The emergence of each of the three stages in the natural history of social problems is dependent on the power, numbers, and longevity of claims-makers. Without sufficient and efficient claims-making, there is no assurance that a social problem will move from the first (awareness) stage to the second (policy determination) stage; or from the second to the third (reform) stage. Thus, the contending groups are the agents who can mobilize or block the necessary resources so that the process is pushed to the next stage. Table 1 summarizes the claims and counter claims of two contending groups.

Table 1. Claims vs. Counter Claims on the Effects of Fracking

Claims-makers	Frack Free Denton	Denton Taxpayers for Strong Economy
Claims and Counter Claims	Human (Citizen) Rights Slight Contribution to Economy Public Health (Asthma, Allergy), Environmental problems (Water contamination, Air pollution, Earthquake, Methane) Unsafe Technology Claims about DTPSE (Anti-Environment Terrorism, shadowy corporate support, absolving the industry of responsibility, corruption) Baselessness of DTPSE's claims Admitting FFD did a good job	Property Rights Major Contribution to Economy, No harmful effects on public health Negligible environmental impact. Lack of firm scientific evidence for the endemic danger of fracking. Safe Technology Claims about FFD (Eco-terrorist, tree huggers, Russian ties, fear mongering, Illegal removal and defacing of signs, leftist alliances, Banning all kinds of drilling) Baselessness of FFD claims Admitting DTPSE did a poor job

According to Table 1, FFD has constructed more claims and counter-claims than DTPSE, once we count the sub-claims under environmental and health claims. Since the stages overlap, some of these claims have been reiterated in each stage. The FFD's claims are extended in various areas of concern, while the DTPSE claims mainly focus on economic issues. The above claims were identified through the analysis of the in-depth interviews, which explored the claims of each group in great detail, which were then categorized as claims and sub-claims. The following table illustrates the claims-making activities in each stage.

Table 2. Claims-making activities embedded in stages

<i>Claims-making Activities</i>		
<i>Stages</i> \ <i>Claims-makers</i>	<i>FFD</i>	<i>DTPSE</i>
<i>Awareness</i>	Canvassing Information Booth Websites Blog Entries Facebook Pages Puppet Shows Soapbox Derby Sculpture Light Brigade Flash Mob Dance Show The Frackettes Documentary Film Screenings Letters to the Editor Concert Kids in Action Yard Signs Demonstration Mails Panels Billboards	Hiring a PR Company Billboards Yard Signs Information Booths Ads at YouTube TV ads Panel Presentation Mailings Raising Fracking Consciousness for Kids Letters to the Editor
<i>Policy Determination</i>	Attending City Council Meeting Petition Drive Letter to the Editor Protest at City Council News Ads	Attending City Council Meeting Petition Drive Letters to the Editor News Ads
<i>Reform</i>	Calling Politicians Social Media Campaign Civil Disobedience Bus Trip to Austin	No activity

Table 2 lists the claims-making activities that the two contending groups engaged in throughout the stages. In accordance with the claims, the claims-making activities were higher in numbers for the FFD. The table shows that the groups have

both engaged in some activities; however, the quantities were different for each group. For example, both groups have attended city council meetings. However, DTPSE rarely attended the public hearings, while FFD has been present most of the time. FFD volunteers took the platform and mentioned their concerns repeatedly. In addition, FFD's claims and claims-making activities must have been convincing for the community since 59% the residents voted 'yes' for the fracking ban. In other words, since claims-making activities are tools to persuade audiences, FFD convinced Denton residents that fracking is an actual social problem and that the fracking should be banned. Tables 1 and 2 provide indications that explain why DTPSE, which spent 15 times more than FFD and sought professional help from a PR company, lost to FFD.

To sum up, my integrated model and empirical research suggest seven reasons for the vindication of FFD by Denton voters: 1) FFD made a greater number of claims; 2) FFD proficiently rebutted DTPSE's claims with its counter claims; 3) FFD recruited a greater number of advocates (local volunteers) than DTPSE had managed to mobilize as paid volunteers; 4) FFD had a greater number of claims-making activities compared to DTPSE; 5) FFD claims-making activities were enhanced by artistic and creative events such as puppet shows, concerts, and original art exhibitions (such as sculptures). In contrast, DTPSE had used traditional venues of claims-making activity; 6) FFD's grassroots and local lobbying eclipsed the DTPSE's activities in this area; 7) FFD utilized the local newspaper (DRC) more

effectively than DTPSE. Despite the newspaper's editorial support for fracking, FFD was able to capture the DRC's audience through activities such as letters to the editor, press releases, guest columns, and arranging newsworthy local events that were covered by DRC.

LIMITATIONS

Due to the nature of qualitative research, the findings of this research in Denton cannot be readily generalized to other locations. Moreover, the results may be different in other cities. Also, the fracking issue may not be generalizable across other states or countries. Sample size and a possible selection bias constitute the other limitation of the study. Since one newspaper was the only traditional media source in this dissertation, it did not include other forms of media, such as radio, magazines, and television, etc., or even other newspapers.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Concerning the substantive focus of this dissertation, future research can engage in areas not sufficiently explored in this study such as discourse analysis of contending groups' claims. Also, researchers may advance beyond my in-depth interview method and launch an ethnographic study of Frack Free Denton's grassroots activism. Since the issue of fracking in Denton and elsewhere is a continuing saga, future research may be conducted to study renewed cycles of Awareness, Policy Determination, and Reform, as litigation continues within the court system.

In sum, FFD's "local roots" and the quantitative and qualitative superiority of its claims and claims-making activities ensured its victory. This study confirms the centrality of claims and claims-making activities in contested social issues from public spaces to state and national legislative bodies.

EPILOGUE

Denton is the first town I saw after leaving my country to complete my education in sociology. It is the place where I met my wife and the town in which my beautiful children were born. They are “Dentonites” by birth and I consider myself a Dentonite as well.

I have been lucky to find myself at ground-zero of the fracking debate in Denton. When I started this project, the subject matter was local. However, the subsequent power struggle attracted national, even global attention to this small town in north central Texas. The election on November 4th made Denton the first city in Texas banning fracking. It became a common expression that the fracking controversy put the city of Denton on the map. The issue received great attention from the national and international press.

However, for FFD members, the feeling of accomplishment did not last long. The fracking ban was almost immediately overturned by the state legislature in Austin, Texas. The drilling companies resumed activity in the wells in Denton. Then, the anti-fracking passion was reignited and the activists from the FFD group started their struggle once again. Some members even engaged in civil disobedience, blocking one of the well sites. We have seen that the stages of the natural history of social problems can be cyclical. The power struggle over fracking in Denton, too, has the potential to trigger another cycle of Awareness, Policy Determination, and

Reform. Obviously, the FFD activists have not given up. Recently, they came together to create the Texas Grassroots Network for the restoration of local control of natural resources. As I conclude this study, I can foresee future research recording the upcoming stages of this unfolding saga.

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APPENDIX A
IRB APPROVAL

**Institutional Review Board**

Office of Research and Sponsored Programs

P.O. Box 425619, Denton, TX 76204-5619

940-898-3378

email: IRB@twu.edu<http://www.twu.edu/irb.html>

DATE: March 2, 2015

TO: Mr. Mehmet soyer
sociology & social Work

FROM: Institutional Review Board - Denton

Re: *Approval for Power Struggle Over Fracking in Denton (Protocol #: 17976)*

The above referenced study has been reviewed and approved by the Denton Institutional Review Board (IRB) on 2/26/2015 using an expedited review procedure. This approval is valid for one year and expires on 2/26/2016. The IRB will send an email notification 45 days prior to the expiration date with instructions to extend or close the study. It is your responsibility to request an extension for the study if it is not yet complete, to close the protocol file when the study is complete, and to make certain that the study is not conducted beyond the expiration date.

If applicable, agency approval letters must be submitted to the IRB upon receipt prior to any data collection at that agency. A copy of the approved consent form with the IRB approval stamp is enclosed. Please use the consent form with the most recent approval date stamp when obtaining consent from your participants. A copy of the signed consent forms must be submitted with the request to close the study file at the completion of the study.

Any modifications to this study must be submitted for review to the IRB using the Modification Request Form. Additionally, the IRB must be notified immediately of any adverse events or unanticipated problems. All forms are located on the IRB website. If you have any questions, please contact the TWU IRB.

cc. Dr. Celia Lo, sociology & social Work
Dr. Mahmoud sadri, sociology & social Work
Graduate school

APPENDIX B
CODING AND MAPPING

Stages	Claims&Claims-makings	Code	Evidence	Page #	Group	ID #
Overlap	Claim1	Property Right or Human Right	"...in Texas personal right, personal freedom; personal rights are a big deal, so that really was a point I tried to drive home. And I would tell people "This is not a party line vote, we all own our property, we all have a right to having a healthy environment. And we all have a right to have people not doing this on land that we own and they can do whatever the heck they want".	35	ANTI-FRACK	CASE 10
Overlap	Claim4	Asthma	"We have an incredibly high asthma rates in Denton and I'm sure there is a relationships. So and I also know that it's very difficult, a lot of public health research is correlational, it's not cause-effect. It's very difficult to ferret out what's actually going on, but I was not mollified by the argument that, 'Well, we have a lot of asthma because we're in this metropolitan area or we have a lot of asthma because of those cement plants, south of us, the wind blowing. No, we have a lot of asthma because we have all of that plus we have the heavy incidence of the oil and gas industry."	38	ANTI-FRACK	CASE 2
Overlap	Claim8	Air Pollution	"it's hard to argue with wanting a healthy community, near your home especially; having diesel fumes near your home, having light on all night near your home, having your water potentially polluted and you drink that water out of the lake. So from a human health standpoint, I always emphasize that first, but then I also emphasize "this is a proximity to our property and we have no rights". These folks could come in and get around zoning and find loopholes, and find rules and	41	ANTI-FRACK	CASE 10

			Texas is big on property owner rights and mineral rights trumping surface rights is a big issue. Too many Texans, many land owners when they find that, they own 250 acres of land, that they don't own their minerals, a company could come in and set up a rig 250 feet, 300 feet from their home; I don't care what party you are, that resonates with you.			
Overlap	Claim9	Climate Change	"I think the pollution is definitely- they are proving that it's increasing greenhouse gases since fracking started this area; our ozone levels have gone right up. And there is a direct correlation here and other parts of the country too."	41	ANTI-FRACK	CASE 10
Overlap	Claim12	Fracking is (un) safe	"You can't even put in a bakery 200 feet from your house, but you can bring in the oil and gas industry 200 feet from your house."	45	ANTI-FRACK	CASE 2
Awareness	Claims-making Activity4	Panel	"I attended some of the meetings they held, the Denton Advisory Group, Denton Drilling project at, I believe, they were UNT. So, when I heard how few regulations there were, the party made that really interesting public health and public policy, got very engaged."	58	ANTI-FRACK	CASE 2
Awareness	Claims-making Activity5	Websites	"I'm on a web-based neighborhood communication site and during the campaign, it was very active site. A lot of people didn't want us talking about it, but we kept talking about it anyway, because that's part of the whole set-up and the communication site is that you're to discuss things that have an impact on your community."	59	ANTI-FRACK	CASE 2
Awareness	Claims-making Activity13	Media Outlets: Music, Documentary, YouTube	"Brave Combo is a local band who had been together for 30 year and they started as a garage band, we call them. They're just a bunch of kids	67	ANTI-FRACK	CASE 2

			playing together. And then, won two Grammy's and they are like a V-band from Denton."			
Reform	Claims-making Activity19	Public Relations with Private Company	That was one of the things I should have done, but I thought that the company did, was doing all the PR work and stuff. They had people that were knocking doors supposedly. Going out, getting the word out, and getting the facts out to people. I just don't know and they were supposedly a good company that they never lost a campaign and so forth. But I just think the whole approach and stuff just kind of got off on the wrong skew or something. We are all money driven and the environment we didn't care about.	76	ANTI-FRACK	CASE 2
Overlap	Claim2	Economy	"...Less than 1% of our city budget comes from fracking... Our schools won't go bankrupt because only \$21/yr. per child is generated from fracking. So I'm sure parents would just as soon pay that \$21/yr. to keep the wells off of the playground. The way you got people involved was you let the industry guide you."	36	ANTI-FRACK	CASE 1
Overlap	Claim7	Water Contamination	"They started the fracturing, all of a sudden, the water from the tank was gone because they were sucking it out for the fracking. Then two days later, the tank was full of all the water that was produced from the fracking and four cows died overnight? Horrible deaths. You could hear them mooing and crying out in the night and in the morning they were all dead... the veterinarians came out and said they had all died of pulmonary edema which is where all the fluid in your body goes to your lungs and they basically suffocated. So I started looking at the chemicals they were using.	40	ANTI-FRACK	CASE 1

			One of them was antifreeze, which causes pulmonary edema. So can I say that was a cause? No. Can I say as soon as the tank was filled back up with the produced water, four healthy cows died overnight? Yes."			
Overlap	Claim23	Corruption	<p>"My only concern about the lawsuits is that our Texas courts, the judges are elected. So because they are elected, that means the industry gives them lots of campaign contributions. You would hate to think that that would buy a vote but you can't absolutely say it doesn't. I feel the lawsuits- we knew it was gonna happen. We were ready for it to happen. I wish it wouldn't because it's taking a lot of time and money away. But it is what it is. That's democracy. I'm gonna sound very jaded and very cynical but I think the industry- as in Austin right now trying to buy our elected officials to get them to pass laws to keep this from happening in the future and to overturn the ban."</p>	54	ANTI-FRACK	CASE 1
Policy Determination	Claims-making Activity15	City Council Meetings	<p>"...we went door to door, asked neighbors if they were experiencing any health problems. We had meetings at the library, we put fliers on doors, we had blog sites and email groups, and we attended every City Council meeting. We had rallies in the park, we did everything. We talked to all our City Council and our Mayor. We even went to the County Commissioner's but they said there was nothing they could do because it was inside the city limits. And then we went to Austin to talk about the problem. Austin said, "You need to go back to Denton and talk to your elected</p>	70	ANTI-FRACK	CASE 1

			officials. That's where you make change at a grassroots level with your local elected officials." So we came back to Denton."			
Overlap	Claims-making Activity21	Using local newspaper	<p>"Well, we had to buy ads. When we were doing the Brave Combo thing, we did a porch party at my house. We asked the Denton Record Chronicle if they would put it in their community. What's happening in Denton- and they wouldn't do it so we bought adverts... I get it because I wouldn't want them to let industry come in and put something in the paper. All you hear is industry in the park doing "Bathe Your Dog Day, come on down." I mean they made them buy the ads also. We weren't treated any differently than industry and I appreciate it."</p>	84	ANTI-FRACK	CASE 1
Overlap	Claims-making Activity22	News Advertisements	<p>"They bought stock pools from Germany. Like the little girl in the swing, swinging, looking so happy, if you ban fracking, if you ban drilling then that poor kid won't have any money in her school. So what did we do? We looked it up, it's a stock photo from Germany, and we said, "Hell yeah, she looks happy. There is no Fracking in Germany." That's how stupid they were."</p>	94	ANTI-FRACK	CASE 1
Awareness	Claims-making Activity6	Blog entries	<p>"Personally me well social media yes the big one. So I mean a blog. I used to have my own blog, Denton Drilling and then as the campaign heated up for the ban, I felt the need for us to speak more in unified voice and have sort of one platform so I switch my blogging over to Frack Free Denton and so I got lots of blogs automatically, yeah feel free to move stuff</p>	60	ANTI-FRACK:	CASE 3

			<p>around...So and then you know you post those on Facebook, Twitter but then as a gangs team you know we are just fortunate enough in terms of exposure that the media got really interested. So then you have reporters coming that's another way to reach hill and getting interviews occasionally able to place a top ad in the local and regional paper stuff like that."</p>			
Policy Determination	Claims-making Activity15	City Council Meetings	<p>"I always thought civil and respectful discourse was key, yeah. I didn't always live up to that on my own sometimes passions take over but I think for the most part I did really a good job and I think for the most part our group did a really good job at that. I know that there are some folks who in facts during the January 2013, public hearing when they adopted that ordinance. We had sort of met beforehand and some people wanted to speak over their time limit as a sort of civil disobedience, right because they didn't like the ordinance, others me included didn't wanted to do that but we did agree to stand up in solidarity with people doing that like in the audience."</p>	70	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 3	CASE 3
Reform	Claims-making Activity18	Bus Trip to Austin	<p>"We did the bus trip with this other trip down to Austin, yeah and we keep what we can in terms of posting things and writing things but it's just been really hard frankly it's been a tough discussion. It was in the group like how do we energies people you know we are thinking about another fund raising thinks. We'll need money for law suits so maybe more of a party something fund."</p>	73	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 3	CASE 3

Overlap	Claim3	Public Health	<p>"So there is a lot of chemicals, a lot of resources. In just a small frack job, they use somewhere around 8000 tons of sand and that sand has to be mined and generally the frack sand mines are near some community that suffers the impacts... One of the main problems are the air impacts, we're producing methane and the industry is claiming that the methane levels are falling, that's just not true. The methane levels are increasing and we're four times the historical level of methane. So, the methane is what is our biggest, most imminent threat to global warming, even more so than CO2. So there are some problems with it."</p>	37	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 4	CASE 4
Overlap	Claim9	Climate Change	<p>"... So there you have that and even the Oil and Gas industry is admitting that, climate changes really are serious so, there is that."</p>	41	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 4	CASE 4
Overlap	Claim10	Earthquake	<p>"It's very new, so we don't know what the long-term impacts are going to be, in regards to the earthquakes that it causes because fracking itself causes earthquakes but also because of fracking generates so much waste water, you know the injection of the waste also causes earthquakes but be clear that fracking itself has been scientifically linked to earthquakes."</p>	43	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 4	CASE 4
Awareness	Claims-making Activity5	Websites	<p>"While I was living in the country I started my own website to put-up videos and photos of what I was seeing and kind of, show people what was really happening because those are very shocking. And so, other people found me through the internet and connected and said, "This has happened to me too" and I gradually learned, how to document the impacts, how to wade</p>	60	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 4	CASE 4

			through the regulatory system. So, I became a source for people and that's how the people in Denton found me and we connected and started working on this issue."			
Overlap	Claim6	Environment	"there's nothing about fracking that's good. The obvious things that bad about it are the environmental and health impacts. Its damaging to air quality in the immediate region, the process can contaminate water, it's been linked to earthquakes and all of that can negatively impact people in the direct area."	39	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 5	CASE 5
Overlap	Claim11	Methane	"The methane that is released by the process and the process pretty much use methane all around." ... "The chemicals and the methane and the volatile organic compounds put off by fracking can also affect people globally because it is one of the worst kinds of green house gases that we're aware of. It's much worse than CO2 so if you're concerned about the effects of global climate change, which might be described like you said as a butterfly effect where too many emissions from the fracking boom in America could lead to disastrous weather events and catastrophic climate change in other parts of the region."	43	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 5	CASE 5
Overlap	Claim12	Fracking is (un) safe	"The entire natural gas drilling process including fracking, but even before the fracking process begins, bringing in the trucks, building the apparatus, fracking and then once the fracking is done, all the collection of the materials that have to be done and even when the well is done and retired and for years and	45	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 5	CASE 5

			years and years afterwards, this entire process poisons life and leaves the land toxic.”			
Overlap	Claim17	Terrorizing the Planet	<p>“these industries in no uncertain terms are holding the future of our planet hostage. They’re bad actors that have violated very law and every agreement that they can get away with. They’re not held accountable to the law in the same way that you and I are. They are in very real sense above the law and depending on how you wanna look at it, America as a functioning state it really belongs to them more than it belongs to us. if you were to ask me, whether or not we live in a democracy I would tell you that we don’t. We live in a Plutocracy and they are the owners, nothing exclusively but the five or six major fossil fuel industries that are currently terrorizing the planet. They are more or less own America; this is their political mechanism...That’s another reason why these industries-- it’s not just that fracking is dirty, and that the process is dirty. That’s also true, but these industries they’ve been terrorizing people for hundred years. Coal particularly has been doing this, coal has a long and racist history of having to take advantage of disposable people basically. The whole logic of burning fossil fuels is this notion of disposing of what you don’t want, you can just pump whatever you want that the atmosphere, dumped the chemicals wherever you can you can get away with it and it’ll be fine.</p>	48	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 5	CASE 5

Overlap	Claim18	Shadow organization or Fake grassroots	<p>"It's just kind of really a shadow organization, the Denton Taxpayers for A Stronger Economy is a board that exist on paper that is sort of exist on paper between two people who live in Denton, who just have ties to the oil and gas industry and have a lot of money invested in it...The group is meant to up here as a kind of equal but opposite community movement, and it's not. It's something that exist on paper between two individuals, have a lot of money, invested it and keeping the status quo, and lots of money funneled through them by all kinds of outside interests for obvious reasons. I think that they're both probably scoundrels and I'm glad that it didn't work. There's truly nothing to be said. They paid for advertisements. They paid for publicity. They needed somebody with the zip code in Denton that they could this money through, they found them and I think, the guy's kind of a jerk."</p>	49	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 5	CASE 5
Overlap	Claim22	Racial Disparity	<p>"I don't think what I just said is really on the radar in general of the frack-free Denton movement and some people have pointed that out. It's been pointed out, but hasn't really been dealt with because the majority of people in frack-free Denton are white middle class people and that's not the way Denton is. It's not because Denton is majority middle class white people it's not like they aren't communities that could be involved and it's not like they aren't under served in poor communities in Denton that ought to be represented at the table. It's not anybody's fault necessarily, it's just what happens. When communities are divided unless you go out</p>	53	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 5	CASE 5

			<p>of your way to like you said, or I guess like I said, to not be talking to the same group of people all the time, to go out and find common cause with other people. Some people have criticized this movement of not being diverse enough and of not reaching out to lower income communities and to try and have people of color represented in their movement. I don't think anybody's doing that deliberately and purposeful I think that it's just part of what happens when people are not thinking about these things and they're stressed out and they're."</p>			
Overlap	Claim25	FFD did a good job vs. DTPSE did a poor job	<p>"the art and the puppetry and the crafts is that it appeals to all ages, because one of the disadvantages of the world of insular college activism that I come from is that you tend to be talking to the same people all the time and looking at the same faces and they tend to be your age and they tend to be going through the same thing you're going through. A lot of the most successful movements have been inter-generational and diverse movements that get lots of people together who wouldn't normally be all hanging out together. It's not unusual for college students to hang out with college students, and in this Frack Free Denton movement, you see a lot of diversity, you see a lot of kids involved, and anyway"</p>	56	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 5	CASE 5
Awareness	Claims-making Activity8	Puppet Show	<p>"...includes the families and otherwise and it sucks when families have to get somebody to take care of their kids so that they can go participate in politics. She described music as a universal language that can appeal to all ages and that puppets can appeal to all</p>	62	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 5	CASE 5

			ages. It's good because they educate everyone, the opposite of that would be things that are locked in to really academic jargon, buried in the papers. You can't expect everybody in Denton to read a dissertation but you could get them all to watch a puppet show."			
Policy Determination	Claims-making Activity16	Protest during City Council Meeting	"...Media is the one thing that I can really do but prior to that, my role wasn't very big but I would participate in the demonstrations, I would show up city council meetings, there was a YouTube video that I made a long time ago when Occupy Denton, mic checked the city council. I don't know if you're familiar with that strategy. You have to have permission to get the microphone but if you all work together, you can overpower that and you could get your message out so even though the city council has the microphone after they made their decision to drag their feet or whatever they do, somebody yells 'mic check' and that means get ready we're about to do this, so mic check and then everybody else yells 'mic check' and then one person shouts basically a message."	71	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 5	CASE 5
Overlap	Claim1	Property Right or Human Right	"Well, it was personal. I just wanted to be able to breathe. And that combined with, "I love this town." I really love this town. The culture here has been so welcoming as an artist. And so, the thing that kind of tip me over, though and when I really felt like something has to be done. This is a human rights issue is-- when I saw the neighborhood...I saw this heavy industry in a neighborhood and they saw children on tricycles that were covered in the silica dust that blows after the frack	34	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 6	CASE 6

			wells. And I saw them outside playing with these fumes going to the neighborhood. I just thought, "This is a human right issue. This is horrible, and that's a property rights issue." These people has spent all of their money on this new homes, only to watch their values be depleted and their children have nosebleeds and asthma."			
Overlap	Claim4	Asthma	"I usually use my inhaler everyday. It's an emergency inhaler and at least once a day, I have to. I have to use it before I go on stage, before I teach music lessons just to be able to catch my breath so that I can teach my students or so that I can project my voice on stage. So yeah, it's been a challenge."	38	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 6	CASE 6
Overlap	Claim14	Eco-Terrorists	"So, we had a barbeque in a front yard, we had like water games for the kids and popcorn and it was a fundraiser and the industry came and they took pictures of everybody's license plates on the street. I was like, "Why? What they going to use that for?" But it's just an intimidation tactic...they just want information and so they have-- it was creepy. One of the town meetings, it was like a neighborhood meeting, right? And this industry guy showed up to the neighborhood meeting with his personal security. And all these like, old homeowners are like, "Did you really need that?" Like, we're really rowdy, like we're-- and he goes, "Well, you never know. There's people in Denton preaching civil disobedience." As of that's a horrible thing, right? And they said, "Well," and he goes, "But don't worry, they're on the list." And the people were like, "What list?" This is all recorded.... They try to put as	46	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 6	CASE 6

			much as on this of eco-terrorist. They try to put this- it's like the red scare again. It's crazy. And so, it's creepy and I just don't mess with that, you know?"			
Overlap	Claim14	Eco-Terrorists	"We stayed pretty anonymous...I don't want to really have my name attached to it. So during the campaign, we received death threats from people and it was scary."	47	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 6	CASE 6
Awareness	Claims-making Activity1	Canvassing	"...I had knocked out the whole city of Denton and I had broken it down into little black walkable areas, maybe five to ten streets....There's just these little maps and so people would get an assignment, a map assignment, and then, they were go block knock. They would knock every single door on that block, talk to their neighborhoods, say, "Hi, I'm your Frack Free Denton. This is what fracking is. Here's some materials. "	58	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 6	CASE 6
Awareness	Claims-making Activity3	Information Booth	"we use printed materials. We use a lot of just hand-to-hand flyers. Then, we tabled, so we would set up tables in front of coffee shops, in front of a recycled bookstore, or on campus. And we would talk to people face-to-face."	58	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 6	CASE 6
Awareness	Claims-making Activity8	Puppet Show	"...we were up this sock puppet show like five minutes before and we went sort of crazy. It was of dinosaurs and cows and earthquakes and everything, it was crazy. The reason that we started doing that is because the industry was making coloring books for children about-- they had a dinosaur and how great	62	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 6	CASE 6

			fracking was and-- yeah, which is I run on it great because fossil fuels are made out of like dinosaur or about it's just the whole thing was so absurd...we wrote how the grinch fracked Denton and we made it as a Doctor Seuss story. We wrote this giant, all rhyming story about Denton.... we read it so in the city council we will each use our three minutes to read the story. We walk to the stand with the story but and we read this story to the city council."			
Awareness	Claims-making Activity12	Flash Mob Dance Show	"We had on the Flash Mobs. For that, we had R. but we also had there is this other Lady who did the dance. Her name is SG. SG, she is also a professional TWU. She's a dance professor."	65	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 6	CASE 6
Awareness	Claims-making Activity14	Kids in Action	"There's one of the first thing that we ever put on the Frack Free Denton website, was a drawing that one of the children from the neighborhood made. And it said, on one side it was bright and cherry and it said, "Denton without fracking", and the other side was dark, the home was cracked and it said, "Denton with fracking". Those kind of ideas like that, I think, they do, they tell of-- it's-- I don't know and yet it's very important to see the way children see it."	68	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 6	CASE 6
Reform	Claims-making Activity17	Calling Politicians at Austin	"I called every single one of the members of the Energy Resources Committee, and also the people who were sponsoring some of these bills that we take away local control... When we've got there, far fewer of the actual representatives came out to talk to this and I had hoped they sent a lot of staff to talk to this. And we just talk to them about why local control is important and how our main focus with that	73	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 6	CASE 6

			argument, is how it's a property rights issue."			
Overlap	Claim23	Corruption	"They're just waiting to buy the councilmen, buy their votes, spend the money, stuff it in somebody's pocket. But really, we have five downs, we did this, we passed the city level. So, they took their money and spent that on state level. That's why all the bills went up to state now trying to take away home rule. So, they didn't win the battle here, so they took it to the state level trying to fight it there where they can bribe the senator lobbying the councilman."	54	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 7	CASE 7
Awareness	Claims-making Activity2	Demonstration	"...I tried running to bring that forward and that's just the way of doing it. My deal was my degree of activism would be I will walk. That's the key point. Everybody's got a place and they grab it and take it. As long as we diversify we have a better chance to conquer."	58	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 7	CASE 7
Overlap	Claim5	Allergy	"Quality of health inside of Denton for sure was my biggest issue. I have a sinus issues already and not that against totally from Fracking because my job is pretty dusty but you know, I'm sure it contributes to it."	39	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 8	CASE 8
Awareness	Claims-making Activity7	Facebook	"Did a lot of advance help with social media like sharing stories on Facebook and creating little memes and stuff and posting online Facebook. And then also just getting the word out by mouth and telling whoever would listen about the Frack Free Denton campaign. And then right-up at the election, we were doing a lot of the poll watching and I guess not really poll watching but you	61	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 8	CASE 8

			know, handing out fliers at the polls. And you know letting people know like if you want to ban Fracking, you have to vote for the ban and not against."			
Awareness	Claims-making Activity9	Soapbox Derby	"I would say I volunteered quite a bit. Yeah, I went to all the Frack Free Denton meetings. I went to the city council meetings, volunteered my time to build a coffin raiser for the coffin raises at a day of death festival... So I built a soap box derby racer from the ground up with about a \$150 budget. Luckily, I had them because of my job. I had scrap materials just laying around that I could use and buy wheels and things like that; few little pieces to make it all come together."	63	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 8	CASE 8
Awareness	Claims-making Activity10	Sculpture	"One that's just titled "We all fiddled while Rome Burned" I'm saying with peace that you know, we wasted time on oil and gas while the whole thing burned and the world burned basically."	63	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 8	CASE 8
Awareness	Claims-making Activity11	Light Brigade	"Mostly the younger members who were out on the square and had the pass the band sign made out of LED lights. And they were out there at night so it was very visible."	64	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 8	CASE 8
Awareness	Claims-making Activity12	Flash Mob Dance Show	"Basically like an improvisational dance routine that's some of the TWU dance professors. They were the ones that coordinated that."	65	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 8	CASE 8
Reform	Claims-making Activity18	Bus Trip to Austin	"We had a bunch of citizens come out and try to explain to that city council about the health issues that they were experiencing. Yet a whole bunch of industry people come out and basically try to do a lot of spin talk basically where they said over, come out with solutions, will work together and finding when	73	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 8	CASE 8

			one of us city council members asks them, "Well can you give us at least one solution, something just anything" and they couldn't come up with anything at all."			
Overlap	Claim5	Allergy	"No one should have to live next to something that poses this risk, but also the fact that I am allergic to air and more specifically I'm allergic to sulfur and one of the things that's released into the air with fracking is sulfur and so I can tell whenever they are fracking a well because I can't breathe."		ANTI-FRACK: CASE 9	CASE 9
Overlap	Claim9	Climate Change	"I tend to view things as a socialist, as a bigger picture issue, that this is not just, Denton has this problem and Denton has to fix it, but globally. And Texas produces more than the top three other states in natural gas combined. So, we have this issue of, "we are the largest natural gas producer in the US and US is one of the largest natural gas producers globally". The 64 cubic tons produced of natural gas is from Texas, it means that we are A, consider it a sacrifice done, everyone here is considered expandable for money. And B, we are contributing on a mass scale to global warming that we can't fix. So, yeah it sucks that I can't breathe, but I've done a lot of things, for it put my health at risk."	41	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 9	CASE 9
Overlap	Claim14	Eco-Terrorists	"I've been even called an "eco-terrorist" so many times that now many times someone says the word "terrorist" that I might listen and giggle. Like, there was someone in Mansfield who said that he needed a bodyguard because the eco-terrorists were going to get him."	47	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 9	CASE 9

Overlap	Claim18	Shadow organization or Fake grassroots	<p>“They’re kind of just not real, there is an activist thing that we use, it goes like, you have your turf, which is where you’re from as grassroots people. You live here, you build communities here. And then there are people, who like come in or who inorganically create things and call them astro-turfers, that’s what they are. And we’ve been dealing with their kind for like the entirety of this. Just because you find like, one dude who is willing to be your face doesn’t make your organization grassroots, that makes your organization like, you stop putting tires and you start putting.... on your fake grass but it’s still fake grass.”</p>	49	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 9	CASE 9
Awareness	Claims-making Activity1	Canvassing	<p>“Basically to canvas is, you get a map with the house like, build houses on it and you break it down, in eight hours of canvassing, you might be able to do like one street block. Like from, I don’t know, from Welsh to McCormick, you might be able to do maybe, 15 or 16 houses.”</p>	58	ANTI-FRACK: CASE 9	CASE 9
Overlap	Claim13	Othering” one another “us” vs “them”	<p>“They would call in, ask for a sign, we’d go take it and put it in. Now we had to do several of them a lot because they [FFD] kept stealing them.”</p>	46	PRO-FRACK: CASE 11	CASE 11
Overlap	Claim20	“Immorality” against common values	<p>“...They’re bullying that election...Steal signs. Badmouth ya. And I know that when you have a bigger group you can’t control everybody. But they tore up a billboard over here we had to redo. I saw it the next morning. I made a phone call [unknown] he said you gotta be kidding me...we got attacked by a few of them on Facebook. One guy that kept sending me personal messages. To tell you the truth I didn’t even reply to him. I’m not going to lower</p>	51	PRO-FRACK: CASE 11	CASE 11

			myself that low. If that gets you going.. if that gets you off to act that way, then so be it....Oh we got some dirty ass mail..."			
Reform	Claims-making Activity20	City Council Meeting- Public Hearing	"...Denton City Council has not come to me and asked me one thing about anything...If you're a good city councilman and you knew there was a local person that's been here all 57 years of his life, you might want to pick up the phone and call him. My phone number is the same and my mother's phone number is the same her phone number I think she probably had for 57 years."	82	PRO-FRACK: CASE 11	CASE 11
Overlap	Claims-making Activity21	Using local newspaper	"...that's very one-sided and recorded everything very one-sided from the get go. I'm not going to say any names. Very one-sided. The first time I was called about this election.. because they said we want you to know – because I call them an ad agency – you got a one-sided report up here. And I said oh you ain't gotta tell me nothing. A bunch of us already know that. The thing is they keep going to talking about... you had one blowout. And it was solved in some 8 hours. Nobody hurt. No injuries. No nothing."	83	PRO-FRACK: CASE 11	CASE 11
Overlap	Claim7	Water Contamination	"You saw my kids. They don't stay in the house all day long. We have horses and stuff. We have a pond and there we go fishing. We eat the fish out of our pond. I mean, I have water well over here. They say well your water gets contaminated. I have it checked twice, and the only thing it's on high is sodium. That's I guess is common with this area. But there is no adverse chemicals because I don't know. The fracking of	41	PRO-FRACK: CASE 12	CASE 12

			five wells around here. Around my place, on my place and around it.”			
Overlap	Claim19	The Fear mongering Claim	“There was the frack free people standing over here and then the support responsible drilling us over here. She came walking up to as I was taking these people water, she walked up to them and she said, “See these people right here, they are killing you.” And then she said, “See those people over there, (She pointed to the frack free people) they are trying to save your life.” And I thought how can I possibly get anything through that young man’s head in this point because his grandmother just told him our group was trying to kill him.”	50	PRO- FRACK: CASE 12	CASE 12
Overlap	Claim1	Property Right or Human Right	“we feel very strongly that we could and we feel like that there is ban just took our property from us, just robbed us because we own the minerals here. It’s no different that you own the surface or you own your car, or your home, it is something that we own. Just because we are in the minority, surface owners versus mineral owners that did not mean that the majority can just take that from us, we still have property rights. To me it is a property rights issue, if we are going to have that kind of mentality then, should we just apply that to everything?”	35	PRO- FRACK: CASE 13	CASE 13
Overlap	Claim4	Asthma	“How is something that goes on 2 miles down into the earth going to affect asthma, I do not understand that all. You will get more emissions in Benzene levels off of R35, many times more than you	38	PRO- FRACK: CASE 13	CASE 13

			will offer of the drill site or well site. The drilling process is temporary. It takes 2 to 3 weeks to drill a well, 5 to 6 days to frack it, then its done. “			
Overlap	Claim9	Climate Change	“They do not want hydrocarbons. I do not think hydrocarbons are a problem. They believe in man-made global warming, I do not. I mean its big, its big and its basic beliefs.”	41	PRO-FRACK: CASE 13	CASE 13
Overlap	Claim13	Othering” one another “us” vs “them”	“No respect for the law, no respect for somebody else's property. Our signs were still on and off from our fence and we actually caught the guy and he was written a citation for it...You still going to act within the law, just because you got a different belief on an issue, you can not break the law.”	46	PRO-FRACK: CASE 13	CASE 13
Overlap	Claim21	The Slippery Slope: Banning all kinds of drilling	“Nobody is going to drill a well that you can not frack. You will lose money. The producer will lose money. It costs about \$6 million to drill a well, \$6 to \$9 million to do it well. If you can not frack it, you do not going to drill it. They are going to go someplace where they can frack it. You are going to go away from Denton. And that is what this group wants. This group does not want any drilling around Denton.”	53	PRO-FRACK: CASE 13	CASE 13
Overlap	Claim2	Economy	“... if we could continue drilling, we could maybe then become energy independent and energy secure. So that we don't have to rely on Saudi Arabia or other countries that hate us to go ahead and furnishes all in gas, though could continue drilling.”	36	PRO-FRACK: CASE 14	CASE 14

Overlap	Claim10	Earthquake	<p>"Fracking has not caused earthquakes. That's not what the environmentalists want you to believe. 'Cause they're looking for anything they can blame. Anything on the whole business. So, after the earthquake out there-- you look at the one's that just happened recently, North of Texas Stadium remember, there has been a whole onslaught of mud there last month. There was an earthquake in 2008, they draw one horizontal well in 2009 and it produced for a couple of years. They had a pipeline prominence, has been showed it ever since then. Since 2010 or '11, like that. And then, all these earthquakes happened just a month ago, January, I think it was."</p>	43	PRO-FRACK: CASE 14	CASE 14
Overlap	Claim11	Methane	<p>"If you go 310 feet there's on below that has gas land so many wells in the early days when the water well drillers were drunk, they've make a little trip right here and kicks that, be a big flairs and they were had flairs of wells near this guy's home before any wells were ever drilled out there. The people drilling water wells accidentally going 10 feet too deep and got in to a gas land and therefore the fresh water well would burn gas and so they've been burning gas out there I mean it's so close you've got to be really careful."</p>	44	PRO-FRACK: CASE 14	CASE 14

Overlap	Claim12	Fracking is (un) safe	<p>“Accidents do happen. No doubt that some blowouts do happen. Do you think there are man that control people, but occasionally there will be- - sometimes, you will penetrate a formation that you're going for the main formation than here the shale mostly. But all of the sudden, you find a nice, clean sandstone and it got a lot of pressure and you're drilling to it and it will kick on you. You didn't-- what you do is when you start drilling, you put mud in the hole and that's to keep anything from blowing up, they have a heavy mud. The mud is heavier than the pressure down below. But a lot of time to drill down to that point, they were use real lightweight mud, not heavy weight mud. They don't start muddy enough and getting heavier weight, heavier weight until they get closer to the formation they're trying to get into. You will see that happen and occasionally, you'll penetrate this on ahead of time, and it will blow out and you got to get the people out there and get into a lake, found and then gather and they control that one well that we're talking about. But, this happens and this kind of like, because you don't want pilot to kill everybody, we understand that one. Because if it went blow out, we got a quick drill, is that make sense?”</p>	45	PRO-FRACK: CASE 14	CASE 14
Overlap	Claim19	The Fear mongering Claim	<p>“That's what they've done and that's how they've convinced all those people that don't know better of what's happening rather than the facts that the fracking job itself. But they want to blame everything on fracking so they could ban fracking.”</p>	50	PRO-FRACK: CASE 14	CASE 14

Overlap	Claim20	"Immorality" against common values	<p>"F-R-A-C is how frack is spelled in oiling gas industry and what happened was--Do you ever heard of movie called Battle Star Galactica?...now they're spelling it wrong there. They put a K on it. But that's a history, that's a pattern for the first frac job, back in 1866, 1865.... I had a little battle with the Webster dictionary, you believe it or not. They just put the word fracing in their dictionary recently because they don't have it before. Now I'm gonna show you how fracing got there...So you came up with the idea to get the frack out of here because in Battle Star Galactica, the urban dictionary-- can you read that?...Frack is word using the most recent Battle Star Galactica series. Frack is simply "Oh! F word" but is spacy in model and gets based the...So the environmentalist came to that idea, like the guy who puts this out is an environmentalist. When he first started it was called Frac Dallas because he know it was spelled without K. So the environmentalist picked it up. You know what that says right there?...The mother frackers...And he list all who up in his-- so they came up with the idea of F-R-A-C-K so they could say get the frack outta here, get the fuck outta here..."</p>	51	PRO-FRACK: CASE 14	CASE 14
Overlap	Claim23	Corruption	<p>"The council members came and I know couple of them and then the environmentalist and then they all got up and hugged each other. I say "How the hell did they know" you know what I mean lobby in them for years before we being the industry even knew what was going on. Where are already</p>	54	PRO-FRACK: CASE 14	CASE 14

			beat before we started? They did the same thing in Denton them just like you said. They started knocking on those doors and just the worlds coming to an end."			
Overlap	Claim3	Public Health	"What I think the frack free people did is they capitalized on emotion as compared to fact. And they would make these health claims or safety claims or air pollution claims just like when they had the blowout. But at the end of the day, when the report comes out, no violation of air standards."	37	PRO-FRACK: CASE 15	CASE 15
Overlap	Claim12	Fracking is (un) safe	"...but we are smart, we use technology and we build in safety procedures and are able to conduct whatever that activity may be... Apparently within a relatively quick period of time the Texas commission on environmental quality has to go out there, they set up about four or five monitoring stations around it, up wind, down wind. Their ultimate report that came out really took them it seems to me a pretty large number of months after the incident for them to come out with their final report. When that happened in 2013, I don't think the report came out in 2014 or something and the report said they were not able to detect any chemicals that they measured for that exceeded their standards. So if somebody asked a question on that Blowout, I had the report that said we did on this report and there were no violations of any of the state's air quality standards."	44	PRO-FRACK: CASE 15	CASE 15

Overlap	Claim16	Russian Ties	<p>“Russians were against wanting to ban Fracking because it had been so successful in the United States and made us energy independent...And they're aware we used to import a whole lot, in fact, one of the charts in my power point, it shows how we've reduced our dependence on foreign Oil and in about 2020, we'll be at the break-even point, that is we're going to be producing as much oil as we consume and so we don't really need to import. By the time you get down to 2040 or something, we are like one of the world's largest exporters. The theory was that the Russians were behind part of the disinformation campaign to be against Fracking because if we can start banning Fracking in the United States.”</p>	47	PRO-FRACK: CASE 15	CASE 15
Overlap	Claim21	The Slippery Slope: Banning all kinds of drilling	<p>“The ban on the Fracking really wasn't against the use of Fracking technology, the anti Fracking people want to stop drilling. Fracking just happen to be the political vehicle to try to stop the drilling.... The ultimate goal is to stop all drilling in fact the debate that I participated in, one of the two people said that, well, we just don't want any drilling. So this is the vehicle to stop drilling...Some people are to one extreme and there are others in the other extreme and most of us are kinda somewhere in the middle. But there are extremists who wanna ban all fossil fuels, sure.”</p>	53	PRO-FRACK: CASE 15	CASE 15

Overlap	Claim24	Students are the reason to pass the ban	<p>"...How many people registered between November 2012 and in March 2014 primary? Smaller number. How many people registered between March 2014 and November 2014? I call this the regular day in and day out voters. You had a pretty good number of students who change their registration. Let say someone lives in Dallas or they're from San Antonio and they're going to school here. I think what happened at the UNT area many new voters were registered for the first time. It was their first time to vote...because remember what I told you number one, a lot of people don't register to vote and then those who register don't bother to vote."</p>	55	PRO-FRACK: CASE 15	CASE 15
Overlap	Claim25	FFD did a good job vs. DTPSE did a poor job	<p>"...I think by being guided by Earth Works, because they have been fighting these battles back east apparently, that's what I came to learn. They were a lot further along the learning curve on how to run a campaign to fight drilling and specifically the tool being to ban fracking...the Frack free Denton group did an excellent job in the mechanics of elections. In elections, who do you think matters? Who do you think matters in election?.....That's a helpful information to have but when I look at the newspaper same amount of ads and same amount of billboards. The point you made which I want to made is they had a better ground game. There was really no ground game by the industry...part of the excellent ground game that the Frack Free Denton people did is to take an issue that resonated well with the students and then got them registered and then got them</p>	56	PRO-FRACK: CASE 15	CASE 15

			out to vote."			
Overlap	Claim1	Property Right or Human Right	The city has the capability to enact regulations or ordinances that affect the health and welfare of the local population where I think this anti fracking bill will eventually probably be proven unconstitutional because I don't think the city has the right to regulate energy --acquiring underground energy resources. I think that's reserved for the railroad commission	36	PRO-FRACK: CASE 16	CASE 16
Overlap	Claim2	Economy	"Well economic benefit from the fact that these companies are going to buy local materials, they are going to buy local services so that causes economic benefit. And then the people who all knows mineral rights there going to get a lot of money out of the recovery of gas and so of course they got more money than are going to spend more money."	36	PRO-FRACK: CASE 16	CASE 16
Overlap	Claim6	Environment	"I am concerned about the environment. You know they always want to say that people from my side of the aisle are not concerned about that and I am very concerned about the environment but I have not seen anything that shows that fracking is going to affect the environment. No one else has been able to produce a study that shows that it affects the environment."	39	PRO-FRACK: CASE 16	CASE 16

Overlap	Claim15	Tree Huggers	<p>“What happened was lots and lots and lots and lots turned up to vote because they won't have liquor by the drink well they are all many many students or you know tree huggers they think there's a cause here so they are going to vote for ban of fracking and now they are voting but they are not going to be influenced to this because their vote for these they graduate and they are gone.”</p>	47	PRO-FRACK: CASE 16	CASE 16
Overlap	Claims-making Activity21	Using local newspaper	<p>“I conveyed my message with a letter to the editor. I conveyed my message that fracking that this was not the way to solve the problem. The fracking ban, in the first place I'm opposed to total ban. You can't have total ban on everything. What we really needed to do in my opinion was we needed better regulations for how and when you drill, not the fracking. The fracking was the issue that the opposition realized that they could stop the drilling because if we can't frack your not going to drill you can't frack your not going to drill. Its not economical because you drill but then you can't recover the assets. You have to frack to be able to get the gas out of the shale.”</p>	84	PRO-FRACK: CASE 16	CASE 16

Overlap	Claim19	The Fear mongering Claim	<p>"It's gotten such bad publicity because suddenly people knew about it and there's always this fear factor, this fear mongering that goes on by environmentalists basically. They got people whipped up about fracking is going to damage our ground water, all these scenarios that just have never happened. There's never been a case of ground water contamination from a frack job. There's been ground water contamination from poorly cased wells, poorly cemented wells but that's all up towards the surface...All these stuff with the fracturing is taking place in many cases a mile or two below the ground at least. The ground water zones are protected from any communication with the wellbore by cement, by hard casing so there's no way the fracture fluid can ever...or the proppant or any chemicals that are used and the chemicals that are used are very, very minute. It's like 99% water and fresh water. There's no way that that can communicate with the upper water reservoirs." "Again it's fear mongering, it's false precept that because there's a well there, because there's some sort of industrial development going on that it's going to be harmful if it's near a school or a hospital, any other business. It's a femoral there's no reason to be against it. On the other hand you're taking away the rights of the mineral owner by saying, "You can't frack here."</p>	50	PRO-FRACK: CASE 17	CASE 17
Overlap	Claim19	The Fear mongering Claim	<p>"Environmentalists that propagate lies and for the most part you know they were promoted and boosted by a lot of outside money, a lot of outside influence, they</p>	50	PRO-FRACK: CASE 17	CASE 17

			weren't citizens of Denton or citizens of Texas. Sierra Club, Green Peace, you know all these, these environmental groups they get together and they get, you know they get their message out."			
Overlap	Claim7	Water Contamination	<p>"Some of the 19, 20-year-old kids, they just have no idea. All they hear is they want to be anti-fracking, fracking has to be banned. They think the water is bad. They don't realize we ... They think it's contaminating their water. They don't realize Denton gets its water from surface water, which is really outside of the...Yeah, we get it from. Half comes from lake, the water supply, and half comes from Lewisville Lake. So, it's really not in the well. So, even if the wells are contaminated, some of the house in the farms, maybe they have their own well water. The Denton's water supply comes from surface water."</p>	40	PRO-FRACK: CASE 18	CASE 18
Overlap	Claim8	Air Pollution	<p>"Everyone wants clean air... I don't know of anyone that just wants dirty air, right? Everyone wants clean air. And the air here is pretty clean. Most of the pollution I think comes from the traffic that Denton gets, and cars and trucks. And the ozone comes from... From gasoline, not from methane, you know, from the wells...It's pretty clean. Now, another factor is, by the way, up here in north Texas, the wind comes from the south about 80% of the time, it's a southern wind. So the winds are coming up from across the street, and to say about 80% of the time, so the winds are coming this way... So, if we get any pollution, it's really not coming from Denton itself, it's coming from out here."</p>	41	PRO-FRACK: CASE 18	CASE 18

Overlap	Claim1	Property Right or Human Right	because of human rights and property rights you know, it doesn't matter if I'm for it or against it, we've got certain things in the constitution that says we got, we do you know government can't control us and that's why you know that's why I'm pro-fracking, you know among other things... constitutional rights of the property owners and the fact that it helps build a strong economy.	35	PRO-FRACK: CASE 19	CASE 19
Overlap	Claim24	Students are the reason to pass the ban	"the student voting block basically won the election. I read some statistics that it would have been 56 percent would have been against the ban if you know those students or those people I consider non-permanent residents had voted, so that's my you know that's my opinion on that, I don't you know want to take anybody's vote, right to vote away but other places I've been if you go to school here, you vote where you live, you vote where you came from, unless you're moving to this city permanently you know if you're just there for 4 years, that's not a permanent move I mean that's a temporary thing, you know that's my opinion on why it got defeated. I mean why the ban got put in place or one opinion...	55	PRO-FRACK: CASE 19	CASE 19
Overlap	Claim20	"Immorality" against common values	"it's interesting because they took our logo and our staff and they put the thumb up with the same logo saying "Support the ban". It almost look like our stuff and then with the people at the poles were very confused because they said, "Hold on. Are we supporting it or we are not supporting it?" I kept some of the signs so you could hold the signs up. But I was like maybe they saw that. That tactic was kind of a...I guess it	52	PRO-FRACK: CASE 2	CASE 2

			was a good tactic but it was really kind of under the table."			
Overlap	Claim13	"Othering" one another "us" vs "them"	<p>"Well the Chamber, very intentionally, Chamber leadership very intentionally decided not to go to either polarized extreme. We disused it and decided that that is not what we would do. We would not come out and say absolutely the ban is bad let's do away with the ban. We said no. The ban is bad but we must reasonably regulate. And so- so we took a middle ground and then we get attacked which tends to be what happens to middle ground. When you're being reasonable sometimes. The emotions of the extremes attack anyone in the middle. It's just what happens."</p>	45	PRO-FRACK: CASE 20	CASE 20

APPENDIX C

Court Decision

Feb. 16. 2012 5:33PM

No. 5292 P. 2/2

CAUSE NO. CV11-0798

RECEIVED AND FILED
FOR RECORD

2012 FEB 16 PM 5:10

IN THE DISTRICT COURT

SHARONA GILLILAND, DISTRICT CLERK
PARKER COUNTY, TEXAS

BY *[Signature]*

PARKER COUNTY, TEXAS

STEVEN and SHYLA LIPSKY

v.

DURANT, CARTER, COLEMAN
LLC, SILVERADO ON THE BRAZOS
DEVELOPMENT COMPANY #1
LTD, JERRY V. DURANT, Individually,
JAMES T. COLEMAN, Individually,
ESTATE OF PRESTON CARTER,
RANGE PRODUCTION COMPANY,
And RANGE RESOURCES
CORPORATION

v.

ALISA RICH

43rd JUDICIAL DISTRICT

**ORDER DENYING PLAINTIFF'S SEC. 27 ANTI-SLAPP MOTION TO DISMISS RANGE'S
COUNTER CLAIMS**

The Court, having reviewed the law and the evidence as well as motions, briefs and arguments of counsel in this case, denies Plaintiff's Sec. 27 Anti-Slapp Motion to Dismiss Range's Counter Claims.

The Court references with concern the actions of Mr. Steven Lipsky, under the advice or direction of Ms. Alisa Rich, to intentionally attach a garden hose to a gas vent – not to a water line – and then light and burn the gas from the end nozzle of the hose. This demonstration was not done for scientific study but to provide local and national news media a deceptive video, calculated to alarm the public into believing the water was burning. There is further evidence that Rich knew the regional EPA administration and provided or assisted in providing additional misleading information (including the garden hose video) to alarm the EPA. Moreover, the emails in question which refer to this deceptive garden hose demonstration as a "strategy" appear to support that a "meeting of the minds" took place and that a reasonable trier of fact could believe, together with other evidence, that the elements of a conspiracy to defame Range exist.

Therefore, pursuant to Texas Civil Practice and Remedies Code, Sec. 27 as a finding of fact and conclusion of law, the Court observes that Range has presented sufficient clear and specific evidence to maintain a prima facie case with regard to the counter claim against Plaintiffs and the third party action against Alisa Rich in that a reasonable trier of fact could believe that a conspiracy to defame Range existed between the Lipskys and Ms. Rich.

IT IS THEREFORE ORDERED, ADJUDGED AND DECREED that Plaintiff's Sec. 27 Anti-Slapp Motion to Dismiss Range's Counter Claims is hereby denied.

Signed on 16th day of February, 2012.

[Signature]
Presiding Judge

Appendix D

FRACK FREE DENTON-NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENTS

1
shoe.



The value of your child.

\$20/child per year funded by fracking. About the cost of one shoe.

What does fracking give Denton's children?


- Long-term exposure to benzene, a cancer-causing toxin. Benzene measured at a playground in Denton exceeded state air quality limits.
- Benzene and other chemicals are linked to birth defects and learning disabilities.
- The worst air pollution and highest childhood asthma rates in Texas.
- \$20 per child/year for Denton's schools (hardly a windfall for education).
Calculated from mineral wealth, permanent fund, and tax revenue from Denton's oil and gas.

Who makes the money from fracking?

- The two leaders behind the pro-fracking campaign make more from mineral wealth than our entire school district.
- Out of town mineral owners.
- **NOT THE SCHOOLS:** Texas ranks 49th in the country on per student spending, and the state has decreased funding over the past two years by \$1,000/student.

Vote **FOR our children *and* our schools**

Vote **FOR the Fracking Ban**



**Our Air and Water
Our Health and Safety
Our Denton!**

Early voting: October 20 through 31
Vote **FOR** the Ban on November 4
Voting information: www.votedenton.com

Paid political advertisement by Pass The Ban PAC.
1000 Victoria, Denton, TX 76209

frackfreedenton.com

Figure 29: First News Ad at DRC



This fight is worth it.

And it won't cost much.



A fracking ban is good for Denton

- A ban means better air quality, cleaner water, healthier families, and more valuable homes.
- Homes generate 4 times more tax revenue per acre than fracking.

Our rights are worth fighting for

- Our right to clean air and water.
- Our right to preserve our home's property value.

Don't believe industry's scare tactics

- Don't trust industry's claims about expensive lawsuits. Look at other U.S. cities actually defending fracking bans.
Those cities have spent between \$38 and \$125 thousand — that's just 3% of the \$4 million that Denton has reserved for lawsuits in general.

VOTE **FOR**
the Ban to Prohibit Hydraulic Fracturing



**Our Air and Water
Our Health and Safety
Our Denton!**

Early voting: October 20 through 31
Vote **FOR** the Ban on November 4
Voting information: www.votedenton.com

Paid political advertisement by Pass The Ban PAC.
1000 Victoria, Denton, TX 76209

frackfreedenton.com

Figure 30: Second News Ad at DRC

**This is not
red or blue.**

It's black and white.

- Safer neighborhoods
- A stronger economy

That's something we can all get behind

Vote **FOR** the Ban
Vote **FOR** our Children
Vote **FOR** Neighborhoods
Vote **FOR** our Local Economy

VOTE FOR
the Ban to Prohibit
Hydraulic Fracturing



Fracking

- Decreases nearby residential property values
- Decreases tax revenue for roads and schools
- Decreases air, land and water quality
- Decreases Denton's health

Paid political advertisement by Plan The Ban PAC, 1020 Victoria, Denton, TX 76209

frackfreedenton.com


Figure 31: Third News Ad at DRC

VOTE FOR
the Ban to Prohibit
Hydraulic Fracturing

only **\$20** per student

**What frackers pay for risking
the health and safety of
Denton's children.**


And fracking provides just 0.17% of DISD's budget.



**Vote FOR the Ban
Vote FOR our Children
Vote FOR Neighborhoods
Vote FOR our Local Economy**

FLARING NEXT TO DENTON
PLAYGROUND. VIDEO CAPTURE.

Vote FOR the Fracking Ban



Fracking Impacts for Denton:

- Long-term exposure to benzene, a cancer-causing toxin. Benzene measured at a playground in Denton exceeded state air quality limits.
- The worst air pollution and highest childhood asthma rates in Texas.
- Decreased nearby residential property values
- Decreased tax revenue for roads and schools
- Decreased air, land and water quality

Paid political advertisement by Plan The Ban PAC, 1020 Victoria, Denton, TX 76209

frackfreedenton.com

Figure 32: Fourth News Ad at DRC

Is poisoning our families "responsible drilling"?

DENTON TAXPAYERS FOR A STRONG ECONOMY THINKS IT IS:

"I guess I don't see where it falls on the oil companies. They haven't done anything wrong."

But Dentonites living with fracking know the truth.
State oil and gas regulators received hundreds of complaints from Denton residents just in the past year:

<p>“ diesel fumes...the outside the smell was very strong almost making them faint</p> <p>piercing headache and nausea, throat irritation, and eye burning</p> <p>odor induces extreme headaches</p>	<p>causing itching and burning sensations occurring between the hours of ~6:00 am - 7:00 pm.</p> <p>sore throat, trouble in breathing, coughing and headaches due to emissions</p> <p>burning lungs, sore throat, coughing and a difficult time their catching breath</p>	<p>overpowering chemical odor... exhaust smell was so strong that it burned their eyes</p> <p>fumes that leave a bitter taste in their mouth... a sulfuric smell and rotten eggs smell</p> <p>”</p>
--	---	---

Texas Commission on Environmental Quality
www2.tceq.texas.gov/news/fracking/

Vote FOR the Ban • Vote FOR our Health

VOTE FOR

the Ban to Prohibit Hydraulic Fracturing



**Our Air and Water
Our Health and Safety
Our Denton!**

Fracking hurts Denton

- Decreases nearby residential property values
- Decreases tax revenue for roads and schools
- Decreases air, land and water quality
- Decreases Denton's health

Paid political advertisement by Pass The Ban PAC, 1020 Victoria, Denton, TX 76209

frackfreedenton.com

VOTE FOR


the Ban to Prohibit Hydraulic Fracturing

When you vote, this is what you'll see on the ballot:

SHALL AN ORDINANCE BE ENACTED PROHIBITING, WITHIN THE CORPORATE LIMITS OF THE CITY OF DENTON, TEXAS, HYDRAULIC FRACTURING, A WELL STIMULATION PROCESS INVOLVING THE USE OF WATER, SAND AND/OR CHEMICAL ADDITIVES PUMPED UNDER HIGH PRESSURE TO FRACTURE SUBSURFACE NON-POROUS ROCK FORMATIONS SUCH AS SHALE TO IMPROVE THE FLOW OF NATURAL GAS, OIL, OR OTHER HYDROCARBONS INTO THE WELL, WITH SUBSEQUENT HIGH RATE, EXTENDED FLOWBACK TO EXPEL FRACTURE FLUIDS AND SOLIDS?


FOR THE ORDINANCE _____

AGAINST THE ORDINANCE _____

 **vote FOR the ordinance**

Vote FOR the Ban
Vote FOR our Children
Vote FOR Neighborhoods
Vote FOR our Local Economy

Vote FOR the Fracking Ban



Fracking hurts Denton

- Decreases nearby residential property values
- Decreases tax revenue for roads and schools
- Decreases air, land and water quality
- Decreases Denton's health

Paid political advertisement by Pass The Ban PAC, 1020 Victoria, Denton, TX 76209

frackfreedenton.com

Figure 34: Sixth News Ad at DRC

Figure 33: Fifth News Ad at DRC

APPENDIX E

DENTON TAX PAYER FOR A STRONG ECONOMY-NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENTS

PLEASE JOIN WITH DENTON TAXPAYERS FOR A STRONG ECONOMY & DENTON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

SUPPORT RESPONSIBLE DRILLING

DENTONTAXPAYERS.COM

VOTE NO DENTON DRILLING BAN

DENTON'S NOV. 4TH DRILLING BAN PROPOSITION WILL HURT OUR CITY

“Total revenue from natural gas royalties to individuals, businesses, the City of Denton and the University of North Texas will be subject to significant decline if citizens vote to implement a permanent ban on hydraulic fracturing within the city limits of Denton.”

DENTON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
RESOLUTION OPPOSING NOV. 4TH DRILLING BAN

RESPONSIBLE
VOTING AGAINST DENTON'S DRILLING BAN:

- Supports responsible zoning over arbitrary ban
- Protects our local economy and jobs
- Protects oil & gas revenue to local schools/colleges
- Protects oil & gas revenue to local state government
- Protects local taxpayers from higher taxes
- Protects local taxpayers from wasted fiscal costs
- Protects constitutional property owner rights
- Helps make America energy independent
- Protects national security

IRRESPONSIBLE
VOTING FOR DENTON'S DRILLING BAN:

- Arbitrarily bans an industry critical to our local economy
- Weakens America's energy independence
- Weakens national security
- Costs Denton \$250 million in economic activity*
- Costs Denton over 2,000 local jobs*
- Costs local schools MILLIONS in lost revenue*
- Costs local state government MILLIONS in lost revenue*
- Conditions abusive government taking of private property*
- Exposes Denton taxpayers to MILLIONS in legal costs*

* VISIT DENTONTAXPAYERS.COM FOR ALL THE DETAILS & MORE INFORMATION

DENTON VOTERS
HAVE AN IMPORTANT ELECTION BEFORE THEM ON
NOVEMBER 4, 2014

**TAKE A STAND FOR TAXPAYERS AND OUR LOCAL ECONOMY
& AGAINST AN ARBITRARY DRILLING BAN**

POLITICAL AD PAID BY DENTON TAXPAYERS FOR A STRONG ECONOMY

PLEASE JOIN WITH DENTON TAXPAYERS FOR A STRONG ECONOMY

SUPPORT RESPONSIBLE DRILLING

DENTONTAXPAYERS.COM

VOTE NO DENTON DRILLING BAN



DENTON'S DRILLING BAN PROPOSITION WILL HURT OUR SCHOOLS

A ban will cost our local schools, UNT and TWU millions in lost natural gas revenue

DENTON VOTERS
HAVE AN IMPORTANT ELECTION BEFORE THEM ON
NOVEMBER 4, 2014

**TAKE A STAND FOR OUR STUDENTS AND THEIR FUTURE
& AGAINST AN ARBITRARY DRILLING BAN**

POLITICAL AD PAID BY DENTON TAXPAYERS FOR A STRONG ECONOMY

Figure 35: Second News Ad at DRC

Figure 34: First News Ad at DRC

RESPONSIBLE

IRRESPONSIBLE

**DENTON'S IRRESPONSIBLE DRILLING BAN PROPOSITION
WILL WASTE CITY TAX DOLLARS
ON LAWSUITS**

It will cost our city millions in court and lawsuit fees. That's irresponsible.

**If the drilling ban passes, the City of Denton
will be sued by the State of Texas.**

Source: July 2014 letter from Texas Land Commissioner Jerry Patterson to the members of Denton City Council.

- Property owners will lose important rights
- Property rights lawsuits will drain millions from city coffers
- We will also lose millions we now use for our roads and infrastructure, schools, and parks

* Visit dentondrillingban.com for all the details & more information.

**SUPPORT
RESPONSIBLE
DRILLING**

VOTE NO
DENTON DRILLING BAN

Figure 35: Third News Ad at DRC

IF THE DRILLING BAN PASSES, THE ONLY GOVERNMENT FACILITY SEEING REVENUE WILL BE THE COURTHOUSE

Drilling has brought essential natural gas revenues to Denton, and losing that revenue would hurt our city in many ways. Millions of dollars we now use for roads and infrastructure, schools, and parks would vanish. That's irresponsible.

But the ban also comes with serious legal issues. Courts may determine that the ban deprives property owners of their rights. And so, the ban could also expose Denton to property rights lawsuits that could cost the city millions of dollars more. That's perhaps the most irresponsible consequence of all.

Tom Phillips, a former chief justice of the Texas Supreme Court, testified that a ban is unconstitutional and that some of the Texas Oil and Gas Association's thousands of members would "undoubtedly sue".

Don't hurt our city's financial health. Support responsible drilling with reasonable regulation. **Vote "No" on November 4th** to the outright drilling ban.

IF THE DRILLING BAN PASSES, THE ONLY GOVERNMENT FACILITY SEEING REVENUE WILL BE THE COURTHOUSE

SUPPORT RESPONSIBLE DRILLING

VOTE NO ON DRILLING BAN

IF THE DRILLING BAN PASSES, THE CITY OF DENTON WILL BE SUED BY THE STATE OF TEXAS.

Sources: July 2014 letter from Texas Oil and Gas Commissioner Jerry Patterson to the members of Denton City Council.

POLITICAL AD. PAID BY DENTON: SUPPORTERS FOR A STRONG ECONOMY

DENTON'S NOV. 4TH DRILLING BAN PROPOSITION WILL WASTE CITY TAX DOLLARS ON LAWSUITS

- Property owners will lose important rights
- Property rights lawsuits will drain millions from city coffers
- We will also lose millions we now use for our roads and infrastructure, schools, and parks

* Visit dentonstopyes.com for all the details & more information

Figure 36: Fourth News Ad at DRC



By Vicki Vaughan

September 17, 2014 — Booming oil and gas activity on state lands has led to a record \$1.26 billion going to a fund to help support K-12 public education, state officials said Wednesday.

The fiscal 2014 total crushes all previous yearly amounts going to the Permanent School Fund, said Jim Suydam, a spokesman for the Texas General Land Office.

The General Land Office, which manages state lands, attributed the record amount to the rapid increase in shale drilling on state lands.

The state properties include acreage in West Texas' Permian Basin, the Barnett Shale of North Texas and smaller acreage in the Eagle Ford Shale.

It also includes offshore leases and royalties that extend 10.3 nautical miles offshore, Suydam said.

The money earned on state lands comes from oil and gas royalties, lease rentals, bonuses and other sources.

Lease income on state lands rose more than 653 percent in 2014 from the year before, while lease bonus income jumped by 86 percent compared with 2013, the land office said.

Private companies competed "to outbid each other for access to Permanent School Fund lands that previously were of marginal value,"

"Oil and gas have been very good for public education in Texas..."

Jerry Patterson, Texas Land Commissioner

Suydam said. Hydraulic fracturing and new horizontal drilling techniques are opening such properties to

profitable oil and gas development.

Also, revenue from the General Land Office's investments totaled \$461 million, up 71 percent over fiscal 2013.

"Oil and gas have been very good for public education in Texas, but we're really starting to see the fruits of our efforts to diversify our income stream," Land Commissioner Jerry Patterson said in a statement.

The Permanent School Fund now is valued at more than \$34 billion, but only the fund's interest income can be spent.

Interest earned on the fund is distributed by the State Board of Education to school districts in Texas on a per-pupil basis, according to the General Land Office's website...

September 17, 2014 — San Antonio Express News

POLITICAL AD PAID BY DENTON TAXPAYERS FOR A STRONG ECONOMY

SUPPORT RESPONSIBLE DRILLING

VOTE NO ON DRILLING BAN

**DENTON'S NOV. 4TH DRILLING BAN PROPOSITION
WILL HURT OUR SCHOOLS***

- Local school districts will lose millions in oil and gas revenue if a drilling ban is passed
- For example, Denton ISD will lose \$28.6 million over the next 10 years if a drilling ban is passed
- UNT and TWU will also lose millions in oil and gas royalties which would mean higher tuition and fees if a drilling ban is passed

* Visit dentontaxpayers.com for all the details & more information

Figure 37: Fifth News Ad at DRC



POLITICAL AD PAID BY DENTON TAXPAYERS FOR A STRONG ECONOMY

SUPPORT RESPONSIBLE DRILLING

VOTE NO ON DRILLING BAN

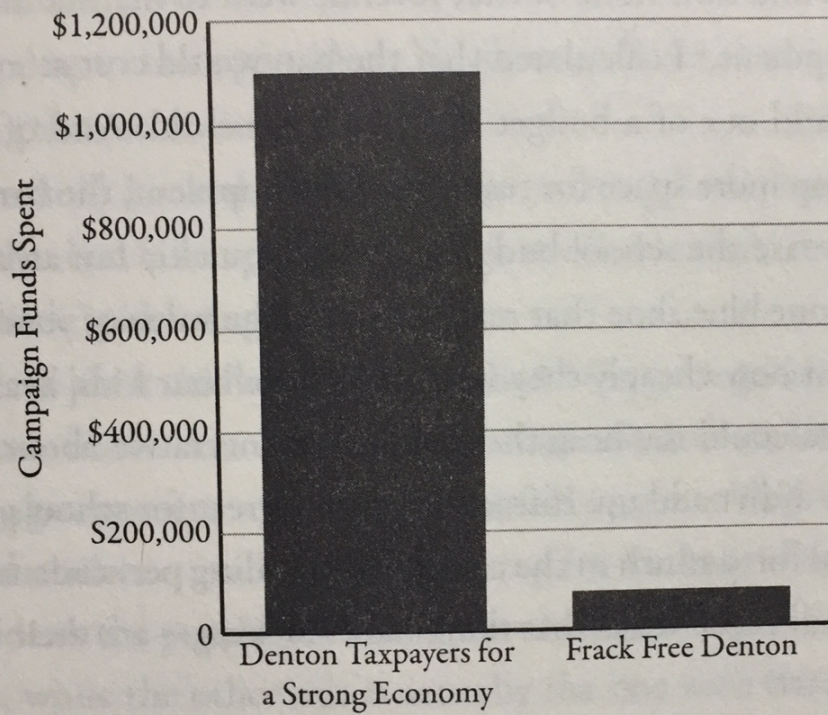
DENTON'S NOV. 4TH DRILLING BAN PROPOSITION WILL HURT OUR CITY

- We lose \$250 million in economic activity
- We lose millions in funding for schools & UNT
- We lose 2,000 jobs over the next ten years
- We lose millions in lost oil & gas revenue that keeps our local property taxes low
- American energy security is put at risk
- Property owner rights are violated
- The city is exposed to millions in legal costs

Figure 38: Sixth News Ad at DRC

APPENDIX F

Fundraising of FFD and DTPSE



Campaign Financing for and against the Ban

When it was all said and done, the opposition outspent us fifteen to one.