

Stakeholder Perceptions of Public Participation in LNG Siting in Coos Bay, Oregon

by

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ABSTRACT

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Selecting locations for large energy facilities represents a land use dilemma: While such facilities are often beneficial to society at large, they can create concentrated local impacts. As a result, local opposition groups often form in response to such proposals; and, although opportunities for public participation are built into the process, questions remain as to their effectiveness. In an in-depth case study of the participation processes surrounding the proposed siting of a liquefied natural gas (LNG) facility in Coos Bay, Oregon, I find that local opponents' previous experiences regarding industrial development proposals fostered mistrust of local decision makers and a sense of procedural injustice, while at the same time establishing a network of existing mobilizing structures through which LNG opponents were able to organize. I also show that the change in facility type from import to export helped to facilitate mobilization of opposition among landowners along the pipeline. In terms of supporters, perceptions that opponents were dominating public discussions of the proposal led them to form a strategic alliance with the proposing company and undertake a more concerted and organized effort to voice their support. I conclude with suggestions of how to improve public participation processes surrounding such controversial land use decisions.

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Introduction

A proposal to site a liquefied natural gas (LNG) facility in North Bend, Oregon, near Coos Bay – the Jordan Cove Energy Project – has spurred protest and debate among area residents (Davis, 2013; Sickinger, 2011). LNG is natural gas that has been cooled to cryogenic temperatures to reduce its volume to allow for easier and more economical transport (U.S. Department of Energy, 2014). Import facilities receive LNG that has been produced overseas and regasify it for domestic distribution; export facilities receive natural gas that has been produced domestically and liquefy it for transport on tankers overseas (U.S. Department of Energy, 2014). Contentious disputes such as the one surrounding the Jordan Cove proposal can create an atmosphere of hostility and make it difficult for community members to find common ground. The U.S. Energy Policy Act of 2005 shifted much of the responsibility to evaluate and approve energy facility siting applications from state and local decision makers to the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC). FERC consists of 5 commissioners appointed by the President of the United States. Although FERC must follow requirements for public participation mandated by the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1970, the flurry of protests, letter-writing, and formal public participation surrounding the Jordan Cove Energy Project proposal raises questions about how these public participation processes have been perceived and how such perceptions relate to community mobilization.

Utilizing a case study design and insights from previous research on communities facing LNG proposals (Boudet, 2010; Boudet, 2011; Boudet and Ortolano, 2010; McAdam and Boudet, 2012; Wright and Boudet, 2012), I identify areas of improvement for effective public participation processes surrounding large-scale, coastal, industrial

developments as reflected in experiences from citizens involved in the Jordan Cove Energy Project. In undertaking this case study, I aim to answer the following research questions:

1. How do active participants surrounding the Jordan Cove Energy Project perceive the effectiveness of public participation processes in incorporating citizen concerns?
2. How do citizens' perceptions of public participation relate to community mobilization?

To answer these questions, literature from the study of both public participation surrounding energy facility-siting proposals and social movements is discussed.

Literature Review

Facility Siting and Public Participation

Research in this area has long focused on different strategies for siting facilities and how these relate to siting success. One unsuccessful strategy is the Decide-Announce-Defend (DAD) approach, where a site is selected based on expert advice and then publicly announced and defended by decision makers (Bierle and Cayford, 2002; Lesbirel and Shaw, 2005). An alternative approach is to allow different locations to bid against each other to attract the facility to their area, in exchange for benefits to the community (Armour, 1991; Lesbirel and Shaw, 2005). However, there are moral concerns regarding environmental justice in this case, since economically distressed communities may be more likely to bid, ultimately increasing risks to populations already facing hardship (Lesbirel and Shaw, 2005; Armour, 1991). A more cooperative approach, mediation, has been used to make the polarizing process characteristic of current siting practices less so (Ozawa and Susskind, 1985). Since scientific uncertainty and political

concerns are manipulated in adversarial approaches to facility siting, mediation is seen as a way to balance scientific uncertainty and political concerns (Ozawa and Susskind, 1985). However, since the success of cooperative siting practices depends on appropriate representation on both sides of an issue as well as the willing participation of all parties, these approaches are not always successful (Ozawa and Susskind, 1985). Although cooperative approaches to facility siting often use a moderator to find common ground among those involved, inevitably there are still differences in scientific interpretation as well as disputes regarding political concerns (i.e. distribution of costs and benefits) (Ozawa and Susskind, 1985).

The importance of early public involvement, good communication, and consultation is emphasized in literature about cooperative approaches to facility siting (Armour, 1991; Dietz and Stern, 2008; Freudenberg, 2004; Kunreuther et al., 1993; Lesbirel and Shaw, 2005). Furthermore, NEPA requires either an Environmental Assessment (EA) or Environmental Impact Statement (EIS)¹ be completed before site preparation and construction can begin, and public comments and hearings are a part of this process (U.S. Senate, 1969). Project sponsors are encouraged to seek information or advice from the public, the goal being to prevent delays, legal disputes, and negative media attention (Environment Division, 1998). Other previous research has evaluated a variety of techniques for public participation based on their effectiveness, e.g. surveys, citizen advisory committees, public hearings, etc. (Bierle and Cayford, 2002; Fiorino, 1990; Meyer and Koninsky, 2005). Evaluating the effectiveness of methods for public participation can be difficult depending on one's perspective. One measure of the

¹ An EIS is more thorough and is required when a project is deemed to have significant adverse environmental impacts.

effectiveness of public participation is the degree to which citizens perceive their concerns are incorporated into the process (O’Faircheallaigh, 2010). This will be the measure of effectiveness I focus on in my research.

While those who study facility siting often argue for more public participation as a way to avoid conflict, social movements scholars have shown how more open decision making structures – or increased political opportunities – can actually incite mobilization (Eisinger, 1973; McAdam, 1999). For example, near Phoenix, Arizona, the Yavapai tribe, although politically powerless, was able to thwart efforts to build a large dam, helped by the standing granted them under NEPA (Espeland, 1998). Consistent with the literature on social movements, NEPA enabled greater access to decision-making institutions, which allowed the Yavapai tribe greater leverage to raise their concerns. Thus, questions remain in the literature about the relationship between public participation processes and community mobilization – questions which I hope to shed light on here.

Perceptions of the Public Participation Process

Those who study public participation processes argue that perceptions of procedural fairness, as well as the ability to participate in initial decisions regarding whether to site a facility and where it is to be sited, impact community response to a proposal (Boholm, 2004; Hunter and Leyden, 1995; Lesbirel and Shaw, 2005; Kunreuther et al, 1993). Moreover, they argue that trust in decision-making authorities and/or developers also plays a role in the mobilization of opposition (Boudet and Ortolano, 2010; Hunter and Leyden, 1995; Kraft and Clary, 1991; Kunreuther et al, 1993). However, researchers disagree on the nature of this relationship, with some

contending that distrust facilitates opposition, while others argue that opposition may increase distrust (Smith and Marquez, 2000).

Important aspects of bringing the public into decision-making have been identified in previous research. According to Merkhofer et al. (1997), there are five necessary components to a fair process: (1) the transfer of technological competency to the public through education about the process as well as technical aspects of the facility, (2) honest and effective communication, (3) meaningful participation in decisions, (4) mutual respect between participants, and (5) a collaborative attitude where participants are treated as equal partners. David (1992) views the exclusion of the public as a symptom of ineffective institutions that are unable to shift the focus to reflect the evolving priorities of society. Put another way, “where institutions are not properly designed, relevant segments of the public will be systematically excluded” (David, 1992, p. 10). To establish an effective institutional arrangement, David (1992) argues that the following two issues should be accounted for and addressed: (1) the inclination for a regulator to be controlled or influenced by the industry it regulates, and (2) the propensity for public agencies to respond to a narrow group of individuals.

The ability to participate in the substantive decisions surrounding large-scale proposals is an essential component to the development of trust, as well as perceptions of fairness. Kuhn and Ballard (1998) write that a decision making process that relies on expert advice yet is closed to the public is generally viewed as illegitimate. In fact, David (1992) contends that when citizens are involved in making decisions, experts’ perceptions regarding the topic at hand can change. Inevitably, not only are technical, economic and environmental aspects important to a decision, but social, political and procedural

concerns also matter for a fair and successful siting process (Kuhn and Ballard, 1998). In other words, “concern over the process of decision making is as important as the final outcome” (Kuhn and Ballard, 1998, p. 543). If the public is not involved at all stages of decision-making, it is more likely that opposition to the proposal will mobilize (Kuhn and Ballard, 1998). Additionally, distrust is likely to form along with perceptions that decisions are illegitimate (Kuhn and Ballard, 1998). Furthermore, Kuhn and Ballard (1998) explain that financial incentives for communities are only effective after trust has been established.

Community Mobilization

Rather than focusing on the effectiveness of public participation strategies, a social movements’ approach examines the conditions that give rise to social movements. Social movement scholars have identified four important factors that facilitate collective action: changes in (1) political opportunities (i.e., the openness of decision making structures) or (2) threats (in this case, the risks to community members if they choose not to mobilize), (3) mobilizing structures (i.e., existing social networks that can be appropriated into the cause), and (4) collective action framing (i.e., “action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement”) (Benford and Snow 2000, 614; Boudet and Ortolano, 2010; McAdam and Boudet, 2012; McAdam 1999).

Literature on social movements reveals that stable political environments rarely give rise to collective action. Environmental changes are more likely to spur community mobilization in response to new threats, the emergence of political opportunities, or

greater leverage for disaffected citizens (McAdam, 1999; McAdam et al, 1996; Tarrow, 1998; Tilly, 1978). In fact, the facility announcement can be a mobilizing factor in and of itself, since some will view it as either an opportunity or a new threat to their interests. However, changing environmental conditions without the presence of existing social networks that can be mobilized are unlikely to result in successful, sustained collective action. This suggests the importance of experience with previous, similar struggles and the existence of mobilizing structures (e.g. formal networks and informal social connections) to a movement's success (Gould, 1993; Morris, 1984; Snow et al, 1980).

Although external events and mobilizing structures can mobilize a social movement, they do not on their own produce collective action; rather, they merely present the “structural potential” for such movements (Snow and Benford, 1988). Collective action framing is a likely mediator between potential and action. In other words, collective action framing is essential to the development of an organized social movement (Snow and Benford, 1988; Snow and Benford, 1992; Snow et al, 1986). Whether enough people subjectively view procedural siting decisions as threatening or beneficial to build and sustain a movement will be of interest in my research.

Social movement research has been applied to collective action surrounding infrastructure proposals in a few cases (Carmin, 2003; Sherman, 2004; Wakefield et al, 2006; Walsh et al, 1997). For example, in studies of energy facility siting in the U.S., research has shown that community context – including economic need, community resources, and previous experiences with similar siting proposals and mobilization – as well as the openness of decision-making processes to citizens, helped construct a critical lens through which facility impacts were interpreted, affecting subsequent community

response (Boudet, 2010; McAdam and Boudet, 2012; Wright and Boudet, 2012).

Regarding political opportunity, previous research suggests the importance of conceptualization (i.e. “political opportunity for what and whom”) (Meyer and Minkoff, 2004, p. 1483). Meyer and Minkoff (1993) also stress the greater explanatory power of issue-specific political opportunity², which will be the type of political opportunity of focus in my research.

Both facility siting and social movement scholars argue that community context, in particular previous experience with the siting of similar proposals and industries, as well as exogenous events, shapes community response to a proposal (Boholm, 2004; Boudet and Ortolano, 2010; Dear, 1992; Kunreuther and Lathrop, 1981; Lesbirel, 1998; McAdam and Boudet, 2012). For example, the importance of external events in mobilizing project opposition was highlighted in a study of the first LNG import proposal in San Pedro Bay, California, during the 1970s (Kunreuther and Lathrop, 1981). Only one day after the City Council voted to allow LNG terminal construction, a ship transporting oil near Los Angeles exploded, which influenced the City Council’s decision to halt construction and conduct a more in-depth inquiry into the safety risks of an LNG site (Kunreuther and Lathrop, 1981).

Demographic changes in a community can also bring in new ideas and mobilizing structures that can shift the political atmosphere once newcomers reach a “critical mass” and create new opportunities for community mobilization (Spain, 1993). Previous research has stressed the important influence of changing community demographics, especially in communities where extractive industries have historically been the primary

² Issue-specific political opportunity refers to the influence citizens can have on a particular area of concern, while general political opportunity refers to the overall openness of a polity.

source of employment (Spain, 1993; Bell and York, 2010). New residents may hold different values than those of longtime residents (Spain, 1993; Bell and York, 2010), thus I will want to be mindful of such changes in my analysis. In sum, previous literature on facility siting and social movements suggests that community context, trust of decision makers and/or developers, perceptions of procedural injustice, changing environmental conditions, mobilizing structures and collective action framing will be relevant in terms of both perceptions of participatory processes and community response to the Jordan Cove Energy Project in Coos Bay, Oregon.

Methods

The Jordan Cove Energy Project proposal in North Bend (near Coos Bay), Oregon was selected for analysis as one of two ongoing proposals for LNG facilities in Oregon. To answer my research questions about (1) how the public views the effectiveness of the process in incorporating citizen concerns and (2) how these perceptions relate to community mobilization, I first collected and coded relevant articles and letters-to-the-editor from *The Oregonian* and *The Coos Bay World* newspapers from August 2004 to December 2014 to identify important events, actors and stances/issues raised to facilitate content analysis, process tracing and selection of interview participants (McAdam and Boudet, 2012). Information from these two newspapers was retrieved from the Access World News database using keywords “liquefied natural gas” and “LNG.” In total, 1,018 articles and 451 letters-to-the-editor related to the Jordan Cove Energy Project proposal were coded for important actors and events.

From this initial review of articles and letters, stakeholders in the Jordan Cove Energy Project were identified and contacted for interviews. Twenty-four interviews were conducted through two site visits to Coos Bay and telephone interviews with those unable to meet in person. Out of the 24 interviewees, 17 were active citizens, six were decision makers, and one was the Jordan Cove Energy Project's public affairs representative. Of the 17 active citizens interviewed, 14 opposed the project, two supported it, and one was neutral. Of the six decision makers, four supported the project and two were neutral. See Table 1 in the Appendix for a list of interview participants. Semi-structured interviews were used to encourage individuals to share their experiences with the Jordan Cove Energy Project proposal. This type of interview allows for standard questions to be asked, allowing for easier comparison yet is flexible enough to allow for the discovery of new topics not included in initial interview questions (Berg, 1989). Interviews averaged one hour in length, ranging from 45 minutes to two hours. Questions focused on: (1) the community context and prior mobilizing structures, (2) openness of public participation processes surrounding the proposal, (3) formal and non-formal political involvement around the Jordan Cove Energy Project, and (4) the responsiveness of decision makers to public concerns.

For analysis purposes, interviews were audio recorded and transcribed with detailed notes taken during the meetings as a guide. I then read through interview notes and transcripts to identify answers given to the four main themes that interview questions focused on (above). Table II outlines the coding scheme that was used for the letters-to-the-editor in *The Coos Bay World*. In all, thirteen themes were identified based on their prevalence after an initial reading of the letters. Additionally, one FERC public comment

meeting was observed on December 9, 2014, in Roseburg, Oregon for 4.5 hours, and transcripts from ten FERC public hearings were coded for the stances of participants toward the proposal – four surrounding the release of the Draft EIS on the proposal to import LNG in October 2008 and six surrounding the release of the Draft EIS on the proposal to export LNG in December 2014.

Table II. Coding scheme for letters-to-the-editor.

Code	Description	Examples
Economic benefit	This includes economic concerns, as well as claims of need in the community, e.g. jobs, poverty, unemployment, education, growth	"A major LNG plant could ... vitalize our local economy, save our neglected harbor and create a new industry worth several hundred million dollars."
Environmental concerns	This includes concerns of harm to species, habitat, wetlands, air and water quality, climate change, tourism, goals of sustainability, wearing of infrastructure	"Dredging [associated with the facility] will pollute the bay and harm marine life, fishing and crabbing fleets."
Hazard	This includes concerns of an accidental or terrorist LNG event, including health impacts and stability of LNG site, e.g. explosion, earthquake, tsunami, death, fire	"The research shows that one LNG ship has the capacity of 755 kilotons of TNT and an extreme danger when ignited, by accident or acts of terrorism."
Eminent domain	This involves concerns about private property, condemnation, no public purpose/benefit, e.g. adequate compensation, precludes other uses, property value	"Eminent domain, taking homes and businesses located in the path of the pipeline by a private company supposedly for the good of the cause, would destroy many of the jobs already here."
Coos Bay Community Context	Relevant background in Coos County, especially failed industrial projects, e.g. past experiences	"Have we not learned anything from the MasTec mess, the loss of our county's mineral rights at the lowest percentage possible, [or] the huge tax break given to Northwest Natural at the same time sheriff's deputies are being laid off?"
Mistrust of Company	When a statement indicates mistrust of Jordan Cove Energy Project's proposing company or other similar companies.	"Jordan Cove wants to make a quick buck while they tear up our bay and our forest and leave us with a white elephant."
Mistrust of decision makers	Lack of trust in the decision makers, e.g. dishonesty, influence of money	"FERC [is] in the business of saying yes."
Procedural injustice	This includes concerns that procedural requirements are not being satisfied, as well as needing expertise or money to adequately challenge LNG, e.g. NEPA, CZMA	"A programmatic EIS [should] be prepared and processed before any site-specific permits are issued."

Code	Description	Examples
Irrational concerns	This category includes comments that downplay the concerns of others as irrational or emotional and not based in fact.	"The opponents are struggling to come up with anything to bolster their position, including playing on the unnecessary fears of the people."
External events	Specific events from outside of the local community, e.g. LNG explosion in Plymouth, WA	"A large blast from a leaking natural gas pipeline in Virginia a few months ago destroyed several homes."
Response to environmental concerns	This category includes the response of supporters to environmental concerns, e.g. downplaying impacts	"The 'environmental destruction' caused by fracking and exploration gets lots of press but little factual evidence is offered in support."
Response to hazard concerns	This includes the response of supporters to concerns of an LNG explosion or other hazardous event	"Natural gas infrastructure technology has been proven reliable and safe."
Response to economic benefit	This category includes responses of opponents to claims of LNG benefits	"Jobs [from the LNG project] are only temporary."

Case Summary: The Jordan Cove Energy Project

According to interviewees, initial discussions about the possibility of locating an LNG import facility in Coos Bay began in 2003 when investors looking for a site on the West Coast contacted port and city officials (interviews 7, 19). Then, in February 2004, Bob Braddock, the Jordan Cove Energy Project's project manager, called the Port to arrange two focus groups regarding the proposal: (1) with local decision makers and business leaders and (2) with citizens with an interest in economic development (interview 7). Feedback during the focus groups appears to have been generally favorable and receptive of the proposal, as the proposing company – then Energy Products Development LLC, based out of Colorado – decided to move forward with its plans (interview 7).

In August 2004, the company publicly announced its intention to site and LNG import terminal in Coos Bay via the local newspaper, *The Coos Bay World* (Sirocchi 2004a). The initial proposal for import was to be built on a 90-acre parcel of

development-zoned land on the North Spit of North Bend, and consisted of one 95,000 cubic meter storage tank and a small gas-fired power plant, where the LNG would be re-gasified and enter the pipeline system after being offloaded from tankers (Sirocchi, 2004a). In September of 2004, with both supporters and opponents beginning to surface, the company finalized a purchase agreement for 90 acres of industrial land on Coos Bay's North Spit, initiating the permitting process just two months later by submitting a notice of intent to the Oregon Energy Facility Siting Council (Sirocchi 2004b, 2004c, 2004d). In November 2004, Coos County Citizens for Responsible Government, a group that had previously been active around similar proposals in the community and would eventually join the main opposition group to the project – Citizens Against LNG, held its first forum about the proposal (*The Coos Bay World*, 2004).

At the same time, the U.S. Congress was debating changes to the siting process for LNG facilities, granting exclusive authority for siting to FERC. Such changes were eventually included in the Energy Policy Act of 2005, which was passed in June 2005 (Herbert, 2005). A month later, in August 2005, while the Oregon Energy Facility Siting Council awaited direction as to how to proceed in light of the Energy Policy Act, a Canadian corporation – Fort Chicago Energy Partners LP – became the majority stakeholder in the Jordan Cove Energy Project (Fort Chicago, 2005). And, in April 2006, the company initiated the federal siting process with FERC for both the LNG terminal and the 234-mile high pressure Pacific Connector pipeline from Coos Bay to Malin, Oregon (Fort Chicago, 2006). Figure 1 provides a map of the proposed Jordan Cove Energy Project. Two weeks later, Citizens Against LNG – the major opposition group in Coos Bay – held its first forum about the proposal (Coos Bay World, 2006). In June of

2006, the proposing company held its first open house in North Bend as a part of the federal pre-filing process (Atkins, 2006). A new pipeline route was introduced in July 2006 that would avoid Glasgow (Hamner, 2006b). In March 2007, in a blow to the opponents' strategy, Coos County Commissioners denied a request from Beverly Segner for a county-wide vote on LNG, which sparked some controversy in letters-to-the-editor in *The Coos Bay World* newspaper (Mickelson, 2007a). Also in March of 2007, Coos County commissioners unanimously voted to bypass a review by the Coos County Planning Commission, in part due to "time and cost" considerations; in May, Anne Corcoran Briggs was selected to serve as the hearings officer (Mickelson, 2007b).

In November of 2007, the Coos County Hearings Officer submitted a report to County Commissioners advising approval of an application for land use approval of the Jordan Cove LNG terminal (Rich, 2007a). Less than one month later, the Hearings Officer advised denial of another significant permit for the Jordan Cove Energy Project's marine terminal because dredging of the estuary would violate the Coos County Zoning and Development Ordinance that prohibits the unreasonable interference of public trust rights (Rich, 2007b). Despite this report, County Commissioners instead relied on the advice of the Planning Director, who believed that the Hearings Officer had misinterpreted the estuary plan by reading it too strictly, and approved the application (Rich, 2007c).

Following the county's approval of the marine terminal and LNG facility applications, opponents appealed both decisions to the Land Use Board of Appeals (LUBA) (Rich 2008a, Rich 2008b). LUBA remanded the appeal for the LNG facility back to Coos County for its Commissioners to address Native American archaeological

sites and existing wetlands in the area of the proposed facility (Rich, 2008c). However, before the application was again reviewed by the County, a resident of Eugene appealed the LNG facility approval to the Oregon Court of Appeals due to its location in a tsunami inundation zone (Rich, 2008d). On October 2008, the Court of Appeals denied the tsunami-based LNG facility appeal, which was then appealed to the Oregon Supreme Court who refused to hear the case (Rich, 2008e, Rich 2009a). As a result, the LNG facility appeal was remanded back to Coos County, where Coos County commissioners modified the application to address LUBA's concerns before voting to approve the revised land use application (Coos Bay World 2009a, Coos Bay World 2009b).

While opponents were actively fighting the proposal in court, they were also organizing more contentious activities. For example, in February 2008, LNG opponents throughout the state converged on the capitol in Salem to pressure Governor Kulongoski to publicly oppose LNG projects (*Coos Bay World*, 2008). Also, FERC was moving forward with its review process – releasing the Draft EIS³ in August 2008 (Rich, 2008f). The upcoming FERC public hearings, as well as the activities of opponents, prompted supporters to begin a more concerted effort to recruit locals to participate in public meetings through formation of a group called “Friends of LNG” in October 2008 (Rich, 2008g). Following these public hearings, FERC approved the Jordan Cove proposal in December 2009, with four out of five commissioners voting favorably (Chairman Wellinghoff was the lone dissenting vote) (FERC, 2009; Rich, 2009b).

After two years of relative inactivity, Fort Chicago announced its reorganization into Veresen Inc., a Canadian corporation, in January 2011. And, nine months later, the

³ Following release of the Draft EIS, a 90-day public comment period takes place, as well as public hearings in the proposed city and along the pipeline route.

company filed a request with FERC to initiate the pre-filing process for an *export* terminal (Elber, 2011). FERC thus vacated its approval of the Jordan Cove LNG import license and reinitiated a review process of the proposed export facility. The company then secured additional acreage on the North Spit in North Bend, totaling 400 acres in an Enterprise Zone⁴ for the Jordan Cove Energy Project proposal. The proposed export facility includes plans for two storage tanks of 160,000 m³ each, liquefaction capacity for 6 million metric tons annually, and an associated marine berth and tug dock (Elber, 2011b; Hamner, 2006a; Jordan Cove LNG, n.d.). In August 2012, the company submitted a notice of intent to apply for a site certificate with the Oregon Energy Facility Siting Council for a 380MW natural gas-fired power plant – the South Dunes Power Plant. Shortly thereafter, FERC held a scoping/public comment meeting in North Bend (*Coos Bay World*, 2012). In April of 2013, the Oregon Department of State Lands granted approval for the construction of a cargo slip associated with the Jordan Cove Energy Project (Elber, 2013). By June 20, 2013, over a hundred motions to intervene were filed with FERC; this process grants intervener status to those who file motions, allowing them to appeal FERC’s decision later on (Thornton, 2013). In January of 2014, a new pipeline route, the Blue Ridge alternative route, was proposed (Thornton, 2014).

In February 2014, the Jordan Cove Energy Project received a significant approval from the U.S. Department of Energy to export natural gas to non-Free Trade Agreement countries (U.S. Department of Energy Order No. 3413). And, in August 2014, the company proposed a project to house over a thousand workers during construction. The Draft EIS for the export facility was issued in November 2014, followed by six public

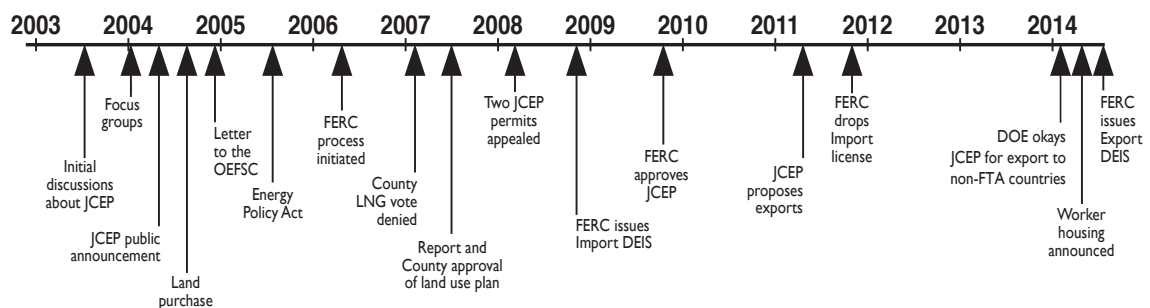
⁴ An “Enterprise Zone” is an area selected for tax incentives to attract businesses and is typically located in an economically depressed area (cite).

hearings and a 90-day public comment period. The proposal currently awaits the release of the Final EIS on the Jordan Cove Energy Project and Pacific Connector pipeline, as well as a final determination by FERC commissioners. See Figure I below for a map of the proposed export facility and Figure II for a timeline of important events.

Figure I. The Jordan Cove Energy Project export facility proposed location.



Figure II. Timeline of Important Events by Quarter in the Coos Bay World newspaper from 2003 through 2014.



Results

I explore three emergent themes resulting from my fieldwork in Coos Bay. First, opponents interviewed emphasized the importance of similar experiences with previous attempts to site industrial projects in the area in shaping their perceptions of participation processes and decisions to mobilize against the Jordan Cove Energy Project. Second, the switch in facility type from import to export appears to have mobilized opponents along the pipeline route, especially landowners. Finally, those who support the proposal reported concern that opposition voices were dominating public discussions about the project. As a result, they partnered with the proposing company to form a counter-movement in support of the Jordan Cove Energy Project, known as Boost Southwest Oregon (BSWOR).

The Role of Community Context

Newspaper articles, letters, and interviews revealed a struggle among Coos Bay community members regarding the best course of future development for the area: while supporters of the Jordan Cove Energy Project generally expressed preferences for large industrial projects (interviews 7, 13, 15, 16, 19), opponents favored an approach that would include attracting more tourism and sustainable development (interviews 2, 3, 4, 8, 9; AIA 2010 report). Newcomers to the area – many of whom are retirees wishing to take advantage of the natural amenities offered by the Oregon Coast – appeared particularly likely to oppose the project (interview 2, 16; Elber, 2011). At the same time, many long-term residents remembered when the Port of Coos Bay was the busiest timber export port in the U.S. and cited the role of environmental regulation – particularly the Endangered Species Act – in the demise of the industry and the associated economic hardship in the

area (interviews 7, 16), although some contended that the timber industry had declined as a result of over-harvesting (interview 2). Given this community context, it is unsurprising that there is a history of ideological conflicts, or a difference in vision, about what kind of development is best for the community.

Although LNG opponents recognized that the Jordan Cove Energy Project was larger than any other previous proposal, many viewed the siting process surrounding the proposal as a continuation of a local pattern of procedural injustice and lack of transparency surrounding land use decisions. As explained by one eventual opponent, Richard Knablin, founder of Coos County Citizens for Responsible Government – a precursor to the main group opposed the Jordan Cove Energy Project, Citizens Against LNG – in an initial newspaper article about the proposal:

"The history here has been that jobs at any price prevails and all these plans, from Nucor to (Daishowa Paper Products), they never involve citizen involvement...All they do is go to the same people - the South Coast Development Council, Friends of New and Sustainable Industry - and here they are making decisions for everyone." (as quoted in Sirocchi 2004e).

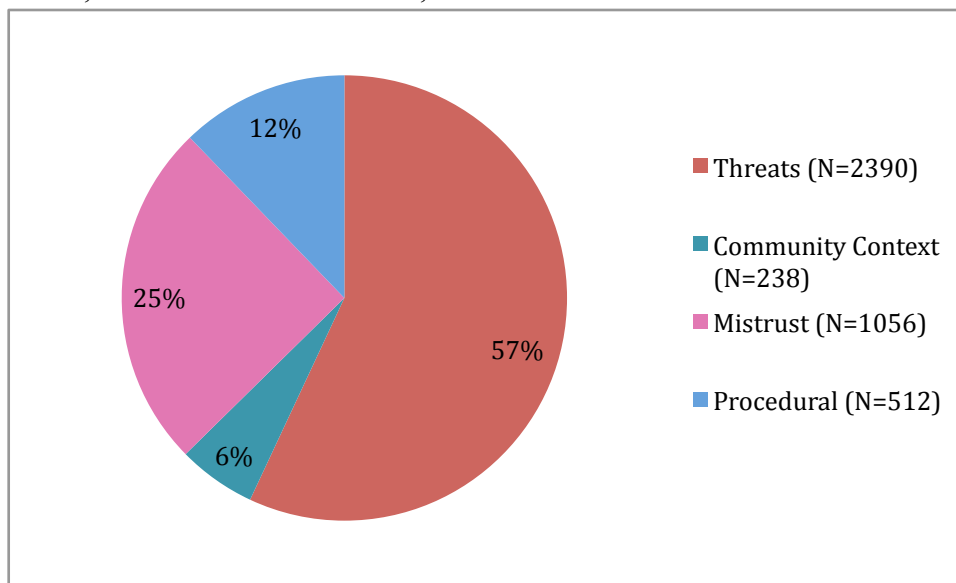
This perceived inaccessibility of local decision-making circles was mentioned repeatedly by opponents in interviews. One interview participant, Wim de Vriend, who wrote a book about the history of wasteful spending surrounding failed industrial development projects in the area, entitled "Job Messiahs," explained,

"Those who get elected, get elected because they have more funds and resources... They blame all past failures on environmentalists and use stereotypes to label people" (interview 6).

My coding of comments in letters-to-the-editor in *The Coos Bay World* underlines the importance of opponents' concerns about (1) mistrust of decision makers and the proposing company, (2) procedural justice, and (3) community context (see Figure III).

This combination accounts for 40% of all coded comments and is second only to mentions about threats posed by the proposal (i.e. environmental, safety, and economic concerns), which comprised 48% of comments coded.

Figure III. Concerns of opponents in all letters-to-the-editor about LNG in *The Coos Bay World*, from 2006 to 2014. N= 4,975 comments in 451 letters.



Of particular concern for opponents in terms of procedural justice was the fact that Port commissioners are appointed by the Governor as opposed to elected by local community members – a change that was instituted by referendum in the late 1980s and repeatedly mentioned by opponents interviewed (interviews 6, 10, 11, 14). In fact, two interviewees recounted how they themselves had tried unsuccessfully to join local decision making bodies – one applied for a vacancy with the county planning commission but received no response and the other attempted a run for city council (interviews 3, 6). Consistent with this perception, one local decision maker interviewed described the pressure to remain neutral about the project and the stigma attached to being openly against the proposal (interview 14). In addition, one interview participant against the Jordan Cove Energy Project proposal felt that officials had misled the public

about the potential safety impacts of previous proposals, making claims that “the [pulp] mill’s waste water would be clean enough to drink” and that “[under-sea] mining could actually improve the ocean floor” (De Vriend, 2011, p. 21-8 and p. 21-7, respectively). Despite these misgivings, opponents of large industrial developments previously proposed in Coos Bay had experienced some success. For example, previous proposals for a steel and pulp mill were successfully opposed by the Coos County Citizens for Responsible Government as well as other residents, resulting in the passage of an ordinance preventing future siting of pulp mills (Hamner, 2007).

Regarding the degree to which citizens’ concerns were reflected in the federal public participation process, opponents perceived FERC’s overall approach to the EIS to be biased in favor of approval (interviews 1, 4, 6, 8, 14, 20, 21, 22, 23), with one interviewee explaining, “it’s as close to a rubber stamp as you can get” (interview 1). At FERC public hearings, project opponents repeatedly cited FERC’s high rate of past approvals of proposed LNG facilities around the country. Project opponents in hearings and interviews argued that the way the entire EIS is interpreted by the FERC in its Executive Summary does not give full consideration of alternatives, like sustainable industries, as mandated by NEPA (interviews 2, 4, 8). Another concern mentioned by opponents was that the company’s initial site preparations violated NEPA because the EIS is supposed to be completed first (interviews 2, 10, 11). Thus, Jordan Cove opponents also perceived that the federal process did not adequately incorporate citizen concerns. One grievance mentioned by an interviewee who had professional experience working with NEPA is that even though the EIS is legally required to precede site preparation, this stage has already begun; foliage has already been cleared, as well as

laying down gravel pavement (interviews 2, 4). As stated by one interview participant, decision makers “squench NEPA knowledge and focus on mitigation” (interview 2).

The sense of procedural injustice was mentioned not only in relation to the federal process but also to the local one (interviews 4, 8; FERC, 2014a). Two interview participants mentioned that local land use rules had been altered in the middle of an appeal and felt that both the Coos Bay estuary management plan and the Coastal Zone Management Act were not being enforced (interviews 4, 8). Highlighting her frustration, one interviewee asked, “How can you fight something when they just change the rules to let it happen?” (interview 4). Bill Gow, in a FERC public comment hearing in 2014, cited another example of procedural injustice in relation to state-level land use regulations:

“...the industry came in and changed our own laws in the state of Oregon. House Bill 2700, people should be outraged... They used to need my signature to take out permits on my property. And this damned industry went in there and changed the law so now they don’t even need my permission” (FERC, 2014a).

This sense of procedural injustice is not solely due to circumvention of state and federal regulations, but also to local land use regulations perceived to be inadequate. One group in particular formed in response to perceptions about the Simpson Heights neighborhood was being shut out of the public process to site a worker housing complex in close proximity to their homes. Only those living within 100 feet of the proposed housing project were initially notified, so many residents surrounding the housing project felt excluded from the process (Carrillo, 2014; interview 12, 18). When Simpson Heights residents later found out about the proposed housing, they began attending public meetings to register their opposition. These perceptions of procedural injustice, along with the perceived inaccessibility of the Port’s and FERC’s decision making process to opponents, mobilized opposition to the Jordan Cove Energy Project and pipeline, where

they have launched lawsuits and participated in more contentious activities (e.g. protesting, recruiting their own experts, letter writing) (interviews 4, 8). Another difficulty related to the participation process lamented by opponents was that expertise is required to effectively challenge decisions made regarding the project and that the permitting process is complex (interviews 5, 7, 9, 17, 21, 22, 23). As explained by one interview participant, “you need to be a lawyer or have a lawyer. The law is not in favor of the public” (interview 23).

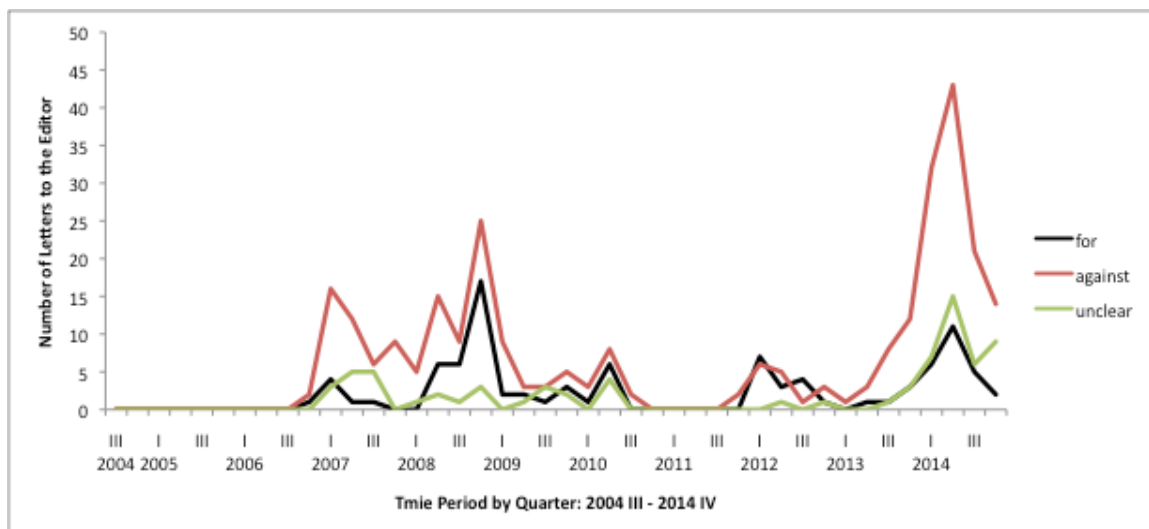
In sum, my research shows that opponents’ feelings of mistrust of local decision makers and perceptions of procedural injustice in part resulted from a long history of individuals opposed to proposed industrial development facilities feeling closed off from the formal decision making process in Coos Bay. Reflecting the desire for a more inclusive, collaborative approach to decision making, one opponent explained, “We want to be able to say – no, we don’t want it here!” (interview 9). These perceptions, along with prior social networks – like the Coos County Citizens for Responsible Government – formed against previous proposals, created an environment conducive to the formation of Citizens Against LNG, the primary group opposing the siting of the Jordan Cove Energy Project, and misgivings about the participatory processes associated with the proposal.

From Import to Export

Shortly after the permitting process began for the export facility, opposition to the project increased, especially along the 234-mile pipeline. Figure IV below reveals that the number of letters-to-the-editor against the Jordan Cove Energy Project sharply increased

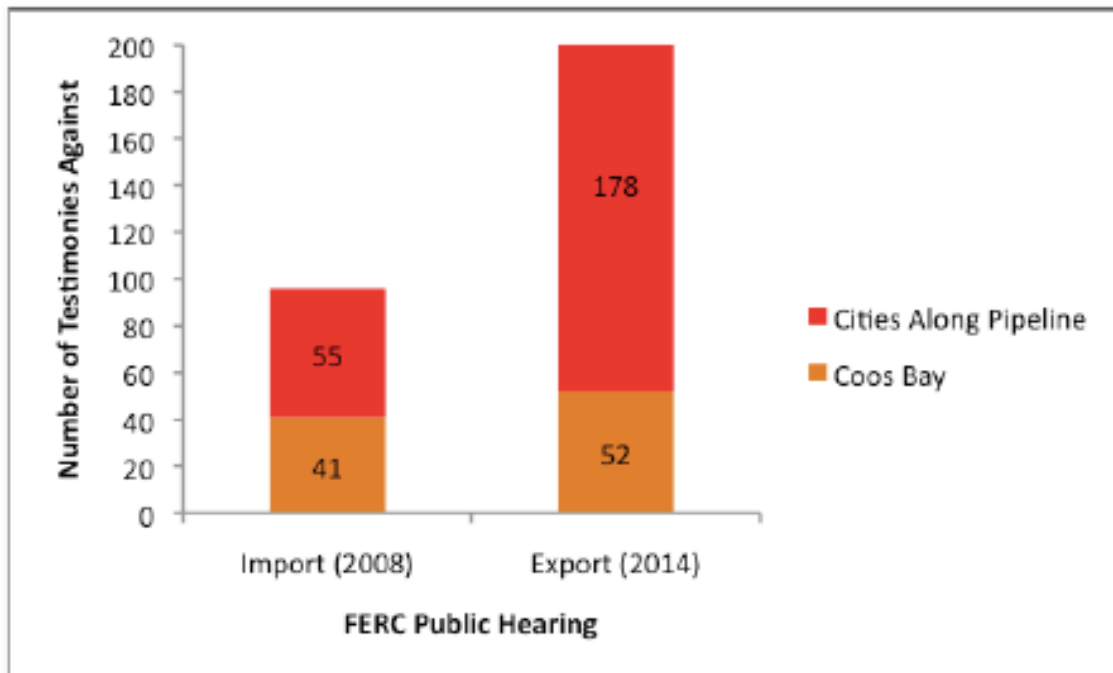
following release of the 2014 Draft EIS (Export) for the export facility, more so than the spike in letter writing opposed to the facility which followed the release of the Draft EIS (Import) in 2008 for the import facility. As shown in Figure V, while the number of opponents testifying at FERC hearings on the Draft EIS for LNG Importation in 2008 in Coos Bay remained relatively constant (41 to 52 speakers), the number of opponents testifying along the pipeline route increased dramatically from 55 to 178 speakers.⁵ While this increase in opposition along the pipeline route is likely in part due to the organizing efforts of opponents, testimony supports the idea that the change from an import to an export made it more difficult for citizens to accept the public need for the project – a requirement for provision of eminent domain to the proposing company for pipeline construction. As one project opponent testified: “As a landowner, a foreign country shipping foreign gas to another foreign country to make a lot of money does not appear to me to be in the public interest” (FERC, 2014).

Figure IV. Stances of letters-to-the-editor in *The Coos Bay World*, 2004 - 2014 (N=451).



⁵ Worth noting, for the 2008 Import Draft EIS, public hearings were held in three communities along the pipeline route: Roseburg, Medford, and Klamath Falls. For the 2014 Export Draft EIS, public hearings were held in five cities along the route: Roseburg, Medford, Klamath Falls, Canyonville, and Malin.

Figure V. The growth in opposition from FERC public hearings surrounding the Oct. 2008 Import and Dec. 2014 Export Draft Environmental Impact Statements.



In 2012, an organization composed of landowners along the pipeline route called “Landowners United” formed to oppose the pipeline’s route through private property (Landowners United, n.d.). The landowners’ proximity to Eugene has allowed them to develop allies with climate change and environmental activists and to garner media attention (Brady, 2013). Another opposition group along the pipeline – Pipeline Awareness Southern Oregon – has partnered with Citizens Against LNG (No LNG Exports, n.d.). In addition, other more established environmental groups in the Pacific Northwest – like Columbia Riverkeeper and Sierra Club – have also taken an active role in aiding pipeline opponents (FERC, 2014a).

The overarching concern for landowners along the pipeline route, as expressed in testimony to FERC, is that it is “un-American” to allow a foreign corporation to take Oregonians’ land to export liquefied natural gas for private profit (FERC, 2014a).

Opponents are particularly concerned about the use of eminent domain to allow the proposing company to acquire a permanent easement across public and private lands and remain unconvinced about the public benefits of the project (FERC, 2014a, interviews 1, 2, 4, 8, 9, 20, 21, 22, 23). While FERC public hearing transcripts show that a few landowners along the pipeline route spoke in opposition to the project as an import terminal, the change to export provided an important catalyst for opponent mobilization along the pipeline route. Furthermore, recent legislation circumventing landowners' rights to notification at the time a permit is taken out on private property has fueled opposition (i.e. HB 2700). In addition to concerns about the use of eminent domain and the project's public benefit, opponents along the pipeline route are also concerned about its potential impact on their livelihoods – particularly farming, as well as possible risks to property values, future economic opportunities, personal safety and existing conservation efforts (FERC, 2014a, interviews 20, 21, 22, 23).

In fact, since the transition to an export proposal, the anti-LNG coalition, particularly along the pipeline route, appears more organized than at any time throughout the life of the proposal, with more human resources as well as legal expertise from environmental organizations. Rogue Riverkeeper, Rogue Climate, Pipeline Awareness Southern Oregon, Citizens Against LNG, Cascadia Wildlands, Center for Biological Diversity, Columbia Riverkeeper, Northwest Environmental Defense Center, the Sierra Club, the South Umpqua Rural Community Partnership, the Community Alliance of Lane County, the Waterkeeper Alliance, Southern Oregon Climate Action Now, Landowners United, Columbia Pacific Common Sense, Raging Grannies of Oregon, the No KXL Pledge of Resistance Portland, and 350.org have converged into one website that rivals

the sophistication of the BSWOR website – www.nolngexports.com. While only five organizations were listed on the website in December 2014, by May 2015 that number had increased to 19, indicating the recent surge in opposition. And, more recently, opponents organized another rally in Salem that drew hundreds of participants from around the state and featured well-known environmental activist, Robert F. Kennedy, Jr., to call on Governor Brown to oppose the proposed LNG facilities in Coos Bay and Astoria (Leow, 2015).

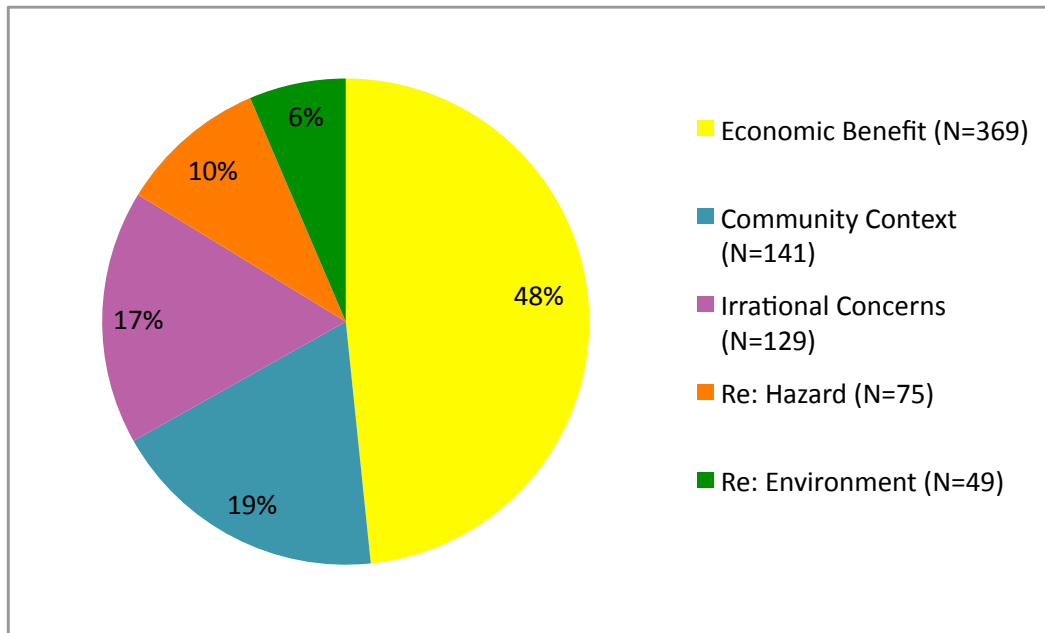
The Large, Silent Majority

Similar to Jordan Cove opponents, supporters of LNG also had pre-existing networks of like-minded individuals that had been organized in support of past industrial proposals (interview 7). In addition to economic development groups like the Bay Area Chamber of Commerce, the South Coast Development Council and the Port, one group that advocated for local industrial development in the past was called Friends of New and Sustainable Industry (FONSI) (interview 7). These established networks made it easier for supporters of the Jordan Cove Energy Project to mobilize. It was in this context that local economic development advocates, having faced off against opponents of previous industrial development proposals, mobilized existing networks (e.g. economic development groups, the Port, the timber industry, etc.) to form a counter-movement in support of the Jordan Cove Energy Project – with the help of financial, legal, and human resources from the proposing company (Novotny, 2014).

As revealed in letters-to-the-editor as well as interviews, supporters of Jordan Cove perceived the review process as too lengthy and dominated by the emotional and

irrational concerns of a small group of opponents. Indeed, my analysis of stances of letters-to-the-editor in *The Coos Bay World* (see Figure III) shows that, of the 451 letters collected, 283 (62.7%) took oppositional stances (63%), while 95 (21.1%) were supportive – one indication that opponents were more vocal in public discussions about the project. Whether these oppositional views did or did not represent the larger community’s assessment of the project is unclear; what is clear is that some supporters believed opponents to be a vocal minority and wanted to mobilize the “large, silent majority” (interviews 5, 13, 15). According to one supporter, “Opponents were pushing fear rhetoric. They’re a minority; we wanted to give everyone else a voice” (interview 13) – a sentiment that was echoed by others (interview 15). Another supporter wrote in a letter-to-the-editor in the *Coos Bay World* that [opponents’ arguments were] “based on emotions, fear.” In fact, my coding of supporters’ comments in letters-to-the-editor (see Figure VI) shows that comments about the irrational and emotional fears of opponents was the third-most coded issue (17%), behind only mentions of the proposal’s potential economic benefits (48%) and the role of community context (19%). Supporters also tended to stress that the economic benefits of the facility outweigh the potential impacts.

Figure VI. Coding of supporters' concerns in letters-to-the-editor in *The Coos Bay World* (N=763).



In response to these concerns, Boost Southwest Oregon (BSWOR) – an organization whose primary focus is to gather support for the Jordan Cove Energy Project and emphasize the project's benefits (Boost Southwest Oregon, n.d.) – was formed in 2013 via the efforts of a former head of the local Chamber of Commerce and a lobbyist for the project (Novotny, 2014). BSWOR focuses on providing information about the economic benefits of the Jordan Cove Energy Project, with many supporters believing that it would be beneficial for the economically depressed region (BSWOR, n.d.; interviews 13, 15). According to one BSWOR member,

“The whole organization took shape because...we wanted to show (the decision-makers and congressional delegation) our community support for the project...The [BSWOR] website was developed to combat some misinformation about the project” (as quoted in Novotny 2014).

In addition to the group's website, BSWOR has purchased radio, newspaper and TV ads promoting the project and organized rallies at public hearings on the project

(Carrillo, 2014; Davis, 2015b; Novotny, 2014), with funding and other types of support (e.g. educational and training materials) from the proposing company (Boost Southwest Oregon, n.d.; Davis, 2014; Novotny, 2014). Information about the Community Enhancement Plan, a donation package for the community in lieu of taxes, is another strategy used to garner support for the project and is included on the BSWOR website (BSWOR, n.d.). “Boosters” listed on the website include: The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Chambers of Commerce (Coos Bay, Roseburg, Medford), the South Coast Development Council, local Ports (Bandon, Brookings Harbor, Coos Bay, Siuslaw, Toledo, Umpqua), various construction and metal worker unions, forestry companies (e.g. Roseburg Forest Products), some realtor/home building associations, and some Coos County area businesses (BSWOR, n.d.).

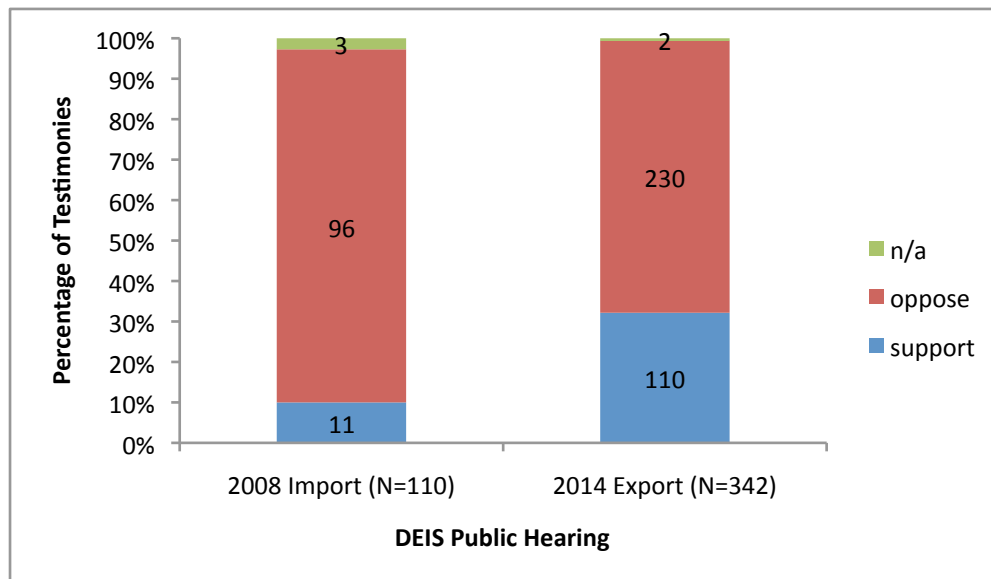
With the help of the forest products industry and local economic development groups, BSWOR has provided training for writing effective letters to the local newspaper and representatives, tips for speaking at public hearings, and pre-prepared presentations on the project’s benefits (Boost Southwest Oregon, n.d.). In one interview, a BSWOR member explained that it is

“...helpful to train the blue collar workers who are local to know about the reality [so they are able to] speak intelligently with the same language. This is what BSWOR is working on. Community members don’t feel confident, so we should know how to empower this population... get more turnout and bring out the workers” (interview 15).

My coding of the stances of speakers at FERC public hearings suggests that BSWOR has been effective in its efforts (see Figure VII). While only 11 people spoke in support of the project in 2008 during hearings about the Draft EIS for LNG importation, 110 spoke in support in 2014 during hearings about the Draft EIS for LNG exportation.

Photographs of buses bringing supporters, many of which belong to unions associated with the construction of industrial projects, to hearings support the idea that BSWOR is largely responsible for this increased turnout of project supporters (Davis, 2015, interviews 4, 6, 9, 12, 15, 20, 21, 22, 23).

Figure VII. Testimony about the Jordan Cove Energy Project at FERC public hearings in 2008 and 2014.



Discussion and Conclusions

How do active participants surrounding the Jordan Cove Energy Project perceive the effectiveness of public participation processes in incorporating citizen concerns? And how do perceptions of public participation relate to community mobilization? My research suggests that opponents viewed the processes surround the Jordan Cove Energy Project in light of previous land use disputes in Coos Bay and again felt shut out of decisions, especially given the limited public involvement during initial site selection. At the same time, an existing network of community activists developed during these previous disputes served as an important resource for activism surrounding the Jordan

Cove Energy Project. In contrast, supporters of the proposal perceived the process as too lengthy and dominated by what they viewed as a vocal minority of opponents. As a result, they worked with the proposing company to develop a counter movement, BSWOR, to encourage and aid others to speak up in support of the proposal.

Finally, the recent change in project type from import to export has mobilized a new group of opponents – landowners along the pipeline route. Based on their testimony to FERC, these landowners believe the primary beneficiaries of the pipeline will be a Canadian corporation without tangible public benefits. They are particularly concerned about the company’s potential use of eminent domain to expropriate private property for construction of the pipeline. Although there were landowners opposed to LNG importation, the switch to exportation has mobilized others and spurred organizational efforts to form alliances with other groups opposed to the proposal. I discuss both the theoretical and practical implications of my research in turn.

Theoretical Implications

Given that there was little public participation around the initial decisions regarding the siting of the Jordan Cove Energy Project, the company’s approach most closely resembles the “Decide-Announce-Defend” approach described in the literature review because the public was not directly involved in the substantive decisions surrounding the Jordan Cove Energy Project (Bierle and Cayford, 2002; Lesbirel and Shaw, 2005). As previous research would suggest, this siting approach was associated with perceptions of procedural injustice and distrust of decision makers and company officials among Jordan Cove Energy Project opponents. Supporters of the project,

however, did not oppose this “Decide-Announce-Defend” strategy but instead felt that the LNG siting process was too lengthy. This shows how supporters and opponents of the Jordan Cove Energy Project valued different things about the siting process: while supporters valued a more expeditious process, opponents valued a more thorough and participatory process.

Also consistent with the literature (cite), the community context in Coos County provided a critical lens through which both opponents and supporters viewed the proposal and its associated public participation processes. Previous industrial proposals in Coos Bay were viewed by supporters as economically beneficial projects, while opponents believed them to be incompatible with their way of life (e.g. recreation, fishing, etc.). Because of these previous experiences, supporters entered into the LNG debate with the perception that opponents would oppose any development and that the economic need in the community justified an expeditious process. On the other hand, opponents entered into the LNG debate with an existing sense of procedural injustice and mistrust of some local decision makers. These perceptions of both supporters and opponents further polarized the debate.

Despite public comment periods, hearings, scoping meetings and open houses, Jordan Cove opponents still expressed frustration in terms of influencing decisions about the proposal. Opponents felt that members of the public do not have a “seat at the table” in substantive decisions surrounding the project (e.g. where the facility will be located, whether the facility will be approved, terms and conditions attached to the project if approved, etc.). Opponents pointed out, for example, that as a federally-driven process, members of the public never actually meet the ultimate deciders – the FERC

commissioners. As reflected in the literature, and exemplified by more innovative siting processes in Canada and elsewhere, providing citizens a role in decision-making can result in less adversarial siting processes because such decision making processes are viewed as more legitimate within the affected communities (Wilson and Arvai, 2011). According to the literature, important aspects to including the public in important decisions regarding the community's future include: creating a shared community vision, identifying a problem, constructing alternative ways to meet the identified problem, assigning weights and prioritizing alternatives, and then collaborating to identify the best option (Spain, 1993; Wilson and Arvai, 2011).

Practical Implications

To participate meaningfully in issues affecting their communities and reduce perceptions of procedural injustice, an outlet for formal involvement during the initial deliberation regarding whether to lease land for a large-scale energy or other industrial facility could be incorporated into future siting processes in Coos Bay. Involving the public in decisions regarding the type of industry they would like to see in the area could also potentially address a concern voiced by supporters: that the siting process is too lengthy. Governments and businesses encourage public consultation because that it “can lead to reduced financial risk” from complications like legal challenges and delays (Environment Division, 1998). Another way to improve the sense of procedural justice among opponents could be to provide legal resources and expertise for affected landowners, who currently perceive an uphill battle in terms of the amount of resources corporations are able to expend to further the project.

As was the case along the Jordan Cove Energy Project's pipeline route, the change from LNG import to export can strengthen opposition, since it appears to be more difficult for individuals to accept that an export project is in the public interest. Comparisons with other cases around the U.S. could provide information about whether this change consistently produces more opposition. In addition, the concerns expressed by opponents about FERC's review process suggest that the agency may have some work to do in terms of building trust with local communities. Interestingly, one interviewee believed that the response in Oregon to the proposed LNG facilities differed from responses of the public in other states, like Texas and Oklahoma, where such proposals are typically viewed as beneficial to the community. "Oregonians are unique" in the number of concerns they express in opposition to the proposals (interview 24). This indicates that the successful siting of an energy facility or other local unwanted land use not only should technical considerations be incorporated but also community concerns, which will likely differ by location.

Other than the provision of educational materials and inclusion of a wide variety of interests, knowledge of specific ways in which the public can be included in facility siting is essential for effective public participation. Wilson and Arvai (2011) write about one way to include the public in decisions, a form of open decision-making called "structured decision making" (SDM). In this approach, members of the public together with experts and political leaders identify a problem as well as a variety of approaches to solve that problem; trade-offs are inevitable in any decision chosen among alternatives (Wilson and Arvai, 2011). There are three main components to SDM: (1) clarification of objectives and identification of alternatives, (2) linking performance measures to the

identified objectives, and (3) alternatives are ranked and weighted to facilitate making trade-offs and collectively deciding upon the most desirable option (Wilson and Arvai, 2011). The appeal of SDM is that it can improve the quality of decisions made by involving a variety of interests and helping to overcome heuristics (i.e. mental short-cuts in decision making) and biases (Wilson and Arvai, 2011).

One limitation of this research is that the most vocal and active citizens are the most represented, since data was derived from letters-to-the-editor, articles, interviews, and transcripts of FERC hearings. This means that individuals who have not taken an active role in the siting process are not included in this study. It also means that opponents were strongly represented among my interviewees. Future research should attempt to better understand the opinions of bystanders and project supporters. Another limitation is that this research represents a single case study, so generalization of my findings to other locations is difficult. A comparison of two or more case studies, then, would be more generalizable to other locations.

Appendix

Table I. List of Interview Participants.

Number	Name	Description	Date	Location
1	Anonymous	opponent	7/26/14	Telephone
2	R. Sadler	active citizen	7/30/14	North Bend
3	R. Knablin	opponent	7/30/14	North Bend
4	J. McCaffree	opponent	7/31/14	North Bend
5	M. Hinrichs	company representative	7/31/14	North Bend
6	W. de Vriend	opponent	8/1/14	Coos Bay
7	Anonymous	local decision maker	8/1/14	Coos Bay
8	J. Clark	opponent	7/31/14	North Bend
9	M. Geddry	opponent	8/1/14	Coos Bay
10	J. Jones	opponent	8/2/14	Telephone
11	J. Jones	opponent	8/2/14	Telephone
12	J. Dilley	opponent	8/2/14	North Bend
13	M. Wall	supporter	8/5/14	Telephone
14	Anonymous	local decision maker	9/3/14	Coquille
15	D. Granger	supporter	9/4/14	Coos Bay
16	Anonymous	local decision maker	9/4/14	Coos Bay
17	S. Shribbs	agency staff	9/5/14	Salem
18	L. Campbell	newspaper reporter	9/25/14	Telephone
19	Anonymous	decision maker	11/10/14	Portland
20	C. Adams	opponent along pipeline	12/12/14	Telephone
21	L. Hyde	opponent along pipeline	1/19/15	Telephone
22	P. Ordway	opponent along pipeline	1/19/15	Telephone
23	B. Brown	opponent along pipeline	1/19/15	Telephone
24	Anonymous	agency staff	1/14/15	Telephone
25	L. Clausen	opponent	8/1/14	North Bend

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