Wind Energy in Klickitat County, Washington.

By

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ABSTRACT

Wind energy has widespread public support; nevertheless, the emergence of local support or opposition in response to siting proposals is often unpredictable. Uncertainty surrounding a community's response is problematic for both the company planning the project and for states pursuing policies for expanded development and use of renewable energy. Given Washington's recent climate change pact with Oregon, California, and British Columbia to promote clean energy solutions and their Renewable Portfolio Standard (RPS) calling for 15% of the State's electricity use to be from renewable sources by 2020, deeper understanding of local responses to wind energy siting is of both practical and conceptual importance. This research employs the concepts of political opportunity and trust to provide insight into aspects of the community context that drive community responses to wind facility siting in Klickitat County, Washington. The findings indicate that mistrust was a critical factor in the ability of decision-makers to mobilize support for its pro-wind policy. Furthermore, the experiences in Klickitat County illustrate how political opportunities can both enhance and diminish the prospects for mobilization in the context of wind siting proposals. While most research on community response to energy siting proposals focuses on project challengers, this case study illustrates how many of the same factors also apply to mobilization of project supporters. These findings further emphasize the importance of the local community context when exploring wind facility siting conflicts.

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Introduction

Encouraging renewable energy is a central focus of energy policy throughout the United States. Washington State, in particular, has actively pursued a policy agenda that promotes wind, solar, and biomass energy. In 2006, state voters passed the Energy Independence Act, which included a renewable portfolio standard (RPS) calling for 15% of the State's electricity use to be from renewable sources by 2020. Combined with direct efforts to expand renewable energy, the state has recently adopted a cap and trade program that targets a corresponding reduction in fossil fuels. Washington State is also engaged in regional efforts with Oregon, California, and British Columbia to promote their Pacific Coast Action Plan on Climate and Energy, further demonstrating a commitment to clean energy solutions

Research investigating public preferences for energy sources indicates an overwhelming support for wind and solar (Greenberg, 2009). However, community responses to a locally proposed renewable energy project periodically conflict with policy goals and the broader public sentiment. Several case studies detail controversial wind siting proposals that have elicited vocal opposition from local individuals and organizations (Devine-Wright and Howes, 2010; Mart and Zografos, 2009). In some circumstances, pockets of resistance develop into organized opposition that contributes to project failure. Nevertheless, others have highlighted communities that expressed strong levels of acceptance, with some even proactively courting wind projects in a phenomenon sometimes referred to as YIMBY (Yes in My Backyard) (Warren and McFadyen, 2010; Fokaides et al., 2014; Sörensen, 2014).

While opposition is sometimes ascribed to selfish parochialism and labeled as a NIMBY (Not in My Backyard) response, research has revealed a complex range of factors influencing community acceptance of locally proposed wind facilities. In an exhaustive review of the

literature, Petrova (2013) identifies four key areas that affect community acceptance to wind project proposals: 1) visual and landscape concerns, 2) socioeconomic concerns, 3) environmental concerns, and 4) procedural factors. Given the policy priorities of Washington State and the United States more broadly, deeper understanding of which factors and processes most strongly propel support or opposition to wind facility siting is of both practical and conceptual importance.

This research draws from the social movement and planning literature to provide insight into aspects of the community context that drive community response to wind facility siting in Klickitat County, Washington. Specifically, I use political opportunity to assess the ripeness for collective action. I also employ trust to gauge how the relationships between citizens, advocacy organizations, local governments, and developers influence the siting of wind projects. Bridging these concepts and applying them in a single case study allows a deeper understanding of the cycles of contention experienced in relation to wind projects proposed in Klickitat County.

Klickitat County offers a valuable perspective to wind siting responses because of its extended history with wind proposals and the county's unique land-use policy promoting wind development. This case study focuses on the factors that shaped the community's response to wind siting and examines how Klickitat County's revised planning regulations affected these responses. The evidence from this research offers several contributions to the wind siting literature. First, the findings suggest that trust between the community, decision-makers, and project proponents is not only critical to the community's response, but also to the actions of decision-makers and project supporters. For example, the evidence illustrates a scenario where mistrust of project challengers leads to a counter, pro-wind mobilization effort. Furthermore, the experiences in Klickitat County provide an example of how political opportunities can both

enhance and diminish the prospects for mobilization in the context of wind siting proposals. These findings emphasize the importance of the local context when exploring wind facility siting conflicts.

This paper first reviews the literature related to wind facility siting, focusing on the application of trust and political opportunity. Next, I outline the research methodology used in the case study analysis. I then provide a brief background of Klickitat County, followed by a detailed account of its history with wind development. Finally, the paper presents an in-depth analysis, concluding with a discussion of the theoretical and practical implications emerging from the data.

Literature Review

Research on community response to renewable energy facility siting is well developed. Current siting literature focuses primarily on the influence of procedural and distributional justice on community acceptance of project proposals. Procedural justice is concerned with the decision-making processes, including factors such as public participation, access to information, and objectivity of decision-makers. On the other hand, distributional justice focuses on the equitable distribution of benefits or burdens (Gross, 2007). Together, these concepts provide a comprehensive understanding of why a community may object or support the siting of a local renewable energy facility.

While useful in analyzing the response to a single project, procedural and distributional justice does not incorporate several important factors that contribute to the community context and the emergence of opposition or support. Despite recognizing the factors that contribute to a community response, neither procedural nor distributional justice provides insight into how strong opinions of a project may develop into organized action. The opposition, or "episode of contention," experienced in response to wind proposals in Klickitat County is more fully understood through the lens of social movement theory, which is concerned with the dynamics of collective action. Political opportunity, which is drawn from the social movement literature, helps to explain why objections may foment into contentious opposition or simply remain stagnant. Additionally, trust is incorporated into the analysis because of its extensive use in the siting literature. While all utility scale developments incorporate some degree of risk, trust between active stakeholders has been shown to play an important role in managing risk perception.

Trust

The literature on facility siting and risk communication identifies trust as a reliable predictor of community opposition to industrial-sized project proposals (Kasperson et al. 1992; Slovic 1993; Baxter et al. 1999). Siting decisions must always contend with economic, environmental, and social risk components, and the relationships between citizens, decision-makers, and project developers play a significant role in a community's response to project proposals (Owens 2004). Communities are less likely to believe in the veracity of information regarding potential project risks when there is limited confidence in the project proponent or the oversight authority. Bell et al. (2005) note that information is always "negotiated" by the public, and deemed questionable or inaccurate in situations where the public is untrusting of government officials, project proponents, or experts. Scholars have frequently identified mistrust as a critical factor contributing to uncompromised opposition in siting disputes (Bella et al. 1988; Matheny and Williams 1985).

Decision-makers play an instrumental role in managing public confidence and negotiating public acceptance of project proposals (Kraft and Clary 1991; Kunreuther et al. 1991; Hunter and Leyden 1995, Gross, 2007). When public officials develop a trusting relationship with their constituents, the community is more likely to perceive the siting process as fair, competent, and reliable (Lofstedt 1999). Close alignment with private development interests, or a history of the "revolving door" phenomena, generates citizen mistrust and skepticism of government's objective oversight of land-use proposals (Zoellner et al. 2005). Since trust is an on-going negotiation that "emerges slowly, is fragile and easily destroyed," previous experiences with local government will also influence the community's confidence in government oversight (Pidgeon et al. 2003).

Project proponents represent an additional dimension where trust must be negotiated (Pasqualetti 2011; Gross 2007; Wolsink 2010, Clarke 1991; Warren and Birnie 2009). The public scrutinizes industry motives, especially when these interests originate from outside the community. Research shows that when citizens believe that efficiency and profits drive a developer, it leads to community distrust and project opposition (Upreti and van der Horst 2004). Multi-national corporations and outsiders with little understanding of local values are especially prone to suspicion from local communities (Hagget 2011; Glickel, 2011). Even expert environmental analysis performed by objective outsiders will face scrutiny if the project developer has failed to generate a trusting relationship with the community (Gross 2007; O'Hare et al. 1983).

In addition, some research focuses on how project opponents influence levels of trust in the community and among others involved in the project proposal. Eltham et al. (2008) highlights how persuasive local activists can precipitate an atmosphere of mistrust and spread project objections throughout the community. Furthermore, there is some evidence to suggest that activism and project opposition may cause mistrust and friction between project supporters and opponents. Smith and Marquez (2000) found that local environmental opposition led government officials and industry to question the legitimacy of the anti-development claims and the underlying motives of the opposition. Although few studies have analyzed how trust in project challengers affects wind siting, these findings show that it is an important consideration.

A large body of recent literature suggests that local governments and developers can help restore low levels of community trust through a transparent, collaborative public process that engages community stakeholders at all points in the siting process (Löfstedt 1999; Gross 2007; Wolsink 2007; Hagget 2010). Participatory decision-making allows authorities and project

proponents to familiarize themselves with community values and helps preemptively assuage community concerns. Research on wind siting, in particular, has focused heavily on the importance of procedural justice in creating an atmosphere of fairness and transparency, which aids in project approval (Wolsink 2007; Gross 2007; Devine-Wright 2012). Some evidence demonstrates that individuals seek greater levels of involvement in renewable energy developments, heightening the importance of public inclusion during the wind siting the process (Devine-Wright 2005).

Political Opportunity

Derived from the social movement theory, political opportunities are a factor exogenous to the movement that presents possibilities for collective action. They are "consistent…signals to social or political actors which either encourage or discourage them to use their internal resources to form social movements" (McAdam 1996 pp 54). When present, political opportunities function to restructure the balance of power between challenging groups and elites. In an attempt to conceptualize a seemingly catch-all term, McAdam (1996 pp. 27) outlined four dimensions of political opportunities which include: "(1) the relative openness or closure of the institutionalized political system; (2) the stability or instability of that broad set of elite alignments that typically undergird a polity; (3) the presence or absence of elite allies; and (4) the state's capacity and propensity for repression."

The degree of openness or closure refers to the ability of political actors to access the governing structure. For example, Eisinger (1973) found political systems structured around mayor/council systems, ward systems, and partisan elections offered greater political access for citizens and increased opportunities for mobilization. Although he found a larger degree of openness resulted in increased instances of mobilization, it also reduced the presence of more

contentious or violent episodes of opposition. SEPA guidelines in Washington State present an additional layer of mandated opportunities for public participation in the facility siting process. Although not specifically addressed by social movement theory, evidence from the planning literature suggests that increased opportunities for public input during an environmental impact statement (EIS) leads to more frequent project opposition (Wilson and Hirokawa 2010). Meyer and Minkoff (1997) used the party in power and electoral margins of victory as a measurement for elite alignments and elite allies. Since state repression is not a factor in the context of U.S. facility siting, this research follows the justification used by Boudet and Ortolano (2010) and eliminates it from the analysis.

Although most notably applied to the U.S. civil rights movement, using political opportunities to explain the emergence of mobilization is applicable in various circumstances (Kriesi 2004). Several scholars have examined political opportunities in the context of facility siting, including fossil fuels (Boudet and Ortolano 2010), hazardous waste (Saha and Mohai 2005; McGurty 2000), and nuclear energy (Diani and Van Der Heijden 1994; Kitschelt 1986). Although multiple studies have incorporated concepts similar to political opportunity under the broad heading of procedural justice, no research has directly used political opportunities to analyze mobilization in response to renewable energy facility siting proposals.

Methods

This case study is part of a larger research project investigating community response to wind facility siting in the Western United States. The project's sample consisted of counties with 50 MW of proposed or constructed wind facilities since 2007. Klickitat County is unique among other cases because of its long history with utility-scale wind development, which began in the early 1990s. Additionally, Klickitat County's pioneering efforts to streamline wind development through revised land-use regulations introduces a new context to evaluate siting proposals.

Following the advanced preparatory fieldwork strategy outlined in McAdam and Boudet (2012), I combined primary and secondary data sources to provide a comprehensive understanding of mobilization efforts in Klickitat County. First, I systematically searched three local newspapers (*The Goldendale Sentinel*, *White Salmon Enterprise,* and *The Columbian*) for relevant articles, editorials, and letters-to-the-editor to provide background information about the case and a timeline of events. To identify relevant content from *The Columbian*, I searched NewsBank's Access World News database (Access World News, n.d.) for the following terms: "wind energy," "wind farm," "wind turbine," "wind project," and "Klickitat[1]." In addition, I made several trips to local libraries to search microfilm and newspaper hard copies of *The Goldendale Sentinel* and *White Salmon Enterprise* for entries mentioning wind. The database included records from 2000-2014 for the *Goldendale Sentinel* and *White Salmon Enterprise* and 1994-2014 for *The Columbian*. In total, I collected and coded 183 articles (114 from the *Goldendale Sentinel*, 43 from the *White Salmon Enterprise*, and 26 from *The Columbian*) and 140 editorials and letters (79 from the *Goldendale Sentinel*, 58 from the *White Salmon*

[1] Since *The Columbian* is a regional newspaper, I added the term "Klickitat" to searches to avoid coverage of wind projects from outside Klickitat County.

Enterprise, and 3 from *The Columbian*). I employed a closed coding scheme to track individuals, organizations, projects and events mentioned and their stances on wind power when available.

I also collected and analyzed regulatory documents (*e.g.*, written comments to draft environmental impact statements, public hearing testimony) for important events and public comments. These documents contained 103 written comments submitted in response to draft environmental impact statements (DEIS) for six different wind projects, as well as 41 oral comments from Draft EIS public hearings for three projects. I used this information, combined with the newspaper data, to select potential interviewees and formulate interview questions.

I used this initial list of potential interviewees to draw a purposive sample meant to represent multiple perspectives at various periods of wind development in the county. In total, twenty individuals were interviewed in person from May 23 to June 16, 2014, including 2 unelected Washington State officials, 6 county officials, 1 city official, 2 project representatives, 3 representatives from advocacy organizations, and 6 community opponents. Interviews lasted an average of 1 hour and fifteen minutes, ranging in length from thirty minutes to 3.5 hours.

Interviews were semi-structured and explored four primary areas. First, participants were asked to describe the history of issues and active individuals in the County prior to the first wind proposals in 1993. Next, the conversation was directed to the issues and active participants throughout the period of wind development. Another set of prompts asked about the types of activities opponents and supporters of wind engaged in. If it was not previously mentioned, participants were lastly probed to discuss how the County's Energy Overlay Zone affected these activities. Interviews were recorded if permission was granted by the participant and subsequently reviewed to supplement field notes and confirm their accuracy.

To analyze our data, I first used open coding to identify broad patterns from the transcripts, letters to the editor, and Draft EIS comments. Theoretical concepts drawn from relevant literature guided the process of categorizing and consolidating open codes into a more structured coding scheme. Then, I conducted a second round of coding using this scheme and NVivo10 for systematic analysis of the data following the process outlined in Welsh (2002).

Background

Located in southwest Washington State, Klickitat County was an early target for wind exploration in the Pacific Northwest. High ridges along the county's 83-mile long border with the Columbia River produce strong wind resources and convenient access to high voltage transmission lines that serve the region's extensive hydroelectric system. The sparsely populated county has a long history of exploiting its natural resources, which included a natural gas-fired power plant, several biomass facilities, a methane power plant, and two hydroelectric dams before construction of one and a half gigawatts of wind energy.

A traditionally conservative and agriculturally based economy, areas of Klickitat County have slowly undergone a demographic shift over the past few decades. A high-tech drone manufacturing start-up in the 1990s and the rising popularity of the Columbia River Gorge for recreational sports largely accelerated the influx of a more liberal and environmentally conscious citizenry in western Klickitat (interviews 1, 2, 3). The pronounced divide between natives in the east and newcomers in the west has resulted in frequent confrontations over the balance of development and preservation of the natural landscape along the Columbia River Gorge. By the early 2000s, Klickitat County developed a reputation for opposing industrial development projects because of the actions of the small, but vocal group of local activists predominantly in the west.

Wind Development in Klickitat County

Wind became a controversial topic because of the events surrounding two projects proposed in 1992. Conservation and Renewable Electricity Systems (CARES) and Kenetech Windpower independently proposed projects, which combined to include 436 wind turbines dispersed throughout an area known as the Columbia Hills along the southern border of Klickitat

County. Support emerged from regional environmental and energy interests from Portland, OR and Seattle, WA who saw the strategic importance of initiating the first wind developments in the Pacific Northwest (interview 4). The Columbia River Gorge had a reputation for significant wind resources, yet no project had demonstrated the viability of a utility scale project in the region.

Table 1. Wind Development in Klickitat County

Name	Turbines	MW	Year Proposed	Permit	Status
CARES (Columbia Wind)	91	25	1994	CUP*	Cancelled
Kenetech (Washington Wind)	345	115	1994	CUP*	Cancelled
Windtricity	50	112	1995	CUP*	Cancelled
Big Horn	158	250	2004	CUP*	Operating
White Creek	89	206	2005	CUP	Operating
Windy Point	95	243	2006	EOZ*	Partially Operating
Linden Ranch	28	58	2006	EOZ	Operating
Hoctor Ridge	30	60	2006	EOZ	Partially Operating
Windy Flats	95	190	2007	EOZ*	Partially Operating
Miller Ranch	49	98	2008	EOZ	Permitted
Juniper Canyon	130	250	2008	EOZ	Partially Operating
Imrie	17	34	2008	EOZ	Permitted
Windy Point II	52	130	2008	EOZ	Partially Operating
Harvest Wind	43	100	2008	EOZ	Operating
School Section	10	20	2009	EOZ	Permitted
Lund Hill	30	60	2010	EOZ	Permitted
Windy Flats West	29	67	2010	EOZ*	Permitted

*Indicates a project appeal

Despite support from outside the County, local citizens and advocacy organizations opposed to the two wind farms represented an overwhelming majority during public comment periods[2]. The Yakama Indian Nation and a contingent of local environmentalists organized under the Columba Gorge Audubon (CGAS) appealed the county's approval of both projects in 1995. Although the courts dismissed litigation against the CARES' wind farm in 1996, the controversy over potential bird kills caused consternation for the project's landowner, Goldendale

[2] In total, 31 comments were opposed to development and 17 were in support.

Aluminum. President of CGAS, Dennis White, provided forceful testimony during the DEIS public hearing, warning that if either project proceeded, "Our eagles and falcons will die, and we will be there every time sending the dead birds as evidence to the Attorney General to make sure that you will be prosecuted." When Goldendale Aluminum could not secure immunity from future lawsuits resulting from avian deaths, they withdrew their lease, and CARES abandoned the project. The courts never settled appeals to Kenetech's project, as the California-based company went bankrupt and subsequently sold its proposal to Enron Wind Systems in 1996.

The presence of a controversial multinational corporation planning to revive Kenetech's project supplied opponents with a compelling narrative to publicize their grievances. CGAS and the Yakama aligned themselves with regional and national support groups, organizing several fundraising events and a rally in nearby Portland, OR, to bring attention to their claims of environmental racism, corporate corruption, and impending habitat destruction (Enron Wind Energy, 2000; Winona, 2001). An intra-company e-mail from Enron executives expressed concern that the Yakama and CGAS had "secured sympathy from legitimate institutional shareholders that evaluate Enron's social and environmental performance" (Cohen, n.d.). Enron put the project on hold in 2000, but like Kenetech, the company filed for bankruptcy and sold its development rights before constructing the project. Although the original proposals by Kenetech and CARES, and a third project named Windrticity were all abandoned by the early 2000s, a new wave of developers would revisit the sites under a vastly different permitting environment only a few years later.

The Western U.S. Energy Crisis of 2000 and 2001 generated a renewed interest in wind development for Klickitat County. However, previous opposition and siting delays left the County with a negative reputation from the perspective of developers surveying for wind energy

projects. Contentious challenges to past projects and the expectation of future opposition to wind development "highlighted the need for a more systematic energy facility siting methodology" within the county (Peck, 2004). The County's Economic Development Department proposed an "Energy Overlay Zone" (EOZ), which pre-approved wind development across nearly 2/3 of the County (see figure 1). Although "overlay zones" had been a planning tool used to direct various types of development at the local level, County officials publicized the EOZ as the nation's first comprehensive county-level zoning to streamline permitting for renewable energy projects (Mulkern, 2010; interviews 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9).

Figure 1. Klickitat County Energy Overlay Zone map

Within two years of implementing the EOZ, Klickitat County approved three projects, totaling 360MW throughout the former locations of the Kenetech and CARES projects. By 2012, the County granted twelve EOZ permits, constructed over a gigawatt of wind power, and had another gigawatt approved (see figure 2). Despite a history of fierce opposition and multiple failed proposals, Klickitat County managed to attract and rapidly facilitate wind development within the EOZ boundaries in the south and southeast regions of the county.

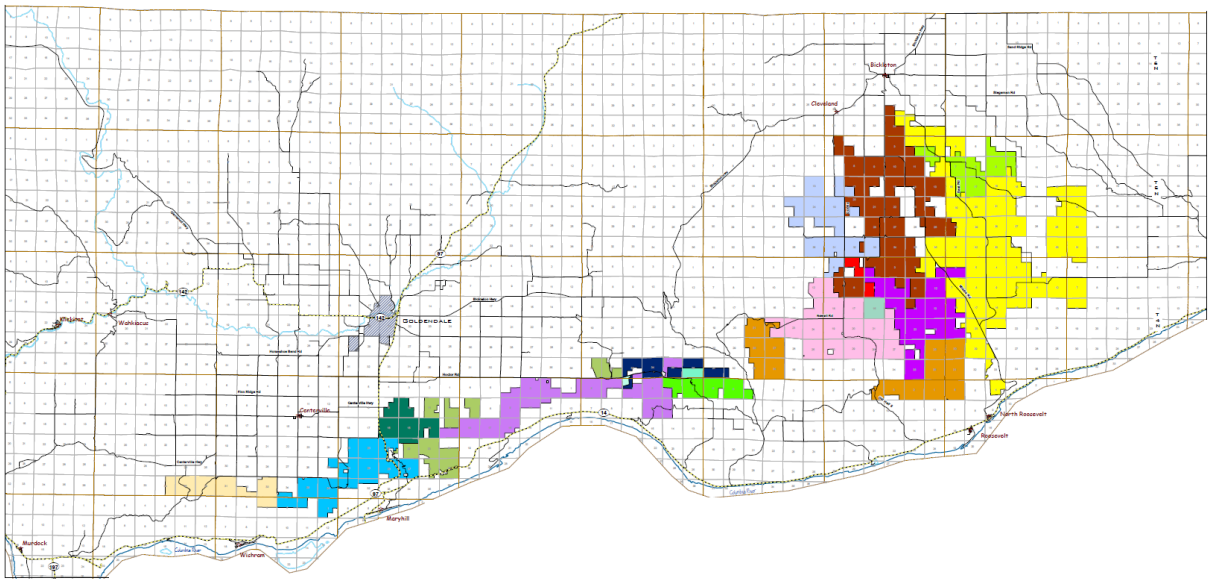

Figure 2. Map of wind development in Klickitat County

Analysis

Role of Trust

Trust, specifically a loss of trust, between community members, local government officials, and project proponents plays a significant role in how communities respond to siting proposals. In Klickitat County, a recurring history of anti-development activism by local environmentalists proved instrumental to understanding the changing dynamics of wind opposition. I argue that a critical break in trust of environmental opponents opened the possibility for county officials and their constituents to mobilize in support of the Energy Overlay Zone.

The relatively small environmental presence in Klickitat County had several instances of success mobilizing against industrial developments. Individuals and local organizations rallied to oppose seven dams in the 1970s, a state prison in the early 1990s, the previously discussed wind projects, and three natural gas fired turbines in the early 2000s. County officials expected appeals to "basically all of [their] land-use decisions," irrespective of the type of development or its environmental impact (interview 9). Frequent and occasionally contentious opposition gained local activists a reputation for their anti-development activism. In particular, events surrounding a failed attempt to prevent construction of a regional landfill proved critical to the community's loss of trust in environmental opponents.

For two years, Klickitat County Citizens Against Imported Waste battled the siting of the landfill before reaching a confidential settlement agreement in 1990. The secrecy of the agreement generated rumors alleging that environmental groups were "paid off" to drop their lawsuit with the project proponent, Rabanco. County officials confirmed these suspicions when their Freedom of Information Act request revealed five well-known members of CGAS agreed to retract their appeal in exchange for mitigation money generated from the landfill's tipping fees

(Blanton, 2002; interview 1). What proved most damaging in the settlement's details was that recipients could purportedly use a portion of the money for personal use, including their children's education (interviews 1, 5). It took a decade before the settlement became public knowledge in 2002, at which point the *Klickitat County Monitor* asked, "where that money, more than $1.5 million dollars in the years since the agreement was signed, ha[d] gone" (Blanton, 2002)?

Table 2. Timeline of events in Klickitat County

Year	Event
1990	Klickitat County issues a conditional-use permit for the Rabanco Regional Landfill
1994-2000	CARES, Kenetech, and Windtricity abandon their wind proposals in Klickitat County
2000	Protests against Enron's revival of the Kenetech wind project
2000	The Western United States Energy Crisis begins
2000	Rumors of the Rabanco settlement surface at a Goldendale City Council meeting
2001	Economic Development Board meets to discuss the energy overlay concept
2002	Klickitat County holds the first public meeting for the Energy Overly Zone
2003	After years of contraction, Goldendale Aluminum Plant permanently closes
2005	Klickitat County Board of Commissioners approve the Energy Overlay Zone
2006	Klickitat County Planning Director issues first Energy Overlay Zone permit
2009	Washington passes Senate Bill 5107: Concerning energy overlay zones

County officials and eastern segments of the County had already maligned environmentalists for opposing the landfill when it offered a desperately needed economic stimulus, but when evidence surfaced that some opponents profited off its construction, critics questioned the motives of all environmentalists in the community (interview 3, 10, 11). The motives of challengers in the west were heavily scrutinized because the landfill was proposed in the east's more remote and environmentally benign desert region (interviews 1, 5). It was a situation similar to the challenges of the Kenetech and CARES wind projects where the "folks that were opposed to it really weren't the ones that were going to be impacted" (interview 9).

Following the public disclosure of the landfill settlement, the opinion section of newspapers became a forum for discrediting environmental activists and creating a distinction between locals and the "city-dwellers" and the "permanent tourists" in the west (Bull, 2002b; Titchenal, 2003). Letters-to-the-editor framed the opposition as opportunistic and disingenuous. There was a perception that appeals served solely as a threat to receive compensation for dubious environmental mitigation; locals labeled it "environmental extortion" (interview 3, 10, 11; Link, 2007). County officials made similar statements, alleging that opponents strategically "used the environmental appeals process to extort money out of development companies, including the big landfill" (Durbin, 2001b). These accusations came during a particularly vulnerable time for County residents. While the region was still recovering from the collapse of the logging industry, Klickitat County lost 14.8 percent of its total employment en masse when a local aluminum plant closed (Conway, 2000). Amidst the economic upheaval, "it made it hard to be an environmentalist because everyone hated you…everyone's dad didn't have a job" (interview 12). Letters-to-the-editor condemned environmentalists for their role in perpetuating the economic crisis affecting the community. One local asked "senior citizens on fixed incomes," to consider what happens "when your income is dissolved by what these would-be environmentalists are doing to you" (Ferch, 2001).

Known individuals in the community took similarly condemnatory positions. The editor and owner of the county's newspaper of record, the *Klickitat County Monitor*, claimed the County was "being subjected to 'ongoing political terrorism' by environmentalists" (Durbin, 2001a). Five of six interviews with wind opponents recalled instances of the *Monitor's* inflammatory articles, and three suggested the newspaper served as a "mouthpiece" for the County (interviews 10, 11, 13). Several interviews identified a specific publication with a

swastika on the front-page and an accompanying article likening local environmentalists to "eco-Nazis" and "eco-terrorists" (interviews 10, 11, 13, 14).

Mobilizing Support: Focusing Event & Political Opportunity

The mistrust wrought by the landfill settlement presented an ideal opportunity for the County to mobilize support for its EOZ policy. Disclosure of the landfill settlement functioned as a focusing event, simultaneously causing a loss of trust in environmentalists and providing a political opening for County government to pursue its pro-wind policy. The EOZ served two primary functions in order to facilitate wind development in Klickitat County. First, it increased the difficulty of opposing or delaying individual project proposals by restructuring the process to obtain a siting permit. Second, the EOZ incentivized energy development by streamlining the permit process and subsidizing a portion of the costs typically borne to project applicants.

Economic Development Director, Dana Peck, conceived of the EOZ following his experience as project manager for Kenetech's unsuccessful wind project. He attributed Kenetech's failed proposal to a lack of local support during the public process. Although farmers and ranchers in the east expressed strong support privately, they were unorganized, disinclined to speak at public hearings, and lacked experience in navigating the public process. Because of Kenetech's glaring absence of local support, Peck believed the EOZ required "an organizational step if proponents were going to stand up and be counted" (interview 1). The County's Economic Development Department facilitated communication by forming an EOZ Advisory Board composed of community members and business leaders from the east, in addition to channeling information through informal community councils. The County implanted a framework for communication that did not previously exist within the rural farming community, but one that environmentalists had used extensively.

County officials had a receptive ally in eastern landowners. Many ranchers and farmers had already negotiated turbine leases for their land, but since no projects were constructed, they had not yet received the financial benefits of the agreements (interviews 15). Furthermore, the EOZ offered an indirect way to redress the perceived injustice resulting from the landfill settlement. Residents reasoned that with the EOZ, "new projects could locate and avoid lawsuits that would discourage them. It would prevent them being extorted by environmentalists, as Rabanco was" (Bull, 2002a). Public comments during the EOZ DEIS recalled personal experiences of having to "endure the expense and delay" of past opposition and argued that the EOZ would allow development without "environmental graft." A speech given by a well-respected member of the ranching community during the Planning Commission's public hearing was particularly persuasive. After speaking, Sandra Powers had her neighbors – many of whom never attended a public hearing – stand to show their unified support (interview 1). Participation by local citizens during the EOZ public comment periods was critical to the policy's success (see figures 3 & 4[3]).

[3] Local is defined by individuals whose address is within or in the immediate vicinity of Klickitat County.

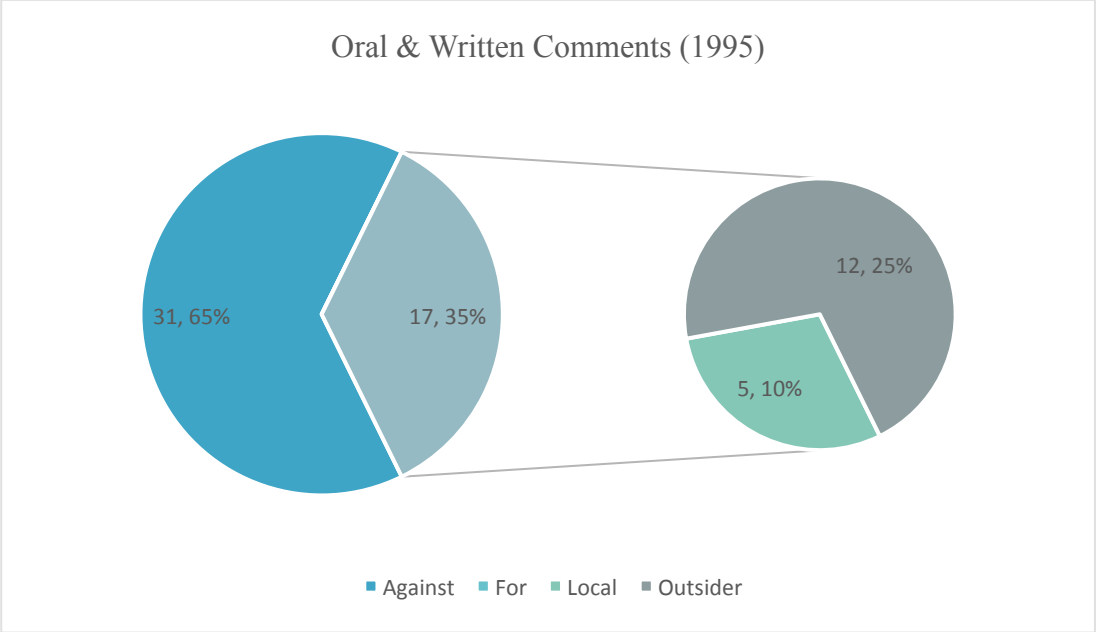

Figure 3. DEIS comments in response to Cares & Kenetech wind projects

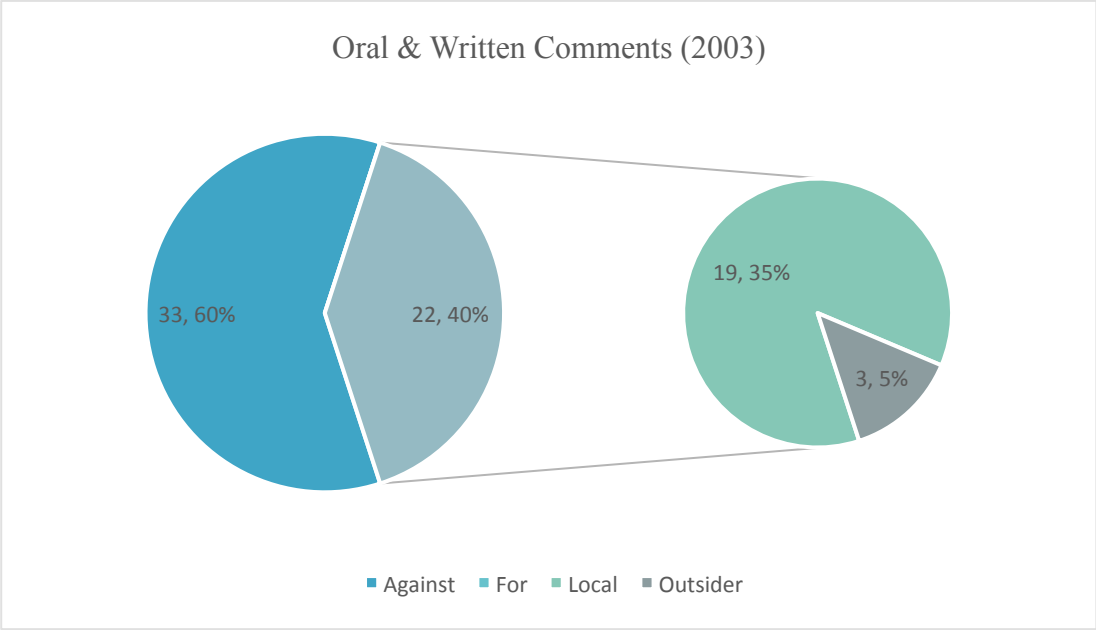

Figure 4. DEIS comments in response to Energy Overlay Zone

As expected, strong opposition to the EOZ surfaced, which focused primarily on the policy's impact on public participation for future wind proposals. Some perceived the EOZ as a retaliatory response to the opposition and an "end run around the messy public comment" of the Kenetech and CARES projects (interview 3). Nathan Baker, attorney for Friends of the Columbia River Gorge, believed the EOZ was an attempt to "short circuit the public process on the individual project level" by "pre-empt[ing] findings of adverse impacts" (interview 16).

However, unlike the earlier Kenetech and CARES projects, support from the eastern half of the County presented the opposition with an unfamiliar disadvantage; citizens in the east were not only willing to accept the impacts of development, they were outspoken in their support and unexpectedly active throughout the public process. Environmental opponents "were not used to being in a room where the proponents were organized and the majority" (interview 1). Despite the uncharacteristic presence of local support during the EOZ public process, environmental opponents remained critical of its authenticity. Several interviewees argued that supporters of the EOZ had the benefit of County resources and recalled supporters following a "county script" at public hearings (interviews 2, 10). Opponents in the west were no longer challenging outside organizations lobbying for wind development or even just their local government; they were obstructing direct and indirect benefits to their neighbors and the anticipated revenue to struggling school, fire, and junior taxing districts. Whereas the opposition dominated previous public hearings on wind, strong support and local participation, aided by the County's coordination efforts, showed decision-makers they had backing from their constituents (interview 9).

Decline in Opposition: The Energy Overlay Zone & Political Opportunity

The application of political opportunity to anti-wind mobilization in Klickitat County in this research focuses on McAdam's (1996) dimension that assesses the "openness or closure of the institutionalized political system." The EOZ introduced several revisions to the County's wind siting regulations, which had a dramatic impact on the ability of project challengers to effect change or express conflicting views during the siting process**.** Mobilization against wind declined largely because the EOZ restructured decision-making authority and reduced opportunities for public participation. Project challengers who previously used these institutionalized opportunities to mobilize no longer had the ability to influence individual project proposals.

The County began pursuing the EOZ by initiating a non-project, programmatic environmental impact statement (PEIS) under Washington's State Environmental Protection Act (SEPA) to identify environmental impacts, alternatives, and mitigation measures for energy development. The County's PEIS sought to provide a broad analysis of impacts and affected resources from wind development ahead of individual project proposals. Future energy proposals under the EOZ permitting structure would incorporate relevant analysis from the EOZ's PEIS and, through the process of "tiering," perform necessary site-specific analysis.

The EOZ replaced the existing community appointed five-member decision-making body with the County's Planning Director. Additionally, the new regulations eliminated the county administered public hearing held prior to the final decision on an applicant's permit. Rather than holding a formal hearing just prior to permit decision, the EOZ required project applicants to hold an informal meeting at the beginning of the application process. With proposals still in their developmental stage, meeting participants were less equipped to engage in quality dialogue on

project impacts. Furthermore, the implementation of administrative review eliminated all opportunities for to gain access to the decision-making authority.

Table 3. Summary of EOZ's changes to public participation

	Conditional-use Permit	**Energy Overlay Zone**
Public Notices	Newspaper	County Website
Decision-Making	Community Board	Administrator
Meetings/Hearings	Formal	Informal
# of Comment Periods	3-6	1
Appeal Cost	$100s	$1,000s

The EOZ also has a significant impact on the county's environmental review, which determines if a proposal undergoes the full SEPA procedure. Typically, the probable adverse impacts of a wind project necessitate a "Determination of Significance" (DS) and a corresponding full environmental impact statement (EIS). However, pre-existing environmental studies can help to guide strategies that "avoid or minimize impacts," increasing the chances of receiving a 'mitigated determination of non-significance' (MDNS). An MDNS avoids the delays incurred from a more rigorous environmental review and the comprehensive public involvement required in a full EIS. A primary function of the EOZ was to increase the likelihood of a project receiving a MDNS by providing developers with a thorough environmental analysis and suggested mitigation within the zoning boundaries. The County worked with developers to

navigate the new process, encouraging applicants to incorporate the EOZ's environmental studies in their initial application, which every EOZ application did.

In addition to accelerating the timeline for project approval, avoiding a full EIS reduces the number of opportunities for public input and the limits the scope of public participation[4] (see figures 5 & 6). An MDNS requires only a single written comment period limited compared to a full EIS that provides two broader opportunities for public comment that encourage input on project specific impacts. Though opponents argued this was a usurpation of their right to participate in development affecting their county, the County maintained the EOZ afforded community members an opportunity to provide input for all future projects. By consolidating public comment, county officials maintained the EOZ was a strategic maneuver to take "the public process that is normally used to impede project development and use it to accelerate project development" (interview 1). There was no longer a need for public deliberation of the impacts of individual projects, as the discussion for all energy development within the EOZ boundaries had already taken place.

Figure 5. Typical conditional-use permit process (indicates public comment period)

[4] Public comment for an MDNS is limited to input on the County's determination decision.

Figure 6. Typical Energy Overlay Zone permit process (■ indicates public comment period)

The Klickitat County Board of Commissioners approved the EOZ in 2005 and developers responded to the more hospitable permitting environment with a flurry of wind proposals. New development in the Columbia Hills, which engendered intense controversy in the early 1990's, drew little interest or opposition from the community. Whereas a couple hundred people packed the local high school gymnasium for the Kenetech and CARES proposals, the largest post-EOZ public meeting drew just 65 people (interview 5). Attendance at most of the informal meetings was even smaller, typically consisting of local landowners impacted by construction or those with a financial stake in the project (interview 17). Several projects did not receive a single comment outside of the standard responses submitted by state and local agencies. Even articles and letters-to-the-editor opposing wind gradually declined following the EOZ public process in 2002, despite the concurrent surge in wind construction (see figure 7).

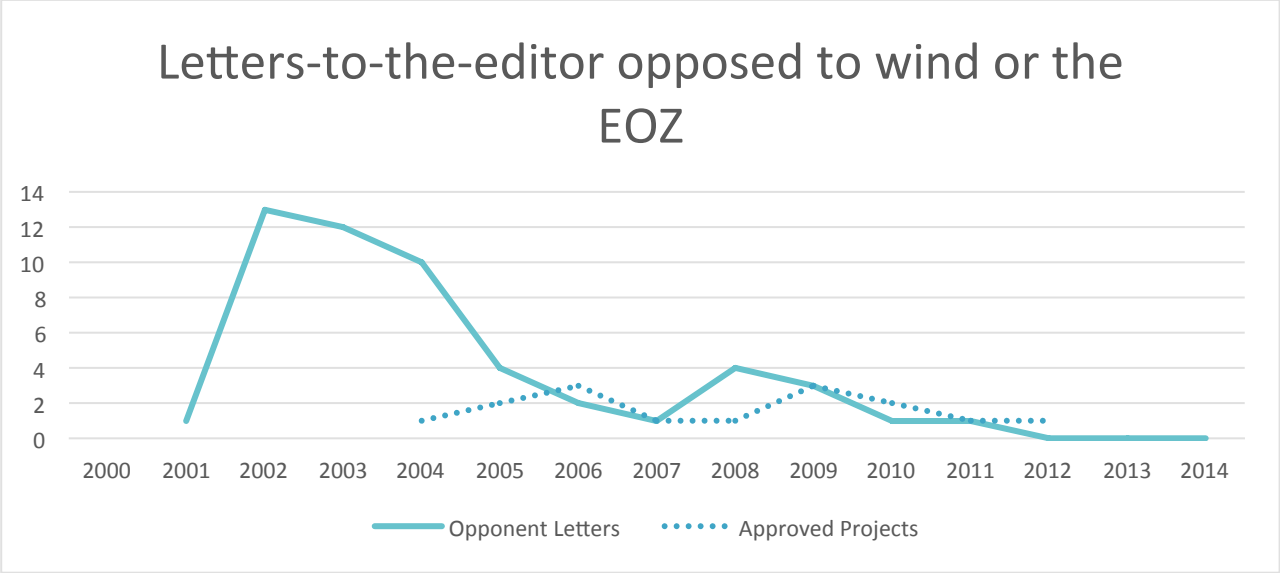

Figure 7. Letters-to-the-editor opposed to wind or the EOZ

Both the Columbia Gorge Audubon Society and the Yakama Indian Nation, once at the forefront of opposition, were less confrontational and less involved in wind discussions after the EOZ. Of the twelve projects approved through the EOZ process, CGAS submitted just one comment[5] and filed one unsuccessful appeal. The Yakama commented on several proposals, yet they presented no challenges and took a noticeably less confrontational stance than in the past. Without the hardline opposition of CGAS or the Yakama, the remaining opponents focused their efforts on encouraging appropriate siting of individual turbines rather than challenging entire projects. The policy changes forced local environmentalists to "play nice with developers hoping they could get them to make some voluntary concessions" (interview 3). However, developers had little incentive to negotiate, leaving opponents to seek mitigation instead of attempting to derail an entire proposal.

[5]Two documents containing MDNS public comments were unavailable and not included in this analysis.

EOZ notwithstanding, project challengers still experienced success mobilizing through the use of appeals, which functioned to delay projects and gain mitigation from developers. County officials discouraged developers from negotiating mitigation, particularly off-site mitigation, considering it an unreasonable "cost of doing business" (interviews 5, 6, 9). After opponents appealed and delayed two of the largest wind proposals under the EOZ, one of which resulted in a mitigation agreement, Washington State Senator Jim Honeyford, with the support of county officials, sponsored SB5107 to eliminate this avenue for project obstruction. The bill proposed revising judicial standards to "provide that county land use decisions concerning renewable resource projects within a county energy overlay zone are presumed to be reasonable if they comply with requirements established by county ordinance concerning the zone" (Concerning Energy Overlay Zones, 2009). Senator Honeyford testified at a 2009 Senate Committee on Environment, and Water & Energy hearing that a "problem comes when you have the siting of a wind project and people want to appeal that process and delay it…You need to have some certainty rather quickly…" Representing Klickitat County, David McClure, also testified in support, highlighting the history of opposition and delays to wind projects in the County, which had caused "many [companies] to not invest in the County" (Energy Overlay Zones, 2009).

SB5107 passed in 2009, and quickly became a factor in a subsequent appeal. Friends of the Columbia Gorge acknowledged the recently established judicial standards influenced their decision to settle their appeal expeditiously, perhaps receiving less in negotiations than in the past (N. Baker, personal communication, July 18, 2014). Consequently, the delay incurred by the Windy Flats West appeal lasted less than a month compared to the prolonged delays experienced by previous projects (see figure 8).

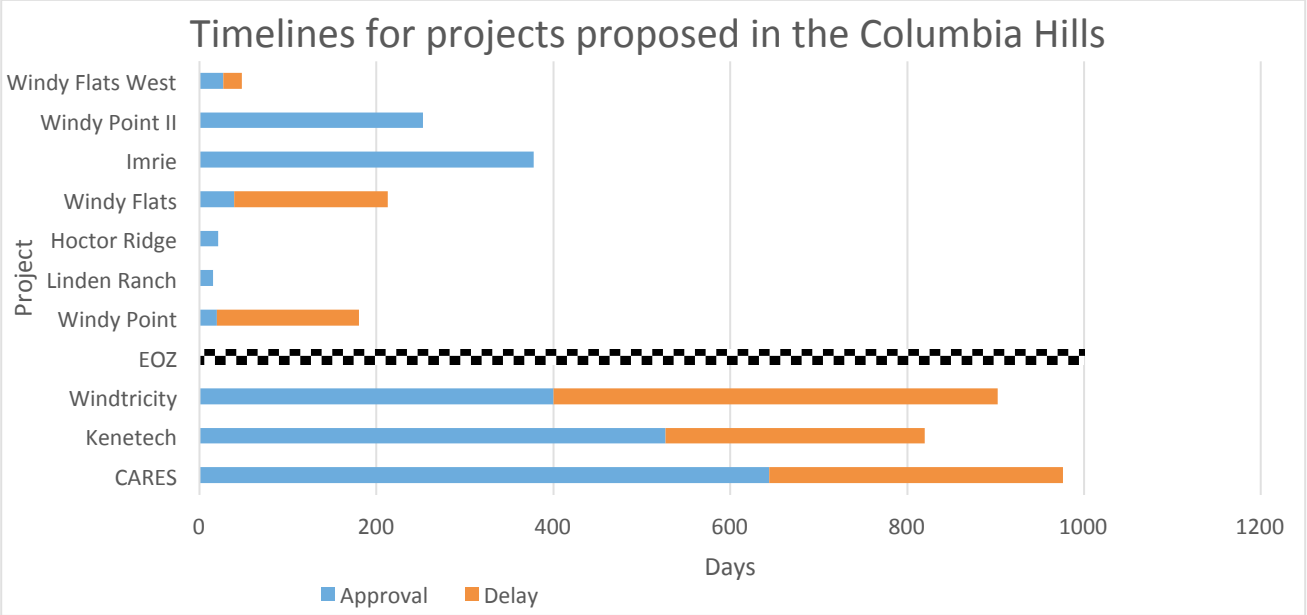

Figure 7. Permit & appeal duration for the Columbia Hills projects

An End to Wind Opposition

Both sides of the wind controversy agreed the EOZ represented an end to the wind power debate in Klickitat County. The rapid development of wind farms with the corresponding absence of opposition following the EOZ confirms the general sentiment expressed in interviews and news articles. The EOZ eliminated existing institutional structures for public participation, which resulted in diminished opportunities for project challengers to mobilize against wind projects. Fewer and more discreet public notifications for projects made it more difficult for residents to know what was being proposed, considered, or constructed (interviews 2, 3, 10, 11, 13, 17). The EOZ reduced the scope and number of hearings and public comment periods. The additional legal burden of SB5107 was particularly damaging to opposition efforts, as several interviewees identified lawsuits as the only effective form of resisting wind after the EOZ. The EOZ "shut the book. It was designed specifically so you could not have a grassroots opposition

to a specific project…. Once you had the EOZ, there was no longer a framework for opposition" (interview 11).

The loss of trust in environmentalists also had a significant effect on the political opportunities for anti-development activism beyond the siting process. Identifying as an environmentalist or wind critic precluded citizens from having a legitimate voice within a mostly closed political system. Although many within the environmental network disagreed with the confrontational tactics of the Columbia Gorge Audubon Society and questioned its handling of the landfill settlement, the community did not make a distinction. For instance, during the 2002 County Board of Commission election campaign, a letter to the editor stated that "a vote for Chris Connolly would be the same as voting for the Dennis White Group and more taking of the landfill monies" (Fritchey 2002). Although Connolly was an outspoken critic of the EOZ and wind, she had no association with the Rabanco landfill settlement. Another self-proclaimed environmentalist stated that she "couldn't run for dog catcher because of [her] involvement with *those* groups" (interview 12). Environmentalists had lost access to the decision-making structure and their credibility within the community.

Discussion

Theoretical Implications

This case study presents several theoretical contributions to the renewable energy siting literature through the application of trust and political opportunities to understand the dynamics of community mobilization. First, the findings from this research support the conclusions by Smith and Marquez (2000) that trust among actors and institutions involved in facility siting operates in multiple directions. Most notably, the sudden loss of trust in project challengers proved critical to the emergence of pro-EOZ and pro-wind mobilization efforts. The consequences for project challengers in Klickitat County provide valuable insight for other groups engaged in opposition to locally unwanted land-uses (LULUs). Continual challenges to development, particularly instances that result in mitigation or other concessions, risk appearing opportunistic, which threatens organizational credibility. In this case, a deep mistrust of environmentalists drove antagonistic efforts that neutralized future mobilization and harmed the overarching goals of the environmental movement. Repeated collective action in Klickitat County proved too successful, costing environmentalists future opportunities to engage in the wind siting process. There is some evidence to suggest that this experience is representative of a broader phenomenon stigmatizing environmental activism. The frequency and success of community efforts to oppose LULUs have helped to popularize the pejorative NIMBY label, which assumes selfish or misinformed motives drive project challengers.

Despite empirical evidence to indicate mistrust in developers will instigate opposition, there was little evidence of this phenomenon in Klickitat County. Nevertheless, the responsiveness of project developers appeared to act as a moderating influence on the precarious relationship between environmentalists and local officials. For example, several interviews cited the responsiveness of a particular developer, which led to widespread acceptance of their wind

farm (interviews 3, 15). Developers for White Creek Wind Farm were able to circumvent the opposition's mistrust of decision-makers that plagued every other project before the EOZ. Although developers will likely seek the path of least resistance, facilitating dialogue and engaging with likely opponents early in the siting process can generate public support amidst an otherwise hostile siting environment.

Additionally, this research provides insight on the emergence of mobilization using social movement theory. Research typically views the presence of political opportunities through the lens of oppositional groups. However, this case study provides evidence that the seizing of political opportunities and coordinating of resources is equally critical for elites as it is for challenging groups. Both the county and project proponents failed to garner community support for the Kenetech and CARES projects, allowing challengers to control dialogue during the public process. However, the landfill settlement presented a "focusing event," which Birkland (2011) characterizes as an "important mobilization opportunit[y] for groups that find their issues hard to advance on the agenda" (Birkland 2011). Government officials used the brief opportunity to mobilize support for its controversial EOZ policy. Generating support from the less active, eastern segments of the ranching community is an example of the "elite mobilization" outlined in Rosentone and Hansen's (1993) research on electoral politics. They argue that elites may counteract the tendency for the disproportionate participation of more wealthy, educated, and engaged individuals by strategically targeting sympathetic constituencies.

Practical Implications

This case study also provides relevant information and raises new questions for policy planners and communities coping with the challenges of siting renewable energy facilities. Klickitat County successfully employed policy levers to streamline siting and rapidly expand

wind development despite a history of strong opposition and failed proposals. Although counter to the prevailing collaborative approach advocated in scholarly research, the EOZ presents a viable alternative for cities and counties with SEPA guidelines**.** Wilson and Hirokawa (2010) support the expanded use of programmatic EISs as an efficient planning tool that avoids the pitfalls of public participation required by a traditional EIS.

From an environmental and energy perspective, the societal benefits of rapidly expanding renewable energy may justify circumvention of public participation. Former Washington State Governor, Christine Gregoire set a state precedent for administrative action when she cited Washington State's RPS to justify approving a large wind farm when the local government had already voted against the development. The current climate crisis may present a scenario where the swift and centralized administrative decision-making is preferable. Nonetheless, we must question whether the collective benefits of renewable energy development justify contradicting the goal to "encourage public involvement in decisions" outlined in the Washington State and national environmental protection acts (Washington Administrative Code [WAC] 197-11-030). Once simplistically labeled as NIMBY, research has highlighted the important role of local opposition to "improve the environmental and social justice credentials of proposals" and to produce a more "nuanced evaluation" of project impacts (Mcclymont and O'Hare 2008). Additionally, policymakers must consider the implications of selectively applying administrative review in facility siting.

Furthermore, the long-term impacts of the EOZ and future of wind development in Klickitat County are unclear. In the short-term, Klickitat County's revised planning regulations have successfully stimulated economic activity through the rapid expansion of wind development. Although a small contingent of community members remain bitter over a

perceived democratic injustice, overall, the county appears supportive of the outcome. County officials expressed a belief that many opponents have since modified their positions because the impacts have been "minimal" and the economic benefits "unheard of in small towns" (Michael Canon). However, Klickitat County still has nearly a gigawatt of approved projects yet to be constructed, and more expected should the economic conditions for wind development improve. Will wind construction reach a tipping point? Perhaps several high profile Golden Eagle kills will present a new opportunity for mobilization. Opponents expressed feelings of apathy following the EOZ, yet they remain adamantly opposed to the EOZ and wind in general. A new focusing event or the emergence of injustice frames originating from their exclusion from the public process could lead to reinvigorated efforts to mobilize.

Moreover, the future presence of county support for wind is equally unclear. While eastern segments of the population engaged in an unprecedented display of participation, resentment from the landfill settlement and considerable organizational support from county government largely fueled mobilization efforts. With the landfill settlement in the distant past and new actors unassociated with CGAS, it is debatable whether the County retains the political and social capital to re-mobilize support.

Conclusion

Energy development has long been central economic driver for Klickitat County; wind farms are just the most recent source of production. This research found that previous experiences with land-use siting and aspects of the community context contributed to the emergence and success of support and opposition to wind development in Klickitat County. In particular, mistrust was an important factor causing unprecedented levels of support for the EOZ and wind development. Additionally, political opportunities were instrumental in providing openings for mobilization. Presented with an opportunity, decision-makers successfully organized support for the EOZ and its pro-wind agenda. On the other hand, the EOZ's re-structuring of public participation in the siting process reduced the prospects for effective opposition to wind siting proposals. While the Washington State Environmental Protection Act and Energy Overlay Zone may make Klickitat County an outlier in the energy siting process, the case illustrates how responses to energy proposals are rooted in the experiences and history of the local community. Identifying the pathways to successful energy siting at the local level will remain critical to facilitating future projects that contribute to policy goals for expanded renewable energy.

This study encountered several limitations, including a lack of access to data and a reliance on respondents' recollection. Neither representatives from the Yakama Indian Nation nor pro-wind community members participated in interviews. Furthermore, newspaper data prior to 1999 was either incomplete or unavailable. While potentially constraining some of the conclusions, these limitations were somewhat mitigated by the study's incorporation of multiple data sources. Additionally, the events covered in this study span nearly two decades of events. Respondents were asked to recall experiences during specific project proposals, which some

interviwees had difficulty recalling. Future research may benefit from employing a similar framework that evaluates the emergence of project support to a recent project, or one that is in progress.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A. Interviews

Table 4. Interview respondents

Number	Name	Description	Date
1	D. Peck	Klickitat Development Director, Kenetech Windpower	05/20/2014
2	P. Arnold	Opponent	05/23/2014
3	N/A	Opponent	05/25/2014
4	R. Shimshak	Renewable Northwest	06/06/2014
5	C. Dreyer	Klickitat Planning Director	05/22/2014
6	R. Thayer	Klickitat Commissioner	05/22/2014
7	M. Canon	Goldendale City Council, Klickitat Development Director	05/21/2014
8	M. Walling	Klickitat Fire Commissioner	05/21/2014
9	D. Sauter	Klickitat Commissioner	05/24/2014
10	T. Young	Opponent	05/24/2014
11	M. Condon	Opponent	05/24/2014
12	N/A	Opponent	05/25/2014
13	C. Connolly	Opponent	05/23/2014
14	J. Burkhardt	White Salmon Enterprise reporter	05/16/2014
15	D. Warren	Last Mile Electric Cooperative	06/05/2014
16	N. Baker	Friends of the Columbia Gorge	05/29/2014
17	B. Weiler	Washington Department of Fish & Wildlife	06/03/2014
18	G. Clear	Washington Department of Ecology	05/20/2014
19	M. Lindblad	Klickitat Senior Planner	05/22/2014
20	R. Till	Friends of the Columbia Gorge	05/29/2014

Interviews are numbered in the order referenced within the text. Names and affiliations are withheld for those participants who requested anonymity.

Appendix B. Interview Protocol

Questions for Active Community Members

1) *History of Klickitat & prior political participation*
    a. How long have you been involved with issues concerning Klickitat County?
    b. Did you participate in any city council or county commission meetings prior to the proposed EOZ?
    c. Prior to the announcement, were you involved in any community groups?
    d. Did you participate in any other community activities, outside of official meetings/hearings organized by the city, prior to the siting announcement?
    e. What issues have historically driven politics in the community prior to the proposed EOZ (education, land use, employment, agricultural etc.)?
        i. Were specific community groups active in these discussions?
    f. Have there been previous attempts to site large industrial facilities in or near Klickitat County? What was the result of these attempts?
    g. How responsive have elected representatives and business leaders been to community groups in the past?

2) *Public Participation since the EOZ*
    a. Did you attend hearings for wind projects after the proposed EOZ?
        i. If so, which projects?
            1. Was there a specific project that you felt particularly strong about?
            2. What was it about that project that got you interested in attending?
        ii. Did you get involved as part of a community group for or against a wind proposal?
        iii. Did you attempt to recruit other individuals or groups into your group? If so, how?
        iv. Did you feel your voice was heard during the decision process?
    b. How would you characterize the resources available to supporters and opponents of the project?
    c. Have you (or your community group) received support (monetary, organizational, informational) from outside the community?
    d. Were/Are you aware of the experiences of other communities in similar situations regarding wind siting proposals?
    e. What were the positions of political and business leaders in the community about wind projects in general?
        i. Do you think these positions changed over time? If so, what, in your mind, accounts for this change?
    f. Were there any disagreements among elected officials about wind projects?
        i. If so, is such disagreement characteristic of the city council or specific to wind proposals?

3) *Participation in Institutionalized process*
    a. What forms of public participation were used by the county during the siting process of wind projects? By the proponent(s)?

i. When were these participation processes implemented?
ii. Were all interested parties fully able to express their concerns?
iii. In your opinion, were there any groups that felt unable to fully participate in the process?

b. Would you characterize the opportunities that the city provided for public input associated with wind projects as fair?
c. Would you characterize the opportunities that the proponent provided for public input associated with the project as fair?
d. What role did the comments play in the decision making process?

4) *Community mobilization outside of institutionalized processes*
   a. Have you participated in any other activities, outside of official meetings/hearings organized by the city, in response to a siting proposal, including ballot initiatives, letter-writing campaigns, protests, etc?
   b. Did you, or your group, join a larger network of groups in opposition to (or in support of) a particular wind project?
   c. Were you surprised by the community's reaction to any of the siting proposals?
   d. Did particular events cause you to increase your involvement regarding the siting proposal?
   e. What factors led you to feel like you (or your group) might make a difference in the outcome of the decision regarding the facility?

5) *EOZ*
   a. What were your initial impressions of the EOZ when proposed in 2003?
      i. How about the final version that passed in 2005?
      ii. Has your opinion changed?
      iii. How did you voice your support/opposition?
   b. Do you feel the EOZ has met the County's objectives for optimal energy siting and development?
   c. Have you noticed more or less involvement in the siting process since the EOZ?
   d. How responsive have public officials been to community groups and/or concerned individuals since the implementation of the EOZ?
   e. How responsive have developers been to community groups and/or concerned individuals since the implementation of the EOZ?
   f. Have procedural changes (notification, meetings, decision-making authority) affected the outcome of wind projects?
   g. What is your overall level of confidence in the EOZ's efforts to mitigate impacts in the siting of wind projects?
      i. Can you describe some of the strengths and weaknesses?

6) *Conclusion*
   a. Are there any important issues related to the project (s) that we haven't covered?

Questions for Project Representatives

1. *Project / Community Interface*
    a. What are the main criteria **(insert company name here)** uses for selecting a possible site for a wind project?
        i. How does Klickitat County match up with those criteria?
    b. What sort of background information did you collect on the community prior to the announcement of the siting proposal?
    c. Which individuals or groups were most influential during the community's discussion of the wind siting proposal?
    d. What was the initial response of these particular influential individuals in the community to your proposal?
        i. Did this change over time?
    e. What was the initial response of the key citizens or community groups to your proposal?
        i. Did this change over time?
        ii.
2. *EOZ*
    a. Had you proposed (or considered proposing) a project prior to the implementation of the EOZ?
    b. Did the EOZ influence your decision to pursue wind projects in Klickitat? If so, why?
    c. Did you participate or provide input during the EOZ process?
        i. If so, what were the concerns of **(insert company name here)**?
    d. When proposing a project, what (if any) choice does a developer have in proceeding through the full or expedited environmental review? Is there a benefit in opting for a full environmental review? Why or why not?
        i. What impact do potential appeals have on your decision?
    e. What importance do the previous studies (birds, cultural, etc.) conducted for the EOZ or other earlier projects have on the permitting process for a new project?
        i. Does this influence your decision for site selection? Why or why not?
    f. As a developer, how would you compare the EOZ permitting process in Klickitat County to other communities where you have proposed wind facilities?
    g. From your perspective, what are some of its strengths and weaknesses?

3. *Participation in institutionalized processes*
    a. What forms of public participation did **(insert company name)** use during the siting process? What forms did the county government use?
        i. When were these participation processes implemented?
        ii. Did you attend or facilitate any of these processes?
        iii. Were all interested parties fully able to express their concerns?
        iv. In your opinion, were there any groups that felt unable to fully participate in the process?
    b. What role did the comments play in the decision making process?

        i. Can you provide specific examples of changes made to the plan as a result of comments received?
    c. Overall, how would you compare public participation in Klickitat County to other communities where you have proposed wind facilities?

4. *Community mobilization outside of institutionalized processes*
    a. How have community members and groups made their voices heard outside of institutionalized processes for participation in decision making, including ballot initiatives, letter-writing campaigns, protests, etc?
    b. Were you surprised by the community's reaction to the siting proposal?
    c. What lessons about public involvement from previous similar projects did you bring to this proposal?
    d. What lessons about public involvement have you taken to future projects from this proposal?
    e. Did you anticipate lawsuits as a result of this siting process? If so, around which issues?
    f. Did particular events or actions galvanize community action regarding the siting proposal?
    g. What factors led your company to feel like you would get a positive result from this siting attempt?

5. *Conclusion*
    a. Are there any important issues related to the project (s) that we haven't covered?

Questions for Government Officials

1. *Active groups and their interests*
    - *a.* Please tell me about issues that have historically driven politics in the community prior to implementation of the EOZ (education, land use, employment, agricultural, *etc*).
    - *b.* Have there been previous attempts to site large industrial facilities in Klickitat County?
        - *i.* What was the result of these attempts?
    - *c.* Please list the community groups that were most active prior to the announcement of the EOZ.
        - *i.* What were the specific interests and concerns of each of these groups?
    - *d.* How responsive have elected representatives been to community groups in the past?
    - *e.* Now tell me about specific groups that have been active since the EOZ (environmental groups, businesses, neighborhood associations, unions, etc.).
    - *f.* What were the specific interests and concerns of each of these groups? Could you place these groups on a scale from extreme to moderate?
    - *g.* How would you characterize the response of County commissioners to the concerns raised by these groups?
    - *h.* How would you characterize the response of the proponent(s) of the project to the concerns raised by these groups?
    - *i.* How would you characterize the resources available to opponents and supporters of the project?
    - *j.* Have community groups been receiving support (monetary, organizational, informational) from outside the community?
    - *k.* What were the stances of political and business leaders in the community about wind projects?
        - *i.* Did they change over time?
    - *l.* Was there disagreement among elected officials about a particular project?
        - *i.* If so, is such disagreement characteristic of the County commission or specific to a wind proposal?
    - *m.* In your opinion, did community leaders feel vulnerable in upcoming elections as a result of positions taken during the siting process?

2. *Participation in institutionalized processes*
    - *a.* What types of public participation were used by the County during the process?
    - *b.* By the proponent(s)?
    - *c.* When were these participation processes implemented?
    - *d.* Did you attend or facilitate any of these processes?
        - *i.* Were all interested parties fully able to express their concerns?
        - *ii.* In your opinion, were there any groups that felt unable to fully participate in the process?
    - *e.* What role did the public comments play in the decision making process?
        - *i.* Can you provide specific examples of changes made to the plan as a result of comments received?

3. *Community mobilization outside of institutionalized processes*
    a. How have community members and groups made their voices heard outside of institutionalized processes for participation in decision making, including ballot initiatives, letter-writing campaigns, protests, etc?
    b. Were you surprised by the community's reaction to a particular siting proposal?
    c. Did you anticipate lawsuits as a result of siting wind projects?
        i. If so, around which project and issues?
    d. Have particular events are actions galvanized community action regarding the siting proposal?
    e. What factors do you think led opponents and supporters of the project to feel like they could possibly defeat the proposal?
    f. What factors do you think led supporters of the project to feel like they could possibly enact the proposal?

4. *EOZ*
    a. What aspects of the EOZ make it most attractive for choosing to site a wind project in Klickitat County (expedited siting, locations determined, studies already done)?
    b. What determines whether a project goes through the full environmental review as opposed to the expedited process?
    c. Do the benefits of the EOZ change based on the whether a project is permitted through the expedited or full environmental review?
    d. What importance do the studies (birds, cultural, etc.) from the EOZ have for a potential project?
    e. To what extend do you believe these studies influence wind developers to propose a project in Klickitat County?
    f. How has the community's perception of the EOZ and wind projects in general changed since its implementation?
        i. Has the level of opposition or support changed?
    g. Now almost ten years later, how do you believe the EOZ has performed?
        i. Can you describe some of its strengths and weaknesses?
5. *Conclusion*
    a. Are there any important issues related to the project (s) that we haven't covered?