Annex I. Detailed description of historical events during the planning phases

In the following Annex we provide one table (see Table I.1) and two maps (Figure I.1. and Figure I.2), which provide details about the four planning phases discussed in the text. Key regulations and events are highlighted, in order to give the reader a sense for how the overall wind farm siting discourse has developed over time. Points when controversy arose, such as discussions, debates and disputes about mapping are traced throughout the overview.

Table I.1. Phases of planning and siting of wind energy in Catalonia: key regulations, events and controversies.

Phase of planning-siting	Regulatory-planning instruments	Key events and projects	Description
I. Wind mills as new wizard players (1978–1999)	→ First studies of wind resource availability	→ Atles Eòlic 1978-1983 → Pla director de parcs eòlics 1991–1995	Studies about the wind resource availability in Catalonia undertaken together by La Generalitat de Catalunya and ENHER-ENDESA company from 1978 to 1995.
		→ Pioneer non-commercial (Garriguella-Vilopriu, 1984) and commercial (five farms from 1990–1997) projects	The wind turbine manufacturer cooperative Ecotècnia, ENHER-ENDESA, local councils and Consells Comarcals (i.e. administrative body for "comarques"), La Generalitat de Catalonia and the Ministry of Energy and Industry of Spain joined together creating public limited companies for the first five projects undertaken from 1990 to 1999.
	→ Ley 54/97 Sector Eléctrico [1]		The liberalization and tariff regulation arrival with the Ley 54/1997 del Sector Eléctrico which benefited the increasing wind farm projects.
	→ Pla director de Parcs eòlics a Catalunya 1997–2010 [2]		75 sites technically suitable for the hosting of 1329 MW of installed capacity wind energy (with 69% of this targeted installed capacity located in natural protected areas). Targets of 300 MW by 2005 and 1000 MW for 2010 were adopted. The "Pla director de Parcs Eòlics 1997–2010" referred to 30 solicitudes already presented, which totalized 460 MW at the time of writing the Plan [2].

Table I.1. *Cont.*

Phase of planning-siting	Regulatory-planning instruments	Key events and projects	Description
II. Political fight around "values" (1999-2003) .		→ Local platforms constitution (1999) and mobilization in "Terres de l'Ebre" PHN and ENRON, 2000)	In 1999, the first local platforms around the story-line of "Protecting the landscape" (see Section 4.2 in the text and Annex II) were constituted in the Southern "comarques" of Priorat and Terra Alta. Parallel to this process, social mobilization arose around two projects in "Terres de l'Ebre". The Plan Hidrológico Nacional (PHN), concerning the diversion of water from the Ebro River and the combined heat and power gas fired power plant planned by ENRON, deepening the threats to the collective identity of "Terres de l'Ebre".
		→ Debate and public audience around the wind energy environmental restriction siting map (ME2002) (2000–2002) → Alternative map from GEPEC [4]	A first version of the "Mapa d'Implantació ambiental de la energia eòlica a Catalonia" (Map of environmental wind energy siting of Catalonia) was opened for public commentary in December 2000 [3]. This version received critiques both from promoters and environmentalist NGOs and environmentalist NGOs (GEPEC and AEEC) presented an alternative map including propositions for places where wind farms should be located (see Figure I.1. in this Annex) [4].
		→ Catalan Parliamentary motion (March 2001) about PHN, ENRON and wind farm siting map [5].	In response to social mobilization, a Catalan Parliamentary motion was approved in March 2001 agreeing to promote territorial planning of Terres de l'Ebre; voting against PHN, discarding the ENRON project and agreeing to remake the proposed map of wind energy siting. Although this final point was the most controversial, a new process was opened to develop a definitive version of the map, which was agreed in 2002, together with the Decree 174/2002 which regulated the wind energy siting of Catalonia.

Table I.1. *Cont.*

Phase of planning-siting	Regulatory-planning instruments	Key events and projects	Description
		→ Comarcal agreement Priorat [6]	The process of citizen mobilization around the "Protecting the landscape" story-line brought about several informal agreements and referendums. One of the most relevant was the Comarcal agreement in Priorat, which was taken by five political parties and the local platform "Plataforma en Defensa del Patrimoni Natural del Priorat" on the 1st of June 2001 . This agreement, by emphasizing the importance of landscape, cultural and natural heritage for the future development of Priorat, restricted wind energy development to two concrete areas that were separated from a wind farm already existing in the area. A short summary of the agreement is: 1) Landscape, natural and cultural heritage are key resources for the local development of quality agriculture and tourism. 2) Two wind farms can be build in a commonly agreed area. Other projects can't be developed. 3) A commission has to keep track on the accomplishment of this agreement. [6].
	→ Decret 174/2002, d'11 de juny, regulador de la implantació de l'energia eòlica a Catalunya [7]. → Mapa d'implantació ambiental de l'energia eòlica a Catalunya 2002 (ME2002) [8].		The map (see Figure I.1. in this Annex) zoned Catalonia in a white "compatible", yellow "conditioned" (by an EIA verdict from the Government) and red "incompatible" areas. The definition of these zones however, was again controversial and highly contested by both wind promoters and conservationists. The distance between the first technical version (which never reached the public eye), the version of 2000 and the definitive in 2002, created a feeling of legal insecurity because excluding areas from the map did not mean that their environmental values on the ground had disappeared. The 2002 map, however fixed the basic rules of the game for projects to keep advancing in the permitting process. This map was not retroactive and all projects already started, as well as those that had already finished the public commentary stage, were allowed to proceed, even if they were located in red or yellow zones.

Table I.1. *Cont.*

Phase of planning-siting	Regulatory-planning instruments	Key events and projects	Description
III. Battle between "facts": "rational siting" (2003–2010)		→ New Left coalition government elected in Catalonia (2003)	
	→Natura 2000 Network versions (first in 2004, definitive in 2006)		The process of wind farm siting took place at the same time as other important conservation policies were being developed, such as the Natura 2000 Network (see Figure. I.2. in this Annex). Natura 2000 Network definitions were denounced by conservationists and local platforms as having been adapted to accommodate wind farm projects.
	→Pla de l'Energia de Catalunya 2006-2015 [9]		"Pla de l'Energia de Catalunya 2006-2015" set a target of 3500 MW of wind energy to be installed by the year 2015 [9].
		→Moratoria on new wind farm projects (2005) [10]	A moratorium on new wind farm projects was adopted, with the objective being to allow the reinforcing and reordering of policy and the rationalization of outcomes already in progress. Although the decree which formalized the moratorium was only presented to public consultation but never definitively adopted, several interviews revealed that the moratorium was de facto adopted through the actions undertaken by the government at that period.
		→Agreements between Red Eléctrica Española, and La Generalitat (2007 and 2010)	Two subsequent agreements between Red Eléctrica Española, the transmission system operator, and the Government of Catalonia, in 2007 and 2010, and the building of power lines by associations of promoters, ensured the availability of grid connection points. From around 100 MW of installed in 2005 the installed capacity multiplied by a factor of ten, coming close to the present 1000 MW by the close of this phase in 2010.

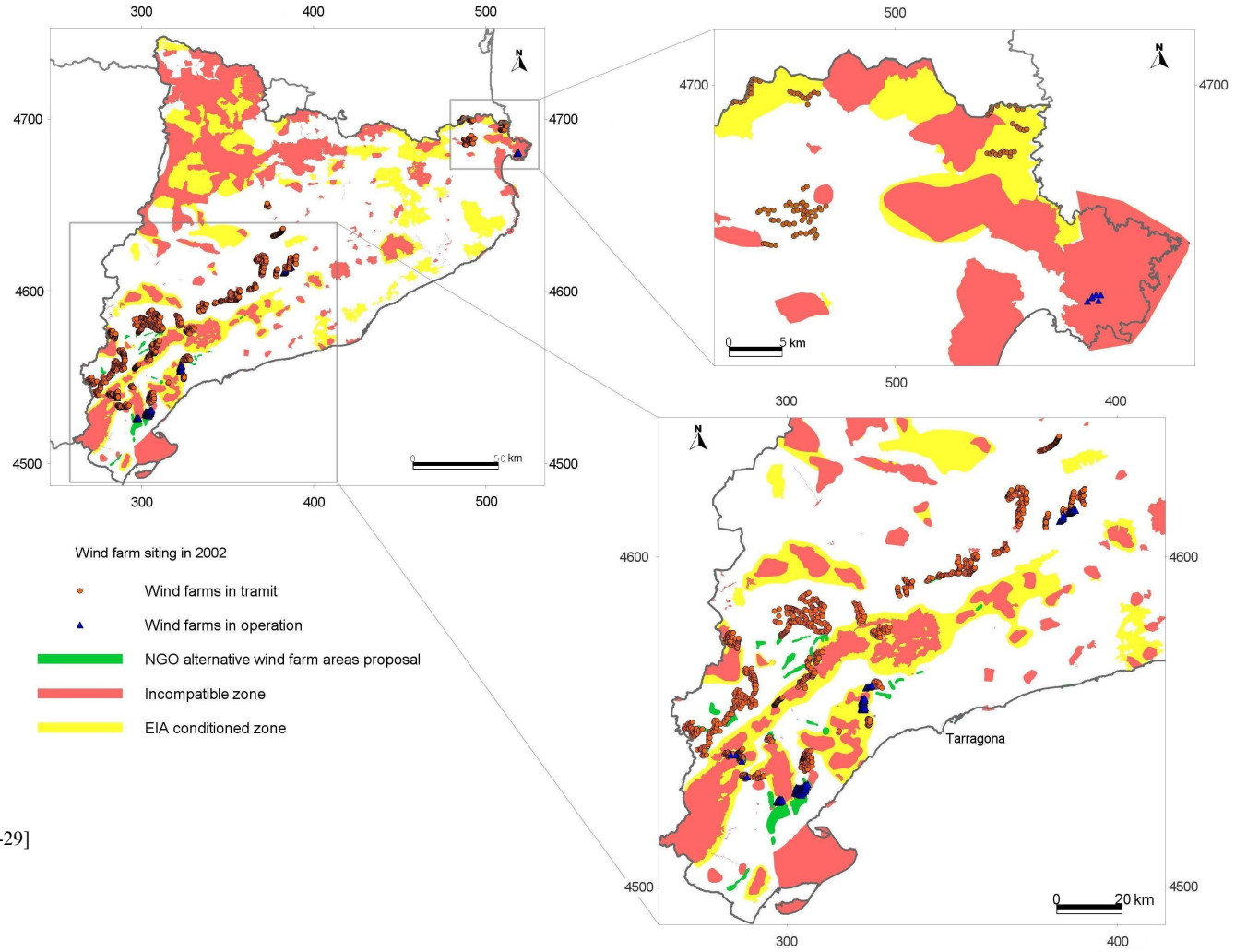
Table I.1. *Cont.*

Phase of planning-siting	Regulatory-planning instruments	Key events and projects	Description
	→Real Decreto 661/2007 [11]		The Spanish government updated the regulation of the so called "special generation" of electricity (power plants <50MW, cogeneration, renewable and waste) [11].
	→Real Decreto 6/2009 [12]		The Spanish government set a compulsory pre-assignation register for wind farms to receive the regulated tariff in the RD 661/2007[12].
	→Decret 147/2009 Siting procedures for wind farms and photovoltaics and ZDP (Priority Development Zones) regulation [13].		The Decree 147/2009 had the objective of creating a new permitting procedure, based on a new map of Priority Development Zones (ZDP in its acronym in Catalan), with permits to be auctioned by public tender. This new procedure was deemed to be useful for speeding up the siting process.
		→ZDP map approved under government agreement by La Generalitat (Acord 108/2010) [14]	

Table I.1. *Cont.*

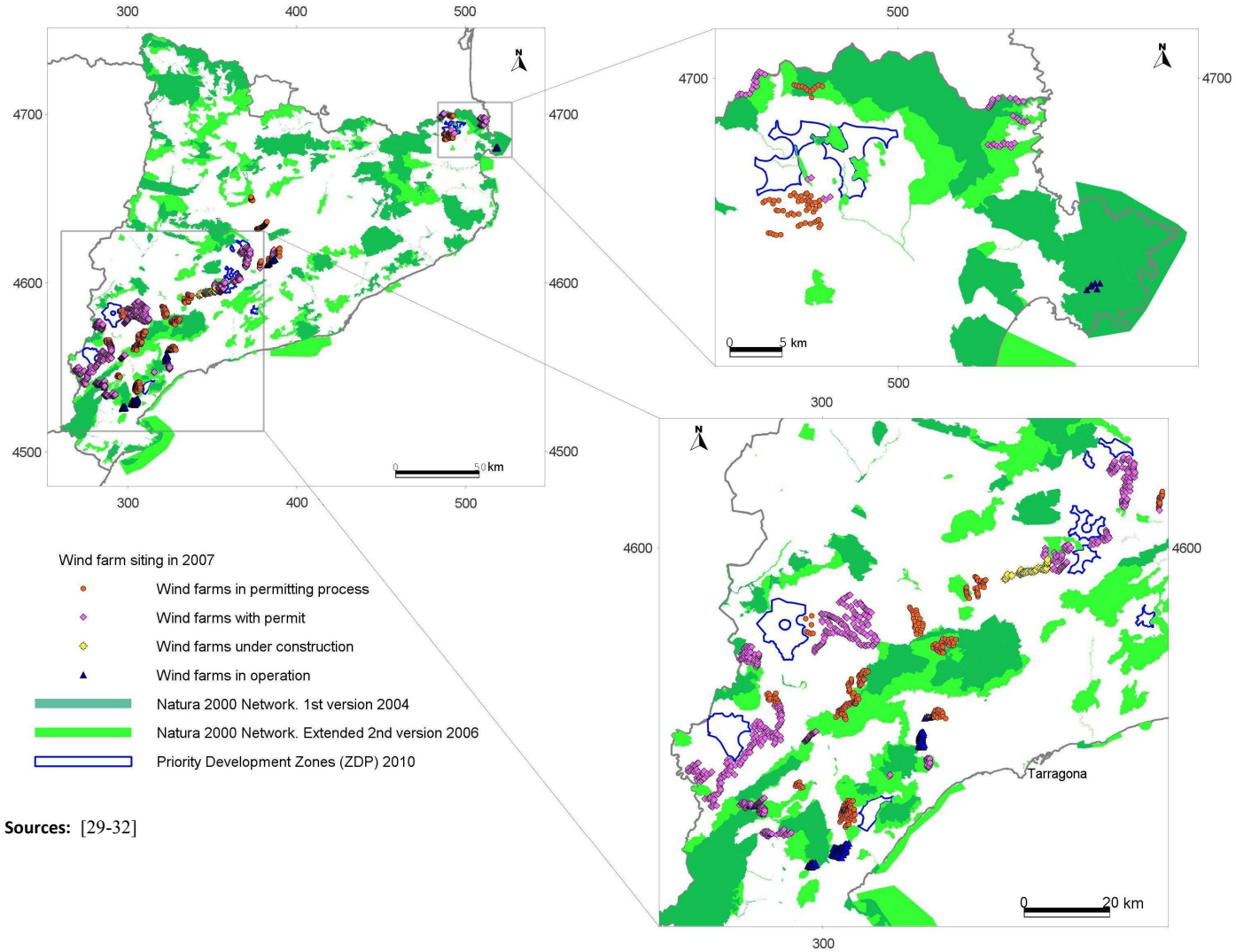
Phase of planning-siting	Regulatory-planning instruments	Key events and projects	Description
IV. Reasserting "values"? (2010–2012)		→Temporary restraining court order to the ZDPs map (2011) [15].	The legal validity of the Priority Development Zones map (see Figure. I.2. in this Annex) was contested in an appeal to the courts by two NGOs from Alt Empordà (a windy comarca in Girona province, see Figure 1 in the text). These NGOs claimed that the Government did not follow the compulsory Strategic Environmental Assessment of Plans and Programs when preparing the map, thereby escaping the process of public participation. In March 2011 the superior court of Catalonia issued a temporary restraining order on the use of the ZDP map, pending a definitive resolution of this dispute.
		→Court sentences resulting from Phase 2 (2011-2012)	Several emblematic sentences illustrate the conflict in Phase 2: - In 2011 the wind farm Coll de la Garganta was declared illegal for procedural shortcomings in project modification and environmental reasons, due to potential impacts on the Bonelli's Eagle and migratory routes (lack of appropriate studies), with the wind farm affecting an Important Bird Area (IBA) and with a turbine in Natura 2000 Network [16,17]. - In 2011, the wind farm Serra del Tallat was declared illegal because urban planning for the Vallbona de les Monges municipality did not include consideration of this land use [18-20]. - In July 2012, another sentence cancelled the permit of the Horta de Sant Joan wind farm "Els Pesells," again due to procedural shortcoming in project modification and potential impacts on the Bonelli's Eagle [21-23]. - Grid connection judicial disputes are also being resolved in favor of wind promoters [24].
	→Feed in tariff removal (Real Decreto Ley 1/2012) [25]		60,9% of the installed capacity that can be expected in Catalonia in the coming years (2.334,31 MW as against a potential capacity of 3.830,8 MW) will be affected by the removal of the feed-in tariff subsidy [26].

Figure I.1. Environmental restrictions siting map (ME2002) overlaid with wind farm siting statuses for 2002 and the proposal from the NGOs in 2000. The NGOs map [4] is reproduced only partially, including the identified recommended and tolerable siting options. (The extensive NGO critiques regarding areas where wind farms should be prohibited have not been reproduced, as these are not immediately relevant to our argument here.).



Sources: [4,7,8,27-29]

Figure I.2. Map of the Priority Development Zones, overlaid with the Natura 2000 Network and the wind farm siting statuses for 2007.



Sources: [29-32]

Annex II. Main actors of story-lines and their descriptions.

Discourse coalition	Centrality of actors		Description
"Building a sustainable industry"	**Main actor Groups**	**- comprised of…***	
	Eoliccat (Wind Industry Lobby)		Association of turbine manufacturers, wind promoters, utilities, small and medium size companies and banks advocating wind energy [33]
	ICAEN Civil Servants		Catalan Institute of Energy (ICAEN): a public entity of The Government of Catalonia, promoting technological innovation in the field of energy [34].
	Big Wind Industry*	ACCIONA, ALSTOM-WIND (former Ecotècnia), ENDESA, ACS, Iberdrola, Nec-Micon (Vestas), EdP.	Large local, Spanish and multinational companies involved either traditionally or as new late-comers in the wind energy sector.
	Small wind entrepreneurs*	ESBRUG, SL, Promoters of Alta Anoia wind farm	Small entrepreneurs promoting or participating in a few and generally small wind farm projects.
	Big wind entrepreneurs*	COPCISA, FERSA, Ros Roca, Tarraco Eòlica, BERTA and AERTA (associations of promoters to enhance grid connection)	Entrepreneurs coming from previous sectors such as real estate, now involved in promoting wind farm projects.

Annex II. *Cont.*

Discourse coalition	Centrality of actors		Description
	Other actors		
	Local politicians of regions hosting wind farms		The discourse of these group of actors is ambiguous and depending of the particular discursive hegemony of the area. We have located this actor here considering the majority of mayors in Tarragona Province.
	Local council civil servants		
	Local landowners		We refer here to those landowners hosting wind farms in their land. Landowners affected by roads and construction works have a point of view closer to "Protecting the landscape".
	Renewable energy cooperatives	Som Energia	A recently formed (in 2010) cooperative with the aim of building a 100% renewable energy system in Catalonia [35]
	Parliamentarians of political parties involved in " rational siting"	Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya (PSC)	Among all parties involved, PSC is the one that has referred most to the industrial and business part of wind energy discourse.

Annex II. *Cont.*

Discourse coalition	Centrality of actors		Description
"100% renewables now! "	**Main actors**		
	Pro-wind environmentalist coalition (Tanquem les Nuclears-Nova cultura de l'Energia)*	Greenpeace, Grup de Científics i Tècnics per un Futur no Nuclear, Ecologistes en Acció	An advocacy coalition formally constituted to agitate for the dismantling of nuclear and fossil fuel power plants, the increasing of energy efficiency, energy demand reduction and 100% renewables [36].
	Other actors		
	Renewable energy cooperatives	Som Energia	
	Eoliccat (Wind Industry Lobby)		
	Parliamentarians of political parties involved in " rational siting"	Iniciativa per Catalunya-Verds (ICV)	Among all parties involved, ICV is the one that has referred the most to the global environmental benefits of wind energy
	Environmental Dept. Civil Servants		Environmental Assessment technicians and civil servants employing consistent at times with the argumentation of biodiversity conservation and at times those of climate change mitigation advocates.

Annex II. *Cont.*

"Protecting the landscape"	**Main actors**		
	Local platforms *	Plataforma en Defensa del Patrimoni Natural del Priorat Plataforma en Defensa de la Terra Alta Plataforma Cívica Anti-Molins de Portbou Plataforma en defensa de les serres de Feixes i Orpinell Plataforma Salvem el Tallat Plataforma Salvem Senan	Diverse group of local residents in rural areas hosting wind farms
	Other actors		
	Territorial Planning: Landscape Dept.Civil Servants		Staff working in a new division in the Public Works and Territorial Planning Department of the Catalan Government - Landscape and Architecture division - created in 2005 with the aim of ensuring the observation of the landscape protection law ("Llei 8/2005, de 8 de juny, de protecció, gestió i ordenació del paisatge") [37].

Annex II. *Cont.*

"Protecting the landscape"	**Main actors**		
	Observatori del Paisatge (Landscape Watch)		An advisory for the Catalan public administration, with responsibilities, among others, to raise awareness about landscape issues among the general public and to serve as the centre for the study of the evolution of landscapes in Catalonia [38].
	Parliamentarians of political parties involved in " rational siting"	Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC)	Among all parties involved, the ERC intended to be the voice of the "Protecting the landscape" story-line in the Catalan parliament.
	Envrionmentalist NGOs with conservationist-territorial focus (Ecologistes de Catalunya (EdC))*	Grup d'Estudi i Protecció dels Ecosistemes del Camp (GEPEC), Institució de Ponent per a la Conservació i Estudi de la Natura (IPCENA), Institució Alta Empordanesa per a la Defensa i l'Estudi de la Natura (IAEDEN), Associació Respectem l'Albera (ARA)	Environmentalist organizations for which the main objective is: defending and studying the environment and human health and diffusing environmental awareness, generally or with specialization in one or another specific area. These organizations are independent from any other public or private institution [39].
"Protecting biodiversity"	**Main actors**		
	Envrionmentalist NGOs with conservationist-territorial focus (Ecologistes de Catalunya (EdC))		
	Other actors		
	Flora and Fauna Dept. Civil Servants		Technicians and civil servants dedicated to Flora and Fauna Impact Assessment, who are more inclined to protecting biodiversity
	Birds EIA Consultants		
	Environmental Dept. Civil Servants		

* we are including here both actors we have interviewed and also actors who have been particularly active or are mentioned by interviewees as being important actors in the process, even if we have not interviewed them.

Annex III. Types of argumentation in the story-lines uttered by discourse coalitions.

This annex shows the predominance of each of the four types of argumentation by recording the presence/absence and relative importance of key statements made by actors contributing toward each story-line. Summary data on statements, draw from the interviews that we conducted and supplementary material collected, is reported for each planning phase. The emphasis given to each statement is recorded both with respect to its importance *within* the discourse coalition that has come together around the story-line to which it contributes (weighted as Primary or Secondary) and with respect to its place in the overall wind farm siting discourse (Primary, Secondary, Absent, Contested).

		1) Evaluation of statements within the story-line				**2) position of the statement within the overall discourse***		
		Weighting of importance	**Presence/absence in each phase**					
Story-line	**Statements****		**Phase I**	**Phase II**	**Phase III**	**Phase I**	**Phase II**	**Phase III**
	Type of argumentation Values-Ends							
Building a sustainable industry	Wind energy is good and desirable because it is a locally based source of energy, which will reduce dependency on foreign energy sources	Primary	x	x	x	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary
	Wind energy is desirable because it is a clean way to improve energy supply while reducing pollution and CO2 emissions.	Primary	x	x	x	Primary	Primary	Primary
	Wind energy will bring rural development through income and jobs	Primary	x	x	x	Secondary	Contested	Secondary
	Wind energy helps to stop the undesirable trend of rural to urban migration by developing backward rural areas	Secondary		x	x	Secondary	Contested	Secondary
	Wind energy provides an important development opportunity to improve infrastructures in rural areas	Secondary		x	x	Secondary	Contested	Secondary

Annex III. *Cont.*

		Weighting of importance	Presence/absence in each phase					
Story-line	**Statements****		**Phase I**	**Phase II**	**Phase III**	**Phase I**	**Phase II**	**Phase III**
	Type of argumentation Values-Ends							
	Wind energy should be compatible with other activities and promotes income diversification	Secondary		x	x	Secondary	Contested	Secondary
	Innovative and strategic technological sectors, such as wind energy, are desirable to ensure the progress of our region	Secondary	x	x	x	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary
	Wind energy is important, desirable and for the benefit of the whole society	Secondary		x	x	Secondary	Secondary	Primary
100% renewables now!	Achieving now a 100% renewables energy system is a moral imperative	Primary	x	x	x	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary
	Stopping climate change and shut down nuclear power is a moral imperative	Primary	x	x	x	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary
	Wind energy is desirable because it will provide a solution for the urgent problem of fighting climate change	Primary	x	x	x	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary
	We should urgently act to mitigate climate change!	Primary	x	x	x	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary
	"Think global, act local," which reflects the essential values of environmentalism, should be reflected in the siting patterns, not local claims that lack global contextualization	Primary	x	x	x	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary

Annex III. *Cont.*

		Weighting of importance	Presence/absence in each phase					
Story-line	**Statements****		**Phase I**	**Phase II**	**Phase III**	**Phase I**	**Phase II**	**Phase III**
	Type of argumentation Values-Ends							
	Environmentalism has broader values and purposes than those expressed by conservationism; it is different to be an environmentalist than a conservationist; wind farm siting decisions should be about environmentalism not just conservation.	Primary	x	x	x	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary
	Wind farms are more distributed generation than nuclear, therefore they should not be the target for claims of energy system injustices. This is a mistake which blocks the first step to change	Secondary		x	x	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary
Protecting the landscape	Landscape industrialization is a threat; fast and unregulated landscape transformation is a problem and should be stopped	Primary		x	x	Absent	Primary	Secondary
	Landscape is important because it is a common good*	Primary		x	x	Absent	Secondary	Secondary
	Landscape is valuable both because of its material importance (it constitute the place we live in) and its cultural value in reflecting the values embedded in the relationship of a society with its environment	Primary		x	x	Absent	Secondary	Secondary
	Landscape is important for preserving the environment and the wellbeing of local population	Primary		x	x	Absent	Secondary	Secondary
	Uneven territorial development is not fair	Primary		x	x	Absent	Secondary	Secondary
	Wind energy is a business for profit, therefore, it should be regulated and limited, in order to protect the common good*	Primary		x	x	Absent	Contested	Secondary

Annex III. *Cont.*

		Weighting of importance	Presence/absence in each phase					
Story-line	**Statements****		**Phase I**	**Phase II**	**Phase III**	**Phase I**	**Phase II**	**Phase III**
	Type of argumentation Values-Ends							
	Monetary fair compensation should be ensured	Primary		x	x	Absent	Secondary	Secondary
	Distributed energy generation is more democratic and fair than the concentrated energy model	Secondary		x	x	Absent	Absent	Secondary
Protecting biodiversity	Wind energy development should be achieved without affecting biodiversity conservation: it can not go everywhere	Primary		x	x	Absent	Contested	Primary
	There should be more investment and more protection of biodiversity by increasing the quality and quantity of protected areas	Primary		x	x	Absent	Contested	Secondary
	Protecting biodiversity is important for the common good* not for private interest	Secondary		x	x	Absent	Contested	Secondary
	Landscape impacts should be considered but they should not be the priority	Secondary		x	x	Absent	Secondary	Secondary
	Type of argumentation Facts-Ends							
Building a sustainable industry	Wind farms must go where there is the best wind resource	Primary	x	x	x	Primary	Contested	Primary
	Electricity generation through wind energy has more environmental benefits than negative local environmental impacts	Primary	x	x	x	Primary	Contested	Secondary
	Global environmental impacts are more important than local ones	Primary	x	x	x	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary
	Catalan society must accomplish 3500 MW of installed wind energy capacity, as settled in Pla de l'Energia 2006-2015	Primary			x	Absent	Absent	Primary
	Wind energy is inexhaustible and renewable	Primary	x	x	x	Primary	Primary	Primary

Annex III. *Cont.*

		Weighting of importance	Presence/absence in each phase					
Story-line	**Statements****		**Phase I**	**Phase II**	**Phase III**	**Phase I**	**Phase II**	**Phase III**
	Type of argumentation Values-Ends							
	Wind energy is 100% reversible; it can be easily dismantled and the associated material wastes can be recycled	Primary		x	x	Primary	Contested	Secondary
	Landscape is dynamic and subjective	Primary		x	x	Primary	Contested	Secondary
	Climate change is a global problem and it is solved through reducing fossil fuel consumption	Secondary	x	x	x	Primary	Secondary	Secondary
	Wind energy saves costs in fossil fuels imports and in emissions rights acquisition	Secondary		x	x	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary
	Wind energy will help to reach European targets in renewables	Secondary	x	x	x	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary
	Wind energy helps to accomplish the Kyoto Protocol targets and serves the aims of the Climate Convention	Secondary	x	x	x	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary
	In the Catalan region, consumers are paying tariffs and not recovering them through wind farms in our region	Secondary		x	x	Secondary	Secondary	Primary
100% renewables now!	Wind energy must be the base of electricity generation, not the margin.	Primary	x	x	x	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary
	Landscape is dynamic and subjective	Primary		x	x	Primary	Contested	Secondary
	Wind energy is 100% reversible; it can be easily dismantled and the associated material wastes can be recycled	Primary		x	x	Primary	Contested	Secondary
	Global impacts are more important than local impacts	Primary	x	x	x	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary
	Comparative impacts of wind energy, with respect to other technologies, are very low	Primary	x	x	x	Primary	Contested	Primary
	Impacts on birds must be demonstrated case by case	Primary		x	x	Absent	Primary	Primary

Annex III. *Cont.*

		Weighting of importance	Presence/absence in each phase					
Story-line	**Statements****		**Phase I**	**Phase II**	**Phase III**	**Phase I**	**Phase II**	**Phase III**
	Type of argumentation Values-Ends							
	The climate won't wait for a revolution: the cooperative wind farm model is desirable but very unfeasible in the time period we have to act	Secondary		x	x	Secondary	Secondary	Secondary
	What counts in biodiversity are populations and ecosystems not individual eagles or pairs of eagles	Secondary		x	x	Absent	Absent	Secondary
Protecting the landscape	Landscape has economic importance because it is a tourist resource	Primary		x	x	Absent	Secondary	Secondary
	Wind farms must be prohibited in protected areas	Primary		x	x	Secondary	Primary	Primary
	Distributed energy generation is more efficient	Secondary		x	x	Absent	Secondary	Secondary
	Diversity of renewable energy sources is needed	Secondary		x	x	Absent	Secondary	Secondary
Protecting biodiversity	The impact of wind energy on birds (Bonelli's Eagle) must be minimized	Primary		x	x	Absent	Primary	Primary
	The priority sites are those in places that are less valuable from a biodiversity perspective	Primary		x	x	Secondary	Primary	Primary
	Emblematic protected areas must not host wind energy	Primary		x	x	Secondary	Primary	Primary
	Type of argumentation Values-Means							
Building a sustainable industry	Project by project public consultation is participative enough and excessively open and binding public participation should be avoided because it will block infrastructure development because of NIMBY syndrome	Secondary		x	x	Absent	Contested	Secondary

Annex III. *Cont.*

		Weighting of importance	Presence/absence in each phase					
Story-line	**Statements****		**Phase I**	**Phase II**	**Phase III**	**Phase I**	**Phase II**	**Phase III**
	Type of argumentation Values-Ends							
	Wind farm siting should be facilitated through the mediation of the regional government. Local councils should not have the right to take the final decision.	Secondary		x	x	Absent	Contested	Primary
	The representatives of villages are the mayors; current institutions are democratic enough	Secondary	x	x	x	Absent	Contested	Primary
100% renewables now!	Business and environmentalism should work together: green business is good	Primary	x	x	x	Absent	Primary	Primary
	The State should be the institution to guarantee wind energy as an environmental good for the whole society*	Primary	x	x	x	Absent	Secondary	Secondary
	Increased public participation in wind energy siting should be based on objective scientifically contrasted arguments	Primary		x	x	Absent	Contested	Secondary
	Opulent societies, like the society of Catalonia, should stop fossil fuel consumption because of the injustice it means for the poor people in 'Third World'	Primary	x	x	x	Absent	Secondary	Absent
Protecting the landscape	Territory based consensus should be used to make siting decisions	Primary		x	x	Absent	Primary	Primary
	People's rights to social participation in early-stages of planning should be enforced	Primary		x	x	Absent	Secondary	Secondary
	The State cannot void its obligation of defending the common good* over the interests of private business	Primary		x	x	Absent	Secondary	Absent
	Access to information and transparency should be ensured	Primary		x	x	Absent	Absent	Secondary

Annex III. *Cont.*

		Weighting of importance	Presence/absence in each phase					
Story-line	**Statements****		**Phase I**	**Phase II**	**Phase III**	**Phase I**	**Phase II**	**Phase III**
	Type of argumentation Values-Ends							
	Endogenous development should be placed ahead of exogenous investments in rural areas. We, the local people, should have the right to decide our development model	Primary		x	x	Absent	Contested	Absent
	Planning with participation is required: not only because it is the law but also because it is just	Secondary		x	x	Absent	Contested	Secondary
	Local people's economic participation in the ownership of wind farm projects should be promoted	Secondary		x	x	Absent	Contested	Secondary
Protecting biodiversity	Political decisions in wind energy siting should be based on improved technical support	Primary		x	x	Absent	Secondary	Primary
	Type of argumentation Facts-Means							
Building a sustainable industry	The appropriate role of the government is to maintain regulation stability in order to ensure that investments pay-back their costs	Primary	x	x	x	Absent	Secondary	Primary
	Governments must have political will in order to effectively concretize their discourse in favour of renewables	Primary	x	x	x	Absent	Secondary	Primary
	The needed amount of wind farms requires large financial investment; the large-scale wind farm model is needed	Primary	x	x	x	Absent	Contested	Primary
	The permitting process must be fast and easy	Primary	x	x	x	Absent	Secondary	Primary
	The appropriate role of the government is to guarantee and facilitate power lines construction and grid connection, in order to achieve a successful wind energy siting	Primary		x	x	Absent	Secondary	Primary
	The appropriate role of the government is to facilitate the expansion of wind energy	Primary	x	x	x	Primary	Secondary	Primary

Annex III. *Cont.*

		Weighting of importance	Presence/absence in each phase					
Story-line	**Statements****		**Phase I**	**Phase II**	**Phase III**	**Phase I**	**Phase II**	**Phase III**
	Type of argumentation Values-Ends							
	There must be no limit to the expansion of renewables	Primary	x	x	x	Absent	Contested	Contested
	Experts must plan wind energy siting. People don't know enough.	Secondary		x	x	Absent	Contested	Primary
	Law and judicial processes are appropriate tools for conflict resolution	Secondary		x	x	Absent	Primary	Primary
	Wind energy is in the nation's public interest*; local opposition does not have the right to obstruct the public interest*	Secondary		x	x	Absent	Secondary	Primary
	The role of participation in wind energy siting is to identify the maximum possible capacity	Secondary		x	x	Absent	Secondary	Secondary
	Government must educate and communicate about the importance of wind energy to facilitate its acceptance and the final execution of wind farm construction at appropriate sites	Secondary		x	x	Absent	Secondary	Secondary
100% renewables now!	The needed amount of wind farms requires large financial investment; the large-scale wind farm model is needed and the most feasible model to be materialized in the time period we have to act	Primary		x	x	Absent	Contested	Primary
	The appropriate role of the government is to launch an agenda for achieving 100% renewables	Primary	x	x	x	Absent	Secondary	Secondary
	Debate must be about the most effective way to achieve 100% renewables	Primary		x	x	Absent	Secondary	Secondary
	Demands on the impacts of renewable siting can't be higher than for the rest of energy technologies. A less polluting infrastructure such as a wind farm can't be treated in the same way as nuclear and fossil fuel power plants.	Primary		x	x	Absent	Contested	Secondary

Annex III. *Cont.*

		Weighting of importance	Presence/absence in each phase					
Story-line	**Statements****		**Phase I**	**Phase II**	**Phase III**	**Phase I**	**Phase II**	**Phase III**
	Type of argumentation Values-Ends							
	Wind energy siting is a technical problem and objective scientific knowledge is the appropriate tool to address it	Primary		x	x	Absent	Contested	Primary
Protecting the landscape	Rational siting helps to avoid overcrowding and cumulative environmental and landscape impacts	Primary			x	Absent	Absent	Primary
	It is more appropriate to coordinate siting at the regional, rather than municipality level	Primary		x	x	Absent	Secondary	Primary
	Laws enforce the right thing to do	Primary		x	x	Secondary	Primary	Primary
	Technical environmental evaluation of local impacts need to be enforced in the final building activities	Secondary		x	x	Absent	Secondary	Primary
	Reducing energy demand is more effective and so must be prioritized	Secondary		x	x	Absent	Secondary	Secondary
Protecting biodiversity	Strategic planning from the beginning will help to reconcile wind energy and biodiversity objectives	Primary		x	x	Absent	Secondary	Primary
	Law improvement and enforcement is needed for biodiversity conservation	Primary		x	x	Absent	Secondary	Primary
	Scientific studies must help to make wind energy and biodiversity conservation compatible	Primary		x	x	Absent	Secondary	Primary
	Technical studies about environmental impacts are the most helpful tool to improve decisions	Primary		x	x	Absent	Secondary	Primary
	Efforts should concentrate in developing better, appropriate and common methods to enhance Environmental Impact Assessment	Primary		x	x	Absent	Primary	Primary

Annex III. *Cont.*

		Weighting of importance	Presence/absence in each phase					
Story-line	**Statements****		**Phase I**	**Phase II**	**Phase III**	**Phase I**	**Phase II**	**Phase III**
	Type of argumentation Values-Ends							
	Decisions about planning must be taken at the national or regional level in order to balance impacts and avoid subjective localism in the evaluation of the importance of biodiversity	Primary		x	x	Absent	Contested	Primary
	Law and judicial processes are appropriate tools for conflict resolution	Primary		x	x	Absent	Primary	Primary

* There is a dispute around the contested meaning of "interès públic" or "interès general" in Catalonia. Some actors were using these words with a meaning close to the meaning institutionalized in Article 52 of "Ley 54/1997, de 27 noviembre, del Sector Eléctrico" [1], and in Articles1 and 9 of "Ley de 16 de diciembre de 1954, de Expropiación Forzosa" [40] and article 33.3 of the Spanish constitution, which is related to the primary authority of the state to take actions in the public interest. Other actors, however, were referring to this concept in an effort to reclaim a democratic right to determine the State's general obligations or by trying to repossess it through bringing to the fore the final purpose of the common good. To reflect this conflict over the meaning of this word we have used "common good" in the later case, and the direct translation of the institutionalized term, i.e. "public interest," for the former.

** The statements reported here are intended to capture the essential messages given by the discourse coalitions in the data we analysed. The written statements capture ideas which have either been formulated as such or condense the idea given in several similar passages of data. The interview source material for this table was collected in Catalan and translated by the first author, who is a native Catalan speaker, in consultation with the second author, who is a native English speaker.

*** The position of the statement within the overall discourse can be understood as the degree of success of an intervention to be heard, reproduced or critiqued by other actors. For example, a statement labelled as "Primary" or "Secondary" within a story-line can end up as "Absent" in a particular phase of the overall discourse because it has not been considered by the rest of actors or because it has been abandoned.

Annex IV. Types of argumentation in planning phases.

This Annex shows the details of how we have applied the analytical *types of argumentation* to evaluate the specific prevalent *type of argumentation* in each phase of the overall siting discourse.

Phase of planning-siting	**Dates**	**Prevailing type**	**Values-Ends** (value based arguments concerning end results, e.g. purpose of wind mill siting)	**Facts-Ends** (fact based arguments concerning end results e.g. technical criteria for decision-making)	**Values-Means** (value based arguments concerning means for reaching end results, e.g claims about participation)	**Facts-Means** (fact based arguments concerning means for reaching end results e.g. technical tools and siting procedures)
I. Wind mills as new wizard players	1978-1999	Facts-Ends	Optimize positive effects in clean locally based energy generation; Development of backward areas, generating employment. Generate a solid and pioneer industrial sector. Limiting the environmental impacts of wind farms [2].	**Energetic:** Wind speed (6.5 m/s, 10 m height), maximization of installed capacity, local energy use, and optimal connection to the existing grid **Environmental:** Affection for protected areas, public forests and Habitats of Communitarian Interest (HCI); concerns about access roads and power line impacts, and additive impacts. **Landscape:** visual basin and distance to inhabited areas; affection for cultural heritage. **Socio-economic:** upgrading the local economy, guaranteeing appropriate management [2].	Few debates about citizen participation and democracy: agreements with municipalities that include neither public consultation, nor citizen participation. There is no broader plan to set up participatory bodies or procedures.	**Permitting procedure:** Led by the Energy and Mining division of the Industry Department of la Generalitat. Bilateral agreements between promoters-local councils **Environmental impact tools:** EIA case by case

Annex IV. *Cont.*

II. Political fight around “values"	1999-2003	Values-Ends	Local conflicts should be taken into account and solved through more attention to the local environmental impact [3,7,8]. Territorial planning of Southern Catalonia should be addressed in order to respond to the social tension in Terres de l'Ebre [5].	**Energetic:** Wind speed (5 m/s, 10 m height, 2100 equivalent hours), optimal connection to the existing grid **Environmental:** Incompatibility with special protected areas, except partial reserves and new natural parks, <1000 ha PEIN and Birds SPAs and vital areas of threatened raptors (Annex I Birds Directive). Conditioned to EIA: partial natural reserves, no specially protected PEIN > 1000 ha, edges of incompatible areas, biological corridors and highly dense raptor vital areas [3,7,8].	"Comissió d'Asessorament sobre l'impacte ambiental de la energia eòlica" An advisory commission concerning the environmental impacts of wind energy is set up with participation of 16 members from various departments of the Government of Catalonia, municipalities, wind promoters and members of civil society. The commission has a very marginal role. The decision making authority lies in "La Ponència Ambiental"[3,7,8]. Informal activities take place with the aim to promote alternative means for decision making: "Acord Comarcal del Priorat" is an example of a "Local deal" between political parties and civil society [6].	**Permitting procedure:** The procedure is led by the Energy and Mining division as in the previous phase, but "La Ponencia Ambiental" is created. This is a body composed of 3 members of the Energy and Mining Division and 3 members of the Environmental Department. Other departments are consulted if needed. "La Ponencia Ambiental" declares the environmental impact of wind farms [7]. **Environmental impact tools:** Zoning map (compatible, conditioned to EIA and incompatible zones are identified) according the mentioned criteria [3,7,8].

Annex IV. *Cont.*

III. Battle between "facts": "rational siting"	2003-2010	Facts-Means	Arguments are advanced regarding the need for territorial consensus in determining suitable locations for wind farms. Concerns about geographical inequalities were accepted in the debate, however only on the basis that first ZDP zone for development was to be located in the North. Promoting distributed energy generation through photovoltaics in building roofs was left out of the discussion on the grounds that it was outside the direct competence of the Catalan government. Restrictions on the ownership of multiple contiguous mini-wind farms by the same wind promoter were rejected because they violated the European Directive on free market competition.	**Environmental:** ZDP creation: Exclusion of: Special protected areas, PEIN out of Natura 2000, Natura 2000 Network (Sites of Community Importance (SCI), are conditioned to EIA, SPAs are excluded, Bonelli's Eagle territories (nests and breeding areas are excluded; living areas are conditioned), Conditioned to EIA are: Geosites, Biological corridors, public forests, and habitats of Community interest (HCI). **Landscape:** Exclusion: 900 m distance from villages, 1000 m distance from other wind farms in operation or in project. Conditioned to EIA: cultural heritage. **Energetic:** Wind speed (5.5 m/s, 80 height); grid connection optimization [13,14].	Failed attempt to create a "Participatory table for following the environmental impact of wind energy siting." Two referendums are organized in Pinós (2006) and Horta de Sant Joan (2008) with the majority of voters rejecting the proposed wind farms. The Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC) political party, the voice of this coalition in internal Government negotiations managed to guarantee that two members of the commission responsible for project selection in the auction would be from local councils (article 8.1. Decree 147/2009) [13]. However, local representative participation remained very limited. Local economic participation was discussed only in terms of minority holdings in commercial wind farms.	**Permitting procedure:** Already presented projects: the same as in the previous phase but revised through the policy to support existing viable projects (see section 4.1 in the text). New projects: The Decret 147/2009: Siting procedures for wind farms and photovoltaics and the ZDP regulations define a new procedure which is intended to ensure faster permitting through "single window". "La Ponencia Ambiental" is restructured to comprise five members of Environmental Department (one is the president), two members of the department competent in energy, two members of the department of urban planning, one member of the department of culture [13]. **Environmental impact tools:** Rational siting: The policy to support existing farms and the creation of the ZDP through zoning based on buffers of exclusion criteria. Revision of the outdated environmental siting map starts but is, in the end, not accomplished. **Energetic potential tools:** Wind resources map produced in 2004 (see Figure 1 in the text) [41]. Two subsequent agreements with the Transport System Operator, Red Eléctrica Española (2007 and 2010) to enhance grid connection.

Annex IV. *Cont.*

					NGO participation was not accommodated because of Government claims that this Phase was not a new planning process and therefore was not subject to the participative procedure rules pertaining to the Strategic Environmental Impact Assessment of Plans and Programs.	
IV. Reassertin g "values"?	2010-2012	*Contested* *Facts-Means* *Values-Means*	Although present, Values-End claims are either translated into Facts-Ends claims of preserving the targets established in Phase III or focused more in the Values-Means or Facts-Means side of how to achieve them.	Criteria settled cumulatively over the previous phases.	The NGOs appeal to the court questions the avoidance of citizen participation through escaping Strategic Environmental Impact Assessment of Plans and Programs. A temporary restraining is ordered by the Court [15]	**Permitting procedure: The Decret 147/2009 procedure for new projects and the previous regulation for older projects [13].**

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