MSc Thesis Report

BATTLE OVER (WIND) POWER





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Explorative research into the theory of Deep Democracy in relation to the resistance against wind turbines with a focus on participation and in the context of the Dutch Environmental Act

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Explorative research into the theory of Deep Democracy in relation to the resistance against wind turbines with a focus on participation and in the context of the Dutch Environmental Act

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Preface

Dear reader,

For me, wind turbines are a fascinating phenomenon. Such a large machine that is able to generate energy from wind for an entire village. Yet, the placement of wind turbines in the Netherlands almost always seems to be accompanied by a lot of resistance. In this research I dive into the world of wind turbines and the processes around the placement of wind turbines in the Netherlands hoping to find a way to deal with this resistance.

Driving through the Netherlands by car makes it almost impossible not to notice the number of wind turbines that are arising throughout the landscape, defining the landscape. They are not exactly the prettiest creatures, but where is all this resistance coming from? Mediating between different interests and parties is something I handled since I was a child; at the kindergarten I was the child solving the problem between other children that were fighting over a doll. The different interests that arise when a wind turbine is being placed are currently much more complex than a fight over a doll back then, because the world is being confronted with climate change. This thesis has provided me insights that the discussion surrounding the placement of wind turbines goes beyond placing a wind turbine in an area, it has everything to do with power.

First of all, I want to thank Wim van der Knaap for his supervision throughout the past half a year. While our meetings took place in a variety of online as well as face to face settings, I was very glad to also get to meet you in person. Thank you for your patience, support, critical questions and advice. Moreover, I would like to thank all the respondents I spoke to thanks to this research for their openness towards me and the interesting stories they told. Finally, I would like to thank my and friends for their endless support.

Noa van Rheeden

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Abstract

After signing the Paris Climate Agreement, the Dutch government has committed to change their energy supply drastically into clean energy sources such as solar and wind. This is inextricably linked to changes in the physical landscape, changes that are accompanied by resistance. In the Netherlands, the placement of wind turbines is causing resistance among residents, companies, people who want to preserve nature and others. Since the first installation of a wind turbine in the Netherlands barely forty years ago, wind turbines have gained five times as much power, became four times higher, and also four times larger per blade. This is accompanied by impacting the landscape and its surrounding. Meanwhile, the Dutch government is working on the implementation of the Environmental Act that is coming into effect after the fifth postponement on 1 January 2023. This act enables participation to become a legal embedding of possibilities for the first time in Dutch spatial planning. While people in the Netherlands are mostly not against wind turbines, they do not prefer to have them placed anywhere near their home as indicated by the phenomenon of Not In My Backyard (NIMBY). However, due to the signing of the Paris Climate Agreement and the scarcity of space, wind turbines need to be placed in the Netherlands. Dealing with the conflicting interests and resistance is a challenge. A method of dealing with conflicting interests is Deep Democracy, a theory that offers working methods for conflict management and inclusive decision-making. The aim of this exploratory research is to gain insight into the resistance against the placement of wind turbines in the Netherlands while exploring the theory of Deep Democracy with a focus on participation and in the context of the Dutch Environmental Act. Various research methods were applied in this study: semi-structured interviews, document analysis and literature study. The availability of various sources enriched the research and sharpened the conclusions. The factors of inclusive decision-making, creating clarity and allowing different parties to enter into dialogue with each other of Deep Democracy will contribute to dealing with the resistance against placement of wind turbines. Moreover, frameworks to what extent participation should be established during these processes are recommended to be included before implementing the Environmental Act. Future research to test the factors of Deep Democracy in a process of the placement of wind turbines is recommended.

Keywords: Wind turbines, resistance, Environmental Act, participation, Deep Democracy.

Summary

The energy transition entails a change in the current energy landscape, a shift from an energy landscape based on fossil fuels to an energy landscape based on renewable energy sources. Wind energy has a prominent place in the future energy landscape. While the placement of wind turbines in the Netherlands is accompanied by institutional and social barriers. This research unravels the fundamental problems in the spatial planning process around the placement of wind turbines by analyzing the theory of Deep Democracy which is a theory that deals with conflicting interests. Subsequently, it was examined to what extent the yet to be implemented Environmental Act can offer a solution to this resistance and what role participation plays. The main research question therefore is:

Which factors within the theory of Deep Democracy can contribute to deal with the resistance against the placement of wind turbines in the Netherlands, in the context of the Environmental Act?

This research aims to explore the factors of Deep Democracy that could contribute to dealing with resistance against the placement of wind turbines in the Netherlands, in the context of the Environmental Act. In order to formulate an answer to this main research question, three sub-questions were formulated:

1. What are the implications of the Paris Climate Agreement for wind turbine obligations in the Netherlands?

2. What kind of options does the Environmental Act provide to deal with resistance against the placement of wind turbines?

3. What forms of participation within the Environmental Act will contribute to the development of support for the realization of wind turbines?

4. Which factors related to the theory of Deep Democracy can deal with resistance against wind turbines (NIMBY)?

The theoretical framework gives a general explanation on how participation is developed in the field of spatial planning. Then, the theory of Deep Democracy is explained as a way of dealing with conflicting interests. An explanation on how resistance can be characterized as NIMBY (Not In My Backyard) follows. Thereafter, the opposite PIMBY (Please In My Backyard) is explained. Finally, to bridge the gap between these concepts and theories, the conceptual framework gives an overview of the relation between the concepts and theories.

This research was conducted using different methods: semi-structured interviews, a case study, a document analysis and a literature study. Explorative research was done for the introduction of this research by applying a literature study. In order to answer the first sub-question, a document analysis was done to gather information about the Paris Climate Agreement and the wind turbine obligations in the Netherlands. The second sub-question is answered by combining a document analysis, a literature review and the semi-structured interviews in order to find out what options the Environmental Act provides to deal with resistance against the placement of wind turbines. The third sub-question is answered by combining the findings of the case study, the literature review and the semi-structured interviews.

After signing the Paris Climate Agreement in 2015, the Netherlands established a national Climate Agreement, Regional Energy Strategies and an Energy Agreement. Moreover, the implementation of the Environmental Act provides another set of regulations that need to be met in order to place wind turbines in the Netherlands. Amongst the different regions of the RES (Regional Energy Strategy) there is a strong preference for solar energy due to the resistance against the placement of wind turbines endangering the wind energy targets to be achieved.

Although the Environmental Act promises to establish a step forward when it comes to facilitating participation and including residents to take responsibility for their own living environment, the Act is not yet implemented so it is difficult to determine the outcome. Moreover, there is no stipulation in the Act on how to facilitate participation while initiators and governments are obligated to set up a participation process. Therefore, the implementation of the Environmental Act will be chaotic at first and bring obstacles when it comes to setting up participation processes. Besides that, there is a chance that the act is something that is called for by duty and, in the end, no drastic changes will come forward.

Facilitating a conversation with all involved stakeholders in which all perspectives come forward is the most important factor of Deep Democracy that could mean something for the resistance against the placement of wind turbines in the Netherlands. Deep Democracy provides guiding principles when it comes to having a dialogue with a group of people in which the different interests come forward and are discussed. The Lewis method provides a five-step method containing two conversation methods and a number of specific techniques to facilitate inclusive decision-making.

developed by Lewis , however, other theories could potentially also be applicable to deal with the resistance against the placement of wind turbines. In order to have a conversation with one another, it is important to listen to each other, have enough time to talk to each other and to trust each other. These are all elements that influence the resistance against the placement of wind turbines and is a reflection of the culture in the Netherlands at the moment. Therefore, a shift in power is required from the government towards the citizens.

In the conclusion it is argued that inclusive decision-making, having a dialogue with all involved stakeholder and creating clarity are factors of the theory of Deep Democracy that could help to deal with the resistance against the placement of wind turbines. Furthermore, the guiding principles of Deep Democracy should be studied further in follow-up research by applying the theory to a real-life case for the placement of wind turbines in the Netherlands. Moreover, future research could examine whether the implementation of the Environmental Act is causing less resistance against the placement of wind turbines and is contributing to creating awareness of the physical environment of Dutch residents.

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1. Introduction

As a result of signing the Climate Agreement of Paris in December 2015, the energy supply of the Netherlands should change drastically in the coming decades. The Paris Climate Agreement stipulated that global warming should be limited to less than two degrees Celsius, with the aim of limiting a maximum temperature increase of 1.5 degrees Celsius (Ministerie van Economische Zaken, 2016). This requires a drastic reduction in the use of fossil energy. In addition to reduction targets, other motivations and objectives play a role in the energy transition (Akerboom & van der Linden, 2018). For example, the recent decision to stop natural gas extraction in Groningen by 2030 at the latest, leads to questions of how the national heat requirement - which is currently approximately 90% filled with natural gas – can be met in an alternative, sustainable way (van der Wal, 2018). Moreover, the Netherlands is taking part in the European Union Green Deal in which Europe has the goal by 2050 to become the first climate-neutral continent (European Union, 2021). With the arrival of local, clean energy sources such as solar and wind, the Dutch energy supply is becoming increasingly visible, also in the physical environment (Van Ackere et al., 2015). Support and acceptance among local residents, other citizens and businesses in the vicinity of projects are of crucial importance in this regard (Lee & Painter, 2015; Fischhendler, Herman, Barr & Rosen, 2021). It has therefore been agreed in the Climate Agreement of Paris to focus on a greater degree of participation by local stakeholders, organizations, and residents with regard to sustainable energy (Ministerie van Economische Zaken, 2021a). Climate change and the contribution expected from citizens to combat climate change creates a complex matter, whether it concerns an adjustment of their lifestyle or making houses more sustainable. Citizens are also confronted with a classic social dilemma, in which contributions to combat climate change often lead to individual costs in the first instance, while the benefits advantages the collective (Bögelein, 2015). De Kluizenaar, Carabain & Steenbekkers (2020) argued that an integrated approach, in which the energy transition goes hand in hand with improvements of other aspects of quality of life, is recommended. Not only climate change itself, but also the tasks that are presented to citizens in this context are often accompanied by questions, uncertainties, and concerns (de Kluizenaar, Carabain & Steenbekkers, 2020). The yet to be implemented Environmental Act associated with climate change will be discussed below, together with the concept of participation in relation to combatting climate change, wind energy and the resistance against wind turbines.

1.1 Participation in wind energy projects

The concept of participation in the Netherlands is not only gaining importance due to the energy transition, but also due to the Environmental Act that is coming into effect on 1 January 2023 (Omgevingswet). With the new Environmental Act, citizen participation becomes a legal embedding of possibilities for the first time in Dutch spatial planning. Citizens are given a more prominent role in the (sustainable) development of their physical living environment (Bisschops & Hollemans, 2018). That sounds like a positive development, but participation according to the law is only guaranteed to a limited extent. Participation in the act often remains an abstract concept and is therefore difficult to operationalize in concrete terms (Bisschops & Hollemans, 2018). Moreover, getting residents to participate in the energy transition is a challenging task (Wagemans, Scholl & Vasseur, 2019).

To properly include citizens in changes that are taking place in their living environment, clear starting points, open information flows and critical truth-finding are required (Stamm, 2020). The government must also ensure that citizens can make themselves heard and be heard in a timely manner. The goal set by the Dutch government in the Dutch Climate Agreement is to have at least half of the inhabitants own their local energy projects (Ministerie van Economische Zaken en Klimaat, 2019). The necessity of involving citizens in large-scale energy projects is made clear in various studies (Agger, 2010; Vácha et al., 2016; Langer, Decker & Menrad, 2017; Cashmore et al., 2019; Solman et al., 2021). Nevertheless, different conclusions are drawn about the precise interpretation and the degree of involvement. Devine-Wright (2011) explained how the public is regarded as an 'ever-present danger' by policy makers and project developers. To illustrate this, the fear of protests against a wind farm is often the basis for involving citizens in a project. As a result, citizens are assigned a more passive role as the form of participation often does not go any further than providing information. Here, the citizen has no real power or participation, and participation does not go further than a top-down and one-sided provision of information (Slomp, 2017). Walker et al. (2007) described how, in the 1990s, project developers in the United Kingdom sometimes faced fierce opposition from local communities against the realization of large-scale wind farms. This is despite the fact that the majority of the population is supporting the transition from fossil fuels to wind energy (Devine-Wright, 2005).

Walker et al. (2007) identified three main foundations for this resistance: no public participation in planning, a choice for the landscape that is highly valued by the local population and the lack of direct benefits for the local population. Therefore, Walker et al. (2007) emphasized the importance of involving the local community in the planning process from the start, in order to avoid later conflicts due to incorrect spatial planning. In addition, the local community should also be able to benefit from the nearby wind farm. This could be benefits in a material or financial sense. There should be no unfair distribution of benefits in this regard (Walker et al., 2007). Nevertheless, in practice, active involvement of citizens is rarely the case. For example, the participation of third parties as citizens is rare, partly because spatial planning procedures in the Netherlands do not provide for participatory plan developments (Senternovem, 2009). However, in every wind energy project a consultation procedure is followed when the building or environmental permit is granted but this generally only happens when the key points of a plan have been virtually established. Making major changes to those plans is subsequently not seen as desirable. Information provision here is included as a standard way of dealing with a spatial planning procedure. However, this does not involve any active form of involvement from residents (Slomp. 2017). What is new, is that the Environmental Act makes participation mandatory and that granting permits will be subject to a deadline, so that Rijkswaterstaat, among others, will be obliged to respond more quickly to initiatives from society (Klostermann et al., 2019).

1.2 Environmental Act

With the Environmental Act, the Dutch government wants to simplify and merge rules related to spatial development to accomplish and simplify, for example, the start of construction projects. Minister De Jonge for Housing and Spatial Planning wants the Environmental Act to be introduced in a responsible manner (Ministerie

van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2022a). Therefore, the implementation date is postponed to 1 Janary 2023 for the Environmental Act to enter in force (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijkrelaties, 2022b). With this Act, the Dutch cabinet wants to coordinate the various plans for spatial planning, the environment, nature, promote sustainable projects and give municipalities, provinces, and water boards more responsibility during the implementations of these plans. The Environmental Act also offers more room for private ideas. This is because more general rules apply rather than details. The goal comes first and not the means to get there. The attitude in assessing plans is 'yes, if' rather than 'no unless'. This creates space for, for example, companies and organizations to come up with ideas (Kistenkas, Nieuwenhuizen, Kamphorst & Broemeyer, 2018). The Environmental Act focuses on the municipality, similar to the recent decentralization in the social domain. In 2015, a major decentralization effort in the social domain took place in the Netherlands (Raad voor het Openbaar Bestuur, 2020). This resulted in responsibility being subsequently transferred to residents and entrepreneurs but also from central to local governance. It is the intention that every project is realized in dialogue with local residents and stakeholders. The Environmental Act makes the switch from admission planning, in which projects are only realized if they are explicitly allowed to invitation planning, in which all projects that contribute to the environmental quality are stimulated, unless they are explicitly prohibited (ten Cate, 2021).

1.3 Wind energy

One of the low-carbon methods to generate electricity is the use of wind energy. Wind energy is a reliable and efficient source of sustainable energy that is already available in the Netherlands. Onshore wind technology is sufficiently developed to be able to use wind energy on a large scale. It is also one of the cheapest ways to generate sustainable energy (Ministerie van Econmische Zaken en Klimaat, 2021b). The Netherlands has an annual trend when it comes to average wind speed. In the summer the wind is on average less strong than during the winter. In the summer half of the year the average wind speed inland is between 10 and 13 km/h, at sea between 22 and 25 km/h. In the winter season the average wind speed is 13 to 16 km/h and 28 to 31 km/h along the coast (Janssen, 2021). It is safe to say, that the Netherlands is very suitable to generate sustainable energy through wind. With a wind turbine, kinetic energy from the air (wind, a natural resource) can be converted into electricity. This is a sustainable form of energy production, in which no air pollution is created, and no CO2 is emitted (Gooijer & Mennen, 2021).

Barely forty years ago, the first wind turbines were installed in the Netherlands with the aim of extracting energy to produce electricity. Turbines appeared on farms, industrial areas and along canals, dikes and roads, especially in coastal regions with strong winds. In the Netherlands in 2021, there are more than 3000 wind turbines on land, mostly in wind farms. Together, these wind turbines supply approximately 4 Gigawatt (GW) of electricity. The aim is to increase the onshore wind production capacity to 7.2 GW in the near future and to 10 to 20 MW in 2050 (Gooijer & Mennen, 2021). In recent decades they have spread all over the country and turbines have grown in height and size. Small wind turbines were grateful objects to fit into the landscape. However, this does not seem to be the case with the current future generation of wind turbines (Meeus et al., 2021).

Wind turbines have fostered growth in size and power, see Figure 1. They received about five times as much power in Megawatt (MW), became four times higher (from 55 to over 200 meters tip) and also four times larger per blade. This increase in seize originates from an increase of efficiency: a rotor diameter that is twice as large, provides approximately four times as much energy (Pisanò, 2019). In addition, it is beneficial to seek higher air layers, where the wind is less inhibited by the roughness of the ground level and therefore the wind blows harder (Meeus et al., 2017). The actual power and yield depend on the type of wind turbine, the weather conditions and location. If the wind speed is too high, a wind turbine will be stopped and if the wind speed is too low, it will not rotate (Gooijer & Mennen, 2021).

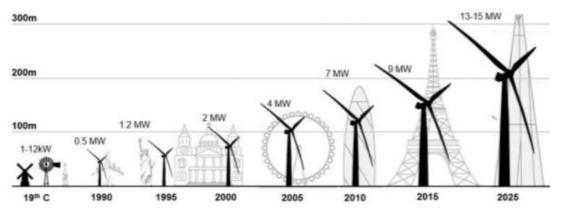


Figure 1: Evolution of the wind turbine size and power output (Pisanò, 2019).

It is important to note that every wind energy project is different: in terms of size, who the competent authority is, what the characteristics of the area are and so on. Moreover, the initiator, the environment (local residents, farmers, companies, nature and landscape groups, energy cooperatives) and the physical environment are never the same. This means that every wind energy project has to be tailor-made (Nederlandse WindEnergie Associatie et al., 2020). Despite the fact that no energy project is the same, a number of basic principles guiding the process of placing wind turbines in the Netherlands are established in the Code of Conduct by the Nederlandse WindEnergie Associatie et al. (2020), examples are: communication that is required in every project, the process participation and financial participation. Although the technical merits of wind energy are generally not questioned, the establishment of wind turbines on land often leads to social resistance (Bisschops, Dubey, Emonds, Smudde & Thöni, 2020).

1.4 Resistance against the placement of wind turbines

Placing wind turbines do not go unnoticed. Where wind turbines appear they change the landscape, and this results in being noticed by observers. When the government sets new goals, there is not only a change in the landscape but also for the viewer. The concept of change for both the landscape and the viewer occurred more often in the past in the Netherlands. Peat landscapes were reclaimed, polders were created and drained and with land consolidation small-scale landscapes were radically transformed into rational landscape forms that met the economic needs of the time. Today, major spatial transformations, such as the placement of wind turbines,

are often accompanied by resistance. This comes from fears of threats to lose qualities such as nature experience, silence, cultural heritage, living environment and space, road image, recreation, and space (Meeus et al., 2021). Research of van der Werf, Visscher & Königs (2015) showed that the vast majority of the Dutch inhabitants recognize that environmental issues must be addressed by the government, the business community as well as by themselves. Moreover, its necessity is also widely recognized. While at the same time, resistance against the placement of wind turbines is growing. When plans arise for the realization of wind turbines, initiators almost always encounter local resistance (Bell, Gray & Haggett, 2005). It seems to be the case that the greater the need for space for renewable energy, the greater the resistance (Meeus et al., 2021). Former Government Advisor for the Landscape, Dirk Sijmons put this aptly: "… the more convincing evidence (for the need of the energy transition) is presented, the more resistance is coming from people in the surrounding areas…" (Dekker & Meeus, 2019, p. 249).

Since the 1980s, the acronym NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard) has been introduced in wind energy adaption research (Huisbregtse, 2020). NIMBY is a widely used term for that not only applies to wind turbines, but to all kinds of spatial interventions. Wolsink (2000) defined NIMBY as *"people who combine a positive attitude and resistance based on calculated personal costs and benefits"* (p.53). It is important to note that the Netherlands consists of an increasingly assertive and critical society (Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, 2019), in which one's own voice is increasingly used to safeguard one's own interests. The path that the expert charts is less and less often followed without a fight by the majority of citizens. In fact, sustainable innovations such as the placement of wind turbines, is depending to a large extent on the contribution that citizens make to the progress. The attitude of the citizens is therefore increasingly decisive for a successful landing of technological innovations such as wind turbines (van der Werf, Visscher & Königs, 2015). A way of dealing with the differing thoughts on wind turbines is the philosophy of Deep Democracy. Deep Democracy offers tools and working methods for conflict management and inclusive decision-making (Verplancke, van Leuven & Bush, 2021). Furthermore, Deep Democracy is a method in which both the vote of the majority and the minority are included in decision-making. Instead of the principle 'most votes count', 'all votes count' is leading. The term was already coined in 1988 by Andy Mindell and further developed into a method in 1993 by Myrna and Greg Lewis (Kramer, 2014).

1.5 Scientific and societal relevance

Almost everywhere in the Netherlands where plans are being developed for wind turbines, residents take actions and organized resistance arises, sometimes even threats and arson (Laconi, 2021). Long objection procedures at the Council of State are far more often rule than an exception. This could cause extreme delays which puts the achievement of the climate goals in danger.

Combating climate change is one of the major issues of today. This issue affects every corner of the economy according to Walsh (2020) it is a policy issue, a technological issue, a local and global issue, a project development issue, and so on. Climate change is widely seen as a threat that requires action, for which participation, mitigation and adaptation are of great importance. Besides that, local initiatives are more and more stimulated to improve

the physical living environment; initiated by residents and facilitated by the government (van Rijswick, 2017). The new Environmental Act is developed to facilitate this participation. Although the Act is not implemented yet, this research can provide valuable information and points of attention for the implementation of the law. Due to these problems around the resistance against wind turbines and the implementation of the Environmental Act, the societal relevance can be considered as the aim of finding a way to reduce the resistance against wind turbines in the Netherlands in order to combat the consequences of climate change.

The issue of resistance against wind energy has received a lot of attention, both in practice and from researchers (Oosterlaken, 2015). This resulted in an intense academic debate about the exploration of the motivations for and potential solutions to resistance against the generation of wind energy (Jolivet & Heiskanen, 2010). An extensive amount of literature has been written about the different motivations, factors and perceptions on the resistance to wind energy projects (Jolivet & Heiskanen, 2010). In the past twenty years in particular, this subject has increasingly been the target of extensive scientific debate (Jacobs, 2021). The debate has shifted from authors who consider the importance of the physical characteristics of the wind farm and the environment to be decisive for support and who mapped them (van der Horst, 2007; Wolsink, 2007; Devine-Wright, 2009; Cowell, 2010) to authors who have mainly studied the effects of participation on public support (Jolivet & Heiskanen, 2010; Strachan et al., 2015; Nichifor, 2016; Liebe, Bartczak & Meyerhoff, 2017; Zaunbrecher, Linzenrich & Ziefle, 2017; Walker & Baxter, 2017, Mills, Bessette & Smith, 2019). Moreover, much has already been written about participation in spatial planning, participation in environmental policy, and more than once the focus is situated at the intersection between the two policy domains (Bergmans, Crabbé & Craps, 2017). However, research about the resistance against participation in relation to wind energy in the Netherlands in combination with insights from the Environmental Act has not yet been done. Therefore, the academic relevance is to add to the knowledge of forms of resistance against participation within the limits of the implementation of the Environmental Act.

1.6 Preliminary research objective

The preliminary objective of this research is to bring together the Environmental Act, participation, wind energy, and resistance against wind turbines to gain more insights about the causes of resistance against wind turbines in order to reach the goals of the Climate Agreement in combination with acceptation amongst residents.

1.7 Reading guide

In chapter two a theoretical foundation for this research is described. The conceptual model shows the connections between the different concepts and theories of this research. Followed by a chapter about the methodology of this research. The methodology explains how and why the different methods of data collection were carried out, which data was obtained and how it was analyzed. Chapter four sets out the results of this research. In the fifth chapter, the discussion is described. Finally, in the sixth chapter, an answer is formulated on the basis of the results to the main research question of this study. After which this is placed in the broader context of the existing literature on resistance against wind turbines. This is also reflected on, after which recommendations are made for possible further research.

2. Theoretical Framework

In this chapter the theories and concepts that will be used are discussed. In order to investigate what possible support increasing measures can be with regard to wind energy projects, it is important to first understand the context of the concepts of resistance and participation. To get a full understanding of this problem, a general explanation on how participation was accomplished in the field of spatial planning is presented first in paragraph 2.1. Then in paragraph 2.2, the theory of Deep Democracy is explained as a way of dealing with conflicting interests. An explanation on how resistance to such projects can be characterized as NIMBY and what this entails follows in 2.3. After an explanation of the NIMBY syndrome the opposite phenomenon Please In My Backyard (PIMBY) will be explained in 2.4. In order to bridge the gap between these concepts and theories, in 2.5 the conceptual model graphically shows the relationship between the various concepts. Finally, the research objective is stated.

2.1 Overview of the concept of participation in spatial planning

Ideas about environmental participation already arose in the 1960s and 1970s, both in Dutch spatial planning and in international discussions. The work of Jane Jacobs and Sherry Arnstein to this day are a source of inspiration for many who are involved in the practice of spatial planning, especially when it comes to the involvement of citizens and other parties (Verheul, Heurkens & Hobma, 2021).

2.1.1 Jane Jacobs

Urban activist and journalist Jane Jacobs was one of the first to describe the importance of giving residents a voice in urban planning and redevelopment. From her New York residential area, she saw the value of local knowledge and vitality in neighborhoods untapped by the government and real estate developers. According to Jacobs, this elite worked exclusively with plans that had been devised from the drawing board and from the boardrooms. Therefore, she undertook an initiative that was unusual at the time: together with local residents she protested against the chief planner. In her book The Death and Life of Great American Cities (1960), she described this protest and mentioned the value of resident participation in redevelopment of spatial plans.

2.1.2 Sherry Arnstein

Not much later Sherry Arnstein developed her own thinking about participation. Arnstein worked at the United States Department of Housing and had a particular eye on planning practice and citizens' preferences with regard to housing and the physical living environment (Verheul, Heurkens & Hobma, 2021). Later, she started working for a non-profit organization and developed her ideas further. In 1969 she published her publication, which to this day is a very often cited work on participation: A Ladder of Citizen Participation. In that publication, Arnstein discussed the different forms and levels of citizen participation. She illustrated this with the so-called participation ladder, in which each rung indicates a level of participation. According to Arnstein, participatory activity that is organized is aimed at the same degree and manner of influence on plans and policy. And not every participant can and does want to be involved in a participation process in the same way. Arnstein's work is often erroneously reduced to thinking in degrees of participation on the basis of her participation ladder. But what

Arnstein described above all is that initiators and organizers of participation were not always open to participation (Verheul, Heurkens & Hobma, 2021).

2.1.3 Participation in spatial planning

Globally, participation is a frequently heard concept, such as participation in society, in work processes, and participation in urban development. In many cases, the concept of participation is central to involving people in tasks in which a social component plays an important role (Donkers, 2019). In a spatial planning process, public participation is a form of public cooperation that makes it possible for persons or groups to actively take part in procedures (Bizjak, 2012). The initiative to involve the population in tasks arises from the idea that you learn about the population when you know what they want, for example in the context of the energy transition in the Netherlands. In a world where it increasingly revolves around globalization and individualization, the contradictions between citizens and the different population groups are growing (Beck, 2000). Due to urbanization, the tight space in the city and the increasing number of people, spatial conflicts arise more easily (Bloemmen & Lüdtke, 2002; Knoop, 2021), there are more stakeholders and weighing up interests and creating support is more important to realize plans. Often, the higher the building density of the space, the more stakeholders are present in the immediate vicinity (Donkers, 2019). Every stakeholder wants its interests to be united with the interests of development and the conflicts of interest that arise here often lead to a complex and viscous process. At the same times, citizens in the Netherlands are becoming more assertive (Thierry et al., 2007) and expect the government to have more room to exert influence, as citizens are better informed, more digitally skilled and are making higher demands on the speed and quality of the service (van Wijngaarden, 2020). By involving as many stakeholders as possible in the spatial tasking, participation can be an instrument that helps to bridge contradictions, can propose joint solutions for the tasks and thus simplifies the realization of spatial development projects (Donkers, 2019).

The term participation generally has a positive connotation and is often interpreted as being in everyone's interest. Arnstein (1969) aptly described the idea of citizens participation as eating spinach, which, in principle, no one is against because it is good for you, but it does not make everybody very excited. On the one hand, participation is defined as the way in which citizens are involved in decision-making, which can vary from information and consultation to collaboration or co-creation and the transfer of control. On the other hand, participation is sometimes also seen as participating through self-organization, which is translated into policies that stimulate bottom-up initiatives (Uitermark, 2015). Participation often remains an abstract concept and is therefore difficult to operationalize in concrete terms. This is an advantage because a container term can unite different ideas due to the lack of a specific meaning and thus form a binding factor. However, the ambiguity can also be used to disguise conflicting interests (Gunder, 2006). Participation is certainly not new in spatial planning. Since the 1960s, efforts have been made in the Netherlands to involve citizens in the design of their physical environment, for example by means of consultation evenings or formal procedures such as the submission of opinions and the options for objection and appeal (Bisschops & Hollemans, 2018).

2.1.4 Participation in the Dutch Environmental Act

With the new Environmental Act initiators and organizers are forced to be open to a way of participation. The purpose of participation is threefold: (1) to increase the quality of decision-making, (2) to accelerate decisionmaking and (3) to create more support for decisions. Informal participation at the 'front' of the decision-making process allows broad input into new developments, which should lead to faster procedures and fewer opinions, objections, and appeal procedures (Bisschops, Unfried & Pijnenburg, 2019). Every spatial project in the Netherlands needs to deal with stakeholders; from immediate residents to the local nature associations, from the municipality to the landowner. The switch to renewable energy and adaptation of climate change also affects the Dutch landscape. Regions are making energy and adaptation strategies. These are elaborated in Region Energy Strategies (RES) as a contribution that regions can and want to make to generate more renewable electricity by 2030 (Bouma et al., 2020). These energy and adaptation strategies apply also to onshore wind projects. Since the development of the first wind turbines, participation and acceptance are important steps in the process of switching towards sustainable energy sources (Nederlandse WindEnergie Associatie et al., 2020). The energy transition is not a purely technical matter. On the contrary, it shapes the landscape and, together with that landscape, becomes a part of the Dutch nationality on the long term. Therefore, effort is needed to achieve high-quality landscapes with wind energy (Meeus et al., 2021). Moreover, the thought that resident participation is important to work with while changing a physical environment in spatial planning originates from Arnstein and Jacobs and will form a guiding principle through this research.

2.1.5 Conceptualization of participation in this research

Participation is a broad concept with different definitions. This is partly due to the fact that citizen participation can refer to different forms due to the angle from which citizen participation is perceived. According to Hughes (1988), the term participation is only appropriate in cases where citizens actually have control and can influence decision-making. Arnstein (1969) shared this line of thought but argued that only full control of citizens can be regarded as genuine citizen participation. Hitzig et al. (2021) argued that the most widely used definition of participation is one provided by the International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health (ICF), which defined participation as involvement in a life situation (World Health Organization, 2001). This is a very broad definition and therefore a conceptualization with regard to wind turbines is searched for. The Nederlandse WindEnergie Associatie (2020, p.5) defined the concept of participation as *''the involvement and consultation with stakeholders on the basis of equality about the choice of location, development, construction and operation of a wind project.'' To approach participation in this research, I will conceptualize participation as described by the Nederlandse WindEnergie Associatie (2020)*.

2.2 Deep Democracy

After conceptualizing the concept of participation, this paragraph will explain what the theory of Deep Democracy entails. Deep Democracy is a method that is developed in South Africa after apartheid was abolished. The abolishment of apartheid led to heated debated and differences of opinion. The Lewis method of Deep Democracy was developed in the 1990s and has since been used successfully as a powerful tool for decision-

making and conflict resolution within groups of diversity. This method has a component of forming a structured argument or debate (Lewis & Woodhull, 2008). Deep Democracy is now being used in various fields such as schools and methods to manage companies in over twenty countries around the world (Kramer, 2014). Managers, teachers, politicians, social activists, and coaches work with it. It is a methodology that is used to deal with tensions, conflicts, and decision-making (Donnelly, 2020). It is a practical method to maximize the wisdom of groups. While people often do not say the most important things during an organized meeting, they do during breaks and at the coffee machine. It is important to make these opinions heard and to include them in the decision-making process.

2.2.1 Wisdom of the minority

If a question or dilemma arises, decisions are often made in the same way: the vast majority has a lot to say and do this powerfully. While the minority is seen as difficult and must be convinced or reduced by the majority. In

the end, the minority gives in, but the decision does not feel like theirs, leaving the question or dilemma to return or persist in the long run (Leurink, Molenaar & Procee, 2019). Deep Democracy points out that many different perspectives, emotions, assumptions and thoughts live below the waterline of a group process (see Figure 2). To proceed and take steps forward, Deep Democracy explains that it helps to discuss these matters and use the 'wisdom of the minority' in the decision-making process (van Oeffelt, 2017).

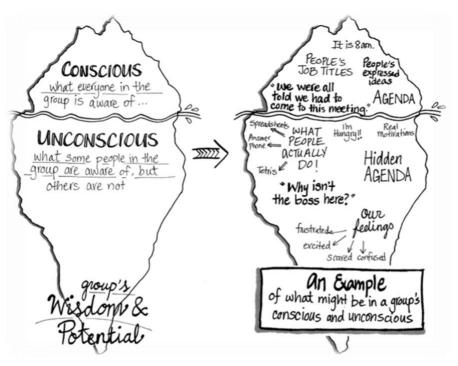


Figure 2: Example of conscious and unconscious in groups (Efran, 2013).

2.2.2 Lewis Method

Deep Democracy, a decision-making method developed in South African busines after Apartheid, is a practical method with which you can fight together for the highest attainable. In her book Deep Democracy, the wisdom of the minority, Jitske Kramer (2014) described this new view on decision-making and group dynamics. A lot happens in the dynamics of groups, especially when people do not feel heard or think that their opinion is ignored. When the ideas that go against the majority view are not given space, things start to wrangle. Often, people do not talk about this calmly and openly, but have all kinds of ways to struggle with it (see the unconscious in Figure 2). By the time the differences and conflicting opinions emerge, there is a deep gulf between the majority and the minority views. This theory highlights the importance of not pushing away differences, but rather to investigate in them. This is called the Lewis Method of Deep Democracy which is considered to be a

practical method because it offers tools for decision-making with attention to and appreciation for other views; in which contradictions and conflicting opinions are respectfully examined with each other in dialogue and in discussion. The principles provided by the theory of Deep Democracy, therefore, could be considered of great relevance to examine whether or not local residents will participate in the energy developments in the Netherlands.

2.2.3 Five steps of the Lewis Method

The core of this method consists of five steps (see Figure 3), containing two conversation models and a number of specific techniques. Everything in this method is aimed at conducting a thorough dialogue and a spirited discussion so that the group can come to constructive decisions (Kramer, 2009). Decisions in which the wisdom of the minority is added to the majority decision.

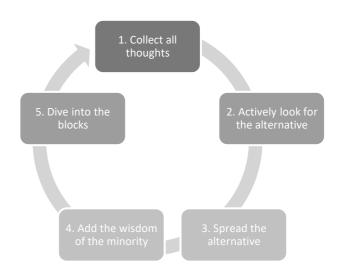


Figure 3: Five steps of the Lewis Method.

The different steps of Kramer (2013) will be further elaborated on. The first step is to collect all thoughts. During the process of this step everyone is invited to share their opinion, ideas and point of view. The second step is to actively look for the alternative. This is done by explicitly asking if anyone has a completely different idea and actively search for the deviant opinion, towards the alternative to dominant or major thinking. The third step is spreading the alternative. When someone brings in a new perspective, there is a chance that it will be received with laughter or sighs. During this step it is important to prevent people from being left alone or laughed at. It needs to be safe for alternative perspectives to share their ideas. By asking who to some extent recognizes him or herself or can connect with 'the other sound' that someone brings in (Mindell, 1995).

When it is clear after careful exploration and repetition of these first three steps that there are a number of proposals, then these are submitted to the group for a vote. When there is a majority that thinks the same about one of the proposals, it can be put into practice. However, when there is a very divided mood, you should go back to the first step to encourage the group to lobby to get more clarity on the value of the different options. Thereafter, if a majority is formed, go to step four. Step four is adding the wisdom of the minority. This step makes this method different from many others. The depth of the majority decision will be added here. First, by explicitly acknowledging the loss of those who would have wanted something different. Second, by asking this minority what they need to come along with the majority decision. Not to tempt them to go with the decision, but to enrich the decision with the wisdom they carry within them.

Now, at first sight, this looks like endless "poldering" and weak compromise, but it is not. The decision is made, there is no more room for lobbying. What the majority has decided will be acted upon, but important here is to add the voice of the minority. After that, another vote will take place, with the whole group. If someone fails to complete the ballot after a maximum of three times, there is a good chance that something is blocking the process. This could be unspoken emotions, subcutaneous feuds and unchecked assumptions. When a group becomes repetitive or restless it is time to move on to step five.

The fifth step is to dive into blocks. Within the Lewis Method, there are a number of techniques to safely investigate the mutual contradictions in the group, in order to arrive at the solutions. What these techniques have in common is that they take the politeness out of the conversation. Instead of looking for similarities, it is precisely the differences that are given space. After the group's agreement and discussing the necessary safety rules, an examination of the polarity or difference of opinion is done together on what is causing the greatest friction at that moment.

This is done by having a lively discussion with each other in a structured way. By not looking for the similarities, but for the differences. It is not a discussion in the sense of 'convincing each other', but a conversation in which you let the contradictions be in their enlarged form. In practical terms, placing the two sides of the contradiction in the room and having the group 'throwing arrows' from both sides in a structured manner. The side not speaking, listens carefully to the other side and receives the arrows. The more toxic and sharp the comments are, the more new insights the group will gather. Not infrequently, a group finds this very exciting and liberating at the same time. After throwing arrows, everyone gets time to check for themselves which comments came in the most. Then the group member share with each other what touched them, and what insights this has brought them personally. This collection of new insights is then included in a thorough dialogue (back to step one of the method) to arrive at constructive and inclusive decisions.

The special feature of this method is that connection is created by magnifying the differences by polarizing. This is a method Kramer (2013) sometimes compares with a good massage. Sometimes a painful activity, but in the end, it ensures everything to move smoothly again. Deep Democracy is a philosophy, a method and a theory all in one. Moreover, Deep Democracy ensures to exclude sabotaging behavior as much as possible. The democratic part of this method is evidenced by the fact that the leader or facilitator listens to everyone's opinion and insights, so that those can be included when a decision needs to be made in such a way that all interests are taken into account equally (Isa & Nogal, 2016).

2.2.4 Six criteria of Deep Democracy

The theory of Deep Democracy is now elaborated on and the five steps that are required to perform the Lewis Method of Deep Democracy were explained in the previous paragraph. To give more direction for a governing body or a company to satisfy Deep Democracy in health justice Palmquist (2020) developed a framework of six criteria (see Figure 4). While being adapted to health justice, these six criteria could be relevant in the process of resistance against wind turbines. However, if all the six criteria are relevant related to resistance against the placement of wind turbines is yet to be investigated.

Palmquist (2020, p. 397-398) gives the following explanation of the six criteria:

"First, all mechanisms (...) should center **equity** by ensuring that disadvantages communities are equitably included in governance, power is equitably distributed among interest groups, and normative goals with measurable indicators guide all governance processes (...). Second, (...) governance mechanisms should take a social-movement **mobilization** approach. This approach creates countervailing power by actively cultivating community organization in marginalized communities (...). Third, governance mechanisms should pursue **maximum feasible participation** by democratizing control and knowledge (...). Fourth, participatory governance must **empower** communities and individuals by transferring decision-making power to people who are directly affected by governance decisions (...). Fifth, models of participatory governance should be **institutionalized** to integrate them with other mechanisms of governance so as to give participatory processes real power to shape broader decisions (...). Sixth, **accountability** with real power of legal and political enforcement must be built into governance mechanisms to enable both individuals whose rights are violated and organized classes of people to hold powerful public and private entities to account."

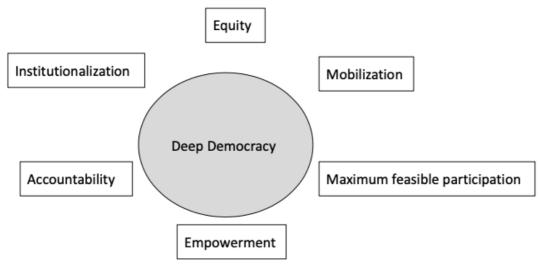


Figure 4: Six criteria of Deep Democracy by Palmquist (2020).

2.3 Not In My Backyard

People with a positive attitude towards wind energy can be against wind turbines in their own environment if it restricts their own interests. The so-called Not In My Backyard (NIMBY) syndrome explains this phenomenon of residents being in favor of renewable energy produced by wind turbines, but not wanting these turbines to be build close to their home (Maes, 2007). According to Lake (1993), the term NIMBY arose on the basis of two characteristics: facilities are supposed to provide an important social benefit and selfish local parochialism prevents the realization of that societal good. Although the resistance of local groups against the installation of wind turbines suggests the contrary, people are not against changes in the landscape. In their view, however, the changes should be improvements and not deteriorations (Schröder et al., 2008).

The NIMBY syndrome can partly be explained by the fact that risk estimates for one's own situation may turn out differently than for situations further away (Marks & Von Winterfeldt, 1984). Although no major personal risk is to be expected with the construction of wind turbines, there can be a risk of, for example, depreciation of homes (Travaille, 2013). According to Sandman (in: Schively, 2007) main concerns among opponents of wind turbines are: (1) the decline in property values, (2) the inability of the community to keep out other undesirable land uses once one has been sited and (3) the decline in quality of life because of noise. The definition of NIMBY does apply to any undesirable form of land use. The use of the term NIMBY has been used in politics for decades (Carley, Konisky, Atiq & Land, 2020). This mainly involved planning issues. The NIMBY syndrome therefore is considered a relevant factor to explain resistance against the placement of wind turbines while the majority of the residents is in favor of sustainable energy. Research of Devlin (2005) showed that several factors affect the public acceptance of wind turbines. Figure 5 shows an overview of claims made by people who are against the placement of wind turbines.

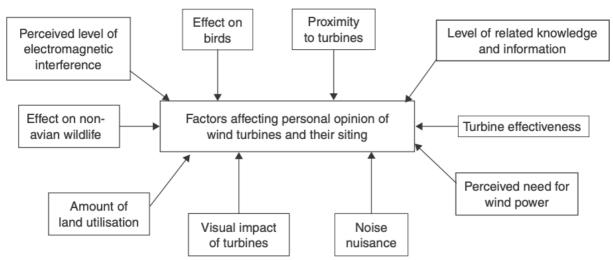


Figure 5: Summary of the most common claims of opponents to the placement of wind turbines (Devlin, 2005, p. 504).

2.4 Please In My Backyard

After an explanation about the NIMBY phenomenon described in the previous paragraph, it is of importance to also discuss the opposite phenomenon identified by Van der Loo (2001) as "Please In My Backyard." This phenomenon appears when turbines are considered being a socially acceptable financial investment (Gamel, Menrad & Decker, 2016). This phenomenon arises when local residents gain some source of (economic) benefit from wind turbine developments in their local landscape (Sian, 2016). Moreover, the research of Brinkman & Hirsh (2017) suggested the welcoming of wind turbines in the so-called PIMBY phenomenon. Although this phenomenon is explained from a farmer's perspective, it suggests a positive attitude towards the placement of wind turbines. The farmers perceived the placement of wind turbines as the latest in a long line of progressive energy technologies and ignored inconveniences to themselves while emphasizing benefits that they did not personally gain, such as the tax dollars generated by the wind turbines for the local governments, the jobs created, and the ecological benefits of renewable energy (Brinkman & Hirsh, 2017).

While farmers receive great economic benefits from the placement of wind turbines on their land, the PIMBY attitude is not necessarily driven solely by the direct economic benefits of wind turbines, but also by a strong rural cultural tendency to implant values such as prosperity and modernity within all technologies to generate renewable energy (Oyyomano Palmisano et al., 2021). The economic benefit, however, plays an important role in affecting the level of acceptance at the local level (Gross, 2007). Support for wind energy projects as a renewable source of electricity largely depends on the perception of the local community about the advantages and disadvantages of wind energy, such as the visual degradation of the landscape, the reduction of electricity costs or the distribution of the generated electricity (Bisschops et al., 2020). The possible financial benefits are an important factor of the social acceptance amongst residents and contribute to NIMBY's opposite Please In My Backyard (Jobert, Laborgne & Mimler, 2007). Therefore, the phenomenon of PIMBY is an aspect characterizes a positive attitude that exists besides NIMBY around the placement of wind turbines.

2.5 Research objective and questions

The insights both from the Introduction and the Theoretical Framework provide information that guided this research so far. In this paragraph the research objective is stated. This research aims to investigate the possible impact of Deep Democracy to reduce the tension that arises between participation and resistance around the placement of wind turbines in the Netherlands. Moreover, this research aims to investigate within the limits of the Environmental Act (that is yet to be implemented), what opportunities are offered to deal with this resistance against participation in the energy transition.

Figure 6 illustrates the conceptual framework of this research. The elements within the framework are the Dutch Environmental Act, participation, the placement of wind turbines, the Paris Climate Agreement, NIMBY, PIMBY and Deep Democracy. The Dutch Environmental Act is stimulating participation and residents to take responsibility for their own living environment, at the same time, the Paris Climate Agreement is stimulating the placement of wind turbines in the Netherlands. However, tension arises when wind turbines and participation come together due to, amongst others, the NIMBY syndrome. As explained earlier, a lot of resistance is

accompanied with the placement of wind turbines. In this conceptual framework, the concepts of the literature review are discussed and related to each other. This makes the assumed relationships between the concepts and the resulting variables visible.

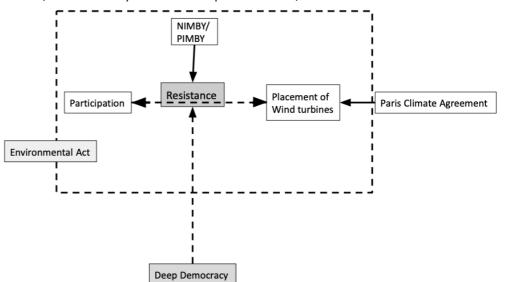


Figure 6: Conceptual framework of the research.

The aim of this research is to find out what the theory of Deep Democracy could mean for the organized resistance against the placement of wind turbines in the Netherlands within the context of the Environmental Act and with a focus on participation.

2.5.1 Main research question

The main research question can be formulated as: Which factors within the theory of Deep Democracy can contribute to deal with the resistance against the placement of wind turbines in the Netherlands, within the limits of the Environmental Act?

2.5.2 Sub-questions

Several sub-questions can be formulated that help to answer the main research question. Beneath the subquestions, the internal objective of each sub-question is stated. The sub-questions are:

- 1. What are the implications of the Paris Climate Agreement for wind turbine obligations in the Netherlands?
 - To generate an overview of the wind turbine obligations in the Netherlands together with strategies (RES) being made by governments on different levels.
- 2. What kind of options does the Environmental Act provide to deal with resistance against the placement of wind turbines?
 - To conduct an analysis of the guidelines provided by the Environmental Act on how to deal with resistance.
- 3. What forms of participation within the Environmental Act will contribute to the development of support for the realization of wind turbines?
 - To analyze the different ways of dealing with participation in wind energy projects.
 - To generate a guiding principle of dealing with participation within the Environmental Act.
- 4. Which important factors related to the theory of Deep Democracy can deal with resistance against wind turbines (NIMBY)?
 - To determine insights about the reasons for resistance against wind turbines.
 - To derive opinions about what the theory of Deep Democracy could mean in the process of wind turbines developments.

These sub-questions will be answered by analyzing documents and conducting semi-structured interview. The theories discussed will be used as tools to help formulate answers to these questions. The first sub-question elaborates on the obligations for the Netherlands with regard to the signing of the Paris Climate Agreement. The second sub-question analyzes the Environmental Act with regard to resistance against wind turbines. The third sub-question analyzes what forms of participation within the Environmental Act are present. The fourth sub-question analyzes what the theory of Deep Democracy could mean in the resistance against wind turbines in the Netherlands.

3. Methodology and research design

This chapter explains the methods that were used to conduct this research. This is done by describing the research design that is chosen to collect the data in order to formulate an answer to the research questions. It is followed by a description of the case study that was carried out together with an overview of the case study criteria selected for the investigation. This chapter provides insights into certain choices about the research methods and the way in which the research was set up. Thereafter, an indication of how the research was carried out in an ethically responsible manner is described. Finally, a description of the case study and case study criteria will be formulated.

3.1 Research design

This research is considered to be of qualitative form in which empirical data has been collected, analyzed and reported. It is essential here that the different research phases – problem definition, formulation of research questions, determination of research design, data collection, data analysis and reporting – can overlap and do not have to be strictly separated from each other (Plochg & Van Zwieten, 2007). A document analysis in combination with semi-structured interviews are the chosen methods for this research in order to collect suitable data to support the conceptual framework and the research questions. Below an explanation of the relevance of the chosen strategy for each research method is provided.

3.1.1 Methods based on sub-questions

The four sub-research questions defined in the previous chapter were answered by applying different methods. Table 1 shows an overview of the methods that were used based on the sub-questions.

Sub-question	Methodology	Factors
 What are the implications of the Paris Climate Agreement for wind turbine obligations in the Netherlands? 	Document Analysis	 Analysis of Paris Climate Agreement Wind turbine obligations
2. What kind of options does the Environmental Act provide to deal with resistance against the placement of wind turbines?	Document Analysis/Literature Review/Semi- Structured Interviews	 Environmental Act
3. What forms of participation within the Environmental Act will contribute to the development of support for the realization of wind turbines?	Literature Review/Semi- structured Interviews	 Forms of participation

Table 1: Methods based on sub-questions.

4.	Which important factors related to the	Literature	Deep Democracy criteria:
	theory of Deep Democracy can deal with	Review/Semi- structured Interviews	EquityMobilization
	resistance against wind turbines (NIMBY)?		 Maximum feasible participation
			EmpowermentAccountability
			 institutionalization

3.2 Literature review

To develop the theoretical framework and write the introduction of this research, a search was done for coherent literature on the concept of participation, the Environmental Act, NIMBY, PIMBY and spatial planning. Insights on this have been gained from books as well as articles, and from older as well as more recent publications. In this way, an attempt has been made to outline a chronology of the concept of participation in spatial planning. The chronology aims to illustrate clearly through a kind of path dependency where this concept originates within planning theory. Information about the theory of Deep Democracy as well as the NIMBY syndrome was collected mainly through online scientific articles. Conducting literature research contributed to gaining of insights into the knowledge that has been collected around a certain theme (De Ceuninck, Steyvers & Valcke, 2017).

3.3 Document analysis

Documents are products with a communicative function (Reulink & Lindeman, 2005). This can be organizational and institutional documents which in a document analysis will be systematically reviewed or evaluated (Bowen, 2009). For this research and in order to formulate an answer to the second sub-research question, the Environmental Act was analyzed. Moreover, the Paris Climate Agreement was analyzed in order to formulate an answer to the first sub-question. The document analysis provided the researcher with a broad research basis, which is the common objective of a document analysis (Baarda & de Goede, 2005). This makes a document analysis of added value to the research because these documents can provide objectivity about a certain theme (Reulink & Lindeman, 2005; Bowen, 2009). There is a high availability of documents by, among others, the WUR Library and a large number of available documents in the public domain of the government, making this research method accessible. Nevertheless, it is important to take into account the selection bias that could occur when performing a document analysis (Bowen, 2009). A selection bias suggests an incomplete collection of documents. In that case, a researcher (wrongly) only looks for evidence that supports the initial hypotheses and has not followed a fair procedure to reach the conclusion (Yin, 1999). To avoid this, the policy documents that are selected must meet the selection criteria and conflicting articles must not be omitted. Documents based on the concepts described in the theoretical framework were evaluated. However, not all documents suggest certain forms of objectivity and could also be subjective. Therefore, Bowen (2009) and O'learly (2017) warn against using subjective documents. Therefore, documents are analyzed while being aware of the potential subjective relevance. In addition, documents contain references to the information the document is based on, making them exact (Yin, 2009).

3.4 Semi-structured interviews

In addition to the literature review and the document analysis, the method of interviewing was used to gain more insights from residents, governing bodies and Deep Democracy experts that is not to be directly found in literature or documents. An interview is a one-on-one conversation between the interviewer and the interviewee. The interviewer asks (predefined) questions to the respondent and asks questions about the answers given by the respondent. Interviews differ in the extent to which they are structured. The use of a semistructured interview can be explained as an interview in which the order of the questions and thus the course of the conversation is fixed (van Male, 2011). Semi-structured interview is chosen as a method to use in this research because, although the interviewer prepares a list of predetermined questions, these interviews unfold in a conversational manner and allow participants to explore certain issues they consider important (Longhurst, 2003). This form of interviewing is used by qualitative researchers to obtain facts and knowledge about a phenomenon (Mojtahed, et al., 2014), in this case the resistance against wind turbines. To gain insights about this resistance a set of formulated questions was prepared (see Annex 1). Moreover, another set of formulated questions was prepared to gather more general information about the method of Deep Democracy for which the respondents did not need to have detailed information about the process regarding the placement of wind turbines in the Netherlands (see Annex 2). Due to the corona crisis at the time of conducting this research, it was not possible to conduct all of the interviews in a personal setting. As a result, one interview was held in a personal setting and the other interviews took place at online platforms Teams and Zoom.

3.4.1 Interview format

An interview format is developed to give the participants an overview of what they could expect. Seven different criteria are developed in order to ensure the interviewee with the information about the way in which the interview is structured (see Annex 3).

3.4.2 Questions semi-structured interview

Questions are formulated for this research in order to gain more insight into the possibility of encouraging the use of the theory of Deep Democracy in the resistance against wind turbines in the Netherlands. This is done by questioning inhabitants and governing bodies of cities or regions in the Netherlands where organized resistance against wind turbines has been experienced. While interviewing two different groups of people, the interview questions can not entirely be the same. Therefore, the additions in the questions in italics are for the governing bodies. The questions are stated shown in Annex 1.

3.4.3 Transcribing the semi-structured interviews

The interviews were held in Dutch because all the respondents are Dutch which would benefit them in expressing themselves. Moreover, the researcher is also Dutch. After the interviews were conducted, the interviews were fully transcribed. The chosen method for transcription is verbatim transcribing. This means that everything that is said was written down, except for hesitations and catchwords. The semi-structured interviews are aimed at gaining insight into the personal experience of respondents, and therefore it is important to register the answers

of the respondents as accurately as possible according to Plochg & Van Zwieten (2007). Moreover, audio recordings of the conversations were made. Afterwards, these have been typed out in a verbatim way, and analyzed. The accurate registration of the precise wording of the respondents is considered of importance in this research. The fully transcribed interviews are added in a separate Annex. In addition, relevant quotes were translated to English. In Annex 4 the translations of the used quotes and the original Dutch quote is shown.

3.4.5 Coding the semi-structured interviews

For the analyzation of the interviews, the program Atlas.ti was used to assign codes to the transcriptions of the interviews. In order to define codes, both the method of inductive and deductive coding was used. For the deductive approach, the different theories were considered the starting points of the analysis. The aim of the analysis was to test the theories from the theoretical framework and rejecting or accepting them on the basis of the empirical data (Van Staa & Evers, 2010; Bryman, 2004; Maso & Smaling, 1998). Deductive analysis uses coding down, whereby the researcher uses a pre-prepared codebook when coding, which corresponds to concepts from the literature study or to the conversation aid (Evers, 2015). The deductive codes were defined based on the literature about the Deep Democracy method, participation in spatial planning, the Environmental Act and the NIMBY syndrome. The deductive codes used in this research are elaborated and displayed in Table 2.

Group	Definition used in this research	Sub-code	Code in Dutch
Deep Democracy	A tool and working method for conflict management and inclusive decision-making (Verplancke, van Leuven & Bush, 2021).	 Wisdom of the minority Group's wisdom Looking for the alternative Dialogue Emotions Conflict-mediation 	 Wijsheid van de minderheid Groepswijsheid Kijken naar een alternatief Gesprek Emoties Conflictbemiddeling
Participation	The involvement and consultation with stakeholders on the basis of equality about the choice of location, development, construction and operation of a wind project (Nederlandse WindEnergie Associatie 2020).	 Participation possibilities Informative Listening Decision-making 	 Participatiemogelijk heden Informatief Luisteren Besluitvorming
Environmental Act	Act that enables citizens participation to become a legal embedding of possibilities in which citizens are given a more prominent role in the (sustainable) development of their physical living	 Environmental Act Role of the government Role of the province Role of the municipality 	 Omgevingswet Rol van de overheid Rol van de provincie Rol van de gemeente

Table 2: Deductive codes for the semi-structured interviews.

	environment (Bisschops & Hollemans, 2018).	ResidentsResponsibility	 Inwoners/bewoners Verantwoordelijkhe id
NIMBY	Residents being in favor of renewable energy produced by wind energy, but not wanting these turbines to be build close to their homes (Maes, 2007).	 Decline in property value Decline in quality of life Noise nuisance Health 	 Waardedaling onroerend goed Daling van de kwaliteit van leven Geluidsoverlast Gezondheid

The task of organizing large amounts of most unstructured data in a systematic way however requires both structure (built up from theoretical notions and frameworks constructed in a deductive way) and flexibility (exploring the data without preconceived categories). Therefore, Van Staa & Evers (2010) do not consider data analysis as a purely inductive or deductive undertaking. Using both methods therefore enhanced the research. In addition to coding in a deductive way, the inductive way of coding was also applied for the semi-structured interviews. This way of coding is considered open coding, in which the researcher starts close to the empiricism. Only gradually are concepts formulated at a conceptual level. With inductive analysis, the theory is therefore the result of data analysis, and bottom-up theoretical concepts are generated on the basis of empirical data (Wester & Peters, 2004). After the inductive way of coding, one new group resulted to be of importance in the discussion about the resistance against wind turbines in the Netherlands which can be divided under the group politics. The inductive codes used in this research are elaborated and displayed in Table 3.

Table 3: Inductive codes.

Groups	Sub-code	Code in Dutch
NIMBY	 Compensation 	Compensatie
Participation	 Corona 	■ Corona
Environmental Act	 Initiator 	 Ontwikkelaar
Politics	 Council of State 	Raad van State
	 Politics 	 Politiek
	 Regional Energy Strategy 	Regionale Energie Strategieën
	Subsidy's	Subsidies

3.5 Case study

According to Flyvbjerg (2006), conducting a case study is an appropriate way to collect data in research where the context is of importance. A case study provides a lot of practical, contextual, and concrete information. In this research the resistance against the placement of wind turbines is being investigated and therefore a case study could contribute to the practical information. According to Janssen-Jansen et al. (2000) a case study occupies an important place in the range of research methods in social sciences. Case studies are even seen as the most appropriate method for certain issues, for example for issues that study phenomena that cannot yet be completely demarcated from their environment. Case study research thus lends itself to research that is

exploratory and theory-building in nature. The qualitative case study is also a frequently used research method in spatial sciences. The emphasis has shifted from research into the occurrence of physical, spatial patterns and the way in which these patterns can be recorded, to research in which the formation of those patterns is central. In this type of research, in which policy and decision-making processes are often studied, case study research is a common and proven method (Janssen-Jansen et al., 2000).

3.5.1 Case study criteria

To select case studies in the Netherlands that suit this research, case study criteria were developed, see Table 4. The potential cases in the selection have participated in a pilot implementing the Environmental Act. Therefore, the following twelve regions/cities are selected: Alphen and Baarle-Nassau, Barneveld, Den Helder, Province Gelderland, region Hoeksche Waard, Leiden, Oude IJsselstreek, region Parkstad Limburg, Staphorst, province of South Holland, Zwolle and Zwartewaterland. In order to make a certain city or region in the Netherlands a suitable case, the case needs to have a form of organized resistance against wind turbines. Moreover, the area or region should have spatial qualities that suit the placement of wind turbines. As a final criterion, there should be a link to get more information in the form of (news)articles about these cases in order to find participants for the semi-structured interviews. The number of articles found per region/area is added in Annex 5.

Case study criteria	Organized resistance against wind turbines	Spatial qualities that suit placement of wind turbines	Number of (news)articles
Alphen and Baarle- Nassau	DoordachtDuur-zaam	Outside area	4
Barneveld	Sterk Tegenwind Barneveld	Search area south of the A1 (highway)	3
Den Helder	Eendracht Maakt Kracht	Located on sea	3
Province Gelderland	Tegenwind Culemborg	Outside-/Nature areas in Nijmegen, Oude IJsselstreek, Montferland, Geldermalsen, Zaltbommel, Geldermalsen/Neerijnen, Oldebroek, Arnhem	12
Region Hoeksche Waard	Hoeksche Waards Behoud, DorpsverenigingFiloh ooppers, Vrienden van Heinenoord	Nature areas	5
Leiden	Vlietwegbe-woners	Along highway	1
Oude IJsselstreek	Belangenvereniging Bonteburg	Nature area	7

Table 4: Case study Criteria.

Region Parkstad Limburg	Gezamenlijke Burger Belangen Landgraaf	Along highway A76 and city highway N281	4
Staphorst	Belangenvereniging Nieuwleusen Buitengebied West	Dalfserveld and Nieuwleusen-West	5
Province South Holland	Vereniging Hoogmadesche Polder, TurbulenT, Vereniging Veenpolder en Wijde Aa	Mostly outside areas	10
Zwolle	Tegenwind Voorst	Along highway	6
Zwartewat-erland	Belangenvereniging Nieuwleusen Buitengebied West	Outside areas	3

3.5.2 Case study selection

As table 5 shows, most of the areas or regions are suitable to investigate resistance against wind turbines. On behalf of the case study selection and due to ability for me as a researcher to visit the area, the following two cases were chosen: region Hoeksche Waard and province South Holland. Region Hoeksche Waard is an area where a lot of organized resistance is present (Bevaart, 2021). In addition, the province of South Holland also faces resistance at provincial level (Belt, 2021). Precisely by investigating these two areas/regions can lead to more in-depth knowledge about the resistance that is present within both the provincial level and the regional level in South-Holland. The people interviewed for this research are shown in the Table 5.

Group	Function	Reference in further research
Resident	Founder of an interest group and resident that lives close to 5 wind turbines.	R1
Resident	Member and co-founder of an interest group against wind turbines, and a resident that lives within a 2km scale of 5 wind turbines.	R2
Resident	Founder of an interest group and resident that lives close to 5 wind turbines	R3
Governing body	Representative of civil interests within the municipality	G1
Governing body	Project leader spatial development within the municipality	G2
Governing body	Coordinator Wind Energy Team Energy Transition of Province	G3
Expert	Expert Deep Democracy	E1
Expert	Expert Deep Democracy with a specialization in sustainability	E2
Expert	Project supporter implementation Environmental Act and certified Deep Democracy expert	E3

3.5.3 Recruitment of participants

For the recruitment of respondents for the semi-structured interviews, names and contact details in news articles, social media platforms and website about resistance against wind turbines were searched for. Then, mails were sent to the potential participants. In addition to actively searching for contact details, the Snowball-method for recruiting respondents was used during the interviews. Applying this method means asking the respondents who are interviewed whether they know any other respondents who could participate in the research (Longhurst, 2003). This method was applied by asking the respondent at the end of the interviews whether they know of other contacts who might have useful information that would be relevant for this research. However, what needs to be taken into account is that a disadvantage of this method is that there is a possibility that too many like-minded people will be interviewed. This is due to the fact that respondents are most likely to refer to someone who is like-minded (Maalsté, 2008). For this research in total 9 persons were interviewed to gain insight into the resistance that exists against wind turbines. Therefore, the fact that people were like minded, it is not detrimental for the purpose of this research, namely, to obtain information about dealing with resistance against wind turbines and what the theory of Deep Democracy could mean for this.

3.6 Ethical guarantee and control

As for quantitative studies, there are guidelines and ethical committees for qualitative studies to steer the research in the right direction. In qualitative studies it is important to take into account the ethical consequences of collecting and opening up personal experiences to the general public. It may therefore also be necessary to build in mechanisms to protect participants when sharing their personal stories (Poelman & Vermeire, 2015). Before, during and after the interviews, the associated ethical aspects need to be taken into account.

The main stakeholders are the respondents themselves. It is important to take into account that they do not always have an interest of their own in the research. That is why it is important that respondents voluntarily participate in this research. Preferably, they have also given explicit consent (Baarda, De Goede & Teunissen, 2005). This is done by signing the informed consent form added in Annex 6. In addition, the information towards the respondents about the purpose and method of the research must be correct. Respondents usually receive this information at the beginning or before the interview is taking place if they are asked to cooperate. Moreover, the data of respondents can and will be processed anonymously. This will protect the respondents by not making it recognizable who has provided what information. Besides guaranteeing the anonymity of respondents, the information to the respondents about the purpose and method of the research must be provided. This is done by sending them an information sheet about this research in advance of the interview (see Appendix 7).

4. Results

This chapter sets out the results of the analysis of the primary data. A literature review was done in combination with a document analysis to gather insights on the wind turbine obligations for the Netherlands according to the Paris Climate Agreement and to investigate options that the Environmental Act provides to deal with possible resistance against wind turbines. Moreover, a literature review in combination with semi-structured interviews were conducted to gather insights about forms of participation that will contribute to support of wind turbines and what the theory of Deep Democracy could mean for resistance against wind turbines. In the conclusion, this will provide an answer to the question of how the theory of Deep Democracy can decrease the resistance against wind turbines in the Netherlands, within the limits of the Environmental act. At the end of each section, the main results are briefly summarized.

4.1 Agreements after the signing of the Paris Climate Agreement

Before the Paris Climate Agreement was signed, the Netherlands had already carried out different agreements related to the generation of sustainable energy in the Netherlands, starting from 2011 as shown in Figure 7. In December 2015 the global climate agreement was signed in Paris by 195 countries and this paragraph will elaborate on what this means for the Netherlands in terms of obligations for the placement of wind turbines.

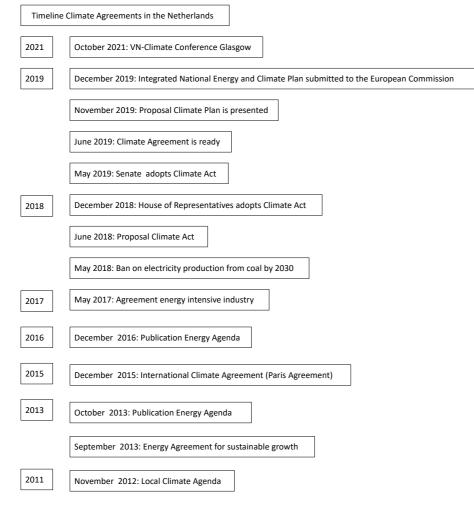


Figure 7: Timeline Climate Agreements in the Netherlands (Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Waterstaat, 2021c).

4.1.1 National Climate Agreement

After the signing of the Paris Climate Agreement, a national Climate Agreement was established by the Netherlands. With the national Climate Agreement, the Dutch government has a central goal: to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in the Netherlands by 49% compared to 1990. The government is advocating a 55% reduction in greenhouse gas emissions in Europe by 2030. Since February 2018, more than 100 parties have therefore worked on a coherent package of proposals with which the CO2 reduction target in 2030 can be achieved. The Climate Agreement is therefore a package of measures with the broadest possible social support, with the active support of as many contributing parties as possible and with which the political reduction target of 49% by 2030 will be achieved (Klimaatakkoord, 2019).

4.1.2 Regional Energy Strategies

In order to reach the goals established in the national Climate Agreement, the Dutch government has decided to give thirty regions a major role in the generation of sustainable energy on land in which each region will be given freedom to determine for themselves how they will achieve the targets for generating more sustainable energy by making their own Regional Energy Strategy (RES) (Klimaatakkoord, 2019). The Regional Energy Strategies elaborate the electricity tasks which are implemented at a regional level, so that regional customization can be provided. Agreements are made about gas, heat and mainly about saving on and generating sustainable electricity (Nationaal Programma Regionale Energiestrategie, 2019). In the national Climate Agreement (2019) the cabinet and the House of Representatives established the frameworks for the RES. To illustrate this the 30 regions have been distinguished in which municipalities, provinces and water boards must work together with social partners, companies and network operators to fulfill their part of the national task: generating 35 Terawatt of renewable energy by 2030. In fulfilling this task, a task was set for the regions of achieving as much administrative and social support for the RES, because it has a major impact on the direct living environment of the inhabitants of the regions. In order to achieve support, various actors and governments must be involved at an early stage in drawing up the strategy (Nationaal Programma Regionale Energiestrategie, 2019).

4.1.3 Energy Agreement

Besides the Regional Energy Strategies that have been developed, the Netherlands also established an Energy Agreement for sustainable growth which contains agreements on energy conservation, more sustainable energy and additional employment. The cabinet has made these agreements with employers, trade unions and environmental organizations, among others. The Dutch government considers the agreement an important step towards a 100% sustainable energy supply. It has been agreed in the Climate Agreement that by 2030 at least 35 Terawatt hours of sustainable electricity must be produced on land with wind and solar. On shore wind energy is an important form of sustainable energy to achieve this goal. The onshore wind technology is sufficiently developed to be able to use wind energy on a large scale (Ministerie van Economische Zaken en Klimaat, 2021b). In addition, the Energy Agreement stated that each province in the Netherlands needs to provide a share to realize a total of 6000 Mega Watt of wind energy. So, this can be regarded an implication that is put forward by the Dutch government in order to obligate every province to place wind turbines in order to reach the goals

stated by the Paris Climate Agreement. As a result, wind turbines are placed across the Netherlands (see Appendix 8).

4.1.4 Wind turbine obligations and the Environmental Act

According to Ros (2019) the implementation of the Environmental Act could enhance the difficulties regarding the placement of wind turbines in the Netherlands in order to achieve the targets for onshore wind, because in addition to the national Climate Agreement and the Regional Energy Strategies, the Environmental Act will provide another set of regulations that have to be met in order to place a wind turbine. In accordance with the Environmental Act, decisions about the living environment should be taken as much as possible at a decentralized level. The Environmental Act contains new national rules in which a municipality, water board or the province can limit or tighten some of those rules, depending on the desired environmental quality. In this way, the central government gives local authorities extra administrative discretion. Whether that space will be used will partly determine the feasibility of the climate objectives. Moreover, the initiators will be assessed on the participation motivation they provide at the start of the process of placing a wind turbine in which the initiator indicates which interest stakeholders have put forward. Local support or the lack of it naturally plays a major role in the current situation, but from the implementation of the Environmental Act onwards it will probably have a negative aftermath for years to come and possible put the development of an area on hold. Therefore, difficulties regarding the placement of wind turbines could be enhanced by the implementation of the Environmental Act.

4.1.5 Web of agreements but also resistance

Despite the ambitious goals and clear statements made by the Dutch government, in 2019 eleven of the twelve provinces are not on track with their wind energy target (van Schie, 2019). Some provinces at that time had already indicated that they will not achieve their target for the onshore wind agreements (Ros, 2019). The provinces were not successful in placing the agreed number of wind turbines. While the government is demanding extra wind turbines, municipalities are opposing, partly because citizens do not want wind turbines nearby. In this way, the goals are hardly achieved anywhere (van Schie, 2019). In 2020, a record number of 2.261 Megagatt wind energy capacity was added to the current capacity of the Netherlands, almost seven times more in comparison to 2019. However, the target for onshore wind of 6000 Megawatt for 2020, laid down in the Energy Agreement of 2013 has not been achieved. None of the individual provinces met the original 2020 target (Redactie Windenergie Nieuws, 2021). What also stands out, is the fact that amongst the different regions defined in the Regional Energy Strategies there is a strong preference for solar energy in the regional energy plans (Ekker, 2021). Experts questioned these decisions, as one of them explains the financial problem: "Wind turbines work three times the number of hours in contrast to solar panels. Moreover, the wind blows more often than the amount of sun hours provided in the Netherlands. Green energy is installed on power, three times as many solar panels therefore need to be installed and that is adding up in costs" (Lammers, 2020). Besides the financial disadvantage, the relatively low yield of solar panels means that the electricity grid is used less efficiently. Where a few years ago most people opted for wind turbines, solar panels are now preferred partly due to the negative experience people have with wind turbines.

4.2 Environmental Act and resistance against the placement of wind turbines

As described in the introduction, the Environmental Act will sooner or later be implemented in the Netherlands to face an important task. According to the Ministerie van Infrastructuur en Waterstaat (2021a) the new act is going to provide a coherent approach to the living environment, will create space for local customization and better and faster decision-making. In addition, participation is promoted, for example, by involving citizens and entrepreneurs as closely as possible in the development of the living environment Besides that, the Environmental Act, according to de Knegt et al. (2020) must play an important role in ensuring a broad representation of social actors in the development of packages of measures, because spatial claims of the measures referred to in the Climate Agreement will compete for space. This is explained by the conflicting interests between the conservation of nature and biodiversity and the placement of wind turbines in order to achieve the set goals of the Climate Agreement. The Environmental Act prescribes an integration of environmental and spatial policy (Evers, Nabielek & Tennekes, 2019). By conducting the nine interviews in this research, different viewpoints related to the Environmental Act and resistance against wind turbines came forward. The results of the interviews are discussed in different sub-paragraphs, in which the different viewpoints are discussed.

4.2.1 Involvement of citizens and the initiator

The changes indicated by the new act promise to bring new developments to the field of spatial planning as the aim of the act is to better coordinate the various plans for spatial planning, the environment and nature to solve local problems locally (Hoyng, 2019). An important objective of the Environmental Act is to give citizens more control over their living environment. Moreover, the Environmental Act assigns participation to project developers (van den Brand, 2020). The respondents were positive about the implementation of the Environmental Act, while at the same time, other respondents were more sceptic about the development.

Implementation of the Environmental Act regarded as a positive development

While talking about the resistance against wind turbines and the Environmental Act with the respondents, two of the nine respondents also regarded the changes that the Environmental Act can make as a positive development. In particular, the development that citizens are getting more involved in spatial planning seems to be a promising initiative. E3 explained more about the development of the act and how it promises to give back control to people over their own environment.

E3: "The developments of the Environmental Act already started 30 years ago bearing in mind that over the century's climate changes, we have experienced them more often, always led to wars. And the acknowledgement that we are not very far away from that, we can feel the tension increasing. The Environmental Act offers the opportunity to take away the tension and give control back to people over their own environment."

When it comes to the placement of wind turbines in the Netherlands, the Environmental Act should give more clarity, openness and transparency which can benefit the resistance. Although the implementation of the Environmental Act is accompanied by a lot of insecurities, which is the case with every system review according to Verdaas (2020). G1 added that the importance of serving citizens is something that will be established which is of great importance in the debate about the resistance against wind turbines.

G1: "I think openness and transparency for sure. But I think I made this clear before, that it is also very important to take the residents along and guide them during the process, the municipality serves the citizens, the province as well and not the other way around. That's the most important thing."

Skeptic view on the changes that the implementation of the Environmental Act will make Although according to three of the respondents, the Environmental Act is regarded as a change that could achieve some positive outcomes, four respondents perceived this new act with a bit more skepticism. One of the respondents, G3, noted that the arrival of a new law does not necessarily mean a big change will be established right away, it takes a lot more than an implementation of a new act.

G3: "I wonder if they [refers to resident] really get that much more to say. Of course, the Environmental Act tells you to do a lot more at the front, but that makes me think, what more can you do than what we are doing now. And of course, something will change with the way in which the procedures are arrange, but what it is all about is trust in each other and having the right conversations with each other, being open towards each other, an act will not change that. You know, that has a lot more to do with the attitude of people and the culture of people and I worry that it all hardens, there is little understanding to really have a conversation with each other and so there is no act that is able to change that, that is our nature."

Concluding

The different viewpoints support the observation that the impact of the implementation of the Environmental Act is not yet determined. Several respondents also elaborated on this by implying that the Environmental Act will be chaotic at first. Implementing the new rules to deal with our living environment on behalf of the new act will bring obstacles with it and take time to get comfortable with. Rotmans (2018) added to this that the complexity of the Environmental Act requires time and space. This is due to the fact that making this complex act practically applicable is only possible by taking time to systematically search, learn and experiment with the act. This will take at least 10 years to fully understand the complexity (Rotmans, 2018).

4.2.2 From top-down to bottom up

While also asking the respondents about the current process in the Netherlands when it comes to placing wind turbines, different viewpoint came forward as well. Where some respondents think the Environmental Act will have an impact on the process of the placement of wind turbines, other respondents did not think that the new act will make any changes because the decision of placing the wind turbines is not something that will change.

Environmental Act will have impact the process of the placement of wind turbines

G2 explained the fact that the current situation in which the energy transition is arranged is through a top-down approach, while a bottom-up approach could work more beneficial when it comes to dealing with resistance. The top-down approach is based on central management, generic policy, and a sectoral focus. While the bottom-up approach is based on a local consideration of spatial decisions and specific policy and has an integrated focus. With the Environmental Act, the Dutch government is trying to respond more to the locally balancing approach. Compared to the current environmental law, the Environmental Act offers local administrators a more integrality, flexibility, and scope for consideration (Broersma, 2016).

G2: "I don't think it is for the benefit of the resistance. It's much better to really develop it bottom-up. However, I do think that nobody wants them next to their home, so you need to give direction about where to place them and how many should be placed, but that they will then look at possibilities with the residents. So, in that way I think it really should come more from bottom-up initiatives. But how it is done currently with very small search areas to indicate that, this simply evokes resistance."

The Environmental Act will not make changes to the process regarding the placement of wind turbines The importance of listening and participating at an earlier stage with local organizations but also residents, which will be stimulated more with the implementation of the Environmental Act, is something that is currently missing. When talking to a resident who is organized in a civic organization living in an area where wind turbines are placed, R2 pointed out that from his point of view, the initiator and the province focused mainly on achieving their set goals without thinking and talking to residents.

R2: "You know every time you give them an argument, a counterargument is made up again, so it remains an endless discussion. What matters to us, is the fact that every wind farm is actually also a piece of customization and if those local residents are not listened to carefully, and the situation is not being analyzed, and therefore only the importance of the energy transition is considered and the interest of the initiator, which in my opinion is what happened very explicitly in our environment. There is what I just indicated, only the business plan of the initiator and the initiator was leading that he could determine because the province wanted to score and the province needs to meet the specifications of those 735 Megawatt, so they wanted to use every Megawatt. So, that was their interest and they no longer looked at the interests of its own inhabitants"

Moreover, another resident added to that, that according to his point of view, the New Environmental Act is going to get implemented to form a dutiful ritual that is created purely to give residents the idea that they have something to say, while the outcome is already predetermined. The wind turbines will be placed.

R3: "But in general terms, speaking of our experience over the past 9 years, of course I can only talk about myself, and I recognize what patterns also exist in other municipalities, for example, when looking at the Environmental Act (...), to summarize it simply is a kind of perfunctory ritual that is created purely to give the population the idea that they have something to say, but the outcome is already predetermined. They will get to be placed there anyway."

Concluding

The different viewpoints about the changes that respondents expect to take place after the implementation of the Environmental Act indicate that the new act will not by definition or immediately make a change. While there is a chance that processes will be guided from bottom-up initiatives, there is also a chance that the act is something that is called for by duty and, in the end, no drastic changes will come forward.

4.2.3 Disadvantage compensation

When talking about the resistance against wind turbines, a solution that is mentioned by four respondents is compensation (see Annex 9). Compensation in the form of money, ownership or return value back to an area and to residents that suffer from the placement of wind turbines (near their home). Moreover, the phenomenon of PIMBY arises when local residents gain some source of (economic) benefit from wind turbine developments in their local landscape. Other respondents regarded compensation as a way to buy people out, while health problems do not weigh up to the compensation offered.

Compensation as a feasible option

Developments, such as the placement of wind turbines, in the physical living environment can cause undesirable side effects. With the introduction of the Environmental Act, all instruments relating compensation from former acts will be merged. Disadvantage compensation is the new term for this (Kooreman, 2022). Besides the fact that residents will get more involved as described in the Environmental Act, the role of the municipality will change, and the initiator will get more responsibility towards guiding the process and generate the compensation for people who experience disadvantages from the placement of wind turbines. After all, initiators are given more options due to increasing flexibility, especially at the front end of the decision-making process. For example, the project decision stipulates that consultation with stakeholders is mandatory and that the ideas that they have put forward must be considered in the assessment. In this way, initiators are given the opportunity to use their problem-solving capacity, with the government acting as a safety net if this is not available by adopting a facilitating attitude in such a case. This requires a collaborative and bridge-building attitude from the municipal officials (van den Beemt, Veuger & Bosch, 2016). G2 added to that that the Environmental Act gives the initiator more responsibility while up to this point this role was took upon by the municipalities in the Netherlands.

G2: "The initiator develops the plan and therefore also develops the responsibility to conduct investigations and listen to what local residents think about the plan, but I think the municipality has mainly stood up for the participation and the interests of the residents. And that will actually change now, due to the developments surrounding the Environmental Act, that this role will be assigned to the initiator."

A shift in responsibility from the government to the initiator and residents is something that is an outcome of the implementation of the Environmental Act. Moreover, E3 pointed out that the Environmental Act prescribes that the initiator should provide clarity towards local residents, companies and societal organizations about what wind turbines take from an area and could potentially bring back.

E3: "And that is why it is so important that those revenues also benefit from such an area, and that is why I fully understand that residents in areas have absolutely great resistance against wind turbines: they hardly notice anything in their energy bill, it sometimes even becomes more expensive. They therefore have absolutely nothing to do with it and to be honest, it all goes to those shareholders. The call in the context of the Environmental Act is that also for example Vattenval (it is of course more complex then this) is going to place a wind turbine in a certain area, therefore they are causing damage in the area, how are they going to compensate for that? And that means that they have to put a part of their proceeds back for the benefit of the area."

This is something where a governing body, according to G2, can add to, by looking back at the process of placing wind turbines in an area where a lot of resistance has arisen, that organizing some sort of regulation for the benefits that could compensate for a wind turbine in the form of a sort of area cooperation could have influenced the resistance. This area coordination is not something an initiator, the province or a municipality can assume residents to organizes themselves in, so they must play an active part in making this happen.

G2: "I do think that if an area coordination or some sort of fund had been set up here from the start together with residents, if you had started with that, you would have removed a part of the resistance, not everything, but I do think you would have a completely different process than what you have gone through now."

G3 acknowledged the importance of initiating an area cooperation. Mainly due the fact that people generally do not experience any individual advantages and only experience disadvantages from the placement of a wind turbine in their physical living environment. The placement of wind turbines is a development that serve a collective interest, namely combating climate change, while no individual benefits can be acknowledged. Despite the fact that it is not yet a requirement in the current processes surrounding wind turbines to encourage

residents to set up an area coordination, this respondent pointed out that there might still be advantages to be gained.

G3: "You know, there are all kinds of ways that people in the vicinity of a wind farm can still benefit from it. And, for example, a Wind Park we are now working on a developing a fund, such as an area fund to allow the revenues from the wind park to flow back into the area (...). So, then you try to give something back to the area which resident can invest. In that way, there will be an advantage. For example, if there is no money for the local football association to do something, you can potentially do something with this money. We think that is fairer than giving a few people a lot of money."

Compensation not a sufficient option

Where some respondents perceive compensation as a possible option to reduce the resistance against the placement of wind turbines in an area, there were also respondents who look at the compensation from of a point of view in which they think of it as a way of being bought out by the initiator and the government, or they experience the compensation as not sufficient.

R1: "Yes a kind of compensation, but they (relates to the Dutch government and the initiators) say we are going to give you money, and then they say we could potentially make a forest or design a beautiful path or that sort of thinks. That is something they are currently working on. But I always see this as a sop. For example in X, the environment works very well together with the initiator because they already had wind turbines, but I am always very outspoken and I keep saying I do not want to be bought off, because they (the people who live in area X) say you have money in return thus you have been compensated which makes the situation less bad. Then I think you experience health problems, even if you get ten thousand of euros, you will still experience health problems, then you will feel bought out."

R2 illustrated forms of compensation that were offered by the province which were considered as insufficient. Moreover, this resident point out that the development of the Environmental Act to make initiatives 50/50 ownership which means that for 50% the profit will flow back into the area, are not a solution. The Dutch government aims to achieve 50% local ownership by 2030. Deviations from this target can be made locally for local or project-related reasons (Danopoulos & van Leeuwen, 2021).

R2: "What people would like to see from the government and you can see that in participation schemes now that villages can get a kind of option for a fifty-fifty regulation from which an entire village could benefit and in that way people are much more enthusiastic, because if the wind turbines run every time and you will earn money with it, then suddenly people have less trouble with it. But then I come back to what we have talked about in the beginning: do you want to live in a country where on every corner of the Netherlands a wind farm would be placed? That is what we are doing now and I think there

are smarter solutions to do that in a different way where there is less visual presence in any case and where less nuisance is caused."

Concluding

As evidenced by the various viewpoints, it is difficult to determine whether or not compensation will benefit the resistance against the placement of wind turbines in an area. Despite the uncertainty about the position of compensation in this case related to wind turbines, Meeus et al. (2021) showed that financial compensation can help wind turbine adaption. In addition, research into the willingness to accept local wind energy showed that the local resistance depends on the compensation mechanism that is being implemented (García, Cherry, Kallbekken & Torvanger, 2016).

4.2.3 Challenges regarding the implementation of the Environmental Act

Although these changes are in general considered as positive, by five of the nine respondents, one of them also pointed out that, although the respondent thinks the implementation for the Environmental Act is a positive change, the way in which the Netherlands is governed will not be easy to change and therefore will face difficulties. The implementation of the Environmental Act therefore can be regarded as a transition task (Rotmans, 2018). A transition is a fundamental, radically different way of thinking, acting and organizing, which is accompanied by a transfer of power. Besides that, it is the way people respond to change over time (Kralik, Visentin & Van Loon, 2006). According to Rotmans (2018) there are at least three radically innovative parts of the Environmental Act that make it a transition task. Firsly, the integrated approach of the Environmental Act, which announces the end of sectoral policy and encourages municipalities to adopt an integrated policy and integral considerations. Secondly, decentralization, the transfer of tasks, powers and resources from central government to municipalities. In any case, this implies a transfer of power, from the central government to the decentralized government. And finally, the shift in initiative, which no longer lies primarily with the government, but with the environment. Citizens, companies and social organizations are given the opportunity to come up with initiatives themselves (Rotmans, 2018). The role of the residents and the governing bodies will change due to the implementation of the Environmental Act, and it requires a drastic change which will comes with challenges.

E1: "I mean I think that in such a situation everyone should start looking critically towards themselves. This applies to the residents but also to the governing bodies. It applies to the civil service, you must not forget the fact that we have a very long history of a form of governing in which a democracy has arisen, from which the civil service receives an assignment from the politics, and they need to implement it. We've been doing this for hundreds of years and so we don't have any real precedent for any other way. So, I also look at the civil servants with a lot of compassion, because I can see that they want to change, but it is just a stiff process. Because we're so reaffirmed in our thinking, we're so convinced that the only way to run a city or to run a country is to decide what people should do and tell

them this is what you're going to do. That other mode is a paradigm shift. A total upside-down world. It's not a wonder it doesn't happen so suddenly."

Concluding

The Environmental Act encourages people from different professions and with different roles in society to think and work together. Serving instead of directing requires letting go of one's own ideas and plans, and willingly inserting yourself into someone else's. This means no longer making plans yourself but making plans of others possible. And no longer test plans but stimulate initiatives. Therefore, the basic attitude must change (Rotmans, 2018).

4.3 Forms of participation within the Environmental Act

Besides including residents, the Environmental act is also incorporating participation. Instead of stakeholder participation afterwards, participation at the front of initiatives becomes a must. In any case, governments must coordinate more with each other at an early stage and develop a policy in which government participation and citizen participation involve and take shape (van Eijk, 2020).

4.3.1 Forms of participation during the current processes around the placement of wind turbines

Where, on the one hand, respondents talked about participation that took place during the process of the placement of wind turbines, according to other respondents this hardly took place. Whether the implementation of the Environmental Act will bring changes when it comes to the participation process raised possible doubts, especially among residents. Below the different viewpoints are described.

Presence of participation during current or past processes

What is particularly striking when talking to the respondents was the fact that two of the three respondents who work for the government are predominantly positive about the participation that has already taken place during the current processes surrounding the placement of wind turbines. According to G2, the following answer was given to the question whether equality was realized.

G2: "Yes, I think it was there, but not everyone felt that way. So, that might sound really weird but everyone had the opportunity to think along. For example, we organized table evenings, in order to let people at different tables talk to each other. So, the opportunity was definitely there, but I think a lot of people feel they had nothing to say."

After this answer was given, the researcher asked in what way this equality was realized, showing that local residents were provided with this option of joining a table evening at the very beginning of the process. This was facilitated by sending a letter to all direct residents after it was also published in a local newspaper. After the letter was sent, the government and initiator started working with a digital newsletter. After that, almost everything has been communicated by digital newsletters. This respondent did notice that around the years 2010

and 2013 not everyone would be involved, due the fact that not everybody is digitally skilled. G3, added to that, that there was participation, because people were invited to talk about the process at the beginning. However, this respondent did notice a critical point, about inviting residents to participate at such an early stage, because then a lot is still very abstract and therefore people do not feel the directly addressed. When asking here about the former process with regard to participation, the following answer was given.

G3: "There is always room for improvement, that is also what I also strive for. What I sometimes do find very complicated is that you need to talk to people at an early stage, but then it is still very abstract for a lot of people. And I always see that as a tension, because it is also still very abstract. You can ask people at such an early stage to contribute to a structural vision in which everything is still possible. They can be placed here, and it can still go there, just like the RES. And of course, those search areas, it is a search area without wind, maybe there will be wind, maybe there will be sun. And it is often too abstract and something too far away from people to really think along. So, it has come forward to people and then they think, 'whatever', but when the process gets through and at some point, a concrete location will come forward, then you will be told yes I was no longer able to talk about it. And I think well in fact you were."

What came forward from talking about the current process of participation is the fact that these two respondents indicate that participation was one of the starting points and therefore was achieved. However, when asking them whether there was also a maximum level of participation achieved, the following answers were given.

G2: "If you maybe from the beginning onwards, you could have taken more time for we want to place wind turbines here, how are we going to do that? With everyone involved. So, more with each other, but it is difficult because you felt the pressure from the province that the wind farm needed to come, and a permit needed to be arranged within that time. I think if that pressure had been less, we could have done it much more with the residents. So, what are the criteria? Where should they come? What do we want to achieve with this? How can you benefit from it? So, you can really look for more participation there."

G3: "You know, I think you should be at the forefront of a process and then think this is the level of participation we are going to strive for and then you can say there was a maximum level of participation achieved. Because there are also processes, where, so to speak, if you think of the participation ladder, you simply have projects that citizens initiate which you facilitate. In that case, you have a different maximum attainable participation than when you say well we're just doing a zoning plan with submissions available for inspection and that's it (...). So, the question: do you think you achieved a maximum level of participation, I find it a difficult one to answer because it depends very much on the situation and what you set as your goal. Of course, you always strive for it. But what I think you have to be very clear about with these kinds of processes is how much space do you have to participate and what phase are you in? What has already been decided and what has not yet been decided? And I think, this

is where things go wrong often, because there is no clear communication about this and people sit around the table with different expectations. And there are certain decisions that have been decided at a certain point and you can't go back on that, because then you stay that trajectory, otherwise you keep postponing the need for certain decisions and I think that is where it goes wrong. It just does not go well that people just do not point out enough what phase they are in and what has been decided and what we are going to talk about now? And that people still sit at the table with wrong expectations."

Both these answers pointed out that there is room for improvement to be made when it comes to current processes of participation with regard to the placement of wind turbines in the Netherlands. Where one of the respondents indicated that from the beginning of the process it would be better to really work together with residents and also take time for that. The other respondent indicated the fact that improvements could be made when it comes to transparency about the process in which residents should be more informed about the current phase the wind turbine project is in and what that will mean for them and the level they could participate in the project. Currently, this is not made clear enough and therefore people have wrong expectations about their role in the process.

Absence of forms of participation during current or past processes

Besides the thoughts of the two governing bodies, one governing body thought different about the established participation in the current processes regarding the placement of wind turbines. Moreover, the three residents also shared their thoughts on the current processes which are stated below.

G1: "When looking at question seven, about maximum achievable participation, that is definitely not the case. It was announced and of course people have been to the town hall, and they have left a note and also demonstrated neatly in front of the town hall and that was a big fuss but no it was just far too little and the municipality really stood with its back to the wall absolutely (...). They could have done something more about it and especially now (...) but it is really minimal. Yes and from one direction: I do this and that and that is thought off to be participation, at least they think so. But communicating and participating are of course very different things."

R1: "They (refers to the municipality) have developed a vision but who got involved: zero citizens, so only interest groups. Then the plan is established an no citizen was involved and there was a discussion which I followed within the city council, but it is just as in national politics: there is a coalition of 4 parties who generate the majority because they all support each other, so yet it is clear: there has been no participation."

R2: "The only participation tool or what you could call real participation is the bond scheme that was included in it (...) when you talk about participation, yes people had their own choice to invest in it, but people, like I have always said that beforehand, people are not going to invest in the park, in a wind farm that they do not want. It is a very selective way. I don't have fifteen thousand euros here to invest in a

wind farm so the people who were able to do that have that money and the group that can do that is relatively small so the people you reach with that are the wrong people when talking about benefits and burdens. So, a lot of people do not experience the benefits."

R3: "And then of course, participation, that is also a magic word, with that you can actually sell the night's rest of your neighbors. Participating that all sounds nice, but that is of course all converted into the energy price that to this point is very high and still expected to be paid by the consumers."

Concluding

What is evident from talking to the residents, was that of participation as defined by Bizjak (2012) as a form of public cooperation that makes it possible for persons or groups to actively take part in procedures, was not facilitated in the current processes surrounding the placement of wind turbines. The only form of participation that was referred to is as a resident being allowed to invest in the wind farm, which they do not want to be placed and which is only an option for a limited group of residents. Moreover, the governing body that works for the municipality also pointed out that the participation was minimal and directing only from municipality to residents and not the other way around.

4.3.2 Forms of participation within the Environmental Act and the resistance against wind turbines

The intention of the Environmental Act is not to set the rules, but to focus on the physical living environmental. The rules are the framework. The Environmental Act therefore involves a different way of thinking and working. Fewer and clearer rules, more room for initiatives and local customization encourage governments, residents, and entrepreneurs to work in an open, coherent, flexible, inviting, and innovative way. The Environmental Act is based on trust in initiators, trust of citizens in the government and trust between governments. Moreover, the Environmental Act aims to contribute to the restoration of trust in the government, among other things by facilitating public participation. Not the legal guarantee, but a professional and open attitude is seen as the guarantee for a good participation process (VGN, 2019). When talking about participation in combination to the implementation of the Environmental Act and in relation to the resistance against wind turbines, the respondents had different opinions about it. The different viewpoint will be described below.

The Environmental Act could contribute in dealing with resistance against the placement of wind turbines

The Environmental Act expects governments to take on new roles and different working methods in the preparation and implementation of plans regarding the living environment. The new act requires the involvement of all stakeholders and a connection of the plan with other tasks in the area right from the start (Klostermann et al., 2019). The implementation of the Environmental Act was seen by several respondents as a development in the right direction to reduce resistance against the placement of wind turbines.

G1: "I think it is good that the Environmental Act shows that participation should be established at an earlier stage, must be at the front and also as far as wind turbines are concerned, the environment is getting involved and they are no longer building them close to housing. So, I think the Environmental Act is a positive development."

This respondent argued that with the implementation of the Environmental Act participation will be established at an earlier stage. Another respondent added that the demarcation per domain will decrease, there will be more freedom and the initiator will play a more important role.

G2: "Much more freedom should come from where do we want it (refers to wind turbines)? That it is no longer so demarcated per area and that participation will naturally play a much greater role. So, it really will be a development together with residents and in particular the initiator has to go through a participation process for this."

Besides participation, awareness is also a very important aspect that will come forward after the Environmental Act is implemented, as pointed out by one of the respondents. Röling (2018) concluded that awareness is essential for citizen participation in the Environmental Act. Moreover, for successful participation within the Environmental Act, more attention must be paid to the strengths and weaknesses of citizen's initiatives, otherwise the act will not lead to a break in the trend according to project leader Tarsy Lössbroek of DuurzaamDoor, the program of the Netherlands Enterprise Agency for social innovation that has full-fledged participation in a bottom-up way as starting point (Röling, 2018).

E3: "I think that if the Environmental Act was implemented, which it actually already is, but that does not really matter, but psychologically does matter. I do think that there would be much more awareness, because there is an Environmental Act and because it imposes obligations with regard to participation and integrality. The latter is also not unimportant, because then there will be more awareness among municipalities that they really should do things differently. And that eventually residents can also become more aware that they are actually entitled to it."

The Environmental Act will not contribute to dealing with the resistance against wind turbines

Despite the fact that the Environmental Act encourages participation and multiple use of space it does not prescribe exactly how these should be shaped. As a result, the effort by the government is not diminishing, but the effort is shifting from implementation to management (Klostermann et al., 2019). Rotmans (2018) added to this that governments and initiators are obligated to set up a participation process, but nowhere in the act is prescribed which requirements such a participation process must meet, while municipalities are held accountable for it. The court can assess to what extent municipalities have complied with the obligation to state reasons for participation; and any citizen can go to court if it is suspected that the obligation to state reasons has

not been met. This can lead to confusion. Different respondents were hesitant over the participation possibilities that the Environmental Act prescribes and in particular whether its operation will be clear from the start.

G3: "Look for the Environmental Act, we have been waiting for a long time and thinking about how to shape participation is also developing. I do not think that the moment the Environmental Act is implemented, we will participate differently all at once. That is also a development we need to go through and also a cultural development. How do you interact with each other? So, I don't think that by saying that we should participate differently."

One of the residents was also quite negative about the implementation of the Environmental Act, which according to his point of view is always written from a political point of view and therefore doomed to fail. To solve this, this respondent thought it would be more appropriate to institute a referendum in the Netherlands, to decide on, for example, the placement of wind turbines.

R1: "That is why I am also in favor of a referendum. In that way, you know that people were able to participate and than at least you know the different opinions. Now many people do not feel represented by politics because there is never a political party that fully represents your points of view, so then a referendum is a solution, so I think that would establish participation and such an Environmental Act is always written from a political point of view and is doomed to fail actually."

Concluding

At the moment there are still many uncertainties surrounding the implementation of the Environmental Act. First of all, the date it will be introduced, but it is also not yet clear what the new act will mean for municipalities, resident and other parties. Moreover, the viewpoints about the impact on the Environmental Act on participation and for the resistance against the placement of wind turbines are divided. Where some respondents regarded the implementation of the Environmental Act as a promising new development, other respondents were more sceptic about the changes the act will make in comparison to the current process.

4.4 The theory of Deep Democracy and the resistance against wind turbines

The aim of this research is to find out what the theory of Deep Democracy could mean to deal with the resistance against the placement of wind turbines. Therefore, three interviews were conducted with Deep Democracy experts. A Deep Democracy expert is a person that is certified in practicing the method of Deep Democracy (Verplancke, Van Leuven & Busch, 2021). Moreover, questions were asked to residents and governing bodies, about the processes regarding the placement of wind turbines and about the occurrence of the six criteria equity, mobilization, maximum feasible participation, empowerment, institutionalization, and accountability as developed by Palmquist (2020). The different findings for the fourth sub-questions are described below.

4.4.1 Factors related to the theory of Deep Democracy in dealing with resistance against wind turbines

Asking the three experts about what the theory of Deep Democracy potentially could mean to deal with the resistance against the placement of wind turbines, very positive answers came forward. This was not very surprising after asking experts about a theory they are practicing every day. The three experts considered this theory as a possible theory that could help dealing with the resistance against the placement of wind turbines, especially through conversations and through the ability to resolve conflicts involving different interests. One of the experts explained the essence of the theory of Deep Democracy, while also explaining what happens when people do not listen to each other and do not have the 'right' dialogue with each other.

E2: "The essence of Deep Democracy is actually that by having the 'right' dialogue, you can make better decisions and possibly resolve conflicts. And when you don't have the 'right' dialogue, when all kinds of people do not feel heard and perspectives don't come up, two things happen. Namely, you make less well-informed decisions because not all perspective come forward, so your perspectives are limited. That is also the argument for more diversity in all kinds of places. And the moment people do not feel heard, the problems are not solved, but it comes in the undercurrent so you get conflict, hassle, sabotage in all kinds of ways, so that will happen if a decision is always made and that is pushed through."

The importance of having a dialogue with each other and including all perspectives is emphasized by this expert. Another expert added here that the method of Deep Democracy is very suited for this kind of differing interests and the emotions that are present by all parties within the conflicting interests of the placement of wind turbines. There are multiple sides to resistance against wind turbines that could be acknowledged. The emotional or affective side of resistance concerns the negative feeling that accompanies the change, for example fear, disappointment or anger (den Hartog, 2019). The cognitive side is about what a person thinks about the change, how this change is estimated. Questions are asked about the necessity and usefulness of the change. Moreover, questions about if in this case, wind turbines are the best alternative and will lead to the desired successes. The behavioral component includes the actions or intentions to act in response to the change, by for example, complaining, or resisting, or trying to convince others that the planned change is bad.

E1: "Issues with diverse interests where people get emotional, dig their heels in the sand, and the method was really created for these kinds of situations (...) if you want to move the conflict in a new direction, you need to have a conversation with each other, and that takes a few hours, that's all. And if you look at how much time and money it takes to somehow manage that mobilized resistance, I think it's much more efficient."

What is referred back to by both the experts was having the right kind of dialogue with one another. The other expert also makes the link with Deep Democracy and learning from this method how to hold meaningful conversations with each other. This was something, that according to this expert people in the Netherlands are no longer used to. Moreover, a quote that is used in the previous paragraph 4.2.1 of G3 who also pointed out

that having the right conversations with each other, having trust in each other and being open towards each other is something that needs to change. Being able to start a dialogue with those involved is important for the course of the contact. Knowing what is going on with each other, giving and receiving mutual recognition. Those are important communicative ingredients for good management and collaboration (van der Pool & Rijnja, 2019).

E3: "But above all, we must, that is the link with Deep Democracy, we must learn to enter into a dialogue with each other. Because if you bring residents together to decide here on a field next to my home, will there be a parking space or will it become a playground? Within two minutes we walk away from each other because we have a fight and never want to talk to each other again (...). But we just do not know how to enter a dialogue with each other. We are becoming more and more clumsy to talk to each other and we need to learn that again. So, the area is also the classroom in which we learn about our area but also where we learn to relate and talk to each other. And there, for me, Deep Democracy plays an important role."

G3: "but what it is all about is trust in each other and having the right conversations with each other, being open towards each other, an act will not change that. You know, that has a lot more to do with the attitude of people and the culture of people and I worry that it all hardens, there is little understanding to really have a conversation with each other and so there is no act that is able to change that, that is our nature."

One of the experts added that the dialogue should not necessarily only be about whether wind turbines should be placed. Moreover, the importance about the role that people are playing in our society nowadays is of importance. The energy transition that the Netherlands currently is experiencing also affects the culture and how people treat each other.

E2: "And in the end, I think sustainability is much more a moral question and what it means to live on this planet and to be human and how we are doing this with each other and actually enter the dialogue and the conversation, which is the way to give meaning, because in interaction, you give meaning to each other. Culture is actually a manifestation of beliefs, and you will see that in norms and values, rules of conduct, procedures in how you furnish your buildings and all that sort of things. But in the end it's about meaning. The way in which people give meaning is through interaction and dialogue, not when you complete a to-do list, but where you have meaningful conversations with each other. So, that's why it's so important when you're working with changes within organization, especially changes within societies, that you have the right dialogue or learn to have the right dialogue and that's what I see goes wrong quite a lot and that's why Deep Democracy is such a cool way. It is not the only way, but it is a cool way to have these dialogues to collect all perspectives and angles, to make the most and highest possible decision from there instead of having a debate with each other where you know 1 thing for sure, namely that you go in with a certain opinion and leave with the same opinion and that you have done nothing in the meantime except convincing yourself so that does not lead anyone further."

Besides that, including all the perspectives would enhance the process and give people the feeling of being heard. Research by van den Broek et al. (2016) pointed out that a major role for society requires that citizens are able to make themselves heard and that they feel listened to. However, the possibility to be heard and the feeling of having been heard are two necessary, but not sufficient in themselves, conditions for support for a final decision. Clear mutual expectations about the role and voice of citizens in the process are desirable in order to avoid disappointment due to too high expectations. Therefore, the final assessment must also be well-considered in terms of content. This refers to clarity about the objectives, but also requires a clear assessment framework as to how and why any conflicting considerations such as sustainability, health and productivity led to the chosen outcome. E2 also argued for more clarity about the procedural justice.

E2: "I think for a successful process involving people it's very good to be up front, this is called procedural justice, and make clear at an early stage how much room there is for participation. Very often the suggestion is created that there is much more room for participation than there actually is. This is also what you will come across when you delve into the Deep Democracy thoughts, namely that it makes a difference whether you have an idea, make a suggestion, bring a proposal to the table or ask to carry out an assignment to a group of people. And the moment that there is uncertainty about that, so you create the suggestion that something is really an idea and when they start thinking about it, however, it is actually an assignment or a performing task, people will say, how can you come and ask us about it when you already knew for a long time where you are going and what you want. And, very often, that is the case, so you better be clear about that."

To conclude, according to these three experts, the most important factor reinforcing the theory of Deep Democracy is the ability to facilitate a conversation with all involved stakeholders in which all perspectives come forward. Deep Democracy is a method that could provide guiding principles to generate conversations with different stakeholders, however, it is not a necessity to use the guiding principles of Deep Democracy. Combating a climate change in establishing an energy transition with each other is not just a question of whether or not to place wind turbines in a certain area, it goes beyond that and that is where the theory of Deep Democracy is suitable according to these experts in dealing with resistance against wind turbines, by giving meaning through having dialogue with each other.

4.4.2 Six criteria of Deep Democracy

As described in the Theoretical Framework, Palmquist (2020) developed six criteria to give more direction for a governing body or a company to satisfy Deep Democracy in health justice and by conducting different interviews an insight was tried to gain whether these criteria were also applicable in the process of placement of wind turbines in the Netherlands. What was interesting about talking with governing bodies and residents is the fact

that these two groups perceived the processes quite different. Below these different perspectives will be explained.

Presence of mobilization during the process

One of the governing bodies was convinced that the six criteria were present during the current processes of placing wind turbines in the Netherlands. During the interview, every aspect of the six criteria, so equity, mobilization, maximum feasible participation, empowerment, institutionalization, and accountability were present according to this respondent. To illustrate this, G2 explained that from her point of view disadvantaged communities have been equitably included which referred to the criterium of mobilization.

G2: "Yes, actually everyone is reached. Especially the walk-in evenings, they were accessible to everyone. In the beginning we organized information evenings, which were for everyone, plenary. But then you often notice that not everyone was able to discuss what they wanted to discuss, not everyone was able to ask their question, and of course you are dealing with people who do or do not make themselves heard. After that, we switched to walk-in evenings, so that everyone could ask their questions, get information and that was accessible to everyone. We also had many personal conversations, just by sitting around the table. So, with that regard, yes, minorities have been included."

When asking the respondent in what way they have actively cultivated community organization in marginalized communities, the respondent then indicated that nothing has been actively done for different marginalized groups.

G2: "No, not per group. There are some foundations active (...). They really pointed out that they don't want the wind turbines, they are really resolute about it. We have personally invited them two or three times, perhaps more often, so that we can talk to them. But yeah, we both kept repeating the same thing and we did not get really far with it. So, eventually that stopped."

This answer indicated however, that the answer was not really in line with what the criterium of mobilization entails. Moreover, exact examples of how the criteria were applied did not came forward during the interview. Therefore, it might be possible that the interviewee gave socially desirable answers. By asking follow-up questions and providing anonymity of the interviewee, this was attempted to be countered. However, the interviewee had already indicated that by doing an anonymous interview, the respondent could talk more freely. Therefore, it is possible that the respondent is actually convinced that these six criteria have been present in the processes regarding the placement of wind turbines.

Absence of mobilization during the process

One of the other governing bodies, explained the lack of actively including marginalized communities when asked about the presence of the criteria of mobilization during the process of placing wind turbines. Moreover, the respondent explained what is considered to be actively involving but it turned out to be sending information in one way, from the governing bodies to the respondents.

G1: "It was about sending information and going only one direction (...) they continuously kept sending and sending information, and then on the side you are able to ask a question, well then you need to be satisfied when there will come a written answer to that (...). But it was really minimal and from one direction only of I am doing this, and that is participation, they often think. But communicating and participation is of course very different."

This answer indicates that what is thought off to be actively involving residents, is actually providing them with information about what the initiator is planned to do. Therefore, the lack of a predominant definition of what participation means or a fair reflection what it entails to participate with residents is causing different opinions about the process.

Concluding

During the interviews, the insights that were gained was that not all governing bodies or all residents were present during the start of the developments that arose around the placement of wind turbines in the case study areas which made it difficult to ask them about the presence of the six criteria in the current processes around the placement of wind turbines. Therefore, the six criteria developed by Palmquist (2020) proved inapplicable to this study. This is evident from several reasons. First of all, these six criteria are designed for health justice and therefore not for the processes related to the placement and resistance against wind turbines. In addition, it makes it difficult that not all residents, but also not all the governing bodies or the same persons as representative were present from the start of a process or at the entire process at all, so questions remained unanswered.

5. Discussion

In this paragraph, a critical reflection on the research is made by interpretating the results in a broader context. First, this is done by discussing the coherence between the four sub-questions that have been discussed in chapter four. Secondly, a discussion about the framework and the theories will follow. Thirdly, a reflection on the chosen method is provided.

5.1 Coherence between the sub questions

This paragraph will discuss how the various sub-question relate to each other. In the first sub-question the obligations with regard to wind turbines in the Netherlands are discussed after signing the Paris Climate Agreement, in the second sub-question the options that the Environmental Act provides to deal with resistance are discussed, in the third sub-question the different forms of participation within the Environmental Act are discussed and in the fourth sub-question the factors related to the theory of Deep Democracy are discussed.

The different regulations that are currently present in the Netherlands related to the placement of wind turbines, the national Climate Agreement, the Regional Energy Strategies and the Energy Agreement will be expanded with the Environmental Act. As discussed in paragraph 4.2.1 the implementation of the Environmental Act promises to bring positive developments in dealing with resistance against the placement of wind turbines. Nevertheless, it remains to be seen whether these regulations will bring promising developments, while all these regulations are resulting into an establishment of a control regime when it comes to placing wind turbines, which possibly complicates this process even further. In addition, the options offered by the Environmental Act to create support for local initiatives such as the placement of wind turbines, are open to interpretation. As a result, it is not guaranteed that changes will be established in comparison with the current processes as there are no mandatory steps to be taken: nowhere in the act is described which requirements a participation process or model must meet, while participation of citizens and businesses are mandatory (Rotmans, 2018). Therefore, this forms a limitation of the implementation of the Environmental Act and recommendations could be made to further clarify, describe and draw up frameworks when it comes to participation criteria that must be met. In that way, governments will need to change and adopt the implications made by the Environmental Act. Moreover, participation is becoming a focus of the Environmental Act. However, guaranteeing participation to take place is difficult when it comes to processes of the placement of wind turbines. As one of the respondents noted that it is difficult to get a representative group of residents to participate in such a process. Often, participation processes take place during the evenings, are formal and take a lot of time and sometimes also knowledge. What also needs to be noted is that initiatives such as walk-in evenings are not always the best opportunities to establish a representative selection of the inhabitants to pass by and discuss the developments. After all, not all households, such as for example single moms or young people, have the opportunity to go to a walk-in evening that is organized. Moreover, the plans at that point are very vague and not always understandable from people that never worked with it before. Besides that, some people will not feel heard, because they have a different opinion or do not have the courage to stand up and express their viewpoints. Therefore, the theory of Deep Democracy could offer some tools to enhance the process of the placement of a

wind turbine. By including the voice of minorities in the decision-making process and by having a dialogue with the different parties involved where the premise is that they are able to show empathy for one another and to listen to each other, this could contribute to deal with the resistance against the placement of wind turbines.

5.2 Reflection on sub-questions

The four sub-questions each give insight into a part of the research objective formulated in 2.5. This paragraph will place the results between the various sub-questions in a broader context. First of all, finger pointing between different groups who are held responsible for the realization of wind turbines in the Netherlands is discussed. Followed by the need for time, trust and participation when it comes to the placement of wind turbines and the organized resistance that arises. Thereafter, the importance of the facilitation of an area cooperation will be further explained in relation to participation processes. Then, opportunities to involve citizens in climate policy is further explained. Finally, the importance of creating awareness of the physical environment of Dutch residents is described.

5.2.1 Finger pointing

What stands out when looking at the obligations that the Netherlands has with regard to the realization of wind turbines after the signing of the Paris Climate agreement is that the various groups who are confronted with the wind energy that needs to be developed, finger point at each other when it comes to these obligations, the pressure that comes with it and the unsuccessful and lengthy planning procedures. For this research, several people with different backgrounds were interviewed about the presence of resistance against the placement of wind turbines. This showed that the residents in particular do not feel represented by the municipality and certainly not by the province. For these residents, it felt like the municipality only wanted to achieve their own objectives with regard to the Regional Energy Strategy that was developed for that area. In addition, residents feel not listened to and they are not sufficiently involved in the processes. Although all interviewed residents are aware of the fact that the Dutch landscape will have to make adjustments in order to achieve the energy transition, they do not agree with the current process of going through these procedures. It is therefore also established that there is hardly any trust from the residents towards the municipality, the province or the government, which does not benefit these developments and challenges that the Netherlands faces.

What turned out then when talking to people who work for a municipality was that the province has pointed out areas where wind energy needs to be realized. A municipality then no longer can change that except they are put on the spot that they can cooperate with the wind energy plan or otherwise the province will take over the project themselves. The officials who work for the municipality therefore also emphasize the fact they felt enormous pressure from the province. Moreover, permits must be arranged quickly, which means that there was not enough time to go through a proper participation process with residents.

In addition, an interview was conducted with a resident in an area where the municipality has indicated that they did not want to cooperate with the realization of the wind farm, because the residents were against it, then the

province took responsibility for this plan. A province stands further away from the residents than a municipality, that is apparent from the conversation with someone who works for the province as well as from the resident who lives in the area where the province is responsible for the development of the wind park. Therefore, efforts should be made when it comes to the placement of wind turbines, as much as possible, to work between a municipality and residents rather than between a province and residents.

Moreover, the province is called to account by the national government about the tasks from the energy agreement. That is why it is not only the case that the municipality felt pressure from the province, but the province felt pressure imposed by the national government. However, this finger pointing is not helping the discussion about the presence of resistance against wind turbines in the Netherlands. Perhaps it is possible to learn from these similar processes instead of pointing an accusing finger at the other.

5.2.2 Time, trust and participation

Participation will become an important part of the Environmental Act that will be implemented in the Netherlands. What is striking and came forward during the various interviews with people who work for the government, as well as with experts and with residents was that there is no unambiguous definition of what participation means. To illustrate this, two out of the three people who work for the government and were interviewed for this research thought that enough is currently done to involve and participate with residents when it comes to placement of wind turbines in an area. When asking them what form of participation was present, they referred to the very beginning of the process when the development was just announced and very abstract. Sometimes it was not even decided on if there will be wind turbines placed or solar panels. According to Arnstein's Ladder (1969), this form of participation is considered on the third step, namely informing residents. In the middle of the ladder the notion of making plans is still essentially technocratic. This means that the participation is mainly a symbolic act in which many target groups are overlooked or not reached. Implicit or explicit barriers make it complicated for different groups of people to make their voices heard (Tan, Levelt & Stapper, 2019). In order to facilitate 'real participation', the Ladder of Participation need to be climbed and residents need to play a more significant role in implementing participation.

Besides that, what is evident from the various interviews is that participation is time-consuming and for which trust is an important factor. This trust goes beyond the discussion about the placement of wind turbines. In the Netherlands, trust in the government and trust in each other is decreasing. Since September 2021, the Netherlands received the character of a low-trust society, as there has been a sharp decline in trust in the government over eighteen months: from almost 70 percent in April 2020 to less than 30 percent in September 2021 (Engbersen et al., 2021). In addition, there is a slight decrease in mutual trust between people. People mainly trust relatives (family and friends) and people with whom they can maintain a personal relationship. What is important to note here, is that the sharp decline in confidence in the national government in the period of March-September 2021 is not directly accompanied by the increasing criticism on the corona policy.

Trust and participation are the two pillars of social capital (Van Beuningen & Schmeets, 2013). Collectively, this shows the extent to which all members of a society participate and have trust. Not only contact and trust within groups, but also between groups is important. More integration in a society will occur when people from different groups – such as the young versus the elderly, the higher versus the less educated, people from different religious, cultural or national backgrounds – bond and trust each other. This will result in greater understanding of each other's opinions, shared values and norms, and cooperation between population groups (Schmeets, 2018). Moreover, the energy transition that is facing the Netherlands affects the culture and how people treat each other. So, the distribution of participation and trust is also relevant for social cohesion that is currently lacking and is feeding the resistance in the Netherlands. Moreover, the resistance against wind turbines could also be replaced by a lot of other examples, to illustrate: resistance against asylum seekers or resistance against the corona policy.

5.2.3 Facilitation of area cooperatives at the beginning of a participation process

In addition to the above-mentioned need for a participatory process in which time and trust play an important role, there is another element that emerges from this research in order to facilitate inclusive participation. As E3 notes, the placement of wind turbines in an area is a fusion between the private and the public domain. On the one hand, the government provides a legal framework and determines the target regulation. Where, on the other hand, in the private domain citizens, employers and employees determine agreements together about the way in which they implement the above target regulations of the government within companies, sectors or branches. By means of the new Environmental Act, the government wants to facilitate citizen participation and give the residents of an area a greater voice. To bring about a real change, a different legal system might be required.

In the current processes around the placement of wind turbines, residents get an opportunity to participate in the first stages of the developments. However, it is not possible for every resident to be aware of this when achieving one letter and later on it being mentioned in the local newspaper. And when the plan takes on more concrete forms, it will no longer be possible for residents to make their voice heard. Therefore, it is important to let the initiator or governing bodies take an extra step to facilitate residents and local companies to arrange themselves for example in a so-called area cooperation. In this way, a third dimension is added to the field of having a public and a private domain, namely the civil domain. By empowering the residents together, they gain control over their own area. For the first time, these three parties are equal partners in the conversation about our environment. It is also no longer possible to talk about the fact that resident have not been able to participate, but the initiator and the governing bodies must play a proactive role in the facilitation of the area cooperation. What happens next and what decisions will be made within the area cooperation is up to them. In order to determine whether the facilitation of an area cooperation is beneficial to deal with resistance against wind turbines, further research should be done while following a project where wind turbines are going to be placed.

5.2.4 Opportunities to involve citizens in climate policy

Other than the facilitating ability of the initiator to organize residents and local companies in an area cooperation, one of the residents who was interviewed advocated for the introduction of a referendum when it comes to complex matters like the energy transition and the placement of wind turbines which affects a part of society. A report has been written about citizen forums by a committee led by former ombudsman Alex Brennikmeijer that was published on 21 March 2021, and it answers the question whether bringing residents together is a solution to establish broadly supported climate measures. As many people want more direct influence, the committee writes, but instead of participation, the outcome is polarization (Nijenhuis & Nolles, 2021). The rapport showed that if citizen forums are tackled seriously, citizen involvement can be increased, support for measures can be broadened and also benefited from the knowledge in society to design (climate) measures and the implementation to match as closely as possible. Moreover, the experience with citizen forums can contribute to strengthening the dialogue in the Dutch society and make it easier to bridge contradictions that easily arise in the (digital) media, for example regarding climate measures (Adviescommissie Burgerbetrokkenheid bij Klimaatbeleid, 2021). In practice, the preconditions for successful citizens forums need to be learned while doing and therefore this initiative would qualify for further investigation.

What is also interesting for future research is to take a look at the developments made by analyzing experiments that are currently done by involving citizens in deciding about the climate policy. To illustrate this, in November 2021, a democratic experiment of a mini-citizen deliberation, was done by the city council of Amsterdam to consult the citizens because the city is lagging far behind its climate targets of 55 percent less greenhouse gas emissions by 2030. On behalf of the city council, a hundred residents of Amsterdam selected by lottery focused on developing new climate policy. This provided creative suggestions, such as to make 25 percent green mandatory with new building permits, or an extra tourist tax or 25 euros per night for people who came by plane, and 3 euros for train passengers (van Zoelen, 2021). Although this experiment was not perfect, it is an interesting way for studying how public preferences for participation work to reach socially acceptable climate policies.

5.2.5 Creating awareness of the physical environment of Dutch residents

Besides the fact that participation at the front is something that will be established with the implementation of the Environment Act, the new act also enables and pro-active stimulates citizens to take responsibility for their physical living environment. The Environmental Act contains a general duty for care. This means that governments, companies and citizens are responsible for a safe and healthy living environment. This innovation offers opportunities for residents that are resistant to take lead into their own hands (Haerkens, 2021).

However, it is not self-evident that residents perceive this as a new opportunity. In addition, it is important that residents are aware of what is going on in their physical environment. One of the respondents who was interviewed for this research therefore pointed on the program developed by 'De Coöperatieve Samenleving' which is called *''Het Gebied is de K(I)as.''* Where residents together go back into the *'classroom'* (*klas*) to learn about their area and get to know the *'Cash'* (*kas*) about the money that flows in and out of their area. This area

learning program ('de Klas') and area value program ('de Kas') have been developed by 'De Coöperatieve Samenleving' together with partners as an educational curriculum, formally commissioned by the Netherlands Enterprise Agency within the 'Duurzaam Door' transition program (Ravenhorst, Spronck & van Bekkum, 2019). Moreover, there have been two learning area: in the Bommelerwaard and the IJsseldal, from which evaluation of the program could contribute to further insights about what this could potentially mean for citizen participation in relation to resistance against wind turbines.

5.3 Reflection on the framework and theories

For this research, insights are tried to be gathered when it comes to resistance against wind turbines and what the theory of Deep Democracy could mean for this. Moreover, insights are gathered about where the resistance comes from, what forms of participation are currently available and what the obligations are in the Netherlands with regard to the realization of wind energy after the signing of the Climate Agreement. This paragraph discusses the choices made with regard to the theoretical framework and inclusion of theories and reflects on these choices.

5.3.1 Reflection on Deep Democracy

This research focused on the theory or method of Deep Democracy. However, this it is important to note that this in one method or theory of conflict mediation to deal with resistance against the placement of wind turbines. This means that there are other ways that might also be appropriate to apply to deal with resistance against the placement of wind turbines.

In addition, the choice was made to apply the six criteria for Deep Democracy, developed by Palmquist (2020) for health justice, to ask the different groups that were interviewed about the presence of elements that can be linked to Deep Democracy. Although it was still unclear whether these six criteria were also applicable to the field of spatial planning in relation to the placement of wind turbines, there was another element that became apparent during the conduction of the interviews. Not every resident, governing body or the same persons within a function of an organization was present during the start of the development of the placement of wind turbines in a certain area, which made it impossible to ask them the pre-defined questions about the presence of the six criteria. Therefore, the six criteria have not been included and developed into a code to transcribe the interviews. It would be possible to examine whether the presence of the six criteria developed by Palmquist (2020) could mean something for the resistance against the placement of wind turbines when a researcher would be able to follow the process from the start together with residents and governing bodies. However, that will take more time than the six months prescribed for a masters' thesis, because a process will take a number of years from start to finish. Besides that, it is difficult to ask people about a process that in one case has been going on for more than 9 years, because people do not have a clear picture of how the process went along. This can be deduced from the 'fuzzy trace' theory in which incorrect memories are the result of a false sense of familiarity. This means that events are stored in the brain in two different ways. On the one hand, all kinds of details are stored in the brain and on the other hand, the core of an event is stored. Over time, the memory with the details fades and only main points of a memory are preserved. Subjectively, remembering the core of an event is accompanied by a sense of familiarity. If a highly distorted or fictional event falsely creates a sense of familiarity, people may start to believe this false event was true (Jelicic, Peters & Smeets, 2008).

5.3.2 Missing element research framework

At the start of this research, the research framework was developed and further explained in 2.5. It is however difficult to determine whether all concepts and theories are valid to investigate the resistance against the placement of wind turbines. Therefore, after the interviews were conducted, there was one element that came forward that was not included in the research framework. Moreover, this is an element that did not came forward during the literature research into the concepts being used for this framework. This element is politics. Politics is also a code that came forward as a result of the inductive coding of the semi-structured interviews. When talking about the presence of the resistance against the placement of wind turbines, decision-making, the formation of coalitions within the municipality and the principle of most votes count came forward. These elements all affect the resistance against the placement of wind turbines in the Netherlands. In particular, the fact that residents hardly have something to say in the process also appears to be primarily a political consideration. That is the way in which the democracy is organized in the Netherlands. To be able to change this therefore seems to require more than the introduction of a new act, but a shift in power, gaining trust and cooperation between the government and citizens is required. Whether this change will actually result in a shift of power will become evident in the coming years after the Environmental Act is implemented. The political element should therefore be added to the research framework. The new research framework is shown in Figure 8.

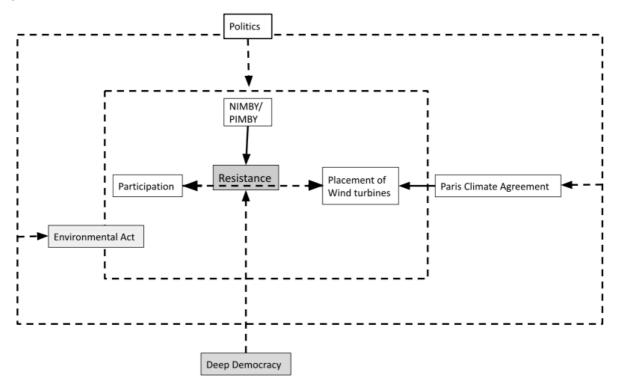


Figure 8: Research framework reviewed in the discussion.

5.4 Reflection on used methods

For this research a mixed method approach was chosen for. The mixed method consisted of a literature review, a document analysis, semi-structured interviews and a case study. This paragraph will discuss the choices made with regard to the methods in this research.

5.4.1 Reflection on the document analysis

A part of the main research question that is central for this research focused on the Environmental Act, however, as mentioned in the introduction, the date for the Environmental Act to be implemented is postponed. Therefore, it has not been possible to analyze the actual Environmental Act during the time this research was written. Analyzing what the implemented Environmental Act offers for options to deal with the resistance against the placement of wind turbines is something that could be useful to investigate in future research. In addition, one of the respondents who works for the province pointed out that the Dutch government has commissioned TNO to conduct an experiential study with residents at four wind farms in the Netherlands, which according to this respondent will probably be sent to the House of Representatives in March/April 2022, which is an interesting study to analyze for future research on resistance against the placement of wind turbines in the Netherlands.

5.4.2 Reflection on semi-structured interviews

For the semi-structured interviews, three different groups were asked about their point of view when it comes to the resistance against the placement of wind turbines, participation, the Environmental Act and the theory of Deep Democracy. The three residents that were interviewed, were not only residents but also people who have organized themselves in interest groups who are against the placement of wind turbines. Therefore, these three residents do not form a realistic reflection of an average resident of an area where wind turbines are placed, because not every resident is against the placement of wind turbines and moreover not all residents feel the need to organize themselves in an interest group. By conducting interviews with a bigger group of people, it would have been possible to get a better overview of the general view residents have on the placement of wind turbines in the Netherlands. While this research focused on the resistance against the placement of wind turbines and the timeframe that was available for this research, the choice was made to conduct interviews with these residents representing a group. However, in order to be able to generalize the opinion of residents when it comes to resistance against the placement of wind turbines, it is necessary to conduct more interviews. According to Benders (2021) conducting at least 8 to 10 interviews of a homogeneous group of people and with a heterogeneous group of people 8 to 20, so in order to get an overview of what residents think about the placement of wind turbines in the Netherlands, at least 8 interviews would need to be conducted. However, due limiting COVID-19 measures taken into account during the time when the interviews were conducted it was not possible to conduct more interviews.

Moreover, the governing bodies that were interviewed were not all performing in the same function as they currently have at the start of the process of the placement of wind turbines which therefore made it difficult to

ask them about that process. To counter this, in advance this should have been a condition set by the researcher to include governing bodies. However, this is one aspect that will always be a difficult criterion. Therefore, in future research this is something the researcher will take into account. Besides that, conducting more interviews would have been beneficial for the generalizability of the answers.

The experts who were the final group being interviewed all were licensed Deep Democracy experts and therefore they are biased about the use and applicability of this method. Due to the research being focused on Deep Democracy, the selection has taken place by the design of this research. However, when a different focus was chosen for, interviewing experts who are familiar with different approaches would be more appropriate because besides Deep Democracy there are other methods and theories that could potentially be applicable in dealing with the resistance against wind turbines. These other methods could be explored in future research.

6. Conclusion

The aim of this research was to find an answer to the question: *Which factors within the theory of Deep Democracy can contribute to deal with the resistance against the placement of wind turbines in the Netherlands, within the limits of the Environmental Act?* A combination of a literature review, document-analysis, semistructured interviews and a case study were used to provide insights into the method of the theory of Deep Democracy, the Environmental Act, forms of participation and resistance against the placement of wind turbines. Despite the very limited number of interviews being conducted for this research, some important conclusions can be drawn from the outcomes of these investigations which will be described in this chapter.

6.1 Inclusive decision-making

The theory of Deep Democracy proves to provide several tools that could contribute to deal with resistance against the placement of wind turbines in the Netherlands for several reasons. A very important aspect of the method of Deep Democracy is to include all the perspectives whereafter a decision is made. Instead of the 'most votes count' principle, the principle of 'all votes count' is applied. This therefore contributes to the effect that all involved parties will feel heard. What is mostly experienced by residents when it comes to processes that during the current or past processes of placing wind turbines, residents are only being informed about the developments of wind turbines in the area where they live. This can therefore be regarded as informative communication instead of participation, because by only informing residents no corresponding effort is made, according to the definition of participation in spatial planning which was developed already in the 1960s by Jane Jacobs and Sherry Arnstein and is described as involving citizens and other parties with regard to decision-making of their living area. What is evident from this research is that involving citizens and other parties with regard to decision-making of their living area only get a chance at the very beginning of a process and there is no room for decisions to be made. The decisions that are to be made are then already made by the national government, municipalities or initiators.

Practicing the theory of Deep Democracy therefore provides insight into current processes by entering into discussions with the different involved parties, such as the governing bodies, the initiator and the residents to talk about the different viewpoints that might be present. Besides that, there is room to look actively for a consensus. The decision is then made on the basis of an inclusion of all perspectives. The fact that conflicting opinions are present during this process is no longer suppressed by governing bodies or initiators but worked in the decision-making process whether or not to place a wind turbine in a certain area. By entering into a dialogue with each other, the different parties have the opportunity to express themselves but are also open towards the viewpoints of the other parties. That is exactly what the theory of Deep Democracy will strive for while going through the five different steps of the Lewis Method within this process. This will show that on the one hand a governing body is not only someone who works, but is also a resident and that could ensure that the residents and the governing body will understand each other and their different viewpoints. On the other hand, residents also learn about the fact that the Netherlands has signed the Paris Climate Agreement and that the time for

taking it easy is over when it comes to combating climate change and facilitating an energy transition, so that sacrifices must be made for the benefit of not only themselves but for the collective. The theory of Deep Democracy provides guiding principles and therefore contributes to facilitating this process and enabling inclusive decision-making, which will contribute initiators and governing bodies to deal with the resistance against the placement of wind turbines in the Netherlands.

6.2 Dialogue

Besides including all perspectives, practicing the theory of Deep Democracy will ensure that everything that people would normally not express to one another could be discussed, including all the emotions that people feel when it comes to the placement of wind turbines. This asks a lot from all the different stakeholders but makes it also possible to get a sense of where the other party is coming from regarding their point of view, because after all, combating climate change will affect all of us. Being able to emphasize with others is therefore also a very important focus of this method, which contributes to making decisions on whether a wind park will be realized or not. The outcome of this process could potentially contribute to a better understanding between residents and governing bodies when it comes to why and where a wind turbine should be placed. The guiding principles the theory of Deep Democracy provides to establish this will contribute to deal with the resistance against the placement of wind turbines by having a meaningful dialogue with all the involved parties. What emerges very clearly from this research is that people nowadays no longer talk with each other and have less willingness to listen to someone else, and therefore they no longer know how to do it. Climate change is a challenge everyone affects and therefore instead of working against each other, people should work with each other.

6.3 Creating clarity

Above all, the lack of clarity about the scope in which residents are able to participate in the case of the placement of wind turbines in an area is causing frustration and resistance. Something that is important in Deep Democracy is that it makes a difference whether you have an idea, make a suggestion, bring a proposal to the table or ask to carry out an assignment to a group of people. During the current processes there is a lack of clarity about the degree of which participation is required by residents. One resident indicated this by saying that governing parties overall agree that there was participation when people agreed with their plans, but as a resident there is not a form of 'real' participation possible, as the outcome is clear: the wind turbines will come. Therefore, being clear about what is not yet decided and where is room for participation with residents is required in order to create clarity for all involved parties. Moreover, the parties involved must critically examine themselves when something is about to be called participation, when all choices are already decided on, there is no more room for participation. Participation is more than ticking a box of having informed residents about the plans with regard to the placement of wind turbines. By creating clarity about what to expect from each other in the process, no wrong expectations are able to complicate the process. This will eventually be beneficial for the process to create clarity about what is expected from each other which is not clear in former processes that are discussed in this research.

6.4 Limits of implementation of the Environmental Act

Although the Environmental Act promises to establish a step forward when it comes to facilitating participation and including residents to become responsible of their own living environment, there seems to be limitations. First of all, initiators are obliged to set up a participation process, however, there is no stipulation on how to do this. Participation with relevant stakeholders and businesses is mandatory, but nowhere is described which requirements a participation process or model must meet, while municipalities are held accountable for it if they do not realize these in the right way. The largely form-freedom that comes with the integration of these participation processes do not provide a change from the current processes that are established, as illustrated in this research; some governing bodies believe that currently everything is done to facilitate participation with residents. Therefore, a recommendation is to include more robust frameworks in the Environmental Act to what extent participation criteria must be meet. Second, the implementation of a new act does not mean a change in comparison to the current processes. To illustrate this, an environmental vision is required to be integral and include all themes, specified in the law, but nowhere is described what that vision should look like and therefore it is largely form-free. As indicated by respondents, there are governing bodies that already think they do enough to facilitate participation in the process of placing a wind turbine in an area, and therefore do not think that the implementation of the Environmental Act will bring changes.

6.5 Recommendations for future research

This research examines which factors of Deep Democracy could contribute to deal with resistance against the placement of wind turbines in the Netherlands. A recommendation for follow-up research would be to examine whether the guiding principles of Deep Democracy could mean something for an actual process of placing wind turbines in the Netherlands. Moreover, this research investigated the resistance against the placement of wind turbines in the context of the Environmental Act and with a focus on participation. Future research could examine whether the implementation of the Environmental Act is causing less resistance against the placement of wind turbines and is contributing to creating awareness of the physical environment of Dutch residents.

6.6 Reflection of the researcher

Prior to this research and at the start of writing this research, I was quite positive about the developments surrounding the generation of green energy by wind. Recently, my critical view on this development has been fueled by finding out how the processes around the developments of wind park are established. To illustrate this, generating green energy through wind turbines is considered as a 'temporary' solution that is held accountable until further investigations and research lead to better alternatives. At the same time, wind turbines are affecting the physical environment and health of a group of people who currently do not benefit from it in any way. The energy and with that, the money that the wind turbines is a part of a bigger story that involves the way in which the Netherlands is governed and who exercise power. This is subsequently translated into vague descriptions of requirements the participation must meet in the Environmental Act, which show that individual interpretation remains possible for, for example municipalities, so that current processes do not necessarily need to change

and therefore are maintained. To really get to the essence of the Environmental Act, more is required than an implementation of this new act. Moreover, what is required from all parties involved is a critical reflection at what is called participation and their view on this. When something is called participation, but in fact, there is no form of participation present, it should not be called participation. This is a lesson I am taking away with me for my further career as a spatial planner.

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Annex

Annex 1 Interview Questions for resistance against the placement of wind turbines

Questions for introduction

1. You have faced organized resistance against wind turbines, can you perhaps tell me a bit more about your point of view related to wind turbines/*this situation*?

Resistance against wind turbines

2. What are the reasons that you (noticed people) are resistant against the placement of wind turbines?

Procedure of participation of placement of the wind turbines

- 3. What are your feelings regarding the process of placing wind turbines in this area?
- 4. What are in your point of view improvements that could have been made regarding the process?

Now, I am going to ask you a few questions related to the process of the placement of wind turbines regarding six criteria of a Deep Democracy method. In short, Deep Democracy is a method that offers tools for conflict management and inclusive decision-making. Within this method both the vote of the majority and the minority are included in the decision-making process.

Six criteria Deep Democracy

- 5. Do you feel like all communities were equitably included?
- 6. Did you find out there was any form of mobilization arranged by the governing bodies, such as mobilizing marginalized communities?
- 7. Was there an effort made to facilitate the maximum feasible participation?
- 8. Did you and others experienced being empowered by gaining decision-making power during the process?
- 9. Did you experience mechanisms of governing bodies being institutionalized to give participatory processes real power to shape decisions?
- 10. Did the process feel accountable?

Imaginary questions

- 11. What if the six criteria of equity, mobilization, maximum feasible participation, empowerment, institutionalization and accountably were present during this process, would that have made a difference?
- 12. Do you feel like all groups, also minority groups, were well heard in the process of the placement of wind turbines in this area?
- 13. What are other criteria that you missed during the process that could be improved in the future?

Currently the Dutch government is working on the implementation of the Environmental Act to enable participation at the front to become a legal embedding of possibilities, and to give citizens a more prominent role in the (sustainable) development of their physical environment.

14. What would be an addition to this Environmental Act to improve the participation process around the placement of wind turbines in the Netherlands defined legally?

Interview questions for governing bodies in the Netherlands

Questions for introduction

1. In what way have you encountered resistance against wind turbines, can you perhaps tell me a bit more about this situation?

Resistance against wind turbines

2. What are the reasons that you noticed people are resistant against the placement of wind turbines?

Procedure of participation of placement of the wind turbines

- 3. What are your feelings regarding the process of placing wind turbines in this area/this province?
- 4. What are in your point of view improvements that could have been made regarding the process?

Now, I am going to ask you a few questions related to the process of the placement of wind turbines regarding six criteria of a Deep Democracy method. In short, Deep Democracy is a method that offers tools for conflict management and inclusive decision-making. Within this method both the vote of the majority and the minority are included in the decision-making process.

Six criteria Deep Democracy

- 5. Do you feel like all communities were equitably included?
- 6. Did you find out there was any form of mobilization arranged by the governing bodies, such as mobilizing marginalized communities?
- 7. Was there an effort made to facilitate the maximum feasible participation?
- 8. Did you and others experienced being empowered by gaining decision-making power during the process?
- 9. Did you experience mechanisms of governing bodies being institutionalized to give participatory processes real power to shape decisions?
- 10. Did the process feel accountable?

Imaginary questions

- 11. What if the six criteria of equity, mobilization, maximum feasible participation, empowerment, institutionalization and accountably were present during this process, would that have made a difference?
- 12. Do you feel like all groups, also minority groups, were well heard in the process of the placement of wind turbines in this area?
- 13. What are other criteria that you missed during the process that could be improved in the future?

Environmental Act

- 14. This province/municipality has taken part in a pilot for working with the Environmental Act, what are positive changes in your view with regard to the placement of wind turbines and this act?
- 15. What are your expectations regarding the resistance of wind turbines in the Netherlands and the implementation of the Environmental Act, is this a possible factor to counteract or reduce this resistance?
- 16. Would the legally guaranteed participation contribute to less resistance in your eyes?
- 17. If it would be possible to add or remove anything regarding the Environmenta Act, what would it be?

Annex 2 Interview questions for Deep Democracy experts

Questions for introduction

1. When and how have you come into contact with the method of Deep Democracy?

Questions related to the theory of Deep Democracy

- 2. How do you view or think that Deep Democracy could be applicable around the theme of resistance against the placement of wind turbines?
- 3. What factors of Deep Democracy could contribute to the process of resistance against wind turbines?
- 4. Could you give an insight of how such a process would go?

Annex 3 Interview Format

Table 6: Interview format.

Interview format		
1.	Short summary of the main concepts of	This research aims to investigate organized resistance
	the research	against wind turbines in the Netherlands by exploring
		what the theory of Deep Democracy could mean for
		this resistance with a focus on participation and the
		impact of the Dutch Environmental Act.
2.	Information about where participations	While the research is not completed yet, if
	can find more information about the	participants want more information, the proposal of
	research	the research can be sent. Moreover, when the
		research is completed, it can be sent with the final
		results.
3.	Explanation of what happens with the	The answers of the interview contribute to the data
	results of the interview	analysis of this research. These results will be
		included in the study. The results are anonymized
		when desired. Ultimately, the results will be
		published in the final version. After completion, this
		research will be made publicly available via
		Wageningen Library unless the participants desire
		differently.
4.	Discuss if the interview can be recorded	In order to be able to collect all data, points of view
		and arguments, it is desirable to record the interview,
		only when the participants agree.
5.	Explanation of what happens with the	The recordings will only be used to elaborate the
	recordings of the interview	data, points of view and arguments. After that, all
		recordings are deleted once the analysis is completed
		and the portion of the interview is read and accepted
		by the participants. However, the transcripts of the
		interview will remain. The transcripts will be kept in
		private of the researcher and will not be made public
		if desired by the participants. The participants are
		expected to check the data of the interview no later
		than two weeks after the interview in order to
		prevent any delay.
6.	An indication for the duration of the	The interview lasts half an hour, with a maximum of
	interview	one hour.

7.	Explanation of when participants are	The participants have the possibility to ask questions
	allowed to ask questions about the	at any time during the interview.
	research	

Annex 4 Translation of quotes

Translation of quotes used from the interviews.

Table 7: Overview of translations from quotes of the interviews.

Respondent	Quote from the interviews in Dutch	Translation of the quote in English
R1	"ja een soort compensatie maar ja ze zeggen we geven je geld en dan zeggen ze we maken een bos of een mooi pad of soort dingen dan zijn ze nu ook weer mee bezig ja Maar ik zie het altijd maar meer als een soort zoethoudertje want bijvoorbeeld in in Sas daar werkt de omgeving heel erg mee samen met de initiatiefnemer want die hadden al wind turbiens staan oké ja lk ben altijd heel buiten ik zeg altijd lk wil me niet Laten afkopen ja want zeggen ze dan ja Als je geld hebt voor terug krijgt dan ben je gecompenseerd en dan is het dus minder erg maar dan denk ik dat je gezondheidsklachten hebt, al krijgt tienduizend euro heb je nog gezondheidsklachten maar dan voel je je wel afgekocht."	"Yes a kind of compensation, but they (relates to the Dutch government and the initiators) say we are going to give you money, and then they say we could potentially make a forest or design a beautiful path or that sort of thinks. That is something they are currently working on. But I always see this as a sop. For example in X, the environment works very well together with the initiator because they already had wind turbines, but I am always very outspoken and I keep saying I do not want to be bought off, because they (the people who live in area X) say you have money in return thus you have been compensated which makes the situation less bad. Then I think you experience health problems, even if you get ten thousands of euros, you will still experience health problems."
	"Dan hebben ze een hele visie ontwikkeld maar wie zitten daar bij nul burgers, dus alleen maar belangenorganisaties dan wordt het plan vastgesteld en daar is geen burger aan te pas gekomen en daar is een hele discussie In de gemeenteraad over geweest die heb ik gevolgd maar je hebt net zoals In de landelijke politiek: er is een coalitie van 4 partijen die hebben de meerderheid die steunen elkaar allemaal dus ja het is duidelijk: er is geen participatie geweest."	'They (refers to the municipality) have developed a vision but who got involved: zero citizens, so only interest groups. Then the plan is established an no citizen was involved and there was a discussion which 1 followed within the city council but it is just as in national politics: there is a coalition of 4 parties who generate the majority because they all support each other, so yet it is clear: there has been no participation."
R2	"Weet je elke keer als je een argument geeft dan wordt er weer een tegenargument verzonnen dus dat blijft een eindeloze discussie waar het ons om gaat dingen zoals hier bij ons staat hij ons staat, want elk windpark is eigenlijk ook weer een stukje maatwerk en als dat er niet goed geluisterd wordt naar die omwonenden niet goed gekeken wordt naar de situatie en dus alleen naar het belang wordt gekeken van	"You know every time you give them an argument, a counter-argument is made up again,so it remains an endless discussion. What matters to us, is the fact that every wind farm is actually alsoa piece of customization and if those local residents are not listened to carefully, and the situation is not being analyzed, and therefore only the importance of the energy transition is considered and the interest of the initiator, which in my

die energie-transitie, naar het belang van de exploitant wat naar mijn mening in onze omgeving dus heel expliciet gebeurd is. Er is echt wat ik net al aangeef het businessplan van de ondernemer van de exploitant in deze was leidend die hij kon bepalen omdat de provincie wilde scoren de provincie moest voldoen aan de opgave van die 735 Megawatt dus die wilde elke Megawatt wilde die benutten. Dus die had daar een belang in, heeft niet meer naar de belangen van haar eigen inwoners gekeken."

- "Wat men graag wil zien vanuit de overheid en dat zie je ook nu in participatieregelingen dan je een soort dorps mogelijk krijgt waarin fifty fifty of het hele dorp ten goede komt van de mensen uit de gemeenschap en dat daarmee mensen ook veel enthousiaster zijn want als je elke keer als zo'n ding draait en je verdient er geld mee dan heb je er ook ineens minder last van dan kom ik weer terug bij waar we het in het begin over hadden wil je als Nederland op elke hoek wil je daar een windpark tegenkomen? Dat is wat wel wat we nu aan het doen zijn dat was ik denk dat er slimmere oplossingen zijn om dat op een andere manier waar minder visueel aanwezig is in ieder geval en waar minder overlast zou kunnen veroorzaken."
- Het enige participatie middel of wat het echte wat je echte participatie middel zou kunnen noemen is de obligatie regeling die erin was opgenomen (...) als je het over participatie hebt, ja mensen hadden hun vrije keus om daarop in te leggen maar de mensen hebben ook dat hebben altijd vooraf altijd gezegd mensen niet gaan investeren in het park, in een windpark wat ze niet willen hebben. Het is een hele selecte groei. Ik weet niet ik heb geen vijftienduizend euro hier zo lekker om in een windpark te investeren dus de mensen die dat hebben

opinion is what happened very explicitly in our environment. There is what I just indicated, only the business plan of the initiator and the initiator was leading that he could determine because the province wanted to score and the province needs to meet the specifications of those 735 Megawatt, so they wanted to use every Megawatt. So, that was their interest and no longer looked at the interests of its own inhabitants"

- "What people would like to see from the government and you can see that in participation schemes now that villages can get a kind of option for a fifty-fifty regulation from which an entire village could benefit and in that way people are much more enthusiastic, because if the wind turbines run every time and you will earn money with it, then suddenly people have less trouble with it. But then I come back to what we have talked about in the beginning: do you want to live in a country where on every corner of the Netherlands a wind farm would be placed? That is what we are doing now and I think there are smarter solutions to do that in a different way where there is less visual presence in any case and where less nuisance is caused."
- "The only participation tool or what you could call real participation is the bond scheme that was included in it (...) when you talk about participation, yes people had their own choice to invest in it, but people, like I have always said that *beforehand, people are not going to* invest in the park, in a wind farm that they do not want. It is a very selective way. I don't have fifteen thousand euros here to invest in a wind farm so the people who were able to do that have that money and the group that can do that is relatively small so the people you reach with that are the wrong people when talking about

	kunnen doen die hebben dat geld over en die groep die dat kan doen is relatief klein dus de mensen die je daarmee bereikt zijn de verkeerde mensen als je het hebt over lusten en lasten. Mensen hebben daar dus niet de lusten van."	benefits and burdens. So, a lot of people do not experience the benefits."
R3	"Maar even in grote lijnen, wat 9 jaar ervaring is van ons, ik kan natuurlijk alleen maar over mezelf spreken en herken he wat voor patronen ook bijvoorbeeld bij andere gemeente dat kijk die omgevingswet () om het simpel samen te vatten is een soort plichtmatig ritueel dat louter in het leven is geroepen om de bevolking het idee te geven dat ze iets te vertellen hebben, maar de uitkomst ligt al vast. Ze komen er toch."	"But in general terms, speaking of our experience over the past 9 years, of course I can only talk about myself, and I recognize what patterns also exist in other municipalities, for example, when looking at the Environmental Act (), to summarize it simply is a kind of perfunctory ritual that is created purely to give the population the idea that they have something to say, but the outcome is already predetermined. They will get to be placed there anyway."
	"En dan natuurlijk participatie dat is ook een toverwoord, daarmee verkoop je eigenlijk de nacht rust van je buren kijk als participeren dat klinkt allemaal leuk maar dat wordt allemaal natuurlijk omgeslagen in de energieprijs dat dit punt elk dubbeltje tel maar dat wordt toch ook opgehoest door de door de consumenten."	• "And then of course, participation, that is also a magic word, with that you can actually sell the night's rest of your neighbors. Participating that all sounds nice, but that is of course all converted into the energy price that to this point is very high and still expected to be paid by the consumers."
G1	"Nou ik denk ja open en transparantie sowieso. Maar ik denk dat ik toch wel duidelijk gemaakt hiervoor hè. Dat is ook gewoon heel erg belangrijk: gewoon de burger meenemen de gemeente is er voor de burger de provincie ook en niet andersom. Dat is het het belangrijkste ook wel ja."	"I think openness and transparency for sure. But I think I made this clear before, that it is also very important to take the residents along and guide them during the process, the municipality serves the citizens, the province as well and not the other way around. That's the most important thing yes."
	"Het is denk ik goed dat de omgevingswet daar laat zien van participatie moet eerder, moet aan de voorkant en ook wat windturbines betreft ja dan wordt dus inderdaad de omgeving betrokken en dan wordt er niet meer zo snel dichtbij huizen neergezet dus ik denk dat de omgevingswet in positieve zin in het begin chaotisch maar dat is met alles wat nieuw is maar in positieve	"I think it is good that the Environmental Act shows that participation should be established at an earlier stage, must be at the front and also as far as wind turbines are concerned, the environment is getting involved and they are no longer building them close to housing. So, I think the Environmental Act is a positive development."

zin wat ik ervan weet mee zou werken."

"als je naar vraag zeven kijkt, over maximaal haalbare participatie, dat is het absoluut niet uitgehaald. Het werd medegedeeld en er zijn natuurlijk wel mensen op het gemeentehuis geweest en die hebben dan ingesproken en ook gedemonstreerd netjes voor het gemeentehuis en dat was een hele heisa maar nee het was gewoon veel te weinig en de gemeente stond ook echt met de rug tegen de muur absoluut (...) maar toen ja hadden zij daar wel iets meer aan kunnen doen en vooral nu (...). Maar dat is echt minimaal. Ja en dan van eenrichting van ik doe dit, en dat is dan participatie vinden ze vaak. Maar communiceren en ja participeren is natuurlijk heel wat anders."

"Het was meer informatie zenden en een richting op (...) en constant maar doorgaan, en zenden en zenden en dan aan de zijkant mag je een vraag stellen, nou dan mag je blij zijn als er ooit nog eens schriftelijk een antwoord komt (...). Maar dat is echt minimaal. Ja en dan van eenrichting van ik doe dit, en dat is dan participatie vinden ze vaak. Maar communiceren en ja participeren is natuurlijk heel wat anders."

"ik denk dat het niet ten goede komt aan de weerstand. Het is veel beter om het echt van onderop te laten komen. Maar ik denk wel, niemand wil ze naast zijn woning, dus je moet ook ergens sturen, waar ze komen, hoeveel er moeten komen maar dat ze dan wel met de inwoners gaan kijken naar mogelijkheden. Dus op die manier denk ik, dat het echt meer vanuit onderop zou moeten komen. Maar zoals nu met een heel klein zoekgebied aanwijzen, dat dit gewoon weerstand oproept." "De ontwikkelaar heeft het plan en

heeft ook verantwoordelijk-heid

om alle onderzoeken uit te voeren

G2

- "When looking at question seven, about maximum achievable participation, that is definitely not he case. It was announced and of course people have been to the town hall and they have left a note and also demonstrated neatly in front of the town hall and that was a big fuss but no it was just far too little and the *municipality really stood with its back* to the wall absolutely (...). They could have done something more about it and especially now (...) but it is really *minimal.* Yes and from one direction: I do this and that and that is thought off to be participation, at least they think so. But communicating and participating are of course very different things."
- "It was about sending information and going only one direction (...) they continuously kept sending and sending information, and then on the side you are able to ask a question, well then you need to be satisfied when there will come a written answer to that (...). But it was really minimal and from one direction only of I am doing this, and that is participation, they often think. But communicating and participation is of course very different.
- "I don't think it is for the benefit of the resistance. It's much better to really develop it bottom-up. However, I do think that nobody wants them next to their home, so you need to make decisions about where to place them and how many should be placed, but that they will then look at the possibilities with the residents. So, in that way I think it really should come more from bottom-up initiatives. But how it is done currently with very small search areas to indicate that this simply evokes resistance."
- "The initiator develops the plan and therefore also develops the responsibility to conduct

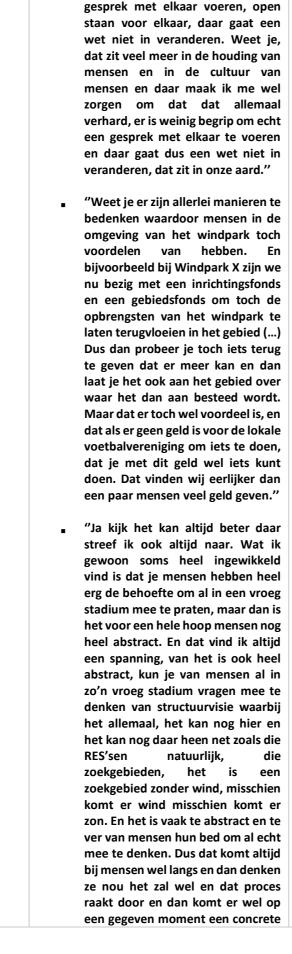
en naar omwonenden te luisteren maar ik denk dat de gemeente voornamelijk opgekomen is voor de participatie en belangen van de inwoners. En dat gaat nu eigenlijk, door de ontwikkelingen rondom de Omgevingswet zou dat meer bij de ontwikkelaar gaan liggen."

- "ik denk wel als er hier een gebiedscoördinatie of een soort fonds vanaf het begin was opgericht samen met inwoners, als je daar mee begonnen was, dat je dan gedeelde weerstand had weggehaald, lang niet alles, maar ik denk wel dat je dan een heel ander proces had gehad dan wat je nu doorlopen hebt."
- "Ja ik denk dat die er was, maar dat niet iedereen dat zo gevoeld heeft. Dus dat klinkt misschien heel raar. Maar iedereen had de kans om mee te denken, we hebben bijvoorbeeld tafel avonden georganiseerd, dat mensen aan verschillende tafels met elkaar praten. Dus die kans was er zeker, maar ik denk dat heel veel mensen voelen dat ze niets te zeggen hadden."
- "Als je misschien vanaf het begin af aan, vanaf het begintraject dan had je misschien meer tijd voor kunnen nemen van wij willen hier windmolens plaatsen, hoe gaan we dat doen? Met z'n allen. Dus meer vanuit elkaar, maar het is wel lastig want je voelde de druk vanuit de provincie dat het windpark moest komen en daar moet ook binnen zoveel tijd moet daar ook een vergunning voor liggen. Ik denk als die druk minder geweest, hadden we het veel meer met burgers samen kunnen doen. Dus wat zijn de criteria, waar moeten ze komen. Wat willen we hiermee bereiken? Hoe kunnen jullie ervan profiteren? Dus je daar dan wel echt meer participatie kunnen zoeken."
- "Dat er veel meer vrijheid moet komen van waar willen we het? Dat het niet meer zo afgebakend wordt

investigations and listen to what local residents think about the plan, but I think the municipality has mainly stood up for the participation and the interests of the residents. And that will actually change now, due to the developments surrounding the Environmental Act, that this role will be assigned to the initiator."

- "I do think that if an area coordination or some sort of fund had been set up here from the start together with residents, if you had started with that, you would have removed a part of the resistance, not everything, but I do think you would have a completely different process than what you have gone through now."
- "Yes, I think it was there, but not everyone felt that way. So, that might sound really weird but everyone had the opportunity to think along. For example, we organized table evenings, in order to let people at different tables talk to each other. So, the opportunity was definitely there, but I think a lot of people feel they had nothing to say."
- "If you maybe from the beginning onwards, you could have taken more time for we want to place wind turbines here, how are we going to do that? With everyone involved. So, more with each other, but it is difficult because you felt the pressure from the province that the wind farm needed to come and a permit needed to be arranged within that time. I think if that pressure had been less, we could have done iit much more with the residents. So, what are the criteria? Where should they come? What do we want to achieve with this? How can you benefit from it? So, you can really look for more participation there."
- "Much more freedom should come from where do we want it (refers to wind turbines)? That it is no longer so demarcated per area and that

	 per gebied en dat participatie natuurlijk een veel grotere rol gaat spelen. Dus dat het echt samen met inwoners gebeurt en met name dat de ontwikkelaar daar ook echt een participatieproces voor moet doorlopen." "Ja eigenlijk is iedereen 	participation will naturally play a much greater role. So, it really will be a development together with residents and in particular the initiator has to go through a participation process for this." "Yes, actually everyone is reached.
	opgeroepen. Zeker de inloopavonden waren voor iedereen toegankelijk. In het begin hebben we informatieavonden georganiseerd, die waren voor iedereen, plenair. Maar dan merk je vaak dat niet iedereen aan bod kwam, niet iedereen zijn vraag kon stellen, en je hebt natuurlijk te maken met mensen die wel van zich laten horen of niet. Daarna zijn we overgegaan op inloopavonden, zodat iedereen zijn vragen kon stellen, informatie kon krijgen en die waren toegankelijk voor iedereen. Daarnaast hebben we veel persoonlijke gesprekken gehad, gewoon aan tafel. Dus in dat opzicht, ja, hebben minderheden ook een oproep gekregen."	Especially the walk-in evenings were accessible to everyone. In the beginning we organized information evenings, which were for everyone, plenary. But then you often notice that not everyone was able to discuss what they wanted to discuss, not everyone was able to ask their question, and of course you are dealing with people who do or do not make themselves heard. After that, we switched to walk-in evenings, so that everyone could ask their questions, get information and that was accessible to everyone. We also had many personal conversations, just by sitting around the table. So, with that regard, yes, minorities have been included.
	"nee niet per doelgroep. Er zijn wel wat stichtingen actief (). Die hebben echt wel gezegd van we willen die windmolens niet, daar zijn ze echt wel resoluut in. Die hebben we twee of drie keer, misschien wel vaker persoonlijk uitgenodigd van ga met ons in gesprek. Maarja, daar bleven we een beetje herhalen en kwamen we niet heel veel verder mee. Dus uiteindelijk houdt dat ook op. Ze hebben echt puur gekozen van wij gaan gewoon bezwaar en zienswijze indienen."	"No, not per group. There are some foundations active (). They really pointed out that they don't want the wind turbines, they are really resolute about it. We have personally invited them two or three times, perhaps more often, so that we can talk to them. But yeah, we both kept repeating the same thing and we did not get really far with it. So, eventually that stopped."
G3	"ik vraag me af of ze echt zoveel meer te zeggen hebben. Tuurlijk de Omgevingswet zegt wel je moet aan de voorkant veel meer doen, maar dan denk ik ja, wat kun je nog veel meer doen dan wat we nu doen denk ik dan. En het is natuurlijk wel, er veranderd wel wat met de manier waarop de procedures geregeld zijn. Maar waar het in feite om gaat is het vertrouwen in elkaar en het	"I wonder if they (refers to residents) really get that much more to say. Of course, the Environmental Act tells you to do a lot more at the front, but that makes me think, what more can you do than what we are doing now. And of course, something will change with the way in which the procedures are arrange, but what it is all about is trust in each other and having the right conversations with each other, being open towards each other, an



act will not change that. You know, that has a lot more to do with the attitude of people and the culture of people and I worry that it all hardens, there is little understanding to really have a conversation with each other and so there is no act that is able to change that, that is our nature."

- "You know, there are all kinds of ways that people in the vicinity of a wind farm can still benefit from it. And, for example, in Wind park X we are now working on a developing a fund, such as an area fund to allow the revenues from the wind park to flow back into the area (...). So, then you try to give something back to the area which resident can invest. In that way, there will be an advantage. For example, if there is no money for the local football association to do something, you can potentially do something with this money. We think that is fairer than giving a few people a lot of money."
- "There is always room for improvement, that is also what I also strive for. What I sometimes do findvery complicated is that you need to talk to people at an early stage, but then it is still very abstract for a lot of people. And I always see that as a tension, because it is also still very abstract. You can ask people at such an early stage to contribute to a structural vision in which everything is still possible. They can be placed here, and it can still go there, just like the RES. And of course, those search areas, it is a search area without wind, maybe there will be wind, maybe there will be sun. And it is often too abstract and something too far away from people to really think along. So, it has come forward to people and then they think, *'whatever', but when the process gets* through and at some point, a concrete location will come forward, then you will be told yes I was no

locatie en dan krijg je te horen ja ik heb er niet meer over mee kunnen praten. Ja dat had u wel."

- Ja maar weet je, volgens mij moet je dan aan de voorkant van een traject zitten van dit is het niveau van participatie wat we na gaan streven en dan kun je zeggen ik heb maximaal geparticipeerd. Want er zijn trajecten waarbij je bij wijze van spreken, als je denkt aan de participatieladder, je hebt gewoon projecten wat de burger initieert en hun initiatief is, wat je faciliteert. Dan heb je een andere maximaal haalbare participatie dan wanneer je zegt nou we doen maar gewoon een bestemmingsplantraject met ter inzage leggingen en dat is het (...). Dus de vraag: vind je nou dat je maximaal participatie hebt, vind ik moeilijk te beantwoorden want het is heel afhankelijk van de situatie en wat je van jezelf ook als doel stelt. Je streeft er natuurlijk wel altijd naar. Waar je met dit soort trajecten heel duidelijk in moet zijn is hoeveel ruimte heb je om te participeren en welke fase zit je? Wat is er al wel besloten en wat is er nog niet besloten? En daar gaat het volgens mij vaak mis dat daar niet helder over gecommuniceerd wordt en dat mensen met verschillende verwachtingen aan tafel zitten. En je hebt bepaalde besluiten die op een gegeven moment besloten zijn en daar ga je niet, daar kan je niet meer op terugkomen, want dan blijf je dat traject, anders blijf je de noodzaak van bepaalde beslissingen uitstellen en ik denk dat het daar ook vaak gewoon niet goed gaat dat mensen ook gewoon, dat je onvoldoende voor het licht brengt in welke fase je zit en wat is er besloten en waar gaan we het nu over hebben? En dat mensen dan toch met verkeerde verwachtingen aan tafel zitten."
- "kijk de Omgevingswet daar zitten we al heel lang op te wachten en het denken over hoe je participatie vormgeeft is ook in ontwikkeling. Ik

longer able to talk about it. And I think yes you did."

- "You know, I think you should be at the forefront of a process and then think this is the level of participation we are going to strive for and then you can say there was a maximum level of participation achieved. Because there are also processes, where, so to speak, if you think of the participation ladder, you simply have projects that citizens initiate which you facilitate. In that case, you have a maximum different attainable participation than when you say well we're just doing a zoning plan with submissions available for inspection and that's it (...). So, the question: do you think you achieved a maximum level of participation, I find it a difficult one to answer because it depends very much on the situation and what you set as your goal. Of course, you always strive for it. But what I think you have to be very clear about with these kinds of processes is how much space do you have to participate and what phase are you in? What has already been decided and what has not yet been decided? And I think, this is where things go wrong often, because there is no clear communication about this and people sit around the table with different expectations. And there are certain decisions that have been decided at a certain point and you can't go back on that, because then you stay that trajectory, otherwise vou keep postponing the need for certain decisions and I think that is where it goes wrong. It just does not goes well that people just do not point out enough what phase they are in and what has been decided and what we are going to talk about now? And that people still sit at the table with wrong expectations."
- "Look for the Environmental Act, we have been waiting for a long time and thinking about how to shape participation is also developing. I do

	denk niet dat op het moment dat de Omgevingswet wordt ingevoerd, dat we in een keer met z'n allen anders gaan participeren. Dat is ook een ontwikkeling die je met z'n allen doormaakt en ook cultuurontwikkeling. Hoe ga je met elkaar om? Dus ik denk niet dat door te zeggen dan moeten we anders participeren."	not think that the moment the Environmental Act is implemented, we will participate differently all at once. That is also a development we need to go through and also a cultural development. How do you interact with each other? So, I don't think that by saying that we should participate differently."
	"Ja want sowieso is bij windenergie vanaf de provincie ons beleid om zo veel mogelijk bevoegdheden over te dragen aan de gemeente zodat de gemeente ook echt een lead heeft. Omdat we zoiets hebben van die kennen gewoon de bevolking beter, die kennen de omstandigheden, weten precies wat er speelt en die kunnen het proces veel beter vormgeven dan wij als provincie."	"Because in the case of wind energy, our policy from the province is to transfer as many powers as possible to the municipality so that the municipality really takes the lead. Because we think that they simply know the population better, they know the circumstances, know exactly what is going on and they can shape the process much better than we as a province."
E1	 "Ja, ik bedoel ik denk dat in zo'n situatie iedereen kritisch naar zichzelf moet gaan kijken. Dat geldt voor de bewoner en de ambtenaar. Voor de ambtenarij geldt gewoon, je moet niet vergeten we hebben een hele lange geschiedenis van een bestuursvorm waarin een democratie, maar de ambtenaarij krijgt een opdracht vanuit de politiek en die voeren ze uit. Dit doen we al honderden jaren en dus we hebben geen echte precedent voor een andere manier. Dus ik kijk ook met heel veel compassie naar de ambtenaar, want ik zie wel dat ze willen veranderen maar het is gewoon een stug proces. Want er zijn zo her bevestigd in ons denken, we zijn zo overtuigd dat de enige manier om een stad aan te sturen of een land aan te sturen is om te beslissen wat mensen moeten doen en ze te zeggen en dit is wat je gaat doen. Die andere modus is een paradigma verschuiving. Een totale omgekeerde wereld. Het is geen wonder dat dat niet zo ineens kan." 	"I mean I think that in such a situation everyone should start looking critically towards themselves. This applies to the residents but also to the governing bodies. It applies to the civil service, you must not forget the fact that we have a very long history of a form of governing in which a democracy has arisen, from which the civil service receives an assignment from the politics, and they need to implement it. We've been doing this for hundreds of years and so we don't have any real precedent for any other way. So, I also look at the civil servants with a lot of compassion, because I can see that they want to change, but it is just a stiff process. Because we're so reaffirmed in our thinking, we're so convinced that the only way to run a city or to run a country is to decide what people should do and tell them this is what you're going to do. That other mode is a paradigm shift. A total upside- down world. It's not a wonder it doesn't happen so suddenly."
	 Vraagstukken met uiteenlopende belangen waarbij mensen emotioneel worden, met de hakken in het zand gaan, en de methode is echt juist voor dit soort situaties 	 "Issues with diverse interests where people get emotional, dig their heels in the sand, and the method was really created for these kinds of situations () if you want to move the

	gecreëerd (), voor mij is het als je vaak als je zo'n soort conflict, vaart en beweging in wil krijgen, heb je een gesprek nodig en dat duurt een paar uur, dat is alles. En als je kijkt naar hoeveel tijd en geld het kost om die gemobiliseerde weerstand op de een of andere manier te kunnen managen, denk ik dat dit veel efficiënter is.	conflict in a new direction, you need to have a conversation with each other, and that takes a few hours, that's all. And if you look at how much time and money it takes to somehow manage that mobilized resistance, I think it's much more efficient."
E2	ja eigenlijk is Deep Democracy de essentie daarvan is dat je door het voeren van goede gesprekken betere besluiten kan nemen en eventueel conflicten kan oplossen. En op het moment dat je niet goede gesprekken voert, op het moment dat allerlei mensen zich niet gehoord voelen en perspectieven niet op tafel komen, gebeuren er twee dingen. Namelijk je neemt minder goed geïnformeerde besluiten want niet alle perspectieven komen op tafel dus je perspectieven zijn veel kleiner dat is het eerste wat er gebeurt, dus besluiten worden gewoon minder goed. Dat is ook hét argument voor meer diversiteit op allerlei plekken, in bestuurskamers. En op het moment dat mensen zich niet gehoord voelen dan worden de problemen niet opgelost, maar komt het in de onderstroom dus krijg je op allerlei manieren conflict, gedoe, sabotage dus als er steeds een besluit wordt genomen en dat wordt doorgedrukt ja."	"The essence of Deep Democracy is actually that by having good conversations, you can make better decisions and possibly resolve conflicts. And when you don't have good conversations, when all kindsof people do not feel heard and perspectives don't come up, two things happen. Namely, you make less well-informed decisions because not all perspective come forward, so your perspectives are limited. That is also the argument for more diversity in all kinds of placed. And the moment people do not feel heard, the problems are not solved, but it comes in the undercurrent so you get conflict, hassle, sabotage in all kinds of ways, so that will happen if a decision is always made and that is pushed through."
	En uiteindelijk gaat duurzaamheid denk ik veel meer over een morele vraag en wat het betekent om op deze planeet te leven en mens te zijn en hoe we dat met elkaar doen en eigenlijk is de dialoog en het gesprek is de manier om betekenis te geven, want in interactie geef je met elkaar betekenis. Cultuur is eigenlijk een manifestatie van overtuigingen en dat ga je zien in normen en waarden, gedragsregels, procedures in hoe je je gebouwen inricht en allemaal dat soort dingen. Maar uiteindelijk gaat het over betekenis. De manier waarop mensen met elkaar betekenis geven is in interactie en met	"And in the end, I think sustainability is much more a moral question and what it means to live on this planet and to be human and how we are doing this with each other and actually enter the dialogue and the conversation, which is the way to give meaning, because in interaction, you give meaning to each other. Culture is actually a manifestation of beliefs and you will see that in norms and values, rules of conduct, procedures in how you furnish your buildings and all that sort of things. But in the end it's about meaning. The way in which people give meaning is through interaction and dialogue, not when you complete a to-do list, but where

dialoog, niet wanneer je een actiepuntenlijstje afwerkt maar waar je betekenisvolle en betekenis gevende gesprekken met elkaar hebt. Dus daarom is het zo belangrijk als je met veranderingen binnen organisaties bezig bent, überhaupt met veranderingen binnen de samenleving, dat je goede gesprekken voert of leert voeren en dat is wat ik nogal veel zie wat misgaat en daarom is Deep Democracy zo'n gave manier. Het is niet de enige manier maar wel een gave manier om deze gesprekken te hebben om alle perspectieven en invalshoeken te verzamelen, om vanuit daar het meest en het hoogst haalbare besluit te nemen in plaats van het debat met elkaar voeren waarbij je 1 ding zeker weet, namelijk dat je erin gaat met een mening en eruit gaat met dezelfde mening en dat je ondertussen niks hebt gedaan behalve jezelf overtuigen dus dat levert weinig op.

"Ik denk dat voor een geslaagd proces waar mensen bij betrokken zijn dat het heel goed is om aan de voorkant, dat wordt wel eens procedurele rechtvaardigheid genoemd, ik denk dat het heel goed is om in een vroeg stadium duidelijk te maken hoeveel ruimte er is voor inspraak. Heel vaak wordt de suggestie gewekt dat de inspraak veel groter is dan die eigenlijk daadwerkelijk is. Stel, dit kom je ook tegen als je je gaat verdiepen in die Deep Democracy gedachte, namelijk dat het maakt nogal uit of je een idee hebt een suggestie doet, een voorstel op tafel legt of vraagt om een opdracht uit te voeren aan een groep mensen. En op het moment dat daar onhelderheid over is, dus je wekt de suggestie dat iets nog echt een idee is en zullen we er eens over na gaan denken terwijl het eigenlijk een opdracht is of een uitvoering dan zeggen mensen ja wat dan, hoezo kom je nou bij ons vragen en je weet toch al lang en breed waar je naartoe gaat en wat je wil. En heel vaak gaat you have meaningful conversations with each other. So, that's why it's so important when you're working with changes within organization, especially changes within societies, that you have the right dialogue or learn to have the right dialogue and that's what I see goes wrong guite a lot and that's why Deep Democracy is such a cool way. It is not the only way, but it is a cool way to have these dialogues to collect all perspectives and angles, to make the most and highest possible decision from there instead of having a debate with each other where you know 1 thing for sure, namely that you go in with a certain opinion and leave with the same opinion and that you have done nothing in the meantime except convincing yourself so that does not lead anyone further."

"I think for a successful process involving people it's very good to be up front, this is called procedural justice, and make clear at an early stage how much room there is for participation. Very often the suggestion is created that there is much more room for participation than there actually is. This is also what you will come across when you delve into the Deep Democracy thoughts, namely that it makes a difference whether you have an idea, make a suggestion, bring a proposal to the table or ask to carry out an assignment to a group of people. And the moment that there is uncertainty about that, so you create the suggestion that something is really an idea and when they start thinking about it, however, it is actually an assignment or a performing task, people will say, how can you come and ask us about it when you already knew for a long time where you are going and what you want. And, very often, that is the case, so you better be clear about that."

		dat ook zo, dus daar kun je maar beter helder en duidelijk over zijn."	
E3	•	"De Omgevings-wet is al 30 jaar geleden begonnen om gemaakt te worden vanuit de achtergrond dat door de eeuwen heen een klimaatverandering, hebben we vaker meegemaakt, altijd tot oorlogen heeft geleid. En de wetenschap dat we daar niet heel ver bij verwijderd zijn, we voelen de spanning toenemen. En de Omgevingswet biedt de mogelijkheid om de spanning weg te nemen en mensen weer regie te geven over hun eigen omgeving."	E y t P c c v t E c c t
		"En daarom is het van belang dat ook die opbrengsten ten baten komen van zo'n gebied en daarom snap ik heel goed dat bewoners in gebieden absoluut hele grote weerstand hebben tegen windmolens. Ze merken het amper in hun energierekening, het wordt soms zelfs duurder. Ze hebben er dus helemaal direct niets aan en eerlijk is eerlijk het gaat allemaal naar die aandeelhouders. De oproep in het kader van die Omgevingswet is ook Vattenval jullie gaan (ff het is complexer dan dat) jullie zetten hier een windmolen neer, jullie brengen schade aan in ons gebied, hoe ga je dat compenseren? En dat betekent dat zij een deel van hun opbrengst weer ten bate van het gebied moeten doen."	 t
	•	"Ik denk dat als de Omgevingswet al echt aan had gestaan, wat hij feitelijk al doet, het maakt eigenlijk niet uit, maar goed psychologisch maakt het natuurlijk wel uit. Ik denk wel dat er veel meer bewustzijn is, omdat er een Omgevingswet is en omdat dat verplichtingen stelt ten aanzien van participatie en integraliteit. Die laatste is ook niet onbelangrijk, dat er dan dus meer bewustzijn komt bij gemeentes dat ze het eigenlijk echt wel anders moeten gaan doen.	E E A C T T C V V V L A C C T T L C C T T C C T C C T C C T C C T C C T T C C C T T C C C T T C C C T T C C C T T C C C C C T C

En dat uiteindelijk inwoners ook

meer bewust kunnen worden dat ze

"The developments of the Environmental Act already started 30 years ago bearing in mind that over the century's climate changes, we have experienced them more often, always led to wars. And the acknowledgement that we are not very far away from that, we can feel the tension increasing. The Environmental Act offers the opportunity to take away the tension and give control back to people over their own environment."

- "And that is why it is so important that those revenues also benefit from such an area, and that is why I fully understand that residents in areas have absolutely great resistance against windturbines: they hardly notice anything in their energy bill, it sometimes even becomes more expensive. They therefore have absolutely nothing to do with it and to be honest, it all goes to those shareholders. The call in the context of the Environmental Act is that also for example Vattenval (it is of course more complex then this) is going to place a wind turbine in a certain area, therefore they are causing damage in the area, how are they going toc ompensate for that? And that means that they have to put a part of their proceeds back for the benefit of the area."
- E3: "I think that if the Environmental Act was implemented, which it actually already is, but that does not really matter, but psychologically does matter. I do think that there would be much more awareness, because there is an Environmental Act and because it imposes obligations with regard to participation and integrality. The latter is also not unimportant, because then there will be more awareness among municipalities that they really should do things differently. And that eventually residents can also become more

ook daadwerkelijk rechten hebben hierop."

Maar we moeten vooral ook, dat is de link met Deep Democracy, we moeten leren met elkaar in gesprek te komen. Want als je bewoners bij elkaar brengt om hier op een veldje naast mijn huis te besluiten er komt daar een parkeerplaats of wordt het een speeltuintje? In twee minuten lopen we weg bij elkaar want we hebben ruzie en praten nooit meer met elkaar (...). Maar we weten het gewoon niet meer. We zijn steeds onhandiger om met elkaar in gesprek te komen en we moeten dat dus ook weer leren. Dus het gebied is ook de klas waarin we leren over ons gebied maar waarin we ook leren we tot elkaar te verhouden en met elkaar in gesprek te raken. En daar is voor mij Deep Democracy de grote groep.

aware that they are actually entitled to it."

E3: "But above all, we must, that is the link with Deep Democracy, we must learn to enter into a dialogue with each other. Because if you bring residents together to decide here on a field next to my home, will there be a parking space or will it become a playground? Within two minutes we walk away from each other because we have a fight and never want to talk to each other again (...). But we just do not know how to have enter a dialogue with each other. We are becoming more and more clumsy to talk to each other and we need to learn that again. So, the area is also the classroom in which we learn about our area but also where we learn to relate and talk to each other. And there, for me, Deep Democracy plays an important role."

Annex 5 Articles case study criteria

Articles per city/region case study criteria

City/Region	(news) Articles found
City/Region Alphen and Baarle-Nassau	
Alphen and Baarie-Ivassau	
	https://cubag.nieuws.nl/2021/05/03/petitie-tegen-windmolens-in-baarle-nassau-en-alphen-chaam/ https://resinbeeld.nl/alphen-chaam/
	https://www.bare-nassau.htlps/bare-nasam/ https://www.bare-nassau.htlps/bare-nassau/09.In-de-gemeente-Baarle-Nassau/Achtergrondrapport_Concept_RES_West-Brabant_inclusief_bijlagen_S_20ink07400_1.pdf
Barneveld	https://www.baare-nassau.n/tileaomin/tiles/poare-nassau/us.in-oe_gemeente-saarte-Nassau/Actrergronorapport_Concept_rks_west-srabant_inclusier_bijagen_S_20mk0/400_1.pdf https://www.baare-nassau.n/tileaomin/tiles/poare-nassau/us.in-oe_gemeente-saarte-Nassau/Actrergronorapport_Concept_rks_west-srabant_inclusier_bijagen_S_20mk0/400_1.pdf
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	https://www.regoroowaiey.ni/meaominyenergietransitiey.mei_2021.pdf
Den Helder	https://www.darnevelosekrant.ni/premium/aigemeen/32/14/JCoilege-voorkeur-voor-windmolers-op-narsealan-ass/JL/J) https://www.noorhollandsdaplad.nl/cn/cn/mt201201841 889047907.utm source-spocielekum medium-organic https://www.noorhollandsdaplad.nl/cn/cn/mt201201841 889047907.utm source-spocielekum medium-organic https://www.source/spocielekum/aigemeen/32/14/JCoilege-voorkeur-voor-windmolers-op-parsealan-sso/JL/J)
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	https://www.topsectorenergie.nl/sites/default/files/uploads/Rapport_Van_volume_naar_waarde_Handelingsperspectief_voor_een_waardevol_en_schoon_Zuid_Hollands_energielandschap_in_2050.pdf
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	https://www.nu.nl/alphen-aan-den-rijn/6140039/provincie-steekt-stokje-voor-windmolens-bij-alphense-containerhaven.html
	https://theses.ubn.ru.nl/bitstream/handle/123456789/7394/Stevenson%2C_Lars_1.pdf?sequence=1
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	https://frw.studenttheses.ub.rug.nl/2765/1/MasterscriptieBrian_Bijl_s1799975.pdf
	https://www.ad.nl/zwolle/online-weerstand-tegen-windmolens-voorstra3059ac1/
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	https://www.rtvfocuszwolle.nl/windmolenpark-verijst-langs-n50-onder-de-rook-van-zwolle/amp/
Zwartewaterland	https://www.destentor.nl/kop-van-overijssel/plan-voor-kleine-windmolens-op-boerenerven-en-bij-bedrijven-in-steenwijkerland*a0efdf27/
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	https://www.planviewer.nl/imro/files/NLIMRO.1896.8P0035-VS01/t_NLIMRO.1896.8P0035-VS01.html

Figure 9: Overview of articles per city/region.

Annex 6 Informed Consent Form

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Title of study: Resistance against wind turbines

Interviewee

I declare that I understand the aim and content of the interview, which have been clearly explained to me. I have been able to ask questions about the study and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that:

- O I can refuse to answer questions and I can withdraw from the study at any time, without having to give a reason.
- O I understand that personal information collected about me that can identify me, such as my name, will not be shared beyond the research team.
- O the audio recording will be destroyed after the interview has been transcribed.

I declare that:

- O I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study.
- O I give permission for the use of the results of this interview in a scientific report or publication.
 - I give permission to audio record the interview.

Signature:

Name:

Date:

Researcher

I have accurately explained the aim and content of the interview to the potential participant and, to the best of my ability, ensured that the participant understands to what he or she is freely consenting.

Signature:	
Name:	
Date:	

Annex 7 Information Sheet Interviews

Informatiesheet interview Weerstand tegen het plaatsen van Windmolens



Resistance against the placement of wind turbines Exploratory research into what the theory of Deep Democracy could mean for the resistance with a focus on participation and the impact of the Dutch Environmental Act

Noa van Rheeden noa.vanrheeden@wur.nl



Deze infosheet biedt meer informatie op het gebied van middel van een formulier dat ingevuld dient te

wat het onderzoek inhoudt door interviewformat gevolgd door een

worden door de geïnterviewde wat betreft de toestemming voor het interview. Daaronder staan de vragen van het interview beschreven.

Intervie	ew format	
1.	Korte samenvatting van de belangrijkste	Dit onderzoek heeft tot doel het georganiseerde
	concepten van het onderzoek	verzet tegen windmolens in Nederland te
		onderzoeken door na te gaan wat de theorie van
		Deep Democracy voor deze weerstand zou kunnen
		betekenen met een focus op participatie en de
		impact van de Nederlandse Omgevingswet.
2.	Informatie over waar deelnemers meer	Hoewel het onderzoek nog niet is afgerond, kan het
	informatie over het onderzoek kunnen	onderzoeksvoorstel worden verzonden als
	vinden	deelnemers meer informatie willen ontvangen.
		Bovendien kan het onderzoek, wanneer het is
		afgerond, met de definitieve resultaten worden
		meegestuurd.
3.	Uitleg over wat er gebeurt met de	De antwoorden uit het interview dragen bij aan de
	resultaten van het interview	data-analyse van dit onderzoek. Deze resultaten
		worden meegenomen in het onderzoek. De
		resultaten worden desgewenst geanonimiseerd.
		Uiteindelijk zullen de resultaten in de definitieve
		versie worden gepubliceerd. Na afronding wordt dit

	anderzaek energenzakt vie de Mazerizzer
	onderzoek openbaar gemaakt via de Wageningen
	Library, tenzij deelnemers anders wensen.
4. Opname van het interview	Om alle gegevens, standpunten en argumenten te
	kunnen verzamelen, is het wenselijk om het interview
	op te nemen, mits de deelnemers hiermee
	instemmen.
5. Uitleg over wat er met de opnames van	De opnames worden alleen gebruikt om de gegevens,
het interview wordt gedaan	standpunten en argumenten nader toe te lichten.
	Daarna worden alle opnames verwijderd zodra de
	analyse is voltooid en het gedeelte van het interview
	is gelezen en geaccepteerd door de deelnemers. De
	transcripties worden bijgevoegd in de bijlage van het
	onderzoek of privé bewaard door de onderzoeker als
	dat gewenst is. Van de deelnemers wordt verwacht
	dat zij de gegevens van het interview uiterlijk twee
	weken na het versturen van de verwerking van het
	interview controleren om vertraging te voorkomen.
6. Een indicatie van de duur van het	Het interview heeft een geschatte tijd van 30
interview	minuten, met een uitloop van een uur als maximum.
7. Uitleg over wanneer deelnemers vragen	De deelnemers hebben op elk moment tijdens het
mogen stellen over het onderzoek	interview de mogelijkheid om vragen te stellen.

TOESTEMMINGSFORMULIER (informed consent)

Betreft: onderzoek naar georganiseerde weerstand tegen windmolens in Nederland

Geïnterviewde

Ik verklaar hierbij te zijn ingelicht over de aard, methode en doel van het onderzoek en het is mij duidelijk waar ik aan meewerk. Ik heb vragen over het onderzoek kunnen stellen en die zijn naar tevredenheid beantwoord.

Ik begrijp dat:

- O ik mijn medewerking aan dit onderzoek kan stoppen op ieder moment en zonder opgave van reden
- O gegevens anoniem worden verwerkt, zonder herleidbaar te zijn tot de persoon
- O de geluidsopname vernietigd wordt na uitwerking van het interview

Ik verklaar dat:

- O ik geheel vrijwillig bereid ben mee te doen aan dit onderzoek
- O de uitkomsten van dit interview verwerkt mogen worden in een verslag of wetenschappelijke publicatie
- O ik toestemming geef om het interview op te nemen door middel van een voice-recorder

Handtekening:

Onderzoeker

Ik heb toelichting verstrekt over de aard, methode en doel van het onderzoek en naar vermogen uitleg gegeven over waar de geïnterviewde mee instemt.

Handtekening:

Naam:

Datum:

Interviewvragen

Vragen ter introductie

1. U heeft te maken (gehad) met georganiseerd verzet tegen windturbines, kunt u mij misschien iets meer vertellen over uw standpunt met betrekking tot windturbines/deze situatie?

Weerstand tegen windturbines

2. Wat zijn de redenen dat u zich verzet heeft tegen (het plaatsen van) windturbines?

3. Wat zijn uw gedachte rondom het proces van het plaatsen van windturbines in dit gebied?

4. Wat zijn volgens u verbeteringen die in het proces hadden kunnen worden aangebracht?

Nu worden er wat vragen gesteld met betrekking tot een methode genaamd Deep Democracy. Deep Democracy biedt handvatten en werkwijzen voor conflictbemiddeling en inclusieve besluitvorming. Het is een methode waarbij zowel de stem van de meerderheid als de minderheid wordt meegenomen in het besluitvormingsproces. In plaats van het principe 'de meeste stemmen gelden' is het principe 'alle stemmen gelden' leidend.

Zes criteria Deep Democracy.

5. Was er sprake van gelijkheid in het proces? Had iedereen een eerlijke kans om zijn of haar mening of invloed te kunnen delen?

6. Heeft de organisatie die voor het plaatsen van de windmolens is minderheden opgeroepen om van zich te laten horen?

7. Wat is er aangedaan om een (maximaal haalbare) participatie mogelijk te maken? (Wat hadden ze nog meer of juist minder kunnen doen?)

8. Heeft u ervaren dat u tijdens het proces (inspraak)mogelijkheden heeft gekregen door bijvoorbeeld toestemming te krijgen om mee te beslissen?

9. Heeft u ervaren dat verschillende niveaus binnen betrokken organisaties, dus bijvoorbeeld ook de gemeente, ervoor hebben gezorgd dat participatieve processen echte macht hebben gekregen om beslissingen vorm te geven? Is het alleen bij organisaties belegd of bijvoorbeeld ook bij NGO's of burgergroepen? Zie je iets van de inspraak terug?

10. Was er sprake van een gedeelde verantwoordelijk of wie nam vooral de verantwoordelijkheid en hoe voelde dat voor u?

Inbeeld vraag

11. Wat als de zes criteria van gelijkwaardigheid, het betrekken van minderheden, maximaal haalbare participatie, mogelijkheden tot inspraak, institutionalisering en verantwoording aanwezig waren tijdens dit proces, zou dat een verschil hebben gemaakt?

Procedurele deelname van plaatsing van de windturbines

12. Is er (actief) gekeken naar een alternatief?

13. Wat zijn andere criteria die u tijdens het proces hebt gemist en die in de toekomst kunnen worden verbeterd?

Omgevingswet

14. Bent u bekend met de Omgevinsgwet?

JA, vraag 15-18

15. Zo ja, wat weet u er allemaal van met betrekking tot windmolens en participatie?

16. Zo ja, wat was er mogelijk anders gegaan in dit proces als de Omgevingswet al in werking was getreden?

17. Zijn er elementen van de Omgevingswet die de mogelijkheden tot weerstand wellicht kunnen verkleinen? Zo ja, welke?

18. Heeft u nog aanvullingen/suggesties voor de implementatie van de Omgevingswet met betrekking tot weerstand tegen windmolens?

NEE, vraag 19-20

19. Zo niet, wat weet u van de huidige regelgeving rondom het plaatsen van windmolens?

20. Zo niet, als er een nieuwe wet zou komen, wat mag er dan volgens u niet in ontbreken?

Annex 8 Wind Turbine division in the Netherlands



Figure 11: Overview of wind turbine division in the Netherlands.

Annex 9 Overview Codes

Table 8: Overview number of times codes assigned to interviews.

Group	Sub-codes	Times mentioned in interviews
Deep Democracy	Conflict-mediation	12
	Dialogue	46
	Emotions	9
	Group's wisdom	6
	Looking for the alternative	8
	Wisdom of the minority	8
Environmental Act	Environmental Act	24
	Initiator	38
	Residents	64
	Responsibility	7
	Role of the government	37
	Role of the municipality	64
	Role of the province	47
NIMBY	Compensation	14
	Decline in property value	5
	Decline in quality of life	7
	Health	22
	Noise nuisance	12
Participation	Corona	6
	Decision-making	10
	Informative	17
	Listening	5
	Participation possibilities	70
Politics	Council of the State	11
	Politics	16
	Regional Energy Strategy	15
	Subsidy's	13