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The Green Divider

A Discourse Analysis of the Kingdom Community Wind Project in Lowell,
VT.

Robert L. Persons

A senior thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Bachelor of Arts

Environmental Program

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Abstract

The debate around wind power in Vermont is extremely contentious and has ultimately led to a halt of new wind development. As human induced climate change poses a threat to modern society, the state of Vermont has adopted ambitious renewable energy goals that will require a large increase in renewable infrastructure across the state. Although wind power is generally supported by the population based on polling data, projects are faced with a strong opposition. The Kingdom Community Wind project, operational in 2012 in Lowell, VT, was especially contentious, and has left lasting marks on the future for wind energy development in Vermont. To understand how the issue of wind power is communicated in Vermont, I conducted a content analysis of articles published in the *Caledonian Record*, *Burlington Free Press*, and *Associated Press* in the year 2011 on the Kingdom Community Wind project to determine how the debate is being shaped and what frames are employed to contextualize it. This study seeks to answer the questions: Which actors are journalists prioritizing in their coverage? What frames do different actors present? How do different actors employ collective action frames? What are the greater environmental, political, and ethical meanings present in the content of the frames? In doing this research I discuss some of the core conflicts which operates under the surface of the media content, and provide recommendations for potential steps forward in Vermont's renewable energy future.

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Introduction

Since the Kingdom Community Wind (KCW) wind power project went on line in Lowell, Vermont in 2012, no utility scale wind project has been approved in the state. Across the state, concerned citizens have organized and successfully opposed wind projects despite support from many organizations and other residents. Vermont's social and political challenges to address climate change in the electricity sector lie on top of a capitalist political-economy and an ideological divide within environmental ideals that has been present since environmentalism's modern founding.

In the early 20th century, what is now known as modern environmentalism saw this rift occur in a debate around a dam project in San Francisco between two of environmentalism's earliest icons, Gifford Pinchot and John Muir. Muir, a romantic in the tradition of Henry David Thoreau, gave voice to a preservationist ideal which covets untouched 'wild' landscapes, seeing humans as equal to other forms of life, and extending a moral virtue to the experience of being 'out there.' Pinchot on the other hand was a utilitarian, seeking efficiency over sentiment, and viewing conservation and development as inseparable (Steinberg, 2013). Pinchot prevailed in bringing water security to San Francisco in 1913, flooding the Hetch Hetchy valley in the process, but sacrifices are worthwhile when they bring about an apparent public good, right? Today as we are faced with the existential threat of climate change which requires a vast transformation of our land use habits, the ideological split between Muir and Pinchot still exists, leaving little coherence in project of developing sustainably while conserving untouched wilderness. Who will decide what is the right thing to do? Whose voice gets to be heard? Who gets to benefit from so called green

development? What is at stake? These questions underpin many issues of land use management, especially in the global debate around wind power, as heterogeneous stances intersect with the philosophical divide between preservationist ideals and utilitarianism differently. To better understand how the practical and ideological elements of this debate function, we will look at the contentious KCW project in Vermont.

In Vermont, the debate around wind power has deep political, social, and environmental connotations that are rooted in issues of appropriate development, place-based attachments, and the 'Vermont identity.' Under Governor Peter Shumlin's administration, Vermont passed the 2011 Clean Energy Plan, calling for the state to transition to using renewable resources for 90 percent of Vermont's electricity consumption by 2050 (Department of Public Service, 2011). These goals will require a large expansion in Vermont's renewable energy capacity which wind power must play a big role in due to the intermittent nature of renewable energy sources. Even before these goals were set, energy projects had been surrounded by both community support and opposition for complex and intersectional reasons (Watts, 2012). Controversy over renewable energy, especially wind power, is not unique to Vermont as wind projects face opposition across the world where they are proposed. An important feature of wind power in Vermont is that the ideal places for development, where the wind blows the strongest, is on top of the iconic rolling green mountains of the state. Due to Vermont's unique social and political circumstances, deep-seated values and beliefs are prevalent in both the pro- and anti-wind stances held by people across the state.

In 2011, *The Mountain Manifesto* was published to define the importance of the mountains to the Vermont identity (Post & Johnson, 2011). The manifesto echoes themes of

deep ecology, which define human's relationship with nature as one with an entity that should be deeply revered, yet recognizes humans as the greatest threat to the natural world.

The Mountain Manifesto is not merely a celebration of Vermont's natural beauty, but a call to action to save it from development, specifically from utility scale wind development.

“The ecological integrity of the Green Mountains is essential to the health of Vermont's lands, its air and its waters, and to all the life — human and otherwise — that dwells on and in them. For eons, these mountains have been shaped and transformed by the long, slow evolutionary forces of geology, ice, wind and water. Now, we are the greatest threat to Vermont's mountains and have been since the early days of colonial settlement. And, as the artifacts of destruction have become more sophisticated, powerful and readily deployable, humankind can with ease and within a few months — milliseconds on the geological clock — destroy what took millennia to create. Now is the time to stop this madness.” – *The Mountain Manifesto* (Post & Johnson, 2011)

Vermont is known as ‘The Green Mountain State,’ and the mountains mean a great deal to the people who live there. *The Mountain Manifesto* is a significant document because it is in part a response to the period between 2009 and 2012 where Vermont rapidly approved and constructed wind projects. The manifesto expresses a deep ethical and sentimental relationship with the landscape that the authors fear is threatened. People who oppose wind power development in Vermont are often motivated by this desire to save the mountains they love from the threat of development. Conversely, people who support wind development also seek to defend Vermont's land, through a macro-level approach to addressing climate change globally. They are willing to develop some mountain tops to produce carbon neutral energy for a perceived greater public good. The echoes of the great debate between Muir and Pinchot can be found in the framework of this debate over one hundred years later in Vermont. Due to the urgency of renewable development, a

fundamental discourse about what is moral and what is practical is subverted, poking up within and between the different tangible appeals of both sides. At the core of this debate is the question of how Vermont can go about phasing out fossil fuels. What sacrifices need to be made?

While these fundamental issues lay at the core of this controversy, we must go to the surface of it and dig down to figure out how these deep-seated elements interact in the formation of opinions and policy. One of the most common mediums for mass communication in the United States is online and print news which presents a dialogue between different actors in the contexts shaped by journalists. Examining the media is a key method for understanding the relationship between public opinion and public policy. This thesis seeks to address the questions:

1. Which actors are journalists prioritizing in their coverage?
2. What frames do different actors present?
3. How do different actors employ collective action frames?
4. What are the greater environmental, political, and ethical meanings present in the content of the frames?

Literature Review

Wind Power: Debate and Division

Across the world, proposed wind power projects have faced opposition from local movements in many places such as Australia, United Kingdom, Ireland, Wales, and Cape Cod, Massachusetts, and Vermont despite polling data that shows widespread support (Devine-Wright, 2005; Hindmarsh, 2014; Warren, Lumsden, O'Dowd, & Birnie, 2005).

Opposition efforts often operate as social movements whose tactics share similarities with other grass roots environmental campaigns (McAdam, 2009; Ogilvie & Rootes, 2015).

Unlike many other issues facing the 'green' movement, wind power has environmentally focused advocates organizing both for and against wind projects.

Central to many contemporary environmental debates is the conflict between productive land use development and environmental costs. Environmentalists generally find themselves on the same side of these debates on most issues, but wind power has seen increasing controversy over what type of 'green' action is desirable and how to balance landscape conservation and renewable energy development (Warren et al., 2005). This debate is often misunderstood because wind power has mainstream public support and has come to act as a symbol of environmentalism, making anti-wind advocates appear contrarian to environmentalist values, which is not the case (Pralle & Boscarino, 2011; Szarka, 2004). The intermittent nature of renewable energy requires a diverse and diffused energy infrastructure which poses conservation conflicts, as it requires more surface area to be developed to generate power (Devine-Wright, 2005). Traditional electricity generation of fossil fuels or nuclear energy has been highly centralized and transported across vast distances and thus remains 'out of sight and out of mind' (Devine-Wright, 2005). The logistics of renewables require generation to become more prevalent in people's daily lives, bringing to light a once abstracted condition of modern life which can cause negative reactions (Devine-Wright, 2005). Since wind power does not have a historical stigma like nuclear power carries from its weaponization to base opposition narrative on, wind opponents often use 'trade-off frames' which seek to bring to light the consequences of wind power projects despite their image as a green technology (Pralle & Boscarino, 2011).

Although a trade-off frame may be necessary to demonstrate the downsides of wind power, they are inherently polarizing and offer little in the way of suggesting alternative solutions (Pralle & Boscarino, 2011). Interests and values are at the center of the debate around wind power because issues are framed in terms of social, economic, environmental costs and benefits by different actors which resonate with people differently. Opinions on wind power are formed in a complex process based in one's subjective evaluation of the project's attributes which can lead people in the same social or political groups to form different opinions (Wolsink, 2012). This representation requires a discourse analysis to understand the deeper dimensions of the discourse (Szarka, 2004). As a result of the environmental movement being constantly on the defensive against status-quo energy production, the distinction within the 'green' movement between "techno-environmental" and "socio-ecological" (Pepermans & Maesele, 2014) methods of addressing the global problem of climate change do not frequently make it into the main stream. The former argues that humans must adapt to climate change via technological solutions which allow for contemporary life to maintain with little structural change, while the latter sees a fundamental socio-economic shift as an imperative to address local and global environmental issues (Pepermans & Maesele, 2014). The debate around wind power features divisions within and between these outlooks, and requires a detailed analysis to better understand the socio-political motivations behind these environmental stances.

Pro-Wind Power

Pro-wind campaigns are generally mobilized by large Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and environmentalists whose framing of the threats of global climate change dwarf the issues related to localized environmental and health impacts of wind

turbines (Szarka, 2004). These efforts can be aided by institutionalized forms of support via renewable energy goals or incentives which lead development to occur within the dominant economic structure, especially for large-scale projects (Szarka, 2004). The rhetoric used to justify corporate wind development has been found to foster polarization by presenting a simplistic moral imperative, portraying wind power expansion as altruistic in a global effort to address climate change while portraying resistance as ignorant and selfish (Szarka, 2004). The famed environmentalist, Bill McKibben, articulated this dominant pro-wind position in a 2005 op-ed in the New York Times when he explained the risks of climate change are so great that we need to make sacrifices now so we can survive the future (McKibben, 2005). Since the planning, siting, and developing of wind power projects is done within the economic and political institution in Vermont, the dynamics and effects of social movements cannot be significantly observed, leaving pro-wind supporters more disorganized and less visibly politically active (McAdam, 2009). This leads to the narrative of a 'silent majority' that supports wind power in the face of a more vocal opposition (Hindmarsh, 2014). Trust in one's institutions, community inclusion in the decision-making process, and distribution of the project's benefits via shares or payments from the project have been found to be essential for people to support wind power projects (Devine-Wright, 2005; Devine-Wright & Howes, 2010).

Wind Power Skeptics

Organizing efforts by opponents to wind power often fall beyond institutionalized action so they appear differently over time and location and contain diverse motivations and tactics which may include direct protests against development (Ogilvie & Rootes, 2015; Szarka, 2004). The most successful of these feature cooperation amongst decentralized

groups, which operate in a loosely organized umbrella structure, where resources and strategies are pooled between local movements and more experienced organizations to most effectively influence the decision-making process (Bell, Gray, Haggett, & Swaffield, 2013; Szarka, 2004). Wind opposition movements often do not dismiss climate change, but accuse government policy and industry as corrupt, erroneous, and wasting public funds or land, and respond to claims that they are ignorant of the implications of climate change with accusations of corporate profiteering, and greenwashing of good intentions (Szarka, 2004). Combined with narratives of pro-wind advocates, this leads to a discourse based in 'good' and 'bad', which is a far too simplistic and polarizing conversation to achieve mutual understanding, respect, or solutions. As wind projects require dispersed development of the windiest places, which may be scenic or have cultural importance, the disruption of place attachment of individuals and their lived environment can cause people to oppose projects (Devine-Wright, 2010). Furthermore, since acceptance is based in taking what is offered, the anti-corporate sentiment found in wind opponents can be resentful of the fact that private investment determines when, where, why, and how wind power is deployed instead of a more transformatory ideal towards sustainability (Wolsink, 2012). Wind projects face global opposition because they often violate social norms or challenge existing interests while they are implemented on the basis of their technical potential, framing social acceptance as a barrier to reaching full energy potentials, and portraying the resistance as self-interested and uncompromising (Wolsink, 2012). As described by Szarka, "Pro-wind advocates claim they are 'saving the planet'. Anti-wind campaigners argue they are 'saving the environment'" (Szarka, 2004, p. 326). Opposition movements size and scale are often influenced by the

project developer's community engagement, planning, context, and distribution of costs and benefits (Cass & Walker, 2009).

Beyond NIMBY

Many previous studies point to a phenomenon known as NIMBY (not in my backyard), or the assumption that people support a project or policy but oppose it when it is proposed in their own communities, as the driver of local wind opposition movements. Although proximity may motivate local movements to act, the assumptions of NIMBYism are problematic because they oversimplify the wide range of motivations people have who oppose wind projects (Warren et al., 2005; Wolsink, 2000). Still, NIMBY is used by some researchers as a broader definition for proximity based opposition despite its negative connotation and potentially marginalizing implications (Lindén, Rapeli, & Brutemark, 2015; Zukas, 2017). NIMBY refers to a person who might hold favorable views towards wind power in general, but would oppose wind projects proposed in their proximity while advocating for development elsewhere (Wolsink 2000). This opinion is found to be rare, and that opposition is more often rooted in complex issues such as local attitudes about economic relations, environmental impacts, decision-making dynamics, inclusivity in planning, and a sense of place (Warren et al., 2005; Wolsink, 2000). More and more studies reject NIMBY, pointing to a multifaceted emotional and social reaction sometimes described as 'place protector' attitude that provides a more encompassing lens to analyze regional dissent (Bell et al., 2013; Cass & Walker, 2009; Devine-Wright, 2005; Wolsink, 2000). The place protector attitude describes a cognitive tie between individuals and a socio-physical environment beyond its aesthetic value that exists in a lived experience (Bell et al., 2013). To better understand the complexities of debates around utility scale wind farms, we

adhere to Devine-Wright as he argues research on place identity has the potential to contribute towards a deeper understanding of how change is cognitively perceived, impacts of adaptation on health and wellbeing, and collective behavioral responses (Devine-Wright, 2005).

Not only does place take on a dimension of social identity that shapes the acceptance of a project, but changes to treasured landscapes have been found to have serious impacts on resident's mental health. Cunsolo and Ellis describe ecological grief as a psychological response to damage, or anticipated damage, to one's sense of place which is fundamental in shaping their identity (Cunsolo & Ellis, 2018). Disrupting place identity when altering treasured landscapes could feel like the severing of one's own identity (Cunsolo & Ellis, 2018). Ecological grief is especially significant for people who have a close living and working relationship with the environment and can manifest into depression, anxiety, post-traumatic stress, and other negative mental health reactions (Cunsolo & Ellis, 2018). They say, "personal and cultural notions of value are likely to underpin grief responses, so that the intensity of ecological grief experienced is proportional to the value attributed to the ecological loss" (Cunsolo & Ellis, 2018, p. 279). This response is highly subjective to one's relationship with the land and operates in a complex and heterogenous way. For a 30-year resident the turbines might look like a scar on the landscape, but for a newcomer to the region they may look like a symbol of the future. The more one is attached to the landscape the more negative their perceptions are found to be about wind power (Devine-Wright & Howes, 2010). Environmental ethicist Don Marietta describes utilitarian ethical approaches (as applied by Pinchot) as being insufficient at dealing with issues such as land use, preservation, and treatment of animals because traditional ethics rely on an anthropocentric

viewpoint rather than a framework that sees humans as an equal part of natural world, not a privileged part of it that exists above it (Marietta, 1995). Thus, the ethical consideration environmental and economic cost-benefit analysis is limited to hegemonic economic and political terms that perpetuate our climate crisis (Marietta, 1995).

Media Discourse and Framing

The media plays an integral role in informing the public on current issues. The modern mass media occupies a unique space of both reflecting and shaping public opinion and culture (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Gamson and Modigliani (1989) identify three factors which shape the mediated discourse in American society: identities, influence by sponsors and interests, and norms (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). People rely on the media for information, but their opinions are shaped in an active way that relies on their personal experiences, so media shapes public opinion differently on each issue depending on the prior experience of private citizens (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). To foster inclusive discourse, Pepermans and Maesele (2014) describe the dangers of de-politicizing climate change science to only appeal to rational claims based in scientific evidence. People form beliefs and opinions not only from the rational claims, but from their values and interests as well (Pepermans & Maesele 2014). Only offering scientific data as evidence of the necessary action on climate change has an exclusionary effect on people who might not be scientifically literate, and fails to appeal to human empathy and emotion (Pepermans & Maesele 2014). Equally as exclusionary as de-politicizing climate change is offering a “post-political” consensus or a depiction of issues as if there are only two sides to them (ex.

liberal vs conservative, hawks vs doves) (William A. Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Pepermans & Maesele, 2014).

Policy makers tend to make up the largest group of actors who supply news sources to journalists, and are found to have an even greater influence on the news agenda than the journalists who write the news themselves (Berkowitz, 1992). The mainstream media in the United States often does not supply the conditions for truly democratic discourse because of its reliance on a dichotomous consensus which fails to provide people with a dynamic understanding of complex social and political issues that can't be easily addressed (Pepermans & Maesele, 2014). With divisive issues, journalistic norms often feature juxtaposing view points within each article to provide coverage of the divergent viewpoints while attaining conflict within the piece, often resulting in an oversimplified portrayal of each stance (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Pepermans & Maesele, 2014) This norm occurs partly because news sources provide their stance on an issue while also defining the alternatives to it, thereby confining the discourse to exist within a limited range of possibilities (Berkowitz, 1992). Even within these dichotomous contexts, mainstream discourse only offers ideas within the assumptions of the hegemonic society, so the possibility for alternative solutions are greatly limited (Pepermans & Maesele, 2014). These themes in the media do not encourage discourse to envision possibilities outside of the liberal-capitalist assumption of elite society and as Pepermans and Maesele (2014) say, “(un)consciously served to conceal the underlying ideological struggle between alternative (techno- environmental and/or socio-ecological) futures based on competing analyses of the current and ideal state of affairs, and more specifically, democratic control over the economy and natural resources” (Pepermans & Maesele, 2014, pp. 222-223).

Framing, or portraying information in a certain context, is an essential method used by the media information in a way that resonates with the public. Journalists use frames to contextualize data and information in a way that will resonate with a wider audience based on common knowledge (Lachapelle, Montpetit, & Gauvin, 2014; Shanahan, Jones, McBeth, & Lane, 2013; Zukas, 2017). Frames enable journalists to interact with people's cultural and political values and interests while communicating information to provide people with a greater personal significance (Lachapelle et al., 2014). Although framing is an important way to demonstrate the importance of certain information, it is also a powerful tool that can be used for political or social agendas. It enables opponents of certain actions to portray the decision makers as neglectful or manipulative while enabling proponents to portray opponent stances as false and based in emotion not facts (Pralle & Boscarino, 2011). An important aspect to consider when looking at media reports is where the narratives of dominant frames are sourced. Journalists have been shown to prioritize official and economic elite opinion, supplying citizens with information generated by politicians and businesses, thus allowing hegemonic stances to dominate discourse (Zukas, 2017). Proponents of wind power tend to contribute a primarily technoscience aspects to appeal to 'objective' rationality as outside stake holders often lack an understanding of the unique perceptions within the community (Hindmarsh 2014, Pepermans and Maesele 2014). Juxtaposing scientific claim and more emotional responses can paint an overly homogenized picture of the diverse opinions within opposition groups and local residents as they do not have control over their media representation and must communicate their opinions through accessible frames (Devine-Wright 2005).

Content Analysis

Content analysis is a qualitative research method used to classify and evaluate symbols and themes in written or recorded documents to analyze its meaning and impact (Davies & Hughes, 2014; Krippendorff, 2004). It is often used to understand media discourse around public opinion or policy decisions on issues such as climate change and wind power. Content analysis offers an approach to deconstruct and understand how actors are cited in media, and ways in which issues are framed to provide a nuanced view of complex issues of policy and public action (Boykoff & Boykoff, 2004; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Szarka, 2004; Zukas, 2017). There are multiple approaches to content analysis. *Discourse analysis* focuses on how an event or issue is represented, *social constructivist analysis* focuses on human interaction and language to analyze how facts are constructed, *rhetorical analysis* examines how messages are delivered, and *conversation analysis* analyzes recordings of conversations in natural settings (Krippendorff, 2004).

Energy and Utility Wind Power in Vermont

Under Governor Peter Shumlin, the 2011 Comprehensive Energy Plan (CEP) set ambitious goals for Vermont's transition to renewable energy. It called to reduce per capita energy consumption by 1/3 by 2050, and source 90 percent of energy needs from renewable sources by the same year (Department of Public Service, 2011). To reach the goal of 90 percent renewable by 2050, wind power must play a role in energy production especially since Vermont Yankee Nuclear plant was shut down during Governor Shumlin's tenure which reduced Vermont's energy production by 55 percent (U.S energy information administration, 2017). Vermont currently produces under 35 percent of the electricity it

consumes, importing the balance from the New England Power Grid and Hydro-Quebec (U.S energy information administration, 2017).

Vermont currently sources 6 percent of electricity consumed from in-state wind generation (Department of Public Service, 2016b). Vermont produces 119 MW from its five installed projects which creates over 300 GWh yearly and the state imports an additional 200 GWh of wind energy from facilities in Maine and New Hampshire (Department of Public Service, 2016). The first utility project located in Searsburg went online in 1997, it is owned by Green Mountain Power (GMP) and consists of 11 turbines of 6 MW capacity (Department of Public Service, 2016). The other utility projects are: First Wind Sheffield in Sheffield operational in 2011 and owned by SunEdison, which has 16 turbines for a total of 40 MW capacity; Kingdom Community Wind (KCW) in Lowell, operational in 2012 owned by GMP, which has 21 Turbines for a total 63 MW capacity; Georgia Mountain Community Wind Project in Georgia/Milton, operational in 2012 and owned by Georgia Mountain Community Wind LLC, which has 4 turbines for a total of 10 MW Capacity; and most recently Deerfield in Searsburg and Readsboro, operational in 2017 and owned by Iberdrola which has 15 turbines for a total of 30 MW after years of delay in construction (Department of Public Service, 2016).

To build energy projects in Vermont, developers must go through the siting process established in Title 30 V.S.A. § 248 (Public Utility Commission, 2017a). This requires a Certificate of Public Good (CPG) to be issued by the Public Utility Commission (PUC), formerly the Public Service Board (PSB), a three-member quasi-judicial board (Note: I will refer to the PUC as the PSB in this thesis because that was its title in the time period of this study). The CPG is based on the project's economic and environmental impacts in the

context of generating ‘public good’ (Public Utility Commission: About Us). This process features a public hearing process, but only towards the end, leaving most of the decision-making power in the hands of the developer and executive agencies of the government (Miles, 2008; Public Utility Commission, 2017a). The process leading up to the certificate of public good requires the Vermont Agency of Natural Resources (ANR) to conduct assessments of 10 criteria related to major impacts of the project, of which three are directly related to environmental impacts (Prescott, 2012). Specifically including, water quality, water runoff, wildlife habitat, including a requirement to contain a 4:1 ratio to mitigate the loss of bear habitat, public safety, all using the precedents set by Act 250 which is one of the nation’s most strict land use regulations (Prescott, 2012). In 2016, Act 174 went into effect as a result of popular opposition to wind, which gives more power to towns in the siting process. It provides ‘substantial deference’ to regional and town plans for land conservation, which potentially allows towns to put certain areas off limits to development unless the PUC overrules it by siting other factors effecting the general good of the state (Department of Public Service, 2016a). In 2017, the PUC enacted new sound standards which mandate wind projects can’t exceed 42 decibels between 7am-9pm and 39 decibels between 9pm-7am for over 5 percent of the time within 100 feet from the residence of a non-participating land owner (Public Utility Commission, 2017b). Opponents to wind power say these standards don’t go far enough, while proponents say they are an effective ban on wind power (Polhamus, 2017). After years of reform and debate, the controversy is still strong.

Controversy

Despite the fact that polling data provided by Castleton University shows over 60 percent support for wind power across all age groups, wind projects face opposition across

the state (Castleton Polling Institute, 2013). In 2016, a community led campaign succeeded in halting the construction of what would have been the largest wind project in the state proposed by the Spanish developer Iberdrola in the towns of Windham and Grafton (Faher, 2016). A poll by Vermont Public Radio (VPR) sheds light on a potential factor in this contrasting reality, as it showed only 7 percent of the survey participants trust the PSB completely while 60 percent said they ‘somewhat’ trust them. 36 percent of Vermonters responded saying they trust electric utilities ‘very little’ or ‘not at all’ to serve the interest of Vermonters, and only 12 percent said that the PSB should have the final say on wind projects. Instead, 39 percent said landowners should make final decisions, and 34 percent responded saying the communities should have the final say (Butler, Simon, & Johnson, 2016). A 2017 undergraduate thesis at UVM found a general support for wind power from people living near the Georgia Mountain wind project, and that proximity to the project did not significantly influence opinion, furthering the case that we must look beyond NIMBY to analyze acceptance of wind power projects (Pidala 2017).

Key frames of controversy specific to Vermont have included aesthetics, climate change, energy independence, environmental impact, human health impact, industrial development, and local economic impact (Brandt, 2014; Miles, 2008). Aesthetics are found to play a particularly important role, because of the place based connections that people have with Vermont’s iconic landscape, so much so that aesthetic concerns are reviewed by the PSB in the siting process (Miles, 2008). Examining these frames in the context of a place-protector motivation of opponents to wind power, we must understand the place that is protected to generate a more comprehensive discourse. In a study on discourse on Vermont’s forest attractions, Derrien and Stokowski found that brochures conjured an

image of Vermont to represent it as an adjective to produce “idiosyncratic meanings that linked forests to broader social and cultural meanings” (Derrien & Stokowski, 2017, p. 283). They elaborate, “Vermont-as-adjective is one of the prominent discursive features that agencies and organizations drew on to unify discourses of forests. Even when the word “Vermont” wasn’t used, imagery was used that conjures the distinct rurality of the state” (Derrien & Stokowski, 2017, p. 283). Living in the state of Vermont one is constantly surrounded by both mediated representations as well as local mentalities that contain intrinsic images and meanings of the state’s small scale, self-sufficiency and ideas of ‘quintessential Vermont’ as portrayed in books such as *The Good Life: Helen and Scott Nearing's Sixty Years of Self-Sufficient Living*. Derrien and Stokowski found some frames describing Vermont’s forest as: the **natural forest** as a people-less forest with images of the natural objects existing ‘naturally’ despite implied human participation; the **recreational forest** that highlights the forest as a space for human activities such as hiking, biking, walking, and sitting on mountaintops; the **productive forest** as the bearer of Vermont’s iconic maple syrup and timber resources dominantly portrayed without people; and the **dependent forest** relying on land use change and stewardship where socially interactive directives were applied to encourage participation in conservation (Derrien & Stokowski, 2017). While these descriptive trends of Vermont’s forest are largely based on human participation in the forest ecosystems, there is a major difference in terms of scale between a maple syrup operation as Vermont’s productive forest, and 300-foot wind turbines. Research links the social construction of a landscape in relation to their symbolic and historical attributes as an influencer on opinions about specific projects in how they ‘fit’ into the landscape (Devine-Wright 2005). The narrative of Vermont being a deeply rural state based

with small scale business is an important framework to keep in mind throughout this analysis.

Wind in Lowell VT: The Kingdom Community Wind Project

Green Mountain Power Corporation (GMP), Vermont Electric Power Company (VEC), and Vermont Transco make up the project called Kingdom Community Wind (KCW) that was originally proposed in 2009 when GMP met with the Lowell select board to alert them of their proposal (Prescott, 2012). The Lowell select board mandated GMP allow the townspeople to vote on the project. The vote, which 78% of the community participated in, took place on town meeting day, March 2, 2010, and was approved by a margin of 342-114 or 75% (Prescott, 2012). On April 13, 2010 the Lowell select board signed on, and just over one year later at the end of May 2011, the project received the Certificate of Public Good from the Public Service Board. Construction began in September of 2011 (Prescott, 2012). As a result of the project, the town of Lowell receives payments from GMP in the form of a 'good neighbor fund' set up by GMP. Surrounding towns get some contributions from the fund, but much less compared to Lowell (Prescott, 2012). Over the course of this time, significant community efforts from Lowell and surrounding towns were made to halt the project through institutional forms as well as direct action protest.

Methodology-

In this section I lay out my methods in conducting this research including research software, article selection, and coding. In total, I coded 91 articles specifically on the Kingdom Community Wind project in Lowell Vt. This section will provide a description of the process that went into developing my study.

Research Questions:

1. Which actors are journalists prioritizing in their coverage?
2. What frames do different actors present?
3. How do different actors employ collective action frames?
4. What are the greater environmental, political, and ethical meanings present in the content of the frames?

I conducted a *discourse analysis*, which seeks to analyze how a particular phenomenon is represented, on newspaper articles about the wind project in Lowell (Krippendorff, 2004). I used the HyperRESEARCH 4.0.0 software as used by Watts & Madison (2012) and Brandt (2014) to analyze and provide a data set showing frequency and frames employed. I used this software because it allowed me to process a large quantity of data quickly and accurately (Brandt, 2014; Davies & Hughes, 2014; Watts & Maddison, 2012).

Articles were collected using the America's News and Burlington Free Press through the ProQuest Central databases made available by the University of Vermont (UVM) library. I gathered articles using the search terms "Wind Power" and "Kingdom Community Wind". I chose my samples from the *Associated Press*, *Caledonian Record*, and *Burlington Free Press* because they represent both local and state-wide publications. The *Burlington Free Press* is the state's most widely read newspaper based in Chittenden county, the *Associated Press* is a statewide newswire, and the *Caledonian Record* is a local paper based in Caledonia County in the North-East Kingdom. These papers were used in Neil Brandt's 2014 study on news coverage on Vermont wind, providing some inspiration to this methodology and an additional reference point for analysis (Brandt, 2014). To be included in the study, the

articles must have been published between January 1, 2011 and December 31, 2011, the KCW project must be the primary focus of the article, and it must be written by a journalist or be a letter to the editor. I chose this time period because it saw the most news coverage of the projects and featured the maximum organizing efforts from the community, as the project was approved by the public service board and began construction.

Coding-

As I went through each article, I coded each stimuli according to actor or frame groups. The first code applied was the newspaper “Caledonian Record”, “Associated Press”, or “Burlington Free Press.”

Next, actor or ‘source’ codes were applied to the actor groups identified by previous studies and my preliminary observations of the most dominant actors (Brandt, 2014). The actor codes employed were “State Officials” including Legislators, PSB, Executives, and State Agencies, “Local Official” including Orleans county Select board members, town clerks, sheriff, etc., “Wind/ Energy Industry” including Green Mountain Power, Vermont Electric Co-Op, and other energy organizations, “Pro-Wind Groups” including Non-Governmental Organizations advocating for wind power, “Anti-Wind Group” Non-Governmental Organizations advocating against wind power and identified as such, “Vermont Residents” including citizens, college students, or broader descriptions of ‘opposition’ where no specific group is identified, “Journalists”, and “Other” including any person that does not fall into the categories above.

Once an actor was identified, a stance code was applied to define the actor's position on the project. Stance codes included "Support", "Oppose", and "Neutral" which was applied when the actor did not have an apparent stance despite providing an organizing frame.

Codes for organizing frames were established through observations and based on those chosen previous studies on wind power issues (Brandt, 2014; Fischlein et al., 2010; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Hindmarsh, 2014; Miles, 2008; Prescott, 2012; Stephens, Rand, & Melnick, 2009). The frames are: "Climate Change" including anything related to addressing global warming, reducing carbon emissions (Brandt, 2014; Hindmarsh, 2014; Szarka, 2004), "Energy Independence" including anything related to reducing energy imports, transitioning from fossil fuel since Vermont does not have fossil fuel resources, and generating power in state (Brandt, 2014; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989), "Economic Gain" including anything related to jobs, tax breaks, state revenue (Brandt, 2014; Stephens et al., 2009), "Aesthetic" including anything related to visual impacts and impacts to the character of the region (Brandt, 2014; Miles, 2008; Prescott, 2012; Stephens et al., 2009), "Environmental Impact" including anything related to negative environmental impacts of turbine construction including wildlife and habitat (Brandt, 2014; Stephens et al., 2009), "Human Impact" including anything related to health consequences, property value, or other human loss (Brandt, 2014; Stephens et al., 2009), and "Industrial" including anything related to scale, corporate ownership, or manipulative industry practices (Bell et al., 2013; Brandt, 2014; Devine-Wright, 2005).

Of these organizing frames, Climate Change, Energy Independence, and Economic Gain have an inherent positive connotation as they are in line with the Vermont standards of energy development that increase the public good (Prescott, 2012). Environmental

Impact, Human Impact, Aesthetic, and Industrial have an inherent negative connotation as they represent both specific and ideological criticisms of modern development and corporate investment.

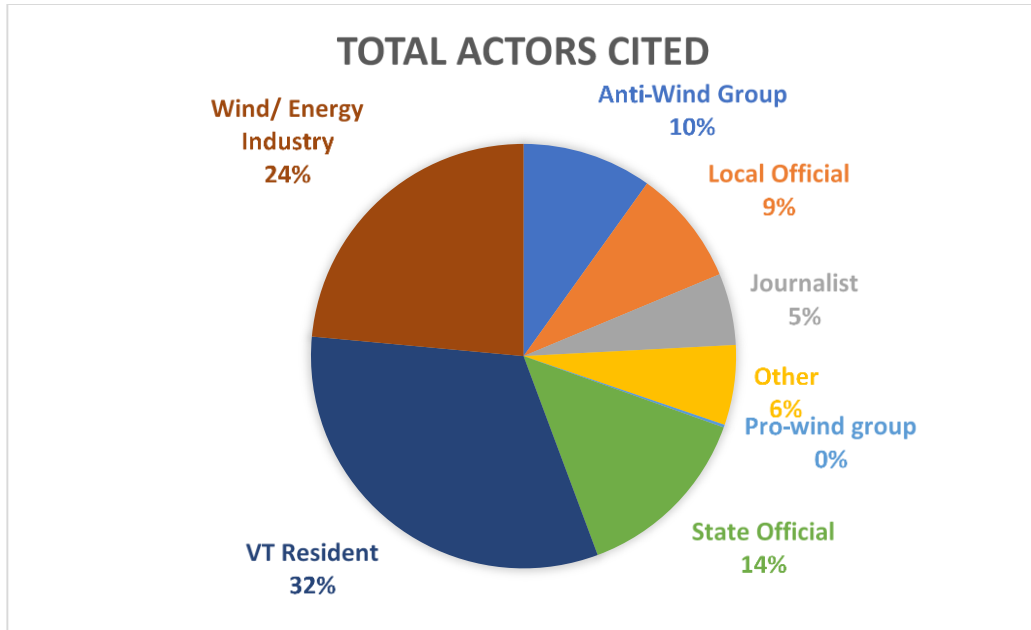
Finally, I followed the method of William Gamson's landmark 1992 study and searched for collective action frames. Collective action frames are made up of three distinct components, "injustice", "agency", and "identity", which when combined produce a compelling and emotional call to action which promotes the possibility of successful change (Gamson, 1992). As Gamson puts it, "They offer ways of understanding that imply the need for and desirability of some form of action" (Gamson, 1992, p. 7). "Injustice" expresses moral indignation laden with emotion, and is motivated by human actors who cause some kind of harm; "Agency" denotes the awareness that policies or conditions can be changed through collective action, they empower people by portraying them as makers of history; and "Identity" defines a 'we' group that has a shared set of values or beliefs different from 'them' who are the target of the collective action (Gamson, 1992).

Findings-

In this section I lay out the findings of my content analysis. A total of 1,756 codes were applied to the relevant sources from a total of 91 articles published by the Burlington Free Press (7), Caledonian Record (64), and Associated Press (20) in the year 2011. The Caledonian Record had by far the largest quantity of articles because of its proximity to the project, reporting on the it weekly and sometimes daily. The Burlington Free Press had fewer, but lengthy and in-depth articles that were published after major developments in the project. The Associated Press published frequent, but briefer 'hard news' articles about the

project. When comparing coverage between papers, I used percentages to represent their relationship. NOTE: Due to rounding off, results may not equal 100 percent.

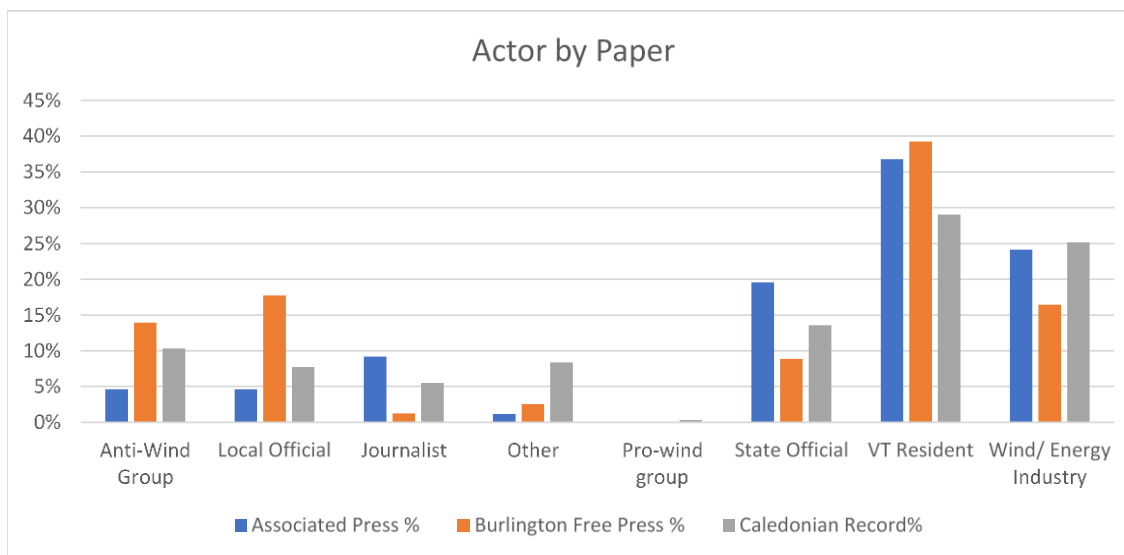
Graph 1. Total Actors Cited



Of the total actors cited in the newspapers, Vermont Residents had by far the largest voice represented making up 32% of the total references, though their stances differed drastically as shown below. The Wind/ Energy Industry was the second most cited, representing 24% of actors. State officials were cited at a rate of 14%, followed by Anti-Wind groups with 10% and Local Officials with 9%. The ‘Other’ group made up 6%, and Journalists independently employed an organizing frame in their writing at 5%. A Pro-Wind Group was only cited once throughout the entire study so it shows up as 0% due to rounding.

Tabel 1. Actor Cited in Each Paper			
Actor Frequency per Paper	Associated Press %	Burlington Free Press %	Caledonian Record%
Anti-Wind Group	5%	14%	10%
Local Official	5%	18%	8%
Journalist	9%	1%	5%
Other	1%	3%	8%
Pro-wind group	0%	0%	0%
State Official	20%	9%	14%
VT Resident	37%	39%	29%
Wind/ Energy Industry	24%	16%	25%

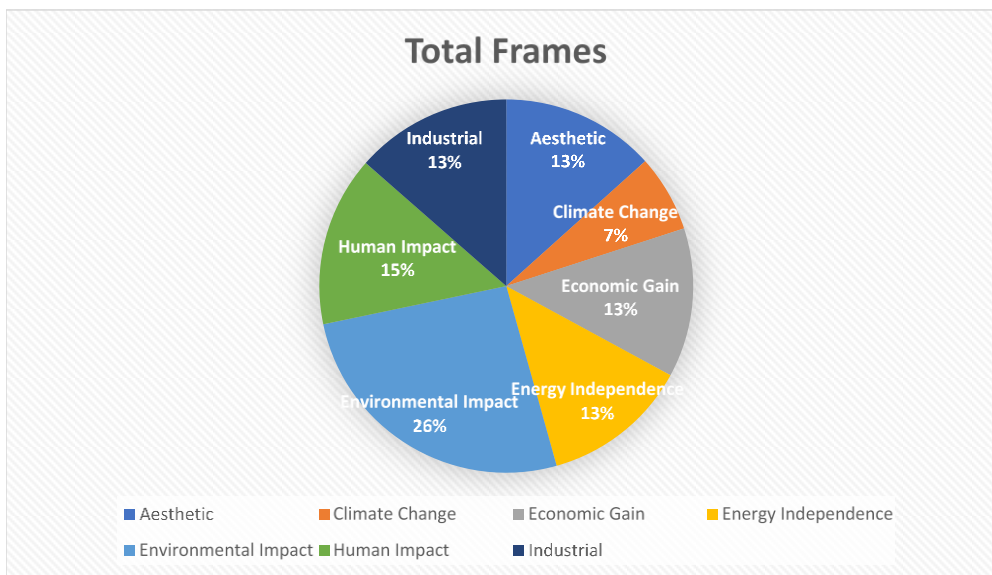
Graph 2. Actors cited in each paper



A total of 87 actors were cited in the Associated Press, 79 actors in the Burlington Free Press, and 310 actors cited in the Caledonian Record for a total of 476 actor citations. The Associated Press cited State Officials at a higher rate than the Free Press and Caledonian Record, while citing Local Officials the lowest. The coverage in the AP was most dominated by Vermont Residents and Wind/ Energy Industry which combined to equal 61% of the total actor citations. The Burlington Free Press cited Vermont Residents at the highest rate, and featured their voices significantly more than any other voice cited in their articles. The Burlington Free Press was the only paper where Wind/ Energy Industry

was not the second most cited actor, instead citing Local Officials more than the others. Anti-wind groups were cited in the Burlington Free Press 14% out of its total citations while State Officials at 9%, making it the only paper which prioritized Anti-Wind Groups over State Officials. The Caledonian Record had the most even coverage of the actors but followed the trend in which VT Residents and Wind/ Energy Industry made up over 50% of the total sources.

Graph 3. Total Frames Employed



In total, 495 organizing frames were applied to the articles examined. Across all three newspapers, Environmental Impact was by far the most frequent frame at 26%. This frame was not only used by people opposed to the project, it was used by proponents as well to discuss the environmental assessments, and also to refute the claims of the opposition. Human Health was the second most frequent frame at 15%, followed by a four-way tie between Economic Gain, Energy Independence, Aesthetics, and Industrial at 13%. Climate Change was the least used frame at 7%. The following are a selection of examples from the text for each frame are:

The **Climate Change** frame was used by Grace Hawkins in a letter to the editor to the Caledonian record: “All the supposed effects that peak oil, nonrenewable resources, spills, and nuclear meltdowns have are showing up every day through pollution in our skies, waterways, political system, and our economy” (Hawkins, 2011, p. A4).

Green Mountain Power’s CEO Mary Powell used the **Economic Gain** frame as she was quoted in the Caledonian Record: “This project will bring economic benefits to electric consumers, as well as to the northeast region of Vermont, and we are pleased that the board agreed” (Smith, 2011a, p. C1).

Dorothy Schnure of Green Mountain Power employed the **Energy Independence** frame in a Letter to the Editor in the Caledonian Record:

“Perspectives often changed, as shown by the overwhelming vote in support of the project this past March, when people learned, for example, that all the electricity will stay in Vermont, that KCW will generate enough electricity for 20,000 Vermont homes every year, that KCW will reduce the amount of fossil fuel generated in New England, and that KCW will provide price stability to members of Vermont Electric Cooperative and customers of Green Mountain Power for generations to come.” (Schnure, 2011, p. A4)

David Lamont employed the **Aesthetic** frame when he was quoted in the Burlington Free Press saying [the project], “will not promote the general good of the state, in part because of its undue effect on the beauty of the region” (Page, 2011a, p. A1).

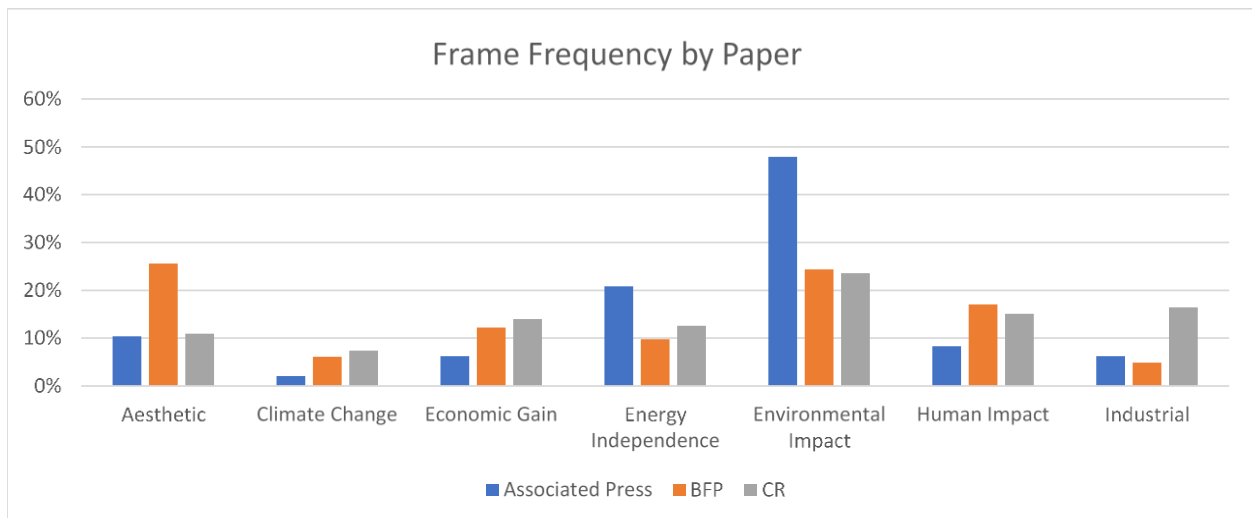
The **Environmental Impact** frame is demonstrated by Jeannine Young of Craftsbury in the Caledonian Record: “Cutting into a mountain will require significant protection from erosion's storm-water runoff during construction and following. Again, how will the developers assure the public that they will protect the environment in this regard?” (Smith, 2011c, p. C1)

The **Human Impact** frame is used by the Albany Select Board in a letter to the PSB “Displacement of taxes from residents who have been directly impacted by the project to those who have not been directly impacted is unfair.” (Page, 2011b, p. D1)

Claudette Sorinto uses the **Industrial** frame in a Letter to the Editor published by the Caledonian Record: “Green Mountain Power is owned by a large multi-national conglomerate in Canada, so the real profits will be going outside the state and the country.” (Sortino, 2011, p. C4)

Frame Frequency by Paper	Associated Press %	Burlington Free Press %	Caledonian Record %
Aesthetic	10%	26%	11%
Climate Change	2%	6%	7%
Economic Gain	6%	12%	14%
Energy Independence	21%	10%	13%
Environmental Impact	48%	24%	24%
Human Impact	8%	17%	15%
Industrial	6%	5%	16%

Graph 4. Frame Frequency by Paper



The most glaring result in this data set is the rate at which the AP featured the Environmental Impact frame (48%), doubling the rate of the other two papers which both featured it at 24%. The Associated Press also featured the Energy Independence frame at a greater rate than the other two at 21% compared to 13% in the Caledonian Record and 10% in the Burlington Free Press. The Burlington Free Press and Caledonian Record had fairly similar usage of each frame, with the Free Press featuring the Aesthetic frame at 26%, significantly more than the Associated Press and Caledonian Record. The Caledonian Record featured the Industrial frame the most at 16%, but in total had the most even use of the organizing frames.

Actor's Frame Usage	State Official	Local Official	Anti Wind Group	Pro Wind Group	Wind/ Energy Industry	VT Resident	Journalist	Other
Aesthetic	6	8	9	0	1	30	1	12
Climate Change	2	1	1	2	10	11	0	1
Economic Gain	4	4	0	1	31	14	4	1
Energy Independence	5	2	1	3	28	8	10	1
Environmental Impact	18	6	28	1	20	50	2	10
Human Impact	7	16	5	0	2	36	1	9
Industrial	0	5	18	0	0	28	12	4
Total Frames Employed	42	42	62	7	92	177	30	38

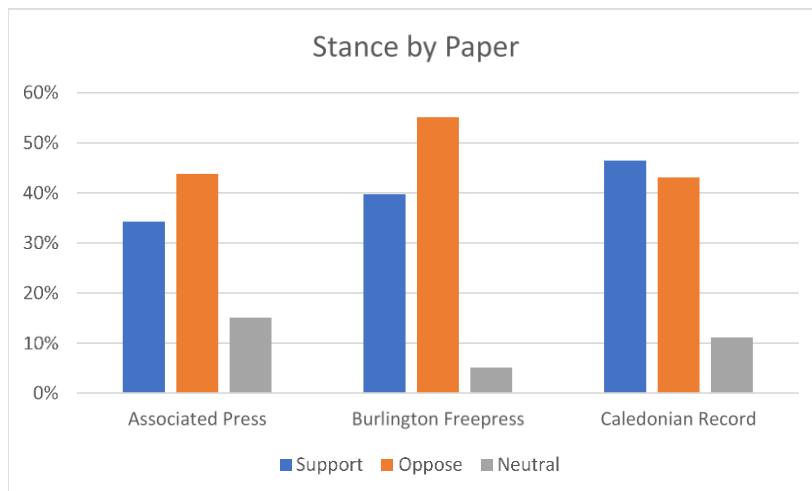
Table 3 shows the distribution of frames employed by the different actors cited. Vermont Residents provided the most frames by far, almost double the Wind/ Energy Industry which was the second most cited group. Although they were cited 8% more than Wind/ Energy Industry, this difference is disproportional to the frequency of citations, which could be a result of a tendency of journalists to cite multiple reasons residents opposed the project within the same sentence while offering other groups more time to address a single frame. For example, an article published by the Associated Press Wire covered a property dispute between GMP and resistant residents, citing opposition motives, “It has drawn vigorous opposition from some neighbors and environmentalists, whose

concerns include its effects on wildlife, noise from the turbines and marring unspoiled mountain vistas” (Ring, 2011). This sentence would be coded as one actor code and three different frame codes. State Officials employed frames in a similar manner as the total frames used as shown by Graph 3 with the exception of the Industrial frame. State Officials were primarily concerned with Environmental Impact, with a significant gap between that and their second most frequently used frame, Human Impact. This was in part due to articles related about environmental assessments carried out by the Agency of Natural Resources (ANR), which is a state agency. State Officials, Pro-Wind Groups and Wind/ Energy Industry all did not use the Industrial Frame. Local Officials prioritized the Human Impact frame as the primary focus of their jobs is to represent the people of the region first. 86% of frames used by the Wind/ Energy industry was either Economic Gain (31), Energy Independence (28), and Environmental Impact (20). Environmental Impact was used by Wind/ Energy Industry to either counter claims by wind project opponents of the project’s environmental impacts, or discuss environmental assessments or mitigation measures. Wind/ Energy Industry used Climate Change only 10 times out of their 92 frames. VT Residents had the most even distribution of frames used out of all the groups. Residents used the Environmental Impact (50) and Human Impact (36) as their most frequent frames, followed by Aesthetic at (30) and Industrial at (28). Positive frames were only employed by VT Residents 19% of the time with Economic Gain at 14 out of 177, Climate Change at 11 out of 177, and Energy Independence at 8 out of 177. Journalists were predominantly coded for employing the Industrial frame as well as the Energy Independence frame due to frequent descriptions of the project using the word ‘industrial’ as well as describing the project’s estimated addition to Vermont’s electricity portfolio.

Stance by Actor	State Official	Local Official	Anti Wind Group	Pro Wind Group	Wind/ Energy Industry	VT Resident	Journalist	Other
Support	60%	34%	0%	100%	99%	26%	0%	7%
Oppose	17%	59%	100%	0%	0%	73%	5%	63%
Neutral	23%	7%	0%	0%	1%	1%	95%	30%

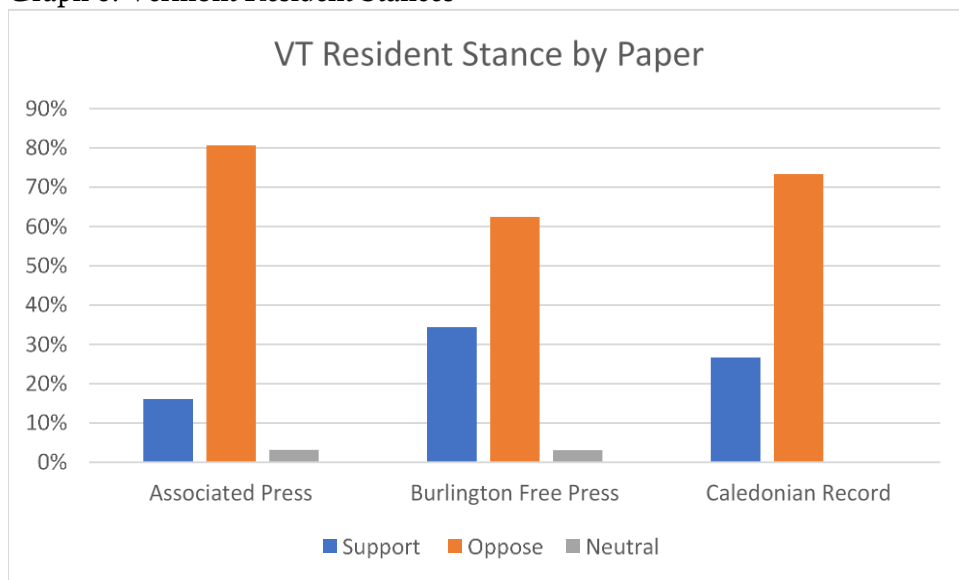
State Officials demonstrated support for the project with 60% of their references supporting the project while only 17% opposed, and with 23% of comments made by State Officials were neutral. Local officials generally opposed the project, with 34% support, 59% opposed, and 7% neutral. Pro-Wind Groups and Anti-Wind groups reflected their titles by being 100% in support and 100% opposed respectively. The Wind/ Energy Industry demonstrated 99% support with 1% neutral comments. Vermont Residents cited in the news articles resoundingly opposed the project by 73% with 26% support and 1% neutral. Despite this seemingly massive opposition, the article sources did not necessarily represent the greater public opinion which will be discussed in the next section. Journalists were neutral when presenting organizing frames 95% of the time with 5% opposition due to Op-Eds. Frames presented by journalists without an explicit stance were coded as neutral. The Other group had 7% support, 63% opposition, and 30% neutral stances on the project.

Graph 5. Stance by Paper



The Associated Press and Burlington Free Press presented a majority of stances in opposition to the project, while the Caledonian Record presented slightly more supporting stances. The most frequent opposing stances could be seen in the Burlington Free Press at 55%, which is 15% more than the supporting stances in the Burlington Free Press (40%), a greater difference than the other two papers. The Associated Press had the most neutral frames at 15%. The Caledonian Record presented the most even distribution of supporting and opposing frames at 46% support and 43% opposed.

Graph 6. Vermont Resident Stances



The Associated Press demonstrated the greatest difference in opinion with 81% of residents opposed and 16% in support. The Burlington Free Press showed a the most even stances with 63% opposed and 34% in favor. The Caledonian Record cited 73% in opposition and 27% in support, it was the only paper that did not contain a neutral stance for a Vermont Resident.

Stance	Support	Oppose	Neutral
Collective Action Frame	1	24	0

Actor	VT Residents	Anti-Wind Group	Local Official
Collective Action Frame	17	7	1

There was a total of 25 collective action frames across the 91 articles, of which 24 collective action frames were employed by actors opposed to the project. To employ a collective action frame, one must not be in a decision-making position on the issue at hand. Vermont Residents and Anti-wind groups made up the majority of the collective action frames. Local officials were not in a position of power in the siting process as the surrounding town's statements opposing the project took no effect. An article written by Candace Page in the Burlington Free Press demonstrates a Collective Action Frame, paraphrasing and using direct quotes of Sutton resident Paul Brouha:

"We are trying to face the reality that we may not be able to live here after the project is built, with the noise, the vibrations, the aesthetics," he said. He said he and neighbors also are considering a class-action lawsuit against the wind farm. "We hope to expand the class to neighbors of all such projects being proposed or developed in Vermont," he said. "My wife and I have been married 43 years, and I can tell you the last few years have been the most difficult because of the stress and tension brought on by this project," he said. "This burden hasn't helped my health." (Page, 2011a, p. A1)

In this quote the injustice frame can be seen in the project's anticipated and present mental health issues and the threat of indirect eviction, agency in the call for a class-action lawsuit, and identity by calling out for the support of all people who are resisting wind power in Vermont. The combination of these three generate a compelling call to action.

Discussion-

In this section I will discuss the meanings and implications of the data presented in the section above. My analysis seeks to address the ethical, political, and environmental aspects of the discourse, as content analysis identifies patterns and meanings within the qualitative data (Fischlein et al., 2010). This analysis considers the discourse present in the newspapers as a manufactured conversation between the public and decision-makers who selectively direct attention by using frames as agenda setting parameters which contain complex, ideological packages (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Kenamer, 1992). When looking at media frames employed, we must view them as active elements laden with facts, values, and beliefs that resonate differently with different people, not static representations intrinsic to the issue (Gamson, 1992). Scholars discuss three main factors that influence the positions of individuals on wind power which are 1) community engagement in the decision-making process, 2) economic distribution of benefits, and 3) a socially constructed relationship between the people and the landscape (Cass & Walker, 2009; Devine-Wright, 2005; Devine-Wright & Howes, 2010; Wolsink, 2012). I argue that these three factors operate interconnectedly and place-identity has an elevated role. First, I will analyze the frequency of actors cited; then, the frames employed in total; after that, the frames employed by Vermont Residents; and finally, how they manifest into the collective action framework.

I begin by discussing the effect of the frequency of actors cited, as Wolsink describes them as the “first component in the social dimension of the socio-technical system” (Wolsink, 2012, p. 1719). Across all three publications, Vermont Residents were the most cited group. This breaks a norm exhibited around energy issues where official word is given

the most privilege, especially when opposition exists (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Hindmarsh, 2014; Zukas, 2017). VT Residents, Anti-Wind Groups, State Officials, and Wind/ Energy Industry combined to make up 80% of the total discourse. With Wind/ Energy Industry's absolute support for the project and State Officials' 60% support with only 17% opposition, Vermont Residents and Anti-Wind Groups were the primary dissenting voices against the project. In the 2014 study, Neil Brandt found Vermont Residents were against wind development in 62% of news citations in the same papers examined in this study from 2003-2013, showing Vermont Residents have been a historical source of dissent (Brandt, 2014). Juxtaposing complex stances in media, as well as analyzing media while not considering the content of the frames, can work to abstract the distinct community values at stake within the indirect media conversation between the two drawn up sides. As a result of this pro/con portrayal, some of the core elements of the debate are abstracted, so specific frames surface above the overarching media packages and ideologies that we must further analyze to shed light on the deeper meanings of this debate (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). For these reasons, combined with the confinement of complex ideas within media frames, we must look at the actual content of how the different actors employed the frames to better understand the ideologies at play behind the text (Hindmarsh, 2014).

Out of the frames cited, Environmental Impact was by far the most cited at 26% of the total frames, 11% higher than the second most frequent frame, Human Impact. One factor contributing to the prevalence of this frame is that it was the most cited frame by Vermont Residents, who made up the largest actor group shaping the debate using the frame 28% of the time. A major feature of the debate was around an economic and environmental

cost-benefit analysis which exists on top of a deeper meaning of the project's socio-ecological implications. At the core of the debate lies the question: how can Vermont transition off fossil fuel energy while preserving the treasured landscapes of the state? Devine-Wright argues that public perception should be considered in the context of normative assumptions of electric generation which, aside from transmission lines, have not been visibly present in most of the state of Vermont (Devine-Wright, 2005). This debate requires an answer to this moral question of how the state will choose to utilize the land where people live and recreate and how it is valued. The side effect of developing renewables in Vermont is developing unutilized land which inherently comes with ecological consequences. Within this frame we can see the social importance of landscapes inspiring a greater emphasis on ecological integrity, as well as a skeptical outlook on GMP and the PSB who made the final decisions about the project. Another factor leading to the frequency of the Environmental Impact frame could be that it is the most quantifiable negative frame within the CPG process. The Aesthetic and Industrial frame are more subjective to the individual's relationship to the landscape and opinions on Vermont's small-scale identity. Human Impacts were frequently based in property value disputes which can be studied but are not part of the CPG process. Furthermore, a lot of the health impacts cited are still yet to be proven in peer-reviewed studies to enable a scientific consensus.

Human Impact was the second most cited at 15% and features discussion of property value, noise pollution, and other health impacts. Human Impact is the most accessible to 'common-sense morality' as the harm and responsibility are caused and effected by human actors (Jamieson, 2014). For people who are not necessarily concerned with climate change or environmental impacts, this frame provides a lens to see the injustice in the decision

making. The majority of the human impact frames were in relation to unwanted noise and health impacts, as well as loss of property value as a result of the project. These comments appear to be loaded with an anti-“corporate invader” sentiment that can be seen in comments such as word of Jared Margolis, an attorney hired by the towns of Craftsbury and Albany, “We went to great lengths and expense to ensure the board understood how noise from this project would impact the surrounding residences, and why what they were hearing from GMP was only part of the real story” (Smith, 2011a, p. C1). Other comments relate to a notion of place identity as well as property ownership and individual determination over that property which is inherent in the liberal ideology (Meyer, 2015). This position can be seen in a quote by Eric Wallace-Senft of West Woodbury, “We can no longer let the corporations make energy decisions for us. Green Mountain Power has taken our property and constitutional rights, and is blasting away our mountains. It's time the power returns to the people” (Associated Press Wire, 2011). In these quotes we can see how the frames employed carry a far greater significance than can be described in a statistical analysis, and contain not only rational, but emotional and ideological sentiments as well. The criticism of the KCW project reflect the criticism of other projects around the world in their resentment of corporate profits at the expense of their perceived right to self-determination and an unfragmented environment. Another factor contributing to the frequency of this frame is that it was the most cited by Local Officials, whose jobs are directly related to the townspeople as elected representatives and/or members of the community.

Of the total 67 times the Aesthetic frame was used, 30 of the actors who used it were Vermont Residents, making them the dominant proponent of this frame. The Green Mountain Club, an organization in charge of maintaining the Long Trail, perhaps

Vermont's most historic and popular hiking trail, was another actor who frequently used this frame and was coded under the 'Other' group. Another interesting point is that 40 of the 67 Aesthetic codes were found in the local paper, the Caledonian Record. It is important to note that folks opposed to wind often acknowledged aesthetics as a factor, but not the most important factor in their opinion. Aesthetics frames often carry a deep-rooted ideal about the land ethic that is diluted by the label of 'aesthetics'. A literal 'aesthetic' concern is seen as superficial in the face of a global crisis such as climate change. In his 2008 study, Brian Miles identified two distinct themes within the aesthetic frame in the Vermont wind debate as being the *natura-ruralist* theme and the *scientific-judicial* theme based in the Section 248 parameters (Miles, 2008). The *natura-ruralist* theme is bound up in subjective beliefs and values about the identity of the landscape, while the *scientific-judicial* exists on a practical level that seeks to influence the PSB's decision to grant the Certificate for Public Good. A vocal critic of the project, Ron Holland exhibits the first theme in the quote, "There are very few places like it. This enterprise is tampering with our identity" (Smith, 2011d, p. C1). The latter is demonstrated in a letter written by the Craftsbury Conservation Commission that appeared in the Burlington Free Press as they say the project will, "significantly alter a 450-million-year-old iconic ridgeline visible throughout Orleans County. As stated in the 2005 Craftsbury Town Plan, our natural features are at the core of our sense of place and our community identity" (Page, 2011b, p. D1). The differentiation in these appeals show how our modern methods of environmental discourse and policy making come up short in reflecting environmental ethics making it so the actor must fit their frame within institutionally determined parameters. The aesthetic features of the landscape are present in the ideals of Vermont's landscape as a productive landscape or a consumptive landscape.

While not mutually exclusive, different types of production and consumption line up differently with people's values about the landscape. The aesthetic frame is intertwined with a characterization and representation of place that must be considered when negotiating and resolving competing desires about land usage (Miles, 2008).

The industrial frame was primarily used by VT Residents and Anti-Wind Groups, as they resented corporate influence over the process, and felt industrial development does not belong in their region. The perceived characteristic of Vermont is described by Craftsbury Select Board member Susan Houston, "The size is inappropriate for our landscape. It is not in keeping with our state's character." (Page, 2011b, p. D1). While John Day of Newark, VT presents the anti-corporate stance in his loaded comment, "This is the shocking power of the unsustainably subsidized industry that is out to ruin our state and hand us the highest electric bill we have ever seen." (Day, 2011, p. A4). In these comments there are elements of the projects scale, and its corporate sponsorship. These perceptions of the wind project can work to magnify the significance of the frames above as they extend the threat not only to the environment or a few people who happen to live in the area, but the identity of the region as a whole. The problem with this frame is that we live in an industrial society, and therefore must produce energy at an industrial scale. At the same time, the North-East Kingdom is very rural and dispersed, so this type of production drastically contrasts with the social identity of the region as well as its energy needs in general. Furthermore, the complaints about the corporate nature of the project tended to be based on the unfair advantage the companies got as a result of state policy, and their ability to influence state politics. Vermont has few areas where wind power can possibly be sited, so the

requirements for siting and the local identities of the site are put in a position where conflict will likely arise.

One of the more surprising findings of this study is the lack of Climate Change frames. Despite climate change being the main imperative to increase renewable energy production, Energy Independence and Economic Gain were the dominant positive frames. Other studies have found energy developers frame development differently based on the community at stake, sometimes even forfeiting the climate change frame entirely (Fischlein et al., 2010). As a town with little wealth, economic gain was perhaps the most compelling frame for the residents of Lowell who financially benefited from the project. Green Mountain Power CEO, Mary Powell, was quoted using the Economic Gain frame by stating “Kingdom Community Wind will produce the lowest-cost new renewable energy for our customers” and “This project will bring economic benefits to electric consumers, as well as to the northeast region of Vermont...” (Smith, 2011a, p. C1). This could be a far more compelling frame to encourage community support than framing Vermont as responsible to address the global problem of climate change. Interestingly, this statement by Powell directly contradicts the one made by John Day using the industrial frame, which I will discuss further down. Another factor leading to the lack of climate change frames is that I only coded statements about increasing Vermont’s renewable energy as Climate Change if it was precluded or followed by mentions about the climate issue. Otherwise they were coded as Energy Independence because Vermont has no fossil fuel reserves mandating its energy independence be a result of renewable development. This differs from Brandt’s findings that Climate Change was the most dominant positive frame between 2003 and 2013, though it was declining by 2011. This difference could be that Brandt’s study focused on all articles on

wind power in Vermont, and this only looked at articles specifically related to the Kingdom Community Wind Project.

Perhaps the most significant data points I found are the stances of Vermont Residents, especially since energy projects are approved in the context of the public good. Despite the fact that the total coverage of all actors across all three papers had an almost perfectly balanced coverage of stances with 204 codes in support, 203 codes opposed, and 43 codes neutral, Vermont Residents were shown to have a significantly negative view of the project. Across the three papers Vermonters were cited opposing the project 73% of the time with only 26% support and 1% neutral. The raw figures behind those percentages is 111 opposing codes, 40 supporting codes, and 2 neutral codes. Throughout the newspaper discourse, the vast majority of Vermont Residents cited were residents of the towns most immediate to the project: Lowell, Craftsbury, and Albany. This representation of opinion vastly differs from the Castleton poll taken in 2013, which showed a strong support of wind power among Vermonters with 60% in favor across the state (Castleton Polling Institute, 2013). This was also Vermont's most productive time in terms of utility wind development when KCW, First Wind Sheffield, Georgia Mountain Community Wind, all went online between 2010 and 2012.

We must acknowledge a contributing factor to the uneven coverage of Vermont Resident's opinions was that the people opposed to wind were generally more newsworthy. Over the course of the year they used activist tactics to draw attention to the project and their position in opposition to it that were at times confrontational and even resulted in several arrests. In December of 2011, 6 protestors were arrested for physically blocking the project's construction along with a journalist of the Barton Chronicle, Christopher

Braithwaite, who was covering the event (Smith, 2011b). Despite these significant actions, the degree to which opposing views outnumber supporting among Vermont citizens still seems disproportionate to the known position of the state and community. Thus, it is a likely result of the tendency for journalists to juxtapose the proponents in the industry with opponents in the communities. While VT Residents opposing views were cited at a much higher frequency, the quotations were often precluded by the journalist stating the featured opinion was a minority view. While no conclusions can be drawn from the actual effect of this coverage, I infer that it could have contributed to the narrative of injustice among the folks opposed to wind because of the frequency by which negative opinions were featured.

As described in my Literature Review, a common tendency for people examining wind projects is to point to NIMBYism as a central reason for this disparagement. If a majority of Vermonters support wind projects, then opposition must be a result of a selfish desire to keep them out of sight. This logic might seem adequate for someone wanting to discredit opposing viewpoints, but will fail at addressing the underlying issues with wind development. To oppose the KCW project, some Vermonters organized into groups with titles such as: The Lowell Mountain Group, Ridgeprotectors “guardians of Vermont’s ridgelines”, Mountain Talk, as well as groups focused on other wind projects in the state titled Save our Senecas and Glebe Mountain Group. These titles evoke a deeper sense of meaning in the Vermont mountains which place them at the center of their political purpose. While Vermont has a historic relation to wind power with the Grandpa’s Knob turbine being one of the nation’s first electricity producing windmills, the North-East Kingdom has maintained a distinctly rural, mountainous nature which defines it as a unique region in the state. Cass and Walker point to the volatile response to projects that don’t ‘fit’

normative assumptions of the landscape as perceptions of it as an ‘invading threat’ of industrial scale and corporate interested into a cherished and meaningful place (Cass & Walker, 2009). The portrayal of Vermont as an adjective for pastoral landscapes in different media forms sends messages that can teach values, beliefs, and provide images to negotiate meaning in the world (Gamson, 1992). These reinforced identities and meanings that relate Vermonters to the state’s forests can be seen to manifest in the way they framed the project as we will later see.

To dig deeper into Vermont Residents responses to the project, we must examine their framing of it as shown in Table 3. Environmental impact was cited the most frequently by a significant margin, placing the ecological wellbeing as wind opponents central organizing frame. Concerns involving danger to species such as birds and bats, damage to habitat, and stream and water quality and runoff are often cited by opponents as severe, arguing the project is not worth its benefits. Despite the claims of significant environmental harm being caused by the project, the siting process requires a detailed environmental assessment. While the ridgeline may not have the same ecological integrity it had before the project was constructed, there are strict and well thought out measures to prevent and mitigate any impact the project might have. Here is a point of fracture in the discourse. Proponents claim the environmental impact are negligible, while opponents say they are drastic.

The second most cited frame by Vermont Residents was Human Impact. The majority of these concerns had to do with potentially diminishing property value as a result of the project, noise pollution, sleep disturbances, impacts to the Long Trail and tourism, and sentimental damage as a result of the changing landscape. As a region defined by its

natural attributes, one source of resistance from the neighboring towns is due to their stake in the environmental tourism industry. The turbines were shown to be visible in certain areas from Vermont's famous Long Trail as well as the town of Craftsbury, home to the Craftsbury Outdoors Center. Based on research done on place-identity in times of significant changes in distinct rural landscapes across the world, including by energy projects, I consider the central motivation behind the opposition's position is the changing landscape's impact on local identities or sentimental values in the area (Cunsolo & Ellis, 2018; Devine-Wright, 2005; Devine-Wright & Howes, 2010; Wolsink, 2000). Steven Wright, of the main organizers in the opposition movement, provides an example of this in an article published by the Burlington Free Press, where he was recorded saying, "This landscape is our economic heartbeat" and "This case is all about the mountains in Vermont. That mountain is worth millions and millions of dollars" (Hallenbeck, 2011, p. B1) In a letter opposing the project cited in a Burlington Free Press article, the Craftsbury Selectboard wrote the project would negatively impact the 'community identity' (Page, 2011b, p. D1). Recent research has shown that the loss of, or even anticipated loss of, valued landscapes or ecological wellbeing can trigger grief and mental health issues similar to losing a loved one (Cass & Walker, 2009; Cunsolo & Ellis, 2018). This identity based reaction is tied up in the aesthetic value of the mountain which was the third most prevalent code for Vermont Residents. Negative reactions are especially prevalent based in the place identity are found to be most prevalent when residents "interpreted the place as being 'up north' (i.e. a place to 'escape from civilization')" especially those defined by a natural or wild characteristic which opposes the interpretation of development being overtly 'industrial' or technological (Devine-Wright & Howes, 2010, p. 272). This is again a point of fracture in the discourse. Proponents often

claim the human impacts are either exaggerated or placebo while opponents claim they are extremely serious and immoral. These subjective notions of value and idealism must be analyzed through an ethical lens and must be both considered and respected in the decision-making process.

As we saw above, aesthetic and industrial frames are employed to highlight a deeper meaning in the mountains to one's identities. This point is lost in the discourse as proponents keep their responses shallowed to enable NIMBY to explain opponent's stances, if they even respond to these frames at all. If it is true that one's opposition is solely based on a displeasure with the visuals, one would be justified in critiquing that opinion. But it seems like wind advocates in Vermont have engaged in a comprehensive denial of the impacts on health and place based imperatives which seeks to ensure treasured landscapes are not being exploited for corporate profits. Out of 92 total frames employed by the Wind/Energy Industry, they cited Aesthetics once and Industrial zero times. We know actors seek to define the parameters of the discussion through their usage of frames, so by neglecting these frames they attempt to avert the discourse from them (Berkowitz, 1992; Pepermans & Maesele, 2014). Since these frames made up over 30% of the frames used by VT Residents, we must consider it intentional and motivated to subvert critical appeals based in a land ethic organized into the frame of Aesthetics and critiques of investment capitalism organized into the Industrial frame. As we know, dichotomous portrayal of complex issues leads to a limited and undemocratic process, so framing the wind issue in Vermont as accepting corporate wind development or not have any wind development at all is a barrier to action. At the same time wind advocates and journalists overlook the nuanced stances held by wind opponents, the opponents deny status-quo wind development as a productive

means to address climate change, while remaining skeptical of corporate interest and unhappy about the distribution of the project's economic benefits. Now we see there are fundamental disagreements, and the mediated discourse fails to connect them in a way that will resolve conflict and enable a mutually agreeable future.

Only 28 percent of citizens of the United States are scientifically literate enough to read the science section of the New York Times (Jamieson, 2014), and while Vermont is a more progressive state, a lack of scientific literacy might lead one to see the dissenting words of their neighbors as more trustworthy than a government or corporate sanctioned study. Only 9 percent of Vermonters were shown to trust electric utilities completely and 8 percent trust the state legislature completely (note that 60 percent responded saying they trusted both institutions somewhat) (Butler et al., 2016). "Language does more than simply represent or reflect experience; it plays an active role in constituting it" (Derrien & Stokowski, 2017, p. 285). On the one hand of this debate, the Vermont Agency of Natural Resources found the project's environmental impacts were not significant enough to diminish the public good, while on the other, opponents reject the science as corrupt and insufficient. Opponents claim the projects cause significant health impacts, proponents reject their claims. Proponents say wind development decreases carbon emissions, opponents say it does not. Opponents criticize wind developers for prioritizing profits over progress, proponents remain silent. In a study titled "Cultural cognition of scientific consensus," Dan Kahan and his colleagues found that individuals fit their perceptions of risk and factual beliefs to moral evaluations that reflect an idealized way of life (Kahan, Jenkins-Smith, & Braman, 2011). Furthermore, perception of expert credibility is found to be more trustworthy if it fits with one's preconceived world view (Kahan et al., 2011). The

fundamental disagreements we see above are perhaps based in completely different outlooks on the world, and thus require a more nuanced and comprehensive conflict resolution process. Perhaps Mary Powell and John Day ultimately view the world with a different set of analytical lenses. An important feature of the Vermont wind debate is that the vast majority of opponents do not dispute the science supporting climate change, but see the manner in which wind is being developed as disagreeable. In a quote by Luke Snelling of the group Energize Vermont which opposed the project Snelling expresses this point, “Energize Vermont was created to educate and advocate for establishing renewable energy solutions that are in harmony with the irreplaceable character of Vermont, and that contribute to the well-being of all her people.”(Snelling, 2011, p. A5) The rural and small-scale ethic of the North-East Kingdom and the corporate nature of the project as well as its uncharacteristically large size for the region create this cognitive barrier to productive discourse and deliberation which isolates opinions and leaves adversarial viewpoints to fester.

Now that we have examined how the different elements of the discourse operated, we can examine how they manifested to form collective actions frames, inspiring collective action which has contributed to the halt of wind development in Vermont. While it must be noted that people negotiate meanings of stimuli in unpredictable ways from a variety of sources, the combination of injustice, agency, and identity are found to inspire participation in social movements (Gamson, 1992). Injustice is the necessary base to initiate collective action, and this case has a multidimensional context that extends into the natural world. People in towns surrounding Lowell felt allowing only Lowell to vote, but not allowing any other effected town to vote, made the vote unfair. They resented the mountain being

developed for profit, and felt like they were ignored throughout the process. And, as we saw, people's identities are partially formed through a relationship with the natural world creating a more visceral reaction to the threat posed by corporate interest and development. Here we see the process striking out on the three major factors of opinion determined at the beginning of the section, though I must emphasize that this sentiment was not universal, and existed in different degrees among different actors. Vermont has the prime political climate to increase agency. It is one of the only states who still use direct democracy in the form of town meeting; combined with the small population size and open legislature, individual Vermonters have an increased ability to influence politics and make the changes they want to see. This is vital for organizing around injustice, as Vermonters are generally not apathetic about state policy. Finally, I argue the identity element of the collective action frame takes on a more exaggerated role as the perceived injustice is not only happening to people who seek protect their own security, but also to their landscape that cannot protect itself, so it must defended by empowered wind opposition. The fact that the landscape and sense of place are interconnected in the formation of identity and perceived injustice create this philosophical urgency and sense of betrayal by state institutions. Gamson argues that action is most likely to occur when there is a threat to a self-identifying group's daily lives and as a result of a shared significance of the injustice (Gamson, 1992). Due to the deep relationship with the natural world as expressed through the combination of media frames, and the distinct identity of the North-East Kingdom, a formidable wind opposition has been victorious in recent years at stopping wind development that threatens the character of the region in their eyes. The economic and decision-making elements play into this perception of injustice, but the sense of place increased the urgency and vigor of the opposition.

We see that the siting process in Vermont considers some extremely important features of the debate, but it does not cover them all. Since the wind industry in Vermont has taken a major hit while the urgency to address climate change increases every day, we must use this data to establish a more holistic energy investment process and deployment strategy in Vermont.

Conclusion

Today, it is unclear if another large wind project will be able to be built within the next few years due to the new standards and community opposition. Even as the second smallest state in terms of population, Vermont, like the rest of the world, must move forward in its renewable energy development. As I have shown in my analysis, there are fundamental disagreements about not only values, but facts as well in the wind debate. These disagreements must be resolved. We have no time to lose.

Based on my analysis, we must recognize the ideological elements present within each frame. The Aesthetics and Industrial frames are particularly important to understand because they were almost entirely omitted by the Wind/ Energy Industry. These carry not only a sense of place in the rural state of Vermont, but a critical analysis of the economics of development. By simplifying aesthetics to 'the view' and rejecting anti-capitalist sentiments as unrealistic, proponents intentionally discredit alternative opinions and severely limit the possibilities of a transformation of the energy-economy matrix.

To move past these conflicts, I recommend Vermont engage in a participatory analytical process to smooth out points of contention and help provide the state with a more qualitative view of how Vermonters see Vermont's renewable energy future. A public debate

between some of the most prominent actors could help reveal the points of fundamental disagreement, and allow both sides to share their nuanced stances themselves in this forum that would be broadcasted across the state. Moderated and fact checked by experts in the energy field, a debate would allow for a discourse to delve into the present ideologies which lie under assumptions and opinions, to enable a coherent and democratic path forward. In the format of open discussion, parties would not have to rely on tradeoff frames and could instead be free to envision an ideal future. The meaning of Vermont and its landscapes could be meaningfully discussed, and new opportunities for collaboration and future steps may emerge. This type of debate would bring back the shadows of Muir and Pinchot, and their debate which foreshadowed contemporary environmental conflicts. Furthermore, a comprehensive environmental audit of the wind sites by an expert body chosen collaboratively by proponents and opponents would be able to determine the truth of the project's impacts, distinguishing it from the perceived truths held by each group. From here Vermont could have a better sense of where it stands.

In terms of development, private investment as the method has been shown to be resented by opponents and not critically considered by proponents. Vermont now relies on private companies to fulfill the state's renewable goals, allowing them to profit from a friendly market. The capitalist political-economy is largely responsible for much of our current climate crisis as it manufactures wants as needs, requiring endless growth while externalizing the costs of consumption culture. In transitioning away from fossil fuels, it is not enough to alter the specific resource used in energy production, the status-quo of corporate appropriation of natural resources must also be radically transformed to promote public use and benefit rather than capital accumulation. It must not be forgotten that in a

capitalist economy, the bottom-line of profits is the driving force behind all development. To make wind work for Vermont, profits must take a secondary role to engagement with all effected communities, the equitable sharing of the project's benefits, and an emphasis on preserving the rural and self-sufficient identity of Vermont

Future research should examine the possibility of the state of Vermont taking ownership of the electric utilities, ensuring all benefits of energy development in the state is returned to the people. State control of the electric utilities could also provide a coherent centralized framework for the state and regions to work collaboratively to diversify energy production, while increasing efficiency in the grid through smart grid technologies. Other research could use a semi-structured interview method to analyze how wind projects have impacted people living in the surrounding towns.

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Appendix

Code Book

Use this code book to replicate this study or to inspire future research. Apply codes in the order they are presented in this code book.

Article Parameters-

- Published between January 2011-December 2011
- Search Terms: “Kingdom Community Wind” & “Wind Power”
- Lowell Wind project must be the main focus of the article
- Must be written by a journalist or be a letter to the editor, government documents published by newspapers are not included.

Categories of codes:

1. **Article-**

Including the title, sub-headline, author, full text, and all other text present in the document. One code per article to determine final article totals.

2. **Source-**

- a. State Official- (Governor, Legislators, PSB, State Agencies)
- b. Local Official- (Select board including other towns in and around Orleans county, mayor, sheriff)
- c. Wind/ Energy Industry- (Green Mountain Power, Vermont Electric Coop, Corporate Sponsors, Energy Organizations, Investors)
- d. Pro-Wind Group- (NGO advocates for wind- Group must be identified)
- e. Anti-Wind Group- (NGO advocates against wind- Group must be identified)
- f. Vermont Residents- Includes citizens, temporary residents, students, and ‘opposition’ or ‘wind critics’
- g. Journalists
- h. Other- include attorney, other newspapers, scientist (represent ANR), Sources cannot overlap
 - Sources cannot overlap.
 - Code source for as long as the source’s word is uninterrupted.
 - Source must be directly quoted or paraphrased.
 - If an individual has two roles, code according to the one presented in the context.

3. **Stance-** Position on the wind project

- a. Supports- In favor wind project
- b. Opposes- Against wind project
- c. Neutral- No apparent stance
 - If there is not a definitive stance portrayed, code as neutral.
 - Must have a source code.

4. **Frame-** Organizing idea present in source citation
 - a. Climate Change- Implies support- Anything related to addressing global warming, reducing carbon emissions.
 - b. Energy Independence- Implies support- Anything related to reducing energy imports, transition from fossil fuel, or generating power in state.
 - c. Economic Gain- Implies support- Anything related to increased jobs, tax breaks, state revenue.
 - d. Aesthetic- Implies opposition- Anything related to visual impact or the character of the land.
 - e. Environmental Impact- Implies opposition- Anything related to negative environmental impacts of turbine construction including impact to wildlife, habitat, water quality, erosion, and more.
 - f. Human impact- Implies opposition- Any mention to negative health consequences, human loss, property value, or human injustice.
 - g. Industrial- Implies opposition- anything related to scale, corporate ownership, corruption, unfair practices, and lack of transparency.

5. **Collective Action Frame-** overlapping of injustice, agency, and identity frames
 - a. Collective Action- “Offer ways of understanding that imply the need for and desirability for some form of action. Movement may have some internal battles over which frame will prevail.” (Gamson 1992)
 - Injustice- unfair decision making, corporate investment, taking advantage, hot cognition/ laden with emotion
 - Agency- active in politics, express consciousness that assumes one is able to alter policy through collective action, specifically related to citizen activity to support or resist project
 - Identity- A provided ‘we’ opposed to ‘they.’ Can include Vermont identity, town identity, or other collective groups.

