

# Wind, power

THE PERFORMANCE OF THE MARINE SPATIAL PLANNING  
FRAMEWORK: A CASE STUDY ABOUT THE SAARE WIND ENERGY  
PROJECT NEAR THE COAST OF SAAREMAA, ESTONIA

*N.P. (Nils) van der Wildt – s4115821*

*Master Programme Society, Sustainability and Planning 2020-2021-2022*

*Faculty of Spatial Sciences, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen*

*Supervisor Rijksuniversiteit Groningen – Prof. Dr. C. Zuidema*

*Supervisor Tallina Ülikool – Dr. T. Pikner*

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# Abstract

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Offshore wind competes with other marine interests. The Marine Spatial Planning (MSP) framework could foresee in guidelines to make sure these interests are fairly equally balanced. However, previous examples showed that implementation was often insufficient and inconsequential, making the performance of MSP unsure. This report presents the outcomes of a study into the performance of two key principles of MSP – participation and integration – in offshore wind developments. This study was executed by applying a case study that focused on the Saare Wind Energy (SWE) offshore wind park near Saaremaa, Estonia. Data was collected from prior documentation, interviews and an online survey.

Previous studies indicated that MSP was mostly subject to the interests of the planning authorities, which returned in this study in the form of prioritising state interests and shaping the MSP process just so, although more themes and factors were taken into account in the strategic EIA and in consulting theme groups. Participation and integration in the SWE project process were more present than required by the relevant legislation, but the incorporation was similar with the MSP process, indicating an insufficient safeguard of the Estonian Maritime Spatial Plan in current offshore developments. Finally, although knowledge on the project is limited and the general stance towards offshore wind is slightly negative, the local population does not seem to organise themselves in the form of active opposition, which raises the question what cultural factors play a role in the mobilisation of opposition.

This study adds to the knowledge on the implementation of the theoretic principles of MSP into a range of different cases. Meanwhile, this study focused on one particular offshore project to assess whether this limited safeguarding in the plan also materialises in the implementation phase. Furthermore, this study also contributes to knowledge of offshore wind planning in general by considering the land-sea interaction between the offshore wind farm and the population who lives from that particular sea area and its surroundings.

**Keywords:** *Marine Spatial Planning, offshore wind planning, participation, integration, Estonia, energy transition*

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# List of abbreviations

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EASAC – European Academies’ Science Advisory Council

EIA – Environmental Impact Assessment

EKRE – Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond (Conservative People’s Party of Estonia)

EMSP – Estonian Maritime Spatial Plan

EU – European Union

GHG(s) – Greenhouse gas(es)

HELCOM – Helsinki Commission (Baltic Marine Environment Protection Commission)

ICZM – Integrated Coastal Zone Management

IEA – International Energy Agency

IPCC – Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

MSP – Marine Spatial Planning

NIMBY – “Not In My Backyard”

OECD – Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

OWF – Offshore Wind Farm

SWE – Saare Wind Energy

UN – United Nations

UNCLOS – United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea

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# 1. Introduction

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## 1.1. Background

The overheated discussion about the role of humankind in global climate change is still ongoing, but it is a fact that it is happening (IPCC, 2021). Long-term prognoses indicate negative consequences for future generations (Van Aalst, 2006; IPCC, 2014). Therefore, it is important to look for measures on the short-term to limit the long-term consequences of climate change. Out of this emerges the energy debate, which deals with issues like the finite stocks and unsustainable depletion and combustion of fossil fuels (Bradshaw, 2010). A concept that addresses this debate is the energy transition, which comprises the shift from an energy system based on fossil fuels to one that is based on renewable and sustainable energy. However, there is an ever-growing energy demand (Bradshaw, 2010), which means that, to achieve a successful transition, large measures need to be taken to meet this demand with renewable energy. Installations that convert the renewable energy sources – water, wind, sunlight, biomass and geothermal heat – to renewable energy demand a significant amount of space above ground. For people, of whom power stations have been kept out of sight, the rise of new and innovative renewable energy generation installations can be confronting. This results in a situation where energy generation gets perceived as a more prominent function of space (Sovacool, 2009). Regarding this, it is possible that the interest of placing renewable energy installations clash with conflicting interests or land uses in a particular place and its vicinity. This makes that on-land projects are not always considered to be the most efficient in terms of implementation speed, while time to complete the transition is limited. Therefore, one may consider moving the measures to offshore sites (Wiersma & Devine-Wright, 2014).

This study is built around the phenomenon of offshore wind farm (OWF) developments. Even though the use of sea is not always clearly visible, there are still a number of competing interests involved at sea, albeit less than on land (Esteban et al., 2011). Some of these interests might even be deeply rooted in the local economy, like fishery or tourism (Tafon, 2019; Tafon et al., 2018). Placement of OWFs can be perceived to hurt these local economic sectors and consequently the economic vitality of regions. Besides that, offshore wind development changes the landscape drastically and might make that people assess the area in which they are living differently with regards to aesthetics, culture and identity. Both the socio-economic effects and landscape changes can negatively influence the perceived liveability of the local stakeholders and make them oppose these development plans. Thus, a planning approach or framework to take notion of these interests from the bottom and align these *together* with the interest in developing OWFs is necessary (Spijkerboer et al., 2020).

Marine Spatial Planning (MSP) is the framework in which the wide range of marine interests are configured altogether to integrate them well in a plan. In this way, it provides a guideline for democratic management of marine interests and a participative form of planning (Flannery et al., 2018). Hence, it should enable to resolve complex planning problems that involve multiple sectors guided by contemporary institutional frameworks (Spijkerboer et al., 2020). There is however the risk that contemporary power distributions are insufficiently taken into account (Flannery et al., 2018), which could result in MSP being implemented as a tool to push forward offshore wind development rather than as an approach to adequately align all involved interests in a particular sea area. Therefore, it is argued that, a more participative planning process should be taken as a principle to build bridges between the different involved interests and their institutional designs (Jay et al., 2012; Kidd and Shaw, 2014), which also counts for an urgent interest as pursuing the energy transition by means of realising OWFs (Punt et al., 2009).

Currently, however, MSP is often applied to pursue the energy transition by prioritising OWF developments over other marine interests. Some academics support this to combat climate change (Jay, 2009). Though, this would result in insufficient recognition of other interests. Indeed, over the last decade, there are various examples of offshore wind development where one sees conflicts due to the insufficient alignment of interests in development projects, as seen in earlier cases on Polish fishery (Tafon, 2019) and the local economy and culture on Hiiumaa, Estonia (Tafon et al., 2018). Considering this, it almost resembles the technocratic, centralised planning regimes from decades ago. The mantra “we know what is best for the people” combines rather well with the big urge of tackling climate change by means of the energy transition. It is therefore no surprise to see struggles between authorities who dictate the plans, project developers and the related planning agencies on the one side, and the actors and stakeholders who are significantly affected by the plans on the other side. This might eventually result in significant delays, increased costs and distrust in future projects (Tafon et al., 2018). Therefore, MSP can indeed in several cases be considered as being used as a tool to advance the development of OWFs rather than the participative framework it was designed for. It is thus not sure if MSP delivers on its promise of being the inclusive planning framework, in the sense that it allows for the integration of various interests and parties in a plan that is mutually accepted or supported.

It makes sense to investigate if inadequate recognition and alignment of other marine interests in MSP also occur in countries where offshore wind and the implementation of MSP are relatively new phenomena. One of these countries is the Baltic state of Estonia. The Estonian republic signed the Paris climate agreement in 2015 (Vahtla, 2016). Being part of the European Union (EU) since 2004 (EU, 2020a), they are obliged to half the amount of greenhouse gases (GHG) as compared to 1990 in 2030, as stated in the European Green Deal (European Commission, 2019). Estonia has almost reached this threshold – already having achieved a 48,52% reduction in terms of CO<sub>2</sub>-equivalents – but statistics show a stable level of GHG emissions since the 2000s (Estonian Ministry of the Environment, 2019). Reading these numbers, it is observable that there is still a large step to take to achieve climate-neutrality, especially when noting that, after the signation of the Paris Agreement and the European Green Deal, the GHG-emissions still did not decline after fifteen years.

The energy sector is hands-down the largest contributor to Estonian GHG emissions, being accountable for over 70% of the total amount of emissions in 2017 (Estonian Ministry of the Environment, 2019), due to high shares of unsustainable oil shale depletion and combustion (EASAC, 2007) and gross combustion of biomass (Demirbas, 2007). Thus, it makes sense looking for plans that facilitate the energy transition from fossil fuels to other ways of generating energy that emit significantly less or no GHG-emissions into the atmosphere. Regarding its geographical location, wind is one of the most effective renewable resources in Estonia (Ortega-Izquierdo and Del Río, 2016; Lehtveer et al., 2016). Indeed, 31% of the total amount of renewable energy (including biofuels) is currently generated by wind (after: IEA, 2020), of which many – albeit modestly-sized – wind parks have been constructed in the last decade (Tuuleenergia, 2021a). Besides that, multiple large-scale wind farms are still under development, of which several are located offshore (Tuuleenergia, 2021b). In several cases, MSP is applied to allocate the areas in which wind parks can be developed, but this did not always result in smooth planning processes. In the development of one of the first large-scale OWFs near Hiiumaa, a divide between local people and politicians emerged as the latter continued to approach the development and construction of the actual wind parks with a process that limited participation to only the zoning of the OWFs. During the development of the actual wind parks, local stakes were not or barely considered, resulting in large-scale protests and the expansion of the divide between people and politicians. This eventually resulted in several years of delay and an increase in financial costs and efforts (Tafon et al., 2018). Delays are undesirable with the eye on the climate objectives and the societal effects, like distrust in future OWF



developments in Estonian waters. Offshore wind developments in the Baltic Sea are still encouraged by different parties (Cecchinato, 2019; Lehtveer et al., 2016), and multiple projects are set up to be developed in the future. However, when the same planning approach will be used, the earlier mentioned problems will likely keep reoccurring and cause delays, increase the project costs, but also cause divides between the plan developers and the parties who are affected by those plans. This could respectively result in the limitation of offshore wind development in Estonia and even lead to a backlash in the energy transition. The project in front of Saaremaa's coasts covers a plot size of 154km<sup>2</sup> (Van Oord, 2020) and 600MW is planned to be generated (Tuuleenergia, 2021b), which is about six times the current total Estonian wind energy production. In a project of these dimensions, it is important to avoid the earlier mentioned issues in the project process (as mentioned by Tafon et al., 2018) that can cause substantial delays, disruptions and divides.

## 1.2. Problem definition

Early criticism about the implementation of MSP in offshore wind development already arose in academic literature, including the limited alignment of interests, prioritising renewable energy over other interests (Spijkerboer et al., 2020; Tafon, 2019) and limited inclusion of various actors and stakeholders that have interest in the local seascape where offshore wind could be developed (Tafon, 2019; Tafon et al., 2018). Applying this criticism to the Saaremaa case, which is one of the largest offshore wind development projects in Estonia so far, one might expect the involvement of a large variety of parties with a large variety of – sometimes conflicting – interests. Hence, one can expect that the implementation of MSP merely as a tool for pushing forward the development of OWFs in a large project as the Saare Wind Energy (SWE) case might result in interest conflicts, and respectively in protests, project delays and increased costs. However, each country and region has its own unique set of institutions, frameworks and socio-economic and socio-cultural conditions that might result in a different pathway (Barca et al., 2012). Besides that, every project develops in its own way due to suddenly emerging conflicts or extraordinary developments, which is especially the case due to the dynamic socio-political landscape. Therefore, taking a closer look at the conflicts and their relation to the MSP implementation in this particular case is required.

## 1.3. Research aim and questions

The aim of the research is to investigate if MSP is able to perform offshore wind zoning and development projects, while simultaneously aligning and safeguarding the representation of the various, sometimes conflicting interests of both national formal institutions (who support the realisation) and local interest groups (who might be hurt by the realisation of the OWFs) adequately. This relates to participation and integration in particular, since these contribute to the fulfilment of local interests, as is explained in chapter 2.2. To accomplish this, this study strives to identify interest conflicts in OWF development projects in the Saaremaa case and how the use of MSP by the planning agencies plays a role in causing, solving or reinforcing these conflicts and the actions of opposition or exclusion that result from these.

The primary research question that guides this study is formulated as:

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*“How do the key principles of participation and integration from the MSP framework perform in the SWE development project?”*

The secondary research questions are formulated as:

- What are the main principles and objectives of the MSP framework as discussed in academic literature?
- How is the MSP framework interpreted and used by the planning agencies in general?
- How do the similarities and differences between the theoretic principles from academic literature and the interpretation and use by the planning agencies relate to the application of the MSP framework in the SWE development project?
- How can the security of participation and integration be safeguarded, and if necessary, improved, in the implementation of the Estonian Maritime Spatial Plan (indicated as EMSP throughout the rest of the report) in the project process of the SWE development project?

## 1.4. Structure of the thesis

In this paper, the research process to the answer of the primary research question is published. Chapter 2 discusses a literature study, which revolves around the key concepts of the MSP framework, the implementation of MSP in practice, the relation with the energy transition in the form of OWFs, and the consequences for other marine interests. Based on this literature study, a conceptual model is created that guided the methodology applied in this study. This methodology can be found in chapter 3. In chapter 4, the collected data and results from the analyses are published. Chapter 5 discusses the validity of the results on the hand of the research process and the units of analysis. Finally, chapter 6 provides the answer to the primary research question of this study, followed by some policy recommendations for planners of OWFs that address the risk of prioritisation of the energy transition over other marine interests, as described earlier in chapter 1.

## 2. Theoretical framework

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### 2.1. The energy transition: moving offshore

Recently, offshore wind has gained a lot of interest. Latest expectations are that within ten years, the amount of energy generated by OWFs has multiplied by ten times what is generated now (IEA, 2020). In contrast, onshore wind generates more than offshore wind, but it is expected that the amount of energy generated by onshore wind parks “only” triple compared to what they currently generate (IEA, 2020). There can be various explanations for why offshore wind has more momentum than its onshore counterpart. One explanation might be that the impact of windmill parks on their surroundings are perceived to be less when developing these offshore. For instance, the swishing sounds from the blades and the constant humming of the engine may lead to noise nuisance (Klæboe & Sundfør, 2016), of which longer exposure might result in significant risks for human mental (stress, sleep disturbance) and eventually even physical health in the form of ischemic heart diseases (Passchier-Vermeer & Passchier, 2000). Besides that, the aesthetic quality of a particular landscape – often based on a relationship between the physical features of the landscape and the emotions and meanings attached by its observer (Good, 2006; Sklenicka & Zouhar, 2018) – is perceived to be declining when windmills are constructed in a place.

Placing these wind parks offshore could minimise these risks. As barely or no people are living offshore, the nuisance – both due to the noise coming of the wind blades and the visual pollution – will be limited (Esteban et al., 2011). Indeed, Molnarova et al. (2012) argue that wind farms are more accepted when they are not constructed in sight of high-valued places and landscapes. Bringing in visibility of renewable energy in the landscape (Sovacool, 2009), OWF developments would spark limited protests due to its limited visibility. Besides that, developing OWFs has additional advantages compared to onshore wind. First, there is a greater and more constant availability of wind at sea, which leads to a longer lifetime of the turbines and little need to construct high turbines to catch wind (Esteban et al., 2011). Second, there is more available space to develop at sea. Esteban et al. (2011) state that these larger areas are suitable for constructing bigger installations. With many conflicting interests competing for a – often smaller – particular piece of land, one could imagine that competition is higher than at sea.

However, there are quite some marine area-specific interests that could conflict with the design and development of an OWF. These include various industries (fishery, fossil fuels), shipping, nature preservation and military interests. First, there are some legal restrictions that already may exclude marine areas from OWF development projects. In Europe, Natura2000 areas do not allow – or only under certain circumstances – activities that disturb the local ecosystem (European Commission, n.d.). OWFs disturb this stability of the local ecosystem (Boehlert and Gill, 2010) by attracting marine species from other places (Degraer et al., 2020). Besides that, militaries often have appointed plots in domestic waters that are used for practicing aircraft manoeuvres and dumping munition, which would not be possible with OWFs located on these sites (Jongbloed et al., 2014). Moreover, besides not being able to develop offshore windfarms in existing shipping lanes, UNCLOS guidelines mention a buffer zone of 0,5km between a potential OWF site and a shipping lane (Díaz & Soares, 2020), which is logical since there is too little room to manoeuvre through the OWFs. The risk on collisions between ships and turbines would be high, resulting in damage to both the turbines and the ships (Graczykowski and Holnicki-Szulc, 2009).

Besides the conflicts in legislation, there are other interests that could be negatively influenced. For fishing, the construction, operation and maintenance of OWFs would result in less catch, since these sites – which are usually forbidden terrain for fishing activities – withdraw marine species from waters they normally would reside in, letting them concentrate at these sites (Boehlert and Gill, 2010). Considering oil and gas extraction at sea, oilrigs and drilling platforms require access to maintenance by ship or helicopter, which is a challenge when OWFs are in the way (Jongbloed et al., 2014).

Another important point is the visual aspect. Although argued that the impact is limited as the turbines are constructed at a distance from the coastline, building far away can be costly. The seabed is usually located deeper when moving seawards, which requires more material for taller turbines to let the blades catch as much wind as possible, while being stabilised by a sturdy foundation. A simple monopile foundation design would suffice for depths above 20 metres, but increasing depth come with stronger water forces that require bigger foundations or stabilising constructions (Moller, 2006; Gonzalez-Rodriguez, 2017). Besides that, the OWF requires longer cables to connect the turbines with the grid onshore, as well as more transportation to get all necessary materials to the construction site, not to mention the amount of material and tools required for maintenance (Gonzalez-Rodriguez, 2017). This adds to the financial costs of the OWF. For some countries with a smaller budget, it might therefore be a more viable option to develop OWFs located closer to the coast.

However, developing OWFs near the shoreline has its cons. First, the advantages of going offshore regarding the visual impact gets largely lost. Respectively, the meaning of place from people *onshore* will play a role again. Building further on Molnarova et al.'s (2012) statement that people experience limited impact by allocating wind parks in low-valued areas, it is therefore important to find out what is valued, where these areas are, and why they are valued. Even more, it is important to note *who* defines what exactly characterises these types of lower-valued places (Campbell, 2013), as place attachment or attaching a value to a place happens on different scales, leading to a diversity of place attachments to a particular place (Tuan, 1975). For instance, the placement of an OWF near the coast might result in the emotional feeling of local inhabitants that "their" landscape is being disrupted, as the relationship between the landscape or seascape and the values that people attach to a place is an emotional one.

This visual and respectively emotional disruption might also be reflected upon in tourism, as OWF development is often associated with the disruption of the local identity. Some interest groups within the tourist sector might be afraid that this consequently leads to a loss of tourists that admired the initial local qualities of the landscape. Besides that, the presence of wind turbines near the shore are also perceived to directly influence tourism in terms of limiting activities, like water sports, recreational boating and enjoying untouched nature and wildlife in the coastal area (Rudolph, 2014). Indeed, wind turbines are more prominently in sight than the current energy plants that run on fossil fuels (Sovacool, 2009). As the landscape shapes how people feel about their living environment and community and anticipate and act according to these feelings (Sampson & Goodrich, 2009), it makes sense that development of a wind park nearby could feel as disruptive, changing their way of living. However, it should be mentioned that images of tourists with regards to the presence of OWFs near their tourist destinations can differ from images of local stakeholders, as they are part of a different community (Kaldellis et al., 2016), thus showing the difference of meanings of a place across different scales (Tuan, 1975). Another example regards the planning authorities, who may experience the development of OWFs as not as similarly impactful as local stakeholders may experience. Besides that, energy installations are rarely of merely local interest, as the installations are normally connected to a national energy grid that serves most people and stakeholders in a country. This might raise feelings of exploitation, dispossession or green colonialism among local inhabitants in the vicinities of the development sites (Normann, 2020).

Keeping the above in mind, it is clear that an appropriate planning approach or framework for allocating areas for and the design of OWFs is still a prerequisite to align this wide range of competing interests. MSP provides in such a framework to be applied in the OWF development project processes. However, it is the question if 1) the translation of the MSP principles in national plans actually meets the principles from this MSP framework, and 2) the concrete projects that roll out of these national plans actually adhere these national plans and policies with regards to MSP. In chapter 2.2., the theoretical principles that together form the MSP framework are discussed, while chapter 2.3. focuses on the implementation of these principles in practice.

## 2.2. Planning at sea: The MSP Framework

MSP appeared in literature for the first time in the 1970s, as the interest grew to protect certain marine areas due to the anthropologic environmental pressure on the marine ecology (Olsson et al., 2008). By then, exploitation of these seascapes was poorly managed, meaning that the various activities were barely adjusted to each other. In places where a large range of marine interests is present in the same marine area (Esteban et al., 2011), one could imagine that the risk increases that the local seascape is overexploited, damaging the local marine ecosystem. Respectively, it might also negatively affect the available resources that people and other ecosystems depend on (Ehler, 2014). Increasingly, the poor governing of space claims in marine areas is considered as a bottleneck to properly deal with both the degradation of and pressure on the ecosystem, and the balancing of competing space claims (Crowder et al., 2006). Thus, it made sense to find the solution within the management of the seascape.

Ehler and Douvère (2007) describe MSP as a public process to identify conflicts between various marine interests and to resolve these conflicts. Moreover, it aims to balance marine ecosystem protection and human activities that take place within these ecosystems. To achieve these two balances, MSP revolves around six main principles: *ecosystem-based*, *place-based*, *integrated*, *participative*, *strategic*, and *adaptive* (Ehler, 2014).

First, the process that is guided by MSP should be ecosystem-based. This refers to one of the main aims of MSP in general, namely to find a balance between the human activities that exert pressure on the ecosystem, and the protection of this ecosystem. By limiting this pressure, the risk on degradation of the ecosystem will decrease. After all, humans also rely on certain marine areas for food and income. Thus, sustainable management by securing the availability of resources in the long run becomes an important pillar (OECD, 2016).

Second, the place-based principle revolves around the idea that each place has its own unique set of characteristics considering ecology, society, economy and legislation. When applying one particular approach to two significantly different areas, it is likely to find a difference in the effects of the implementation of that particular approach because of these characteristics (Barca et al., 2012). In the context of what the MSP aims to achieve, it is important to consider the local characteristics to achieve a balance of interests.

Third, an integrative approach is required to connect the different interests (especially cross-sectoral integration; Kidd, 2007) and their respective institutional frameworks across different scales and hierarchies within which decisions are made – multilevel governance (Marks et al., 1996) – with each other. Thus, interests are equally aligned and managed, but the issue is also approached from the points of view of these interests at the same time in an organisational sense (Spijkerboer et al., 2020). By this means, conversation and discussion between the range of marine interests should become possible. This does however not imply that the solution should divide the seascape in equal parts among the various interests. Integration from a more cross-sectoral perspective could also refer to the inclusion of various

themes as indicators as part of instruments for the allocation of space to particular sea uses, activities or plans, for example in an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) (Tajima & Fischer, 2013). The outcomes of this might not result in a plan within which each activity covers an equally sized surface, but the themes are taken into consideration into the trade-off and decision-making process.

Fourth, and related, opening the process up to stakeholders by means of enabling participation allows them to be actively involved in the process to find a balance that fits all parties. Participation in this sense refers to the involvement and delegation of an extent of power in the process to other stakeholders and actors that initially do not have the legal power to influence the outcomes. Within this principle, one refers to the higher levels of participation on the ladder: Partnership, delegated power and citizen – or community control (Arnstein, 1969). This can involve the larger sectors, like energy, nature and defence, but also parties and scales of governance that are not directly represented in the planning authorities, like fishermen or the local tourism sectors. Even more, from a socio-cultural perspective, people could attach meaning to the sea on religious, cultural or aesthetical premises, which is different for every person (McKinley et al., 2019), which only stresses the importance of enabling proper participation even more to also include these interests. It is however the question if there is place around the table for these social and cultural interests. Since these personal, cultural values and meanings differ per individual and tend to have a weaker representation than those that are legally defined (e.g. military, shipping, nature) or have clear financial linkages (e.g. fuel depletion, offshore wind, fisheries), it is easy to overlook these while already having to deal with large and well-represented interests like the energy sector and nature conservation. Besides that, participation is often at risk of becoming an empty shell in planning projects. Planning authorities could apply lower levels of participation – tokenism (Arnstein, 1969) – which might satisfy the participant with its involvement in the project and leaving him/her with the feeling of being taken seriously, while the decision-making and trade-offs are still managed by the respective planning authorities or developers.

Fifth, a long-term focus is required to make strategic, future-oriented plans. MSP aims to find a balance between the human activities at sea and the preservation and protection of the marine ecosystems. When talking about ecology and ecosystems, applying a long-term focus makes sense. Firstly, the effects of anthropologic pressure might only be visible after a couple of years (De Roo, 2003). When taking actions to anticipate on these effects, it might take even more years to reach the desired results. Therefore, it is logical to anticipate beforehand on these effects. Secondly, the interests of stakeholders are highly dynamic and can change shortly after the process has been deemed to be finished.

Finally, the process should be adaptive, implying that the involved parties learn from walking through the process and are able to apply their freshly gained knowledge in similar projects in the nearby future. This makes sense, because technology and knowledge are developing and advancing over time. This does not only include the more technical knowledge on the turbines themselves and the storage of energy, but also knowledge on the impact of the development of these on their surroundings and the local ecosystems.

These MSP principles add up and need to be implemented altogether to achieve the objectives that the MSP framework is aiming for. If not, the progress of the plan-making and project processes could experience serious negative consequences. In an earlier OWF development project near the shore of Hiiumaa, Estonia, the local stakeholders were partly involved in only one part of the process, while being excluded from the other. This led to dissatisfaction, othering and even suing the state, causing a delay of six years for the plans for an OWF to be in the end discarded by the court, besides loss of trust and increasing financial costs (Tafon et al., 2018).

Regarding why the MSP framework would be a fitting solution to balance the interests of developing an OWF and negatively influenced interests with a weak base of representation, the principles of participation and integration are particularly relevant for this study. First, sufficient participation allows weaker local interests to be involved in projects that tend to have a more economic focus, like OWFs. Second, in the case of integration, when one looks beyond economic impacts and returns, weaker interests like visual, social and cultural impact are relevant topics to include in OWF projects. The main focus throughout the rest of this study will therefore be on these two principles. However, this does not mean that the other four principles will not appear in the rest of this report.

### 2.3. Implementation of the MSP framework in practice

The vision of MSP in theory seems clear and the six main principles add up. To achieve the MSP objectives, these theoretic principles need to be translated into practice by the planning authorities. This is why assessing the performance of the MSP framework is important. The MSP principles are not a planning tool, but merely a set of guidelines that guide the planning processes at sea, which in its turn is directed by the planning authorities. Not all planning authorities are the same or share similar values and views (Yanow, 1993), which might explain differences that occur within the national plan-making process and implementation of these plans in concrete projects in different cases and places. Of course, the place-based principle argues that the MSP process should be based on the local context, which includes both geographical and social as well as institutional characteristics. However, there are also indications that these values and views resonate in the translation of the principles to implementation into practice. This subchapter discusses the various factors that shape this implementation and the differences with the theoretic MSP principles that may occur because of the presence or absence of these factors.

A first factor that shapes the implementation of the MSP framework into practice, is the involvement of the political component of the national marine spatial plans. One observes that most of the decision-making is executed by the planning authorities and that many aspects of these plans are already fixed because of political choices that have been made on a national level. An explanation might be that power relations are insufficiently addressed in MSP (Flannery et al., 2019). However, there are more aspects of the MSP framework that might influence the full adoption and translation of the principles into concrete policies. Just like in the EU directives – EU-based policy documents that allow local policy makers to adjust policies to their own local contexts while achieving the objectives of that particular directive (EU, 2020b) – the MSP principles leave a lot open for the relevant authorities to fill in for themselves. The effectiveness of these directives to achieve the objectives from these directives depends on both the willingness and capacity of the relevant authorities (Zuidema & De Roo, 2014). A similar dependence on the interests and the resources of the relevant authorities could be expected in transferring the MSP principles to the national plan-making process.

Political choices are based on the dominant values and interests that were present at the moment in time these choices were made. The process guided by MSP in Australia in the early 80s in the Great Barrier Reef area were mostly represented by representatives from sectors that were believed to contribute to the guarantee of the national economic return, which accounted for one billion A\$ (Day, 2002). These representatives might have different interests than their peers and therefore not provide a detailed image of the multitude of interests that may be present. In Cyprus' implementation of the MSP framework in their policies, the early plans are solely based on a conflict analysis, which applied a type of activity "buffer" that was already predefined in Cypriot national legislation (Hadjimitsis et al., 2016) and was thus considered sufficient by the national government to deal with conflicts, rather than facilitating an open process in which one balances those interests. Regarding the energy transition and the objectives from the climate agreements, the pressure on the national level to achieve the objectives from

the climate agreements may cause planning authorities to prioritise the development of OWFs over other interests. Indeed, this seems to happen in practice. First, the fishing sector in Poland feels that its knowledge and experience about the local seascape is not taken seriously, besides the fact that the scientific knowledge is poorly communicated to the fishing sector (Tafon, 2019). Second, in the Netherlands, MSP is applied as a planning approach to roll out windfarms rather than an open process to balance the various interests. In this example, conflicts in the development projects of OWFs are avoided while legitimising prioritisation under the false guise of participation (Spijkerboer et al., 2020). Third, similar practices occurred in Estonia, where local interests seemed to be involved in finding suitable locations for OWFs, but were ignored during the development phase of the actual wind parks (Tafon et al., 2018). Thus, the planning authorities aim for a planning process that allows them to achieve the climate goals as quickly as possible, without fully adhering the MSP principles. Considering these power relations and political choices, it is possible that conflicts between local assets and the national interests occur, as can be seen in a port development project in Amsterdam between the port stakeholders and the stakeholders located in the city, who are both expanding towards each other and hence contest for space (Wiegman and Louw, 2011).

With regards to resources, Lombard et al. (2019) argue that in countries where resources and tools are limited to support the MSP-guided processes, it is challenging to adopt the ecosystem-based approach, which is one of the main principles of MSP. However, one could also argue that this risk applies to more principles. With regards to principles such as participation and integration, it makes sense to planning authorities with limited available time and money and little knowledge on participative processes and integrative decision-making to keep the planning process at speed and involve only the stakeholders and actors that are deemed to be essential to achieve the objectives they are interested in. Especially for social and cultural interests, this is a relevant issue. Since these interests are subjective, typically do not represent clear financial stakes, and are different on even an individual level, they are difficult to be represented well by only one or a handful of stakeholders. It would take a lot of time and effort to involve every individual stakeholder into the dialogue, lobbying for its own interests (Magagnin et al., 2005). With the rationale of involving the essential stakeholders, this might lead to the exclusion of the most effortful aspects, in this case being the social and cultural interests.

A second factor revolves around the land-sea connection. As argued in chapter 2.1., some marine activities (like the development of OWFs) are visible from land. From the viewpoint of Integrated Coastal Zone Management (ICZM), there should be a good connection between the sea and bordering coasts in terms of interests and impacts in the planning process. Since the human interaction with the sea has played an important role in how the current maritime and coastal cultural heritage came to be (Khakzad et al., 2015), it can from the ICZM perspective be argued that social and cultural interests should matter in a framework such as MSP. However, MSP does not include this connection between the seascape and the coastal regions, leaving the social and cultural aspects from the coastal stakeholders out of consideration. Though, in this case, the EU has included a section on ICZM and land-sea interactions in its directive on MSP as a major requirement for the member states' marine spatial plans to create coherence between their respective MSP processes and connected plans and processes (European Parliament and the Council of the EU, 2014), like interests that will be impacted by those marine spatial plans. However, it is the question if, with the limited addressing of participation and integration in the national plans, these relations are safeguarded.

Third, politics sometimes consider MSP as a policy framework, coordinated by a single department. This also relates back to the priorities made by the planning authorities. Since each department has a different approach to an issue, the proposed national policies and marine spatial plans reflect which departments have been in control of the MSP process. For instance, a governmental department of



Economics would mostly focus on returns and costs, while a department of Agriculture might focus more on marine resource management to safeguard the catch for fishermen. When only one or a couple of governmental departments within the planning authorities are involved in the plan-making process, the plans risks being mostly based on their interests and decision-making frameworks. Besides that, one might also decide to deal with the different themes within the departments they are deemed to fit in the best, and not be considered altogether at once. This does not lead to the integral process and plans that the MSP principles were pointing at, but rather a sectoral approach. This happens in the Dutch example, where the various interests could not take place in a particular area and only the prioritised sectors were actively involved in participation (Spijkerboer et al., 2020).

One notices that there are several significant risks in the national marine spatial plan-making process. However, there are also a couple of additional risks when materialising these national marine spatial plans in the form of concrete projects. First of all, since national plans already fixate certain uses of space to assigned plots, it is the question whether the national plans allow local stakeholders and actors to have enough room for subsequent decision-making. Second, it is the question if this decision-making and involvement of local stakeholders is safeguarded at all in these plans, as it is doubtful if existing MSP frameworks include procedures to ensure such involvement when the national marine spatial plans are in force. Therefore, local stakeholders' involvement may depend on what has been mentioned in the national marine spatial plans. Third, even if these aspects of participation and integration are safeguarded, one should wonder to what extent this is the case and if these aspects of the plans actually materialise in practice.

## 2.4. Reactive forces on implementation processes

Multiple marine interests – fishery, shipping, culture and nature - do not go well with the development of OWFs. With this range of interests that can be negatively influenced by OWF development, it is the question if available sites allow for big projects to make large steps forwards in the energy transition. Applying the identified risks to OWF developments, the prioritisation of these developments – by limiting the involvement of other stakeholders in terms of participation or integration to ease the achievement of the national interests – might in the eyes of the planning authorities limit the conflicts and allow for the development of large-scale OWFs. From a short-term perspective, one might save time by simplifying the project scope, which does not demand a large, open dialogue (Magagnin et al., 2005). Later, however, stakeholders who are interested in the process and have not been actively involved, might be informed about some decisions that have been made without their involvement, which might negatively affect their interests. This is a realistic scenario, since participation in a certain form is required and informing is the least demanding form of participation – albeit tokenism – on the ladder of Arnstein (1969). Especially with a value-laden topic as OWFs and their impact on the surrounding sea- and landscape, it is plausible that negatively affected interest groups get notice of the plans eventually when it is too late to make a difference in the project process itself.

Hence, in situations where this strategic, sectoral, top-down planning appears in the project process and no guidance for open dialogues between the range of interests is provided by the national marine spatial plans, the chance on dissatisfaction about the process from the uninvolved is high, since this largely depends to what extent the concerns of stakeholders are taken into account by the planning authorities (Hamersma et al., 2018). Especially in modern democratic countries, where the juridical system is independent and the unjustified parties can find their hail, one may encounter protests and even lawsuits. Besides that, with the internet expanding globally, mobilising movements get easier. Moreover, in a country like Estonia where the population is sparse in the largest part of the country, communities can be expected to be close-knit and supportive to each other (Onyx & Bullen, 2000). Indeed, in the

earlier study in Estonia on the isle of Hiiumaa, one observed that multiple stakeholders formed the *Hiiumaa Tuul* initiative, from which they collectively battled against the development of the OWF near the isle's coastline. Unfortunately, how the OWF would affect them (negatively) was the only thing connecting this group, being the only thing that would stick with the authorities (Tafon et al., 2018). The same risk is applicable to these vague interests as values like culture, values and aesthetics. These differ per person and might therefore be difficult to bring together in one larger collective interest group.

What Tafon et al. (2018) also observed in Hiiumaa, was that the planning authorities can react by stopping acknowledging these interests because of lacking clear and sound arguments from these collectives against OWF developments. Although the various stakeholders individually have sound arguments against the developments, they are wrongfully put away as NIMBYists. This interaction between the planners and the planned could lead to mutual exclusion, othering, an increasing dissatisfaction about the project process and eventually to protests and even lawsuits that delay the project process, while increasing costs and efforts for the project teams and the distrust by the planned in future OWF developments (Tafon et al., 2018).

Altogether, there seems to be a big dilemma that the Estonian planning authorities are dealing with in respect to the climate agreements. On the one hand, prioritisation could in the eyes of the authorities help progressing the energy transition to materialise in the form of OWF development projects. However, the risk on protests and lawsuits from bottom-up is significant, which would in the end only be counterproductive to achieve the goals as stated in the European Green Deal and the Paris Agreement, especially in countries that heavily rely on the energy transition to achieve these goals, like Estonia. Taking into account the increased connectivity by means of internet, stories about these practices regarding the prioritisation of national interests over local interests might eventually turn into popular discourses that form a new, larger front against the development of OWFs in general.

On the other hand, things could potentially turn out differently when prioritisation does not take place and a proper political arena is provided for all involved stakeholders and interests. Hijdra et al. (2014) mention several advantages that come with active collaboration between various partners and interests, including the surplus of value and skills and the building of trust. Although this article talks about cooperation between different planning agencies and integrating sectors, these advantages might as well relate to participative planning. After all, in an open dialogue, people learn from each other by sharing each other's thoughts and foci on the plans for a certain project. Moreover, this open dialogue can resolve a part of the existing conflicts, while simultaneously increasing trust in the project, which respectively results in more acceptance for the conflicts that are not resolvable. This would save both time and money as lawsuits can be prevented. Finally, by bringing the project to a good end – not only for the planning authorities, but also for the large majority of involved stakeholders – trust will be won that future projects with similar scopes can be brought to a good end as well. Still, it takes effort and time to properly establish and facilitate this open dialogue. It requires knowledge from all parties about what one is dealing with, the dialogue requires coordination and monitoring, and where trust is still not present, trust-building activities are an important task (Hijdra et al., 2014). The newly built trust would be transferable to processes such as national marine spatial plan-making and the implementation of these plans in concrete projects. An example is the Miami River project that dealt with both water quality improvements, increased attractiveness of the city and an increased shipping capacity (Hijdra et al., 2014). However, a prerequisite to achieve this is to properly translate the MSP guidelines into practice. This means that local participation in projects is enabled and, hence, is safeguarded by procedural guidance from the national marine spatial plans and related procedures. Second, ICZM should play an integral part within the national marine spatial plans to ensure the connection between offshore activities and onshore sentiments and interests. Finally, the decision-making framework in national

policy should allow for enough room to surpass different sectors and departments. However, it is the question if this indeed materialises and if the MSP principles as mentioned in academic literature actually perform, which is the main question that is asked in this particular study.

## 2.5. Conceptual model

Based on the findings from the literature study as documented in chapters 2.1. to 2.4., a conceptual model can be made that guided the data collection and analysis of this research. The model is visualised in Figure 1.

On the left, one finds the six MSP principles that are derived from theory in chapter 2.2. Properly applying all principles ensures a broad and participative process in which all marine interests are involved equally and an open dialogue takes place. However, especially for the equal representation of weaker interests related to coastal communities, it is important that ICZM is incorporated too. Since this is not addressed in MSP, ICZM should be enforced or included from elsewhere.

As discussed in chapter 2.3., the translation into practice often turns out differently. There are two moments in the process where the implementation of MSP into practice can deviate from the initial MSP objectives. Firstly, the planning authorities start making national marine spatial plans. Since the planning authorities have a *carte blanche* to control the process around MSP within their respective areas, they might prioritise own interests over other interests that have a weaker representation; examples include subjective interests (culture, aesthetics, social value) and local interests (with a smaller base). This is most likely to happen when ICZM is minimally incorporated in these processes or when national political interests already provide a clear push in a certain direction. There are some factors that could explain the motivation to put some interests higher in the hierarchy than others. The own interests of the planning authorities will decide what sectors they will actively involve in the process, resulting from political processes. Besides that, the available resources – time, people, money and knowledge – will put constraints on what authorities deem possible to bring a project to a good end.

The second moment comprises the implementation of these plans into concrete projects, of which the planning process is tailored to make sure that the considerably most important interests are well-represented and addressed, but within the MSP framework and additional laws that regulate participation and integration. These processes span several spectra, representing the room for local decision-making, the actual involvement of local stakeholders, and the extent to which the planning authorities stick to the plan. This tailor-made process, shaped by the planning authorities and the MSP and additional relevant frameworks, eventually determines to what extent the MSP principles are properly implemented into practice. When certain interests are heavily prioritised over others, integration has not been met. In addition to that, besides that participation is formally dictated by MSP, EU requirements around MSP and additional legislative frameworks, one decides informally who exactly is involved to talk about projects, processes and policies. The prioritisation of interests may also influence who the planning authorities will involve at what level of participation. Hence, it is likely that some stakeholders whose interests would conflict with the prioritised interests are neglected and kept away from an active participative role in the process.

As has been discussed in chapter 2.4., this lack of involvement and integration could cause dissatisfaction, spark conflicts and result in protests, negatively impacting the project progress. However, when this prioritisation of interests by the planning authorities is limited or not present at all, the involved interests will more or less be represented equally and the MSP principles of participation and integration would be incorporated more into the planning process. Respectively, this will be perceived more positively by interests with a generally weaker representation, and result in trust that fluences the road for similar projects and project scopes.

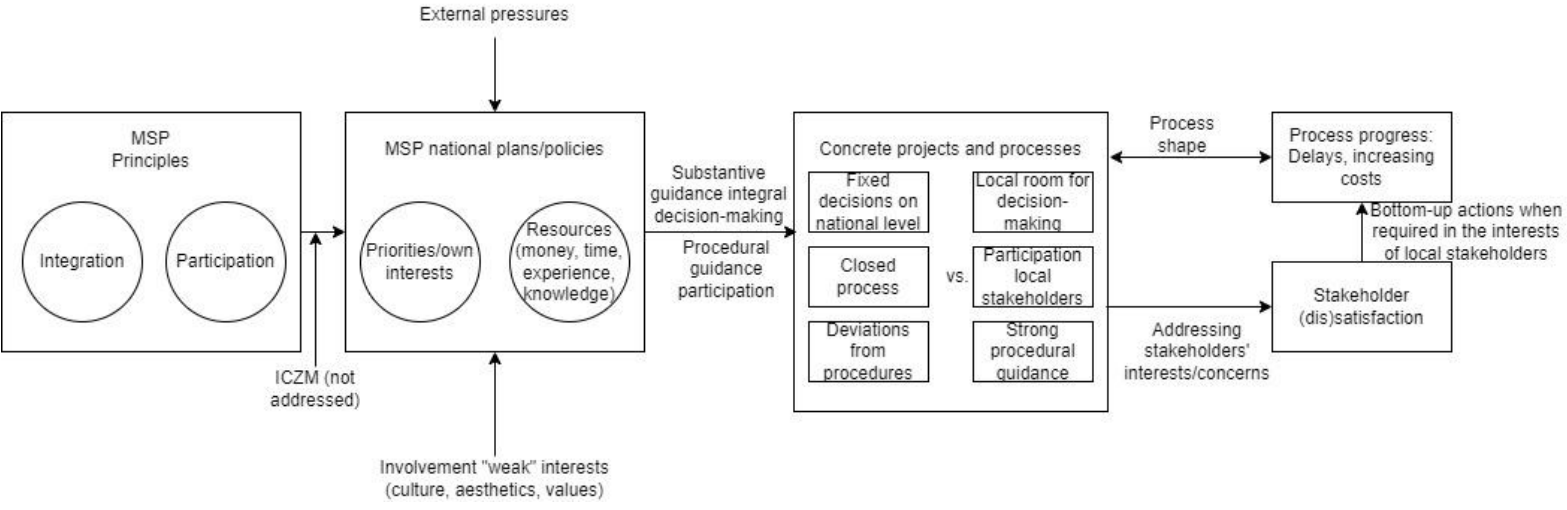


Figure 1. Conceptual model of the translation of the MSP principles into practice, with the intervention of the prioritisation of planning authorities in the shaping of the process.

In Figure 2, the hypothetical chain of events is visualised for the SWE case. As a developed but small country, the amount of available resources and knowledge in Estonia is limited. Besides that, the Estonian national government signed the Paris Agreement and the European Green Deal, which puts pressure to achieve its goals in time. Even more, the national government have the ambition to perform beyond these objectives. Hence, it is expected that Estonian planning authorities prioritise OWF development over other interests. Estonia is legally bound to the EU requirements on MSP, which also addressed the need for ICZM. However, as power relations are not addressed in both the MSP principles or the EU requirements, it is likely to encounter prioritisation of the national agenda over local interests. Since OWFs conflict with multiple other marine interests, it is expected to see a mostly blueprint-like planning process with fixed decisions and limited participation, as the pressure to achieve the climate goals might let the planners believe that there is no time to add complexity to the project by adding interests of local stakeholders and adopt an actively collaborative planning approach. As there is no adequate political arena provided for interaction between conflicting interests, protests or, in a democratic country like Estonia, the start of long lawsuits are expected. To prevent this, it has already been seen in Tafon et al. (2018)'s case study that authorities could totally exclude these parties from taking part in the project process and deviate from the initial procedures. Altogether, this would result in an inefficient course of the project process due to serious delays and increasing costs. On a longer term, the distrust that rests among the local residents and people who might have read about the project process in the media might be brought to the outside and create a growing barrier for the continuation of the energy transition as a means to achieve the climate goals in the form of a popular discourse that does not work in its favour.

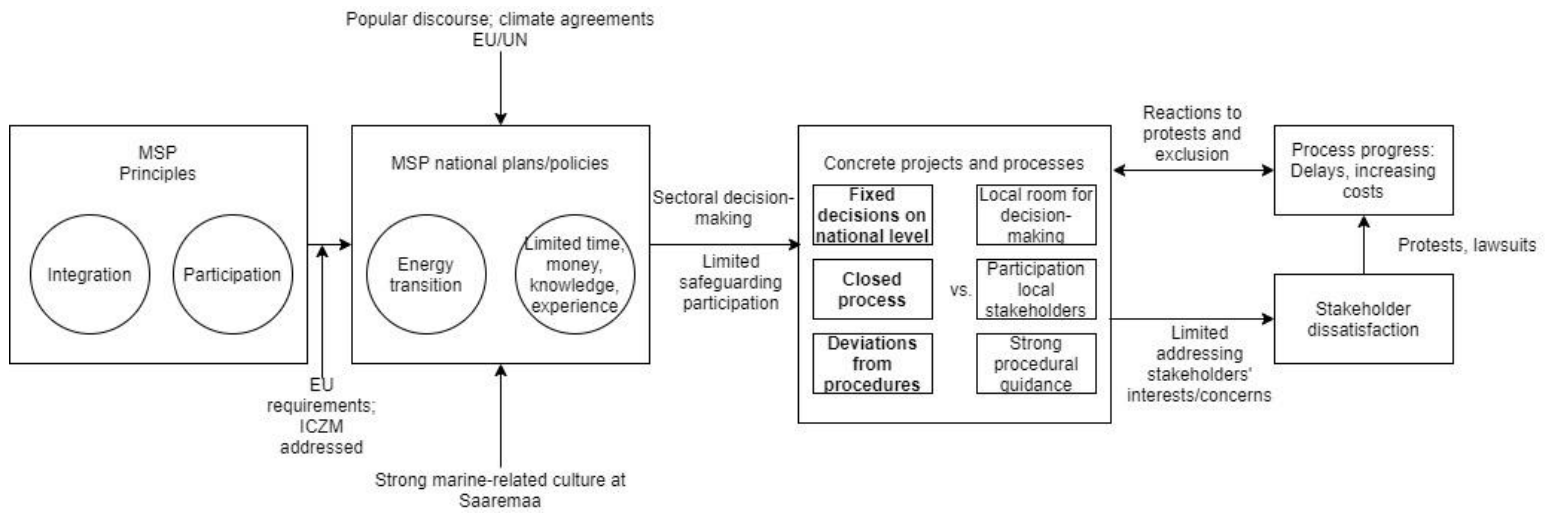


Figure 2. Hypothetical chain of events in the application of the MSP framework in Estonia in the SWE development project

## 3. Methodology

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### 3.1. Case study as research methodology

This research included a case study in which was investigated how applying MSP in the planning process of an OWF development project affects the process and its outcomes. This choice for a case study was made based on the place-based perspective, arguing that the same policy or planning approach may have different effects and outcomes when applied to two or more different areas with different contexts (Barca et al., 2012). The implementation of the MSP framework in an OWF development process can be done in multiple ways, which highly depends on the local context, including the institutional framework and power relations. This also involved interests, which include the development of the OWF, but also other local marine interests like preserving fishery and tourism to a sufficient level. The case of the SWE initiative is particularly interesting due to its extreme conditions. Firstly, the climate goals put a pressure on the government to achieve these in time. This especially concerns the energy transition, as the Estonian energy production sector is currently the highest contributor to GHG emissions. This may stimulate prioritising the production of renewable energy – offshore wind being one of the most efficient resources in Estonia – over other marine interests. Secondly, large-scale OWFs are a locally relatively new concept, just like the implementation of MSP in these types of projects. Struggles in pioneering countries in the field of offshore wind – like the Netherlands (Spijkerboer et al., 2020) – already occurred, but in countries where all is new, things could work out differently. Thirdly, the project's scale – covering over 150km<sup>2</sup> of the Baltic sea – is remarkable for a country where offshore wind is relatively new. Furthermore, the wind park is located only 10 to 27 kilometres out of the coast (Whyte, 2020), which is relatively close to the shoreline and in sight of the onshore stakeholders.

The case study protocol works with three main principles. Firstly, data is collected according to triangulation (Yin, 2003). This implies using multiple resources to gather data from various perspectives, which adds to the reliability of the study. First, a literature study of relevant academic papers was executed to retrieve information on and analyse the core concepts – including the MSP framework, offshore wind, its clash with other marine interests and the ability of MSP to address these – to shape expectations to be tested later. The results of this literature study are already discussed in chapter 2 of this report. This output formed the base of the code tree (Appendix B). Second, policy documents and reports provided information on the interpretation and implementation of MSP in practice in the case of Estonia and Saaremaa in particular, as listed in Table 1.

Table 1. List of policy documents and reports and their respective authors and contents

Document	Author	Description of content
Maritime Spatial Planning Country Information – Estonia	European MSP Platform	Current state of being of MSP process in Estonia up to October 2021
Planning Act	Riigikogu	Legislation that applies to spatial planning as well as MSP before enforcement of MSP.
EMSP	Rahandusministeerium and Hendrikson & Ko	Full draft of the final plan including zoning and legislation per state interest

Third, semi-structured interviews were conducted to collect perceptions and ideas of main actors and stakeholders (formal organisations, private companies, third parties) involved directly (e.g. authorities) or indirectly (e.g. fishery sector) on how implementing MSP in the case project affected participation in the project or influenced the project outcomes in any way, and what this meant for addressing their interests in the project. Note the use of “perceptions”, as one deals with different interests that have different foci on the project. This concerns both stakeholders who were responsible for the MSP process in Estonia on a national scale, and the stakeholders who are concerned with the OWF development project near Saaremaa. In Table 2, a list of invited stakeholders can be found, with the various relevant codes from the code tree assigned per stakeholder in Table 3. Addressing these different foci helps understanding potential conflicts that may arise or have arisen in the project process. Unfortunately, many local stakeholders from Saaremaa have not responded to the invitation, leaving a lot of assumptions ungrounded. To compensate for this, an online survey was designed to gather information from these local stakeholders. Finally, newspaper articles and other media provided narratives and discourses about MSP and offshore wind in Estonia and the SWE initiative over the different stages of the project.

The second principle concerns data management of the collected data by creating and maintaining a case study database (Yin, 2003). This is done by creating and maintaining a digital folder with several subfolders that represent each secondary research question and data collection method in answering the main research question.

The third principle revolves around maintaining a chain of evidence to keep the reasoning behind the results consistent to make the outcomes of the study more reliable (Yin, 2003). This has been safeguarded by using the output from earlier answered sub-questions as input in the sub-questions that follow up to maintain a coherent storyline throughout the research process.

Table 2. Identified stakeholders and stakeholder groups that have received an invitation for an interview. The stakeholders mentioned in italics have not responded to the invitation and/or have not been able to foresee in an interview

Stakeholders/Stakeholder groups	Role in MSP process and/or SWE development project
Ministry of Finance	Responsible for national implementation of MSP in Estonia
SWE	Initiator OWF development project
Hendrikson ja Ko	Consultancy firm consulted by the Estonian Ministry of Finance
<i>Van Oord</i>	<i>Co-developer SWE initiative</i>
<i>Saare Maakond (Maakonnavalitsus)</i>	<i>Local government</i>
<i>Saaremaa Vald (Omavalitsus)</i>	<i>Municipal council</i>
<i>Tourism office Saaremaa</i>	<i>Lobbying tourism sector interests</i>
<i>Saaremaa Rahvakultuuriselts</i>	<i>Cultural-historical association of Saaremaa</i>
<i>Saaremaa Ettevõtjate Liit</i>	<i>Coalition of entrepreneurs at Saaremaa</i>
<i>Inhabitants of Saaremaa</i>	<i>Aesthetics and liveability</i>

Table 3. Assigned stakeholders per code tree branch of the code tree (see: Appendix B)

	Code tree branch	Stakeholder (group)
Implementation MSP principles in national policies/plans	Degree of participation	Ministries
	Degree of integration	Ministries
	Presence ICZM	Ministries
	Interests planning authorities	Ministries
	Resources planning authorities	Ministries
	External pressures	Ministries
	Involvement "weak" interests	Ministries
Implementation national policies/plans in SWE project	Decision-making	SWE, municipality, county
	Involvement stakeholders	SWE, municipality, county, tourism office, Cultural-historic association, entrepreneurs, inhabitants
	Consistency implementation	SWE, municipality, county
Stakeholder satisfaction	Addressing stakeholder concerns	SWE, municipality, county
	Bottom-up mobilisation	County, municipality, tourism office, Cultural-historic association, entrepreneurs, inhabitants
	Interests/concerns stakeholders	County, municipality, tourism office, Cultural-historic association, entrepreneurs, inhabitants
Project progress	Increasing costs	SWE
	Adherence to project procedures	SWE



## 3.2. Research approach

Because of the numerous possibilities in a case study with regards to data collection techniques, one needs to explicitly frame the case study by defining its type, research design logic, data collection and analysis techniques, the interpretation of and reflecting on data, and reportation (Yin, 2003). This study is categorised as a qualitative case study, applied to investigate the implementation of the MSP framework in OWF development projects, with the focus on its ability to address and align the various involved interests and stakeholders and actors, both large-scale and local. Because these stakeholders are context-specific and lots of explanations and information can answer parts of the research question, answering the subquestions is best done by collecting and analysing qualitative data from one specific case. The logic of the research design is based on the principles of conducting a case study correctly, namely by applying triangulation, maintaining a case study database and maintain a chain of evidence (Yin, 2003). To collect the required data for analysis, an academic literature study, semi-structured interviews, NexisUni analysis and questionnaire were applied as data collection techniques. The semi-structured interviews are transcribed, coded according to a code tree that is priorly deduced from the literature study (Appendix B), and analysed by means of Atlas.ti software.

## 3.3. Units of analyses

To properly frame the case study, one needs to determine spatial, theoretical and time boundaries (Yin, 2003). The spatial boundary is defined by the location of the SWE Park, which is located southwest of the isle and county of Saaremaa (Figure 3). However, even though it is Estonia's government who owns this part of the sea, there are many other interests and parties involved that not directly own or make use of the site where the OWF will be developed. Therefore, this spatial boundary does not directly connect to the institutional framework that is linked to it. The theoretical scope has been defined by a literature study. The key concepts include OWF development, MSP in theory and the factors influencing its implementation into practice, and the consequences of this influence for the involvement of social and cultural interests in OWF development projects. More explicitly, this predominant focus on social and cultural interests included local tourism, entrepreneurship, (in)tangible cultural heritage, aesthetics and values that are connected to the sea, as experienced and advocated by local entrepreneurs, authorities, inhabitants and associations. These have been contrasted to national interests as found in the EMSP – designed by Hendrikson & Ko, commissioned by the Ministry of Finance – and the interests of the SWE initiative. This does not mean that other interests, like fisheries and nature protection, do not appear in this report.

Governance is highly dynamic and changes quickly over years. Therefore, it is important to define a fixed timeframe. The study took place from April 2021 until January 2022. The data collection took place between November 2021 and January 2022. However, the EMSP emerged earlier and evolved over time during the process of development and interpretation. The results of this study will therefore be based on the perceptions and institutional frameworks that were present during the data collection in the Estonian MSP implementation process and the SWE initiative, in the context of the history of MSP from its first moment of emergence until the data collection phase.



Figure 3. Geographical location of the SWE wind OWF development project (Van Oord, 2020)

### 3.4. Data collection framework and techniques

To answer the primary research question, smaller secondary research questions were formulated. Each sub-question required a different data collection or analysis technique. Appendix A provides an overview of the framework of data collection techniques, which links each secondary research question with the required information, the time period within which information was retrieved, the source of information, the retrieval method, the methods of documentation, and applied analysis to transform data into the desired information to answer the secondary research questions.

The first secondary research question revolved around the theory behind MSP and what theoretic principles are connected. A literature study into existing literature in the form of a content analysis was conducted from April to October 2021. The second research question builds further on this by questioning how these theoretic principles emerge in implementations of MSP in practice and how this would emerge in OWF development projects. Answering this question also required the conduction of a literature study. As input, the answers of the first research question – the main principles – were compared with examples from practice. Focused was on what might have triggered a difference with theory, and what this means for the involvement of the cultural and social interests in OWF development projects. Based on this literature study, a conceptual model was developed that contributed to structuring the fieldwork, as it revealed the potential patterns that underly the MSP process in the case study in Saaremaa. The outcomes of both literature studies are discussed in chapter 2 of this report.

The third research question dived more into the case study by looking how MSP in the SWE development project incorporates the theoretic principles and the national plans and policies respectively adequately. Information about both the interests of stakeholders and the implementation of MSP had been retrieved from November 2021 to January 2022. Information was retrieved from semi-structured interviews with

pre-identified actors, an online survey for the local stakeholders, and existing documentation about the case. Firstly, this existing documentation was found in newspaper articles (both national and local newspapers, respectively predominantly Postimees and Saarte Hääl) by using key terms “avamere tuulepark Saaremaa” (offshore windpark Saaremaa), “SWE” (the name of the initiative) and “mereala” (Marine Spatial Plan) from both the LexisNexis database and the websites of the newspapers. Second, policy documents complemented documentation on existing legislation and the MSP process in Estonia. Snowballing was included in the interviews as a method to identify additional actors that were initially overlooked in the assessment of what are important actors and stakeholders. The interviews have been recorded and transcribed after which they were analysed with the Atlas.ti software to identify patterns. The code tree that guided the formulation of the interview protocol and the transcript analysis was derived from the conceptual model. An informed consent was handed to each interviewee that informed about the goals of the interview and the study, how the information was used, and the question if the interviewee gave permission to record the interview. All transcripts were anonymised while being published in the appendices. The interview protocols can be found in Appendix C.1. to C.3. The interview transcripts can be found in Appendix D.1 to D.3.

The online survey was created with Google Forms, and spread online via local municipal services. The survey comprised several questions that enabled writing longer answers. The questions have been translated into Estonian by an acquaintance and can be found in Appendix C.4. The online survey yielded nine responses in total (Appendix E), which would replace the interviews with locals from Saaremaa.

The additional NexisUni Analysis allowed to find information from newspaper articles and policy documents that gave insight into the popular discourses about the SWE development project and more general topics like OWF development and the Estonian MSP. The popular discourses and narratives that are encountered during this analysis complemented perceptions and opinions from the interviews and questionnaires in a comparative way.

The fourth and final sub-question revolved around how participation and integration can be safeguarded and, if necessary, improved in the Estonian MSP. Information about the barriers and opportunities for improvement within the current institutional framework were retrieved from November 2021 to January 2022. This sub-question was answered by incorporating a question on how people reflected on the project processes of both the EMSP and the SWE initiative and whether or not they saw room for improvement during the same semi-structured interviews that aimed to answer the third sub-question. This data was accompanied by the same documents that have been used in answering the third secondary research question. Analysing, processing and applying data to come to final conclusions and recommendations took place in January 2022 as well. The method of documentation and analysis were similar to the interviews conducted to answer the second secondary question, but different codes were applied.

## 4. Findings: Case study SWE, Estonia

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### 4.1. EMSP

The planning process of the EMSP started in 2014 after the directive of the EU with regards to MSP got into force. The EU requirements that came with it determined partly how to materialise MSP in Estonia, together with existing Estonian strategic acts and policies, MSP principles specifically applied to the Baltic Sea region by HELCOM, and knowledge and experience from pilot projects in the counties of Hiiumaa and Pärnumaa. The first pilot project is the case that has been described earlier in this report, of which these plans were discarded by the court with regards to the plans considering offshore wind energy. In the interview with the Ministry of Finance, they acknowledged that, in these plans, they took too few factors and indicators into account to create the plan that was most suitable to the region. Regarding the Pärnu MSP, it was mentioned that communication with fishermen and transboundary communication were important aspects. The bay that borders Pärnumaa's shores is an important spawning place for a multiplicity of fish. Additionally, it fulfils a crucial infrastructural role for Latvia by connecting Rīga to the Baltic Sea (Rahandusministeerium, 2020).

MSP in the EMSP is defined as: "(...) a tool for the long-term planning of the use of the sea in order to ensure economic benefits resulting from the exploitation of marine resources as well as the value of the sea and coastal areas as socially and culturally important areas" (Rahandusministeerium, 2020, p. 1). This seems to lead back to the three pillars of sustainable development (people-planet-profit). It is worth noticing that economic benefits and social and cultural values are separated from each other in the definition that is given to MSP, instead of going hand in hand. Moreover, the environmental aspect seems underrepresented in this definition, although this seems implicit in the MSP process and appears more often in later chapters of the report. This could indicate a dominant economic paradigm, which would make sense due to the inclusion of the spatial planning department in the Ministry of Finance. However, during the interview with the Ministry of Finance, it was mentioned that having the planning department within the Ministry of Finance was actually ideal, because they do not have direct interests in the seascape, in contrast to other ministries like the Ministry of the Environment or the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Communication.

EMSP's vision came to its current form by five principles regarding spatial arrangement: synergetic combined use of space, diversification while favouring activities that fit the local area, the sea as a public good, knowledge-based decisions, and cooperation and communication between states, authorities and stakeholders in the decision-making process (Rahandusministeerium, 2020). Considering the theoretic MSP principles, one is able to link the ecosystem-based approach with the combined use of space (as is done by the EMSP) and seeing the sea as a public or common resource; the place-based principle with the focus on activities that fit the local area the best; and the integrated and participative principle with reaching out to and cooperating with both national and local stakeholders. The strategic and adaptive principles are rather implied in the content of the EMSP, but are supported by the knowledge-based decisions.

Indeed, it was confirmed during the interview with Hendrikson & Ko, the consultancy firm that assisted and advised the ministry, that they strived for combining marine activities, but that it did not work out as was hoped for and lots of areas have still been reserved for single activities. Discussions with stakeholders, on the other hand, were something that appeared to have happened frequently. Before decision-making, various thematic groups have been consulted to which drafts were shown, after which they were able to comment on these. This is both reflected upon in the interviews and the EMSP documents. The Ministry of Finance states that these thematic groups coincide with the themes annex state interests that are discussed in the plan: fisheries, aquaculture, maritime transport, rescue and environmental defence, renewable energy production, seabed infra, tourism and recreation, nature protection, marine culture, cultural monuments, national defence, mineral resources, dumping, permanent connections, and land-sea interactions (Rahandusministeerium, 2020). The Ministry of Finance mentioned a wide range of group members with different powers and interests, ranging from surfboarders and birdwatchers to environmental organisations and representatives of other relevant ministries. However, in the final EMSP draft, mostly stakeholders that had more knowledge and power – e.g. NGOs, major associations, entrepreneurs that anticipate on new uses of the Estonian maritime area (offshore wind developers, aquaculture), knowledge and research institutes, and relevant ministries – were documented as being a part of organised meetings and workshops (Rahandusministeerium, 2020). Small, local stakeholders in general are not explicitly mentioned in this documentation of meetings, consultations and workshops, while local authorities are only included as part of associations of municipalities (Rahandusministeerium, 2020). One may wonder how seriously local interests were taken into account, as compared to other interests of more powerful, larger-scale organisations. Another differentiation can be found in the moment of involvement. Large-scale and powerful organisations and stakeholders were involved during the design phase, while other stakeholders – mostly local stakeholders – could only provide input during public discussions of the draft.

The EMSP revolves around several state interests, which are incorporated in one plan and map by zoning. Each theme has its own set of guidelines that guide licensing for the implementation of the plan. Some of these themes have a more elaborate set of guidelines than others. Offshore wind stands out, covering 17 pages of the 56 pages that are dedicated to guidelines. Indeed, during the interview with the Ministry of Finance and Hendrikson & Ko, it appeared the focus was on giving space to new or future marine activities by adopting this long-term perspective. These new uses, of which offshore wind is one, lacked relevant legislation in planning law. Therefore, this was taken together with the EMSP.

Regarding participation, it should be noted that the overall approach was rather tokenist during the zoning process and the establishment of guidelines. Indeed, Estonian planning law mentions that planning is a public affair and, therefore, all interested parties should have access to the plans in some way and have the opportunity to react to these plans (Riigikogu, 2015). However, local stakeholders were mostly limited to sharing opinions and views and potential alternatives during the public hearings within their respective theme groups. Furthermore, the theme groups only received information that was considered relevant to them. Thus, the received information might be incomplete, which could have resulted in different input than when these groups have a complete overview. Even then, it could not be guaranteed that input was actively considered in revisited versions of the plan. After all, as mentioned by the Ministry of Finance, it were the state interests that had the priority, since MSP was a matter that is coordinated in a geographical area that is owned by the state (European MSP Platform, 2021). Though, the consultancy firm mentioned that the project team that was concerned with the plans was still considering implementing different planning levels within the EMSP, as this worked well in other countries. Moreover, intangible culture got a platform to take part in the discussions, which is the inclusion of an important weaker interest. However, the final draft does not safeguard its interests, as it is

mentioned that it should simply be “taken into account” (p.61) while developing projects at a particular place (Rahandusministeerium, 2020). Other social or cultural interests are not mentioned in the plan, indicating that it is most probable that these stakeholders depended on the few weeks of official public review to get notice of the state of plans and provide feedback on that from their perspective (Riigikogu, 2015). In short, participation does not seem to come back as intended by academic literature, but rather in as tokenism, in which opinions can only be issued around decisions that have already been fixed by the planning authorities.

Regarding integration, there are several elements that indicate the presence of cross-sectoral integration. First, a multiplicity of indicators are applied in the strategic EIA of the final plan, including more social and cultural indicators (Rahandusministeerium, 2020), as confirmed by the Ministry of Finance. Second, a large range of themes, ranging from economic to socio-cultural and ecologic aspects, are covered in both the plan and the MSP process in the shape of the previously mentioned thematic groups. However, there are some snags when digging deeper into these integrative aspects of the MSP process. First, although theme groups are a good way of clarifying demands, it is difficult to determine whether this also allowed for finding a solution that properly balances the various interests that are connected to this plan. Second, as appeared from the interviews with the Ministry of Finance and Hendrikson & Ko, the aim was to combine functions in the marine areas. Though, they did not entirely succeed in achieving this and ended up with a plan that largely assigned the pieces of sea area to one single use of sea. Of course, a trade-off can also be integrative, but mostly local stakeholders – especially the fishing sector – experience these trade-offs as marine areas that are being invaded by new uses that the state is anticipating on (Undrest, 2021). Considering offshore wind as one of these new marine uses, this situation seems to approach the phenomenon of green colonialism, or the feeling of the locals that their land or sea is being used for national green energy benefits (Normann, 2020). Third, it is questionable to what extent smaller or less powerful stakeholders’ interests are represented. Fourth, boundaries between the included themes were only limitedly crossed. The ministries’ contribution to the EMSP was rather sectoral. Mentioned during the interview with the Ministry of Finance, each ministry worked on themes that were relevant to the issues they dealt with; fisheries by the Ministry of Agriculture, offshore wind by the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Communication, etc. Finally, the assignation of functions to multiple areas was predetermined by national legislation, which is supported by both the EMSP document and all interviews. This includes natural areas and areas for national defence. This legislation did not allow the combination of multiple sea uses and thus excluded a major part of the northern coast of Estonia for rearrangement. Therefore, the principle of integration does return in the sense that many indicators and themes were included, but not in the sense that all interests were equally treated or balanced throughout the process.

Considering ICZM, the EMSP has a separate chapter dedicated to that, applying to several of the other discussed state interests, including ports, maritime recreation, marine culture, cable corridors, national defence, connections to the mainland, and the viability of coastal areas (Rahandusministeerium, 2020). From this perspective, it seems like the EMSP has implemented this well throughout the different themes for which this is particularly relevant. However, the form differs across these various themes. For instance, the marine culture of coastal regions is identified, but is only to be taken into consideration when applying for a license, instead of being directly protected by a designated area (Rahandusministeerium, 2020), hence being not directly protected in contrast to tangible cultural heritage, like shipwrecks. A bigger contrast can be found in the reservation of or anticipation on the construction of cable corridors on-land for connecting OWFs with the energy grid (Rahandusministeerium, 2021). Here, on-land stakeholders’ interests are not taken into account, but rather the other way around; the local stakeholders and authorities have to take into account the state

interests in their own plans and projects with regards to the new uses of the marine areas. Regarding offshore wind, this relates to the connection of the wind farms to the national electricity grid. Hence, once again, this concept seems to mostly facilitate the new uses that is anticipated upon in the plan, instead of all interests – both offshore and onshore – equally.

During the interviews with the consultancy firm and the Ministry of Finance, the amount of resources appeared to be not much decisive in the content and the process of the plan. The project manager from Hendrikson & Ko mentioned that the amount of money available influenced what studies and researches were available to be conducted to establish a good plan. However, it was not considered to be problematic, since the EMSP is designed as a strategic document with a long-term focus. Besides that, the workload was considered to be high due to the limited amount of available manpower, but the project manager from the ministry did not consider this as a factor that might have influenced the content or process of the EMSP. Still, one should reflect on this for whom this limitation of resources is not problematic; for the planning authorities, or for the excluded local stakeholders.

Over time, there have been several external pressures onto the EMSP during the planning process. First of all, in the interview with the Ministry of Finance, it appeared that a significant pressure came from the ministry of Economic Affairs and Communications from the moment multiple initiatives and agreements with regards to minimising climate change and GHG emissions were signed. This pressure led to increased lobbying for areas that were suitable for OWFs. However, during the interview with Hendrikson & Ko, it was mentioned that offshore wind was initially not considered to conflict necessarily with other interests, as there have been international examples where combining uses appeared possible. However, after public review of the draft plans, there was an additional pressure from fishermen, who were dissatisfied because fishing and trawling had to give up much space – at first sight – to offshore wind, and their interests were insufficiently – in the words from the Ministry of Finance – taken into account during the earlier design stage of the plan. Later, fishing and trawling were considered to be a state interest as well. However, the fishermen's interests were addressed less substantially than the interests of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Communications; the Ministry of Finance and Hendrikson & Ko mentioned the reservation of offshore wind waters for fishing until 2027, instead of securing a proper solution for the long term. This indicates a difference in power and agency in lobbying interests.

With regards to OWF developments in general, there are two discourses from newspaper articles that describe the process of developing offshore wind in Estonia. On the one hand, OWF development in Estonia has only progressed limitedly, due to its slow process as it impacts many other factors (Postimees, 2021a). People tend to focus on most other things than the economic benefits alone, which is also reflected in politics (Postimees, 2021b). Some contesters of the pursuing of offshore wind and renewable energy in general argue that EU policies are too restrictive to allow a good transition from the polluting Estonian energy sector to a cleaner one, which lead to the current situation where energy prices in Estonia have skyrocketed (Postimees, 2021c). This showcases the dilemma between the guaranteed but polluting energy supply versus an increased dependence on the supply and import from other countries, including Russia. Moreover, the lack of transparency in OWF projects makes that grid operators can hardly anticipate on future connections of new OWFs to Estonia's national electricity grid (Postimees, 2021d). On the other hand, one encounters the pursuing of offshore wind by the Estonian national government and limiting the potential conflicts that could occur during the planning process of these OWFs. Firstly, an often mentioned argument is that local stakeholders and municipal authorities are often left outside the project processes and respectively do not have the opportunity to have their say. At most, they are able to share their opinions, but those are often only actively considered when they include conditions that do not allow the development of a particular project under any case (Postimees, 2021e). Besides that, the local interests are often not included in the mandatory EIA (Liiva,

2021), which also seems to resonate in the MSP process. Often, the only way a state project could be modified is when another state interest conflicts with and overrules the development plans. Other than that, the state offered financial compensation, but, the parties who are affected by the development and employment of the windmill parks do not consider the economic benefits (e.g. potential financial compensations) within their considerations (Liiva, 2021). This makes it difficult to work with sustainability in the context of the communities, since opportunities to address these are limited, and sustainability is mostly seen as natural sustainability and biodiversity (Postimees, 2021a). Combining this with the findings from the interviews and EMSP document, it seems that there is a clear tendency to prioritise state interests over local interests, which leads to an unequal treatment of local stakeholders regardless the consultation of acknowledged organisations or later acknowledgment of local interests.

## 4.2. MSP in the SWE project

The interviewee from the Ministry of Finance mentioned that the EMSP is still in the process of being open for public debate and final decisions still need to be made. Therefore, the plan itself has not come into force yet. Even before the MSP process took off well in 2016, the SWE initiative had already started their development process. Hence, the MSP plan does not directly apply to this project. Most process-related aspects that are relevant to the SWE project are guided by the Planning Act. However, since the activities will predominantly take place at state-owned sea, there are still some interactions between this particular project and the MSP process until today, as mentioned during the interview with the SWE initiative representative.

One major point that still connects SWE with the EMSP, is the EIA. From the interview with the SWE initiative, it appeared that the EIA was not connected to the EMSP, since their project process started earlier than the Estonian MSP process. Thus, they adhere to the other existing planning laws. This means that the SWE initiative does not necessarily have to operate within the areas in the plan that are specifically dedicated to offshore wind. However, to retrieve the so-called “superficies license” that grants them the permission to investigate developments in the selected areas, on which the interviewee reflects as a “legally so-so” process, was by making sure that the outcomes of their own EIA was comparable with the final EMSP. However, the interviewee of the SWE initiative also stated that this was not really a problem since the used indicators for the EIA are largely the same as the ones used in the EMSP. Moreover, the MSP meetings are reported by the interviewee to be attended by the SWE initiators as well, since they want to align their interests with the interests of others. Furthermore, the SWE initiative mentioned that it is already running ahead of the MSP process in terms of the project timeline, which already entered a more detailed stage of planning instead of the allocation of a potential development site on sea. Therefore, the issues that MSP has been dealing with in the current plan development phase of the planning process are not directly the main focus of the SWE initiative in this particular phase of the project.

Considering the planning process, participation and integration is guided by the planning act. However, safeguarding in this act is limited to a minimum of communicating plans to a specified list of stakeholders – often the local authorities at the lowest level – and a public display of plans within a timeframe of only several weeks to provide feedback on (Riigikogu, 2015). However, from the interview with the SWE initiative, it appeared that the initiators have the aim to do more. First, the SWE initiative stated that they are actively reaching out to local authorities and are looking for win-win opportunities for the local population and businesses. Mentioned examples in the interview include talks with the local technical college (Kuressaare Kolledž), the local port in Roomassaare that could act as a service port for the construction and maintenance of the wind park, and the accession to the local entrepreneurial association, while still trying to reach out to the tourism industry. However, local cultural associations are



not mentioned, and the visual impact is not considered by the interviewee in this stage of the project anymore, since only a handful of people are considered to be exposed to the visual impact of the OWF. Furthermore, the opinion of the initiator is that the wind park is actually beautiful, since it represents a better future compared to the past, in which Estonia combusted a lot of polluting oil shale as an energy source. This is a perspective that not all local inhabitants might assess their views from. Indeed, as will later be discussed in chapter 4.4., it appears from the online survey that the local residents do indeed not share the same enthusiasm for offshore wind. Though, among these respondents, there was also one voice that stated that one should not “whine so much” and “turn their minds on” instead. This raises questions about what people exactly are and feel impacted. Still, it is clear that what is considered beautiful or repulsive was predominantly based on the views of the project initiators instead of the locals. Besides that, the fact that the talks are mostly about win-win indicates on a certain fixedness and inevitability of OWF development near Saaremaa. The interviewee of the SWE initiative states that their project is simply an outcome of the strategical decision by the Estonian government to develop more offshore wind to achieve the climate goals from the international agreements. Besides that, it was mentioned in the same interview that some of the zones were already excluded by default because of state interests. Hence, one sees that the EMSP indeed does not provide a safeguard for local interests to have a say in offshore wind development within their vicinity.

### 4.3. Local stakes vs. Estonian MSP and SWE

Saaremaa is an isle located to the west of mainland Estonia. It is the largest isle in Estonia and one of the larger islands within Europe (Saaremaa Vald, n.d.). Saaremaa has a rich Viking history, which distinguishes from inland Estonian culture. Besides that, archaeological findings support that already during the prehistoric, the inhabitants of Saaremaa were a seafaring people (Visit Saaremaa, 2021a). It is therefore fair to state that the sea has played an important role in the lives of the islanders. Indeed, the respondents of the online survey mention that their connection with the seascape is mostly emotional, often established during their childhood in the case respondents were raised near the seaside (3 out of 9), feeling more comfortable living in the proximity of the sea. Romance was also mentioned by a single respondent as a value he/she attaches to the sea. The local inhabitants enjoy the sea and its shores not only for leisure or recreational purposes, but mostly by simply looking at it and being in its presence (6 out of 9 respondents). Natural aspects and the preservation of these are especially valued (5 out of 9 respondents). Examples mentioned by the respondents include the sound of waves, the smell of the fresh silty air blowing from the sea, the colours from the water and the broad horizon. Altogether, it seems like the local population values the natural seascape without any pollution in any form. One respondent values “no artificial objects” in the sea, presumably referring to the development of offshore wind near the shores. Indeed, when asking about how OWF development would impact the islanders’ daily life, it is generally mentioned that it is not “visually pleasing” (3 out of 9 respondents) and noise would come from the turbines (1 out of 9). Although certain weather conditions from the sea might be able to transfer the noise over a distance of several kilometres towards the coast (Norro et al., 2013), noise nuisance is less realistic due to the distance between the nearest turbines and the coast. However, it does indicate a lack of knowledge of offshore wind among the local population. On the other hand, considering the contrasting values of the SWE initiative, it also indicates lacking knowledge from the planners on the impact on the local inhabitants and what they value in the seascape and its aesthetics, which is something that is built upon further in chapter 4.4. One respondent hesitates about what would happen after a longer period of time when the turbines get at the end of their lifetime and what the impact will be of this to the surrounding ecosystem and environment. However, not all respondents have concerns, mainly arguing that they do not see the sea and are therefore not bothered by the development of the OWFs (5 out of 9 respondents). On the other hand, some of the people who do not feel impacted do

acknowledge that these concerns can exist with other people (2 out of 5 respondents who do not feel impacted themselves). In short, there seems to be concern about the development of offshore wind with regards to their impact on the natural values of the seascape that are valued by the local population, but the impact on a personal level is limited, depending on the distance or exposure to the seascape.

The culture distinction between the mainland Estonians and Saaremaa's population leads back to the Middle Ages (Kaminski et al., 2020) is preserved and showed until the smallest details. An example of this can be found within the language (Visit Saaremaa, n.d.a.), food (Visit Saaremaa, 2021b, n.d.b.) and services (Saaremaa Ehtne Toode, 2021). So, it can be expected that the local inhabitants make an effort to preserve this local culture and their distinctive heritage and habits compared to the mainland. Several tourists mention the urge to preserve the unique cultural heritage that is left on Saaremaa, because of the pride of people about their difference from the mainland Estonians and their own unique heritage, but also because of the urge they feel to persevere on the island. This can still be seen in the habit of people to forage food that is available at and around the island, instead of predominantly relying on imported goods in supermarkets (Visit Saaremaa, 2021b). The "Ehtne" label indicates "genuine" products and services, which points to the origin, knowledge and production of the product in Saaremaa (Saaremaa Ehtne Toode, 2021). This frame of authenticity is also how the tourism association brands the island: simple, local, authentic in both the use of resources and the cherishing of local legacies (Visit Saaremaa, 2021b). The conservation and perseverance of the identity of the island could also be reflected upon in politics. After the municipal elections in October 2021, the largest party was the electoral coalition "Terve Saaremaa" (Whole of Saaremaa) – managing to acquire 8 out of 31 seats in the municipal council (Eesti Rahvusringhääling, 2021) – which advocated strong self-government and the ability of the islanders to choose the key topics in the political debate (Terve Saaremaa, 2021). The right-wing parties EKRE and Isamaa also got a fair share of votes (11 out of 31 seats combined; Eesti Rahvusringhääling, 2021) that advocate more traditional cultural values. Considering the local culture as described above, it can be expected that the majority of seats will advocate cultural preservation and self-sustenance. On the other hand, Reformierakond – a major advocator of OWF development near the western archipelago (Eesti Reformierakond, 2021) – received six out of 31 seats in the council (Eesti Rahvusringhääling, 2021), even though this was not one of the points on the agenda of the Saaremaa department of Reformierakond (Reformierakond, 2021). After all, the municipality has no authority over the seascape, as laid down in the Water Act of Estonia (European MSP Platform, 2021). Applying the above to the potential development of offshore wind near Saaremaa, the inhabitants possibly do not see the developments as contributing or sustaining the authenticity of the islanders' culture, which is also supported by the respondents who earlier mentioned that the natural sea views that they value would be negatively impacted by the development of OWFs.

In articles from local (Saarte Hääl) and national (predominantly Postimees) newspapers found online or in the LexisNexis database, some argue that offshore wind could actually bring cultural benefits to the island. The SWE initiator mentioned in the interview that the development would of course conflict with some interests, but could work around that. In fact, it was stated that it could actually complement or strengthen the local culture. The marine-based job market has only limited opportunities to work in on Saaremaa. Indeed, this is also reflected by some other newspaper articles. A member of the local development agency on Saaremaa mentions that it is in the hands of the local people and parties to anticipate on these future developments to benefit locally (Paenurk, 2021). However, these local parties and people should be aware of what exactly can be gained besides simply the economic benefits. Exclusion or limited inclusion in the project processes could limit this anticipation, which could respectively lead to an only temporary increase of jobs in the marine sector, which would disappear after completion of the OWF. As a right-wing politician describes: "Later, friends! Now let's get back to

knitting organic cones and carving first-aid kit cabinets”, since Ventspils, a Latvian port city on the other side of the Gulf of Riga, already has connections to the grid and facilities to operate maintenance from their port, in contrast to the local port of Roomassaare (Mere and Masing, 2021). Still, in the interview with the SWE initiator, it was mentioned that they are currently in the process of investigating win-win opportunities for both the OWF and the local people. On the surface, this is a positive aspect in respect to the incorporation of participation in the project process. Still, as mentioned before, these involved parties so far mostly include organisations instead of individuals from the island.

Focussing on the fishery industry, it can be deduced from newspaper articles that strong sentiments are still present that make people think there is an upcoming intruder in their midst, being the OWF under development. The fishery industry, especially prominent in Western Estonia with over 2000 people being employed in the fishing sector (Undrest, 2021), still plays a significant role in people’s lives, whose fixed financial compensations for OWF development in current fishing waters would not benefit them on the long term (Postimees, 2021b). The word “colonisation” is mentioned in the sense that the national authorities seem to deplete a particular resource and leave pollution in the form of a disrupted landscape (Postimees, 2021f), which is also visualised by 100 Tallinn TV towers constructed in the sea near Saaremaa (Postimees, 2021g). This is anthropologically an enjoyable metaphor, since it shows the physical and cultural distance between the nation’s capital and the isle of Saaremaa. As already mentioned in the interviews with the Ministry of Finance and Hendrikson & Ko, the focus of the Estonian MSP process was mostly to provide room for new uses of the Estonian marine area. Thus, it makes sense that offshore wind has a prominent place. Considering MSP, one newspaper article in particular mentions that “everyone needs to benefit in a multifaceted and sustainable way to enjoy the living environment”. This is however not what is happening in practice, since the EIA is incomplete or not considering the effects of OWF development on the other interests in the sea cumulatively (Undrest, 2021). In short, it is visible that, although the decision that the SWE OWF will be developed is fixed, there is still a significant contestation of interests between the local population and the planners of the SWE initiative, which is potentially not properly addressed by the participation strategy that involves organisations and authorities rather than individuals in the current plan development stage of the project.

#### 4.4. Project progress

From the interviews and newspaper articles, it appeared that the SWE project process has been rather smooth until its current plan development phase – the plan development phase –, apart from a couple of small hick-ups. As previously mentioned, the project is legally not directly connected to the EMSP – except for the EIA – and largely adheres to the Planning Act. However, the interviewee from the SWE initiative stated that there was the urge to do more in the sense of participation and integration. In this perspective, participation is more thoroughly approached by talking with the local stakeholders and actors about what additional opportunities could combine with the SWE project. However, it was also mentioned that it was fixed that the OWF would be developed, instead of that all interests were actively balanced. In this respect, participation seems to be approached rather in a pseudo-participative way, in which involved stakeholders cannot influence the scope and location of the planned developments. It is plausible that the decision to develop offshore wind in this location was made without involvement of any local stakeholders.

Besides that, it was mentioned by the SWE initiative that not just the local authorities were approached, but also other organisations and associations. This process of integrating in the local community and preparing the integration of the OWF in this community is reported by the interviewee to have taken place for a couple of years already. SWE mentioned that integrating in the close-knit community is a hard task, since outsiders and even people who are the first generation to be born on Saaremaa are not considered a "Saarne", a real inhabitant of Saaremaa. Therefore, building trust and integration takes time. However, it seems to pay off; during the interview with the SWE initiative, it was mentioned that reaching out to official organisations has already resulted in them joining the local entrepreneurial association. However, this integration in the local community is not too representative, since multiple parties still clash with the developments. Outreach has not taken place on a larger scale to the major part of the local population and stakeholders yet, but rather to larger organisations and authorities, as mentioned by the SWE initiative during the interview. It is possible that this has impacted the familiarity of the local population with the project. 4 out of 9 respondents of the online survey are limitedly or not aware of the project, and the knowledge they have is only provided by media (5 out of 9 respondents), or by experience when they happen to work in sectors that are already involved in the project (2 out of 9 respondents, that are respectively employed in the energy sector and the Saaremaa municipality). It makes sense that most of the respondents know little, since during the interview with the SWE initiative, it was stated that they do not consider it relevant to involve local inhabitants in the current plan developing stage. One respondent already mentioned that this exclusion, or not knowing what is happening, makes him/her feel like the OWF and other similar projects are being pushed through without any notice of their personal interests and concerns. However, there is no large concern about the limited inclusion in the project so far (6 out of 9 respondents), one respondent referring to the fact that participation is regulated by the law. More concerning is the fact that one respondent considers certain aspects of these project processes to be not entirely legal, but that "it is so common in our country", indicating a potential sign of distrust that goes combined with a lacking interest to try getting involved any longer. A total of 5 out of 9 respondents show distrust towards the process with regards to the involvement of local stakeholders. Besides that, the process is considered by a single respondent to have a too narrow scope, doing no justice to the ones who have to clean the mess up when wind turbines reach the end of their life cycle. Although decommissioning of non-operating OWFs is guided by the EU (European Commission, 2020), this indicates a lack of information or communication about the topic. This is especially critical when considering that the local population depends on the sea and its resources. Hence, it is not surprising to observe the attitude towards the project is rather on the negative side of the spectrum. Moreover, two respondents respectively mention particularly the fishermen and the local community on the Sõrve peninsula, which is located near the project location and a number of other OWF development projects, that oppose various OWF developments. One respondent writes that the Sõrve community has already been represented by some local key actors, but their achievements are deemed to be too little or not thorough enough. Another respondent mentions the Development Center of Saaremaa (Saaremaa Arenduskeskus) that lobbies economic benefits of the SWE project to trickle down to the local stakeholders, but the examples end there. This seems to support the suspicion that SWE's current participation strategy does not incorporate a wide range of local interests.

When asking about what can make the developments more acceptable, respondents name a couple of points. An interesting first point revolves around the shape and location of the wind park; 4 out of 9 respondents rather see it move elsewhere. However, in the current stage of the project, the location has largely been decided upon already. As one particular respondent described it: "The Baltic Sea is large and wide". This seems to indicate again that only little information is shared with the local inhabitants, which brings one to the second point. The sharing of more information in media and within the community on both the project and the potential symbiosis between the local community and the OWF are points that

are mentioned by 3 out of 9 respondents. This not only allows integrating the OWF more in the people's lives and raising awareness of the impact and opportunities of its development, but also providing more agency to the local stakeholders and authorities to lobby local interests into the SWE project. Still, no one seems to be aware of bottom-up actions taking place to achieve this additional degree of agency or transparency, apart from the Sõrve community (1 respondent). Even more, only one respondent is prepared to take action, but does not know any organisations that strive for the same. The only known organisations so far that lobby local interests are the municipality and county of Saaremaa through the energy management development plan, but then the question remains to what extent these authorities represent the local interests from only a small part of the large island well enough.

Still, the project encountered some delays that are not associated with planned parts of the process. First, around 2017, it appeared from a newspaper article that the process did not make a lot of progress since the assessments and decision-making by the national authorities took a long time, keeping the project from progressing (Ruuda, 2017). More recently, it was mentioned in the interview with the SWE initiative that they were involved in a court case where the Estonian state accused the SWE initiative of being a danger to national security. However, it was also mentioned that this mostly had to do with a mixture of misunderstanding and corruption. First of all, the initiative did not need any large budgets to be spend in the plan development phase, which was one of the main arguments mentioned during the court case. Another mentioned argument by the state to replace the responsibilities to another organisation was that the abilities and skill levels of the initiators were not of a sufficient level to develop the OWF. This was indeed confirmed by the SWE initiative during the interview, but did not consider this to be a problem during their current project phase. They suspected corruption, which might have played a role to take off the "candies from the small kids" and put the responsibilities and respective benefits under a state-funded energy company. In the end, the case was closed in the advantage of the SWE initiative. This case resulted in two years of delay and some additional financial costs due to the fees for a lawyer. After that, they managed to establish a cooperation with Van Oord, a Dutch company that has expertise in offshore wind development, which solved the issue of the lack of expertise.

## 5. Discussion

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### 5.1. Expectations vs. results

Applying the collected data as discussed in chapter 4 in the conceptual model from chapter 2 allows for comparison between the case study outcomes and expected results. Considering the MSP principles in academic literature, participation and integration do not occur in the EMSP as intended. Higher levels of participation are arranged for more powerful groups and stakeholders during the design phase of MSP, while less powerful (local) stakeholders were limited to issue opinions on draft publications during public displays or in thematic groups. The Ministry of Finance mentioned that decisions are generally – with some exemptions, like with the protests of the fishermen – fixed, and state interests supersede local interests. This may explain why participation was facilitated limitedly. However, “real” participation is vaguely defined, especially considering the grey area of tokenism as mentioned in chapter 2. This smoothens the way for planning authorities to realise their interests without compromising the minimum required participation. These findings do not contrast with the initial expectations.

On the other hand, integration, particularly cross-sectoral integration, appears more prominently in the Estonian MSP process than expected. The Ministry of Finance mentioned in the interview that the main focus is on new and future uses and interests in Estonia’s maritime area. Topics are still mostly discussed within its respective institutions and thematic groups, the latter only getting presented the aspects of the draft that are considered to be relevant to each particular group. Moreover, not each theme’s interests is safeguarded equal to others, like intangible culture needed to be “taken into account”, while offshore wind has significantly more guidelines for others to take into account. Hence, integration on an operational level is limited. However, investigating combinations of functions in the same space, including a wide range of themes including several social interests, and adding social and cultural indicators to the strategic EIA of the EMSP makes the process more integrative. Previous documents on Estonian MSP stated integration was lacking. However, the process seems to have improved integration-wise and shows progress from earlier pilot projects that ended up encountering large costs. Evaluation of previous experience was not included in the conceptual model, explaining the different outcomes. Still, one could wonder why these improvements were made; to ensure a just planning process for everyone, or to limit opposition as encountered in the Hiiumaa pilot (Tafon et al., 2018) by facilitating minimal pseudo-participation. Additionally, some degree of ICZM indeed reoccurs in the EMSP, but mostly advocates the anticipation of activities and spatial arrangements onshore on future maritime activities. Compared to academic literature, in which offshore planning should take into account onshore interests, this is the other way around. Therefore, one should wonder if ICZM should be elaborated upon more to clarify the concept, similarly to participation and integration.

Considering resources, the Ministry of Finance and Hendrikson & Ko respectively encountered a lack of manpower and money to cover all required participation-related work (e.g. workshops), or to execute more detailed studies. Still, this was not considered as a problem by the interviewees. The Ministry of Finance mentioned that the project team was able to work hard to cover all the work. Hendrikson & Ko mentioned that most expensive studies were only necessary during operation of the EMSP. Where more data was desired, models were used, e.g. for seabed analysis. However, these models require proper verification to represent a real-life situation. For instance, the composition of the seabed soil is important to identify suitable areas for carrying turbines. Generally, the resources may be sufficient for the work that was planned to be done. However, as already mentioned, participation did not reach the level as intended in academic literature, but rather the tokenist level on the ladder of participation (Arnstein, 1969). Furthermore, cross-sectoral integration was present, but did not balance each theme equally. This

makes one wonder for whom the resources did not affect the planning process or outcomes; the planning authorities, or all maritime interests. Initially, it was expected that the availability of resources would play a larger role in what the plan looks like, but this was based on the idea that much more technical research would be conducted, like analyses of the seabed. One could argue that the resources could still play a role, but that this is more important for the addressing of local stakeholder concerns rather than the state interests.

External pressures were reported by the Ministry of Finance to be limited during the first years of the plan-making process. After the signing of various climate agreements, the pressure to find suitable places to develop OWFs increased significantly, as was expected. Although fishermen exerted counterpressure, the pressure coming from the responsible Ministry of Economic Affairs and Communication seemed more dominant. These differences in effectiveness were not taken into account in the conceptual model. Still, it is not a surprising observation, considering that during the process itself, smaller and conflicting interests and stakeholders were only limitedly included in contrast to the more powerful ones that connected more with the state interests. Thus, observing that one pressure was advocated from a party that was already included more closely (the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Communication promoting offshore wind) and got taken more seriously than the fishermen, who have not been involved before that period, one deduces that external pressures from powerful stakeholders are more effective than external pressures that are asserted by parties that are more located on the outside in terms of participation.

The Ministry of Finance decided that the outcomes of the SWE EIA should coincide with the strategic EIA of the EMSP, which could potentially determine locations of turbines and technical specifications, like height and moments of operation. Further than that, the EMSP barely safeguards participation and integration in the SWE project. Initially, it was expected that the EMSP would provide directions to the project process of all developments at sea, including on-going projects (SWE), but this is not the case. This makes drawing clear conclusions on the relation between the addressing of participation and integration by the EMSP and this particular project case hard. Yet, safeguarding by the EMSP is limited. Looking at the project process itself, it seems already a fixed decision that an OWF will be constructed on the appointed location, decided upon without local stakeholders. Regardless, the SWE initiative mentioned they actively reach out to local authorities and stakeholders to find win-win opportunities so that economic benefits reach the island as well. Currently, this still takes place. This can be deduced from the stakeholders' familiarity with the project, which is limited among the respondents to the survey. Still, this is more than the minimum requirements in the Planning Act. This indicates that participation does not only have to be safeguarded in policies and legislation, but that it can also come from project initiators themselves. This could be a hopeful sign that private plan initiators can be motivated to do more than what the national planning legislation stimulates and requires them to do in terms of integration and participation. However this might also be a rare exception from what is commonly the case. The decision to include more participation can still be made out of the perspective of pragmatism to limit the opposition, while still pursuing the project's own objectives. Indeed, the project process is similar to the MSP process considering that larger or more powerful organisations are approached first in the designing process, while other stakeholders are not or only later involved in a way that provides them with less power than the powerful stakeholders.

Less is deducible about procedural guidance, since SWE does not adhere to the majority of decisions made in the EMSP, although some curiosities were observed. This includes the court case and the agreement regarding the alignment of the EIA. Both of these curiosities originated from the side of the authorities. This is an interesting contrast with the earlier expectations, since it was initially expected to see some deviations from procedures originating from the project initiators instead. This presents the interesting question if the authorities were able or interested to steer the SWE project besides the Planning Act and the strategic EIA, and if so, why they were trying to do so.

Local respondents to the online survey are dissatisfied with the limited information about how the purity of natural areas would be affected by the development of the turbines. Improving transparency and communication was pointed out by them as making the arrival of wind turbines in front of the southwestern coast of Saaremaa more acceptable, since it would allow local stakeholders and authorities to lobby their own interests to achieve that symbiosis – or fairness at least – that is strived for by the SWE initiative. Still, there is limited organised action to achieve this, which is surprising given the encountered – although tempered – dissatisfaction, and the fact that Saaremaa has a strong marine-related culture. In fact, most costs in the project so far are caused by the lawsuit that the state put up against SWE. However, more opposition might arise when the project enters future stages after the final plans are finished and the situation gets more inevitable for the local stakeholders.

In short, the MSP principles did not provide enough direction to be implemented correctly. Participation in both the EMSP and the SWE project incorporates local stakeholders, but did not provide them with any potential to lobby their interests during the plan developing phase. Even then, most important decisions – the fixation of zoning and development locations – are made by the planners. Integration appears more prominently in both processes, by including a broad range of incorporated themes in both consultation and the strategic EIA, but themes of state interest were weighed heavier than other themes of local interest, including cultural values and aesthetics. Regarding that implementing MSP is only something of the past few years, the amount of knowledge on the implementation of MSP may slowly grow by gaining experience through trial and error, something which is also reflected by the improvements in terms of integration, based on the pilot projects in Hiiumaa and Pärnumaa. For whom these are improvements is however a matter of discussion.

The skewed power distribution in allocating maritime activities by means of the EMSP – incorporating predominantly state interests rather than local interests, and involving powerful, acknowledged organisations rather than local stakeholders – can be solved by elaborating on the concepts of participation and integration. In this study, participation is considered to comprise the three upper stairs of Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation (partnership, delegated power and citizen control); other forms are considered to be non-participation or tokenism. The dominant variant of participation that was encountered was the tokenist approach. However, it is a rather grey area to what extent tokenism is considered to be real or not-real participation, especially since it is categorised outside the non-participation category and, hence, could be seen as types of participation as well. This unclarity might explain why tokenism is considered as participation by the planning authorities and plan developers. Especially since tokenism is considered to demand less debate and cooperation than the uppermost stairs of the participation ladder, and hence less effort and time (Magagnin et al., 2005), it makes sense that planning authorities and the SWE initiative applied a tokenist approach. Considering integration, the same applies. As there are still conflicts with regards to decisions that already have been fixed from cultural and aesthetical interests that have not been involved in these decisions, one might consider adding more interests from onshore stakeholders. On the other hand, it can be argued that adding too much interests makes the issue too complex and paralyses the project process (Tajima & Fischer, 2013). Especially in combination with participation, the debate will take significantly more time to get all the



involved interests aligned with each other and find the happy medium. This thought might also have appeared in this study, because in the MSP framework and respectively the EU requirements, participation and integration interplay with each other, which results in the dilemma between being able to facilitate proper participation and be able to make decisions on the one hand, and have an integrative focus and include as many interests that are impacted by the plans on the other hand. Still, to verify the implementation of these concepts, some type of agency is required to safeguard a fair distribution of the power relations in this. The EU requirements seem to be effective – albeit to a limited extent – in adding ICZM to the implementation of MSP in its member states, which makes it an option to do the same for the power issues as well. Still, in the case of ICZM in particular, a strong requirement should be that ICZM should be elaborated more upon by this agency as well to prevent free interpretation at the expense of local interests.

## 5.2. Validity of results

This study's findings are only valid under certain conditions. First, the limitations of the methodology and the case study as mentioned in Chapter 3.3. frame the research within particular boundaries to be able to draw conclusions on this particular case. These units of analyses are defined on the basis of the geographical boundaries, the theoretical boundaries, and the temporal boundaries (Yin, 2003). In terms of geography, the case study applied to one single wind park development project, which was located in the southwestern part of Saaremaa. This shaped the physical area within which the study took place, but also what stakeholders were involved. Here is where a first insecurity occurs: it is unsure to what extent the impact of the OWF development project is indeed limited to this particular area. The construction phase of the project might appear to have an impact on a larger area, e.g. due to noise transmission through a wider area of the sea, or grid connections by grid operators. This might also mean that other stakeholders that might have a stake in later stages of the project could be overlooked in this study. This is not problematic for the validity, since the temporal boundaries also define that this study considered the SWE project and the EMSP in its current form and its past trajectories until these current forms. This limits the transferability of some key lessons from this study to cases that cover OWF developments that are in similar project stages that are particularly located within the same geographical area for which the same or similar institutional framework applies.

Initially, a theoretical framework has been put around OWFs and their effects on certain other interests, but in particular on the interests with a weaker representation, like culture, aesthetics and personal values. Indeed, it was found that other interests, like nature protection, are often represented better than cultural or personal interests. Still, that does not mean that all organisations that share this interest are well represented in these processes. Therefore, it is possible that certain organisations - e.g. NGOs that specialise in (marine) environmental protection – experience similar concerns as the local stakeholders in this study. Still, it is possible that other local stakeholders are overlooked, since they might not be active online or well-known in local atmospheres. This might be the result of the idea of the project developer that interested stakeholders are located directly at the shoreline and hence ignores a larger involvement of interest groups on the rest of the island within the SWE project process.

There are also some other limitations and insecurities that were encountered during the course of the data collection. First, the availability of articles or data was sometimes limited. This mostly related to the collection of newspaper articles about the course of the project or the MSP process in Estonia. The NexisUni database was not always sufficient in the provision of relevant articles based on the entered keywords. In local newspapers, relevant articles were sufficiently available, but to read the full articles, often a paid subscription was required, which again limited the pool of articles to derive information from. Second, barely or no response from the local stakeholders from Saaremaa returned. This was

problematic, since especially this group of stakeholders would have been able to give more clearance about their views on the OWF developments in their backyard. Indeed, as mentioned during the interview with the SWE initiative, it appeared difficult to integrate within the local community of Saaremaa, which might explain why little response came back on the invitations. To receive some response, it was later chosen to create and distribute a convenience-approach online survey with open answers, which yielded 9 responses from various interest groups in Saaremaa. Still, these do not offer the possibility to ask further on interesting points that the respondents mention. Besides that, the online survey was not distributed to the interest groups directly, which opens the possibility that only a select group with a particular opinion on the local culture and/or the SWE OWF project responded.

Third, the way interviewees and respondents formulate answers is sometimes difficult to interpret. Especially during the interviews with organisations with more authority or which are involved in politics, it is possible that stakeholders provide socially desirable answers to the interview questions, while they might not advocate what is said, or rather advocate what has not been said. On the other hand, one respondent to the survey was utterly positive about the OWF to the extent that he would “openly criticise the opponents”. This person happened to be someone who took part in discussions and whose interests were taken into consideration. The way his/her answers were formulated could indicate someone who was indeed fully convinced by the future of offshore wind in Saaremaa and was fully satisfied with the process. However, this was the only respondent to the survey who assessed the process positively. Even more, this particular respondent was the only one who applied an “extreme” use of words to emphasise this positive view, which makes one wonder if he/she really means it this way or whether there is still some nuance that the survey did not expose.

Finally, there were some language barriers that occurred between the researcher and the respondents and interviewees. Estonian is the main language spoken on Saaremaa and in Estonia, and barely or not spoken outside of the country. Although the English fluency is high among younger and higher-educated persons, the fluency is limited among the rest of Estonia. Even then, it is possible that the interviewees use different English vocabulary to describe something that deviates from what the researcher interprets, which makes it unsure whether or not certain phrases from the transcript describe correctly what they mean. For the translation of the survey questions, a local acquaintance was able to provide a correct translation of the interview questions in Estonian, which makes that those answers are less dependent on the English fluency of the local population. Still, the answers of the respondents are translated by means of a translating machine, but these often still provide correct translations into English.

## 6. Conclusion and recommendations

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Currently, climate change demands actions to limit and mitigate its effects on future societies. The transition from fossil fuels to renewable resources of energy is one solution, with wind energy being an example of a renewable energy resource. Since space on-land is scarce, one could consider moving wind energy generation offshore. MSP could theoretically foresee in a framework that aligns and balances all marine interests – including offshore wind – on the basis of six key principles. However, some of these principles are open for interpretation or not watertight. In this study, research was conducted to gain insight into the implementation of MSP in the SWE OWF development project in Saaremaa, Estonia, where wind energy on a large scale is relatively new. In particular, it was investigated to what extent participation and integration as implied in academic literature occurred in practice. The research question was formulated as: *“How do the key principles of participation and integration from the MSP framework perform in the SWE development project?”*

To answer this, a literature study into the MSP framework, early implementations of this framework, offshore wind and its relation with the aforementioned examples shaped the expectation that participation and integration would probably not fully perform due to large pressure to achieve the climate goals and the lack of properly addressing power relations. This would eventually also trickle down to the implementation phase, in which projects would follow a similar trend in their project processes because of the lack of safeguarding from the EMSP, leading to dissatisfied local stakeholders and, considering an expected close-knit community on the island, active mobilisation to oppose these developments. To test this hypothesis for the case of the SWE project, data was collected from relevant policy documents, newspaper articles on both MSP in Estonia and the SWE initiative, interviews and a convenience-sample open question survey.

Data showed that the principles do indeed not perform as intended in academic literature within the EMSP. Participation appears in the form of consultation sessions and possibilities to provide input in public reviews of provisional plans, but distinctions in how parties are involved exist between state interests and local interests, and between powerful and less powerful stakeholders. Integration, although still underperforming due to unequal weighing of the various interests, was improved by adding multiple themes to the list of indicators for the strategic EIA and including a range of thematic consult groups. A similar process was observed in the SWE initiative. The project was not directly connected to MSP because it started earlier, and the project managers had the ambition to do more than what was minimally required by legislation, but this was still minimal. The decision about whether or not the wind park would be realised seems to be fixed already, meaning that participation in that stage of the project is no longer possible. A number of local organisations were approached and consulted to make sure that the realisation of the OWF becomes acceptable by making sure the island benefits of the realisation and exploitation of the SWE OWF, but small stakeholders were not involved. Generally, the development of offshore wind is not something that is explicitly welcomed by everyone on the island, each for his or her own reasons. Unexpectedly, this has not yet led to significant opposition, but this might still happen when plans crystallise during future stages of the project.

This study contributed to planning theory by providing insight into the implementation of theoretic MSP principles into practice with a focus on offshore wind, showing that the vagueness of concepts like participation and integration can cause problems in the MSP process in the context of the renewable energy transition. Moreover, it shows that onshore interests are affected as well, even though they are initially not considered to be impacted. ICZM shows potential to address these interests, but this concept is also not too clearly defined in terms of what is integrated and for whom. These findings add to the

already existing studies that investigate the implementation of the current definitions of the theoretic principles of MSP into a range of different cases. This case study does so by showing similar flaws in the implementation of MSP in practice as found in other studies, but that implementation of participation and especially integration has improved. This study goes even further by focusing on one particular offshore project to assess whether this limited safeguarding in the plan also materialises in the plans themselves, which seems to be the case. Furthermore, this study also adds knowledge on offshore wind planning in general by considering the land-sea interaction between OWFs and the population who lives from that particular sea area and its surroundings.

For policy makers who are still concerned with MSP in their own countries, the outcomes of this study could inspire to take over the principles of participation and integration more carefully. This case study suggests that there is still room for improvement regarding the implementation of these two principles. Estonia considers an evaluation of its Marine Spatial Plan once in every five years. For this situation in particular, the Estonian planning authorities might take the findings from this study to improve their plan to a plan that works for all instead of solely the interests of the powerful.

Apart from that, there are also several recommendations for additional research. First of all, another project could be taken as a case to investigate whether this would also result in a similar relationship between the Marine Spatial Plan and the project as has been found in this particular study, and what would cause any differences. Another point that requires more attention comprises what social or cultural factors exactly explain the oppositional behaviour of people who are pessimistic about this project, which is something that has not been clarified by the data. Finally, it is also recommended to observe the same project in future stages of the process and assess the situation according to the same framework.

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# Appendices

## A. Data collection framework and techniques

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Question	Information	Moment of retrieval	Source	Method of retrieval	Documentation method	Method of analysis
What are the main principles and objectives of the MSP framework as discussed in academic literature?	Insights about MSP documented in existing academic literature	April 2021 to October 2021	Literature on Marine Spatial Planning and its principles	Literature study (Content analysis)	Documenting in the theoretical framework part of the final report. (Transparency by referencing)	No particular technique applied
How is the MSP framework interpreted and used by the planning agencies in general?	Manifestation of MSP implementation in different situations and what influences the MSP process and its outcomes	April to October 2021	Literature and reports on Marine Spatial Planning implemented in practice, the commitment to the principles, influential factors and consequences of differences in implementation	Literature study (Content analysis)	Documenting in the theoretical framework part of the final report. (Transparency by referencing)	No particular technique applied
How do the similarities and differences between the theoretic principles from academic literature and the interpretation and use by the planning agencies relate to the application of the MSP framework in the SWE development project?	Manifestation of MSP implementation in the Saare Wind Energy initiative and its link to the conflicts that are prevailing Information on interests and experience of planning process from actors' perspectives	November 2021 – January 2022	Interviews with pre-identified actors (experts and in-depth), online survey for local stakeholders/residents, existing documentation of project progress (newspaper articles, policy documents)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Semi-structured interviews, snowballing to identify actors that were left out of frame</li> <li>- Online survey for local residents</li> <li>- NexisUni Analysis</li> <li>- Literature study on policy documents</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Recording and transcribing of interviews</li> <li>- Responses to online survey (Estonian and English)</li> <li>- Documentation of popular discourses and policies throughout time</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Transcribing and coding by means of Atlas.ti software (codes based on literature study)</li> <li>- Google Forms to spread the online survey</li> <li>- Cross-analysis in atlas.ti to find matches between codes that apply to MSP and mentioned conflicts</li> </ul>
How can the security of participation and integration be safeguarded, and if necessary, improved, in the implementation of the Estonian Maritime Spatial Plan (indicated as EMSP throughout the rest of the report) in the project process of the SWE development project?	Barriers and opportunities within all political room to solve the MSP-related conflicts.	November 2021 – January 2022	Currently available policy documents and encountered information so far, interviews (experts and in-depth) on recommendations and options for improvement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Semi-structured interviews, snowballing to identify actors that were left out of frame</li> <li>- Online survey for local residents</li> <li>- NexisUni Analysis</li> <li>- Literature study on policy documents</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Recordings and transcripts from interviews</li> <li>- Responses to online survey (Estonian and English)</li> <li>- Documentation of popular discourses and policies throughout time</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Transcribing and coding by means of Atlas.ti software (no priorly defined codes)</li> <li>- Google Forms to spread the online survey</li> </ul>

## B. Code tree

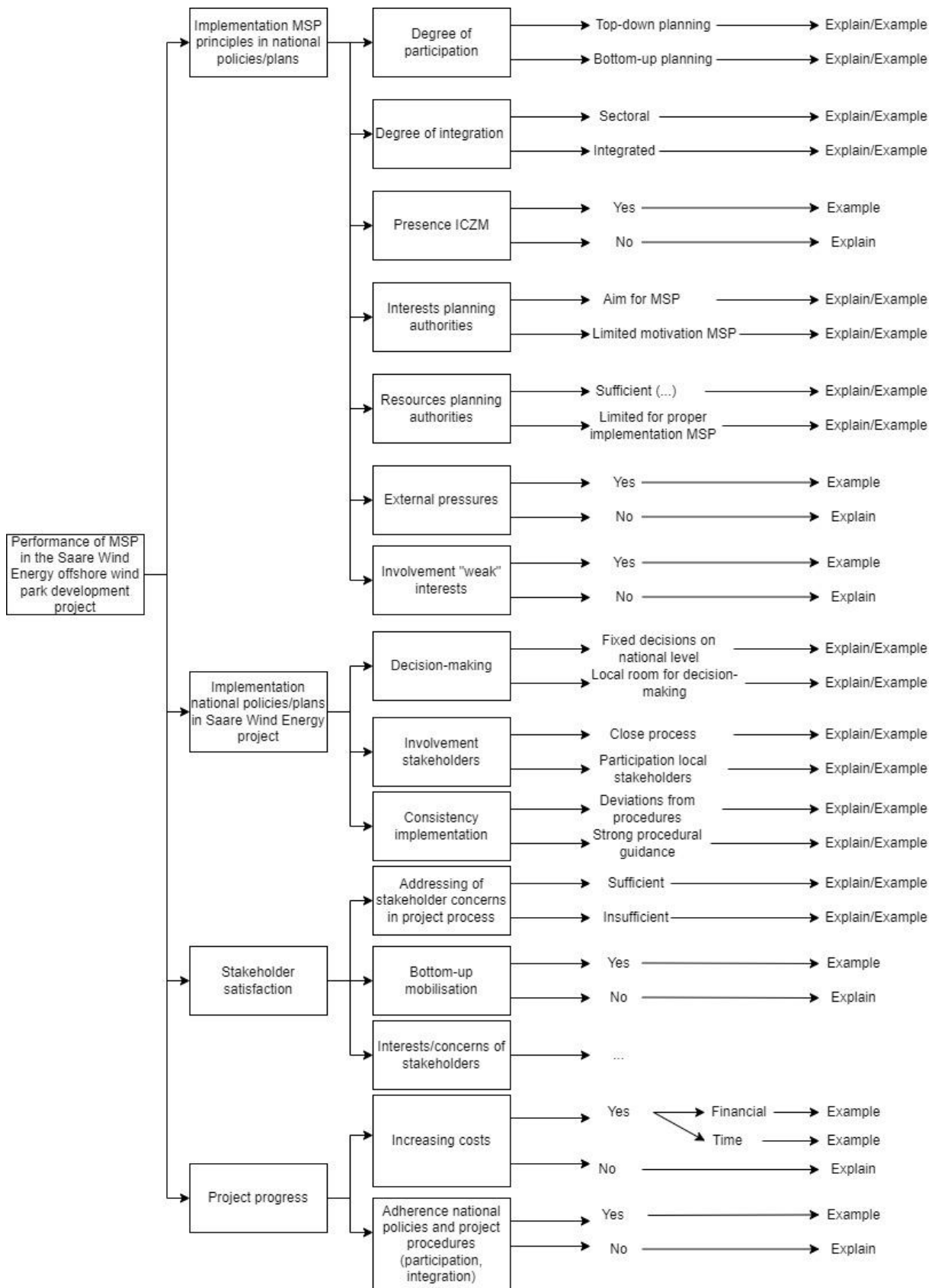


Figure 4. Code tree derived from the conceptual model and theoretical framework

## C. Interview protocols, online question form

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### C.1. Interview protocol SWE

- Break the ice a bit by e.g. asking about their day/week
- Thank the interviewee for his/her/their time
- Explain the goals of the research project and the data collection, and the rights that are connected to participation.
- Point to audio recording of the interview, ask for consent and reconfirm this consent on audio
- Provide the informed consent (1 as a copy by mail, 1 printed to sign) and let both the interviewee and the interviewer (student) sign the document

### Interview questions

1. How did you incorporate the procedural requirements from the EMSP into your project process? Are there some deviations or made exceptions for this project? Does the tools and processes from the Estonian MSP work well or are there some aspects that require improvement?
2. What decisions were already made, and what decisions were allowed to be made by local stakeholders and/or authorities? How do you feel about these decisions in the project process? Should it be changed?
3. What interests were leading in the project process? How did this influence the involvement of other interests?
4. How have local stakeholders been involved during the various stages of the project so far? Who was involved at what moment via formal and informal channels?
5. Has the project process sometimes deviated from the original procedures? Why was this the case, and can you name an example?
6. Has the project already encountered delays or increased costs, or do you foresee those in the future stages of the project? What is the reason for that?
7. What do you think about the trust, legitimacy and fairness of the process?
8. What are plans for the future? Are there any conditions that you will take into consideration that are agreeable by the local interests (compensation, financial/material, etc.)?

### After the interview

- Thank the interviewee again for his/her/their time and ask if the interviewee was comfortable during the interview and has some final remarks or recommendations with regards to the topic or upcoming interviews
- The interviewee explains/repeats how the processing of the data will happen
- The interviewee hands a bar of chocolate ("Saarepiiga", to stay in the theme)
- The recording is switched off, the interviewer informs to final remarks from the interviewee that he/she/they would not want to give during the recording, and the interviewee is thanked for a final time.



## C.2. Interview protocol Ministry of Finance

- Break the ice a bit by e.g. asking about their day/week
- Thank the interviewee for his/her/their time
- Explain the goals of the research project and the data collection, and the rights that are connected to participation.
- Point to audio recording of the interview, ask for consent and reconfirm this consent on audio
- Provide the informed consent (1 as a copy by mail, 1 to sign in Adobe) and let both the interviewee and the interviewer (student) sign the document

### Interview questions

1. How did the EMSP come into being? What was the process and who was involved at what moment? How were the parties involved?
2. Did the ministry use a best-practice example for their implementation of the MSP framework? What was this? What has been kept and what has been changed from this example?
3. In what ways has the Estonian government safeguarded participation and integration in the EMSP? How is participation and integration in this case been interpreted? What groups are/were considered? What is the position of local interests? Why is it arranged this way?
4. Who was involved in the making and agreement process of the Estonian MSP? Which ministries were involved and what was the role of each? How did the interests of the broader political agenda influence the EMSP in both content and process? How did international agreements impact the content and process? What other interests from other stakeholders have been considered in the plans and procedures in the EMSP? How have they been involved? What interests had the main priority? Does this contrast with the involvement of local interests?
5. What resources within the national government (money, time, manpower) are used, and how did the availability of these resources influence the content and process of the EMSP?
6. How far reaches the responsibility of the ministry in safeguarding the EMSP and its effects on the marine/coastal areas?
7. Are there any aspects from the EMSP that should be improved? What are steps that will be or need to be taken in the future? (Evaluation, modification, etc.)
8. How does the ministry see the trust, legitimacy and fairness of the Estonian MSP in respect to the included/excluded interests and actors and the effects of the plan for their interests? Who should take this responsibility?

### After the interview

- Thank the interviewee again for his/her/their time and ask if the interviewee was comfortable during the interview and has some final remarks or recommendations with regards to the topic or upcoming interviews
- The interviewee explains/repeats how the processing of the data will happen
- The interviewee hands a bar of chocolate ("Saarepiiga", to stay in the theme)
- The recording is switched off, the interviewer informs of final remarks from the interviewee that he/she/they would not want to give during the recording, and the interviewee is thanked for a final time.

### C.3. Interview protocol Hendrikson & Ko

- Break the ice a bit by e.g. asking about their day/week
- Thank the interviewee for his/her/their time
- Explain the goals of the research project and the data collection, and the rights that are connected to participation.
- Point to audio recording of the interview, ask for consent and reconfirm this consent on audio
- Provide the informed consent (1 as a copy by mail, 1 to sign in Adobe) and let both the interviewee and the interviewer (student) sign the document

#### Interview questions

1. How did the EMSP come into being? What was the process and who was involved at what moment? How were the parties involved?
2. Did the consultancy firm use a best-practice example for their implementation of the MSP framework? What was this? What has been kept and what has been changed from this example?
3. How are participation and integration organised and safeguarded in the EMSP? How is participation and integration in this case been interpreted? What groups are/were considered? What is the position of local interests?
4. How did the interests of the broader political agenda influence the EMSP in the . What other interests from other stakeholders have been considered in the plans and procedures in the EMSP? What interests had the main priority? Does this contrast with the involvement of local interests?
5. What were available resources applied in the Estonian MSP? Has this availability within the national government (money, time, manpower) influenced the content and process of the EMSP? Why and how?
6. What pressures from outside the scope influenced the content and process of the EMSP? (e.g. the energy transition, popular opinion)
7. How far reaches the responsibility of you as a consultancy firm in safeguarding the EMSP and its effects on the concerned areas?
8. Are there any aspects from the EMSP that should be improved? What are steps that will be or need to be taken in the future? (Evaluation, modification, etc.)
9. How do the consultants from Hendrikson & Ko see the trust, legitimacy and fairness of the Estonian MSP in respect to the included/excluded interests and actors and the effects of the plan for their interests?

#### After the interview

- Thank the interviewee again for his/her/their time and ask if the interviewee was comfortable during the interview and has some final remarks or recommendations with regards to the topic or upcoming interviews
- The interviewee explains/repeats how the processing of the data will happen
- The interviewee hands a bar of chocolate ("Saarepiiga", to stay in the theme)
- The recording is switched off, the interviewer informs to final remarks from the interviewee that he/she/they would not want to give during the recording, and the interviewee is thanked for a final time.

## C.4. Online question form

### C.4.1. English version

Welcome to this online questionnaire and thank you for your participation! My name is Nils van der Wildt, 24 years old, and I am a student from the University of Groningen, the Netherlands. In my current graduation research, I investigate MSP in relation to the SWE OWF project and the local culture on the island of Saaremaa. This questionnaire will consist of questions on the local seascape, the impact of the OWF and the involvement in this project so far. Filling in the questionnaire will take about 20 minutes. Every answer is correct. Data will only be collected and published anonymously for the purpose of this particular study. This questionnaire is open until January 13, 2022. By participating, you contribute by providing me insight into the local ideas on marine culture and offshore wind in Saaremaa, which I can compare with the EMSP and the SWE OWF project.

I work in the (choose 1 or more):

- Tourism sector (hotels, touristic attractions, souvenir shops, etc.)
- Service sector (civil services, shops and facilities not directly related to tourism)
- Marine sector (port, shipyard, fishery, etc.)
- Other
- I am currently unemployed/not employed on Saaremaa

1. What does the local seascape mean for you? How is this incorporated in your daily life in both your work and your private life?
2. What aspects of the seascape do you think are important? Why is this the case, and for whom do you think these aspects are particularly important?
3. From your point of view, how does the development of an OWF influence this local seascape? Why do you think about it that way? How are you yourself impacted?
4. Were you aware of the potential development of the "Saare Wind Energy" OWF in the southeast of Saaremaa? How did you know?
5. During the project process so far, do you feel your interests in and/or concerns about the development of the "Saare Wind Energy" OWF are sufficiently taken into account? Why do you think so?
6. Have you been involved in the project process of the Saare Wind Energy development project? What was your role? How were you involved?
7. Do you trust the project process? Do you feel the project process is legitimate and fair? Why do you feel about it that way?
8. What do other people and stakeholders within the community think about the development of the OWF?
9. Would other people and stakeholders agree with you on the point about if these interests/concerns are taken into account sufficiently?
10. What have the roles over other people and stakeholders that you know been in this process and how are they impacted?
11. Would other people and stakeholders agree with your view on the trust, legitimacy and fairness of the process?
12. What exactly should change in the project process of the Saare Wind Energy initiative? Are there conditions that would make the situation more acceptable?

13. Do you take action to make sure your interests and/or concerns are taken into account? Do you happen to know any action groups within the community that organise themselves? What are their arguments and how do they take action?

Thank you for your participation! Do not forget to press on the "submit" button!

### C.4.2. Estonian version

Tere tulemast online küsimustikku ja suur tänu osavõtu eest! Minu nimi on Nils van der Wildt, olen 24. aastane tudeng Groningeni Ülikoolist Hollandis. Oma praeguses lõputöös uurin ma mereala planeeringu suhet Saare Wind Energy mereala tuulepargi projekti ja Saaremaa kohaliku kultuuri. Käesolev küsimustik koosneb kohaliku mereala ja mereala tuulepargi küsimustest ning osaluse kohta meretuulepargi arendamise menetluses.

Küsimustiku täitmine võtab aega umbes 20 minutit. Pole olemas vale vastust. Andmeid kogutakse ja avaldatakse ainult anonüümselt ja üksnes käesoleva uurimuse eesmärgil. Küsimustik on avatud kuni 13. jaanuarini 2022. Vastates küsimustikule annate mulle ettekujutuse kohaliku merekultuuri ja tuuleparkide kohta Saaremaal, mida ma saan võrrelda Eesti mereala planeeringu ja SWE mereala tuulepargi projektiga.

Ma töötan (vali üks või mitu varianti):

- Turismisektor (majutusasutused, turismitraktsioonid, suveniiripoed jne)
  - Muu teenindussektor (ametiasutused, poed ja teised otseselt turismiga mitteseotud asutused)
  - Merendussektor (sadam, laevatehas, kalandus)
  - Muu
  - Olen hetkel töötu/ ei tööta Saaremaal
1. Mida tähendab kohalik merevaade sinu jaoks? Kuidas on see osa sinu igapäevaelust, nii töö- kui ka eralust?
  2. Mis osas on merevaade sinu meelest oluline? Miks on see oluline ja kelle jaoks on see sinu arvates eriti oluline?
  3. Kuidas mõjutab meretuulepargi rajamine sinu arvates kohaliku merevaadet? Miks sa nii arvad? Kuidas oled ise sellest mõjutatud?
  4. Kas oled teadlik „Saare Wind Energy“ meretuulepargi arendusest Saaremaast kagus? Kuidas sa teadsid?
  5. Kas tunned, et sinu huvisid ja muresid on „Saare Wind Energy“ meretuulepargi projekti senises menetluses piisavalt arvesse võetud? Miks sa nii arvad?
  6. Kas oled olnud seotud „Saare Wind Energy“ meretuulepargi rajamise projekti menetlusega? Kuidas olid seotud? Mis oli sinu roll?
  7. Kas usaldad projekti menetlust? Kas tunned, et projekti menetlus on õiguspärane ja õiglane? Miks sa nii tunned?
  8. Mida arvavad teised inimesed ja kogukonna sidusrühmad meretuulepargi arendamisest?
  9. Kas teised inimesed ja kogukonna sidusrühmad nõustuksid sinu seisukohaga huvide ja murede piisava arvesse võtmise kohta?
  10. Mis rollid on sinu teada olnud teistel inimestel ja kogukonna sidusrühmadel antud menetluses ja kuidas on see neid mõjutanud?
  11. Kas teised inimesed ja kogukonna sidusrühmad nõustuksid sinu vaadetega menetluse usaldusväarsusele, õiguspärasusele ja õiglusele?
  12. Mida täpselt tuleks „Saare Wind Energy“ projekti menetluses muuta? Kas on tingimusi, mis muudaksid olukorra aktsepteeritavamaks?

13. Kas kavatsed midagi ette võtta, et sinu huve ja muresid arvestataks? Kas tead mõnda teemaga tegelevat kohaliku kogukonna organisatsiooni või tegevusgruppi? Mis on nende seisukohad ja mida on nad ette võtnud?

Täna osalemise eest! Ära unusta vajutamast „esita“ nuppu!

## D. Interview transcripts

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### D.1. Interview transcript SWE (19-11-2021)

Interviewee: male, geographer + (co-)initiator SWE

Interviewer: Nils van der Wildt

*The interviewee and interviewer meet, after which the interviewer explained the goals of the project, the contribution of this interview, how data will be collected, processed and protected and the rights the interviewee obtains by participating in this interview; all according to the informed consent which has been sent together with the interview questions. At the final point of the informed consent, it was asked if the interviewee permitted the audio recording of this interview. He gave permission and the recording is started.*

N: Okay, that should work. So, ehm, can I ask you to introduce yourself, at least your name, and reconfirm that you indeed gave permission to record this interview?

I: Yes, I'm [interviewee], Saare Wind Energy, and I confirm that recording is absolutely okay.

N: Okay, perfect.

*After this, the final points of the informed consent are filled in, including the signing of the document. The signed document is sent together with the transcript.*

N: I propose we start with the interview then! First of all, thank you for your time, of course. So, I think it might be a good start to ask you first of all a bit more about how the Saare Wind Energy project came to be. Where did it start with?

I: Some sort of history about it? Okay. Yeah, hmm. I start from my personal background a bit.

N: Yeah sure!

I: My background is geography. And I was working as environmental expert and land use planner for twenty years as a consultant. And one moment, it was twenty years, long time, it was good moment to turn to be developer. And in consultant time, I already also made environmental impact assessments and planning for wind farms, including offshore wind farms, which are still on the paper.

*At this moment, the recording suddenly stopped without noticing. 3 minutes of recording have been lost.*

I: Just start again then, maybe this (*interviewee puts his own phone away*).

N: I don't know, it has enough storage. But we'll see.

I: Then, other developers also wanted to use this area so we had some fights with others. And these others were at that moment the state of Estonia. It was a bit of political games there, but still, we overcame this problem some years. And then in 2019, we were in court with the government of Estonia. And at the same time, we found a partner from the Netherlands; Van Oord. So, and, maybe in one year after that, it was clear that.. What was behind this court case was that actually the state said that two minor companies cannot do such a big project. You don't have billions of euros. We said: of course we don't have, but we don't have to have it right now. We need it maybe in ten euros. In the beginning you only need 100 euros for a bus ticket to Saaremaa. So it was this kind of discussion. Yeah, we reached cooperation with Van Oord. So now it is Van Oord, [partner] and [interviewee]. And [partner] is my wife's

brother, so we are a family kind of company, and Van Oord is also a family company, so we are joking that we are two family companies [laughing] to develop an offshore wind farm. And then the decision was made that we can go on with this process. Official EIA was started and this superficial license, is the name in Estonia. It is the location permit in offshore wind terminology. But in Estonia, it is called superficial license. So this process is going on, and permitting is going on, and the biggest thing at the moment is the EIA, which is not directly connected to the marine spatial plan, because we officially started our process before the marine spatial plan was started, so it's legally kind of.. It's not tricky, but it's...

N: You try to manoeuvre through all the...

I: We don't want to manoeuvre, but we started, and so the planning process started later so the plan does not apply to us. But of course we stick with things to the law, the planning solution. The background is also, I selected the site, that we are developing right now. And as a background of geographer and planner, the EIA I made a GIS analysis, avoiding all the big conflicts, let's say. Just select site, no birds, no visual impacts, no fishes, so enough far from the coastline. So, select the site, and the marine spatial planning made the same for all Estonian area, water area. And the result is also the same. Saare Wind Energy site is in the middle of the most suitable region, and that's absolutely logical because I used the same methodology as marine spatial planning is using. Okay, some data were changed and new data came in, but the same, layer to layer, every geographer know how to do that.

I: Exactly. So, you mentioned you actually do already the same as the EMSP did. Are there any other aspects maybe from the "mereala" that you had to incorporate in the planning process? Maybe after the marine spatial plan came to be?

N: What do you mean, other?

I: Like, ehm, I believed that EMSPning was more than just the zoning but also with some procedural requirements.

N: Uhm, no, the process are not kind of conflicting, or, we are doing according to the superficial license and the EIA process according to those laws. And we are, marine spatial planning procedures is going according to planning laws. So officially, we are not linked at all, let's say. But, of course, in practice, I participate in every step of the marine spatial planning, sending my comments and, so, we are actively working together, that's obvious. And I think the workstyle is cooperative, we are not in conflict in anyhow with Ministry of Finance. But, only thing we kind of have a connection, which is legally so-so, it's that if the EIA was started by government of Estonia, at that moment, marine spatial planning was already on-going. And in this degree, government said: yes, we start now EIA for Saare Wind Energy project, and this process should be according... or the solution, the result should be according to the marine spatial planning results, which is still on-going.

N: Similar, okay.

I: So, this is not legally correct. But so far, it's no problem for us, because we anyway want to do our EIA and all our jobs better or a bit better than is asked by marine spatial planning. So yeah, marine spatial planning is very in stage right now. I just checked the last version last week and yeah, I see that maybe only birds, the survey we do one-and-half year, and it says two years, so that's not fitting in detail, but everything else is according to it, working well to get to a planning solution.

N: Okay, and would you then also say that Saare Wind Energy and the EMSP do not conflict with each other? They aim for the same thing?

I: Yes, but the tools and methodology are a bit different in this that the planning is higher. We are already in the detail level, let's say. And, planning is more strategical level and, of course, saying what you should do in the next step. But the next step is before the planning is ready, but still we are doing this next step according to the planning. But the tools that we are using is a bit different. We are already measuring the noise under water with devices, which is not made on the planning level. Planning is just saying you need to take into consideration the underwater noise, and we do it by measuring and modelling and things like that.

N: Yes. And you already told me about that you have been talking in the earlier stages of the project with authorities (*not recorded due to technical malfunction*). What authorities do I think about? Is this more the Estonian national government, the ministries, or more like the local authorities?

I: Both. It's officially, if you apply such thing, in the beginning it was with the ministry of Economics, and then the law changed, and now the implementing authorities – TTJA – what it's in English I can't say [interviewer laughing], but yeah, they are implementing authority, or they send our application with comments to different authorities, which is in law. Ministry of Finance, ministry of the Environment, border guard, navigation safety, authorities, let's say, 10-15 different authorities. Maybe in this list, it is not mentioned local authorities, but more we started communication with local authorities ourselves. Because the link is obvious. Okay, the sea area is state land, it is not local authority. But the people next to it, living on the onshore and can see and think about things. So, cooperation with local authorities was our initiative, and we asked TTJA to also inform local authorities and involve them in communication and discussions.

N: Aha, and how exactly were they involved? More in an informative way or delegating way that local authorities try to host workshops for the local stakeholders?

I: Ehm, TTJA or this authority are more working in the way that they include them into the informative e-mail list, or if it needs to be published in the newspaper on the national level, we asked them also to publish it in the local newspaper, for example. But again, this authority is not initiating discussion in, let's say, meetings or similarly. It is our initiative to include the local municipality. First time we wanted to speak to them, who we are, go away. It takes some time you reach the contact, let's say. It's not a one-day mission, it's several years missions.

N: No, absolutely.

I: And now we are meeting regularly with local municipality, yeah. In several months. And we started with local municipality as a government of Saaremaa, but now it's much wider. We're speaking with... Because our aim is to find.. We want to construct an offshore wind farm. But we want to do this in a way that this has as much as possible win-win effects to the local municipality and local context. So we think that, how we can find win-win solutions? It's a nice word, win-win, but what does it mean to everything in practice? For instance, there is TalTech college in Saaremaa, Kuressaare Kolledž, they teach engineers for small crafts and marine industry and such things. And we went to the college and said: hey, we want an offshore wind farm here, and we need ships to assure that. It takes ten years of course, but still, and you have college here, you see? It's new economy, it's new thing, and we need trained and educated people for that. And new education of course. This was a connection point. Then we went to the local shipyard, again, the same story. We want a big thing, billions of euros, it is not happening now but in the future, of course, yeah, we can find that. What else can we find? We can go with an export cable to the mainland or we can go to Saaremaa and strengthen the electrical system of Saaremaa for new businesses. Local municipality and local development organisations say that, yes of course, we need stronger electricity, today and in the future. So again, possible win-win solution. So first we discussed this



with the municipality, but today it is much spreader. We speak with at least 10 organisations, or club, or klubb, groups. And we also have some enemies of course, some fishermen saying that they don't like us and don't come or to Saaremaa Tuul, but we are still speaking with them of course.

N: I think a point that I still miss is more like how it, eh.. What interest is actually leading in the process? Because you mentioned that the initiative, as a developer, you.. For me, it sounds now like you simply started developing a windmill park, but I think there is a certain interest behind, or what was that?

I: What was the trigger of the start?

N: Yes, exactly.

I: It was very much, still, a personal trigger. I was consultant, and my son was I think 10 years old, and I just came back from Tallinn to Tartu, and I asked: How was your day? How was your schoolday? And the 10-year old boy is telling: good father, good. And he asked: how was your day? And I said: ugh, my day.. All this fruitful meetings and uh.. [laughing]. I really want to do something which has meaning and, yeah. As a consultant of wind farms but also small real-estate development, somebody asked to built one house. I mean it's not waste, but still.. There were lot of not interesting jobs also. So my personal trigger was that offshore wind is something we really need to do for climate things. And climate change is really important. I am now 45 years old; by the time I was 25, I hoped to earn enough money in the future to buy as much beer I want.

N: That's a good objective [laughing].

I: So, by the age of 45, I reached this level. So I mean, I was in the situation that I had some feeling to do, not waiting for some salary but to think about more meaningful life. So that was the main trigger, and so it all started. But in the beginning, it was from a personal point of view that if it's not working, this project, then it's okay. I want to do it, and my mindset was that.. of course, not everyone is an environmental expert with whom I was working together before that. If, let's say, some people, several people who I trust: Kuido, this place is wrong, because of birds, or because of that. So I said to myself: okay, if I get information from the people who I believe, I will not go on with that. The plan B was just to finish the project, that I must go on with the laws and policies and things like that. I think that's the good way, the right way. And if I'm wrong, then I can skip and drink a beer. It was easy to convince [partner] to work together.

N: Why?

I: Because he's the brother of my wife, and we know each other over twenty years, and I say: you don't have to do it full-time, and so far, he's not doing it full-time, this project. And he said it's interesting, which is good.

N: Yeah, for sure, because it is very new here in Estonia, right? Or, fairly.

I: Yeah, and a good thing that is happening is the cooperation with Van Oord. They have been constructing offshore wind farms everywhere in the world. So if you're working with them, then you working with the highest professional in the world, in this field. So somehow, we compare that.. With [partner] we went to somewhere, in the middle of nowhere, and we made a square for football, or soccer. Somewhere in the middle of nowhere. And then this bus with Bayern stopped and they said they want to play in this field. So now, we are playing with the best players in the world with offshore wind. And we can't play very well still, of course, but somehow, we are in the team with the best players. And we can say that we can't play. I mean, we don't need to do show-off. In the first meeting in the same room, with Van Oord, we said: that's our office, and we speak very bad English, we behave very bad, we don't know

many things, but we know some things. And there are a lot of people who speak better and behave better, but if you really want to do offshore wind in Estonia, you need to speak with us, to team up with us. Because there are not too many projects. So this was really one of the cherries(?) to work with.

N: And, during the project, what decisions have been made, or what decisions were allowed to be made by other stakeholders?

I: Hmm, we applied, and then it was taken to the process, so this was the starting of the official process. The court case is not important, because it is additional stuff. But it was not a decision process-wise. The second decision was by government to start an EIA, and let the process to the second stage of the permitting process. And then the EIA started. The first stage is the EIA program, and I don't know how detailed you know this.

N: Not so much.

I: The program is something in which you agree what kind of studies you do actually and what kind of methodology. So this program is now also approved, and now we're doing surveys, the ships out there, from Germany, from Denmark, and we're counting birds and fishes and things like that. Burning millions of euros and things like that. So we finish that next year and then we have our report ready, and then there will be the assessment of the environmental impact report. And after that, the decision about the location permit. So far, it's only two or three decisions have been made. Starting process, letting process to the second round, and EIA program. Next to decisions, we need, let's see, in two years. And it's a good thing that you don't need any approval from local government or municipalities right now. We are discussing, we are involved, we are looking for solutions, but it's not like that they need to decide something today, right now. Because there are a lot of uncertainties yet. If they ask, how many turbines? We don't know exactly. How many jobs? Hmm, maybe with the port about a hundred plus surrounding. We don't know all the details yet, and if you don't know those details, it's difficult for everybody to decide on the local level. We are kind of discussing and understanding, developing trust and understanding. We don't need any decision yet from local government, municipality. And it makes kind of the life easier for everybody, because the local municipality decisions are political. And often, the people are not against offshore wind farm for example, but they want to play local municipality political games, and that's why they are against the roof of this school, against this and that and different things. So, we don't have too many decisions yet by authorities, but we have everything we need right now.

N: Okay, and how do you expect this to be in the future?

I: Having the EIA approved, which is at earliest in 2023. And after that, we get this superficial license. It is a location permit. For now, it is not that we have exclusivity for that, but a superficial license really means that you can use this area for offshore wind farm development. Okay, there are also building permit and water permit, but those are kind of, let's say, side permits. Of course, they are important papers, but location permit is the core.

N: Yes, I see, and the other ones are more like a formality?

I: Yes, of course, we spent a lot of time and money in that, but it's not really a decision. It's more a formality as you say.

N: But I haven't heard you mentioning anything about the most important decision, you may have mentioned it very shortly. You need to have come up with this scope of Saaremaa in general. So, ehm, why... [thinking about what he wanted to ask]. I wanted to ask a more elaborative question, but I think you already answered it in a way, so I propose we move on [laughing].

I: No, but you can ask, because in school, we...

N: Oh, maybe a bit more explanatory one, because you already mentioned the GIS analysis, but did you take only into account the southwestern part of Saaremaa, or more a larger area that went beyond Saaremaa and for instance the general west coast?

I: In the location, site-location, in GIS, I took whole Estonia. Because I sit in the office in Tartu and I think, offshore wind farm, yeah.. And then yeah, all Estonia. But in the Gulf of Finland, it's a no-go because of military..

*At this moment, the recording suddenly stopped again without noticing. A bit less than 2 minutes of recording have been lost.*

I: Maybe it's just taking different files.

N: No, it should not work like that, I also have files of like 50 minutes, so... [laughing]

I: [Putting away his phone] Let me put this one away, maybe they are communicating

N: That might be actually, because I have my Bluetooth on. Let's put it out.

I: So, I definitely wanted to avoid a situation that we still have some large problems in the checklist, and that is why I choose this site. I was quite right; the marine spatial plan today shows the same picture. I was looking for all Estonian areas, but this was the site. It was the size: we don't need 1000 square kilometre, 100 is too little, so then it was size-wise selection, decision.

N: Ehm, who was involved at what moment.., let's see, what is the context.. Ah, during the process, you named certain parties involved, and not just authorities but also some local businesses or like, educational institutions. So who was involved at what moment exactly, and how? So, here I have like more formal channels and informal channels. And with formal I mean the more legal procedures, or in legislation that you have to involve other parties by default, and informal in terms of contacts that you already had, that you reached out to. Or the other way around.

I: The official parties, it's clear, that's situated in the law and sent by letter that you need to communicate or ask for opinion or reach out to that authority. If in that way, we try to, let's say, meet to every authority to.. in that time, face-to-face meetings were still okay [laughing], to understand the topic. Because my experience from consultant time and the beginning of the developer time is that actually the know-how and competence of offshore wind in authorities in Estonia is not too high, let's say. Even if people are in a high position in local authorities, they might know little about offshore wind. Or they think they know something and know the wrong things, let's say, from the 90s. "Yeah, offshore wind is nice but it doesn't help at all". Agh, the paradigm has changed already. It's not an alternative, rich Western European hobby. It's an economy and it's very energetical. So we reach out to municipalities and we explain what we're doing, what is offshore wind, who we are, and we build trust and that helps a lot. Okay, people are changing in authorities, but still you work with the same authorities and the same people, all the process or in ten years. So it's better to have contacts from the very beginning. I know of course many people. In Saaremaa we started with local municipality, and from one meeting, you hear you should speak with this person or with that person, so, it's somehow just growing. We never had written down our PR strategy or things like that. We just walked around and speak with people in the street, let's say, and they said: you need to speak with others also, not only fishermen, and we said: okay, let's do so. And Saaremaa is not so big, I mean, it's only 30 thousand people – Kuressaare 13 thousand – so it's not a lot of people. I didn't speak with everybody, but people know each other, and if you won some trust, if you speak with somebody, I can directly straightly ask that: what do you think? With whom should I also speak about?

And it's still going or developing. We haven't reached all the interest groups so far. Maybe tourism is not spoken directly as interest group so far, but we are.. Just after the local municipality, we went to the local entrepreneurs association.. Business club.

N: Saaremaa Ettevõtjate Liit..?

I: And those union of local people, not business in the sense of making money, but people who are keeping the local economy going on and who understand that this money is not coming out of the wall. You must do something for that. And you must.. I don't know how much you know about Estonia and Saaremaa, but in Estonia, we have local identities very much. If you get married in Saaremaa, you are not a people of Saaremaa in the first generation, it takes... The grandchild will be named as a "Saarne". So it takes at least a century. So you can't just jump in and say: let's be friends. It takes some time. So we were discussing with this business club people, and they invited us: become a member of the business club. We said: of course. We didn't want to send an application by ourselves to become a member because it's simply not in the way. But now we were invited as a partner, as a member. It was kind of a celebration, anniversary of this so we were invited, so we are infiltrating into the local community. But I think in a positive way, because we are telling always that we want to do in the way that it is as much as possible beneficial for Saaremaa, and we try to make it in the... it's also in the practice. In Saaremaa, in Estonia, for example, if you order some surveys. Of course, we have to order ships from Germany because there is no such ship in Estonia, but we have German ship during bird survey, radars. But we have Estonian ornithologists on this ship. We could order everything from Germany, but no, we put things together. Maybe it's a little more expensive, or maybe it doesn't even matter, but we have Estonian scientists.

N: With more local knowledge?

I: Yeah, more local knowledge and.. we... it was the first time made, this survey in Estonia, so we want to teach Estonian scientists also to give the opportunity to participate in that. And the same about underwater noise and things like that. Because.. yeah.. Van Oord has top global knowledge on certain things. They know what's underwater noise-

*At this moment, the recording for a final time suddenly stopped without noticing. About 30 seconds of recording have been lost.*

N: And, ehm, going back to that court case actually.. because.. Has the project encountered delays because of that court case? And or increased costs? And do you foresee maybe more of these problems in the nearby future?

I: Eh, it cost delays in the project at least two years, in that time. But it's always so in life that you never know. You think it's bad for you, but on the end of the day you say that it's good that you're not running so fast in the morning, so.. We had so to say two years delay, and some extra cost also, but not really too high. State paid their lawyers and we paid our lawyers, so.. Maybe 20 thousand euros or so, which is a lot of money of course, I can buy a lot of beer [laughing]. But in the.. It is not something enormous, let's say. But I don't.. I think we have overcome this.. The court case was really nasty, in the way that I.. I'm being a fan of Estonia of course, but I was quite disappointed that it was really happening. Sometimes you read from newspapers that somebody's corrupted and somebody's doing bad things, but you read from newspapers and think: ah, who knows. Someone's looking for clicks.

N: Certainly won't happen to me..?

I: No, it's just a big story to get the clicks and things like that. Entertainment or things like that. But if you read government decision written in a very professional way by lawyers and things, that.. Generally it

says that [partner] and [interviewee], because we were owners in that time, can be dangerous for Estonian security and for.. It was written in this very degree that it's a risk of state security because of our possible actions in the future. It was said that we haven't done anything wrong yet, but we can do in the future to do very risky things for national security. It can't be. Behind that was political corruption. We had information about that and we sent these materials to the court and we said we don't have anything to lose, and we have not made anything wrong, and we not do anything wrong for Estonian national security, even if we can, but we can't. Even if you continue we have anything to lose. Sorry for recording, but if you can let all the shit to the ventilator, and... It's not our problem, this is going to the higher level of politicians. But that's not our aim, our aim is to develop offshore wind farm. So we find a way how to come out of this situation in the way that it was also comfortable for those people who wanted to steal this project. The aim of the court case, or this game, was to take this project from us, to steal it.

N: And give ownership and responsibility to someone else?

I: Yeah.

N: Like, the state? Or some company that is connected to..

I: Maybe for the state energy company, which name we will not say [laughing].

N: I have a feeling [laughing].

I: But I think it was stealing the project, but I'm not sure what was the..

N: ..what the exact reason was?

I: Yeah, it was just [partner] and [interviewee] can't do it and let's take it from their responsibility. They are just small boys with candies, and let's take the candies.

N: But now you have Van Oord, that's a problem [laughing].

I: Yeah, but Van Oord was also good, a good way of getting out of this uncomfortable situation, because we provided some understanding with Van Oord, we informed Van Oord, we were always open with Van Oord about our situation. And this way of understanding was good to close the court case in the way that state said in the end that [partner] and [interviewee] are not able to construct offshore wind farm as a two-man company. But we had a plan to do it, develop it, and involve somebody. The organisation is growing together with the project so to say, that was our aim. And the state said: they can't do it. And we said, if we can, we can involve Van Oord, and state has good position and said, okay, now it's absolutely different. Now it's you – [partner], [interviewee] – and Van Oord, now it's completely different and let's make another decision. It's recorded now and I tell you now and I sometimes say to my friends at the fireplace how it was, even in more details sometimes, but it's not something we want to deep in active. This was somebody's problem and somebody's action. But we don't want to live with that or keep it alive forever.

N: It's a past story?

I: It's a past story, and our main aim is still to develop good offshore wind farm. But if somebody wants to talk about it or get it started again, we can of course warm up all shit and put it on the fan [laughing]. No problem.

N: [laughing]. Let's see.. I have not so many questions left I see. Maybe a more reflective question, because.. At least in the Netherlands, participation is pretty much embedded by legislation, and in MSP

requirements by the European Union, it is also. I am not sure how this is embedded in the Estonian MSP itself, but is this something you need to take into account?

I: You mean public participation, or?

N: Yeah, and more integration?

I: Well, there is not much integration, because if you're doing planning.. MSP is national level planning, we have this four-level planning system – national, county, local and detail – so it's this kind of national level planning and all of this is according to the planning law. All public participation and information and meetings and things like that. In addition to that is also the strategic EIA together with planning. Again, all the public participation according to that. There are of course integration between planning processes and the strategic impact assessment, but it's ordered by ministry of Finance and the consultant is the same, so.. If it's meeting, it's to formal purposes. But it's not connected to the Saare Wind Energy project events, because we don't match together. We had only one official public meeting so far, and it was about EIA program, and because of COVID, it was also in the Teams, so it was not.. But then, public meeting is public meeting. But it was not, yeah.. We had created COVID, it just happened so it was in Teams. And just to.. For the project, for Saare Wind Energy, this MSP process is very good, because it's some.. Lot of the emotions is already canalised to Marine Spatial Planning. I was at all those meetings of Marine Spatial Planning, and some of them were really hot. People were telling..

N: Bad tempered.

I: Yeah, but then again. In my twenty years in EIA expert life I lived many much more harder meetings before, so it was.. [laughing].

N: Regular business [laughing].

I: But the good thing is that when you get to the detailed project level, with this EIA to the public meeting where you have people who are also against the topic, now, as a project developer, we don't need to tell that climate change is relative and it's made by humankind. So, strategic things are already decided by government, by state, and communicated by state. And state has said that we need offshore wind. And these are designated areas for offshore wind. If I'm telling I'm from Saare Wind Energy, I'm just implementing authority, the implementing company which is doing offshore wind farm, which is decided already. From Glasgow, Paris, Tallinn, and so strategic things are discussed already, and decided. We are simply implementing things. And by implementing, we are of course making surveys, making fine-tuning where exactly we would place turbines, how we put cables so that it is not bad for fish and seals, but it's not.. We don't need to discuss more about the strategic things. We can speak about it of course, but we can say it has been decided already.

N: Okay. [looking at protocol] Now I think I have a final question, although I think I already think you already touched upon that slightly.. Is there any conditions that you or Saare Wind Energy will take into consideration that are agreeable upon by the local interests. But you already mentioned that you have been in talks with for instance Kuressaare Kolledž, and some other parties. Ehm.. What are things that.. What are things that are beneficial to them by the realisation of the OWF? Or at least by.. Despite the development.

I: It's logical to say we are looking for win-win solutions, and there is no one single silver bullet to solve all the problems. We think that in.. There's a long list of win-win solutions. Some of them are very very important, and some of them are simply emotional things, but still.. Keep in mind, in every step, in every decision, how we can adjust in the way that it's some win-win solution. So.. Because the state is working

out this local benefit model, or it's not a model, but it's simply money. We pay for land rent, let's say, to the government and the government gives some money back to the local municipality. Of course, it's one of the tool, or one of the measures, but it's not the main measure. And at the list now is that we want to construct an offshore wind farm. And the main thing for Saaremaa is that if you in Saaremaa agree to build an overhead lines over the Saaremaa to the mainland, which is.. Okay, people will say it's ugly, it's a hundred meter corridor with two masts, so it's a big construction. But at the same time, it gives you endless amount of electricity- of course you need to pay for the electricity, but I think the electricity will be absolutely strategical resource.. It already is, but it will become more important if you want to make.. any economy needs electricity, and if you're at the last end of the pipe, of the wire, you are in the problem because you can't build anything there. I mean, it's very hard to make any business or any factory there, any economy. Okay, of course, you can run a kohvi, but not a factory. So, electricity is an important factor and local businesses understand that very well and are supporting our project. They understand they need a reliable electricity. Other thing is that, most important, the service part. It's 100+ people working directly in the service..

N: Industry?

I: Yes, industry, economy. And, in addition.. In service operation and maintenance center, you don't want to do everything by yourself. And that's why it's no clever.. Okay, there are different nodes, but let's say, to put this operation or maintenance in the middle of nowhere, in the port. It's best to situate in the city of Kuressaare. Then you can order some paint from this company, and some metallic work from this company, so it helps develop the cluster of different economy. And it's absolute understandable for local people who understand how the economy's working. The local port of Kuressaare is speaking.. I don't know, every month, about that they're going to develop the port, but they already developing in the way that: Okay [interviewee], what you need, if they do some drawings of the lay-out of the new port, they say: what do you need, [interviewee]? I said, I don't know exactly what they need, but if we will operate from there, we would need something like that. So they already preparing the port design according to the potential needs of the future. And electricity, this operation maintenance center, because.. During construction time, it takes two years, so it's not so good. It's much better to have a 25 or 30 years operation and maintenance center. And then there's roots to other businesses, business-to-business solutions, to the college, to the hotels because.. there are a lot of those things.

N: And, my final question is then, how does this relate to more the more local cultural values, the more intangible reasons why people would be negatively, or at least, affected or at least affected by the development of an OWF?

I: Negatively?

N: Yeah, so more like, how the cultural values can be compensated for. Or in terms of win-win.

I: Maybe I don't understand the question right, but negatively can be the fishermen, let's say, they don't like it. But they're looking for compensation actually. Fishermen always do I guess, but it can be resolved with money, so.. That's not our solution, but it's from France and everywhere. And I, actually, I... And then it's the visual impact. But first of all, in our area, there is maybe a bit more than 10 but less than 20 houses from where it's very visible. And even then I don't know if it's visible from the window or if you need to walk out and then you can see the windmills. So we don't have tens of thousands of people who will see it. And also, those houses are mostly summerhouses and things like that. So the visual impact itself is not influencing too many people. In that size of project, it's actually very few people. If you are tourist and going to walk to the beach, and drinking one beer, and you say you don't like the view, then I say: hey, come on, we burnt oil shale for 100 years in Estonia. We are still maybe, maybe after Bulgaria

and Romania, all the CO<sub>2</sub> and climate change compared to 1990, that was the absolute maximum in Estonia, we burnt something like 40 tons of CO<sub>2</sub> per person, or maybe 35, but it was really absolutely big. And now we say that we made our climate target. It was not because.. It was simply because we do less stupid things now. Not because we are very smart. I mean, if people are saying visual impact is something important, then I don't understand it. This is the clean electricity. If you don't like this option, then what is the way to produce electricity? Anything else is absolutely dirty and no way to go.

N: Yes, and especially in Estonia, solar panels are not the best option.

I: Absolutely. And if you're not producing electricity from offshore wind, then you don't have in Estonia anything else. We don't have hydro.. I think the visual impact in big scale is for my age and older, 50+, who.. and stupid ones. For my kids, it's not a problem to see offshore wind farm 12 kilometres away. It's just a new form to produce new electricity. So, I don't think it's negative. And in cultural, let's say, social way, Saaremaa is marine nation. I mean, the Vikings, maybe you know the story, they found viking ships.

N: Yes, I found out in a magazine from the plane.

I: So, it has been thousands of years already a marine nation. And so far marine nation. There are lot of people from Saaremaa sailing with ships, but also anywhere else, because the port of Saaremaa is not so big. So if you go to the port of Tallinn and go to the ship, from a hundred people in the crew, there are maybe ten people from Saaremaa. Lot of people from Saaremaa working in the marine industry in the world, but not in Saaremaa because there are no jobs inside. So, offshore wind farms gives option. Not only option, but also emotional or cultural potential to keep the maritime root and feeling. We are doing the maritime things, we are not killing seals anymore and we are not... We have changed the way to be maritime nation, let's say. And I think that's okay. And I think most people in Saaremaa are very rational and they are still seeing sea as a... not place to pollute, but sea is something you get your living. You catch fishes or things like that. It's not only nice view, it's something you go catch a fish, put offshore wind farm, or you use. You extract something from sea, but of course extracting in the sustainable way. It's not a one-day business but it's for generations. So that's... I think it's... Cultural heritage is not negative.

N: It's slightly incorporated?

I: Yeah.

N: Then I think I got through all my questions then. Thank you again. I hope you were comfortable during the interview. Do you have some final remarks or recommendations with regards to I how I collected the interview, or maybe the topic or content?

I: I think it is all good. I wish you good luck with interviews with the next few people. And, yeah, if one day your thesis is ready, it is nice to read.

N: I, otherwise... That's a good idea actually. I did not put that in the protocol already, but maybe it's a good idea to add it as an additional question if people have interest in reading it.

I: I won't keep the promise that I'll be reading it, but now [laughing] potentially.

N: Wait, let me write this down. [writing on the keyboard].

I: I will be, because it's not just interesting, but it's also nice to... good to learn.

N: Having a view from the outside... So yeah, I will soon... Oh, I can already turn off the recording. But anyway, I will try... I hope that the most important parts are recorded. And then I'll write them all down as



they are mentioned, so it might be that there are lots of very strange sentences that don't really make any sense, but for a social scientist like me that's very important [laughing]. I will send it to you and, as I already mentioned, there are any mistakes or, like, things that might be interpreted in the wrong way, you can always indicate that. And then I will modify that and use the improved version for the rest of my thesis.

*The recorded is stopped. Off the record, it was mentioned by the interviewee that the bridges between the different questions were sometimes a bit lacking and catching him off-guard. Nils will make work from this. Nils hands a chocolate bar as a present, which is called "Saarepiiga". Nils expected that it was simply fun because of the connection with an island in general, but there also appears to be a song that mentions Saarepiiga as the "chick from the island", which happens to come from Saaremaa. After this, hand are shaken again for the final time and the interview is finished.*

## D.2. Interview transcript Ministry of Finance (6-12-2021)

Interviewee: female, project manager MSP in Estonia

Interviewer: Nils van der Wildt

*The interviewee and interviewer meet online, after which the interviewer explained the goals of the project, the contribution of this interview, how data will be collected, processed and protected and the rights the interviewee obtains by participating in this interview; all according to the informed consent which has been sent together with the interview questions. At the final point of the informed consent, it was asked if the interviewee permitted the audio recording of this interview. Not mentioned in the informed consent was that the way of recording in the online environment would also record video, but she was also okay with that. She gave permission and the recording is started.*

I: Is something happening, or no?

N: Eh, not yet. Is it possible that you need to accept that the recording-

I: Ah, I see that it is recording.

N: Ah, yes, now it should work, it is not loading anymore. Ehm, would you maybe also, just to be sure, reconfirm that you gave permission to record this audio, including your face?

I: Yes, yes, I confirm it.

N: Okay, perfect. So, yeah, I guess, let's get started! Ehm, maybe a good first question, because.. I was actually a bit surprised when I read that the ministry of Finance was actually responsible for the Estonian MSP, because in the Netherlands the ministry of Finance is more like the accounting ministry which controls all the expenses like of the other ministries. So, ehm, what is the role of the.. What is actually the focus of the ministry of Finance in general, and how does this relate to Estonian MSP?

I: Yeah, well, eh.. The regional administration and strategical planning is actually throughout the years, is something that has been in different ministries actually. When the government decides that the minister of regional affairs or public administration should be in a different ministry, then we all move into different ministries. So during history, we have been in the ministry of Environment, we have been in the ministry of Interior, and right now, we are in the ministry of Finance. So, eh, in the ministry of Finance in Estonia, in this institution, we have two ministers actually. We have the minister of Finance, and they all are working with state funds and all these financing things, but we also have the minister of public administration and regional affairs, and that's why the spatial planning is under the ministry of Finance. And therefore, as spatial planning is under the ministry of Finance, then the MSP is also our responsibility because the spatial department is here, and as, eh.. What's the word, I will Google it.. Deputy counsellor is also in here, the regional deputy counsellor. So that's why we are here and why we do MSP also.

N: Okay, and does that also, like, influence the way Estonian MSP is approached? Because I can imagine that, when it is included in the ministry of Finance, that there might be.. that the focus might be on economic benefits for, like, the region and national benefits. That it's not so much more balanced with other interests like pollution or more environmental indicators, characteristics.

I: Well, I have to say that we are actually very lucky to be in the ministry that doesn't have that specific interest in the sea. When we are planning, or conducting the planning process, then the spatial planning department has to be the balancer, or we have to balance interests. And because we don't have specific

interests from our side, then it's easier to actually balance the interests from different ministries. For example, when you're thinking about energy, then the ministry of economic and communication are very interested in that we have a lot of energy in the sea area. But when we are in the ministry of Finance under the minister of public administration, then we actually have a really good platform to say that: okay, we take into account every interest you have, and then we see what is the best solution taking into account the different interests and trying to balance them. And that's why I have to say, in this MSP, we don't have very concrete interests that has driven the planning solution. I think we have the.. The solution is very good because, or as good as it can be when there are coming new uses in the sea. Because you have a lot of traditional uses, and you have to maintain them. But still, the new uses need to have some kind of space there also. And you have to make room for the new uses also, and then you need to balance it how much you will take from the traditional uses and how much you will give to the new uses.

N: Okay.. Yeah, okay, I understand. Ehm, so, where did it actually start? How did the EMSP actually come into being?

I: Well, this is very hard for me to answer, because I wasn't in the ministry then. This plan was initiated before I got into the ministry and became the project manager, but my forecomer, or the one who was before me, he was the one that actually, ehm.. We have had a lot of different projects in the Baltic Sea, and before the directive actually came into force, we already had two pilot plans that was already be.. Their process was in the middle, I think. They initiated the Pärnu and Hiiu pilot plans in 2013, but the directive came into force in 2014. We have had one international or transboundary project that strived this idea that we could plan the sea, and also we had interests from the energy side that they wanted to have offshore wind energy areas in the sea. And therefore we saw that: okay, this is something new and maybe we need to think more about it and plan for the initiative. And therefore, these two pilot projects actually learned how to plan at sea, and what were the different aspects you have to take into account, and after that, the directive came into force, and after that, we implemented the directive to the planning act also. And right now, the EMSP is initiated according to the planning act, that is in force right now. That planning act came into force in 2015 and right now, those two pilot plans were before this framework and these things happened. So, these two are like the learning curve, or the learning plans we made to see how to formulate or how to get this framework to MSP legislation in Estonia.

N: So, ehm.. You mentioned these two pilot projects. Then what exactly did you learn from them? That may be difficult to answer, but ehm.. Do you happen to know if there are, like, any key points that the ministry learned from those pilot projects?

I: Well, ehm, these two pilot projects, ehm.. I can say that the, ehm.. The lessons learned was more about, I think, the new uses side. How to plan new uses. And what are actually essential things to do that, because I don't know about the Hiiu MSP is abolished by the national court. And well, it was the first step.. It was the first time we planned the sea, and then after that, the NGO was very against the offshore wind in Hiiumaa, and they went to court and got very, for them, very positive solution that the offshore wind is abolished in this plan. But still we learned a lot from this process, because right now, the MSP, the Estonian MSP, is much more detailed and much more.. The environmental impact assessment is very.. ehm.. how do you say.. We have taken into account a lot of base research. We made sure we have all the data to get the whole picture from the sea. And that was actually lacking in the Hiiu process, and that is why they abolished this. And this was really one thing that we learned from that process. Right now I can say this Estonian MSP is that much better because we already knew that.

N: Okay. And how was that for the Pärnu case? I remember the second case was in the southwestern bay, I believe.

I: Yes, yes. It was, it was in the Pärnu bay. And well, ehm, from that plan we saw that you need to talk a lot with many fishermen, because in the Pärnu bay lays the, ehm..

N: The hotspot?

I: Yes, the hotspot. Or.. The fishing spawning grounds, that are located there. Therefore you have to cover your bases and research that field a lot. But also, in Pärnu, we did transboundary consultations with Latvians, and that was also a learning point, how to communicate with each other and what are the most essential things for a neighbour, what you need to talk about when you think about different solutions. For example, the shipping routes were very important for the Latvians, because the routes and the Gulf of Riga bay is very shallow, and that is why there is a strong need for the different shipping routes to be there where they actually now are. And you can achieve them because then you get off the shipping routes for Riga bay and that's very, from transnational view, that's very strong interest.

N: Hmmhmm. And.. So.. You draw some lessons from that. And how does that lead to the current draft of the Marine Spatial Plan? So, what was the process and who was involved at what moment?

I: Hmm, well, Estonian MSP has had very much different stages and different public hearings. I don't know if you have followed our timeline in the marine portal we have, but when we started this process, then we saw that, well.. We are doing it for the first time in the national level, and there are lot of different interests for the new uses, for example, from aquaculture companies or the offshore wind energy companies. At the other side, the traditional uses are also very afraid that the new uses are coming and taking the space from them. That's why we saw that we need to have these thematic working groups, or some kind of communicative groups where to actually communicate this solution and actually discuss how to.. What are the different interests? What do we have to take into account, and what are the very essential things that the different uses need? So.. In the first draft period, we had a lot of different thematic working groups and workshops with these thematic groups. And I think this was a very good practice to actually get the information from the stakeholders, then to draw the plan and then to talk again with the stakeholders, to see how the solution gets into life when you are discussing various interests and discuss it within the map to agree with different conditions and different solutions.

N: Okay, and.. Because you mentioned thematic groups. But does that mean that I.. for instance, I have at one table fishermen and then at one table someone from the ministry who, like, talks about new uses and making new plans?

I: Well, we had thematic groups for the recreational stakeholders, for example surfers, tourism companies and so on. Then we had a thematic group for aquaculture, for the companies that want to have fish farming or algae or shellfish farming. Then we had a group for offshore wind energy companies, and organisations that are striving offshore wind in Estonia. Then we had a thematic group for environment, for the different universities and ngo's, and also different experts in Estonia that are from the environment. And in all these thematic groups, we presented this.. Our solution, what is actually relevant for this stakeholders, because the Estonian MSP has all marine uses. And usually, for example, for the recreational side, when you are thinking about different things close to the shore, then you.. You don't have an interest to these uses that we have in very far-off EEZ or very far from the shore. The messages were, like, for the stakeholders, for the interest group. We had a consultant that was conducting the Marine Spatial Plan. We had a very broad expert group that actually wrote the plan and gave us knowledge. And in these different thematic groups we had different experts around the table,

the stakeholders and the ministries side. So I think it was interesting also for the stakeholders to.. talk with so many people and with so many.. well.. they could have answers from exactly.. For example, when we were talking about offshore wind energy, one of the key themes was birds, bird migration. And when you are the offshore wind energy company, you want to know what is the mitigation measures and what can we do and what research we need to have a license. And when around the table is an actual expert about the birds, then it's very good that you don't get the answers from the ministry but from the expert itself.

N: Exactly, understood. Let's see.. Ehm.. In what ways.. I'm wondering, because I have asked this question before – not to you, to someone before – but ehm... Is the Marine Spatial Plan only like a literal plan, like a zoning plan, or does it also include certain guidelines for concrete projects? For instance, like the safeguarding of participation or, like, integration in these concrete projects for the benefit of implementing the EMSP.

I: Yeah, I have to say it's both actually. It's a strategical level state plan, which is actually on a very high level. It's the highest level we have in Estonia. So, it has very basic, or, general guidelines, which is actually the different future needs for different uses. Because, you see, in Estonia in the sea, we don't have any more planning levels than one MSP on the national level. So this national plan has to be the input into the licensing process. So for these new uses, we have to be very detailed also to give the guidelines about who to collaborate with, what are the research needs in the licensing process, what are the different zonings where you actually can plan or have license for the offshore wind farms or fish farms and where you cannot. It's, I.. I'm thinking about.. Usually I talk about that the Estonian MSP is a hybrid plan. Because usually you don't have so many different levels of understanding in one plan. Usually you have a very general state level plan, and then you have very detailed, thematic plans that are very detailed, for the licensing level. In the land, we have hierarchical levels, but in the sea we don't have.

N: Okay, ehm.. So then in what way is.. are participation and integration of, like, these various parties, safeguarded. And maybe even more important, how is participation and integration even interpreted by the ministry?

I: I don't know if you are familiar with our planning act? I can send you also a link if you want.

N: That would be very welcome.

I: For the English translation, we have an English translation also. In this planning act, we have planning principles. And these planning principles say that planning is always public. Everyone actually is entitled to participate in the planning proceedings. And they always have the opportunity to express their feelings and opinion regarding to the spatial plan. So, the planning proceeding or the planning act actually is giving us the rule that we have to be very public and we have to take into account different expressions. Of course, if different parties express their opinions, then not always you can take this into account, but you always give the opportunity. And when we cannot take this into account, then we have to give them our intentions, or our.. I'm searching the word... Our justifications, how we, what are we basing this knowledge, what we need to take into account, because this is a state level plan and we need to take into account state interests. And, ehm.. There is a way, or there are different.. like.. How do you say it in English? Sometimes, the state interests is more important than the local interests. So you have to see how can you take into account local interests and what can you do in these situations. Because, for instance, when you are planning offshore wind energy, usually local people, they have visual impact and they are not very keen on having this kind of projects, but still, you have to see what can you do to make the situation better for them, but in the end, you just have to take into account that offshore wind and climate aims are the state aims also, and you need to just plan it.

N: Yes, they supersede the local interests.

I: Yeah.

N: Okay, let's move on to the next question then.. Ehm.. So we already talked a bit about the process of the EMSP and what sectors were involved. I'm also wondering, how did the interests of the broader political agenda influence the EMSP. And I think you already mentioned a very good aspect, for instance, like, the climate agreements.

I: Hmmhmm, yeah. Well, when we started our MSP, we didn't know anything about Green Deal, or biodiversity strategy, "fit for 55" or all those big European initiatives. Well, I have to say that after.. Maybe we were in the middle of the process when these very big initiatives came and after that, we had very significant pressure from the different sides that we had to find sites for offshore wind energy, and we need to find a lot of them, and a huge areas. And from the point of view of the energy ministry it's understandable, but from the other view, we had a very strong opposition from the fishing and from the trawling explicitly. And then we actually.. Well, Estonian MSP was ready in 2020 actually, but we had very strong opposition from the fishermen. And then we saw that fishing and trawling was actually also a state interest. And how can we balance it, or what can we do in this kind of situation. And then I think it's not very common in the planning process that you stop for a while and gather more information and go to the government and have this kind of decision before you actually adopt the plan. So we did that. We gathered info from the fishermen, where do they fish, and is this kind of fishing area shifting a very great problem to them, and we saw that locally, this problem was very very significant and we needed to take some actions. And therefore, our government decided that some of the areas of offshore wind energy areas.. We are reserving them. We are not gonna use them until 2027. The thought behind that should be that until 2027 we see what are the licencing process outcomes. These areas were the areas that had the most intensive trawling and right now, we had a very good message before the adoption, that we made a stop in our process, we thought more about this fishermen's problem, and thought it through the local point of view, because from the state view, the problem wasn't so great. But when you think about Saaremaa, there would be very many companies that couldn't trawl anymore because this area is very huge. And I guess we have this kind of condition that: you have there offshore wind energy, but not until 2027, then we see if these areas are needed, and if they are needed, then the state can take this also into use.

N: So these fishermen you just talked about, they informed you, or they made objection against the plan. Is this also the only way how they have been involved in the revisitation of the plan, or have they been involved more actively?

I: They have been involved in the.. from the beginning, from the initiation status. But they weren't very vocal. They were like.. I don't know why they waited, but still they made their objections in the very last public hearings. And there we saw that, yes, this is a problem. And well, there could have been the solution that, okay, this is the end of the process, they were too late and we don't take this into account and so on. But still we saw that this would be a bad solution and we should think more and find a solution that actually will make things better for both parties.

N: And.. So you mentioned that after all, it was considered a state interest. But what particular interests are then considered state interests, and what had, like, priority?

I: The state interests you can follow from the initial outline we had for the plan. There are different chapters where are the different uses and described what are the state interests. For example, marine

transport is one of the state interests. Energy, fishing, environment, and so on. I can also send you this link.

N: Okay, but I believe I already have this link.

I: It might be, if you are following our marine portal that is in English also, there are these initial outlines also.

N: Yes, great. And does that also influence what particular ministries are involved or with which ministries you have been talking?

I: We have different ministries that are responsible for these themes, also agencies. Because all of the themes, well.. they are under different ministry, but because there a lot of different themes, the responsibility is delegated to the agency.

N: And, ehm.. then moving on to the next question.. What resources actually within the national government are used or.. How did the availability of these resources influence the content and process of the EMSP?

I: The Estonian MSP is made by state budget. So, we.. There could always be more money, I have to say that [laughing]. I see that there have been a lot of help from the European side, because we are very lucky to have many European projects and from these projects actually we got our social and economical model that we used for the social and economic impact assessment. And that was a good thing to have, because when we couldn't have it, then this solution, I think, wouldn't be so much justified. But I think that actually we made all necessary research and involved all the experts that we actually needed from the state budget. And we didn't have a lot of money problems, but we can say that our manpower in the ministry is very little. And this plan.. We could have done it with, well.. In our department, the people are working with their heart, and they want to do the good thing, and that is why there is these collaborations and different.. these thematic groups and all these involvements, actions we did was a lot actually. We haven't seen that many in other countries. But still, because of that, the workload is a huge one. When you're doing this kind of project. And in the state level, you have to be, in one person, you have to be the planner, you have to be the presenter, the communicator, and in one person, you have to be all. And I think that's why we had to overwork in some parts and I think that from the money and from the time, that's okay. But from the manpower, we lacked actually.

N: Okay, and was that troublesome for the formation of the plan?

I: Well, eh.. In the end, everything were very good, because we had these people that were working with their heart and want to do a lot, then that's why we actually managed. But if we weren't so lucky and we couldn't have this kind of people, then I think that solution would lack from this need of manpower.

N: Okay, ehm.. Let's see.. We are already over half. That's good, we are on track... How far reaches the responsibility of the ministry in safeguarding the EMSP and its effects on the marine coastal areas? Because of course, it is a plan that more or less revolves around state interests, but the effects will mostly be noticeable on a local level.

I: Yeah, eh.. I think a lot of effects are also noticeable in the state level, but still there are.. We have done an action plan for the implementation of MSP and there we have different agencies and ministries that are responsible for the actions. And that is because the ministry of Finance cannot be responsible for the energy or for the fishing or et cetera. And I see that we can be the safeguarders of the whole, the whole MSP to see how this is implemented and give different parties, like, help them to implement then this plan. And maybe to support different actions. But still, the locals and licensing procedures and these kind

of proceedings will do their thing and we have to be the ones that are saying: you cannot do it because it's against the MSP or you can do it because it's with the solution, and, eh.. Well.. In our MSP process, we have to look through the plan in every 5 years. So in every 5 years, we have to see what is there, we have to monitor the implementations, and then we have to do the overview to the government. And I think this is also some mechanism that is good to see how the different users are managing these themes and what is to take into account.

N: Okay, so it is more about safeguarding the implementation rather than taking responsibility for the actual effects which are mostly caused by the implementation by other parties.

I: Yes.

N: Then that's clear to me. Ehm.. Are there than any.. Well, you already mentioned in the part in which you mentioned the plan will be revisited every 5 years, every once in a while. Ehm.. But are there any other aspects that you believe should be already improved? Or are there any future steps that need to be taken in the future?

I: Yeah, well, one good thing actually that came out of this process is, that.. We had a steering group with different ministries and agencies next to the plan, and when we had difficult problems or difficult solutions, we had to discuss then.. we brought them into the steering group to have this kind of horizontal group to discuss different aspects. And after the plan is adopted, we will go to continue this steering group next to the implementation. And I think that's a very good approach actually. When you have some kind of question in the licensing process or in whatever field, then you have one established steering group which can take up this kind of questions and discuss this kind of things. But I think as I already mentioned, this plan is a hybrid plan, then I think in the future, in Estonia, we have to think more about these levels of planning in the sea. Because I have seen that in this process it's very hard for stakeholders to understand why fishing is very general, but offshore wind is very detailed. So this kind of, maybe, an idea, we should have one state plan, which is very general, and only guidelines, and then we have this kind of thematic plans, for offshore wind, for aquaculture, that deals with this very detailed level of problems. Because right now, you have to have everything in one process and in one plan.

N: Then I think I am now at the final question. Ehm.. which is probably a bit reflective on the whole process and content of the plan in general. So, ehm.. how does the ministry see the trust, legitimacy and the fairness of the Estonian MSP in respect to the included and excluded interests and the effects of the plan for these interests?

I: Well, when we started this interview, then I pointed out we are actually very lucky to be in the ministry that we don't have any interest, or concrete sea use that we want to plan in some area. And this is actually a very good platform where we can balance different interests. And also, I think that it's very good that we don't have one company that is ordering the plan, or one stakeholder that wants to have this kind of planning procedure. Because in Estonia, when you are in land use planning, or in planning land, then usually the detailed plan is ordered by the concrete company or concrete interest party. And then, when the interest party is ordering the plan, then usually it is very much as they want to be it. And as they want to have this kind of solution. But as we have.. We have to take into account different restrictions. For instance, environmental restrictions or restrictions from the defence. And when you are putting this into a map, then you have a lot of different ways to actually plan it and to find different areas. And one of the ideas which I think is good and is new to this kind of planning, is combined use to give actually one space to different sea uses and give different guidelines how different uses can use this space. So, for example, you can have algae or shellfish farming and offshore wind energy farms in one place. And that is good that we don't.. The seaspace is still limited, we don't have so much that



everybody can have their own, like, their own corner, but still we can find different solutions how we can exist together.

N: Hmmhmm, and about the lower layers then of stakeholders, so outside of the ministries.. for instance, the fishermen.. How does the, ehm.. Ehm.. How do you then see the trust at those lower levels of stakeholders? Because I can imagine that their interests are represented in the form of an agency or in the ministry, but that might not resemble their personal individual interests, of course.

I: Yes, that is actually that we face a lot in the last year, when we had this opposition from the fishermen. They didn't trust us and they actually didn't trust the ministry of Agriculture also, because they had this kind of situation where they see that the ministry of Agriculture actually didn't support their interests, and therefore they didn't trust us. But when we had very different meetings with them. The first meetings were like, they yelled at us and they didn't want to listen. And it was really like, very emotional. But when they saw that, from this process, that we want to help them, we don't want to just drive over them, then they saw that: okay, let's see, what can we have from this kind of collaborations? And it's something psychological, you have to have these meetings arranged in some kind of regularity, so that the stakeholder knows what is going on and what are you doing, and how can they actually participate, or how can they give their opinions from their interests? And I can say that this was.. From the last year, we thought that: I don't know how we can get this done, and how can we.. What is the best solution in here? But after one year work and after different meetings and discussions actually, in September, they thanked us, because they saw that actually, they could get around the table, they could vocal their problems and we actually dealt with their problems. That's why.. They were very.. It was also very surprising for me, because I got yelled a lot [laughing], very very lot. And after that, I got thanked, so.. [laughing] it was interesting.

N: So, it changed to a situation where they actually felt.. ehm.. where their interest were addressed well enough?

I: Taken into account, yeah.

N: Yes. But does that also mean that it's always the state's responsibility?

I: It should be, it should be. Yeah, and I think it should be also to be honest to the stakeholders about: what can you do, and what can you not do? Because they have to understand what is the actual point of view that you are representing, and what.. How can you help them? And if you cannot help them, then you have to be vocal and not to be afraid to tell that you cannot do that. If you are trying to be very likable, then usually you are losing the trust. Because when the stakeholders see that you are not honest, they are not understanding what is your position. Then you lose the trust and you cannot do anything after that.

N: No, exactly, I see. Ehm.. that was the last question! We have gone through them all. Thank you again for your time!

I: Yeah, you are welcome! It was interesting for me also.

N: Were you comfortable during the whole interview

I: Yes, yes I was. And I hope.. I hope my contribution is interesting for you also, and useable for your thesis.

N: It definitely is. I already saw some aspects that are very interesting. Ehm.. do you have some final remarks? Or maybe some recommendations with regards to the topic? Or maybe some contacts that are worth it to interview?

I: Yeah, well.. Maybe I didn't say that before, but one of the things that is also problematic or a bit hard to the stakeholders to understand is that there is not very good understanding about what is a strategical level. What is the actual level of the plan, and the expectations of some of the stakeholders is that planning should be very detailed and, for example, that we should plan very concrete areas for the windmills and put for instance the height of the windmills very concretely. But when we do that, we cannot actually plan the future, because this is a task for the licensing procedure, not the planning procedure. And the plan should put down these rules: how can you co-exist with different uses in the same area? So that is something I think is very hard for people to understand.

N: But is that then also something – a question from my side – is that then also something that is communicated well enough to the.. eh.. people?

I: Yeah, I think we communicated it a lot, but still, when it's only the area for different views, then it's so abstract for the local people, or fishermen. And you cannot actually maybe picture it, then you can't make it understand. And I think that's more a way of thinking. And maybe it's also a question of trust. If you trust the state that it will do all the different stages, then you can have different pictures in different stages. Or are you afraid that they are actually planning it here, then you.. Well.. In the next stages, they are not collaborating with us and we cannot give our opinions, and that's why I got to be very vocal in this procedure, so it's like that, I think.

N: Okay. Ehm.. Let's see, where am I now.. So then I will soon stop the recording. Then I first want to explain how the data will be processed. First of all, I will transcribe the data in an anonymous version and I will literally write down what has been said, so it might be possible that there are some sentences that don't make any sense in terms of grammar, but that's something that is very important for just analysing the interview, and it also contributes to the reliability, or credibility of the interview, that it actually has taken place. Ehm.. I use a program for that, I use some predefined concepts to mark certain parts of the transcripts, and then I will put those together with other interviews and.. or transcripts of other interviews, and then I try to find some patterns, or differences between the various interviews. Ehm.. normally I would have had a little present for you to thank you, but that will now be a bit difficult.

I: Yes, of course.

N: But I might be able to send it somewhere?

I: Well, yeah, well.. I don't know what it is.

N: Well, I had like, to stay in the theme, the giant chocolate bar "Saarepiiga".

I: Ahh, okay, then it's okay. In our ministry, we are kind of forbidden to take this kind of big presents or something.

N: Ahh, no no. No big presents. I am Dutch after all [laughing].

I: Yeah, you can send it to our ministry actually, then I will get it.

N: Okay, is there a specific way how to do that?

I: You can just drop it of to the.. ehm.. the desk we have in this kind of.. how do you say it..

N: I think I know what you mean, but translating it from Dutch to English is also very difficult.

I: Yeah, when you are coming to the ministry, you always make sure who you are, and we have a desk where there are two peoples and you can actually drop it off there.

N: Okay, then I will do that! Then I will now stop the recording-

*The recorded is stopped. After this, Nils thanks the interviewee for a final time and the interview is finished.*

### D.3. Interview transcript Hendrikson & Ko (7-12-2021)

Interviewee: female, project manager consultancy firm

Interviewer: Nils van der Wildt

*The interviewee and interviewer meet online, after which the interviewer explained the goals of the project, the contribution of this interview, how data will be collected, processed and protected and the rights the interviewee obtains by participating in this interview; all according to the informed consent which has been sent together with the interview questions. At the final point of the informed consent, it was asked if the interviewee permitted the audio recording of this interview. Not mentioned in the informed consent was that the way of recording in the online environment would also record video, but she was also okay with that. She gave permission and the recording is started.*

N: -now I started the recording.. Yes. It is on. Could you maybe mention your name and indeed confirm that you gave permission to record this interview, both the audio and the video?

I: Hmmhmm, sure, so my name is [interviewee] and I do agree that both the video and audio recording will take place during the interview, so this is fine by me.

N: Perfect, thank you. Ehm.. So I suppose we dive right in, and.. I was actually wondering, because the Estonian MSP is of course a plan that I supposedly would think is the responsibility of the ministry of Finance, so what is actually the relationship between Hendrikson & Ko and the ministry of Finance.

I: Yes, Hendrikson & Ko is a consultant for Estonian MSP. So in Estonia, we have a tradition, quite strong tradition, that although the spatial planning is the responsibility of public sector, there are still private consultants that are sometimes more familiar with all the details of spatial planning. And usually at state level, a kind of joined team is formed for composing the plan. So we are I think about 15 people from Hendrikson side, and about 3, 4 people from the ministry of Finance department of planning. And of course consultants cannot make decisions, we can only support decision-making and make arguments and of course indeed work with the solutions, so it is mutual cooperation I think. And in Estonian MSP, it has worked out quite fine, has been a good thorough process, I do think.

N: Okay, and how then exactly did this process actually.. ehm.. take place. So how did the EMSP evolved into its current form?

I: Hmm, as I already mentioned it has been a quite thorough process. The initial plan was to, I think, to finalise the plan in 2, 2 and a half years. Now it has taken more than 3 years already.. Hmm, that's quite normally actually, I think.

N: Yeah, no, it doesn't sound like a very long or immense delay.

I: Yeah, and of course there has been a lot of effort in public outreach, so we try to involve different interests, different parties, interests groups, so to say different marine space users. And there has been I think some processes that took place in parallel. So you probably are familiar with that in Estonia, the sea area, it is not divided between the state and the local municipality.

N: No, it is indeed one level, yeah.

I: It is one, and just the state's responsibility. But we were discussing quite actively in the beginning in the process that the local authorities should have some authority in the shore areas. Maybe one or two nautical miles or whatever the distance is, as we know that some countries do have the system, and it

seems to be working quite well. But of course, and.. We did some research and a questionnaire for local municipalities, and they shared some interests, but not too much. They pointed out quite fairly that it requires some specific know-how and as our local municipalities are already in deficit of the spatial planning know-how, then the marine space kind of seemed very complex to them, so it did not go much further. But it hasn't been quite decided yet, so there may be some developments in this sense in the future. Hmm, so yeah.. But I already forgot the question [laughing], so direct me to..

N: [laughing] So what I was asking you actually was how the.. What was the process from the beginning to the current form of the EMSP? So, for instance, who was involved at what moment, and why?

I: Okay, let's see, how can I describe the process? Hmm, so in the beginning, we tried to start with defining the values of Estonian maritime space. We held a number of local meetings with not only municipalities but kind of traditional, let's say, traditional key persons that are involved in fishing or some type of aquaculture development or things like that, so we kind of defined the portrait of Estonian maritime space. So we tried to find out what were exactly the regional differences within our sea area, what are the advantages that we want to preserve in parts of our maritime space. So this was the starting point. It was I think, uh, it went quite well. Of course, as in the beginning, there were no big conflicts as usual and everybody were interested and happy. And then we moved on with the taskforce. We usually called it, the taskforce, basically the core team of the ministry and the consultant. So the taskforce tried to map the primary, let's say, focus of the plan and the goals we would like to achieve and of course the vision. So the initial draft of the vision and goals were composed by the taskforce and then discussed with the different interests bodies, let's say, the fishermen, aquaculture developers, of course also offshore wind, potential, developers, and so on. Then the first draft was composed by the consultant team, so already elaborating the spatial development goals and proposing guidelines and directions and specific conditions already. Of course then there was the second extensive round of public hearings. Which was, I think it was.. I don't remember the years.. It was 200 and.. It was 2019 summer, I think. And of course public display was before the public hearings. And we got quite a numerous feedback. And during the first draft, I don't think there were very specific conflicts, even between the fishermen and wind developers, the situation was quite calm. Because maybe one of the points was that in the beginning, we were in the understanding it was still possible to move between wind turbines, but offshore wind farms can be used for trawling as well. We know there has been some experience in this sense, but the traditional way of planning of course is that you have to separate these different uses. But we were trying to emphasise that the combined use of the maritime space to work out how the different functions would maybe work together.. So this was the main focus of the first draft of the plan. And after that, the impact assessment was carried out also quite thoroughly. Of course, we had the directive that demands the strategic impact assessment, and we were trying to expand the spectrum of different impacts, so involving maybe more than usual the social and cultural impacts as well. So this took some time and quite an effort. And after that, the second draft, or we already called it the main solution, was prepared. Again, discussed with the interested bodies and again, it was on public display in the regions and there was another series of public discussions. And after that, there was the round of approvals from different public authorities. Ministries, and.. say transportation boards, and so on. And right now, we just finalising our final public display of the main solution of EMSP.

N: Okay. And, ehm.. I was actually very interested in the point that you made earlier, about, like, making this kind of portrait of the Estonian sea area. Did you derive that idea from somewhere? Or maybe did you use another best-practice example for the Estonian MSP?

I: Uhh, I don't think we have had a specific example. As I have quite a large experience in spatial planning in mainland, or in regional planning, so.. In regional planning, it is quite a usual thing to do, that you

create a profile or portrait of the area. And as we have prepared the maritime spatial plan for Pärnu county, and actually Estonia's first marine spatial planning guidelines – some go back to like 2016 – so even then there was a kind of eureka effect, or some kind of understanding that we cannot presume that the maritime space is homogeneous. Although it just seems like a great, white open.. you know, the sea, the blue sea. But there are differences, indeed differences in the sea core, there are differences in the climatic conditions, which result actually in the most suitable use of the sea areas, so we tried to acknowledge that in the beginning of our process.

N: And, maybe there are also examples that.. you wanted to avoid? So maybe some projects that like struggled a lot with certain conditions that you wanted to improve those?

I: Hmm, yes. Maybe at some point. Maybe not avoid, that's maybe a too strong word. We understood that our, you know.. the planning system in each country is of course different, and we cannot follow the example of, for example, Germany, because the German plans are much more exact, the level of detail is very high compared to our plans. And of course the legal system, the normatives and standards they have, we don't have them at all. So we had to position ourselves somewhere in between, let's say, Germany and Sweden, which has just a not mandatory plan at all, just a very high level and suggestive plan. So, I think this was something that we were thinking about. And of course, maybe it was a bit naïve, but we were trying to avoid a very classic or kind of monofunctional zoning. Saying that: yes, these areas are only for recreation and this is national defence and this is, you know, energy production. We were trying to find a way how to combine different zones, different uses.

N: But why do you say it was naïve to try?

I: Because actually we didn't quite achieve it. In the final period of our planning, still the conflict between traditional uses, the fishing and marine transportation, and the new uses like wind energy production and aquaculture, it became quite tense. And the government was forced to take a not to my mind very good decision, but still to achieve the compromise, the decision was made that some of our wind production areas were reserved for later use. So we have the wind production areas and then we have the reserved, that is actually decided upon by.. Actually I think it was decided upon by 2026.

N: I heard yesterday that it was 2027, I believe.

I: Or 2027. I understand that the decision-making process would start on 2026 so we can have a decision in 2027 [laughing]. So it was actually the conflicts and we couldn't solve, or did not reach a mutual understanding or at what extent it is possible to propose the multifunctional use.

N: Okay. That's clear. Then I move on to the next question.. I was actually wondering, because the EMSP is not just the zoning, but it's also a very strategical plan, so ehm.. Has Hendrikson & Ko also.. focused on the more.. How do you say it? Has Hendrikson & Ko also looked beyond just the zoning or were they only consulted in the zoning-related activities?

I: Hmm, yes, I take this is a compliment. I'm very happy to see our MSP as a strategic plan, because we were indeed trying. I'm a big fan of strategic spatial planning as a bit opposed to classical zoning, and I think this was again a mutual understanding in the taskforce as well, that we should at first create a general strategy, what would we like to achieve in our maritime space. And then work on not only the spatial planning, but also the strategic approach in development plans and things like that. And, again, it did not go all well, because the cooperation between different authorities was a bit bumpy, let's say. And they did not, in the end, hmm.. became very strong links between different parts. I think, to my mind, it was a bit disappointing that, in the end, we still use a high number of different conditions and still zone our maritime space, but we.. The implementation plan is not a very strong part of our MSP I think.

N: Okay. So.. You already mentioned earlier that the.. there have been some members of the ministry and then some members of Hendrikson & Ko who were working on the zoning plans. How did then the interests of the broader political agenda influence this EMSP?

I: I think the influence has been kind of growing, when you check a timeline. In the beginning of the process, it was actually not very high on political agenda. Yes, it was accepted that we should have an MSP, and of course it is a requirement from the European Union, but it was not maybe acknowledged how.. In how deep trouble we are in our energy consumption, that we actually desperately need OWFs. And of course, one point the ministry tried to make in the beginning, that we are not only creating an OWF plan; we are striving to create a comprehensive, holistic approach to think through all the different uses. And I think this was helpful. Of course, in the end, the focus is largely on the new uses, because there are no new regulations still yet to these new uses. It kind of makes sense. But yes, in the beginning, it was not a very politically guided process. Right now, I think, there is political support and I think that is helping of course.

N: Okay, but.. Did it also influence the content of the plan? Like, how the zones are now arranged?

I: No, no, I don't think so. Maybe in the no-.. at least in not a direct way. Because the zoning part was strongly influenced by the other ministers. We have the minister of Defence, which is responsible for a number of zones and they provided information and it was actually not disputed during the process, at least not the national defence part of it. And of course there is nature preservation, which is actually, again, an example that this is quite set. We did not discuss it, we tried not to take amendments in existing nature reserves. So there were a number of things that are actually already there. So we were.. The most intense discussions were of course around the new uses.

N: Hmmhmm, and how does this relate to other stakeholders outside the ministries or other agencies, or, whatever, for instance, the fishermen. Because you mention there have been public hearings, but have these stakeholders also been involved more actively in the zoning process, or are they, as you said, more heard during a public hearing and then it was more like a: can we do something with this, and if not, how can we justify it?

I: Yes, they were actively involved. I think we had around ten workshops with each main interest groups, like OWF developers, aquaculture developers, of course nature protection and things like that. And I think the cooperation as quite good. Of course, when we are talking about wind energy development, then it did look like we as consultants proposed a methodology, as for how we find the suitable areas, but the methodology was not so officially but more informally approved by the interest group. So we discussed it through before, far before the public hearing or public displays, just to get their accept or get the understanding that we are moving in the right direction. So I think this was quite good, yeah.

N: Okay, and.. Besides the.. I want to say besides the interest that shaped the plan, but that is not entirely the case of course. But.. What were available resources that have been applied in the Estonian MSP, or were there.. Has the availability of the resources from the national government, and maybe also from Hendrikson & Ko influenced the content and the process of the EMSP?

I: Hmm, you mean the mainly financial resources, or what kind?

N: Yeah, finances, time, manpower, knowledge..

I: Hmm, okay. Yes of course, they do, they always count, but I think the biggest discussion was about research and different surveys. Should we carry out more thorough fieldworks during the strategic plan, which is actually up today still a discussion point at least at some topic. So we have a Finnish example

where the seabed is fully examined already on a quite high level during the planning process. It is already clear that in Estonia, we don't have the finances to conduct such a research, so we are using modelling. We are not doing fieldwork actually, we are modelling our seabed and all the other natural conditions actually. And to my mind, this is the right approach, because we are on strategic level. There will be thorough fieldworks carried out in the next stage, so to my mind, it's not a problem.

N: Okay, and how.. [silence].. nevermind. I was thinking, because I had an interview with the ministry yesterday who mostly mentioned that it was about the manpower that was lacking. Does that maybe also influence why.. surveys or research was not able to be conducted because there was simply a lack of manpower to actually execute this research?

I: Hmm, okay, maybe they mentioned some other type of researches, because there are different fields of course, and different topics. Yes, I wouldn't relate to that too much. Of course I did see that the ministry maybe was a bit too optimistic in the beginning of the process about extent of the workload they were forced to [laughing] kind of enjoy. So this was definitely the case, that the work proved to be much bigger than they hoped or we hoped as well, so this is of course the case. But still, I don't think so that a lack of manpower demanded the decision that we do not carry out fieldworks, like seabed investigations.

N: Okay, ehm.. Then there is one question that I actually wanted to ask earlier in the interview, but it.. It has been on my mind, because now we have mostly been talking about the.. the more.. the zoning plan, or more the spatial component, but is there also a more guiding component for the concrete implementation of the plan, for instance in the licensing part of the.. of the plan? So, for instance, MSP has in its principles participation and integration, but are these for instance also safeguarded in the plan? Or are those not relevant?

I: Hmm, I think they are. But of course the principles are kind of divided in the Estonia in the plan and still the license and the impact assessment processes.

N: Ehm.. let's see.. we are over half now, I see.

I: Ah, that's good, because I have [laughing], I have a next meeting at eleven o'clock, but I think we can make it.

N: Okay, yes, I'm pretty sure we can make it. Ehm, what pressures from outside influenced the content and process of the plan? So, I'm talking for instance about the climate agreements or the more popular opinions within Estonia.

I: Hmmhmm. Yes, we were relying on climate agreements quite a lot. During the last half a year of course the energy price is going up, has helped a lot with understanding that we indeed need new energy sources as well and quite desperately. So I think that the public opinion is slowly changing. And, ehm.. What was good, although the process started a bit earlier, was some research and now a new legal act being carried out by the ministry of Economics, so the.. You probably already know about the local compensation measures, so, this is always been the case in Estonia, that people are demanding some sort of ehm... legal compensation measures need to be there if we are talking about offshore wind farms.

N: And when we are talking about the offshore wind farms, and you mention them quite a lot, like, the energy. Is this a thing that is actually pursued in the plan? Or is it just as balanced at... just like other interests? How fair is the weight?

I: Hmm, yeah. I think wind energy is definitely taking more space and more content of the plan that is maybe expected, but no, I'm not sure about that, because everybody understood already in the



beginning of the planning process that we will not work out new marine transportation rules or new rules for nature preservation or national defence, that actually the plan is about new marine uses. So, maybe the expectation was that we should pay more attention to aquaculture. We did not define actually the specific areas for aquaculture, we only directed what principles and conditions, and the plan shows kind of informative areas where the conditions are better, so we are not kind of roqueing up the areas. Again, I think, to my mind, it's a good solution because we don't want to be unargued and make decisions that are not quite correct in the future. So yes.. and then again I forgot the question [laughing].

N: No, well, I was just wondering because.. also yesterday I heard a lot about new uses, even though the marine spatial plan.. I can say should cover but that's a personal opinion.. should cover all interests that are present in the sea.

I: Yeah, to my mind, that's true. At some point, we.. The goal was in our case to get the overall picture, to get the large picture, to get all the different uses on the same map, basically. What has not been done before. So this was one main goal of Estonian MSP still, I think, to look at combinations and look how MSP is involving taking into account all of the different uses.

N: Okay, ehm.. let's see. Then I move on to a next question. Ehm.. So as a consultancy firm, how far reaches actually the responsibility in safeguarding the marine spatial plan and its effects on the planned areas?

I: Hmm, you mean safeguarding after the approval, or during the planning process?

N: Hmmm, that is a very good question. I would say actually... both.

I: Hmmm. Okay.

N: I can imagine, in the approval it is very limited because the decision-making process is a political one and then especially in terms of, like... Yeah, I would say the first (*actually referring to the second point*).

I: Yes, because after the approval, it is very clear, it is out of our hands. We are not actually, I think, taking another loop maybe [laughing]. Of course, here we are, maybe we will be consulting on other relevant plans or licensing processes as well, but still, the responsibility is entirely on our minister of Finance. And our planning act is pretty clear about that even during the planning process, actually, the responsibility and, so you say safeguarding, should be done by the planning – how do you say... kind of organiser, here we say –

N: Some kind of planning authority?

I: Yes. But our act defines planning basically, or organising planning work. So organising planning work is something which the authority has to do and it does involve safeguarding as well. So our role is still a bit.. It's more, you know, providing good advice and composing the materials.

N: Aha. Okay. Ehm.. Then I have two questions left, so I think we should be able to finish on time. Are there any aspects from the Estonian MSP that should be improved? Or are there already elements that will need to be evaluated in the nearby future?

I: Hmm, yes. I don't know.. improved.. Improved maybe not, but what I am personally not too happy about, is that... I think we had too many different conditions. If we are talking about windpark development, which has basically ran out of the alphabet [laughing], because we were marking every decision with a letter – a, b, c and so on – and there were more than 24, so that's kind of crazy. So it is... And some of the decisions are quite general, you know, like, cooperate with the authorities and so on. So, I understand that the strategic level cannot go into too much detail, and this is a good thing. But

maybe we are still a bit overregulating the topic in an overbureaucratic way. We are saying that there are a list of conditions, you have to fulfil them, but actually, some of the conditions are kind of artificial. That you just have to cooperate with the minister of Defence, that doesn't say much. So the.. As we are talking about strategic planning that you should make strategic choices.. At some point, we were quite successful about that, we decided that: yes, we should have offshore wind farms, we should still have nature protection. But maybe there were some points that did not go that well. And, I am referring to these reserved areas, where trawling areas were just kind of excluded due to.. at least for some time in the offshore wind farms.. the areas then.

N: Yeah, but I can also imagine, for instance, that the strategic level is very abstract to visualise in one's mind, that it's very difficult to see what exactly then these strategic decisions mean for the future of..

I: Uhuh, yeah, that's right. Being too abstract is another threat of course.

N: Okay. Then I have one final question, and it's a reflective one, and it might be a bit.. ehm.. not necessarily aggressive, but.. looking back at the process, how do the consultants, or you, see the trust and legitimacy and the fairness of the Estonian MSP in respect to the included and excluded interests? And the actors?

I: Uh that's a tricky question [laughing].

N: It is [laughing].

I: Yes.

N: If you don't feel comfortable answering it, then that's also fine.

I: I think it's, ehm.. I would like to say that we try to take into account all of the interests.

N: I agree.

I: But still I think that at some point it might be a weakness, because.. It is not a very politically correct thing to tell, but maybe we were too overdemocratic at some point, because we did not touch some of the sensitive issues like, say, trawling, which does have a significant negative impacts. So we were still very respectful towards the traditional fishermen that actually, we know, that used methods that are not completely in agreement with sustainable development, so we were trying to be a bit.. Maybe it's a thing you can't avoid because we are preparing the first MSP, so it is still a starting point, that we at least in the first planning process, that we should consider all different interests, but at some point there might have been maybe a bit stronger intermediate decisions. And we are talking about the climate goals and the sustainability as a whole.

N: Okay, I think that is a good conclusion of this interview. Because I have finished every single question. So, thank you again for your time. I hope you were comfortable during the whole interview?

I: Yeah, yeah, sure.

N: And.. do you still have some final remarks or maybe some recommendations with regards to the topic? Or maybe you know some people I can interview, or who are interesting to interview?

I: Yeah, uh, but with whom have you talked already? In Estonia I think?

N: I have talked already with the project manager from the ministry of finance with regards to MSP, and I have talked to the... not really with regards to MSP, but I talked to the initiator of the Saare Wind Energy initiative. But that was about it because [laughing] it's a very busy month, I noticed.

I: Yes, yes, yes, it is. Yeah, I was wondering about our.. Our university. Because our team had quite a number of members from University of Tartu, the marine institute, and they were quite actively involved. So, maybe it might be a good idea, but I know they are extremely busy right now, so [laughing].

N: Aha, but thank you nonetheless. Then I will explain now what I will do now. I will soon stop the recording, then I will use the recording only for the transcript, this will not be published. The transcript will be in an anonymised version, so if there are any names mentioned, or maybe your own name, that should not be derivable. Of course, there is always the possibility that, when you have a very thorough look maybe and align it with whom I was talking at what moment, it might be possible that your name might appear, but it's never mentioned and should never be mentioned in the transcript and therefore also not in the thesis itself. Ehm.. the interviews will, or the transcripts will be put next to each other, I have some predefined concepts that I use as a kind of marker to find particular parts of the interview that relate to that particular concept and then I can compare those with other interviews to see if there are any patterns or maybe differences. And that I can use for the final results of my thesis. So this would also be the moment that I handed you a bar of chocolate; to stay in the theme the "Saarepiiga". But that will be difficult right now. But I don't know if you still would like to have it, or maybe there are options to send it to you, or drop it off at the office in Tallinn?

I: Yeah, yeah, why not? But if it's too much trouble, then it's completely okay. I'm just happy talking to you as well.

N: Okay, well, I feel flattered [laughing]. But I will try to make a bit of work for it. Ehm, then I will now stop the recording-

*The recorded is stopped. After this, Nils thanks the interviewee for a final time and the interview is finished.*

## E. Online survey responses

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### E.1. Untranslated response (Estonian)

*Ma töötan (vali üks või mitu varianti):*

- a. Muu teenindussektor (ametiasutused, poed ja teised otseselt turismiga mitteseotud asutused)
- b. Turismisektor (majutusasutused, turismiatraktsioonid, suveniiripoed jne)
- c. Muu
- d. Muu
- e. Muu teenindussektor (ametiasutused, poed ja teised otseselt turismiga mitteseotud asutused)
- f. Muu
- g. Muu
- h. Muu
- i. Muu

**1. Mida tähendab kohalik merevaade sinu jaoks? Kuidas on see osa sinu igapäevaelust, nii töökui ka eralust?**

- a. Olulise tähtsusega, naudin igal võimalusel. Igapäevaselt näen merd vähesel määral teel tööle, suvel käin pea iga päev ujumas ja merd nautimas.
- b. igapäevaselt merd ei vaata, romantikatuhinas küll
- c. Tööl paistab meri peaaegu aknast, kodus on meri 1,5 km kaugusel.
- d. Puhtad rannad ja ujumisalad, võimalust külastada mereranda, st emotsionaalne ja indiviidi puhkust võimaldav tegevus. Teisalt kõik, mis on seotud sadamate, kalandusega, purjetamise, kauba - ja reisijate vedudega. Inimesed, kes saavad merelt tööd ja see merega seotus on elustiil.
- e. Elan ja kasvasin üles 500m rannast. Iga päev käin või sõidan mööda. Seega on väga oluline.
- f. Kuna minu töö ja ka eraelu on paljuski seotud loodueega, siis tähendab kohalik merevaade minu jaoks looduslikku merd, koos merelindude ja -loomade ning vahutavate lainetega.
- g. Eriti ei tähenda midagi
- h. Merevaade on olnud osa minu elust alates lapsepõlvest.
- i. Minu jaoks on merevaatel lihtsalt emotsionaalne väärtus. Olen alati eelistanud mere läheduses elada, kuigi ei pruugi olla visuaalselt kontakti merega. See ei tähenda, et vaate osaks ei võiks olla meretuulikud.

**2. Mis osas on merevaade sinu meelest oluline? Miks on see oluline ja kelle jaoks on see sinu arvates eriti oluline?**

- a. Avarus, kauge lage silmapiir (mis avardab hinge), huvitavad värvid-meeleolud jne. Arvan, et meri on igale inimesele mingil ajahetkel oluline. Mere läheduses on kergem hingata, ta vähendab stressi, loob meeleolu...
- b. et meri oleks puhas, ei oleks reostatud. Et mereäärde ligipääs oleks vaba
- c. Olen terve elu elanud Saaremaal, meri on üks osa minust. Saarlaste jaoks on meri eriti oluline.
- d. Võimalus kuulata laintemüha või planksiledat merd päikese tõusul või loojangul. Puhas loodus, mitte kunstlikult tekitatud objektid. Eelkõige oluline kohalike elanikele, turismindusele, töökohad ökoreegleid jälgides.
- e. Oluline kohalike jaoks kes kasvasid ülesse seal kohas. Oluline turistide jaoks kes ehk korra satuvad, oluline kalurite jaoks, keda nagoonii võim kiusab igal võimalusel.

- f. Ma arvan, et merevaade on oluline kõigi jaoks. Kõik loodusele omane on see mis rahustab ja meeli paitab.
- g. Kellegi jaoks pole merevaade oluline
- h. Merevaade on oluline kõigile, kes mere ääres käivad. See on vabaduse vaade.
- i. Pigem on minu jaoks oluline mereline õhk ja kliima. Ma arvan, et merevaade on kõige olulisem vahetult mere ääres elavatele inimestele ja rannikul käivatele turistidele.

**3. Kuidas mõjutab meretuulepargi rajamine sinu arvates kohalikku merevaadet? Miks sa nii arvad? Kuidas oled ise sellest mõjutatud?**

- a. Olin 1990-ndate alguses mitu kuud Hollandis, kus kaldal asuvat tuulikuparki näidati suure imetlusega. Elasime peredes, milledest ühe õuel oli suur tuulik ja nad olid sellega väga rahul. Virtsus on juba aastaid tuulikud, mis mind ei häiri. Pigem on tore, kui need mandrilt tulles paistma hakkavad - kodu läheneb. Loomulikult võivad nad häirida kohalikke elanikke, sest on elamutele suhteliselt lähedal. Momendil ei ole ma tuulikute mõjutatud. Soela väina, mille lähedal elan, tuulepargi arendamine on vist peatatud.
- b. kes seda silmapiiri ikka nii väga vaatab, kujutan ette, et kaldas 1 km peaks vaba olema
- c. Ilmselt harjuks selle vaatega ära, elektrienergiat on meil vaja.
- d. Ei kujuta ette, visuaalselt mitte meeldiv. Teisalt kuidas mõjutab kohalikku linnu- ja mereelu, kalade jm keskkonda. Mis reostus tekib ehitamise käigus, on ju vaja ilmselt rammida tugipostid, suured hiigelmonstrumid merepõhja kinnitada, ehitada. Kui mõne aja pärast on tehnika vananenud, kas keegi suudab need ka merest ära koristada või jäävad loodust reostama sajanditeks. Ei ole teadlik, millal rahaliselt eelarve, kulud, tulud ära tasuvad on, kui suur on efekt.
- e. Reostab vaadet ja tekitab müra. Olen kokku nendega puutunud saaremaa teistes osades.
- f. Meretuulepaegi rajamine rikuks tasakaalu. Ja seda nii silmane nähtavana kui ka nähtamatuna. Meretuulepark ei ole miski mida on "ilus vaadata".
- g. Üldse ei mõjuta
- h. Mina isiklikult ei ole mõjutatud, kuna minu lapsepõlve merevaateid see segama ei hakka.
- i. Ilmselt on tuulikud rannikult nähtavad. Ma ei tunne, et ise oleksin sellest mõjutatud.

**4. Kas oled teadlik „Saare Wind Energy“ meretuulepargi arendusest Saaremaast kagus? Kuidas sa teadsid?**

- a. Olen teadlik - ajakirjanduse vahendusel ja Saaremaa valla töötajana.
- b. ei ole väga kursis
- c. Olen meediat kuulnud.
- d. Olen kuulnud, ka mõningaid poolt ja vastu argumente. Ajakirjanduse kaudu, ise teemat uurinud ei ole.
- e. Nime ei tea. Lihtsalt et püüavad läbi suruda neid.
- f. Jah. Ajalehtede, televisiooni ja sotsiaalmeedia kaudu.
- g. Ajakirjandusest
- h. Olen kuulnud, aga mitte süvenenud.
- i. Tean, et käimas on mitmeid arendusi. Täpselt seda ei tea, kes ja kus arendab. Olen tegev energiamajanduse sektoris.

5. **Kas tunned, et sinu huvisid ja muresid on „Saare Wind Energy“ meretuulepargi projekti senises menetluses piisavalt arvesse võetud? Miks sa nii arvad?**
- Ma ei ole selle projekti menetlemisega seotud.
  - usun, et seadus reguleerib seda.
  - Ei ole pargi rajamise vastu.
  - Esiialgu mingeid isiklike huve ei oma, kuna elekter on olemas. Kui oleks vastupidi võib olla siis mõtteviis muutub.
  - Ei, keegi pole midagi ennem küsinud minult. Jääb mulje et kitsa ringi tulusoov kaalub taas üle kohalike soovid
  - Mulle tundub, et ühegi kohaliku elaniku huve pole veel uuritud ja arvesse võetud.
  - On küll arvesse võetud. Menetlust viiakse läbi igati professionaalselt
  - Kui mind huvitaks, siis võibolla oleks, aga kuna pole ise huvi tundnud, siis keegi ei ole ka küsinud.
  - Ma ei ole konkreetseid muresid konkreetse arenduse suhtes väljendanud.
6. **Kas oled olnud seotud „Saare Wind Energy“ meretuulepargi rajamise projekti menetlusega? Kuidas olid seotud? Mis oli sinu roll?**
- Ma ei ole selle projekti menetlemisega seotud.
  - ei ole
  - Ei ole seotud.
  - Ei ole seotud.
  - Ei
  - Ei
  - Lõin kaasa aruteludes.
  - ei
  - Ei.
7. **Kas usaldad projekti menetlust? Kas tunned, et projekti menetlus on õiguspärane ja õiglane? Miks sa nii tunned?**
- Ei oska vastata, kuna pole menetlusosaline.
  - usaldan pigem
  - Ilmselt ei ole kõik õiguspärane, kuid see on nii tavaline meie riigis.
  - On kaheldised mõtted. Kahtlusi on, et EL rahad on suured ahvatlejad, kui siin rahastuses on muutusi (pigem vähem kui rohkem), mis siis saab kui projekt pooleli jääb, suur osa nõ ülessongitud ja ..... Kus tuleb ja leitakse maapealne "baas", materjalide hoidmine, transport laevaga/millise? tuulepargi püstitamise kohta. Tõtatakse saarlastele töökohti, aga ärihuvid leiavad lähimad ja parimad kohad ja see ei pruugi Saaremaa olla. Igal juhul tundub mulle, et segaseid lahendamist vajavaid probleeme on palju. Tööjõu kompetentsus, tehnika, kuidas elekter posti otsast maale jõuab jne.
  - Ei. Pole kohalikega piisavalt arvestatud
  - Pigem mitte. Just seetõttu, et avalikkuse arvamust on vähe küsitud.
  - Väga usaldan, kõik on aus ja korrektne.
  - pole põhjust mitte usaldada.
  - Seisukoht puudub.
8. **Mida arvavad teised inimesed ja kogukonna sidusrühmad meretuulepargi arendamisest?**
- Sõrve kogukond on kindlalt tuulepargi ehitamise vastu, aga olen kuulnud ka arendustegevust pooldavaid arvamusi.
  - emotsionaalselt võidakse olla vastu

- c. Erinevad arvamused, osad poolt, osad vastu.
- d. Pole palju juttu olnud, aga siit sealt pigem negatiivsed hoiakud. Hiigelprojektide vastu on pigem juba NL ajast pessimism ega suurushullustus alati head ei tähenda.
- e. Ei meeldi see mõte kellegile.
- f. Pigem ollakse negatiivselt meelestatud, kuna ei ole teada kuidas see mereelanikke mõjutab. Kohalik elanik on aga sõltuv merest ja merest saadavast toidust.
- g. Väga ootavad ja kiidavad.
- h. Tean, et on inimesi, kes käivad paatidega merel kala püüdmast ja neile tuulepargid kohe üldse ei meeldi.
- i. Konkreetse tuulepargi osas ei tea arvamusi. Aga üldiselt, lisaks ülal mainitud merevaate nautlejatele, on muresid väljendanud ka kalandussektori inimesed. Samuti on mõned võimul olevad poliitikud deklareerinud vastuseisu puhtalt selle pärast, kui meretuuleparkidega ei kaasne rahalisi kompensatsioone ja/või alajaama ehitamist Saaremaale. Võib arvata, et kogukonnad suhtuvad positiivsemalt, kui neile pakkuda osalusi/finantskompensatsiooni.

**9. Kas teised inimesed ja kogukonna sidusrühmad nõustuksid sinu seisukohaga huvide ja murede piisava arvesse võtmise kohta?**

- a. Inimestel on erinevad arvamused, mina ei suuda kindlatel seisukohtadel olevaid inimesi mõjutada.
- b. ma arvan, et kui nad mõtleksid, pigem pooldaksid, tunnetades energiapuuduse puudujääki
- c. Ei ole kindel
- d. Hetkel ei oska selle kohta midagi öelda, siin peab asjatundlikku infot jagama hakkama, et saaks seisukohta kujundada.
- e. Jah
- f. Jah
- g. Minul ega sidusrühmadel pole mingeid muresid, kõik on hästi.
- h. Ei oska arvata.
- i. Ei ole vastavat uuringut teinud.

**10. Mis rollid on sinu teada olnud teistel inimestel ja kogukonna sidusrühmadel antud menetluses ja kuidas on see neid mõjutanud?**

- a. Sõrves võitlevad tuulepargi rajamise vastu kogukonna võtmeisikud, kes on tuntud kogu Eestis. Arendustegevust on neile küll tutvustatud, aga arvan, et mitte eriti põhjalikult.
- b. ei ole teadlik
- c. Ei tea
- d. Isiklikult ei tea ega tunne neid inimesi konkreetselt.
- e. Ei tea et oleks olnud seotud
- f. Ei oska öelda
- g. Inimesed takistavad progressi ja virisevad ülemääraselt, seda pole vaja.
- h. Ei oska vastata.
- i. Ei tea konkreetse arenduse osas. Üldiselt on aktiivselt tegutsenud Saaremaa Arenduskeskus.

**11. Kas teised inimesed ja kogukonna sidusrühmad nõustuksid sinu vaadetega menetluse usaldusväarsusele, õiguspärasusele ja õiglusele?**

- a. Ei, ma ei ole arvamusi liider.
- b. pigem jah

- c. Ilmselt küll
- d. Ei tea teiste arvamusi, teadmisi teema kohta.
- e. Ilmselt küll
- f. Usun küll
- g. Jah kindlasti, kui vingumise asemel mõistuse sisse lülitaksid.
- h. Ei oska vastata.
- i. Ei tea.

**12. Mida täpselt tuleks „Saare Wind Energy“ projekti menetluses muuta? Kas on tingimusi, mis muudaksid olukorra aktsepteeritavamaks?**

- a. Ma ei ole menetlusega seotud ega piisavalt teadlik. Inimesi hirmutab arendustegevuse maht - väga suured tuulikud, millede kogus on ehmatavalt suur. Teada on, et arendustegevuse käigus rikastuvad suurkompaniid (nende rikkuritest omanikud), kellel on nagoonii sadades kordades paremad elutingimused kui lihtsatel saarlastel. Kohalik kogukond saab ainult tuulikutega risustatud silmapiiri, negatiivselt mõjutatud kalavarud ja looduskeskkonna. Räägitakse küll töökohtade loomisest teenindussadamasse, aga on ju selge, et parim koht selle sadama rajamiseks on Ventspils.
- b. meedias, kogukonnas tutvustamisi
- c. Tuua enam näiteid tuuleparkide ja kogukonna probleemideta toimimise kohta.
- d. Visuaalse pildi järgi tuleb tuulepark Lääne Saaremaa rannikumerre, looduse muutmise ja selline allutamine on hetkel teemana vastuvõetamatu. Peaks ikkagi infot olema seisukoha kujundamiseks. Mõni artikkel ajakirjanduses, ei oska muud kui õlgu kehitada. Tunne on, et teemaga tegeletakse, aga üle kogukonna peade, kuskil kaugel ja kõrgel.
- e. Ehitage sinna kus ei toimu kalandus. Ja ei riiva silma. Läänemeri on suur ja lai
- f. Arvan, et see tuulepark on üldse valesse kohta kavandatud.
- g. Kõik on hästi, laske tööstusel tegutseda ja tuulepargil sündida, aitab mõtetust vastandumisest.
- h. Ei tea
- i. Ei oska ja ei soovi konkreetset arendust kommenteerida.

**13. Kas kavatsed midagi ette võtta, et sinu huve ja muresid arvestataks? Kas tead mõnda teemaga tegelevat kohaliku kogukonna organisatsiooni või tegevusgrupp? Mis on nende seisukohad ja mida on nad ette võtnud?**

- a. Ei kavatse otseselt tegutseda. Sõrve kogukond tegutseb tuulepargi rajamise vastu.
- b. pigem mitte
- c. Ei tea
- d. Siia kulub ära ütlemine: " pole küll minu asi teada, aga teada tahaks küll..." Olen pigem mereajaloo- ja kultuuriga tegelev inimene, mistõttu rahadest, äridest, ärihuvidest jm sarnasest suurt midagi ei tea.
- e. Üks mees ei tee siin midagi ära. Projekt on otsustajatele liiga tulus
- f. Jah, kavatsen ette võtta. Ühtegi organisatsiooni ei tea.
- g. Loodan, et tuulepark sünnib ja kavatsen selle vastaseid avalikult kritiseerida.
- h. –
- i. Ise kavatsen panustada läbi kavandatava Saaremaa valla energiamajanduse arengukava ja oma piirkonna osavallakogu töö. See töö on alles algamas.



## E.2. Translated response (English)

I work in the (choose 1 or more):

- a. Service sector (civil services, shops and facilities not directly related to tourism)
- b. Tourism sector (hotels, touristic attractions, souvenir shops, etc.)
- c. Other
- d. Other
- e. Service sector (civil services, shops and facilities not directly related to tourism)
- f. Other
- g. Other
- h. Other
- i. Other

**1. What does the local seascape mean for you? How is this incorporated in your daily life in both your work and your private life?**

- a. Crucially, I enjoy every opportunity. Every day I see the sea to a small extent on the way to work, in summer I go swimming and enjoying the sea almost every day.
- b. I don't look at the sea on a daily basis, but in the hustle and bustle of romance
- c. At work the sea can be seen almost from the window, at home the sea is 1.5 km away.
- d. Clean beaches and swimming areas, the opportunity to visit the seashore, ie an emotional and individual leisure activity. On the other hand, everything related to ports, fishing, sailing, freight and passenger transport. People who get a job at sea and that connection to the sea is a way of life.
- e. I live and grew up 500m from the beach. I walk or drive every day. So it is very important.
- f. Since my work and my private life are largely related to nature, the local sea view means a natural sea to me, with sea birds and animals and foaming waves.
- g. It doesn't mean anything
- h. The sea view has been a part of my life since I was a child.
- i. For me, sea views are simply an emotional asset. I have always preferred to live close to the sea, although I may not have visual contact with the sea. This does not mean that offshore winds cannot be part of the view.

**2. What aspects of the seascape do you think are important? Why is this the case, and for whom do you think these aspects are particularly important?**

- a. Space, distant ceiling horizon (which widens the soul), interesting colors-moods, etc. I think that the sea is important for everyone at some point. It is easier to breathe near the sea, it reduces stress, creates mood ...
- b. to keep the sea clean, not polluted. So that access to the seaside is free
- c. I have lived in Saaremaa all my life, the sea is a part of me. The sea is especially important for the islanders.
- d. Opportunity to listen to the waves or the smooth sea at sunrise or sunset. Pure nature, not artificial objects. Especially important for local people, the tourism industry, jobs following eco-rules.
- e. Important for locals who grew up there. Important for tourists who may find themselves once, important for fishermen who are harassed by the authorities at any opportunity.
- f. I think the sea view is important for everyone. Everything inherent in nature is what calms and caresses the senses.
- g. The sea view is not important to anyone

- h. The sea view is important for everyone who visits the sea. This is the view of freedom.
  - i. Rather, marine air and climate are important to me. I think that the sea view is most important for people living right by the sea and for tourists walking along the coast.
- 3. From your point of view, how does the development of an OWF influence this local seascape? Why do you think about it that way? How are you yourself impacted?**
- a. I was in the Netherlands for several months in the early 1990s, where the onshore wind farm was shown with great admiration. We lived in families, one of which had a big windmill in the yard and they were very happy with it. There have been windmills in Virtsu for years, which does not bother me. It's more nice when they start to come out of the mainland - home is approaching. Of course, they can disturb the locals because they are relatively close to housing. At the moment, I'm not affected by the windmills. The development of the wind farm in the Soela Strait, near which I live, has probably been stopped.
  - b. who still looks at this horizon so much, I imagine that 1 km of shore should be free
  - c. You would probably get used to this view, we need electricity.
  - d. Not imaginable, not visually pleasing. On the other hand, how it affects local bird and marine life, fish and other environments. As the pollution occurs during the construction, it is probably necessary to ram the support posts, to fix and build large giant monsters on the seabed. If the technology becomes obsolete after a while, will anyone be able to clean it up from the sea or will it pollute nature for centuries. It is not known when the budget, expenses, revenues will pay off, how big is the effect.
  - e. Pollutes the view and makes noise. I have encountered them in other parts of the island.
  - f. Building an offshore wind farm would upset the balance. And both visually and invisibly. An offshore wind farm is not something that is "beautiful to look at".
  - g. Not affected at all
  - h. I am not personally affected, as it will not interfere with my childhood sea views.
  - i. The windmills are obviously visible from the coast. I do not feel affected.
- 4. Were you aware of the potential development of the "Saare Wind Energy" OWF in the southwest of Saaremaa? How did you know?**
- a. I am aware - through the press and as an employee of Saaremaa municipality.
  - b. not very familiar
  - c. I've heard the media.
  - d. I have also heard some arguments for and against. Through the press, he has not researched the subject himself.
  - e. I don't know the name. Just trying to push them through.
  - f. Yes. Through newspapers, television and social media.
  - g. From the press
  - h. I have heard, but not deepened.
  - i. I know that there are many developments under way. It is not known exactly who is developing and where. I am active in the energy sector.
- 5. During the project process so far, do you feel your interests in and/or concerns about the development of the "Saare Wind Energy" OWF are sufficiently taken into account? Why do you think so?**
- a. I am not involved in this project.
  - b. i believe the law regulates this.
  - c. There is no opposition to the establishment of a park.
  - d. Initially, he has no personal interests because electricity is available. If the opposite could be then the mindset will change.

- e. No, no one has asked me anything before. It seems that the desire for profit in a narrow circle again outweighs the wishes of the locals
  - f. It seems to me that the interests of any local people have not yet been studied and taken into account.
  - g. It has been taken into account. The procedure is carried out in a professional manner
  - h. If I were interested, maybe I would, but since I haven't been interested, no one has asked.
  - i. I have not expressed any specific concerns about specific developments.
- 6. Have you been involved in the project process of the Saare Wind Energy development project? What was your role? How were you involved?**
- a. I am not involved in this project.
  - b. I have not
  - c. Not applicable
  - d. Not applicable
  - e. No
  - f. No
  - g. I took part in the discussions
  - h. No
  - i. No
- 7. Do you trust the project process? Do you feel the project process is legitimate and fair? Why do you feel about it that way?**
- a. I can't answer because I'm not a party to the proceedings.
  - b. Rather yes
  - c. Obviously, not everything is legal, but it is so common in our country.
  - d. There are doubtful thoughts. It is doubtful that EU money will be a big temptation if there is a change (rather less than more) in this funding, which will happen if the project is left unfinished, a large part of the so-called uproar and ..... Where the terrestrial "base" storage, transport by ship / which one? on the construction of a wind farm. Jobs are being created for the islanders, but business interests find the nearest and best places, and this may not be the case for Saaremaa. In any case, it seems to me that there are many problems that need to be solved. Competence of the workforce, technique of how electricity reaches the country from the post, etc.
  - e. No. Not enough of the locals
  - f. Rather not. Precisely because little public opinion has been sought.
  - g. I am very confident, everything is honest and correct.
  - h. there is no reason not to trust.
  - i. No position
- 8. What do other people and stakeholders within the community think about the development of the OWF?**
- a. The Sõrve community is firmly opposed to building a wind farm, but I have also heard opinions in favor of development.
  - b. emotionally may be opposed
  - c. Different opinions, some in favor, some against.
  - d. There hasn't been much talk, but there are rather negative attitudes. Rather, pessimism and craze for size have not always been good for giant projects since the NL era.
  - e. Nobody likes the idea.
  - f. Rather, there is a negative attitude because it is not known how this will affect the marine population. However, the local population is dependent on the sea and food from the sea.
  - g. Very looking forward and praise.

- h. I know that there are people who go fishing at sea in boats and they don't like wind farms at all.
  - i. There are no opinions about a specific wind farm. But in general, in addition to the sea-viewers mentioned above, concerns have also been expressed by people in the fisheries sector. Some politicians in power have also declared their opposition purely because offshore wind farms do not involve financial compensation and / or the construction of a substation in Saaremaa. Communities can be expected to be more positive than being offered participation / financial compensation.
- 9. *Would other people and stakeholders agree with you on the point about if these interests/concerns are taken into account sufficiently?***
- a. People have different opinions, I cannot influence people with certain views.
  - b. I think that if they thought, they would be more supportive, given the lack of energy capacity
  - c. Not sure
  - d. At the moment, I can't say anything about it, we have to start sharing expert information here in order to be able to form a position.
  - e. Yes
  - f. Yes
  - g. Neither I nor my stakeholders have any concerns, all is well.
  - h. Can't guess.
  - i. No such study has been performed.
- 10. *What have the roles of other people and stakeholders that you know been in this process and how are they impacted?***
- a. In Sõrve, key people in the community who are known throughout Estonia are fighting against the construction of a wind farm. They have been introduced to development activities, but I do not think they have been very thorough.
  - b. I am not aware
  - c. I don't know
  - d. I personally do not know or know these people specifically.
  - e. I don't know if they were involved
  - f. Hard to say
  - g. People hinder progress and whine excessively, it is not necessary.
  - h. Can't answer
  - i. Don't know about a specific development. In general, Saaremaa Arenduskeskus has been active.
- 11. *Would other people and stakeholders agree with your view on the trust, legitimacy and fairness of the process?***
- a. No, I'm not an opinion leader.
  - b. Rather yes
  - c. Probably
  - d. I don't know the opinions of others or the knowledge of the topic
  - e. Probably
  - f. I believe so
  - g. Yes, if you turned your mind on instead of whining.
  - h. Can't answer
  - i. Do not know

**12. What exactly should change in the project process of the Saare Wind Energy initiative? Are there conditions that would make the situation more acceptable?**

- a. I am not involved in the proceedings or I am not sufficiently aware. People are intimidated by the volume of development - very large wind turbines, the number of which is startlingly large. It is known that in the course of development activities, large companies (the owners of their riches) get rich, who already have hundreds of times better living conditions than ordinary islanders. The local community only gets the horizon littered with wind, negatively affected fish stocks and the natural environment. There is talk of creating jobs in the service port, but it is clear that the best place to build this port is Ventspils.
- b. media, community promotions
- c. Give more examples of how wind farms and the community work without problems.
- d. According to the visual image, the wind farm is coming to the coastal sea of Western Saaremaa, changing nature and such subjugation is currently unacceptable as a topic. There should still be information to shape the position. Some articles in the press know nothing but shrug. There is a feeling that the issue is being addressed, but beyond the heads of the community, somewhere far and high.
- e. Build where there is no fishing. And does not hurt the eye. The Baltic Sea is large and wide
- f. I think this wind farm is in the wrong place at all.
- g. All is well, let the industry operate and the wind farm is born, it helps with pointless confrontation.
- h. Do not know
- i. Can't and don't want to comment on a specific development.

**13. Do you take action to make sure your interests and/or concerns are taken into account? Do you happen to know any action groups within the community that organise themselves? What are their arguments and how do they take action?**

- a. Not going to act directly. The Sõrve community is working against the construction of a wind farm.
- b. Rather not
- c. Do not know
- d. This is where the saying goes: "I don't know what I want to know, but I do want to know ..." I'm more of a person involved in maritime history and culture, so I don't know much about money, business, business interests, etc.
- e. One man is not doing anything here. The project is too profitable for decision-makers
- f. Yes, I'm going to do it. I don't know any organizations.
- g. I hope that the wind farm will be born and I will openly criticize its opponents.
- h. –
- i. I myself intend to contribute through the planned energy management development plan of Saaremaa municipality and the work of the county council of my region. This work is just beginning.