



Case 12: Cap Eole wind project

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Cultural Influences on Renewable Energy Acceptance and Tools for the development of communication strategies to promote ACCEPTANCE among key actor groups

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Contents

1.	Introduction	3
2.	Country overview: from the EOLE 2005 experiment to the Renewable energy policy framework	3
3.	Summary: CAPEOLE - ALBI CASE - Linking the past and the future of Carmaux coal mines	4
4.	STEP ONE: Possible futures	5
5.	STEP TWO: Varieties of expectations	6
	5.1.1 Institutional actors	7
6.	STEP THREE: Understanding the participation process	11
	6.1.1 Planning permission application filed in Le Garric	11
	6.1.2 Public inquiry	12
7.	STEP FOUR: Realities - The new administrative procedure questioned. Albi City raises its case	13
8.	Lessons learned	20
	References	23
	List of interviewee	23
	Documents	24

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1. Introduction

This case study exposes one particularly enlightening experience of wind plant planning in the local context of the city of Albi. More precisely, CapEole is a project of wind plant as part of a local development plan for the Carmaux area, a highland spot 8km North of the 50 000 habitants city of Albi. So the energy project is part of a wider initiative of industrial revival.

Since 1996, France has set an ambitious and voluntary wind energy policy (see Create Acceptance Case - EOLE 2005). This case exposes some of the difficulties and contradictions of the French National Energy Policy when implemented at a local level. Although France is characterised by a large number of 'local resistance' to wind plants planning, we would not claim that Albi case be representative of the French situation. Our view is that actors interplay as well as local institutions and history generates a variety of situations that sometimes lead to working plant and sometimes to blocking the project, Albi being particularly exemplary as it points to the paradox of the French 'Top down' regulated Policy. This situation is in other words general but not generic: we are not aware of any situation in which even successful wind plants were built without some local opposition, and each case presents important singularities.

So what the Capeole- Albi case shows we hope with some accuracy is how local actors play with the rules and technology set at the national or international levels, whatever the rules accuracy. It is our common claim, in Create Acceptance, that local actor's have to reinvent the technology to make sense of it and adapt it locally, as was clearly theorized by Akrich and al (Akrich & al 1988). Albi is then a good illustration of these reinvention mechanisms. It shows in detail, how actors interpret and play with the national agendas and rules set by the Government according to their own rationale, history and interactions (Reynaud 1988). In Albi, they appropriated the general framework and transpose them into the richness of their local culture, institutions and actors interplay.

2. Country overview: from the EOLE 2005 experiment to the Renewable energy policy framework

Wind energy is enjoying an extraordinary development world wide, particularly in Europe. The first oil shock constituted an important incentive for early investment, and a favourable cocktail of public support and market opportunity in California allowed for a young wind mill industry to emerge, notably in Denmark. Scaling up was an industrial and economic imperative. This first wave of investment open the way to the technical development of large wind turbine, an obligatory passage point towards industrial electrical wind farms (Shove et alii 2000, Gipe 1995).

Main technological questions being solved, the end of the eighties witnessed a counter oil shock that made it rather uneconomical to install wind farms. Long term concerns and favourable local contexts drove a few European countries to encourage the birth of the industry. So at the end of the 1990s, when new tensions occurred on the oil market, large industrial wind farms profitability was within reach and massive dissemination of the technology started.

In 1996, positively impressed by its German and Spanish neighbours, the French Government decided to join the pack and set a voluntary and ambitious investment program called EOLE 2005 (for more information on the country context and policy, see the EOLE 2005 case). But with 'full- nuclear oriented' EDF as a negotiator for the energy prices, a number of very inexperienced local actors, and with little of no regulation about local implantation of wind farms, the EOLE 2005 did not perform particularly well in terms of its industrial objectives, and ended up

in raising a strong resistance to the technology, although important learning were made, particularly though the active role of the National Energy Management Agency (ADEME) and a few voluntary local authority (like some Brittany and Languedoc Prefectures) who together started to devise a number of necessary conditions and rules for successful local implantation including participation concerns (see EOLE 2005 for further details and discussion).

Aiming at the recently translated Kyoto protocol, the French Government was willing to accelerate wind development in France at the turn of the 2000. In 2001 and 2003 a new national policy framework was established, taking a number of EOLE 2005 lessons on board.

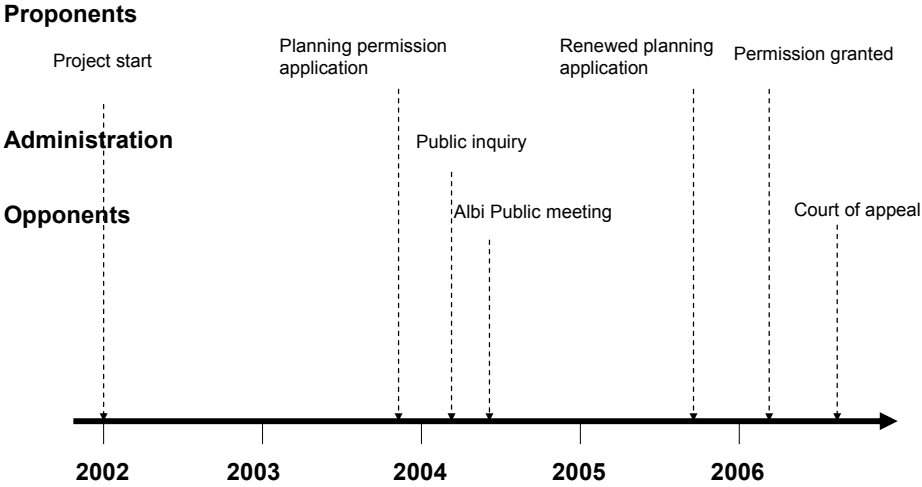
A new feed in tariff considered very favourable was determined and fixed. The local State representatives (Prefet) were mandated as the persons in charge of local application of rules and arbitrations, and a clear policy message in favour of wind energy was sent to them. Finally, a new procedure and regulatory framework was devised to ease the local implantation of wind farms, including mandatory environmental impact assessment and public participation.

Our main focus in this paper will be the particular case of Albi Cap Eole, as case illustrating how local actors interpreted and seized this brand new national policy framework to fit with their local stakes and context.

3. Summary: CAPEOLE - ALBI CASE - Linking the past and the future of Carmaux coal mines

The Carmaux project was born in 2002, almost simultaneously with the emergence of the French renewable energy policy framework. A small Toulouse based consulting company, Abo Wind build the project and after a well rounded consultation of key local actors filed a planning permission at the Tarn Prefecture.

The project of a small 5 turbines farm was actually embedded in a much wider and ambitious project of industrial revival for the Carmaux mining area. The vision of National Deputy M. Quilès, was to rapidly transform the mine area into an amusement park, Cap Discovery, that would attract tourism and provide new source of employment for the Carmauxshire citizen. Cap Eole was then to become a symbolic side of the park, the symbol of the Carmauxshire determination to step from the industrial past of coal mining into the future of energy, namely wind and renewable energy.



4. STEP ONE: Possible futures

Carmaux is a historical French coal mine located near the 50 000 peopled city of Albi. In the XIXth century, the coal mine, the associated railway and the close glass factory became national symbols of the French industrialisation. They became famous in good part due to social conflicts, and the involvement of one of the major founder of the current socialist party, a left side character in France, Jean Jaurès, a university professor in Toulouse, who took side with the workers during the important 1892 strike, the creation of a worker glass factory in Albi, and supported a more social view of capitalism. But like many coal mines in France, Carmaux mine became uneconomical in the 1980ties and despite considerable investments by the State to try to improve its productivity (establishing an open-air mine in 1985), it had to be shut down in 1997.

One of the key figures of the project promotion is Deputy Paul Quilès. Formed in the highest standard French school of engineering, Polytechnique, he was a prominent national politician figure in the 1980ties, then a close counsellor of left side President François Mitterrand, and 6 time minister from 1983 to 1993¹. When right side President Chirac took over, he was offered a traditional left side election ward by the Socialist Party, in Albi-Carmaux, where he is a deputy to the French Parliament since 1993. At the French Parliament, he became the President of the parliamentary commission for 'Energy and geopolitics'.

M. Quilès then imagined an ambitious project of transformation of the area into a theme park called '*Cap discovery*' including sport and leisure activities and a museum of the mine. On the energy side of cap discovery (coal mine museum, water electricity) the project soon included the idea of '*Cap Eole*', a wind farm of 5 turbines that would represent the renewal of the energy tradition in Carmaux and a link from the past to the future. In 2000, M. Quilès mandated an important French group for electricity infrastructure, Amec-Spie to reflect on the wind farm project. But the team was not experienced enough and the project did not take off.

The project did actually take off when a project manager specialised in wind farm engineering, Benoît Praderie, who just created a small company in Toulouse, ABO Wind, as an affiliate of a larger German wind energy firm, took over. Once a high potential manager at Framatome (nuclear energy) after graduating from the highest standard French school of engineering, he very soon became an advocate of the industrial development of wind energies, (even when still at Framatome). Actively involved in wind energy and its promotion, he is a board member of the French Wind Energy Association and director the the French Renewable Industry Federation.

Just established in the Midi Pyrénées region, Benoit Praderie was prospecting for possible areas for wind farming when he discovered the existence of the Carmaux Cap Découverte project. He thought of Cap Decouverte as the perfect place for a first project in the region, since the Wind farm would not only be a wind farm, but also be part of the societal transition project. It would benefit from '*the rich industrial and social history of the area. It (will be) naturally embedded in the economic strategy of re-development of the Carmauxshire, and naturally build upon the creation of Cap discovery. It will enrich the content of the discovery project regarding the linkage of energies of the past to energies of the future as well as offer a visual attraction for the theme park*'. A rapid consultation of the local mayors of the 6 communes (mine area), Department representatives, and relevant administrations confirmed the local support to the project and convinced Abo Wind to file a planning permission on the 2nd of December 2003 for a wind farm of 5 2MW-turbines 100 meters high.

The Inter-communal Union of the Discovery (**SID**) was created in 1997. Six communes sharing a common mining history jointly created this union to establish governance over the economic re-deployment project, Cap discovery. M. Quilès served as a president for a number of years.

¹ Being ministre of Urbanism and housing, of Défense, of Telecommunications, of Equipement and of l'Interior affairs.

SID mission is to encourage the economic and social development of this area strongly impacted by the shutting down of a historical mining activity. One of the founding communes, Le Garric, provided the place for farm implantation (known as Lentin's slag heap). Together with the Regional Council (Midi Pyrenees) and the Departmental Council (Tarn), they formed the Mix Union of local planning in 2000 (SMAD), an investment structure in charge of founding and building the necessary infrastructures.

5. STEP TWO: Varieties of expectations

One notable fact regards the silence/ non involvement of 'usual' or systematic opponents to wind energy in this case. At the national level, winds of anger (vents de colère), the federation of associations opposing wind energy, or at the regional level Awakening (Reveillh) an association of the high Languedoc very active in several Tarn district projects (in the breathtaking landscape of the black mountain) were both absent.

Residents and neighbours are presented as favourable to Cap Eole. A survey performed by university students for Abo Wind displays a 69,9% positive opinions in the 46 surrounding villages which seem to considerably support this view. It does not mean that residents and neighbours unanimously supported the project. It does not mean either that no questions or anxiety were raised by the wind farm perspective. And indeed, the public inquiry revealed a number of problems raised by local residents: some very close neighbour expressed anxiety about the noise, health consequences, many cared about possible visual impact on their homes. In the nearby commune of Taïx, potentially the most affected visually by the turbines, the mayor and local representative voted against the project. However, according to the public inquirer, it was very much business as usual, as no project receives a 100% agreement according to his experience, and he finally gave a positive advice for the project as he did not see any tangible enough argument against it.

The Mayor of Albi, lawyer by profession, (the nearby 47 800 habitants city - 8km south of Carmaux). A young right side deputy at the French Parliament from 1993 to 1997, he resigned his position to become a mayor and 'get fully involved' in his beloved city of Albi and its development. Although of relatively small size by today's standard, Albi used to be an important commercial city, and possesses a large and well preserved historical centre, an heritage of the late middle age (XV & XVIth C.) when the city was one of the very prosperous in western Europe thanks to the pastel (Isatis Tinctoria), a natural blue dye, produced and exported all over Europe to the best master dry cleaners. Based on the renovation of the centre and the Toulouse-Lautrec museum particularly reknown in Japan, the dynamic mayor intends to extend the touristic attractivity of Albi, and he applied for the world heritage label of the UNESCO. When he discovered the Cap Eole plan by the newspaper, the mayor soon felt that it could represent a threat to Albi's touristic hopes - as the wind farm location was on the northern cliff overhanging Albi- , and took umbrage not to have been consulted in anyway. He became one of the leading opponents to Cap Eole.

Safeguard the Old Alby (Sauvegarde du Vieil Alby) is a local association, the most important in Albi with almost 600 members. Its members extent way beyond Albi residents and it is a well known and legitimate association in the city of Albi and in the region. Its mission is to preserve and enlarge the reputation of the historical Albi centre (guided tours, exhibitions, lobbying). Presided by a member of the board of an important local bank, its members are history enthusiasts and connoisseurs. When they discovered the Cap Eole project, mostly during the Albi public meeting, they started to fear that the wind turbines would be visible from a number of important historical spots, and therefore depreciate the cultural value of the historical centre by spoiling a number of sceneries. The 'Lentin fault' (verse de Lentin) is clearly visible from Albi and

part of its landscape. Preserve the Old Alby is the leading association opposing to Cap Eole. It instituted an appeal proceeding against the planning permission granted to the wind farm.

Protecting Le Garric environment (Protection de l'environnement du Garric) is a newly created association. Involving mainly its president, who created the association to fight the Cap Eole project (it was created right after the planning permission was obtained), and more widely the almost 10 years of Cap Discovery overall 'waste'. Local entrepreneur in mechanics, native of the area, the president is getting more involved in the local Carmaux area political activities. In this traditionally left sided area, he feels it is the right time, with this one-of-too-much-unrealistic project disconnected from the local environment and the local people, to represent an alternative and to come back to more reasonable and local-bottom-up-style public management in the Carmaux area. The association joined the Old Alby one to file an appeal at the administrative court against the planning permission.

Safeguard houses and landscape of the Tarn (Sauvegarde des Maisons et Paysages du Tarn) is an association concerned with preserving the landscape and the most remarkable buildings of the district. Close in spirit to the well represented cultural heritage associations, and the powerful network of the Architects of the French Building (representative of the ministry of Culture in each department), it is also close to the nature preservation side of environmental associations. And indeed, the very active president of this association is the member of numerous environment and cultural heritage commissions and associations (like the newly created Commission of the cultural heritage and landscapes since 1997). It was very much involved against a wind farm project in the village of Sauveterre close to three classified castles of the black mountain and was happy to defeat the project manager. For the highly educated president, wind energy is not bad as such, but like many industrial or commercial projects in the modern times, its implantation needs to be planned and organised in a less chaotic way. More generally, he feels revolted that because of their ignorance or cynism, or because of financial rationality, real geological, historical and cultural treasures get destroyed like in the Avignonet and Lauraguet example. In Carmaux, he recognises that the project will not destroy any valuable landscape or heritage, so it is not a major issue - as Sauveterre was- for this association. But he feels close to the position of the Old Alby, of which he also is a member. When he realised that the two other associations were going to appeal, he decided to support them.

5.1.1 Institutional actors

As was seen in a previous document (Create Acceptance Eole 2005 Case study), the regulation framing the installation of a wind farm in France importantly evolved since 1995, from almost inexistent to an elaborated and documented procedure with the addition of two new laws of 2001 and 2003 (See box 1). The procedure in itself is not the subject of this paper, but it has strong implications as regards the question of acceptance: we suggest to consider the procedure as an effort to frame collective action through the establishment of a common convention. And indeed, the more experience was gained with wind energy, the more the societal context was taken into consideration (addition of the impact study, addition of the public inquiry), and the more a clear line of action was given to (sometimes inexperienced) local actors to shape the negotiation process in a participative manner. Hence the regulated intervention of a number of institutional actors, the participation of which was programmed by the law.

The importance of this regulatory and policy framework, and central the role of the local actors that did interpret it is the reason why we decided to include an additional section in the Albi case as compared with the other Create Acceptance ones.

Table 5.1 *Main line of the evolution of the regulatory procedure for wind turbines in France*

Before 2001	Since 2001 and extended in 2003 (Law n° 2003-590, 2 juillet 2003)	Since 2005 (Pope Law)
<p>No tariff but tender to EDF in EOLE 2005</p> <p>No planning permission required but a simple 'previous work declaration'</p> <p>Mayors as well as 'prefet de Département' (departmental district State representative) did provide authorizations</p>	<p>Fixed feed in Tariff</p> <p>Planning permission required for large wind turbines (over 12 m.) then for wind turbines over 2,5 MW</p> <p>Prefet became the only reference point for planning permission (due to electricity production and possible environmental threat). Environmental impact study (Art. 2 de la loi n° 76-629 du 10 juillet 1976) and public inquiry (regulated since 1998?) become mandatory.</p> <p>Prefet consults Diren, DDE, DDAF, SDAP, Commission des sites</p> <p>DRIRE certificate must be obtained to benefit tariffs. Grid access must be obtained from RTE.</p> <p>Transformer must be included in the installation before connection to the grid</p>	<p>ZDE - concerted wind development area</p> <p>Investments must be coordinated and locations seized in areas of interest defined by local authorities. They should be included into a regional development plan.</p>

The 'Préfet de département' (departmental district State representative), has been designated as the only actor in charge of the planning permission delivery for wind farms. Considering the opposition to the wind energy that emerged in France, it became a fussy task. Nominated by the French President, on proposition by the Prime Minister and the Minister of interior affairs, he is the local (about 90 Departments and 22 regions in France) representative of the State - sovereignty, authority, civil peace - and the government - coordinates local representation of the ministries (controls most delocalised State services except justice, military and education) and applies public policy.

In this case, two different Préfets have succeeded to one another during the relevant period (2001 until 2007). Between 2001 and 2004, the first Préfet rejected systematically all wind energy projects (a matter of 'precautionary principle' according to one close colleague). His successor was much more open to wind energy, and was willing to follow the government directive, in favour of renewable energies. On its arrival, he established a 'wind pole', a task force composed of representatives of the different local State services, so that a) stakeholders and promoters have a unique and clear entry point for administrative matters and b) to increase the level of expertise and awareness about wind energy in the local administration.

When the Cap Eole application for a planing permission reached the Prefecture in December 2004, the regulation and the local administrative actors in charge of applying it were relatively prepared and opened to the investment project. And indeed, in February 2006, Abo wind was granted a planning permission regarding the Cap Eole wind farm.

The public inquiry auditor (Commissaire enquêteur) is a major figure of public consultation as regards urbanism in France. Named by the local Administrative Court (30 of them dispatched in

France), he/she is not a professional auditor but a nominated citizen. His mission consists in managing public inquiries as asked by the Préfet (for wind farms). Public inquiries are procedures used before authorisation or permission of significant civil engineering or physical planning that could affect the environment (Law 12th July 1983). Public inquiry stands for 'informing public and collect its appreciation, suggestion or counter-proposal' about a project after an impact study has been conducted to clarify the stake, the choices made, the implications. Fit with local life and environment is what is at stake.

The inquiry involves a number of different activities such as:

- Open days of duty for 'impact study documentation' disclosure and questions (documentation is provided by the prefecture and is mainly made of impact study as produced by the project manager).
- Collecting of for mails, petitions.
- Holding register for public observations.

In the case of the Cap Eole project, the commune in which the farm will be installed, Le Garric, opened its town hall for the Public Inquiry to unfold. The Public Inquiry was held between the 2d of February and the 4th of March 2004. The public Inquiry Auditor was a relatively newcomer and one of the first experience in the Departemental district.

The Commission of the cultural heritage and landscape is a consultative proceedings for the evaluation of possible impact of urban and civil engineering projects on the local archeological, historical and landscape heritage. Established in 1997 to help the Préfet, it is composed of a hybrid college of independent experts, associations representating the local stakeholders (environment and cultural heritage notably), public services, elected representatives. One important participant nominated in these commissions are the ABF French Building Architects (Architecte des Bâtiments de France, director of the SDAP service), a local representative of the Ministry of Culture. Their role is particularly important to preserve classified building and sites (classification is done by the SDAP and classified monuments - Monuments Historiques - are listed and submitted to very strict public control in terms of maintenance, change, selling). Not only is the monument protected here but its surroudings. One key concept is this of Co-visibility: any engineering of building that is visible from or with the historical monument is submitted to very strict rules (the limit being 500m.).

In the Cap Eole case, the Commission was consulted by the Préfet twice (to provide on advice on the planning permission) as the filing was renewed to include shorter turbines. Although the commission was not unanimous, its advice on Cap Eole was globally favourable.

Table 5.2 *The actors and their expectations*

Actors		Expectations	Audience
Concerned actors : they get mobilised for or against the project	Deputy Paul Quilès, president of the Parliament Commission on Energy and Geopolitics, director of SMAD	Promote renewable forms of energy in France in General, in Carmaux in particular as a new source of economic development (from coal to wind energy)	Carmaux Mines area inhabitants, Tarn Department citizen
	SID : inter-communal union	Economic Reconversion of the Carmaux area	Carmaux Mines inhabitants
	Abo Wind : project developer	Demonstrate its more participative methodology. Install Abo Wind as a reference wind promoter	Regional wind energy stakeholders; National wind energy stakeholders
	Albi Mayor	Develop his city. Preserve and develop cultural tourism in Albi by investing in its important cultural heritage. Obtain the UNESCO World Heritage label.	Albi citizen, Tarn elected representative
	Safeguard the old Alby	Maintain, value the cultural and historical Albi centre and its monuments	Culture and history lovers, cultural heritage tourists
	Safeguard houses and landscape of the Tarn	Preserve and protect Tarn cultural, historical and natural heritage.	Nature, culture and history lovers, Future generations
	Protecting Le Garric environment	Fight big expansive investment projects in Carmaux area (Cap Discovery). Raise an alternative political voice	Carmausin, Carmaux area citizen
Institutional actors	Préfet Decentralised State Services	Represent the State in the Tarn departemental district: sovereignty, authority, civil peace. Administrate/autorise wind energy planning permissions by coordinating and taking advise of the different decentralised State services and applying the regulatory procedure (impact study, public inquiry..). Apply government policy in favour of renewable energy.	Citizen, associations, State services, Government, elected representatives (département)
	Commission of the Cultural heritage and landscape	Provide a concerted advice on the landscape and cultural impact of civil engineering and physical planning projects to the Préfet. Help preserve remarkable landscapes and building.	Project managers & promoters, Préfet and the decentralised State services concerned
	The Public Inquiry Auditor	Carry out the Public Inquiry. Guarantee the representation of the different view points and provide a neutral advice on the polemical nature of the project and its feasibility to the Préfet.	Stakeholders (particularly neighbours), project managers, Préfet and decentralised State services concerned.

6. STEP THREE: Understanding the participation process

The first part was about situating the actors and the context in which Cap Eole was developed. The second part of this case deals with the process through which these different actors interacted and negotiated about the definition of the wind farm, and how these interactions finally ended up in a conflicting situation that blocked the project.

As we will see, when it started, the project very much complied with the framework of the newly established administrative procedure (Law of 2001 & 2003). ABO Wind was doing well with its concertative approach and the application of the procedure seemed to channel participation and conflicts properly (section one). But it was indeed like threading on thin ice, and at the moment the Albi mayor started to get involved, the procedure seem not to hold water anymore (section two). The new Préfet got personally involved to reinforce the procedure were it proved not efficient enough, and he finally publicly supported the project by delivering the planning permission to Abo wind (section three). The Préfet authority and the reinforced procedure of conciliation did however fail to pacify the debate and an action was taken against his decision at the administrative court (Section 4).

When the director of Abo Wind, first arrived in the Carmaux area in the fall 2002, Deputy Paul Quilès had already envisioned the idea of a wind farm that would symbolically link Carmaux past and future and decision makers were already prepared. Discussions even started with another project promoter, Amec Spie, a company specialised in energy facilities and engineering. A trip to visit a wind farm was organised for the local mayors. The decentralised public services were informally consulted to make sure that no major objection against the siting of a wind farm on the Carmaux slag heap was foreseen. The Eole 2005 very mitigated result (see Case Eole 2005) had made it clear that wind energy suffered a problem of acceptability in France when not managed properly. Although experienced with energy equipment and engineering, it was felt that Amec Spie was not very acquainted with wind project management.

As Abo Wind presented its own project during the summer 2003, insisting on the importance of the participation side, Deputy Quilès and the SMAD quickly adopted it. The two companies were requested to collaborate: Amec Spie would care about the equipment and connection part, and Abo Wind would be in charge of the general the project management. The next step was to apply the administrative procedure and to inform local citizen about the project, which was started on the 2nd of December 2003 as an official request was formulated to the Le Garric town hall.

6.1.1 Planning permission application filed in Le Garric

To get an autorisation in 2003, the procedure requested that the project manager submits an important technical document, in addition to the classical technical planning permission (including maps and turbine siting, cadastral map, architect plan, turbine blueprints, photomontage), called *Impact study on the environment* (Etude d'Impact sur l'Environnement). This 300 pages document, produced by a specialised consulting firm, describes in scientific and technical terms the 15 km area around the project (physical, biological and human dimensions), describes the project and its implantation, and evaluates the impact in terms of noise, soils, birds, flora, landscape of both the building and the functioning of the wind farm.

On the public information side, and in full agreement with Le Garric Municipal council, a public meeting was organised at Cap Discovery to inform citizens about the project on the 29th of January 2004. The Impact Study had shown that the mine area people, used to industrial and civil engineering projects, were rather favourable to the wind farm project. The meeting was successful (est 250 participants) and all kind of questions were asked, from the most general

(renewable energy, interest of wind energy) to the more specific (soil stability, wind resource in Lentin, landscape impact).

6.1.2 Public inquiry

In accordance with the administrative procedure (Law 2003-590 2d of July 2003 article 98 and inter-ministerial directive of 10th of septembre 2003), the Préfet was in charge of organizing a public inquiry (for any wind farm superior to 2,5 MW). The opening of the Public Inquiry was officially published in the local newspaper for the period from the 2d of February 2004 until the 4th of March the same year.

According to the Public Inquiry Auditor, in charge of its implementation, everything went well. People could consult the Impact Study and Planning Permission documents and ask further information during the permanence held by the auditor once a week for about a month. They studied the document first and then came with more accurate questions. In the end, a number of people stated their position for or against the project (even though, in the auditor's experience, opponent feel more compelled to express themselves than proponents in this kind of project). Some 19 000 people live in the Carmaux villages. 77 persons wrote a notice in the Auditor register, eleven have chosen to send a letter to him, and 252 have signed a petition (one for the Taix commune signed by 124, one for the Cagnac commune signed by 45, one for Le Garric signed by 83). In addition, Le Garric municipal council majoritarily accepted the project, and Taix municipal council unanimously rejected it.

Finally, the Public Inquiry Auditor formulated a detailed advice in favour of the project, considered as robust and sensible, recalling that renewable energy represented the future of energy. To address the most relevant questions rose during the inquiry, additional documentation and clarifications was to be furnished by the project manager to the public:

- on the noise impact for close neighbours (less than 400 meters distant notably),
- on the stability of the ground and the foundations,
- on birds and nesting,
- on the financial and ownership structure of the project.

The most difficult question however remained that of the visual impact of the wind farm during the day (landscape) and at night (flashes to prevent plane crashes). The planned size of the turbine, 100 meters high (plus 45 meters for the pale) generated a number of anxiety and questions related to the close (several houses in the 400 meters surrounding), mid-distant (Taix village at about 1000 meters) and distant neighbourhood (Albi at about 8 km). In the nearby village of Taix, situated just downhill the future wind farm, the municipality organised its own public meeting during the Public Inquiry on the 14th of February, claiming to feel concern although not officially associated to the project. Many of the residents felt threatened by the project (in terms of noise, view and land value). Nevertheless, the most active reaction came from the City of Albi, that also felt to have been unfairly left aside of the decision making, and that 'discovered the existence of the project in the newspaper'. The mayor of Albi, having its own development projects for its city in terms of cultural heritage and tourism, identified the future wind turbines situated on the Lentin Falt on the Northern hill overhanging the middle age city like a possible threat to the UNESCO labelling he was seeking for its city, and more generally a transformation of the Alby surrounding landscape that could not be decided without the agreement of the City.

In his conclusion, the Public Inquiry Auditor considered that the project was robust and supported by local elected representatives - the local opposition being considered relatively minor -. Provided some additional documentation, it should be granted a permission. After a complementary information had shown that the Cap Eole project could not affect UNESCO's decision regarding Albi, he concluded that the case was solved: *'indeed, the city of Albi (filed attached) did not like the idea of wind turbines in the landscape of the Episcopal area as it did just apply*

for the Human Heritage label of the UNESCO. This problem seems to be solved'. The procedure of concertation, he felt, had worked efficiently; the important question raised had found reasonable solutions. In his eyes, the administrative procedure could be closed by the delivery of the permission.

7. STEP FOUR: Realities - The new administrative procedure questioned. Albi City raises its case

Considered solved by the public inquiry auditor, the dissension with Albi city was actually far from closed. The mayor was absolutely not happy at the administrative procedure as it was implemented and very irritated not to have been associated to the negotiation process.

From the strict view of the procedure, project promoters and public inquirer had no obligation to particularly consult representative of the 8-Km distant-Alby city. Indeed, although public concertation was entrenched in the law code of 2003 through the obligation to perform a public inquiry, the text remained loose as regards the choice of actors who had to be consulted and informed. '*Notice of the public inquiry as well as register keeping must occur in the commune or the communes in which the wind farm will be established. It could be useful to enlarge this information to communes where environmental impacts are detectable. Advertisement of public meeting could also be made in all these communes.*' (Application decree for the Law of the 3d of July 2003).

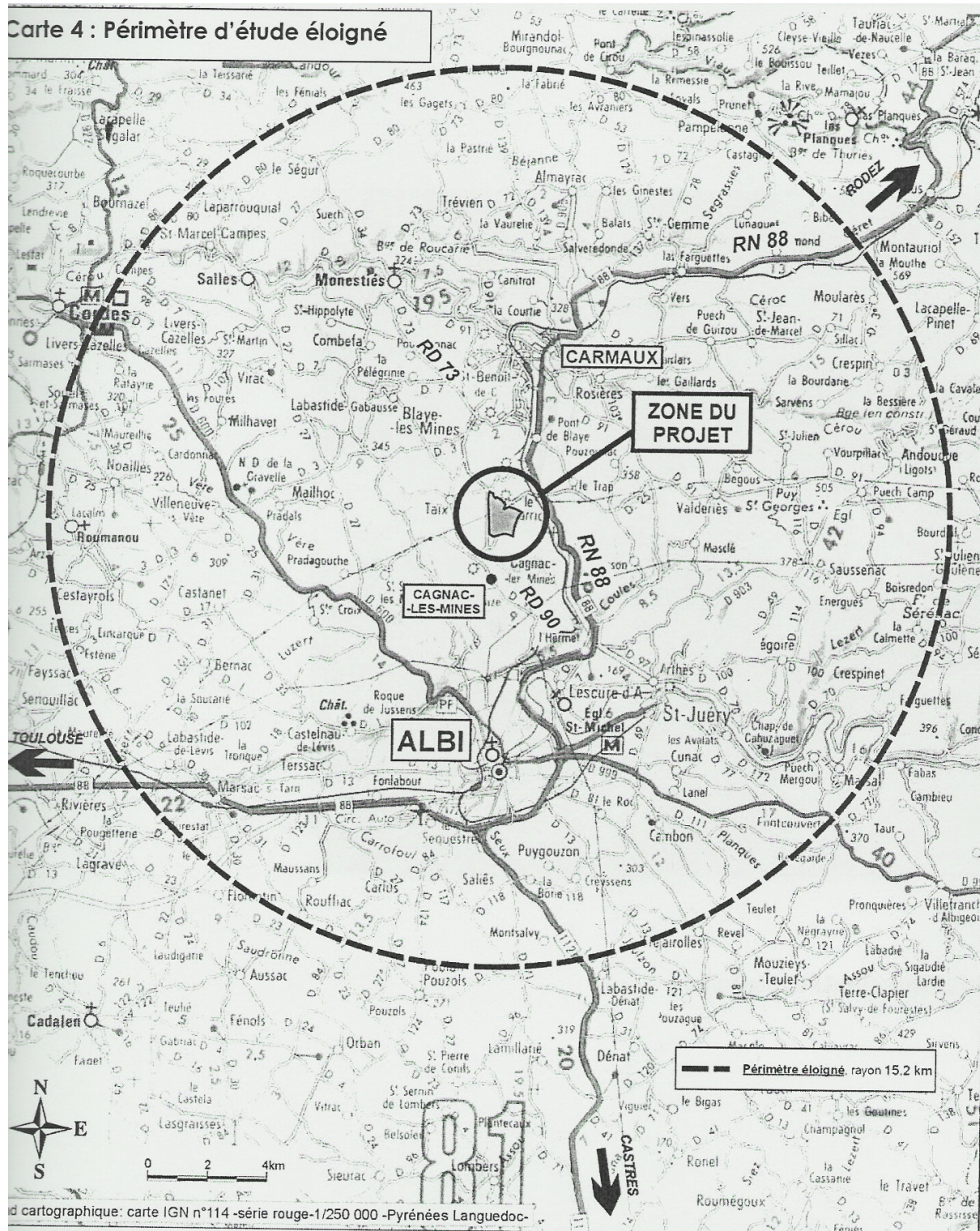
Nevertheless, the Mayor of Alby estimated that this was an important failure in the project management, and that Alby city was indeed concerned, considering its touristic and environmental projects (formulated in the local urban plan) and influence, by the development of its surroundings communes. As such, it was felt outrageous not to have been officially informed of the wind farm project by the promoters. Traces of this irritation became visible in Albi town hall journal, a tribune to Alby citizen: '*the city of Alby has learned on the 28th of January, by the newspaper, the information of an existing project of Wind farm in Cap Discovery*'. The offense took some political flavour as the champion of the Cap Discovery project was left side deputy Paul Quilès, and the champion of the Alby city touristic development project was right side Mayor Philippe Bonnacarrère and 2004 was a year of local & regional elections.

Surprisingly enough, the inclusion of Albi was favourably prepared by the consultant team who wrote the impact study. According to the study, '*the wind poject is situated in the Tarn Department on the Cape Discovery site. The wider study area concerns notably the following communes: Le Garric, Cagnac les Mines, Blaye les Mines, Taïx, Carmaux, Albi*' (Impact study, p. 65, underlined by us). This was supported by a calculation corresponding to the following formulae suggested by ADEME:

Wider landscape Study Perimetre = (100+e)*H, ie (100+5)*145= 15 225 m

Where e: number of turbines; H: total height pole+pale.

Which for Cap Eole, designated a perimeter of 15,2 km, in which Albi is clearly included (see figure below).



Albi city generates overflowing actions

The mayor of Albi carried out an important urban planning project based notably on the tourist attraction of the city historical centre. Albi and its agglomeration (about 80 000 people) were involved, and it included notably restrictions in terms of urban planning. Informed about the Cap Eole project, two major lines of arguments emerged in the Albi city hall. First, it was felt that the procedure of public inquiry, and more widely the project management failed by not consulting the 50 communes concerned (the wider landscape perimeter), especially Albi and its 49 106 people. Second, the city of Albi considered its good right to be in a position to precisely

assess the visual impact of the wind farm project and its externalities on the city. The mayor soon took action along these two lines.

The day after the publication of two articles in the local newspaper (28th of January 2003) regarding the Cap Eole project and the opening of the public inquiry, the mayor of Albi wrote a letter to Abo Wind director to request: a) copies of the planning permission and the impact study in order to ‘*evaluate if the wind turbines will have a visual impact on Albi*’⁽²⁾ b) the extension of the time frame of the public inquiry from the one month initially planned, to two months, considering that ‘*this [one month] delay and the deposit of the 300 pages impact study in only one copy in Le Garric city hall did not guarantee satisfying conditions of information and participation of the public*’⁽³⁾. Not being heard, he then turned to the Préfet of the Tarn and obtained a copy of the impact study.

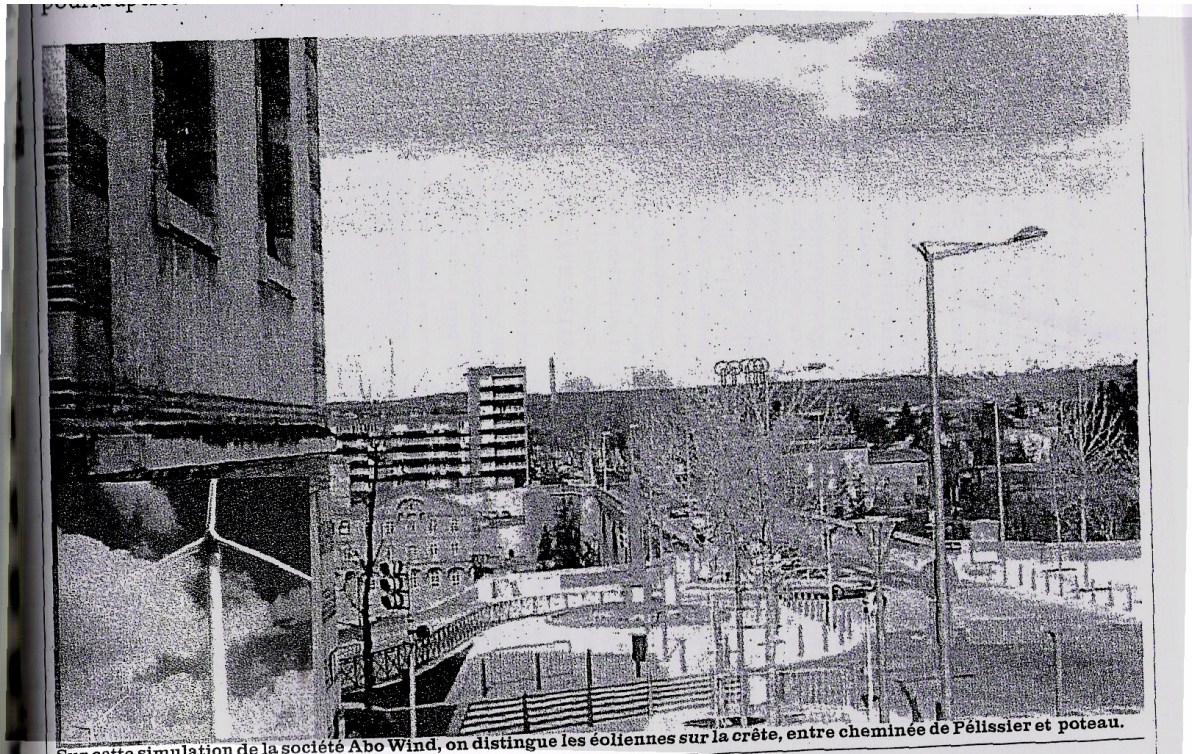
The moment the mayor of Albi took a strong position, the Cap Eole became a local newspapers issue. The local press echoed different views, showing in a first period, the expectations of several representatives of the local trade, politics and tourism for more information. One unexpected opposition to the project came from the extreme left side union very much anxious on the industrial impact of the wind farm on the local EDF Pellissier thermal electricity work; they expressed their fear that the production of green electricity would precipitate the shut down of the site.

The paroxysm was reached on the 26th of February when the mayor of Albi organised a public meeting for the Albi citizen on the Cap Eole project outside of the ongoing inquiry procedure (the public inquiry auditor was not invited, but present). An estimated 350 people participated in the meeting, which demonstrated the interest of the public for the project. The director of Abo Wind was invited to make a presentation and answer the question of the population. Then three specialists of the city (urban planner, administrator and cartographer) provided information on the existing regulation for wind farm and the on Albi urban context. The president of the association of safeguarding of the Tarn Houses and landscapes expressed important concerns regarding the co-visibility with valuable and protected centre of Albi. Many different questions and comments were made, opposing, supporting or just wondering about the project. But the most controversial moment was reached with the confrontation of Abo Wind and the City Hall photo montages simulating future views from Albi (see figure below), which as a journalist observed were figuring two radically different vision of the future landscape. ‘*on the first ones, the turbines are clearly visible on the horizon from the highest points of the ancient city [...] On the Abo Wind simulation, five small white matches are hardly visible in the landscape*’⁽⁴⁾. So far, no simulation photomontages were available from Albi viewpoints.

² Letter Mayor to Préfet of Tarn 9/02/03.

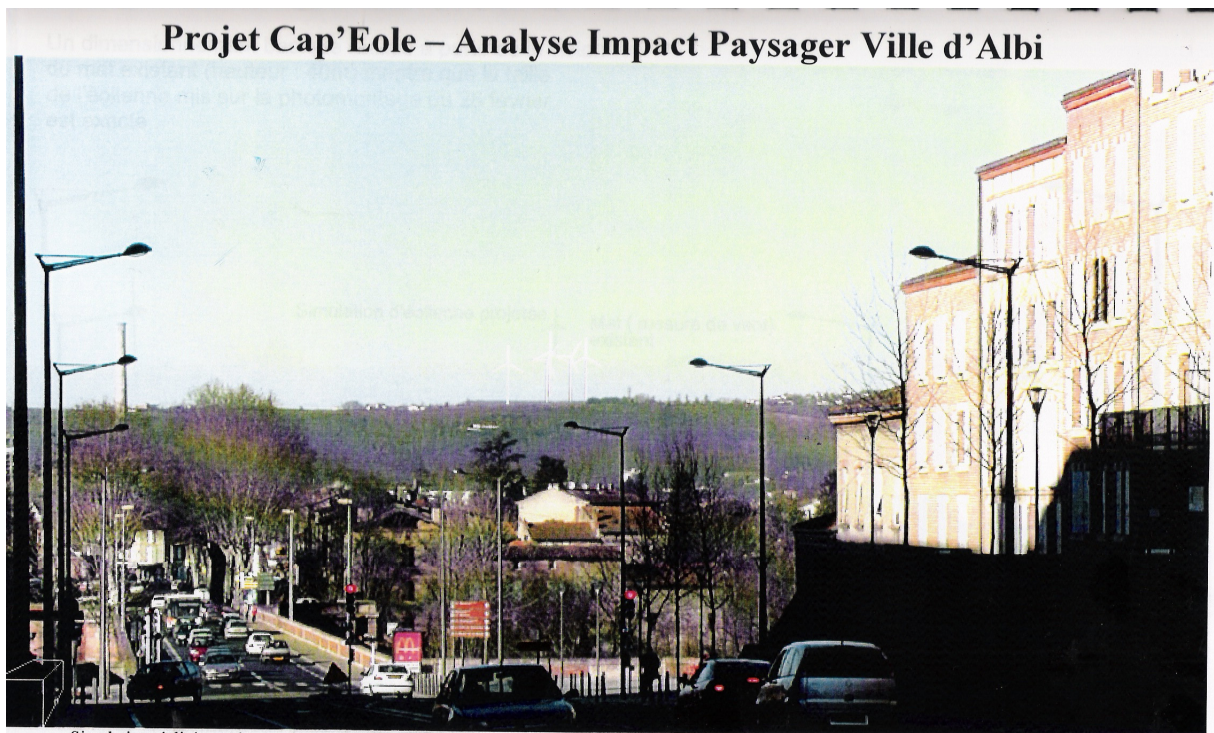
³ Letter Mayor to Public Inquiry Auditor 4/3/03.

⁴ Le Tarn Libre, 5th March 2004.



Sur cette simulation de la société Abo Wind, on distingue les éoliennes sur la crête, entre cheminée de Pélissier et poteau.

Source: La dépêche, 26/02/04



Projet Cap'Eole – Analyse Impact Paysager Ville d'Albi

Simulation réalisée par les services de la ville d'Albi – Février 2004

Source : Albi City report to the Public Inquiry Auditor

Following this 'wild' public meeting, the municipality prepared a report sent to the Public Inquiry Auditor before the instruction was closed. 148 pages of documents and arguments, pointing notably to the weakness of the Impact Study were written to try to convince the auditor not to arbitrate in favour of the project. It claimed that considering the project small energy contribution, the environmental impact due to the large size of the wind turbine, and the fact that it could have been more rational to site them in a more countryside, more windy and less visible

area than a cliff, the auditor advice should be unfavourable to the project. For the project promoter and the Public Inquiry Auditor, the Albi city hall went beyond their role, as the different aspects of the impact study had to be, and had been validated by some 6 different administrative services (the procedure could involve up to 27 different administrative services). Among them, the department representative of the ministry of environment did evaluate the photomontage and the landscape impact and estimated that ‘the five wind turbines on the Lentin area would rather be *‘beneficial to the landscape, considering the symbolic value added it could bring’*. Finally, the Public Inquiry Auditor decided to give a favourable advice to the project, asking however for complementary information on a number of points. The landscape was not one of them.

The public inquiry being closed in April 2004, the mayor of Albi did not give up. He turned to the Préfet claiming that the project should be submitted to the Tarn Commission of sites and Landscape. The reaction revealed by the public inquiry, and most likely direct contacts from the Albi City hall, made it clear that the strict application of the procedure would not be enough in this case to settle down the dispute. The concerned administrations and public services were asked to evaluate the case with particular technical scrutiny and care. The question of co-visibility from the historical centre of Albi and the subsequent potential prejudice has been investigated with special care. A special request was sent to the UNESCO for information about possible devaluation of the city centre as regards UNESCO criteria for classification human heritage site labelling. Despite the opposition of three of its members, including the Tarn Architect of the French Buildings (ABF), the Commission of Sites equally gave a favourable advice to the project in October 2004.

This is when the Préfet left, probably glad not to have to commit himself in this increasingly conflicting situation, and has been replaced by a new one. The new Préfet just arrived discovered the important pressure and tensions associated with the Cap Eole project. He decided to accept to turn to two national landscape experts: one expert from the Ministry of Culture in January 2005, one architect mandated by the Ministry of environment in May 2005. Abo wind was asked to provide a complementary note on the landscape, which they did in October 2005. Informal negotiations led the project manager to renew his application for a down-sized model of wind turbine (80 instead of 100 meters high) in November 2005 (modified planning permission application). More precise information on the landscape impact on Albi and on the integration of the project in its environment were added to the file. For Abo Wind, *‘the distance to the historical centre (8 km) should allow to take some distance’*: wind turbine would hardly be visible and from very few places in the city. They also clarified that UNESCO application was not endangered by the wind farm.

After extensive documentation, and another consultation of the Commission of Sites in November 2005, the Préfet decided to grant the planning permission to Abo Wind for the Cap Eole wind farm in January 2006. Two associations, close to the Albi city Hall immediately reacted by launching a settlement procedure (gracious recourse), and then with a third association they filed an appeal at the administrative court against the planning permission (contentious appeal).

From the overflow to the court of justice

The actions taken by Albi, and to a lesser extent the Pelissier Union and the Taix municipality did not exactly fit into the new procedure. As we have seen, the two Prefets who related each other were particularly cautious and they tried to repair patch (commission of sites, delegated reknown experts) the procedure so that it would take all parties into account. When finally the planning permission was granted to Abo wind, it could have been expected that the opponents would have accepted. Conversely to what had happened when the project was launched in 2003, which occulted the question of the visual impact from Albi, in 2006, the question had been largely studied, discussed, analysed and measured. Several specialised commissions and experts had stated their views on the issue, and a certain consensus was reached among them that even if a certain co-visibility existed from a few historical points, the impact was light enough not to

be considered a major prejudice and transformation of Albi landscape. In addition, the project manager had accepted to size down the turbine by 20 meters, to lessen its visual impact from afar.

Now the question was what would the opponent do? Would they accept the verdict of the experts and the department highest public authority's decision? Well, they did not.

Right after the permission was granted to Abo Wind, two associations, the president of which participated in the Albi Public meeting approached the Préfet to launch a settlement procedure. Logically, the most active association to contest the permission is Safeguard the Old Alby, a very important local association (600 members) in charge of the preservation and development of the city historical centre and buildings. The president of the Safeguard Houses and Landscape of the Tarn illustrated himself during the Albi meeting. He pointed to the possible impact of the project on the ancient city remarkable spots. Not surprisingly, he joined forces with the president of Safeguard the Old Alby, association in which, he is also a member. When asked what they want, the answer is clear, they do not systematically oppose to wind turbines, but they do not want to see them in Albi. Is there no better place to site wind farms, more windy and further away from noticeable touristic places? No, answers Abo Wind director, Cap Eole and the Lentin slag heap is the place that makes perfect sense: like a lighthouse signalling a step into the future, a symbol of renewal for this coal mine area towards the future of energy, renewable energies for the future. The project was good enough to resist a complicated and harder procedure than many, now it was a question of principle to do it.

The conflict was now entrenched to a point that no conciliation was within sight. No room for negotiation and inflexible positions on the two sides based on 'principles'. Rejoined by a third association, the newly created Protecting Le Garric Environment, technically advised by one of the most respected lawyers of the region, the three associations decided to appeal on the administrative court to try to break the Préfet's decision. According to many observers, and even with a tenor lawyer on their side, their case seemed relatively weak and had little chance to win. But they might well reach their goal anyway. Indeed, the consequence of the trial procedure on the project is equivalent to a stop as the potential investors would come only when the risk of suspension of the permission will be dissipated. No investor would follow a project manager, even with a planning permission, as long as a justice procedure is on. And it could last for up to 8 years.

The negotiation process

Steps	Actions	Instigator	Location	Public	Aim
New administrative Procedure	Public Inquiry	Préfecture du Tarn	Le Garric city hall	Le Garric people and neighbours	Inform and consult the public
	Impact study	Abo wind + consultant	Prefecture and Le Garric	Le Garric people and Neighbours	Inform public about technical aspects
	Public meeting	Public Inquiry Auditor	Cap'Découverte	Le Garric people and neighbours	Inform and convince about the project
	Planning Permission	Prefecture	6 different administrations	Albi administrative city	Evaluate project conformity with public interest
Albi City drives the procedure out	Public meeting	Albi municipality (Taix municipality)	Pratgraussals community hall (Taix city hall)	Albi citizen (Taix citizen)	Inform and debate about project
	Counter impact study	Alby city	Municipal technical services	Public inquiry auditor	Demonstrate Non conformity of project
	Press articles (25)	Journalistes	<i>Local press</i> : La Dépêche du Midi/Albi, le Tarn libre, Le Journal d'ici <i>National Press</i> : Libération	Public opinion	Arena for public debate and opinion making
The Préfet tries to reinforce the procedure	Commission of Sites	Préfet	Nominated experts	Prefecture	Evaluate project conformity (landscape)
	National experts report	Préfet	Delegated national experts	Prefecture & ministries	Evaluate project impact and soudness (landscape)
Local Associations recourse	Settlement procedure	Local associations (Safeguard Old Abi & Safeguard Houses and landscape of Tarn)	Préfet & project manager	Prefecture	negociate the project
	Appeal	Local associations (two previous + Protect Le Garric Environment)	Administrative court	Toulouse	Stop the project

8. Lessons learned

As the synthetic table of the negotiation process indicates, the Cap Eole has been characterised by an escalation of actions, crystallising positions of the different actors in a more and more entrenched way (proponents vs opponents) and leaving very little room of manoeuvre at the end. As a result, it all ended up in a war of procedures in which the project promoter is claiming its good right for entrepreneurship, having a good project with no major non conformity so no rational ground to attack it, and the opponents considering that the project does not suit them and using all possible ways to prevent or delay its realisation.

From a sociological view point, this case is really interesting as it departs from pure questions of technology rejection (like nuclear, GMOs, or nanotech). The dynamics is a much more local one, linked to a local development or industrial project, linked to individual actors and their personality. This is visible in the fact that no usual opponents to wind energy showed up in the Albi debate. None of the actors we interviewed were against wind farms in general. So the question is more about the fit between an industrial project and its local environment. As such, we believe, it is really a good case to test and verify our assumption that the negotiation process matters: in a way, who is involved and how they interact matter as much as the project technical content. Questions more than objections were discussed at some point during the project, but a relative consensus existed on technical matters (no major mistakes regarding safety or necessary distance to nearby houses, no important contestation of the economic soundness of such investment). Project manager was also largely recognised as serious and experienced even by opponents.

The Albi case, we content, is a very instructive case for the French policy. The experimentation of EOLE 2005 made it clear that a number of rules and norms should be devised to manage the economical and environmental questions associated with the development of wind farms (see complementary Case Eole 2005). It was clear, from the numerous administrative trials generated by Eole 2005 that acceptance was a key issue in developing large wind farms in the country. It led to both set an incentive economic framework and a new concentrative procedure to ease local acceptance of projects and favour the success project management.

A remaining major ambiguity in planning permissions: the question of landscape

On the environmental side, in 2000, Prefectoral planning permission and impact studies became mandatory and standardised. This way local administration could guarantee the conformity of projects to a number of important criteria for environmental preservation including neighbours protection from noise and other pollutions, fauna and flora preservation, remarkable landscape and building conservation. The paradox was that '*detectable environmental impacts*' become detectable only at the end of the project, whereas a good concentration process supposed to involved concerned actors at the early design stage. One huge difficulty has been to anticipate correctly in the design period, the future impact of the farm. It required the construction of functioning models of reality: models of wind and sited turbines productivity (such as Betz formula), models of environmental impact in terms of noise, view, birds, photomontages simulating the future landscape. ADEME circulated a number of norms and references (such as calculation models for wind, productivity, landscape perimeters) based on the capitalisation of previous experience that made it a relatively efficient document. It did not go as far as to require projects to submit to ISO 14 001 rules though.

What the Albi case clearly points is the tremendous ambiguity that remains as regards the instrumentation of impacts on landscape. It has resisted very much expertise and rationalisation. Landscape is mainly simulated through photomontages. Images are however well known for their ambiguity, as an expert summed up '*tell me what time of the year, what was the weather,*

at what time of the day, with which focale, from which place you took the picture, with which simulation parameters for the turbines and whether it is replicable. More generally, a new campaign of measures should be done once the project is finished to assess the conformity of what was claimed in the planning permission to what has been realised'. The Albi case paradoxical tension was reached, as a local newspaper entitled it, in the 'war through digital pictures'⁵.

This digital war about representations of the future echoes tremendous difficulties in objectifying landscape. 'Landscape' remains difficult to define. According to a national expert, it is both a material reality and a subjective way to view it, entrenched in historical and cultural values. It explains why ADEME recommended to consider a wider landscape study perimeter. But on the other hand, it seems rather difficult to apply a systematic 15 km clearance or even consultation on each project in practice, especially in urban areas. An important side of the Albi conflict is actually rooted in diverging visions about landscape.

For the project manager 'it is true that it is part of the landscape. But Unesco has never specified that the landscape had to be something fixed, it is not a postcard. Landscape has always been the work of human being from very ancient times, it is evolving, we must live with our XXIst century [] Tomorrow, energy will be more decentralised, and this has a cost. An economical cost, but a cost in the sense that it will modify our landscape. Go back 300, 400, 500 years ago[] wind mills had a economic utility. Today, wind mills are classified as remarkable buildings. Are the wind turbines of today going to be classified in 500 years from now?. Landscape is constantly moving, it does not belong to anybody, it can not be defined by anybody. It is a general perception. A common perception, but first of all a place to live, to raise your children, and our interest is to better protect our environment' (Director of Abo Wind)

And for the Albi city representatives 'What are the characteristics of the Albi landscape? Landscape is a major stake for the identity of a city, and it should be preserved by a consistent urban policy. From the main characteristics, identify the most sensitive entities to be protected. Albi is characterised by two points. First, its urban siting in the Tarn valley, second, by its surrounding hillsides. These hills really play a major role: they act as a general background to the whole city, a kind of natural protection limiting the territory with its crest lines. Our work with landscape experts has led us to notice the threatening to the landscape quality by excessive and diffuse constructions, intensive clearing of woods leading to the gradual loss of its green and natural components [...] From this assessment, the city decided to implement a strong policy aiming at preserving its hillside landscape quality submitted to heavy land pressure' (City of Albi Architect).

So in our eyes, the first weakness of the procedure revealed by the Albi case regards the difficulty to set rules and commonly agreed instruments to measure landscape impact and to ease negotiation about competing visions of landscape value and development. The 2005 Pope law partly addresses this question as well as the problem of multiplication of individual projects. It establishes so called ZDE (priority area for wind projects) through upstream negotiation about appropriate landscape use (collectively negotiated areas at the Department level).

Public inquiry and the French procedure of concertation

In 2003, public inquiry became an obligation. The idea was to open concertation between project promoters and the public on the basis of the impact study. Public inquiry auditor, already actors in important urban planning and industrial projects, became the essential figure incarnating the concertative dimensions of wind projects.

Here we are entering the domain and problematics associated with democratic participation or technical democracy. Key questions about concertations regards the choice of participating actors, the arrangements through which their voicing is encouraged, and the negotiation/adaptation

⁵ La dépêche du Midi. Albi Edition. 28/02/04 'Wind turbines : the war through digital pictures'.

that is resulting from it. The rule is ambiguous on the first, disappointing on the second and mute on the third. It is certainly a major weakness in the procedure in terms of its capacity to framing actors actions and establish consensual decisions, as the Alby-Cap Eole is demonstrating.

The first one and more obvious problem is certainly the question of the choice of participating actors. As we have seen, the text remains loose in the regard. Except for the inclusion of the communes in which the industrial project is seized, the choice is left to the personal appreciation of the Public Inquiry Auditor. In the Albi case, it left out Taix and Albi, which considered themselves as sufficiently concerned to organise their own public meeting. This is already a failure from a concertative viewpoint. The procedure ignores the importance of commune's interdependence. Wind farms are usually installed in the countryside and the procedure seem to be based on regulating tensions and conflicts between independent communes of comparable sizes. But when an important urban pole is involved, the type of relationship between the urban commune and the surrounding communes is of a more complex nature. The influence of Alby on the economic development of its surroundings area could hardly be ignored. Like the Public Inquiry Auditor who certainly made a restrictive application of the texts, the project manager could also have taken the initiative of wider consultation. But in our eyes, too much ambiguity of the law leaves way too much responsibility on individuals shoulders.

The second important aspect of the procedure regards the situations in which voices are invited to raise. The selected arrangement of the procedure includes a public notice of the Public Inquiry period, a public information meeting, and a few days of permanence during which the individual citizen can consult the Impact study, ask questions and write positions. In the Carmaux case, on 19 000 people in the Carmaux area alone, and about 80 of them left a written trace of their position. It was efficient in identifying major neighbourhood anxiety and demands for clarifications (property and governance structure, safety and health impact on close neighbours, impact on birds) although the voices were not numerous from a statistical point of view.

But in spite of this relatively rough arrangement, it is noticeable that several concerned actors that had not been included from the start all knocked on the door and tried to participate in and contribute to the Inquiry. Taix public referendum and municipal debates and decision were sent as an additional material to the Public Inquiry Auditor. Counter expertise on the Impact study by the Albi municipality was conceived as a contribution to the Public Inquiry Audition. These were two innovative ways to participate that have been very poorly integrated as they did not fit. The door remained left close to these two municipalities and the request to extent the inquiry period from one month (minimum) to two months (maximum) has been equally rejected.

Yet, they have pointed to and proposed interesting solution to a major limit of the current inquiry procedure that is addressing individual citizen. Individuals must be equipped to participate (democratically) in the debate and negotiations. Although some remarkable letters were written, it is rarely the case of individual citizen that they can enter into technical content of modern technical projects. That is why most of the public and democratic life is organised in collectives and representatives: hybride collectives, research labs and universities, specialised associations and NGOs, elected representatives are all intermediaries equipped to represent voices and negotiate in their name. The invitation of such collective actors in the democratic negotiation process has been demonstrated a necessity (Callon et alii, 2002). In the Albi case, as a result, the negotiation process came some two years later, under pressure of the highest public authority, one major adaptation having been the downsizing of the turbines. What would have happen if this dialogue and negotiation (downsizing, extension of inquiry, jointly chosen expert in landscape impact assessment) had occurred during the inquiry period and led to concrete modification of the project? Our understanding is that positions were much less entrenched at the time and it would have led to workable solutions.

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List of interviewee

We seize this opportunity to thank all the interviewee for their time

- 14 mars : Francis Pardo, DDE Hte-Garonne Departmental Equipment direction (pole urbanism) and Pubic Inquiry Auditor
- 15 mars. Benoît Praderie - Director Abowind, Wind Farm promotion
- 16 mars : Benoît Pueyo, ingineer CEGELEC
- 19 mars : Marie-France de Truchis, Ecologist party, municipal counsellor Albi
- 19 mars : Alain Gourbeyre, DDE Tarn Departmental Equipment, Wind pole coordinator
- 20 mars : Paul Neau - Director Abies, consulting firm
- 22 mars : Robert Raffanel, Mayor of Le Garric, Regional Counsellor, Energy commission
- 27 mars : Alain Lavielle, DDE Tarn Departmental Equipment, Wind Pole coordinator
- 29 mars : Marie-Antoinette Lataillade, President, Safeguard the Old Alby
- 29 mars : Raymond Bessou, President, Protect Le Garric Environment.
- 6 avril : Pascal Beer-Demander - Regional Council, Energy and sustainable development.
- 10 avril : Jean marie Lédier, Public Inquiry Auditor
- 13 avril : Paul Quilès, Mayor Cordes, Deputy Tarn
- 16 avril : Benoît Praderie, Abo Wind Director
- 17 avril : Yvain Benzenet, DIREN, Regional Environment direction
- 19 avril : Didier Pacaud, President, Safeguard Houses and Landscape of Tarn, member of Commission of Sites
- 19 avril : Virginie Finetti, Counsellor of Mayor, City of Albi
- 19 avril : Alain Gourbeyre, DDE op cit.
- 19 avril : Gilles Carles, journalist, Tarn Libre
- 21 may : M. de Mauleon, ADEME regional expert in wind energy

Documents

Abo Wind (2003) *Projet de ferme éolienne sur le site de Cap'Découverte - Commune du Garric. Demande de permis de construire.*

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