

Wind Power at Døldarheia

Employing a discourse analysis to a controversy over wind power in order to show how various actors claim to represent the interests of the environment

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Abstract

This thesis is based on a case study of a planned wind power park in Vindafjord municipality in western Norway. It seeks to understand how the stakeholders involved in the plan talk about the proposed wind power park, especially the involved environmental issues. It incorporates both the global environmental arguments (wind power can contribute to mitigate current climate change) and the local environmental arguments (wind power includes vast interferences in the local nature at Døldarheia). This thesis employs a discourse analysis to detect the shared meanings in the stakeholders' arguments in relation to the planned park and the environmental issues involved. There are two main discourses in the case of Døldarheia: the win-win discourse and the nature conservation discourse. Both discourses claim to represent the interests of the environment, but do this on two different levels. The win-win discourse attempts to represent the global environment by emphasizing that wind power at Døldarheia will help mitigate current climate change. Conversely the nature conservation discourse attempts to represent the local environment by arguing that the interference in the landscape, and the flora and fauna it contains, at Døldarheia is too significant. Both discourses argue that the opposing discourse is mainly concerned with interests other than environmental concerns, and both discard basic elements in each other's environmental argumentation. My findings show how actors positioned within both discourses use environmental arguments to build legitimacy around their stance towards the planned wind power park. This implies that arguing for the "interests" of the environment is perceived as something fundamentally positive. This thesis also emphasizes the importance of understanding the context for wind power parks, which allows a proper examination of environmental arguments regarding wind power.

List of Abbreviations

AMR: Ambio Miljørådgivning AS

CO2: Carbon Dioxide

DN: Direktoratet for Naturforvaltning/ Directorate for Natural management

DNT: Den Norske Turistforening/ Norwegian Trekking Assosiation

EEA: European Economic Area

EU: European Union

FNF: Forum for Natur og Friluftsliv

FOR: Fred Olsen Renewables AS

GHG: Greenhouse gases

HK: Haugaland Kraft

HT: Haugesund Turistforening

INON: Inngrepsfrie Naturområder i Norge/ Areas without Major Infrastructure Development in Norway

NCD: Nature Conservation Discourse

NGO: Non- Governmental Organization

NIMBY: Not In My Backyard

NMF: Norges Miljøvernforbund/ Green Warriors of Norway

NVE: Norges Vassdrag og Energi Direktorat/ Norwegian Water Resource and Energy Directorate

NVF: Naturvernforbundet/ Friends of the Earth Norway

SSB: Statistisk Sentralbyrå

UN: United Nations

UNDP: United Nations Development Program

UNFCCC: United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

WWD: Win- Win Discourse

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Maps

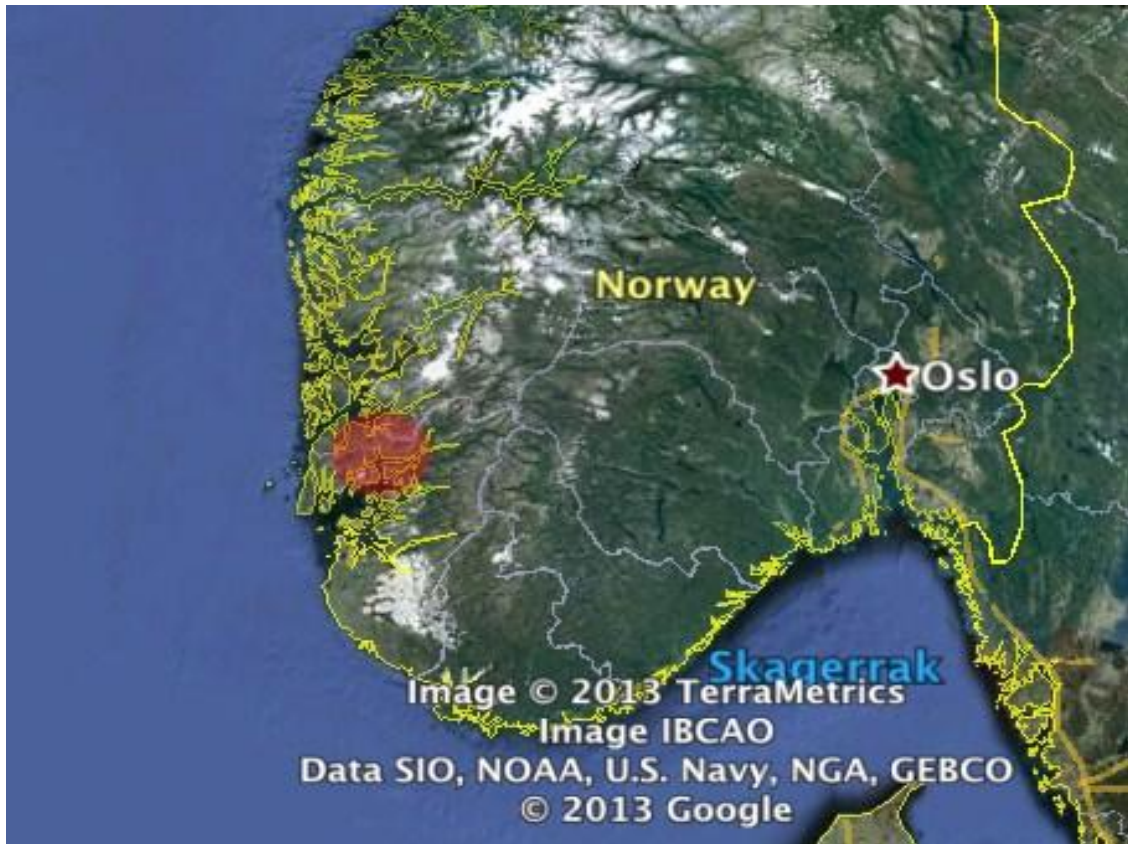


Figure 1: Map of Southern Norway. Marked area: Vindafjord municipality (<https://maps.google.com/maps?hl=en&tab=ml>).



Figure 2: Map of study area. Marked area : Døldarheia (<https://maps.google.com/maps?hl=en&tab=ml>).

1. Introduction

1.1 Project background and rationale for choice of topic

The growing demand for energy, the finite nature of fossil based energy and more legitimate evidence of current climate change—its causes and consequences—has directed increased attention to the wind as an energy source (Righter 2002:23).

The increased interest in wind power is linked to the fact that wind power is a renewable energy source and because the industrialized world has started to make the transition into more “sustainable societies”, where the goal is to achieve “sustainable development”. For example, the European Union (EU) has started this transition and their official environmental policy states:

The EU has some of the world’s highest environmental standards, developed over decades. Its main priorities today are: protecting endangered species and habitats and using natural resources more efficiently – goals that also help the economy by fostering innovation and enterprise (EU 2013).

The name of the EU’s environmental policy is: “A healthy and sustainable environment for future generations” (EU 2013). The quote from the EU’s environmental policy in 2013 echoes the concept of sustainable development and the report “Our Common Future” (also called the Brundtland report) from 1987. The report defines sustainable development as: “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (UN 1987).

Despite the attempts to make the transition to more “sustainable societies”, the industrialized world still relies on finite non-renewable resources such as oil, natural gas and coal. The need to decrease the dependency on these resources is

obvious, considering the fact that they are non-renewable. In addition to the finite nature of these resources, the greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions from these energy sources are the main cause of current climate change (Burroughs 2007:200-211). Currently there is no shortage in evidence that climate change is happening. Scientific findings are conclusively pointing to the issue that the planet is getting hotter. Still, there are many uncertainties regarding the causes of climate change and its possible consequences (Burroughs 2007:261-268). Nevertheless, current climate change and its consequences show that there is a need for increased production of renewable energy to replace fossil based energy sources. The wind as an energy source is therefore important, and its importance will likely increase in the future (Pasqualetti et al. 2002:3-16). In other words, wind power is perceived as a measure to achieve sustainable development (Pasqualetti et al. 2002, Szarka 2004). Because if one is to “meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”, the dependency on fossil-based energy sources must decrease.

In Norway it is also a clear goal to increase the amount of energy produced by renewable energy sources. The western coast of Norway has good wind conditions and is therefore suited to produce significant amounts of renewable energy from this natural resource (NVE 2013). In 2012, however, only 1.1 percent of Norway’s power production comes from wind power (NVE 2013b). According to the Norwegian government, this is about to change: “The government’s goal is to facilitate increased development of environmental friendly wind power... Wind power gives increased energy security and does not include any emissions of climate gases or other polluting substances” (Ministry of the Environment 2007:62)¹. In Norway the chosen policy to increase development of renewable energy source is through economic support systems, which give developers incentive to develop renewable energy. The Norwegian government has facilitated several support systems to encourage renewable

¹ My translation

energy production; the most recent is the so-called “green certificates”² (The Ministry for Petroleum and Energy 2012).

The transition to low carbon societies is not straightforward: the implementation of projects is affected by the environmental, social, cultural, political and economic contexts in areas where renewable energy technologies are introduced. When it comes to the introduction of wind power in local contexts, controversies often emerge. Research has shown that to successfully introduce wind power projects, local acceptance is important (Jolivet and Heiskanen 2010:6747). And the public acceptance of wind power has varied significantly from country to country (Pasqualetti et al.2002:3-5). There are many positive consequences of wind power. In addition to its ability to produce energy without GHG- and other polluting emissions, it may open opportunities for development locally and it can be installed in different contexts as long as there are wind resources. The main issue with wind power parks has proven to be the visual interference from the turbines in the landscape (ibid). Wind turbines are unavoidably visible and they need to be placed in open spaces, because that is where the wind resources are best. So the interference with the local landscape aesthetics is often the core of the debate about the introduction of wind power parks (ibid). Other contentious issues include the effects of wind power parks on wildlife and biological diversity (Kuvlesky et al. 2007).

There is an interesting paradox in relation to most proposed wind power parks—both sides in the conflicts often claim to represents the environment (Pasqualetti et al. 2002, Woods 2003, Szarka 2004, Haggett and Futak- Campell 2011). Wind power is supposed to help minimize the environmental impact from energy production. Wind power is perceived as an “environmentally friendly” and/or “sustainable” way to produce energy, because there are no emissions of GHG’s or other pollutants. On-land wind parks— after hydro power—are also the best technologically-developed and the cheapest way to produce renewable energy to

² In Norwegian: elsertifikatordningen.

date (Energy Norge et al. 2012). On the other hand, however, people who oppose wind power argue that they are protecting the local environment. The resistance groups often argue that they are protecting the landscape (both cultural and natural landscapes) and biological diversity in the areas where the wind power parks are to be located (Woods 2003, Szarka 2004, Haggett and Futak- Campell 2011). The critics of wind power parks are representing the visual environmental change (or destruction) locally, while the advocates for wind power is representing an invisible environmental change (or destruction) globally. This double reference to “the environment” is one of several issues involved when wind power is introduced in local contexts. In this thesis, I will thoroughly examine one case to try to better understand the environmental conflicts that often emerge when project proposals about wind power parks are introduced. I will do this by focusing on how various groups of people talk about the proposed wind power park in general and in relation to local environmental change, as well as the overall goal to increase renewable energy production to protect the global environment.

In this thesis I will approach the issue through a discourse analysis. Research and development into renewable energy has historically been dominated by technological and economic approaches, and there is still a need for more inputs from the social sciences. The social scientist can provide a deeper understanding of the mechanisms that lie behind the various actors’ attitudes and actions towards wind power development (Devine Wright 2011:1-4). A discourse analysis allows me to gain an understanding of the actor’s attitude towards a proposed wind power park and the incentives for developing wind power. To my knowledge there is only a limited amount of previous research with discourse analysis as an approach to wind power. A discourse analysis is, according to Ellis et al. (2007), suited to capture what deeper values, amidst cultural and institutional contexts, might influence the various actors. Discourse analysis has provided (and will provide) new perspectives on the problems related to locating, local acceptance and environmental issues concerning the introduction of wind power parks (Ellis et al. 2007:7-9). By choosing a proposed wind power park, I

will examine what attitudes and assumptions the actors involved in the project have towards the project, before the park is built. My aim is to find out how the actors talk about the park, before they know the actual effects the park will have. My focus, then, will be on whether actors have different attitudes about the background for developing wind power and how the wind power park will affect the local communities and the local environment.

In this thesis I will use the planned wind power park at Døldarheia in Vindafjord municipality in western Norway as the case. This is an area which so far has little experience with wind power. I choose the case of Døldarheia to illustrate the issues that may emerge when new technology, like wind power, is introduced to a small society, far away from the international and national policymaking related to renewable energy.

I hope that my research can contribute to a better understanding of the potential conflicts in relation to wind power development at Døldarheia. I will also try to understand what lessons can be learned from the study of this particular case. In particular, I wish to demonstrate how a discourse analysis can be employed for understanding the nature of controversies over wind power in local contexts.

1.2 The case: Døldarheia in Vindafjord municipality

Døldarheia is a mountain plateau located in Vindafjord municipality in Rogaland County. In Norwegian the word for wind is “vind”, so the direct translation of the municipality's name is “Wind(a)fjord”. This refers to one of the fjords located in the municipality—“Vindafjorden”, which can be understood as the Windy fjord.

The municipality is located on the peninsula Hauglandet in northern Rogaland, which lies between the Hardangerfjord area in the north and Ryfylket in southeast. The area is typical for western Norway, with the characteristic fjords that are located in-between high mountains.

By 01.04.2012, Vindafjord municipality had 8516 inhabitants, who live in the nine villages of the municipality (Vindafjord kommune 2013). The municipality's population has been growing the last 10 years and it is projected to continue to grow the next 10 years. The municipality center is Ølen, with the municipality's administration as well as its highest population, 1600 inhabitants (Agenda Kaupang 2012). There are varied business opportunities in the municipality, which is mainly orientated around agriculture, industry and service-based businesses. Agriculture is the most important business; 20 % of the jobs in the municipality are connected to the agriculture sector and 12 % of the municipality's land area is pasture land. However, the petroleum industry has strong influence on the area. The most noticeable companies in relation to the petroleum industry are located in Ølensvåg, where, for example, service on oilrigs is done. In addition to businesses for the petroleum sectors, there are businesses in relation to shipping, logging, fishery, computer engineering and two relatively big slaughterhouses in the municipality (ibid). Most businesses in Vindafjord have a sustainable economic situation, according to the municipality's website, and there is little unemployment in the municipality (Vindafjord kommune 2013).

The nature in the municipality is rich in diversity and there are several different landscape types which contain different nature types. The landscape is divided between valley-, mountain-, fjord- and forest landscape. These landscape types all have their own diverse biological diversity (Ambio Miljørådgivning AS 2012).

Døldarheia lies between 450- 750 meters above sea level. The area is typical for mountain areas in western Norway, where the landscape is varied and contains different landscape forms. The area and its surroundings change from fjords to valleys and hills, and on the highest tops, where the wind turbines are supposed to be located, the landscape is covered by moss, heath and naked rock mountain. Along the fjords five villages are located close to Døldarheia: Sandeid, Illsvåg, Vats, Ølensvåg and Ølen. From all these villages Døldarheia is visible, because

the plateau is located in-between the villages. The area has experienced little human activity. There are four small cabins in the area, two of the region's lakes are used as drinking water and the area is also used as pasture land for sheep (Ambio Miljørådgiving AS 2012).

The wind power plans include 30 wind turbines, which will be approximately 130 meters high, in an area that is 14.4 km². The park will have a yearly production of approximately 300 GWh. The project will include a 16 km road net (excluding an approximately 6 km long road from one of the local villages), a service building and an intern power net. There is no existing infrastructure in the area, meaning that the infrastructure needs to be built from scratch (Haugaland Kraft and Fred Olsen Renewable 2012). At the point of writing this thesis, the wind power park is being assessed by the Norwegian Water Resource and Energy Directorate (NVE)³, which will decide whether or not the project will get license to start producing wind power at Døldarheia (NVE 2012d).

1.3 Research Questions

With the situation described above and the national and international background for developing wind power, two main research questions have been selected. Firstly I will try to identify the discourses that exist locally in relation to the planned wind power park. Secondly, I focus on how actors refer to environmental issues when forwarding their arguments and pursuing their interests:

1. What discourses can be identified among the different stakeholders involved in the planned wind power project at Døldarheia in Vindafjord?
2. In what ways do the actors positioned within these discourses claim to represent the interests of the environment when forwarding their arguments?

³ In Norwegian: Norges Vassdrag- og Energidirektorat (NVE).

1.4 Choice of methods

In addressing my research questions, I strive to understand how the actors involved in the planned wind power parks view the plans. Field work in Vindafjord municipality forms the basis of my thesis⁴. During the field work I did qualitative semi-structured in-depth interviews with representatives from the developers, the municipality, local “friluft” and environmental organizations, local landowners and local inhabitants in the villages surrounding the area. I interviewed these actors to be able to get a wide view of the planned wind power park. It also provided me with many different and conflicting views on the matter. Additionally, I have done a review of literature to be able to connect my finding to existing research on wind power.

I choice to analyse my findings by using a discourse analysis, where I searched for shared meanings among stakeholders’ statements on the phenomenon of wind power at Døldarheia. I will give a thorough presentation of my methods in chapter 3.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

This thesis includes eight chapters. After this introduction I will proceed by presenting the conceptual and theoretical framework in chapter 2. In chapter 3 I will account for the methods I used when conducting my thesis.

In chapter 4 I will first present the background for developing wind power in Norway, including the current Norwegian politics towards wind power development. I will further examine what I will call the leading national discourse on wind power and the counter discourse to the leading national discourse. Lastly in chapter 4 I will present NVE’s role in the planning process of

⁴ When I in this thesis refer to my fieldwork, I refer to the interviews I conducted when visiting Vindafjord municipality in September 2012.

wind power parks in Norway and what criteria's they use when deciding whether a projects gets license to start wind power production.

In chapter 5 I will return to Døldarheia, I will first present the wind power plans and the process that led to the license application. Thereafter I will present the main points from the consequence assessment that was made in relation to the planned wind power park, to show what is believed to be the consequences of the park.

In chapter 6 I will present the two main discourses I identified in the case of Døldarheia; the "win-win" discourse and the "nature conservation" discourse. In other words I will in this chapter examine the content of the two discourses I identified.

In chapter 7 I will first examine and discuss how the two discourses claim to represent the environment and how they present their arguments about the environment. I will discuss the underlying assumptions of the actors within the discourses and how they perceive the other discourse's environmental argumentation.

Chapter 8 will serve as a conclusion of my thesis.

2. Concepts and Theoretical Framework

This chapter presents some of the central concepts and the theoretical framework I will draw on to analyze the empirical data I gathered. First, I will present the concept of sustainable development. Second, I will draw attention to the concepts of nature and landscapes. Third, I will proceed to present the discourse analysis and how I will employ it in this thesis. Lastly, I will examine some of the previous research done by employing discourse analysis in relation to wind power.

2.1 Sustainable development

In this thesis the concept of sustainable development is central, because it serves as one of the backgrounds for the development of wind power. In the following section I will discuss the concept of sustainable development and how it will be used in this thesis.

Sustainable development can be viewed as a means to merge the debate about development and the debate about the environment (Carter 2007: 207-208). As mentioned in the introduction, the Brundtland report defines sustainable development as: “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (UN 1987). In other words, it refers to a mode of human development where the use of resources aims to meet current human needs, and at the same time preserve the environment, so future generation also can meet their needs. Sustainable development therefore includes economic, social and environmental objectives. The aim is to combine economic and social development with environmental protection (Carter 2007:211).

In relation to wind power the three objectives in sustainable development can be fulfilled if a given wind power park does not harm the environment and includes economic and social development. The environmental aspects of wind power

development will vary between different contexts. Currently wind power in Norway is initiated as a means to achieve the goal of increasing renewable energy production; the rationale for increased renewable energy production is, among other aspects, to cope with global environmental issues, as current climate change. This is shown by the official policy the government has towards wind power, which I referred to in the introduction.

Wind power can definitely include economic development for developers, national and local authorities and local inhabitants. This is because the produced power provides an income for several actors. This economic development can then facilitate social development in the communities where it is introduced. However, there are many uncertainties involved in whether wind power production will fulfill the three pillars of sustainable development.

There is no straight forward answer to what sustainable development means for environmental policy. The definition of sustainable development is therefore contested and the debate has been on-going since “Our Common Future” was launched (Adams 2009:1-5, Carter 2007:211, McNeill 2000). Nevertheless, the report was concrete in two areas, which are both relevant for the present work. The first area is biological diversity and how loss of biological diversity can have negative consequences for life on earth. The second area is related to energy use, especially to emissions of greenhouse gases (GHG) and the possibilities of dangerous anthropogenic climate change as an effect of these emissions. The report therefore emphasized that a reduction in these emissions was necessary (Langehelle 2002:247).

In relation to my case on wind power, sustainable development offers no conclusive answer to how one ought to weigh environmental issues against each other. It is difficult to determine, for example, whether industrial activities in untouched natural areas reflect the ideas of sustainable development. Overall environmental degradation can be perceived as sustainable if it does not compromise the abilities of current and future generations to cover their “needs”

(Langhelle 2002:232). Then the next issue becomes what “needs” in sustainable development is referring to. For example is sustainable development only referring to human needs, or should non-human objects and needs also be considered? When it comes to wind power, should a wind power park’s effects on wildlife and biological diversity be taken into account when examining if it reflects the ideas behind sustainable development. The concept of sustainable development after all includes aspects about protection of biological diversity, however, is this only related to the way loss of biological diversity can affect humans? Another relevant example in relation to the topic of my thesis is how one should weigh human recreational activities in relation to energy production within sustainable development.

There is no conclusive answer to these questions and different actors will have different answers to whether a plan is sustainable or not. What is perceived as sustainable is therefore closely linked to values, interests and position of the actors. As Carter puts it; “Sustainable development, like beauty, is in the eye of the beholder; it promise something for everyone” (Carter 2007:212).

The concept of sustainable development, or what is perceived as “environmentally friendly”, is closely linked to very complex value questions⁵. For example, how individuals (or societies) value and perceive nature and the environment. Wind power is no exception—how people view a wind power park is closely linked to value questions related to how they perceive nature.

2.2 Nature and landscapes

The way people value and perceive nature and landscapes will be central when analyzing the views of actors in my particular case. The valuation and perception as related to wind power development is important because the views people have about nature affect the views they have about any interference in nature,

⁵ I will in this thesis use the phrases ”sustainable” and ”environmentally friendly” interchangeably, because I noticed that the informants in my case used these phrases when referring to human activities that does not harm the environment in a significant degree.

including wind power parks. Wind power is especially interesting because the rationale for starting wind power production often also refers to protection of “nature” or the “environment”. Nature has proven to be a key term in most debates about introduction of wind power. It should be mentioned, however, that it is not only the actors' view on nature that will affect their stance towards wind power. For example, questions about the park's effect on employment opportunities, local economy and tourism will influence what stance the actors will have towards the plans. Nevertheless, the way actors view nature will affect their stance towards the plans.

Within environmental philosophy, the way people value nature is a fundamental issue. The debate about how to value nature often utilizes the three terms instrumental-, inherent- and intrinsic value. I will in this thesis put how actors value nature in the stretch between a pure instrumental way of valuing nature to a pure intrinsic way of valuing nature. The definitions of these terms are contested and they are used differently by writers (Carter 2007:14-15). So for clarification, I will use Carter's (2007) way of defining these terms throughout this thesis: “Instrumental value is the value which something has for someone as a means to an end which they desire” (Carter 2007:15). Instrumental value is purely focusing on human interests and the ways we can use nature to cover our needs. In relation to wind power in areas like Døldarheia, the instrumental way of valuing nature will then focus on how the area can be used to satisfy human needs, for example the need for energy. On the other side, the intrinsic way of valuing nature is defined by Carter (2007) as: “the value which something has. No appeal need be made for those for whom it has value” (ibid). In other words, intrinsic value is the value something has independently of whether someone finds it valuable or not. In relation to wind power and Døldarheia, the way the park will affect the area would be emphasized and not only the possible gains for humans. For my thesis the interesting question is whether the informants perceive nature as having value separate from the value it has to accommodate human needs. Do the actors perceive Døldarheia in an instrumental matter that is

purely a resource to cover human needs? Or do they take an intrinsic stance towards valuing nature? In addition to the instrumental and intrinsic way of valuing nature, the term inherent value is often used. Carter (2007) defines inherent value as “the value something has for someone, but not as a means to a further end” (ibid). An example of inherent value is a beautiful landscape which has value for some, but not because it enables them to do something further. It is valued simply because it is beautiful (ibid). It should be emphasized that these three ways of valuing nature are not mutually exclusive, meaning that something being valuable in one sense does not prevent it being valuable in another way (ibid). So in this thesis I will focus on distinguishing between valuing nature for covering human needs (instrumental) and valuing nature for its own sake without reference to human needs (intrinsic). Carter’s (2007) understanding of inherent value is then placed under a way to value nature that focus on nature to cover humans needs, meaning valuing nature for human enjoyment, for example to enhance life quality.

The concept of sustainable development is, as mentioned, a significant background for environmental policy in Norway and for wind power development. And so, the place of sustainable development—between instrumental and intrinsic way of valuing nature—is an important matter in this thesis. In the definition of sustainable development, the focus is on current and future generation’s needs. This can imply an instrumental way of valuing nature, because the focus is on current and future human generations, which are the most common interpretations of the definition (Carter 2007:212). It is also evident that “Our Common Future” focused more on social and economic dimensions of sustainability than environmental dimensions. This is because it emphasizes “to satisfy basic human needs” and “to achieve more equitable standards of living both within and among human populations” (Carter 2007:211-212). I will therefore align the concept of sustainable development with the instrumental, rather than the intrinsic. However, it should be stated that this is not conclusive, which I argued in the previous section regarding the concept of sustainable development and its proposed “needs”.

Another important matter when it comes to actors' views on nature and the relationship between humans and nature is what the actors perceive to be nature. Michael Woods (2003) did a case study on wind power in Wales, where he used two broad perspectives on what is perceived as nature. I find these fruitful to use in this thesis. The first one is what Woods (2003) calls the "nature- rural perspective" which focuses on the local environment as nature, and the local natural landscape's flora and fauna. Environment protection then focuses on local issues and protection of the local landscapes and the aspects it contains. Here, nature is often perceived as idyllic, pure and vulnerable to human interventions (Woods 2003:272-274). The second view is what Woods calls the "utilitarian perspective" on nature, which has a "holistic" view in the sense that nature includes the whole earth's environment. The local landscapes are then perceived as being a part of the bigger global environment. Here, environmental protection focuses on sustainable management of nature. Local environmental protection, and especially protection of landscapes, is perceived as a minor issue when compared with global environmental issues, related to sustainable management of nature (ibid). The utilitarian perspective can be related to the instrumental way of valuing nature, because the main focus is on human considerations. However, I find it helpful to distinguish between ways of valuing nature and ways of perceiving nature. So in this thesis "instrumental" will refer to a way to value nature, while "utilitarian" will refer to what is perceived as nature. The main difference between the two perspectives is that the "nature- rural" perspective focuses on the local landscape and what it contains as *nature*, while the "utilitarian" perspective focuses on the entire global environment as *nature*.

In addition to the planned wind power park at Døldarheia and the actors' views on nature, another concept needs to be introduced. This is the notion of "areas without major infrastructure development in Norway" (INON)⁶. INON will in my thesis serve as a definition of "untouched nature". Untouched nature is a term that is often used among the stakeholders. In this sense "untouched" refers to

⁶ In Norwegian: Inngrepsfrie naturområder i Norge (INON)

areas that have no visible signs of human activity. INON are areas without any form of significant human impacts in a one kilometer radius from the nearest sign of human activity. INON are mapped by the Norwegian directorate for nature management (DN). INON do not protect areas in the sense that any development of infrastructure is prohibited. Nevertheless, it has become an important instrument when political decisions are made regarding whether or not an area should be developed (DN INON 2012). There are several reasons for protecting these areas, according to DN. Firstly, these areas contain a high diversity of habitats for plants and wildlife. The Convention on the Conservation of European Wildlife and Natural Habitats, also known as the Bern Convention, committed that Norway shall protect species and their natural habitats, which includes protection of INON (DN 2012). Secondly, many people enjoy untouched nature areas for the experience of silence and intact nature. In addition to this, DN states that the area has value because of the lack of interference (DN 2012b). The third point for protection of these areas is to maintain Norway's reputation as an attractive tourist destination (DN 2012b). INON represent a Norwegian policy to protect untouched nature. Big parts of the interference area at Døldarheia are INON, and this INON will be lost with the development of a wind power park.

A central part of any debate concerning wind power and nature is landscapes. Natural landscapes can be perceived as the way nature becomes evident for us, or in other words, our visual experience of nature (Woods 2003: 272). In the case of Døldarheia, the way people perceive the natural landscape is a central part of the debate.

Aesthetics are closely connected to how people perceive landscapes. Aesthetics are based on subjective judgments and it is difficult to quantify how people will perceive the landscape with or without wind turbines. However, the change in the landscape is one of the main reasons for controversy surrounding the introduction of wind power in any context, because of the potential change in the landscape aesthetics (Pasqualetti 2002:4). This means aesthetics play a central part in any debate about wind power and landscapes. The controversies around the effects on

the landscape aesthetics are therefore hard to avoid. Especially when it comes to the introduction of wind power in areas without previous human interference (INON), which is the case at Døldarheia. This is because the contrast between wind turbines as industrial installation and nature without human interference is necessarily vast. Døldarheia is also placed on a mountain plateau and the turbines will then change the landscape in a high degree.

This thesis will focus on how the actors within the case of Døldarheia perceive the planned wind power park. The interference with the landscape and with nature is evidently one of the main issues with the planned park.

2.3 Discourse analysis

In this thesis, I will employ a discourse analysis to find out how the different actors perceive the planned wind power park at Døldarheia, especially in relation to the environmental arguments related to wind power development. A discourse analysis is especially relevant when one wants to understand how actors talk about an issue, and how they talk about other actors view on the issue. This is because the aim of the discourse analysis is not to assess the validity of the claims that are made. Rather, the focus is on how the involved parties dispute each other's arguments (Futak- Campbell and Haget 2011:208).

Discourse analysis is based on a social constructivist approach to the social sciences. Social constructivism is very diverse and includes many theories about cultures and societies. However, there are some aspects which are evident within all social constructivist approaches. First of all, social constructivism has a critical attitude towards given facts—our knowledge about the world cannot necessarily be accounted as objective. Our knowledge about the world is a result of our way to categorize the world. Second, humans are cultural and historical beings, meaning that our knowledge about the world changes from time period to time period and from culture to culture. Third, there is a relationship between knowledge and social processes. Our way to understand the world is contained in

social processes. Social interaction is essentially how humans produce and reproduce what they view as the truth. Forth, there is a close connection between knowledge and social actions. Meaning that in a given worldview, some actions are perceived as natural and some are not— different worldviews have different social actions, which differ significantly from each other (Jørgensen and Phillips 1999:13-14). So a discourse analysis is a social constructivist approach that focuses on the claims being made about a phenomenon. Michael Foucault is a key theorist in relation to discourse analysis and his work on social phenomena, as sexuality, imprisonment and punishment (Foucault 1979, 1984) , stands as classics within the discourse analysis (Agder et al. 2001) .

However, what a discourse means is not unambiguous (Hajer 1995:43, Jørgensen and Phillips 1999:9, Svarstad 2002). Svarstad (2002) differentiates between three main ways of defining a discourse. The first definition is the linguistic discourse, which can be understood as synonymous for “text” – particularly how sentences combine to form texts, which express a given meaning. The second definition is the everyday speech discourse, which is understood as the conversation or discussion about a certain issue. The third definition is the most common way to define discourse within the social sciences. Here, a discourse is understood to mean a specific delimitation of a shared meaning of a phenomenon. A discourse can then be viewed as a specific way of understanding the world. A specific meaning develops within a discourse and the discourse gets closed from other possible meanings (Svarstad 2002:67). In relation to the third way of defining discourses, Svarstad (2002) regards a discourse as:

A shared meaning of a phenomenon, which may be small or large; the understanding of it may be shared by a small or large group of people on the local, national or global level. Actors involved in the discourse participate (in varying degree) in its production, reproduction and transformation through written and oral statements. These statements possess certain regularities, not only as to the content (or message), but also by the use of some shared expressive means in terms of, for instance,

certain meta-narratives and rhetorical devices, such as metaphors. (Svarstad 2002:68).

I will in this thesis use Svarstad's (2002) definition of discourses. I will emphasize that the focus does not depend on how the discourses in the case of Døldarheia change over time. I will rather examine the contemporary discourse at the time when I conducted my field work in Vindafjord municipality. In other words, I will examine the shared meanings of the planned wind power park at Døldarheia and how the informants' statements possess certain regularities in content at the time I did my fieldwork.

My methods chapter, Chapter 3, describes the way I identified the discourses in my case.

After the discourses and their representations are identified, it is fruitful to examine the relationship between them. The concept of hegemonic or leading discourses will be important to examine the relationship between discourses in my case. The idea about hegemonic discourses has its roots in Gramsci's (1991) hegemony theory. A discourse can be perceived as hegemonic if it dominates thinking around an issue and becomes translated into institutional arrangements (Svarstad 2002:69). Svarstad (2002) uses the concept of leading discourses instead of hegemonic discourses because, in her case, some discourses are stronger than others (leading), but none are totally dominating (ibid). This is also applicable for my thesis because one discourse is definitely stronger than the other, even though it does not totally dominate the production of policies and practices. In relation to leading discourses there often exist counter discourses which seek to discredit the leading discourse.

Power is an underlying theme in any debate concerning management of natural resources. The relationship between leading discourses and counter discourses are highly affected by power relations between discourses. Benjaminsen and Svarstad (2010) provide a definition of power that in my view is useful in conflicts concerning management of natural resources:

Power is exercised when one or several actors performing intentional actions in relation to other parties and this contributes to the maintenance or alteration of environmental management in a way that to some extent or entirely is in accordance with their intentions. Power always involves both actors and structures. When exercising power, the actors use one or more forms of power resources (Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010:20).

Power resources refer to different advantages an actor can have to forward a particular view on an issue. Examples of power resources is economic, landowning, political, discursive and informative (knowledge) (Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010:23-25)

Power relations between the discourses will not be a central part of this thesis. However, I will briefly discuss and show how power is underlying in the case of Døldarheia when actors claim to represent the environment.

Closely connected to the relationship between discourses and power is the question about what motivates actors' interests. Within my discourse analysis the issue of "stake" will be important. "Stake" refers to the motivations or interests of the various actors for or against a given perspective. In reality this means that actors strive for legitimacy. It is important for actors, in any debate, to ensure their point of view is not dismissed because it appears part of their own selfish interest. In the same way, actors seek to discredit other actors by stating how their attitude is only a matter of their own interest. For example, in a wind power project, it is important for developers to show that there are other benefits than just profit for a company. Motivation is therefore a key issue when it comes to the issue of stake. The matter of stake is important because if an actor's view is dismissed as a matter of stake, their claims will often be dismissed (Haggett and Futak Campbell 2011:210).

2.4 Previous discourse analysis in relation to wind power

In the last 10 years, there has developed a small body of studies based on discourse analyses in relation to wind power: Woods (2003), Szaraka (2004), Devine Wright and Devine Wright (2006), Ellis et al. (2007), Haggett and Campbell (2011), to mention some.

Ellis et al. (2007) stress that previous research on the acceptance of wind power parks has often neglected the context surrounding the projects. They argue this is because the positivistic attitude towards research has been highly influential on previous research. This includes the belief that it is possible to find objective truths and produce value-free research. They further argue that wind power conflicts are not clashes of an objective policy stance, but rather a clash between values. According to Ellis et al. (2007), discourse analysis is better suited to capture what deeper value, cultural and institutional contexts lie behind various actors' stances. Discourse analysis has provided (and will provide) new perspectives on the problems related to placement, local acceptance and environmental issue involved in any introduction of wind power parks (Ellis et al. 2007:7-9).

Within the introduction of wind power there is a complex negotiation between different discourses. Woods (2003) performed a discourse analysis on the introduction of wind power in rural Wales. He states that when doing research on wind power development, it is of crucial importance to understand “the complex negotiations of discourses of nature, landscape, environment and rurality which frames collective and individual actions” (Woods 2003:287). In addition, I will argue that the issue of politics, economy, development and social relations needs to be added to a discourse analysis on wind power discourses. It is of course not possible to examine all these discourses. However, I think it is of crucial importance to keep in mind that discourses around an issue do not operate independent from other discourses on other issues. These different systems are tightly interwoven in most cases concerning introduction of wind power. Woods

(2003) focuses on two main discourses when it comes to his case in Wales. He distinguishes between pro-wind power and anti-wind power. In his case, the anti-wind power coalition focuses on emotions among the locals and how the local population felt a strong belonging to the place's nature and landscape. Therefore they argue that the natural areas should be protected and that a wind power project will represent something negative for the local society because of the strong belonging people feel towards the area. The representatives for the pro-wind power discourse claimed that their arguments about producing renewable energy to cope with global environmental problems were both scientifically and morally superior to the anti-wind coalition (Woods 2003).

While Woods (2003) did a discourse analysis from one case in Wales, Szarka (2004) did a comparative case study using discourse analysis. His findings are similar to those from Woods. He analyzed the discourse coalitions existing within the wind power sector in Britain, Denmark and France. He mapped the main discourses within his cases and why interaction between them often leads to conflicts (Szarka 2004:317).

Szarka (2004) identified 3 main policy discourses and the coalitions that supported these discourses in his cases:

1. The pro-wind power coalition, stressing the role of renewable energy (including wind power) to fight the threat from current climate change. This discourse is supported by the coalition of central governments, energy companies and international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs).
2. The nature conservation discourse. This discourse is often supported by nature conservation organizations, especially the ones that operate on the local level. These organizations and their supporters are often put in difficult situations, because they need to balance their view on immediate destruction of ecosystems with long term sustainability issues. This not

only involves nature like fauna, but also nature in relation to people—the value of unspoiled landscapes for human enjoyment.

3. The local resident discourse/The local anti-wind discourse. This discourse is not unambiguous and there are, according to Szaraka (2004), significant variations between the countries he examined. However, the local anti-wind discourses often determine wind power to be inefficient, over-subsidized, damaging to landscapes, and disturbing to local residents with noise and shadows (Szaraka 2004:323-326).

I will argue that the discourse coalitions Szaraka (2004) identifies can be found in most wind power projects, and it is highly relevant as a background for my findings in the case of Døldarheia.

This thesis will employ a discourse analysis because it provides me a tool to study two items: One, how parts representing one discourse justify their views; two, how the actors try to prove the other discourse argument to be inaccurate. With discourse analysis, the researcher's job is not to assess the validity of the arguments being made, but instead to study how the actors present their claims. Much of the research in relation to wind power has been based on attitude that resistance towards wind power project is a problem. Parts of the research have therefore focused on trying to overcome this (Aitken 2010; Futak- Campbell and Haggett 2011). When conducting a discourse analysis I will be able to get a deeper understanding of what the involved parts think and feel about the wind power development plans in my case, without judging the validity of their arguments.

3. Methods

In this thesis the main focus is on how actors claim to represent the environment and try to detect the assumptions behind their arguments. In addressing my research questions I strive to understand the view of the various stakeholders involved in the planned wind power parks. Field work in Vindafjord municipality forms the basis of my thesis. During the field work, I conducted qualitative semi-structured in-depth interviews with representatives from the developers, the municipality, local “friluft”⁷ and environmental organizations, local landowners and local inhabitants in the towns surrounding the area. In addition to this I interviewed the Norwegian Water Resource and Energy Directorate (NVE) in Oslo. Although the sample is modest (see below), I wished to obtain the viewpoints of a broad range of actors to get a nuanced picture of people’s perception of the planned wind power park. My findings provided me with many different and conflicting views on the matter. I have also done literary review to be able to connect my finding to existing research on wind power.

I will in this methods chapter first examine the qualitative case study inquiry to research. Secondly I will present which methods I used for my data collection. In this part I will also present the groups of informants I interviewed. Thirdly, I will change my focus to present how I analyzed my data in this thesis, this includes presenting how I employed a discourse analysis to analyze my findings. Fourthly, I will discuss some of the ethical issues that emerged when I was conducting my thesis, and how I coped with them. In the last part of this methods chapter I will briefly discuss some of the challenges and limitations of my thesis.

⁷ The notion of “friluftsliv” can be defined as “a person’s being and physical activity outdoors in their spare time to get an environmental change and experience nature” (DN 2001). I will throughout this thesis use the Norwegian word “friluftsliv”, because I did not find an adequate way of translating the term.

3.1 Qualitative case study

In this thesis I employed a qualitative case study approach to get a better understanding of the planned wind power park at Døldarheia. Creswell (2007) defines qualitative research:

Qualitative research begins with assumptions, a worldview, the possible use of a theoretical lens, and the study of research problems inquiring into the meanings individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem... the collection of data in a natural setting sensitive to the people and places under study, and data analysis that is inductive and establishes patterns or themes (Creswell 2007:37).

He further states about the presentation of qualitative research:

The final report or presentation includes the voice of participants, the reflexivity of the researcher and a complex description and interpretation of the problem, and it extends the literature or signals a call for action (Creswell 2007:37).

Qualitative research is suitable when one wants to explore a problem or issue. It is appropriate when a complex, detailed understanding of an issue and its context is necessary. With qualitative research, the goal is to empower the individual to give their side of a particular story and then explore the meaning of that story (Creswell 2007: 39-41). I aim to understand different actors' attitudes toward the wind power plans and the related environmental issues. This means my analysis focuses most on people's views and reactions toward the plans. It is interesting to use a qualitative method to see how actors talk about the plans and what underlying assumptions form the "foundation" of their positions.

Within the qualitative method I will use a case study approach. My case will be the planned wind power project at Døldarheia. A case study involves the examination of an issue (with reference to one or several cases) within a setting or a context (Creswell 2007:73). Creswell defines qualitative case study as:

A qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (e.g., observation, interviews, audiovisual material, and documents and reports), and reports a case description and case based themes (Creswell 2007:73).

A case study is appropriate when there is an identified bounded case and one seeks to get an in-depth understanding of that particular case. Yin (2009) emphasized that a critical feature regarding the scope of a case study is that it strives to “investigate a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context” (Yin 2009:18). This is what I will attempt to do in this thesis.

Within the case study methodology there are different types of approaches, distinguished by the size of the specific cases and the intent of the analysis. In my thesis I will use a single instrumental case-study approach, where I focus on a bounded case to illustrate an issue (Creswell 2007:74). The bounded case in my thesis is Døldarheia and the planned wind power park. The issue in this instance is the environmental concerns in relation to wind power.

There are several advantages to this approach. A case study can serve as an illustration for the examined topic. The topic in a case study can also serve as something unique or extreme in that something similar has not been examined before. Case studies can also be compared with existing theoretical arguments (Yin 2009:19-20). Because of the character and circumstances surrounding Døldarheia, a case study approach is well-suited to reach a better understanding of the situation. Døldarheia illustrates many of the issues connected to wind power development, for example the location of wind power park. Should it be close or far away from permanent inhabitants? And related to placement, there are also environmental aspects associated with wind power development, both on the local and on the global scale. Døldarheia is also located in an area where there has not been any wind power production before and there are no wind

turbines visible from any of the surrounding villages. This does not necessarily suggest that Døldarheia possess something “extreme” or “unique”, as Yin (2009) puts it. Nevertheless, it makes the case interesting because many of the local actors have little or no experience with wind power. Lastly, my case study can also be compared to existing theoretical frameworks and previous research in relation to wind power.

My main goal is to illustrate an issue by referring to one particular case. I will not try to generalize from my case. A major criticism of the case study approach often refers to this point—the lack of generalizability (Yin 2009:14). However, it is generally not desired to generalize from the qualitative approach, because the context of the different cases will significantly differ oftentimes (Creswell 2007:74). I chose the instrumental case study to get a deeper understanding of the particular case of Døldarheia wind power park. I will argue that the case of Døldarheia illustrates many of the issues that are connected to the introduction of wind power technology in Norway. However, the contexts will vary significantly and my goal is not to generalize from the case of Døldarheia.

3.2 Methods of data collection

My two main ways of collecting data for this thesis are through interviews with stakeholders in the planned wind power park at Døldarheia and an examination of relevant literature, reports and documents. This means that my thesis will be based on primary and secondary sources, where primary sources from my interviews will be emphasized.

3.2.1 Literary review

I started my data collection by doing a thorough review on much of the existing literature about wind power development, local acceptance and environmental issues. A small body of research has emerged when it comes to issues related to how actors perceive wind power development in several contexts in different countries the last few decades; Pasqualetti et al. (2002), Woods (2003), Szaraka

(2004), Devine Wright and Devine Wright (2006), Krauss (2010), Haggett and Campbell (2011), to mention some. I did this to gain a broad knowledge about the findings in previous research on the matter. This gave me a very good background to prepare for my field work. In addition to this, I also examined the available information about the planned wind power park at Døldarheia. A very important part of this is the license application the wind power park developers have sent to NVE for assessment. The license application contains the most important findings from the consequence assessment that was made as part of the park's planning. This gave me a good understanding of what is believed to be the most important consequences of the wind power park if it is built. The consequence assessment is supposed to assess all the possible consequences a wind power park can have.

3.2.2 Semi- structured open- ended interviews

When I had gained an overall understanding of both the case of Døldarheia and the existing literature, I started to plan my field work. I decided a qualitative approach was the best way to gain the information relevant for answering my research questions. I also determined that interviews were the best way to gain information about what involved actors thought about an issue. Therefore interviews became my most important data collection method. I used semi-structured open-ended interviews which lasted between 30 minutes and 2 hours. My interviews were semi-structured in the sense that I used an interview guide with some main questions. But in general, I encouraged each informant to speak freely about Døldarheia and the planned wind power park. Open-ended interviews are the most common interview strategy in the case study approach, where the focus can be on both the facts of the matter and the informant's opinion (Yin 2009:107). The challenge with an open-ended interview is that the informant might move the conversation away from the intended subjects. I used my interview guide to avoid this, because I always made sure that I asked questions related to the all the categories of questions in my interview guide.

3.2.3 Sampling strategy, informants and field work

I did my fieldwork in Vindafjord from the 7th of September 2012 to 23rd of September 2012. I did in total 11 different interviews, however, in some interviews there was more than one person present. So the total number of people involved in my interviews was 17. I used a purposeful sampling strategy both when it came to the choice of my case and the individuals I interviewed. I wanted to illustrate an issue and Døldarheia serves as a good case for this. An additional goal was to interview actors who are in some way stakeholders in the project. This can be everything from local inhabitants in one of the local villages to developers of the project. It would make little sense to use random sampling, because then I could end up in a situation where the informants did not have any information or opinions about the project. To choose informants, I noted the comments on the Døldarheia project's announcement, produced by the developers, and available online (NVE 2011). I contacted organizations and individuals who commented on the project and from these informants, I used the so-called 'snowball' or 'chain sampling' strategy. This means that from the informants who commented on the plans, I was referred to other informants who were said to be informative (Creswell 2007:127). The weakness of this strategy is that informants may only recommend people with the same perspective. However, I found several conflicting views in the comments to the announcement, and I made sure that I also asked informants with conflicting views if they knew about someone who would be information rich.

I did 10 of my interviews during my fieldwork in Vindafjord and 1 in Oslo. I did 10 of my interviews in a face-to-face setting and 1 over the telephone. The telephone interview was done this way because of geographical challenges. I recorded 8 of my interviews and transcribed them afterwards. In the last three, I made as thorough notes as possible. I did not record two of the interviews because he/she was not comfortable with me recording it. I did not record the telephone interview either, because I did not have the technical devices to do so. It can be perceived as a weakness that I did not record all the interviews;

important points can get lost and this can be problematic in a discourse analysis that prioritizes the intricacies of the speech. However, I think it is better that my informants are comfortable in the interview setting and speak freely, rather than hold back because they are uncomfortable. I actually noticed in some of the interviews that even though the informant agreed on the recording, he or she was evidently uncomfortable with the situation. However, I chose to record the interviews when the informant allowed it and consequently, the interviews provided me with adequate information.

I divided my informants into six groups, according to their position in relation to the wind power park⁸:

- **The developers**

The developers in the case of Døldarheia include the two companies Fred Olsen Renewables (FOR) and Haugaland Kraft (HK). I interviewed the representative from HK, Petter Rognevik. I contacted both companies and spoke to the representatives from HK and FOR. The companies said that they would probably say the same things if I were to interview both. And they agreed that I should interview Rognevik.

- **The representatives for the national authorities**

NVE has the main responsibility for assessing proposed wind power projects and their assessment determines whether a project gets license to start wind power development. I contacted and interviewed Laura Haslenes in NVE, because she was set as the contact person for the project at Døldarheia. Two additional employees at NVE also participated in the interview.

- **The representative for the local authorities**

I interviewed a member of the municipality board, Brynulf Aslebygdi. After calling several representatives from the municipality board, he was

⁸ I have given my informants made-up names. I will discuss this in chapter 3.4.3

recommended because he had most knowledge about the plan. He has also been in the municipality board since the plans were launched.

- **Representatives from local environmental and “friluft” organization**

I interviewed two locally-based environmental and “friluft” organizations: “Haugesund Turistforening” (HT)⁹ and “Forum for nature and friluftsliv in Rogaland” (FNF)¹⁰. I interviewed these two organizations because they had commented on the announcement of the wind power park's planning. This means that they have knowledge about the specific plans at Døldarheia, the case in my thesis.

- **Local landowners**

I interviewed three local landowners. I contacted several landowners and asked who would have most knowledge about the plans. I ended up with three local landowners— Sigurd Hå, Gudmund Kvileland and Vegar Johannesson. Hå and Johannesson are farmers in two of the local villages. Johannesson also owns one of the small cabins in the interference area.

- **Local inhabitants without owner interests at Døldarheia**

I chose three local inhabitants that had knowledge about the plans. It became a challenge to identify locals with knowledge about the plans, so I contacted quite a few locals before I found these three. The three locals I interviewed were Varg Josteindal, Hallgeir Elvebakken and Sivert Roaldnes. They all had connection to the project, because they either commented on the announcement or they were recommended by another stakeholder.

I made six interview guides, but they did not differ much¹¹. I decided early in the process that it would make little sense to use the same interview guide for, for

⁹ The local branch, at Haugalandet, of the Norwegian Trekking Association.

¹⁰ In Norwegian: “Forum for Natur og Friluftsliv”(FNF). FNF is a cooperation network for several organizations that work with environmental- and “friluft” related issues. FNF has representatives in all counties in Norway (FNF 2013). I will in the following refer to FNF as an environmental and “friluft” organization.

¹¹ I put one of my interview guides into the appendix, the other five interview guides did not differ much from this one.

example, the developers and local inhabitants in the surrounding villages. It is obvious that their knowledge about the plans and wind power in general would differ significantly. However, I had the same main categories in all the interview guides, except for the interview with NVE. My reason was because NVE had not yet taken a stance whether the project gets a license to start wind power production. The categories were:

1. Wind power in general and the background for developing wind power. In this category I asked specifically about the environmental aspects involved. I ended this category by asking the actors what they saw as a perfect area for developing wind power in Norway.
2. Døldarheia. Here I focused on Døldarheia and whether actors perceived it as suitable area for wind power. In this category I got a good impression of what the actors thought about the plans, and also what relationship they had to the area. I emphasized the environmental concerns in this part.
3. The consequence assessment and the planning process. I asked questions about the consequence assessment for two reasons. Firstly, because it is interesting to know whether the actors are aware of the most likely consequences from the park. Secondly, I got a deeper understanding on why the actors argued the way they did about the planned park.
4. The potential conflicts and the future. In this category I focused on what the actors perceived as the main conflicts in relation to the park and what they thought about the arguments that conflicted with their own. I also focused on what they thought would happen in the future, essentially whether they thought the park would be built or not.

I did not strictly follow the interview guide. I focused more on doing the interviews so the informant would feel free to share his/her thoughts on the plans. However, I made sure that we talked about all four categories.

3.3 Analyzing the data

After my field work I started analyzing the data I gathered.

3.3.1 Transcription and systemizing the data

When I returned to Oslo from my field work I transcribed the interviews I recorded. I did this as thoroughly as possible, however, I did remove non-lexical utterances from the transcription. I do not think it changes the informants' statements if I include passages as “hmm”, “mhm”, “tja”, or not.

After I transcribed all the interviews, I examined my data thoroughly and made a table to sort the actors' arguments. When I read through my transcription of the interviews, I highlighted the passages I believed would help me answer my research questions, and placed these passages in the table. I sorted the different arguments using the four categories from my interview guide. I did this so that I had a system with sorted arguments based on informant information from the interviews. This helped me systematize my findings and it helped me identify statements that were related to my research questions. This also helped me to do a discourse analysis, because it became evident which informant had similar views on the case and how their arguments connected. I therefore focus much on detecting quotes that reflected agreement or disagreement among the informants. This is eventually the issue of this thesis— to detect shared meanings in the statements about the wind power park at Døldarheia.

I translated the quotes I have used in this thesis into English after my own interpretation.

3.3.2 Discourse analysis as method for analyzing my data

The discourse analysis approach, which I examined in chapter 2.3, also serves as a method for analyzing my data. The main benefit of a discourse analysis is the ability to analyze what is said and its meaning in a holistic perspective. In other words the discourse analysis also serves as a method to analyze what people say

and the meaning of what is said in this thesis (Neumann 2002:81). The discourse analysis, in this thesis, is about identifying the shared meanings of a phenomenon and how these meanings are conveyed. Identifying discourses is done by identifying the main characteristics of meanings that are evident within a certain issue. Neumann (2001) presents a three step approach to identify discourses and conduct a discourse analysis, which I used in the case of Døldarheia.

First and foremost he stresses that the researcher needs to have a certain degree of cultural competence to be able to identify discourses. This means that the researcher should strive to get as much knowledge as possible about the context around the issue that he/she is studying. Foucault once stated that one should read everything and study everything to cover as many eventualities as possible (Neumann 2001:54). It is of course not possible to maintain perfect cultural competence, however, a high degree of cultural competence help the researcher to cover as many of the eventualities that may emerge when conducting a discourse analysis (Neumann 2001:50-55). In other words, a degree of cultural competence is needed as a platform for the researcher to identify discourses and conduct a discourse analysis. I possess a high degree of cultural competence in relation to the local context in Vindafjord municipality. Mainly because I grew up in one of the small villages close to the area and lived in the area until I was sixteen years old. I have frequently visited the area since then. Therefore, I am familiar with the context around the case I studied. I will discuss the implications of my position as a research in the in chapter 3.4, particularly ethical considerations. In relation to gain cultural competence on my study object—wind power— have I tried to study a wide range of literature on wind power development in different contexts, in addition to literature on the rational for developing wind power.

In Neumann's (2001) approach, the first step is to choose and delineate the discourse. This step deals with setting the boundaries for the discourse, and from that, identifying what the discourse contains (Neumann 2001:55-63). I did this when I arranged the informants' arguments according to their different

characteristics. I then sorted the statements, depending on the presented view, with a main focus to determine whether the informant were pro- or con- the proposed wind power park. So to delineate the discourses in my case, I used a framework that separated actors who supported from actors who opposed the wind power plans. This gave me the boundaries for the discourses that I identified in my case.

The second step then is to identify what view the discourse represents. This means identifying what arguments the discourse contains, so that the arguments can be viewed as clusters which form a discourse (ibid). After I set the boundaries for the discourses I looked for similarities within the arguments made by the informants within these boundaries. By detecting these similarities I was able to make a cluster of arguments that fitted within the boundaries of the discourse. This cluster of arguments is then the discourses in the case of the planned wind power park at Døldarheia.

The third step can include several approaches to the discourses identified. For one, it can involve looking at the layers of the discourse. This means looking at the assumptions in arguments and how these affect a discourse for a certain topic (ibid). In this thesis I will focus on how the discourse represents the environment. I will therefore try to detect the underlying assumptions that form the basis of the environmental arguments within the discourses. I will also look at the relationship between the discourses I identified in the case of Døldarheia and how they interact with each other to represent variations of truth. Finally, I will compare the discourses in my case with previous research on discourses in relation to wind power.

3.4 Ethical considerations

In this part of the thesis I will discuss the ethical issues that emerged while I conducted my research.

3.4.1 My position as a researcher

Creswell (2007) states qualitative research acknowledges the impact of the researcher:

How we write is a reflection of our own interpretation based on the cultural, social, gender, class, and personal politics that we bring to research (Creswell 2007:179)

In other words, the researcher brings biases, values and his/her understanding of the world into the research project. This implies that the validity of qualitative research can be discussed and questioned, because it is based on the researcher's interpretation of data. However, within social constructivist approaches to research, the goal is not to be objective. A position can be supported because our knowledge about the world is also non-objective, but instead, socially constructed (Jørgensen and Phillips 1999:13-14). The role of the researcher's interpretation is, in other words, acknowledged within the qualitative inquiry, as well as in the social constructivist approach to social science.

As mentioned, I grew up in the municipality that I am studying, which can complicate matters. There are issues that I needed to consider when conducting my research. To do field work in one's own culture is essentially to study one's own reality (Wadel 1991:18). This has its advantages— I have a high degree of what Neumann (2001) calls cultural competence and I speak the language. However, it is important to analyze one's own behavior in relation to informants, and try to understand how my cultural values might influence the informant, to avoid affecting the informant's answers (Wadel 1991:21). I strived to be as neutral as possible in the interviews. I focused on allowing informants to talk, and not affecting them with my own values and views.

In addition to growing up in the area, my brother own a small piece of land at Døldarheia. He therefore is one of the landowners with interests in the project. One could argue how this makes me biased in this case, because a close relative

of mine has economic interests in the park. However, I attempted to be as unbiased as possible when I conducted my research. I did not include anyone from my family in this thesis, for example, I did not interview my brother as a landowner. But I have of course discussed my research projects with family and friends, even though several of them have interests in the planned wind power park at Døldarheia.

Another issue that could have emerged in relation to my project is my process of choosing which local informants for interviews. I know many of the people living in the villages of the municipality, but I avoided conflicts by only contacting the commentators on the wind power park announcement. In addition to this, I used the so-called “snow ball method” to collect my informants—purposeful sampling, so that I searched for information-rich informants. These informants had a wide variety of attitudes towards the park. It would be a problem if I were to only interview actors with similar views on the case. I will argue that I did not misuse my position as a researcher in the area that I grew up. I focused on the informants' statements about the planned park, and did not intentionally present a limited view.

3.4.2 Informed consent

An important part of social science research ethics is informed consent. It is crucial in any project that the informants have a thorough understanding about what kind of project he/she is participating in, both when it comes to the research process and the aims of the research (Scheyvens et al. 2009:142-143). I started all interviews by giving a thorough briefing about what my project was about and how I was to use the information I gathered. I also offered to send informants parts of my thesis, so they could see how I referred to their statements. Not all informants said that this was necessary. I also informed them that they could withdraw from the project at any time.

3.4.3 Anonymity

Anonymity refers to the researcher's responsibility to keep the identity of private persons, if they so wish, so they will not be personally identifiable in any outputs (Scheyvens 2009:146).

In the start of this thesis, I was not sure whether I should make my informants anonymous. After every interview I asked the informants whether they wanted to be anonymous or not. None of my informants had strong wishes of being anonymous. This can be connected to how my study does not contain sensitive information about the informants. I solely focused on their view of a phenomenon, namely, wind power at Døldarheia. It makes sense that the actors who represent something more than themselves, for example, representatives for the developers, the "friluft" and environmental organizations and the municipality did not mind if used their real name. They are after all forwarding a specific view on the case, which they represent. It would also be easy to find the identity of these representatives, considering they are active in the planning of the park. Nevertheless, I decided to make all my informants anonymous and giving them made-up names. I did this because I could sense some of the local informants were not sure if they wanted to be anonymous, and only after some thinking, they decided that they did not mind that I used their name. From the hesitation and doubts, as well as to provide consistency, I decided to use made-up names for everyone.

3.5 Challenges and limitations in my approach

There are always challenges when trying to present people's statements and meanings. In qualitative research the goal is to:

Strive for understanding that deep structure of knowledge that comes from visiting personally with participants, spending extensive time in the field, and probing to obtain detailed meanings (Cresswell 2007:201).

To “obtain detailed meanings”, accuracy is of crucial importance. I have attempted to be as accurate as possible when presenting the statements made by the informants. However, this is a challenging exercise— I cannot include everything an informant has stated from interview in this thesis. It is therefore up to me, as a researcher, to decide which passages to include. I intended to be as accurate as possible when presenting the view of informants and I have not used passages where I was unsure if I reflected the view of the informant.

I “cleaned” up the language the informant used when I transcribed the interviews. This means that I wrote transcription in one of the Norwegian written languages; “bokmål”, which is noticeably different from the local dialect spoken by the local inhabitants in Vindafjord municipality. I also remove non-lexical utterances. I have translated the statements made by the informants from Norwegian to English. This means I was forced to change certain passages so they sound reasonable in English. This takes my written report another step away from the original oral source, if considering accuracy. This may be considered a weakness—that I remove the way the informants present their point of view and so I lose some of the meanings in their arguments. Nevertheless, I try to be as accurate as possible when I present the informants' views in this thesis.

Another issue that is evident in relation to this thesis is that of my 11 interviews with actors, only two of them are women (of the 17 that participated in my interviews in total, there were 5 females). This can suggest a gender bias in my research. However, as mentioned I used the comments on the announcement for the project when I picked my informants and from that I used the so- called “snowball- method”. And there were no women who had commented on the announcement or were recommended by other actors. So it was difficult to avoid having a gender bias in this thesis, in general, because I will argue that it makes little sense to search for female informants just for the sake of avoiding the gender bias. Mainly because I could end up in a situation where the informant would have little knowledge and no attitudes towards the project. And as

previously emphasized the aim of my interviews was to interview information rich actors, which had attitude towards the project.

I learned much in the process of researching and writing this thesis. I had no prior experience in doing such an extensive work over such a long period of time. And more experience would have improved the thesis, for example, the process of doing interviews. When transcribing and analyzing my data, I noticed that the interviews I conducted last were better than the earlier ones. When analyzing some of the interviews, I asked myself a few times questions like “Why did I not ask that follow up question” or “Why did I not ask him/her to clarify that part”. However, I felt that my interviewing skills improved in the process and that the data I collected was adequate to write this thesis.

4. Wind power in Norway

In this chapter I will first examine the background for developing wind power in Norway. Secondly, I will examine the national discourse on wind power in Norway. This will not be a thorough discourse analysis of the national discourses on wind power, mainly because that would be a too comprehensive work for this thesis. I have performed a more “shallow” discourse analysis, where I have identified the national discourse by referring to the Norwegian government’s, and directorates under the government’s authority, policy towards wind power. Thirdly, I will present the counter discourse that has emerged in relation to the national discourse on wind power. I have identified the counter discourse by making reference to the central critique of the national discourse from “friluft” and environmental organization, as well as from several actors at Døldarheia. Finally, I will shortly examine the planning process for getting license to start producing wind power in Norway.

4.1 The background for wind power development

The main background for increased wind power development in Norway is the call for increased production of renewable energy worldwide. Electricity in Norway comes mainly from hydropower, which is a renewable resource. 99% of the electricity in Norway comes from renewable sources (Ministry of Petroleum and Energy 2007). Nevertheless, Norway is one of the biggest oil producers in the world and the Norwegian economy is to a high degree based on the petroleum sector. Fossil fuels in Norway are used to produce energy for the petroleum sector, transportation and various other industries (NVE 2011b:7-8). Even though the electricity production in Norway is based on hydro power, the overall energy production is based on both fossil and renewable sources. In addition to this is the Norwegian energy consumption, which is very high compared to the global average (SSB 2002). It is therefore argued that Norway has a special responsibility to reduce its use of fossil fuels. Norway is also an

annex 1 party in the international climate negotiations in UNFCCC. Norway has, among other binding treaties, ratified the Kyoto protocol, which means that it has pledged to reduce the GHG emissions to the 1990 level (UNFCCC 2012). The Norwegian goal to increase production of renewable energy, including wind power, is based on decisions made in UNFCCC, the European Union's (EU) directive on renewable energy and the Norwegian parliament's Environmental Policy¹² (Ministry of the Environment 2012).

The EU's renewable energy directive from 2009 is perceived as an important threshold for renewable energy development in Europe. The directive's objective is that 20% of the EU's energy use shall be based on renewable sources by 2020. The renewable energy directive was implemented in the European Economic Area (EEA), to which Norway belongs, December 19th, 2011. The directive gives the involved parties the opportunity to set their own goals regarding how much energy production comes from renewable sources. Norway in 2011 set its goal: 67.5% of its energy would come from renewable sources by 2020. This marks an increase of 9.5% from the 2005- levels and it is considerably higher than any EU country (Ministry of the Environment 2012).

Norway is in a unique position when it comes to achieving its goal for renewable energy. This is mainly because Norway still has a significant potential for increased production of wind power, hydro power, bio-energy and other renewable energy. The potential for wind power both on land and offshore is calculated to be enormous by the Norwegian Water Resource and Energy Directorate (NVE) (Ministry of the Environment 2012).

To achieve the goal of increasing renewable energy production, the government's most significant influence becomes making these energy sources competitive. The main competitors for renewable energy are fossil-based energy sources such as coal, oil and gas, and also nuclear power. The reason for Norway's support of renewable energy production is not only environmental and climate related

¹² In Norwegian: "Klimameldingen"

considerations, supply sector considerations and a goal to increase Norway's energy security also plays in (Enova et al. 2012). The concrete instruments to reach the renewable energy goals are economic support to renewable energy development. The Norwegian government has done this through Enova, and more recently the introduction of the green certificates. Enova was established in 2001 by the Norwegian parliament to help private and public actors make the transition to a society that in a higher degree is based on renewable energy sources. The formal owner of Enova is the Norwegian Ministry for Petroleum and Energy. Enova promotes a more environmentally friendly use and production of energy, mainly through economic support and advises. Enova is financed by the so-called energy fund, which receives its funding from the government's budget as well as an electricity bill fee on people and businesses (Enova 2012).

The green certificates were introduced January 1st 2012 and are intended to take over Enova's role of supporting renewable energy production. The green certificates are a market-based support system for renewable energy development in Norway and Sweden. The goal for trade with green certificates for renewable energy is to increase production of electricity-based renewable energy sources such as wind-, water- and bio- energy. The certificates are technologically neutral, which means that all projects based on renewable energy can get certificates. Norway and Sweden is each responsible for financing one-half of the certificates, and it does not matter whether the certificates are used in Norway or Sweden. Sweden has had the certificate system since 2003. Norway has therefore only recently been added to the already existing Swedish market. The certificate system is based on giving economic support to producers of renewable energy, so that the producer gets one certificate per MWh they produce in 15 years. All energy suppliers and some consumers, with their own energy procurement, have a duty by law to buy certificates for a certain part of their consumption. This will eventually create a demand for certificates and then the certificates will develop a price. The electricity producers will then get extra income on their sale of electricity, in addition to the income they receive from sale of electricity to the

consumers. The additional income received is meant as an incentive to increase the production of renewable energy. The consumers in Norway and Sweden are contributing to finance the certificates through an extra fee on their electricity bill. NVE is responsible for supervision and management of the green certificates (Ministry for Petroleum and Energy 2012).

The goal of the green certificates is to increase the development of renewable energy in Norway. However, renewable energy production will not have any effect to cut greenhouse gas emission as long as it does not replace energy produced by fossil-based energy sources. The presumption is that the increased development of renewable energy is going to replace fossil-based energy in several ways:

- By exporting renewable energy to other European countries to replace fossil based energy in these countries.
- By increasing use of electric cars in Norway (NVE 2012c).
- By using more renewable energy in the “heavy industries”¹³ in Norway.
- By exporting energy to the oilrigs in the north sea, so that they use renewable energy in the petroleum production (Hakenstad 2012).

4.2 The national discourse on wind power

The Norwegian government’s environmental policy states:

There are big unused opportunities in Norway for increased development connected to an active and future- oriented environmental policy.

Increased focus on developing environmental technology and more

¹³ In Norwegian: “Tungindustrien”

creativity in managing natural and cultural values are examples of this (Ministry of the Environment 2007:31)¹⁴.

The government will: Facilitate increased development of environmental friendly wind power, in a matter where the possible conflicts are assessed as acceptable, with a holistic and long-term approach. Facilitate that the planning and license process becomes more effective and predictable for developers and society in general. The government's goal is to facilitate increased development of environmental friendly wind power. Norway has naturally good conditions to use the wind to produce renewable energy. Wind power gives increased energy security and does not include any emissions of climate gases or other polluting substances (Ministry of the Environment 2007:62)¹⁵.

In these two quotes from the Ministry of the Environment's "The Governments Environmental Policies and the State of the Environment in the Kingdom"¹⁶ (2007) the positive consequences and the opportunities that wind power development represent are emphasized. The main focus is how wind power is environmentally friendly and will increase energy security in the country. It is also emphasized that wind power (as "environmental technology") can open new opportunities to increase development. This represents the idea behind the concept of sustainable development—wind power parks will include "environmental friendly" energy and increased development. This reflects a win-win attitude towards wind power, because there are positive consequences on several levels. From this point, I will argue that the official Norwegian discourse on wind power is marked by a win-win attitude towards wind power.

The so-called win-win discourse (WWD) can be found in several fields that address issues of use or conservation of nature and natural resources and

¹⁴ My translation

¹⁵ My translation

¹⁶ In Norwegian: "Regjeringens Miljøpolitikk og Rikets Miljøtilstand"

development. The concept of sustainable development can be perceived as one of the backgrounds for this discourse. The idea behind sustainable development is to merge environmental protection and development, meaning a win-win between the two (Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010:96). The WWD is found in several studies related to environmental themes, including climate change, deforestation, desertification and biological diversity. The main focus within this discourse is that protection of the environment can be connected to other goals, for example business opportunities and economic development. It is also based on a positive cooperation between local and external actors; the external actors can be governments, business companies and NGO's (Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010:85). The WWD is often found in studies on the relationship between environmental concerns and development in so-called developing countries. However, I find it fruitful to acknowledge the same type of discourse about wind power in Norway and the case of Døldarheia, even though Norway is not a so-called "developing country". I will argue this because the arguments within this Norwegian discourse are highly affected by an approach which includes wins on several levels. This is clear in the two quotes from "The Governments Environmental Policies and the State of the Environment in the Kingdom".

The WWD in relation to wind power in Norway has its roots, as mentioned, in decisions made at the international climate negotiations, wind power as a technology solution to current climate change. This means that the WWD within wind power is highly affected by the popular discourse on climate change. Adger et al (2001: 698-702) argues that the "managerial discourse" has dominated the climate change debate. Within this discourse, institutional and political failure is perceived as the main cause of climate change. The climate change problem requires new markets for global carbon and global institutions. They further argue that the existence of a WWD is a key concept of the managerial discourse. This is because within the managerial discourse, the main focus lies on technological solutions to the climate change problem. Adger et al. states that "win-win solutions are institutionalized through the Global Environmental Facility, for example which promotes projects for their global environmental

benefits” (Agder et al. 2001:702). The managerial discourse focuses on development in relation to the introduction of technological solutions to climate change— this is because it opens new opportunities for local populations. This is clearly connected to the WWD and the concept of sustainable development (ibid).

In Norway, the WWD towards wind power is connected to the introduction of efforts to increase renewable energy production, like the green certificates. There are, as mentioned, several reasons for the introduction of these efforts. Nevertheless, current climate change is used as a fundamental argument for increased wind power production. The following quote is from NVE’s introduction web page to the green certificates: “The world need more electricity based on renewable energy sources as; water-, wind-, sun- and bio- energy. Renewable electricity can replace electricity produced by oil, gas and coal, which leads to climate emissions” (NVE 2012c)¹⁷. Although NVE do not explicitly mention current climate change as the background for the green certificate introduction, this is implied when they use phrases like “the world need” and the implication that it is supposed to replace production “which leads to climate emissions”. The green certificates are based on a belief that introduction of wind power, as a technological solution to climate change, can be a win-win situation in Norway. Developers make money from developing renewable energy, which is helpful to mitigate current climate change. In addition to this, the green certificates mean development occurs in the form of increased energy production and opportunities for local inhabitants where the projects are built. Within the WWD on wind power in Norway, the negative consequences are not necessarily dismissed. They are supposed to be accounted for when NVE makes their decision about whether or not a proposed project gets a license to start wind power production. Nevertheless, there is overall a clear focus on the positive consequences of wind power in the national discourse.

¹⁷ My translation

4.3 The counter discourse

The critique of the WWD on wind power can be found on both a local level related to the various wind power projects and on a national level associated with the rationale for developing wind power in Norway. I will in the following refer to the discourse counter to the win-win as the national nature conservation discourse (NCD).

Most of the critique on the national arena comes from “friluft” and environmental organizations. However, when it comes to wind power there is a split between the environmental organizations. Some are pro-wind power because of the contribution to increase renewable energy production. Others, doubt the rationale for wind power development in Norway, as well as believe wind power interferes too much with nature.

On the national arena, the most visible critiques of wind power development have come from organizations such as “Green warriors of Norway” (NMF)¹⁸, “Friends of the Earth, Norway” (NVF)¹⁹ and The Norwegian Trekking Association (DNT)²⁰. These organizations in various degrees oppose wind power in Norway. NMF have made it clear that they oppose wind power development in Norway in general. This is what their webpage says about the matter:

NMF in general oppose the desultory and environment destructive wind power development, that is going to destroy the Norwegian coastal landscape from Lista in the south to Vadsø in the north (Miljøvernforbundet 2013)²¹.

¹⁸ In Norwegian: “Miljøvernforbundet”

¹⁹ In Norwegian: ”Naturvernforbundet”

²⁰ In Norwegian: ”Den Norske Turistforening”

²¹ My translation

The two other environmental organizations also oppose the vast development plans that are recently proposed. However, they both do not oppose Norwegian wind power in general. NVF on their online information site about wind power says:

The fight against climate change demand increased production of renewable energy, including wind power, to reduce the use of fossil based energy at the same time is all the planned wind power projects at threat against the biological diversity in Norway. Wind power must therefore be placed in areas where there already is interferences in nature, as well as in the cultural landscapes (Naturvernforbundet 2013)²².

The arguments offered on the national level relate to the effect wind power parks will have on nature. The critique focuses much on how wind power parks will have negative effects on biological diversity and human experiences in nature.

I will refer to the two “friluft” and environmental organizations I interviewed about the case of Døldarheia when I present the counter discourse to the national WWD on wind power. This is the two representatives from “Haugesund Tursistforening” (HT) and the representative from “Forum for Nature and Friluftsliv in Rogaland” (FNF). I will refer to them because they represent local branches of national organizations. HT is the local branch of DNT at Haugaland and FNF in Rogaland is Rogaland county’s branch of Forum for Nature and “Friluftsliv”. These three informants spent much time criticizing the national discourse when I interviewed them about the case of Døldarheia. I also find it helpful to refer to them because they echo many of the points that are put forward as the main critique on the national level.

Their main focus is that currently there is not much need for wind power production in Norway. When I asked about HT’s (and DNT’s) general attitude towards wind power in Norway, Kornelius Kvardal in HT stated:

²² My translation

We do not oppose wind power in general, but we do not like the big development we have seen the last few years... It is not necessary with wind power in western Norway, and it will have no effect on the climate problem (Kvardal interview 17.09.12).

This implies that it is not the concept of wind power Kvardal and HT oppose, but rather wind power in western Norway. Heidi Emanuelsen in FNF reflects a similar view on the background for wind power development in Norway:

There is no need for more renewable energy in Norway. There is a lack of holism in the debate on renewable energy in Norway... Wind power is expensive and the subsidies do not work, because there is no cut in emission anywhere (Emanuelsen interview 18.09.12).

Emanuelsen and Kvardal echo what can be perceived as one of the main critiques of wind power development in Norway. Namely, that in Norway, where approximately 99% of the electricity comes from hydro power (Ministry of Petroleum and Energy 2007), there is little need for wind power. As Emanuelsen states, in order for wind power to decrease greenhouse gas emissions, it needs to replace fossil-based energy. Emanuelsen argues that this is currently not the case—renewable energy produced by wind power therefore becomes a surplus to the current energy production. The official argument is that energy from wind power is to replace fossil-based industry in several ways. Two examples are often used: One, to export renewable energy to other European countries in order to replace fossil-based energy, and two, to electrify the oil rigs in the North sea. On the first point, Emanuelsen states that “Europe has not asked for renewable energy from Norway” (Emanuelsen interview 18.09.12). Also Kvardal makes the point that energy from wind power in Norway does not necessarily replace fossil-based energy in Europe: “Take for example coal based power plants, they will be the last energy source that will be shut down, because it is cheapest” (Kvardal interview 17.09.12). In relation to the second point about electrifying the oil rigs in the North Sea, Kvardal states: “The argument about the electrification of the

oil industry in the north sea, will not do any good, because the flare gas needs to be burned anyway... Much of the electricity is also lost in transportation” (Kvardal interview 17.09.12).

Kvardal, Ivedal and Emanuelsen stress that wind power development in Norway will not be an effort to cope with current climate change. They all emphasize that since wind power will not directly replace fossil based energy sources, it is not an effective procedure to cut carbon emissions. It might even increase energy consumption and that can be perceived as the opposite of what is needed to cope with current climate change (Kvardal and Ivedal interview 17.09.12 and Emanuelsen interview 18.09.12). The local inhabitant in Sandeid and landowner at Døldarheia, Vegar Johanneson, reflects a similar view when I asked him what he thought about the rationale for building wind power parks in Norway. “There is no need for energy production for luxury consumption in Norway, isn’t that the opposite of what is needed to cope with global challenges?”(Johanneson interview 19.09.12)

On the national level the representatives from the NCD also emphasize that there are too many plans about wind power development in Norway. Ivedal in HT argues:

There are too many plans to develop wind power, there should be a joint plan for the whole country at least for regions, county wise is not good enough. It is currently divided and that does not show the whole picture... The county plan for wind power in Rogaland is too narrow. And it is not taken into account when NVE hands out licenses anyway... For hydro power there are joint plans for the country, but not for wind power (Ivedal interview 17.09.12).

The argument about the lack of a joint plan is often used within this discourse. They argue that plans are not thorough enough and that wind power parks will affect vast areas. Therefore, the plans need to cover bigger areas, to be able to account for the sum-effects of a wind power park. With the current plans,

representatives from the NCD emphasize that there are too many wind power plans in relatively small areas. This does not show the complete picture, according to the actors within the NCD.

In addition to the points above about the national discourse on wind power, Emanuelsen stresses another point that she argues is negative with most wind power plans in Norway. She focuses on the uncertainty involved in how a wind power park will affect the biological diversity. She relates this to the loss of “area without major infrastructure development in Norway” (INON)—which are often involved in wind power development. She is very critical of the consequence assessments that are made in relation to most wind power parks. She states:

The reports are made in too little time and with too little effort. You need to at least use two years to make it, maybe more, in reality it should take 3-5 years... you need long time to be able to capture the changes over the whole year (Emanuelsen interview 18.09.12).

This is closely connected to two items: One is how actors argue that plans for wind power are not thorough enough, and the other is how the interference with nature is the main problem in most of the planned projects. I will return to these points when I examine the views of the actors within the discourse on the concrete case of Døldarheia.

Emanuelsen also stresses, in relation to this, that the loss of biological diversity is a problem that needs to be taken seriously. This is especially the case when developing renewable energy is an effort to cope with current climate change. She argues; “now the UN has stated that the loss of biological diversity is as much of a crisis as the climate crisis, it will take a while before people understands that, and starts taking it seriously” (Emanuelsen interview 18.09.12).

4.4 The planning process for wind power development

I will now return to present some of the technicalities in relation to wind power development in Norway, especially regarding the planning process. I will do this to show the typical progression and assessment of plans like that in Døldarheia.

The process of official planning for wind power development in Norway starts with an announcement²³. The developer of a given project sends a plan/idea of a project to NVE and various interest groups identified by developers. The announcement is made to provide information about the project. The plans shall include a description of the project and a temporary assessment of the project's effects on both the interference- (the area where the turbines are located) and influence area (the area which is influenced by a given wind power project, often set to be in a 20 km radius around the interference area). The announcement shall also include a suggestion for an assessment program for aspects the developers find necessary to assess further. This includes a mapping of the project's anticipated consequences to society and nature. At this point, the various interest groups are free to comment on aspects which they feel should be assessed further, when the announcement is sent on hearing by NVE (NVE 2012).

The developers' plans and the comments on the announcement serve as a starting point for the assessment program, which is set by NVE. This program points to what aspects need to be assessed further in the consequence assessment. The assessment program shall at least contain the direct and indirect effects a given project will have on the environment, society and natural resources. It shall also contain an assessment of the aspects that the various interest groups point to after the hearing. In relation to the assessment program, there shall also be an assessment of the possible conflicts that can appear in relation to various landscapes, nature and culture (NVE 2012).

²³ In Norwegian: "Melding"

After the assessment program is set, the developer hires consultants to make the consequence assessments of the various aspects, where they consider the areas that the assessment program addresses. The consultants shall make an independent assessment of a given project's consequences. However, it is a normal practice in these cases that the consultants have discussions with the developers on how they assess certain aspects, according to Rognevik in Haugaland Kraft (HK) (Rognevik interview 17.09.12).

When the consequence assessment is complete, the developers make a license application. The application is sent to NVE for assessment. Wind power projects in Norway with an installed effect of more than 10 MW must apply for a license to start wind power production. The application shall contain a detailed and comprehensive description of the project and the results of the consequence assessment (NVE 2012).

After the application is submitted, NVE is responsible for the rest of the process. They are then supposed to send the application on hearing to the various actors, who are again welcome to give feedback on the plans (ibid).

NVE will make a final assessment on the background of the Norwegian energy act²⁴, the assessment program, the application, the comments on the applications and their own judgments. On the basis of this, they will decide whether they give the project license to start building a wind power park (ibid).

Complaints about NVE's decision shall be addressed to the Ministry for Petroleum and Energy through NVE. NVE will assess the complaint first, if they take the complaint into account it is sent to the Ministry for Petroleum and Energy for a final decision. Parties in a given case have by law the right complain on the decision made by NVE (ibid).

²⁴ In Norwegian: "Energiloven".

The political background for NVE's criteria is affected by a political goal to increase the renewable power production in Norway. NVE has formulated six basic criteria for getting license to develop wind power parks (NVE 2009). These include:

- Wind resources
- Regional energy balance
- Closeness to power net
- Environmental impacts
- Regional plans about wind power
- Effect on other businesses

NVE also mentions that they will take the local population's attitude into account (NVE 2009). This is not a point in itself and only mentioned with a short sentence.

There are also a number of laws that developers of wind power parks must consider. NVE also uses these when assessing a project. The laws include: energiloven, oreigningsloven, plan og bygningsloven, kulturminneloven, forurensingsloven, friluftsløven and naturmangfoldsloven (NVE 2012b).

NVE states that there will be a comprehensive analysis of the individual applications based on academic discretion²⁵, the consequence assessment and other relevant information (NVE 2009). This was also emphasized in my interview with the representative for NVE: "Every project is examined separately and judgments are done on the basis of the data available and academic discretion" (Haslenes interview 27.09.12).

²⁵ In Norwegian: "fagligskjønn"

5. Wind Power at Døldarheia

In this chapter I will first present the wind power plans on Døldarheia, making reference to the developers' licence application. Secondly, I will present the planning process for the park. This is to show the state of the wind power park when I did my field work, and also to serve as background for the actors' attitudes toward the park. Lastly in this chapter, I will make reference to the consequence assessment made for the wind power park. This is to show which consequences on nature and society are believed to occur with the park. The consequence assessments will of course shape the view actors will have on the case, and this makes them important for this thesis.

5.1 The wind power plans

Døldarheia wind power park is initiated by Fred Olsen Renewables AS (FOR) and Haugaland Kraft AS (HK). The developers have estimated that the overall investment in the park will be approximately 1093 million kroner (Haugland Kraft and Fred Olsen Renewable 2012).

The project includes 30 turbines in an area that is 14.4 km² and it will have a yearly production of approximately 300 GWh. The project will include a 16 km road net (in addition to a 6 km road from one of the local towns) the road must be at least 5 meters wide, a service building and an intern power net. There is no existing infrastructure in the area so all of this must be built from scratch. The turbines will be placed on the highest points in the terrain of the planned area—this is where the wind conditions are best. There will be a distance of at least 300 meters between each turbine (Haugland Kraft and Fred Olsen renewable 2012:19-29).

With the current plan, the wind power park will be easily connected to Statnett's existing power lines which are located in Sandeid east of the interference area (ibid).

The turbines will be around 130 meters tall and the rotor diameter will be approximately 101 meters. The turbines will be all white and they will be attached to the ground by a concrete fundament which will have a diameter of 7 meters. The turbines will be transported to a dock in Vats (southwest from the area) and will from there be transported with trucks to the area. The quality of the road will therefore be of crucial importance (ibid).

The daily operation of the park will mostly be automatic. However, there will be some employment opportunities (ibid).

The turbines will be operational for approximately 25 years, so if the park is shut down after 25 years the environmental effects from the park will last for approximately 30 years, according to the developers. The turbines will be removed from the area, the concrete fundaments will be covered with mass. The developers will not do anything with the roads after the park is closed down. However, they state that it is possible to modify the impacts of the roads with ground treatment (ibid).

5.2 The planning process

In September 2007, Rogaland County in western Norway (the regional authorities) made a county plan for wind power²⁶. The plan set what areas would be suitable for wind power development, so-called “yes- areas” for wind power. This plan was accepted by the Ministry of the Environment in January 2009. The plan is not binding, but it is supposed to be a guide for potential areas for wind power in Rogaland county. The standard application process for wind power also needs to be followed in the so- called “yes-areas”. Døldarheia was termed as one of these “yes-areas”. The county plans assessed the whole outer part of the county, including areas where no interest for wind power development was shown. The regional authorities localized the “yes-areas” by first localizing those

²⁶ In Norwegian: “Fylkesdelsplan for vindkraft”

areas that are not potential wind power areas. The areas that were excluded contained important cultural sites, roads, power lines, protected-nature areas, buildings or towns. They localized buffer-zones around the excluded areas where it is not realistic to build wind power parks. When the areas that were not potential wind power areas and their buffer-zones were removed, the county still had many potential wind power sites. The regional authorities split the potential areas into 218 analysis areas and then assessed the potential consequences and conflicts if there were to be a wind power park. They did an assessment by looking at the consequences a park would have on the environment, natural resources and society. In addition to that, they analyzed aspects concerning infrastructure, the municipality's plans, wind resources and conflict level, which was set in their conflict assessment. The areas that fitted these criteria, according to the regional authorities, were termed as "yes- areas" for wind power production (Rogaland Fylkeskommune 2007: 8-12).

The county plan on wind power was sent to a hearing to the affected municipalities in 2007 and Døldarheia was unanimously voted as a yes-area for wind power by Vindafjord municipality's council (Aslebygdi interview 19.09.12). The area was therefore included into the county's plan for wind power, as a yes-area for wind power.

The representative from Haugaland Kraft (Petter Rognevik) states that they look for suitable areas for wind power in a "positive matter". That means that they first and foremost look for areas with good wind resources and whether the area is close to the power net or not. This is the opposite approach from the one the county used when locating suitable area, namely, exclude the areas which contained hindrances for wind power development, independent of wind resources. HK and FOR located Døldarheia as a potential area for wind power in 2005. "The area seems to have good wind resources, due to the theories. And not the least, the area lies very close to the existing power net" (Rognevik interview 17.09.12). The county plan became one of the backgrounds for why they decided to apply for a license for wind power production on Døldarheia. Petter Rognevik

also states that Døldarheia is the best of the three “yes-areas” in the northern part of Rogaland. He also states that the “yes” from the county is very positive when it comes to getting license from The Norwegian Water Resource and Energy Directorate (NVE) (Rognevik interview 17.09.12).

FOR and HK sent the announcement about the planning of Døldarheia wind power park to NVE 31. August 2010. The announcement was sent on hearing in November 2010. The announcement was sent to a wide range of agencies and organizations. NVE also arranged an open public hearing at Ølen Kulturhus 24.11.2010. NVE together with FOR and HK informed about the plans, the process and NVE presented a preliminary assessment program. In total 45 people was present at the hearing. The same day NVE arranged an orientation meeting for the local and regional authorities, the regional authorities was not present (NVE 2011:3-4).

After the hearing, everyone is free to comment on the announcement and also suggest what should be assessed in the assessment program in addition to what NVE already has set in the preliminary assessment program. There were 16 comments to the plans and the suggested assessment program. Most of the comments included suggestions to what the assessment program should include (NVE 2011:3-8). One environmental organization, Green Warriors of Norway (NMF), demanded that the project plans was to be stopped, because of the effect the park will have on biological diversity, on INON and the shadow and noise disturbance. NMF is, as mentioned, principally against all forms for wind power development in Norway (Miljøvernforbundet 2013). The other environmental and “friluftslivs” organizations were also critical of the plans, for the same reasons as NMF.

The assessment program was set 24.10.2011 by NVE. This program finally sets what consequences the developers need to assess in the consequence assessment and that should be included in a license application. In short the license application for Døldarheia wind power parks was to include a comprehensive

description of the project, the process and the methods that will be used to build, close down and manage the park and a comprehensive assessment of the park's effect on society and the environment (NVE2011).

When the assessment program was set, HK and FOR hired consultants to do the consequence assessment. They hired Ambio Miljørådgivning AS (AMR) to be responsible for the job. They chose AMR, because they were favorable on price, they wanted to start the assessment early and HK had good experiences working with them. AMR started their assessment in April 2011, which is prior to when the assessment program was set. The assessment was finished in December 2011 (Rognevik interview 17.09.12). The application for Døldarheia was sent to NVE from the developers February 2012 (Fred Olsen Renewable and Haugaland Kraft 2012).

5.3 The reports made for the consequence assessment

The aim of the consequence assessment is to show the most important consequences the wind power park will have on the environment, the resources and society. The consequence assessment becomes a part of the license application the developers send to NVE. In this thesis it serves as a background for my discourse analysis, because it shows the possible consequences the wind power park can have. This means that actors can get a picture of what they can expect if the park is realized, and from that, decide what they think about the plan. It is also important to note that the consequence assessment is made by a consultant company which is hired by the developers. However, they are supposed to be unbiased.

In the case of Døldarheia there were reports about the possible consequences of the park that include: effects on landscape, biological diversity, society, outdoor activities and recreational activities (“friluftsliv”), cultural history and monuments, noise, shadow disturbance, roads, power nets, pollution and waste will have on the area (Fred Olsen Renewable and Haugaland Kraft 2012). I will

refer briefly to the reports on landscape, biological diversity, society and outdoor and recreational activities²⁷. I will do this to show what consequences the wind power park is expected to have on the given elements. It is also important to note that these reports are interlinked.

5.3.1 The effect on the landscape

Ambio Miljørådgiving AS (AMR) made the report about the effects Døldarheia wind power park on the landscape. This report assesses issues concerning the value and the consequence of the landscape in both the interference area and in the influence area of Døldarheia.

AMR conducted an analytic value assessment of the influence and interference area, and they used a scale from 1 to 5 stars when setting value. 5 stars represent highest value and 1 represents lowest value. It is common practice to set value on aspect that cannot be put in to monetary value, by using these kinds of analytic value assessment, based on set criteria's and academic discretion. The consequence on the landscape is then set in a scale that goes from "very significant negative consequences" in five steps to "no significant negative consequences". The main point is that significant value and significant negative impact is the most negative. On the other side little value and insignificant impact gives the least negative consequences (Ambio Miljørådgiving 2012).

In sum Ambio Miljørådgivning AS state that the landscapes in the influence area is very varied and diverse. The main message from AMR's report is that a wind power park will change the landscape of the influence area more or less completely (Ambio Miljørådgiving 2012:56). The turbines will take the attention away from other landscape forms, especially in those parts of the influence area which can see the wing rotation. Nevertheless, AMR emphasize that the turbines will create an interesting contrast in the area, which can be perceived as esthetically pleasing for some. So whether or not the turbine represents a

²⁷ The other aspects, which have their own reports in the consequence assessment, include more technical details, which are not important for my thesis, I will therefore not refer to these reports.

negative aspect in the influence area depends on individual perceptions. AMR has made a visual map which shows how the turbines will affect the landscapes from different viewpoints, both from the influence- and interference area (Ambio Miljørådgiving AS 2012:58).

In the analytic value assessment AMR states that Døldarheia wind power park will have medium negative impact on the landscape in the influence area (Ambio Miljørådgiving AS 2012:69).

The interference area at Døldarheia will be changed from untouched mountain landscape to a technical industrial landscape. The wind turbines will be very dominating in the landscape and the area will be fragmented by the intern roads. The rotation from the turbine rotors will occupy the visual space close to the area and will capture much attention. Low frequency noise and the shadow disturbance will also affect the experience people will have in the landscape (Ambio Miljørådgiving AS 2012:4).

5.3.2 The effect on nature and biodiversity

As a part of the consequence assessment, AMR assessed the consequences for the different nature types and bio diversity in the area.

No important nature types are registered in the interference area. However, no registration of the nature types has occurred in the interference area. There has been no registering of species from the red list either. In the influence area, there are places which could contain important or treated nature types—this however, has not been sufficiently mapped, due to AMR. There have not been any plants observed which are on the red list for threatened species. The vegetation in the interference area and in the influence area is said to have medium regional landscape ecological value according to AMR (Ambio Miljørådgiving AS 2012b:3-4).

The wind power projects will fragment the nature types in the interference area. Some plant species might become extinct from the area. The roads will serve as

barriers for vegetation to spread. So AMR sets the consequences of the wind power park on nature types and vegetation as medium-negative in both the influence- and the interference area (ibid).

The interference area has been used as a nesting place by two red listed bird species. The area has a relatively high diversity of bird species. The interference area therefore has medium high value when it comes to birds, and AMR has given the same description to the influence area. The introduction of the wind power park will have a negative impact on the diversity of birds in the interference area and some species will become extinct from the area. AMR term the consequences for the influence area as medium-negative when it comes to birds (Ambio Miljørådgiving AS 2012b:4).

When it comes to other animals, the area has been said to have medium value. Vindafjord has one of the richest populations of deer in the country and there are a rich population of deer in the area. It is also observed lynx in the interference area. Other than that, the mammal diversity is quite representative of the region. The wind power park will have medium-negative effect on the mammal diversity in both the interference and the influence area, especially in the construction period. AMR states though, that it is possible that the wind power park can have damaging effect on the living circumstances for several animal species that is located in or close to the interference zone (Ambio Miljørådgiving AS 2012b:5).

There are no protected areas in the interference area. In the influence area, there is an important protected area which includes two lakes called Landavatnet and Vatsvatnet. These are protected areas because of the diversity of bird species—these areas are nesting place for several birds on the red list for treated species. According to AMR, the bird species stay mostly in the lower altitudes, so the wind park is not likely to affect the protected area in any way (Ambio Miljørådgiving AS 2012b:6).

The wind power park will have negative impacts on “areas without major infrastructure development in Norway” (INON) in the region. The introduction

of the wind power park will mean that the municipality will lose 11,4 % of the INON. INON are, as mentioned, often important habitats for several animal and plant species. The loss of INON will also have an effect because these areas are decreasing in the whole county and a built park will fragment the remaining INON (Ambio Miljørådgiving AS 2012:60-61).

When it comes to bio-diversity, AMR has given both the interference- and the influence area medium value, and the introduction of the wind power park will have small negative consequences (Ambio Miljørådgiving AS 2012b:6).

5.3.3 The effects on recreational activities and “friluftsliv”

The notion of “friluftsliv” is very important in Norwegian culture and it is therefore important that there is an assessment on the impact of a wind power park (DN 2001).

AMR used more or less the same analytical method to assess the value of the area when it comes to “friluftsliv” that they used when setting the value of the landscape. They added some aspects which are related to the use and the users of the area, the quality of the experience, function and the degree of intervention. Their assessment is also based on “friluftsløven” and a definition of “friluftsliv” which not only involves the activities people are doing in nature, but also the areas that people use. The analysis considers the experience the individual has when in a certain place and the effects of his/her activity (Ambio Miljørådgivning AS 2012c:9). AMR used an overall approach to what people value when it comes to “friluftsliv” and recreational activities and they did not interview individuals. They state that the consequence assessment must be based on academic discretion and subjective judgments based on objective criteria's (Ambio Miljørådgivning AS 2012c:15).

AMR reports that the wind power park will include massive physical changes in the landscape. This includes noise and shadow disturbance. They continue by stating that for many this will be viewed as negative interference with untouched

nature. This is not only because of the changed scenery, but also because the turbines will be noisy. The development will therefore disturb the silence and the calm that is closely connected to Norwegian notion of “friluftsliv”. The visual aspects are often perceived as the most negative consequences of wind power parks and this consequence assessment is therefore closely connected to the consequence assessment about landscapes. The possibilities for recreational activities like hunting will also be limited because of the park (Ambio Miljørådgivning AS 2012c).

The park will make the interference area more accessible because of the vast network of roads which are needed. It can also represent a positive modern renewable energy project. This shows that people's values, interests and relations to a place can often influence their attitude about the wind power park. The perspective, therefore, varies from person to person (Ambio Miljørådgivning AS 2012c:2).

Døldarheia is used as a traditional Norwegian “friluftsliv” area, both in summer and winter. This includes hiking, fishing and hunting. AMR has given the area medium value, because it is only important for the local population and is therefore not regionally important. However, they state that introduction of the park will have a medium negative impact on the interference area. For the influence area, the consequences will vary, mainly because of the changed scenery. The park will therefore, as stated by AMR, have a small negative impact on the “friluftsliv” activities in the influence area. Overall AMR states that the park will have a medium- negative effect on “friluftsliv” and recreational activities. However, the attitudes towards the consequences will vary significantly from person to person (Ambio Miljørådgivning AS 2012c:2).

5.3.4 The societal consequences

The societal consequences are assessed by the consultant company Agenda Kaupang. Agenda Kaupang has operated with a scale that goes from 4+ (++++) to 4- (----), where + is positive effects and – are negative effects. 0 means that the

wind power park is not going to affect the given aspect. They have operated with two different societal spheres; local and regional (Agenda Kaupang 2011:7-10).

They assessed the effects of the park when it comes to employment opportunities as 0/+ on regional basis and + on local basis. On the local level, the park will include several new employment positions, especially in the construction period (ibid).

The effect on tourism will on a regional level be 0/+ and on a local level +. The local effect will include how the tourist-based industry will make more money with business travels and foreign workers. The representatives from the tourist industry, that Agenda Kaupang has been in contact with, did not express any negative concerns in relation to the plan park (ibid).

When it comes to the communal economy the park will have + effect. This is mainly because of property tax the developers would have to pay. This tax is estimated to be 5.8 million kroner yearly (ibid).

The transport of the various types of equipment for the wind power park will have a negative effect on the local level, especially for the town Nedre Vats, where the road is supposed to go through. This is especially the case during the construction period. Agenda Kaupang states that the transportation-related consequences of the wind power park will have a small negative consequence locally (-) (ibid).

Overall on a regional basis the societal consequences will be small or negligible. Despite the fact that Døldarheia wind power park is a big project, its impact on society will be small in relation to other economic activities in the county. On the other aspects it will also have minor impacts on regional level. On a local level the impact on society will be bigger—the park will provide employment opportunities (especially in the construction period) and have a small positive effect for the tourist based industry (ibid).

6. The discourses in the case of Døldarheia wind power park

In this part of the thesis I will present my findings from my field work in Vindafjord municipality. I have conducted a discourse analysis where I have identified the discourse which has become evident in the case of Døldarheia wind power park. I have recognized two main discourses— the “win-win” discourse (WWD) and the “nature conservation” discourse (NCD).

6.1 The “win-win” discourse

In the WWD in the case of Døldarheia, I will place the developers, Haugaland Kraft (HK) and Fred Olsen Renewables (FOR), represented by Petter Rognevik from HK. The representative from the municipality board, Brynulf Aslebygdi, will also be placed within this discourse. Of the three landowners I interviewed I will place two of them within this discourse: Sigurd Hå and Gudmund Kvileland. In addition to these actors, I will also place one of the three local inhabitants I interviewed within the WWD—Varg Josteindal.

Statements like these are much used to justify the win-win attitude to a wind power park at Døldarheia:

If the wind power park on Døldarheia is built the municipality is contributing to meet the need for more renewable energy worldwide... It will have a very positive contribution to the municipalities' economy, when it comes to estate tax and the park will create jobs (Aslebygdi interview 19.09.12).

Renewable energy is of course positive. Then you have the use of the infrastructure that in relation to the park... It is going to be wounds in nature, but I think that the wind power park might become a tourist attraction... people definitely will use the mountain more (Josteindal interview 10.09.12) .

These are a few of the aspects the member of the municipality board and a local inhabitant that live close to the area answered when I asked them what they see as the main positive consequences of a wind power park at Døldarheia. They both emphasize that wind power is a renewable energy source and there is a need for renewable energy, and the arguments are evidently supported by current climate change. This shows the national WWD towards wind power serves as an important background for the WWD at Døldarheia. Brynjulf Aslebygdi stresses, in the quote above, that the park will be very positive for the municipality's economy and create jobs. The last point Josteindal makes is that the area will be used more by the local inhabitants and that it even can become a tourist attraction. The positive consequences emphasized by Aslebygdi and Josteindal include environmental, economic and social aspects, which reflect the objective behind both the concept of sustainable development and the national WWD on wind power.

As mentioned, I will place the developers, the local authorities and some of the local inhabitants within the WWD in the case of Døldarheia. This can be compared to what actors Szaraka (2004) placed in the pro- wind coalition in his cases in Britain, Denmark and France. He states that central governments, international NGO's and energy companies form the pro-wind power coalition in his cases (Szaraka 2004:323). However, the similarities are not conclusive, in the case of Døldarheia the central government, represented by The Norwegian Water Resources and Energy Directorate (NVE), has not yet taken any stance in the case because they have yet to decide whether the park will get a license. Also, I have not interviewed any internationally based NGO's, because none of them have commented on the planning of Døldarheia's wind power park. However, several of the internationally directed environmental organizations are generally pro-wind power in Norway. Bellona and Zero can be mentioned as representatives for this view among the environmental organizations in Norway (Bellona 2013, Zero 2013). However, as long as they have not commented on this specific project I will not argue about their specific position in relation to Døldarheia.

In the case of Døldarheia, the WWD is marked by a belief that the introduction of a wind power park will include positive benefits for the local population, for private and public actors, all while coping with the challenges current climate change.

6.1.1 Wind power at Døldarheia as sustainable development

So according to the actors within the WWD, wind power production at Døldarheia reflects sustainable development. The information brochure that FOR and HK made to inform about the wind power park states this:

Wind power is one of the most environmental friendly ways to produce energy in big scale. Wind power gives us energy from an inexhaustible renewable source, without polluting the atmosphere, the soil or water. The interference in nature is moderate and reversible when the turbines are removed (Fred Olsen Renewbles and Hauagland Kraft 2012b)²⁸.

In the same brochure they emphasize the positive development possibilities:

The regional value creation in Rogaland is estimated to be around 190 million NOK and in Vindafjord approximately 68 million NOK... the employment effect in the building phase is set to 490 person- labor- year²⁹ and in the running management it will be 33 person- labor- year... The yearly income for the municipality in estate tax is estimated to be approximately 5,8 million NOK (Fred Olsen Renewbles and Hauagland Kraft 2012b)³⁰.

In this information brochure the aspects of sustainable development are clearly presented, with the claim that the park will make “environmental friendly” energy without any emissions or pollution and that it will include value creation

²⁸ My translation

²⁹ In Norwegian: ”årsverk”

³⁰ My translation

and development, illustrated with high numbers. The brochure does not mention anything about a time frame related to the numbers on the value creation.

It is no surprise that the developers are positive about the consequences of the park and they will of course argue that the project reflects sustainable development. However, they are not alone in emphasizing that wind power development at Døldarheia is a good example of sustainable development and therefore reflects the WWD. The representative from the municipality council, Brynjulf Aslebygdi, states that he is very supportive of Døldarheia and its contribution to meet the political goal to increase the production of renewable energy in Norway. He also emphasizes the economic incentives behind the wind power park. He states that the municipality will get increased estate tax, the park will create (and secure) jobs and a local company that the municipality partially owns, HK, will participate in the development. He notes that the area will be used more by the local inhabitants for recreational activities. Lastly he refers to the county plans which have termed this as a “yes-area” for wind power, and how this plan was approved in the municipality council with conclusive majority (Aslebygdi interview 19.09.12). Aslebygdi manages to find positive consequences for all the (human) actors in the project. This is a clear example of the WWD. The park will have positive consequences for the environment, the government, the municipality, the developers and the local inhabitants, according to Aslebygdi.

HK's representative Petter Rognevik is, as mentioned, supportive of the prospect of increased renewable energy production. He focuses mainly on the economic incentives from the green certificates as an energy production company. In addition he emphasizes how the certificates contribute to the achievement of Norway's political goal to increase energy production:

The new concept of green certificates is an important background and it is need for subsidies to make wind power economically interesting...

Without subsidies there will be no priority on wind power whatsoever (Rognevik interview 17.09.12).

Rognevik first and foremost focuses on the company's incentive—which of course is to make a potential wind power park profitable. How the various “wins” are priorities is an interesting point, because it is obvious that HK prioritizes the economic incentives over the global environmental concerns. This is evident because he clearly says they would not be interested in developing wind power without subsidies. These subsidies were, as mentioned, introduced by the Norwegian government to give companies incentive to invest in renewable energy. This is exactly what HK is doing. How HK prioritizes their “wins” does not necessarily matter in the WWD as long as there is a “win” on several levels.

The WWD can also be found within the local inhabitants, and they also focus on “wins” on several levels. Varg Josteindal a local inhabitant in Vats states: “We need development also in the future, so more energy is needed, and clean energy is positive”. He also emphasizes the positive consequences for the municipality when it comes to economy, employment and accessibility to the area (Josteindal interview 10.09.12). A local landowner in Vats, Gudmund Kvileland, emphasizes the same aspects as positive and reflects the WWD. Kvileland also notes that the vast net of roads will better the accessibility to the area. This can open new opportunities for farmers to use bigger parts of the area as pasture land (Kvileland interview 11.09.12).

6.1.2 The leading discourse: What society wants?

The local landowner Sigurd Hå has a different way of phrasing his view on the planned park. His view shows how parts of the WWD have developed into becoming what some of the actors perceive as a given. He states that his approach to the park is this:

When the county plans on wind power has set this as a yes- area. It reflects what society has chosen as a suitable area for wind power... When

this area is stated as a yes- area it is done by professionals. So I, as a landowner, am just opening for what society wants. We are just a small piece in this puzzle, but if society wants it, I am not going to stand in the way (Hå interview 10.09.12).

On the other side he understands the critique of the plans:

I see the negative aspects of it, since this is a beautiful untouched nature area, but I do not perceive wind turbines as necessarily bad looking and it can be an interesting aspect in the landscape as mixture with the fantastic view. But of course I would like it to be untouched as well (Hå interview 10.09.12).

At the same time, Hå emphasizes the same aspects as the other actors that fit into the WWD: the park will be positive for economy, the global environment and accessibility to the area (Hå interview 10.09.12). He talks about the wind power park as something society “wants”, and how the county plans reflect what society wants. The county plan has a clear win-win approach to wind power in the area that has been termed “yes-areas”. The plan uses known rhetoric from the national WWD:

The government and county have stated that it is a goal to increase energy production with special focus on energy sources that does not have climate emissions... it is important for the energy sector in the county to develop and gain experience within new energy sources (Rogaland fylkeskommune 2007:7)³¹.

This demonstrates that Hå's perception of what society wants is highly affected by the WWD. The county plans on wind power are of course affected by the national WWD on wind power— the county plan has after all been approved by

³¹ My translation

the ministry of the environment (Rogaland Fylkeskommune 2007). This plan has clearly affected Hå's view on the matter.

This also suggests that the WWD is the leading discourse in this case, because it influences how people think about policies and practices more than the other discourses. Again, this relates to the national WWD in relation to wind power. The national discourse has significant power to affect people's attitudes on any matter. Sigurd Hå's view has been influenced by that, when he perceives the county plan as representing what society wants. The WWD does not completely dominate the thinking about the topic, but it has a significantly stronger "voice" or influence than any other discourse. This is also confirmed by both Petter Rognevik in HK and Vigeik Ivedal and Korenlius Kvardal in Haugesund Turistforening (HT). Rognevik states that they have not gotten many negative comments on the project (Rognevik interview 17.09.12). This can imply that there is generally a positive attitude towards the project according to Rognevik, and this can be perceived as a result of the WWD. It should be mentioned that there can be other reasons for few negative comments, such as a lack of knowledge about the project among local inhabitants. So it does not necessarily imply that all local inhabitants agree with the WWD. My observations from the interviews I made also suggest that the WWD was leading, since it was challenging to find actors with negative views on the park. However, it was challenging to find actors with strong opinions about the park in the first place. This is except for those informants who had commented on the announcement of the park. Kvardal confirms the view that the WWD is leading by stating that: "the process has been dominated by a rather one sided view, and this view is pro-wind power" (Kvardal interview 17.09.12).

6.1.3 Suitable area for wind power and the view on the critique

When it comes to what is perceived as a suitable area for wind power production in Norway, the representatives for the WWD focus on human considerations.

When asked what they perceive as a "perfect" area for wind power, all of them

stress that it should be located far away from where people live, so it is not bothersome for humans. This means that to make a wind power project fit into the WWD, it should not bother people physically (noise and shadow disturbance) in a high degree, and therefore, should be located in areas without permanent inhabitants.

The visual change that the wind power park will have is not necessarily perceived as negative. As Sigurd Hå said, he does not necessarily perceive the wind turbines as bad-looking and they can be viewed as an interesting aspect in the landscape. However, most of the representatives for this discourse say that they can understand why some will perceive it as negative interference in the landscape (Rognevik interview 17.09.12, Kvileland interview 11.09.12, Hå interview 10.09.12, Josteindal 10.09.12). But Brynjulf Aslebygdi stressed that the debate about the aesthetics and the interference with the landscape becomes a subjective debate, and that nothing good comes out of it. He summed it up by stating that; “it is meaningless” (Aslebygdi interview 19.09.12). Not everyone states their view on this as clearly as Aslebygdi does. However, I will argue that it is a clear tendency within the WWD that the issues around aesthetics should not be a central part of the debate. And if it is debated, it is not necessarily perceived as negative.

Several of the actors within the WWD express that they can understand the negative effects the park will have on the local environment (the landscape and biological diversity). However, it seems that they perceive an area like Døldarheia as expendable, because its biological diversity is perceived as trivial in a regional context. This is clear with reference to Brynjulf Aslebygdi’s statement that an area which is regionally trivial with regard to landscape qualities cannot stop a project of this size (Aslebygdi interview 19.09.12). They also refer to the consequence assessments, which conclude that the park only will have a small negative effect on the biological diversity in both the interference and influence area (Ambio Miljørådgivning 2012b). However, there are many uncertainties within research on how wind power parks affect biological

diversity. As mentioned, the consequence assessment also notes that there are many uncertainties connected to the report.

In relation to the local environmental effects, Petter Rognevik states:

I see that many can experience these elements [wind turbines] as very negative, and that it will change the area completely. I can see that, but in a way, we are talking about borrowing the area for a license period, in 25 years. And produce clean energy, and then it is possible to reverse most of the changes... So we use that as an argument; we are basically borrowing from nature for a license period (Rognevik interview 17.09.12).

So although the effects on nature in the area are stated as only minimally negative, Rognevik understands that it can be perceived as very negative. However, then he argues that in the long run they are not changing nature forever, and that they are only “borrowing” from nature. This also reflects that this is perceived as sustainable when it comes to the local environmental change, because it is argued that the interference in nature is only temporary.

6.1.4 Summary of the win-win discourse

To summarize the WWD in the case of Døldarheia, the wind power park represents “wins” on several levels. It represents renewable energy which is needed to mitigate current climate change. It includes economic incentives for developers, local authorities and landowners. And lastly it represents benefits for local people in form of employment opportunities, better economy in the municipality, positive effects on other local businesses and better access to an area both for recreational activities and agriculture. However, most of the actors within the WWD recognize that there can be some negative effects on the local environment, but these effects are negligible in the bigger picture.

6.2 The nature conservation discourse

I will place the two environment and “friluft” organizations I interviewed into the nature conservation discourse (NCD). These are Haugesund Turistforening (HT) represented by Vigleik Ivedal and Kornelius Kvardal and Forum for nature and “friluftsliv” in Rogaland (FNF) with Heidi Emanuelsen. I will place one of the three landowners within this discourse, Vegar Johannesson, who own a small cabin in the interference area. In addition to this, I will also place two of the three local inhabitants without owner interests at Døldarheia— Hallgeir Elvebakken and Sivert Roaldnes, within the discourse.

Statements like these are much used by the actors within the discourse:

Døldarheia is not a suitable area for wind power... Døldarheia is a monumental mountain on Haugalandet, because it is so visible from all the other mountain areas in the district (Ivedal interview 17.09.12).

I do not think it is right to sacrifice a relatively untouched nature area so the developers can make money... If the park is to be built the area will never be the same again and the roads will not be removed, so the value of the area for us will decrease significantly (Johansenson interview 19.09.12).

The NCD in the case of Døldarheia is marked by a belief that the proposed wind power park will have negative effects on both nature and for people that live close to the area. Within this discourse, the actors have a critical view on the background for developing wind power in Norway and they doubt the developer and authority's rationale for wind power development. So the critique of the national WWD on wind power serves as an important background for the views within this discourse. In the case of Døldarheia there is one main counter discourse to the WWD and I will call this the NCD.

As the name of the discourse implies, the conservation of nature at Døldarheia is emphasized within this discourse. Basically, the significant point from the

representatives of this discourse is that a wind power park at Døldarheia will include too much interference in nature. Nevertheless, conservation of nature can have several meanings and the motivation can vary significantly.

The views within the NCD are at times ambiguous. I have noticed a tendency of the environment and “friluft” organizations to focus, more than the local inhabitants, on issues related to conservation to protect the biological diversity and “areas without major infrastructure development in Norway “(INON). They also emphasize how the visual changes in the landscape will be negative. The local inhabitants mainly emphasize the visual aspect, both from where people live and other mountain areas. However, the actors “borrow” arguments from each other. It became clear when I interviewed the actors that they have differing motivations for protecting the area. An example is that local inhabitants often use arguments to protect the biological diversity with a sentence to justify their arguments, while mainly focusing on how the park will change the landscape.

6.2.1 The interference in the landscape at Døldarheia is too vast

“The vast infrastructure and the turbines will catch all the attention and transform an untouched mountain area to an industrial landscape” (Kvardal interview 17.09.12). This is what the actors within the NCD perceive as the main problem with the proposed wind power park. Namely, how the park will affect the visual qualities of the landscape. The actors from the environmental and “friluft” organizations emphasize that this will not only have negative effects in the interference area and for inhabitants in the towns close to the park, but also for other nature areas close by. This is because the turbines are so visible and when they are placed on a mountain plateau, they will be visible from far away (Ivedal and Kvardal interview 17.09.12). The focus in this context is on the visibility of the wind power park. When it comes to visibility, important points relate to how the park will catch one's gaze and cause shadow disturbance from far away (Elvebakken interview 12.09.12, Ivedal and Kvardal interview 17.09.12, Roaldnes interview 17.09.12, Johannesson interview 19.09.12). It is not only the

movement of the turbines and the infrastructure which is perceived as problematic, but the lights on the turbines are also perceived as a negative aspect. Kvardal jokingly said: “the area will look like Las Vegas at night, and not many people are aware of that” (Kvardal interview 17.09.12).

So when it comes to the visible aspect, the main concern from the environmental and “friluft” organizations is how the park will affect the human experiences of “friluftsliv” in the area and in the surrounding “friluft- areas”. Ivedal sums HT’s view up by stating:

It will have huge negative effects on important “friluft- areas” in the district. Mainly because the area is so visible, and it will not just affect Døldarheia, but also the areas around, which includes the whole district... It will ruin “friluft- areas”, for traditional “friluftsliv”... the developers will of course argue that it will increase the use of the area, because it becomes easier to access the area... but it will not be the same for those who want to experience traditional “friluftsliv” (Ivedal interview 17.09.12).

Vegar Johannesson is a landowner at Døldarheia and he also owns one of the small cabins in the interference area. His focus is the same aspect as HT. Vegar Johannesson emphasizes how “the area will be ruined for us, it is an untouched nature area and that is the reason why it has such high value for us” (Johannesson interview 19.09.12). He further stresses:

The park will spoil the scenery and the cabin will be worthless for the purpose it has been used. Namely, for peace, silence and recreational activities (Johannesson interview 19.09.12).

The cabin is inside the interference area, so there is no doubt that the effects from the park will not only be visible, but result in shadow and noise disturbance as well. Johannesson will most likely receive some sort of compensation for his cabin (Johannesson interview 19.09.12). Johannesson’s view is closely connected

to the Norwegian notion of "friluftsliv". The main focus is how the park will affect people's experience in nature and how this experience will be changed in a negative direction if human interference in the area would occur.

Within the WWD the fact that the roads will increase the accessibility to the area is noted as a positive consequence. The park is perceived as being positive when it comes to accessibility for recreational activities. On the point about recreational activities, the NCD actors do not claim that it will not increase the use of the area. Nevertheless, a built park changes the motivation for using the area. This is related to the experience of peace and silence that Johannesson talked about. Sivert Roaldnes, who is a local inhabitant in one of the villages, said this when we talked about how the use of the area would probably increase:

The park will change the friluftsliv- area, the amount of people that uses the area will of course increase, but that is not for the same reason why Norwegians enjoy "friluftsliv". That is about peace and calm in nature. The use of the area, up there with the park, will in my view not be "friluftsliv"... It will not be a nature area anymore, it will be an industry area (Roaldnes interview 17.09.12).

It is not only in relation to "friluftsliv" that the visual effects are perceived as negative. Actors within this discourse also emphasize the visual effect of the park on permanent inhabitants in the surrounding areas. This is mainly in relation to the turbines and not the infrastructure. The main issue presented is how the turbines will be a disturbance in the landscape and the potential for shadow disturbance where people live (Elvebakken interview 12.09.12, Roaldnes interview 17.09.12, Johannesson interview 19.09.12). The local inhabitant in one of the villages— Sivert Roaldnes stressed, when asked what he sees as the main issue with the wind power park, that he is worried about the visual effect the wind turbines will have from where he lives.

My main issue with the park is the size of the turbines and that they will be so visible from where people live, they will be totally dominating,

people that live in these small villages are not aware of how dominating they will be (Roaldnes interview 17.09.12).

Another local inhabitant, Hallgeir Elvebakken, emphasizes the same aspects. However, Elvebakken is mostly worried that the turbines will create shadow disturbance and that they will catch one's attention. During the interview we were sitting in his living room which has big windows directed towards Døldarheia. He was referring to a colleague who lives at Smøla, where the biggest wind power park in Norway is located. Elvebakken told me about his colleague's experience with the wind power park at Smøla:

He initially saw only positive aspects with the park, but when it was built he became bothered with shadow disturbance and flashes from the turbines. They were bothered the most when the sun was setting, because then the turbines came in-between where they lived and the sunlight... The same thing will properly happen here, because the sun is following that ridge when it sets (Elvebakken interview 12.09.12).

In addition to the visual aspects, Elvebakken also mentioned an economical aspect for local inhabitants in relation to the visual change from where he lives. "I am worried that the value of my house will fall, and I do not think that people in this neighborhood has thought through just that". Elvebakken also notes that the landowners will not notice the park because they live close to the mountainside and will therefore not see the park; "they will of course be happy: they make money and they do not even see the park" (Elvebakken interview 12.09.12).

6.2.2 The unacceptable effect on "areas without major infrastructure development"(INON) and biological diversity

It is not only the visual effect the park will have on the landscape that is perceived as negative within the NCD. The effect the park will have on INON and biological diversity is also perceived as being negative. However, it is mainly the representatives from the "friluft" and environmental organizations

that focus on this. INON and biological diversity are, as mentioned, closely connected because INON are often very rich in biological diversity. The effect from a wind power park in an INON on the biological diversity is somewhat unknown.

In the consequence assessment, Ambio Miljørådgivning AS (AMR) has stated that the wind power park will have a significant negative effect on INON. This is obvious because the interference area will not be an INON anymore. The area contains 11.4 percent of the INON in the municipality and there are few INON areas left in the whole region (Ambio Miljørådgivning AS 2012). AMR's consequence assessment on bio-diversity has stated that the wind power park will have medium negative effects on biological diversity. However, the report stresses that there is significant uncertainty (Ambio Miljørådgivning AS 2012b).

Regarding INON, it is, as mentioned, a political goal in Norway to protect these areas. And for some of the NCD actors INON are an important aspect. "INON-areas are lost all the time and it is really important to protect these areas" (Emanuelson interview 18.09.12). In contrast to this Petter Rognevik in HK says that they actually are more or less searching for INON when planning wind power projects. "In many ways it is INON we look for when looking for areas for wind power... if you get too close to where people live you will definitely fail" (Rognevik interview 17.09.12). He further argues that "INON are not protected areas, it is areas that is registered because they are located a certain distance from places with human interference" (Rognevik interview 17.09.12). This obviously becomes a clash of opinions between the developers which represents the WWD and the representatives within the NCD. The actors within the NCD, in various degrees stress that INON and its biological diversity should be protected. And that it is not acceptable to build wind power parks in INON, while developers in reality look for these areas.

While the technical effect of a wind power park on INON is obvious, the effect on biological diversity within INON is far from certain. This uncertainty is

emphasized within the nature conservation discourse. Emanuelsen in FNF criticizes the methods used to make the consequence assessment on wind power in general in Norway. She also states that from the time frame that apparently is used at Døldarheia, the assessment is made over a too short period of time (Emanuelsen interview 18.09.12). The assessment is made from April 2011 to December 2011 (Rognevik interview 17.09.12).

Kvardal in HT also emphasizes the uncertainties connected to the assessments of biological diversity effects at Døldarheia. He states “The park will have a big negative effect on biological diversity in general, there is a significant lack of knowledge on that point” (Kvardal interview 17.09.12). Ivedal stresses the same point: “Often too short inspections and there is a lack focus on sum- impacts a project will have” (Ivedal interview 17.09.12). Kvardal and Ivedal use an example to show how the assessments are not sufficient to determine the biological diversity in the area. They refer to the consequence assessment on biological diversity which states that there are observed golden eagles in the interference area. However, it is not likely that they nest in the area, but it is possible that there is nesting couples relatively close to the area, due to AMR (Ambio Miljørådgivning 2012b:4). Kvardal argues:

One can start to wonder when one hears that representatives from the drinking water company³² one morning observe 12 golden eagles sitting by the water. Then one should question the consequence assessment in general (Kvardal interview 17.09.12).

The local farmer Vegar Johanneson also argues that the consequence assessment is not accurate and sufficient. When I presented the information about the golden eagles in the area, he said:

³² In Norwegian “Vassverket”.

I am as good as 100 percent sure that eagles are nesting near Oksla³³ ... it is obvious that these reports are made by professional who has not spent much time in the area... I find it odd that they have not talked more to people that frequently visit the area (Johannesson interview 19.09.12).

So when it comes to biological diversity, one of the main issues for actors is the uncertainty involved. The case about whether golden eagles nest in the area illustrates the issue. It should be mentioned as well that it is not for certain how a wind power park affects golden eagles. This also shows some of the uncertainties connected to the park's consequences. The main argument from the "friluft" and environmental organization, and some of the local inhabitants within the NCD is that the biological diversity in the area is not sufficiently mapped.

6.2.3 The economic argument

I do not think that the motivation for building wind power in Norway is because of environmental concerns, at least not from the developer's side. It is the economic aspects in it that are decisive (Roaldnes interview 17.09.12).

The economic argument is important within the WWD. It is argued that the park will have positive economic effects for developers, the municipality and the landowners. And this is perceived as being positive for the local populations in the municipality in general. The local actors within the NCD are not claiming that this is wrong. However, they are skeptical to the rational for building wind power in the first place, which I will return to in chapter 7. In addition it is emphasized within the NCD that Vindafjord municipality is a wealthy municipality and so there is not much need for increased income.

³³ Oksla is located north west in the interference area

HT's representatives had strong views on this point, as they argued that Vindafjord is such a wealthy municipality with low unemployment that the need for higher income is therefore overestimated. Kvardal further states that Vindafjord is one of the biggest industry municipalities in the region and that it needs to import much work force to keep the big industry companies going (Kvardal interview 17.09.12). This shows how some actors within the NCD perceive the economic argument used in the WWD as weak, because of the current state of the municipality.

Another point within the WWD is that increased accessibility to Døldarheia, according to the building of roads in relation to the park, will increase the opportunities to do valuable activities in the area. This relates to farmer access to the pasture land in the mountainside and also possibilities for using the land in the interference area to a higher degree. Johannesson, who is both a landowner and a farmer, does not necessarily see the increased accessibility as positive. He argues that there currently is sufficient accessibility to the area for the local farmers. He also emphasizes that the pasture land in the interference area is not very good anyway, because it is too high above sea level and crops do not grow well there (Johannesson interview 19.09.12). The interference area is, as mentioned, mainly used as pasture land for sheep. Johannesson states in a humoristic tone:

It should be mentioned that sheep's have legs, four legs actually, so I do not think that roads in the mountain will help the sheep that much (Johannesson interview 19.09.12).

6.2.4 Suitable places for wind power

During my interviews with all my informants I asked them what they saw as a “perfect” area for wind power in Norway. The actors that I have chosen to put within the NCD all determine the perfect places to be “in-between”—not too close to where people live, but not too far away either. Several of the actors emphasize that areas already marked with industrial activity would be suitable

places for wind power (Kvardal and Ivedal interview 17.09.12. Emanuelsen interview 18.09.12. Johannesson interview 19.09.12). Elvebakken states when asked about what he sees as a perfect area:

Offshore, no doubt about it. If they can put oilrigs out there, they can put wind turbines out there as well... Then one does not have to make power lines to the oilrigs in the north sea either (Elvebakken interview 12.09.12).

In relation to placement of wind power parks, the actors from the environmental and “friluft” organization state the most important thing when placing wind power park is thorough consequence assessments, made over a sufficient amount of time (Kvardal and Ivedal interview 17.09.12. Emanuelsen interview 18.09.12).

6.2.5 Summary of the nature conservation discourse

In summary the NCD’s the main argument is that a wind power park at Døldarheia will include unacceptable interference with the area and have too many negative consequences for surrounding local areas and people. The arguments within the discourse vary, however, they all commonly assert that interference with the area is the main problem. I argued that it is evident that the actors within this discourse have different priorities as to why they think the area should be protected. They also “borrow” arguments from other actors within the discourse. The local inhabitants are mostly concerned with the visual aspect of the park and how it will affect permanent inhabitants and “friluft” areas. The representatives from the environmental and “friluft” organizations are concerned about the same aspects, but they also focus much on the park’s effects on INON and biological diversity, in addition to the uncertainty about the consequence assessment. Finally, actors trivialize the prospect of increased economic development in the municipality.

It is evident from this chapter that both discourses make reference to environmental issues connected to the planned wind power park. I will in the

next chapter discuss how actors positioned within the discourses claim to represent the interests of the environment, but in fundamentally different matters.

7. Representing the environment

I have to this point in the thesis examined both the general discourses about wind power in Norway and the discourses in relation to the specific project at Døldarheia. It has become evident that there are many conflicting opinions on both the overall national level and in the case of Døldarheia. The leading win-win discourse nationally has been shown to influence the win-win discourse (WWD) in relation to Døldarheia. The same goes for the national nature conservation discourse, which influence the nature conservation discourse (NCD) at Døldarheia.

In this chapter I will first discuss the environmental arguments that are used in both discourses. I will do this to detect underlying assumptions that the discourses use as a basis for their arguments and how they represent the interests of the environment. Secondly, I will look at how the actors use their knowledge about the park and wind power in general— I will examine what parts of their knowledge they assume to be facts, what they emphasize and what they ignore. I will do this with reference to how actors speak about wind power's contribution to cut emissions from fossil based energy sources, which evidently is an underlying issue within both discourses. Lastly in this chapter, I will discuss how the actors positioned within the discourses perceive each other's environmental arguments.

7.1 How the actors positioned within the discourses claim to represent the interests of the environment

Environmental considerations are a key factor in debates concerning wind power. This is because wind power parks, in most cases, include numerous interferences in the environment, and because the rationale for building them, at least the last few decades, has been based on global environmental considerations. In the case of Døldarheia, actors positioned in both discourses attempt to represent the interest of the environment.

7.1.1 How the win- win discourse represent the environment.

So far, I have argued that the WWD in the case of Døldarheia is closely connected to the national WWD and the concept of sustainable development. Wind power is perceived as environmentally friendly and reflects sustainable development, according to actors that advocate the WWD. This is because of wind power's potential to reduce/limit emissions from fossil-based energy sources and it can include both economic and social development. Also the limited interference in the local environment is emphasized within the discourse.

In the stretch between instrumental and intrinsic valuing of nature, I have already argued why the concept of sustainable development ought to be considered instrumental. And, as I have emphasized throughout this thesis, the WWD echoes the core concept of sustainable development. This is also where the discourse in the case of Døldarheia is placed—the local WWD focuses on how the area can be used to cover human needs. When it comes to the environmental arguments, the discourse is mainly concerned with the instrumental value of nature (Carter 2007:15), wind power is an effort to mitigate climate change, primarily for the benefits of humans. However, as the name of this discourse would imply, mitigating climate change can have positive consequences for non-human actors as well. Still, human issues are the main concern. The focus is on how nature can be used to produce energy to cover human needs, and this implies a view that I will place in the instrumental end of the scale between instrumental and intrinsic.

Within the discourse, wind power is labeled as an “environmental friendly” way to produce energy, both nationally and locally at Døldarheia. Woods (2003) also notes that one of the key conflicts between the discourses in his case in Wales is who is representing the environment—the pro-wind power- or the anti- wind power coalition? The same conflict can be seen in the case of Døldarheia. In Woods's (2003) case study he found that the pro-wind power coalition uses a “utilitarian nature perspective”, when it comes to what they perceived as nature (Woods 2003:273). With this nature perspective, local environmental change is

not perceived as very negative compared to changes in the earth's climate system. The same nature perspective can be found within the WWD in my case: Døldarheia seems to be an expendable nature area in the context of current climate change and the call for increased renewable energy production. The actors that advocate the win-win perspective can argue that they represent the environment, because of the global environmental threat from current climate changes. In other words wind power development represents sustainable development, and relatively small nature areas like Døldarheia can be changed to cope with greater challenges. According to Woods (2003) the pro-wind coalition, among other aspects, make reference to melting ice caps and rising sea level as consequences of current climate change, and from that they argue the crucial importance to develop renewable energy sources (Woods 2003). From this perspective, which I also identified among the WWD in the case of Døldarheia, wind turbines are not an "unnatural" disturbance in untouched nature, but instead represents technology that can save humans from the "threat of current climate change". This view is affected by the popular slogan "think globally, act locally" (ibid), which has been utilized within the popular discourse around current climate change, as well as sustainable development.

Woods (2003) observed among the pro-wind power coalition in his case that there is a tendency for these actors to perceive the global environmental arguments as both morally and scientifically superior to those that use the local nature conservation argument (Woods2003:283). This can be found in the case of Døldarheia as well, for example from the municipality board's representative, Aslebygdi. He argued, when I introduced him to the critique of the plans, that Døldarheia is a pretty usual area for biological diversity and landscape qualities in a regional context. He said that the negative effects are negligible and that they therefore could not stop a project with as many positive consequences as the one at Døldarheia. He argued this by referring to commonsense and he emphasized the importance of renewable energy production to "cope" with climate change. He also stated:

The consequence assessment puts all doubt aside when it comes to the effects on biological diversity and that Døldarheia is such a regular area that it cannot stop a project this size (Aslebygdi interview 19.09.12).

With this Aslebygdi is using science (the consequence assessment) to support his view of the case. Therefore, he perceives his own argument as superior the arguments of those that oppose the project.

He is also very critical to those who disagree with him, especially the environmental and “friluft” organization that oppose the project at Døldarheia and wind power in Norway. He states first about the case of Døldarheia that HT’s argumentation about Døldarheia was not valid, and that they probably were mobilizing, to “paint a dark picture” of the wind power park (Aslebygdi interview 19.09.12). Then he continues to generalize about the environmental movement in Norway:

The argumentation used by the environmental movement is in general not valid, it is exclusively a Norwegian phenomenon that the environmental organization oppose renewable energy project... these organizations should rather focus on the positive aspects, most importantly that wind power is a renewable resource (Aslebygdi 19.09.12).

I will note, as mentioned earlier, that the environmental organizations in Norway are divided in their view on wind power in Norway. However, these statements show how Aslebygdi, who I have placed within the WWD, argues that their arguments are superior to those from NCD, because they make reference to global challenges. This is similar to what Woods (2003) found in his case: the pro-wind power coalition claims to have superior arguments compared to the anti-wind power coalition. Referring to global challenges instead of local considerations supposedly makes a pro-wind power argument morally superior, because it will help alleviate the challenges that are beyond the local context.

The WWD claim to represent the environment can be connected to how the concept of wind turbines has evolved. Presently, turbines are seen as a symbol for environmental protection (Szarka 2004:324). This supposes that the concept of wind turbines represents renewable- or “clean” energy. So wind turbines are perceived as a positive means to mitigate to current climate change. For example as Szarka (2004) states about how the pro-wind coalition, in his cases from France, Denmark and Britain, perceive the local environmental- based resistance in relation to wildlife:

The core proposition is that local disruptions to wildlife caused by wind farms are dwarfed by the global ecological fall- out of climate change... By an effect of metonymy, wind power has come to stand for green energy and three- bladed wind turbine has attained the status of an icon (Szarka 2004:324).

The same can be said about the WWD both on the national arena and in relation to Døldaheia. Wind turbines represent something environmentally friendly and the concept of wind turbines has evolved into a symbol for environmental protection and “green policy”.

The actors within the WWD also use the argument that any interference with nature in the case of Døldarheia is reversible. They therefore question the arguments made about the landscape change within the NCD. The representatives for the WWD see the interference with nature as temporary and so not harmful to the area, because the area will “recover” to its “original” state when the turbines are removed. Rognevik in HK states that they are “borrowing from nature in license period” (Rognevik interview 17.09.12). The interference area will not even be permanently changed from their point of view and therefore the temporary interference is something that the NCD should accept for a period of 25 years, according to the actors within the WWD. The local landowner Sigurd Hå, who I also have placed within the WWD, said this to answer the question what he thinks will happen when the park is removed:

My experience is that nature has an extreme ability to recover itself... I believe that as long not something dramatic, like an oil spill or something like that ... the wounds will heal just fine (Hå interview 10.09.12).

This quote from Hå reflects that, even though there will be an interference in nature the “wounds” will “heal”, these negatively loaded words reflect a narrative that shows his acknowledgement of a negative change. Also interesting with this quote is how he talks about nature— it is clear that he wants to be on the local nature side as well, by focusing on its “abilities” to “recover”. This reflects that he does not see nature only as a resource to for human needs, but he also “celebrates” nature, by referring to its abilities, instead of viewing it as vulnerable and in need for protection as is the case within the NCD. The same can be said about Rognevik’s statement about “borrowing from nature”, so the local nature is recognized as something more than just a resource within WWD. The WWD, which in Woods’s (2003) terms is defined by a global utilitarian nature perspective, argues that the area at Døldarheia will recover. The arguments that the wind park will permanently “ruin” or “spoil” the area are not recognized, because the interference is perceived as temporary. By claiming this reversibility, the WWD is questioning a core assumption within the NCD that the wind power park will permanently and negatively change the area.

In summary, the WWD represents the environment, with an emphasis on wind power as a renewable way of producing energy. The win-win actors focus on how the wind power park will reflect the notion of sustainable development and are therefore environmentally friendly. The WWD utilizes a rather instrumental way to value nature, because it focuses on sustainable management of nature to cover human needs. However, this is not conclusive, because the “wins” can also include non-human actors. In addition to this, the discourse reflects a utilitarian nature perspective, because it focuses on nature as not geographically limited to individual areas, such as Døldarheia, but rather a concept that includes the global environment. In the case of local nature interference at Døldarheia, the main

arguments in the WWD state the area is not unique enough to be protected and the area will not be changed permanently.

7.1.2 How the nature conservation discourse represent the environment

As the name of the NCD implies, protection of nature is the main focus of the discourse. However, the NCD represents the environment in a different way than the WWD.

The NCD does not have the same instrumental way of valuing of nature as the WWD. The actors within this discourse focus on how the scenery will be changed, where the turbines will have a negative effect on what they refer to as the “natural landscape”. The landscape can represent something that is valuable, not as a means to a further end, but rather because it enhance the viewer’s life quality (Carter 2007:15). In Carter’s (2007) terms this suggests an inherent way of valuing nature, however, the focus is still on human considerations. This is because the focus is on how the landscape enhances the human achievement of something, for example, life quality (ibid). The way of valuing nature varies within the NCD. Also related to the landscape change is the statement from local inhabitant Hallgeir Elvebakken. He is worried that the monetary value of his house might decrease because of the changed the scenery (Elvebakken interview 12.09.12), which suggests a distinct instrumental way of valuing the landscape and nature (Cater 2007:15). This is because he connects the quality of the landscape to the monetary value of selling his house, meaning that he focuses on what he can gain from the landscape quality. This shows that the motivation for conserving the landscape and the nature it contains can vary among the local inhabitants I have placed in this discourse.

Still, there is little focus on “areas without major infrastructure development in Norway” (INON) and biological diversity in the area among the local inhabitants. The environmental and “friluft” organization focuses on the negative effects on biological diversity, in addition to the effects on the

landscape. The point about protecting INON and biological diversity at Døldarheia can reflect a rather intrinsic way of valuing nature (ibid). The arguments against the wind power park and its negative effects reflect a way of valuing nature that expands to consider human needs. The biological diversity is then perceived as valuable independently of anyone (humans) finding it valuable. However, as Heidi Emanelsen in FNF states when it comes to the effects of biological diversity and the uncertainties involved in relation to how the park will affect it:

The locals that are positive to the project should be worried about how the park will affect the biological diversity. For example in relation to pollinators, a farmer should be worried about pollinators, well, if some crucial species disappear, this can severely affect our food production and the livelihood of farmers, so I use that argument in debates about the importance of biological diversity (Emanuelsen interview 18.09.12).

Here Emanuelsen connects the loss of biological diversity to effects on humans. As mentioned earlier, she also states that the loss of biological diversity is as much of a critical global issue as current climate change, when it involves an effect on human beings. In other words, she emphasizes that biological diversity is important for humans and should therefore be protected, which suggests a rather instrumental way of valuing nature. She is addressing farmers, because several of the landowners at Døldarheia are farmers, and most of the landowners are pro- wind power at Døldarheia. She states that she tries to present this as “easy” as possible to “sell” the argument about protecting biological diversity. She further argued that stakeholders in wind power project will not be swayed if she only made reference to idealistic arguments about protecting areas for their own sake (Emanuelsen interview 18.09.12).

The discussion above shows how the NCD mainly reflects a way of valuing nature that is concerned with human interests— this suggests an instrumental way of valuing nature (Carter 2007:15). None of the actors in the case of

Døldarheia (neither in the WWD nor in the NCD) explicitly state that the area should be protected independently of whether it is valuable for humans. This implies that none of the actors has an intrinsic view on the area.

The anti-wind power coalition in Woods (2003) perceived wind power as a disturbance in the landscape and an “unnatural” interference with nature. They use strong narratives, which included terms like “abuse” or “rape” of nature and that nature is “sacrificed” to build industrial installations (Woods 2003). Similar narratives were found among the NCD in the case of Døldarheia and they mainly refer to the local landscape as “nature”. The actors referred to how the park will include a negative interference with the local nature, and when they clarify this it becomes evident that when they refer to nature, they speak of landscape. Within the NCD the narratives concerning the local environment at Døldarheia and its surroundings is defined by a theme that nature is a victim. The local landowner Vegar Johannesson for examples states ”the wounds in nature will not be healed” (Johannesson interview 19.09.12). The local inhabitant in Sandeid Halgeir Elvebakken uses the exact same wording when he talks about the interference at Døldarheia (Elvebakken interview 12.09.12) Johannesson also states that he “do not think it is right to sacrifice an untouched nature area as Døldarheia” (Johannesson interview 19.09.12). The word ”wound” is used often within the discourse and further that the area will not be “healed”. As well as narratives that includes the word “sacrifice”. All the actors within the NCD use terms (“wounds”, “healed”, “sacrificed”) like this when I asked them for their thoughts about the interference the wind power park will have on Døldarheia. The view within the discourse echoes what Woods (2003) call the “nature-ruralist perspective” on nature. This is reflected through narratives that are made about nature as pure and the area needs to be protected from harmful interventions from humans. The nature-ruralist perspective is also suitable because the focus is on the local environmental concerns and not global issues. In other words, the NCD claim to represents the local environment.

In relation to how the NCD represents the environment, the question about irreversibility becomes central. The WWD argues that the interference in the nature at Døldarheia will be a reversible. The argument that wind power parks are reversible interference with nature is strongly criticized by all the actors that I have placed in the NCD. In HK and FOR's information brochure about the interference at Døldarheia, it states "The interference in nature is moderate, and it is reversible when the turbines are removed" (Fred Olsen Renewables and Haugaland Kraft 2012b)³⁴. The actors within the NCD do not agree with this statement. First of all because, when the park is shut down, it is only the turbines that will be removed. The concrete foundations for the turbines, however, will be covered by mass. The network of roads will still be there as well, and the license application recognizes that. Still, it is argued that the area will recover to "more or less" its original state (Fred Olsen Renewables and Haugaland Kraft 2012b). This is also the argument within the WWD. Vegar Johannesson states, when we talked about whether he perceived the wind power park as a reversible interference with nature; "wind power projects 600-700 meters above sea level in western Norway is not reversible no matter what they say, things do not grow fast up there" (Johannesson interview 19.09.12). Johannesson is referring to how plants do not grow fast 600-700 meters above sea level near the coast in western Norway, where parts of the interference area are naked rock mountain. This implies that Johannesson does not see the interference the park represents as reversible. His point is that when infrastructure is built in this area, it will not "grow over" and return to its "original" state as the WWD argues. This again shows how nature is perceived as the victim and the area will not recover to its original state, according to Johannesson and the other actors within the NCD.

On the issue of climate change, the NCD acknowledge the challenges. In Woods's case the con- discourse recognizes the argument about the need for renewable energy to mitigate climate change, but it challenges the technology and effectiveness of wind power (Woods 2003). In my case of Døldarheia, the

³⁴ My translation.

main argument is that wind power will not cut emission of greenhouse gases as long as it does not replace fossil based energy sources. It is especially the representatives from the environmental and “friluft” organization that focuses on this, but also some of the local actors. They criticized the green certificates and the national WWD, by arguing that the energy produced with support from green certificates will not replace fossil based energy (Kvardal and Ivedal interview 17.09.12 and Emanuelsen interview 18.09.12). This suggests that they are questioning one of the core arguments in the WWD and the way of it represents the environment. In particular, they argue that wind power is not “environmentally friendly” because it does not include any cut in greenhouse gas emissions as long as fossil based energy sources are not replaced. I will return to this in the next chapter.

The local inhabitants do not focus much on the green certificates and whether energy from wind power cuts greenhouse gas emissions. The placement of the park at Døldarheia is the main issue for the local inhabitants. Hallgeir Elvebakken states:

I see the argument about renewable energy and global environmental issues as important arguments for building of wind parks, but I am skeptical to the placing of the parks, especially here (Elvebakken interview 12.09.12).

This can be connected to the much debated concept “Not in my backyard” (NIMBY)³⁵ (Devine Wright et al. 2011). Elvebakken does not oppose wind power, but he does not want it placed at Døldarheia. The NIMBY attitude can be identified within the NCD. However, it is not conclusive because these arguments are often used with arguments about the need for increased energy production in the region. Several of the local actors do not see the need for

³⁵ The concept of “Not in my backyard” (NIMBY) is often used to explain public engagement in renewable energy projects. Local actors often argue that they do not oppose renewable energy projects (and that it is needed to mitigate climate change) in general, but they do not want it close to where they live: “in their backyard” (Devine Wright 2011:61).

energy produced with wind power in the whole region (western Norway), because most of the electricity consumed in the area is already renewable (Elvebakken interview 12.09.12 and Johannesson interview 19.09.12). This then suggests that they do not only see the placement of the park—and its effect on the landscape—as the problem, but they also question the need for more power production in the region.

In summary, the local inhabitants I have placed within the NCD represent the environment by advocating for protection of the local environment and focus mainly on protection of the local landscape. The same is evident within the environment and “friluft” organizations, although they also focus on how the area at Døldarheia should be protected because the area contains INON and significant biological diversity. The ways of valuing nature varies within the discourse. However, the focus is evidently on human concerns, which suggest an instrumental valuation perspective. When it comes to the perception of nature, the NCD has a nature-ruralist perspective on nature, meaning the main focus is on the local landscape and the flora and fauna it contains. Global environmental issues are not often emphasized, partly because several of the actors do not see wind power at Døldarheia as a measure to mitigate current climate change. In other words, the NCD focuses on representing the local environment.

7.1.3 How part of the knowledge is emphasized, assumed and ignored

The representatives from the discourses emphasize different aspects of environmental issues in the case of Døldarheia. The arguments the actors use to support their point of view is therefore key for representatives of both discourses to be able to realize their goals. When the actors positioned within the discourses are presenting their arguments they are assuming-, emphasizing- and ignoring parts of the knowledge available in relation to wind power. It is evident that actors emphasize the information which best supports their claims. And similarly, the actors ignore, or at least do not emphasize, the part of the

knowledge that does not support their view. I will also note that the actors are not necessarily aware of all the facts in relation to the park and the context around it.

In this section I will discuss how the actors emphasize, assume and ignore parts of the knowledge that is available in relation to the wind power park and wind power development in Norway. I will do this by making reference to whether the actors look at wind power development as “environmentally friendly”, in relation to whether it has agency to cut emissions from fossil based energy sources to mitigate current climate change. This is an essential part of the debate, because it is one of the main rationales for wind power development in Norway. However, I will first repeat what the discourses emphasize in their argument about the environmental issues related to the wind power park.

From the discussion in chapter 7.1.1, about how the WWD represents the environment, it became evident that the WWD actors refer to the global environment as nature and represent this in their rhetoric about the park. However, they also represent the local environment through its abilities to recover. This means that within the WWD there is a view that account for the environment on both the global and the local level. They emphasize how the environment needs protection on a global scale (from the “threats” of current climate change), while the local environment has the abilities to recover itself. This implies that the WWD does not think that the local environment at Døldarheia needs protection.

As the representatives within the WWD attempt to dually represent the environment— by emphasizing the global environment, and assuming recovery from the local environment— the NCD mainly claim to represent only the local environment. However, they also acknowledge the challenges of current climate change on the global scale, but claim that wind power at Døldarheia will have no effect in mitigating current climate change. The discussion in chapter 7.1.2 about the NCD representation of the environment shows how the NCD emphasizes that the local environment needs protection and assumes that wind power at

Døldarheia will not make a difference when it comes to protecting the global environment.

It is an assumption within the WWD that wind power is environmentally friendly because of the supposed contribution it will have to cut emission from fossil based energy sources. The most important measure to increase the investment in renewable energy in Norway is the green certificates, which are supposed to help renewable energy sources compete with fossil based energy sources (NVE 2012c). The actors I have placed within the WWD did not focus on explaining why wind power was environmentally friendly. Probably because they assumed that wind power is an environmentally friendly way to produce energy. And this stance is easily defended, because there are no greenhouse gas emissions from wind power. However, as mentioned several times, for wind power to effectively decrease emissions of greenhouse gases, it needs to replace fossil based energy sources. In Norway, this is supposed to be done in several ways, which I showed in chapter 4.1 about the background for wind power development in Norway. For example replacement would occur through electrifying the oilrigs in the north sea and exporting renewable energy to Europe. The green certificates serve as an incentive for developers to increase the production of renewable energy (NVE 2012c).

The developers are, of course, positive towards wind power as a measure to mitigate current climate change. Rognevik in HK is also aware that wind power only helps to cut greenhouse gas emissions if it replaces fossil based energy (Rognevik interview 17.09.12). The local actors within the WWD did not talk much about the way they perceived wind power as a measure to meet the challenges from current climate change. It became evident to me that they assumed that wind power is “environmentally friendly” and it went without saying that it was a measure to mitigate climate change (Josteindal interview 10.09.12, Hå interview 10.09.12 and Kvileland 11.09.12). This can be related to the local landowner Sigurd Hå, who stated he was open for what society wants, and that “the world calls for increased renewable energy production” (Hå

interview 10.09.12). This is also related to how wind turbines have developed into becoming a “discursive symbol” for something environmentally friendly (Szarka 2004:324). This suggests that the local actors within the WWD assume that wind power is environmentally friendly, because it does not release greenhouse gases.

Among the nature conservation discourse, the local inhabitants do not focus much on whether wind power cuts emission. Most of them recognize that wind power, as renewable energy, is helpful to mitigate current climate change. This suggests that these local actors also assume wind power is “environmentally friendly”. So the local actors within the NCD do not challenge the assumption that wind power is an “environmentally friendly” way to produce energy. However, the local landowner Vegar Johannesson emphasized that he did not see how it was right to “sacrifice” Døldarheia for energy production for “luxurious consumption” (Johannesson interview 19.09.12). He stated this when we talked about the political background for wind power development in Norway. He and the other local inhabitants within the NCD are skeptical about the need for wind power in the region, because the electricity in the area is already based on renewable resources (Elvebakken interview 12.09.12, Roaldnes interview 17.09.12, Johannesson interview 19.09.12). This is what Johannesson is referring to as well when he says there is no need for energy production for luxury consumption. So the local inhabitants I have placed in the NCD assume that there is no need for more renewable energy production and this is what they emphasize in their arguments. They do not focus on whether wind power can replace fossil based energy sources.

The local environmental and “friluft” organizations also emphasize that there is no need for increased energy production in the region (Ivedal and Kvardal interview 17.09.12 and Emanuelsen interview 18.09.12). In addition to this, they argue that wind power is not an effort to mitigate climate change, as long as emissions are not cut somewhere, as previously mentioned. They argue that this is not the case in Norway and that the green certificates are not working

according to its purpose. Kvardal calls the introduction of the green certificates “madness” and continues by stating that:

In the end it is the consumers, you and me, which has to pay for these green certificates and they do not work, when it comes to the climate change issue (Kvardal interview 17.09.12).

They make reference to how the electrification of the oil rigs will do no good when it comes to reducing greenhouse gas emissions. This is because energy is lost in transportation and the flare gas from the production needs to be burned and that energy will be wasted if the oil rigs are to be electrified, due to Kvardal (Kvardal interview 17.09.12). It is also mentioned within the NCD that the oil companies on the Norwegian shelf have no plans to electrify the oil rigs in the near future (Haakenstad 2012). They also make reference to how exporting renewable energy to other countries will not significantly cope with current climate change. They emphasize how this will be affected by the price of energy and that fossil based sources in Europe for example are cheaper than renewable energy from Norway (Ivedal and Kvardal interview 17.09.12 and Emanuelsen interview 18.09.12).

Kvardal states, when it comes to wind power and the climate change, that wind power development will have no effect on what he calls the “climate and CO2 problem” (Kvardal interview 17.09.12). This implies that he does not see wind power as “environmentally friendly” and a valuable measure to cope with current climate change. With this he actually questions the assumptions in the rationale for developing wind power in Norway, namely, that wind power is a measure to mitigate current climate change.

The WWD emphasizes how wind power is an effort to mitigate climate change. They argue this without making reference to whether or not it replaces fossil based energy sources. It is assumed that it is an environmentally friendly way to produce energy, because there are no emissions from the production. The representatives for the NCD emphasize that there is no need for increased

renewable energy production, because the region has a surplus of additional energy—notably from other renewable sources like hydro power. Some NCD actors, mainly the environmental and “friluft” organizations, in addition to this, emphasize that wind power will not cut emissions from fossil based energy sources and that Døldarheia therefore is not expandable. They do not talk about the time aspect— that both the need for energy and wind power’s ability to cut emission from fossil based energy can change in the future. This suggests that they do not think that this will change the next few years or potentially it is ignored to not question their own argument. This is not emphasized within the WWD either.

7.1.4 How the discourses perceive each others environmental arguments

In the previous chapters I discussed how discourses attempt to represent the interests of the environment. It becomes evident that both discourses in the case of Døldarheia argue how they are the ones advocating for the environment. Both of the discourses are also discarding the other discourse's arguments by questioning basic principles. Within both discourses, actors refer to “commonsense” when they are advocating for their own view. Powerful narratives are used when the discourses are referring to the way the other actors speak of the environment. The representative for the municipality board, Aslebygdi, states that the arguments among the ones that oppose the projects lack “commonsense” (Aslebygdi interview 19.09.12). While Kvardal in HT states that the plan, because of the interference in the local nature, “is madness”. He continues by rhetorically asking the actors who support the project “don’t they see the madness in this?”(Kvardal interview 17.09.12)

The WWD dismisses the NCD’s way of representing the environment. Advocates for the WWD do this by stating that Døldarheia is negligible in a bigger context (current climate change) and that a limited area like Døldarheia cannot stop a project this size with such positive consequences on several levels (Aslebygdi interview 19.09.12, Kvileland interview 11.09.12, Josteindal

interview 10.09.12, Hå interview 10.09.12). In addition to this some of the actors refer to the view within the NCD as a reflection of the NIMBY- principle (Aslebygdi interview 19.09.12 and Kvileland interview 11.09.12).

Hagett and Futak Campbell (2011:210) state that the issue of stake and interests is an important matter in wind power related conflicts. The actors strive to not have their views seen as purely motivated by their own selfish interests. Several WWD- actors goes far in dismissing the NCD's concern about the local landscape as a matter of the actor's (especially the local inhabitant) own selfish interests and that they reflect the NIMBY- attitude³⁶. This suggests that the local inhabitants who oppose the project do not oppose wind power in general.

However, when plans are introduced in an area where they are affected— where they live or where they do their recreational activities—they oppose wind power. This suggests that the actors in the WWD dismiss the environmental arguments made by the local inhabitants in the NCD only because they are worried about the scenery for their own personal enjoyment or “selfish parochial concerns”, as Hagett and Futak- Campbell (2011) put it (ibid).

The WWD also questions one of the core assumptions within the NCD's environmental argument. It uses the idea that the area will “recover” to its original state when the turbines are removed as a way to respond to statements of the area being “spoiled” or “ruined” with the wind park. This implies that the WWD dismisses one of the core arguments within the NCD, because the change in the landscape is not even perceived as permanent.

Representatives of the NCD, on the other side, discard the environmental arguments within the WWD by making reference to how wind power helps replace fossil based energy sources (Ivedal and Kvardal 17.09.12 and Emanuelsen 18.09.12). So they are stating that it is a bad climate mitigation effort. They advocate that it is not a climate mitigation effort as long as it does

³⁶ The term; NIMBY is not used by all the WWD actors. However, their statements about the actors that oppose the project often reflect the aspect which the NIMBY- principle contains.

not cut emissions of greenhouse gases. Actors within the NCD therefore imply that the WWD does not support the environment, either locally or globally.

The NCD argues that the WWD is not motivated by the environmental gains, but rather the prospect of financial gains. On this point, Rognevik said that the main focus of the park was to make money, but at the same he emphasized the positive aspects with the park (Rognevik interview 17.09.12). The actors within the NCD dismiss the actors within the WWD's view as purely considering their own interests, namely, to make money. Roaldnes's statement above shows the general attitude—it is not environmental concerns that are decisive for the project, but rather the economic gains involved in the projects. The local inhabitant, Hallgeir Elvebakken, reflects a very similar view when I asked him about the background for wind power production in Norway: “The developers of these projects do not do it because of the environment, it is all about making money” (Elvebakken interview 12.09.12). Emanuelsen from FNF also confirms this view by stating: “It is the money that rules and the money do not care about the environment” (Emanuelsen interview 18.09.12). The general attitude among the actors I have placed within the NCD is, in other words, that the actors with direct economic interests in the project only care about the prospect of monetary income. All the actors within the NCD actually state that the actors who support the wind power project all have additional interests than the prospect of renewable energy production and environmental gains (Elvebakken interview 12.09.12, Kvardal and Ivedal interview 17.09.12, Roladnes interview 17.09.12, Emanuelsen interview 18.09.12 and Johannesson interview 19.09.12).

The prospect of significant economic gains from wind power production is, as mentioned, made possible through subsidies. The original reason for the subsidies is to increase use of renewable energy sources and decrease use of fossil energy sources. This means that if there were no subsidies, there would be little or no investment in wind power in Norway. In relation to this, it is interesting that Rognevik in Haugaland Kraft (HK) stresses that they in reality

need better subsidies to make it economically interesting for them to invest in wind power (Rognevik interview 17.09.12).

The discussion above shows how the discourses mutually question each other's interests. Underlying all this is the concept of power. The aim of this thesis is not to do a thorough examination of the power relation between the discourses.

However, when analyzing how the discourses attempt to represent the environment, I find it important to show how power works in this debate.

I have already stated that the WWD is the leading discourse for wind power, both on the national level and on the local level in the Vindafjord municipality. If a discourse is leading, it suggests that it possesses a power to affect the debate to a higher degree than other discourses (Svarstad 2002:69). The NCD serves as a counter discourse, which seeks to discredit the leading discourse. The view that the WWD is the leading discourse is confirmed with statements made by actors that I have placed within both discourses (Rognevik interview 17.09.12, Kvardal interview 17.09.12, Roaldnes 17.09.12, Aslebygdi interview 19.09.12, Johannesson interview 19.09.12).

So the actors within the WWD possess more power resources to affect the debate than those within the NCD. An example is discursive and informative power (Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010.23-25). I have earlier in the thesis shown how wind turbines serve as a symbol for something environmentally friendly. This gives actors, like the developers, an opportunity to argue that wind power at Døldarheia is "environmentally friendly" to other actors who also possess some power resources (for example landowners). In most cases they do not have to justify why wind power is "environmentally friendly", which illustrates how the WWD has the advantage of possessing discursive power. They are not forced to explain exactly why wind power can mitigate current climate change, even if it is not entirely clear how they replace fossil based energy sources. It goes without saying that wind power is "environmentally friendly", and the arguments present this as commonsense. This situation also relates to resources in terms of

informative power, which are not equally distributed among the actors in the case of Døldarheia. It is for example noted by all the actors I interviewed (except the representative from NVE) that there has been little engagement from local inhabitants. They also acknowledge that this is connected to how much the local inhabitant knows about the project (Josteindal interview 10.09.12, Kvileland 11.09.12, Elvebakken 12.09.12, Rognevik interview 17.09.12, Kvardal and Ivedal interview 17.09.12, Roaldnes 17.09.12, Emanuelsen interview 18.09.12, Aslebygdi interview 19.09.12, Johannesson interview 19.09.12). There are two potential reasons for this: either the local inhabitant does not care about the planned wind power park and its consequences, or they do not have knowledge about the plans. It is probably a combination of the two. Several of the actors within the NCD argue that representatives of the WWD allocate the information they possess strategically to avoid complications in the planning phase (Elvebakken 12.09.12, Kvardal interview 17.09.12). I will not speculate to whether this is the case. However, the representatives among the WWD evidently possess more information about the specific plans at Døldarheia than individuals from the NCD. They can therefore emphasize the facts that are favorable for their point of view.

The WWD in the case of Døldarheia is the leading discourse and has evidently more power to affect the actions of other actors than the NCD. This gives them an advantage in debates about who is representing the environment. The example about discursive and informative power suggests this.

7.1.5 Summary of how the discourses represents the environment

In this chapter I have discussed how the two discourses in the case of Døldarheia claim to represent the environment in different ways. The WWD makes reference to the global environment and the importance of wind power as renewable energy to help mitigate current climate change. They argue that Døldarheia is a good area for wind power, because they perceive few negative consequences. They also focus on how the area will recover to its original state after the turbines

are removed. While the WWD represents the global environment, the NCD focuses on protection of the local landscape and what it contains landscape qualities and biological diversity. They emphasize that there is no need for increased renewable energy production in the region and the energy from wind power will not cut emissions from fossil based energy sources. Both discourses dismiss the other as motivated by additional interests than environmental concerns. The WWD often argues that the NCD is motivated by selfish interests of protecting the scenery close to where they live. They relate it to the commonly used NIMBY principle. On the other hand, the NCD focuses on how wind power is a bad climate mitigation effort. They further argue that the actors who support the project are purely motivated by the prospect of financial gains. Power is an underlying aspect in the discussion about how the discourses represent the environment, and it is evident that the WWD—as the leading discourse—possesses more power to affect the debate than the NCD.

8. Conclusion

I have in this thesis offered a qualitative case study in attempt to understand the case of the planned wind power park at Døldarheia in Vindafjord municipality. I employed a discourse analysis to be able to gain a deep understanding of the attitudes the stakeholders in the case of Døldarheia had towards the proposed wind power park and the incentives for building the wind power park.

The research questions selected for this thesis were the following: i) What discourses can be identified among the different stakeholders in the case of Døldarheia and ii) How do the actors positioned within these discourses claim to represent the interests of the environment when presenting their arguments. I identified the discourses by searching for shared meanings, among my informants, about the phenomenon of wind power at Døldarheia. I identified two main discourses in the case— the win-win discourse (WWD) and the nature conservation discourse (NCD). It should be mentioned that there are small differences within the discourses, however, the main meanings are shared by the actors I have placed in the two discourses. These two discourses, to a high degree, reflected the national discourse (WWD) and the counter discourse to the national discourse (NCD) on wind power. Based on the material presented, it is clear that actors within both discourses in the case of Døldarheia claim to represent the interests of the environment.

The WWD in the case of Døldarheia emphasizes how wind power development includes “wins”—positive consequences—on several levels. The actors I have placed in this discourse emphasize how wind power at Døldarheia, as renewable energy, will have a positive contribution to mitigate current climate change. The actors within the WWD make reference to global environmental issues and the need for increased renewable energy production to decrease the use of energy from fossil based energy sources. Some actors argue that wind power production in Norway can cut emissions from fossil based energy sources in several ways. Other actors perceive it as a given that wind power is “environmentally friendly”,

independent of whether it cuts emission of greenhouse gases. They use what Woods (2003) calls a “utilitarian nature perspective” on nature, in the sense that they prioritize the global environment, which they consider as *nature*. Actors within the discourse do not perceive interferences in a limited natural area like Døldarheia as negative, if the wind power park can help cope with global issues, like mitigating current climate change. In addition to this the WWD argues that wind power will have positive impacts on the local economy, both for the municipality and landowners, which will eventually have positive consequences for the entire community around the park. There is also a focus on how infrastructure will increase the use of the area and how this will have positive consequences for the local inhabitants. The WWD serves as a leading discourse in the case of Døldarheia. The discourse does not dominate the debate in the case of Døldarheia, but I have shown in this thesis how it has a stronger influence on the debate, than the counter discourse— the NCD.

The NCD emphasizes in its arguments that the interference from the proposed wind power park at Døldarheia is too comprehensive. One of the main arguments among the actors in this discourse is that the interference from the wind power park will change the landscape too much. This is not only with reference to the effects at Døldarheia, but also how other surroundings, both nature- and inhabited areas, are affected. Actors from this discourse also argue that there will be unacceptable negative consequences to “areas without major infrastructure development in Norway” (INON) and biological diversity. The NCD actors focus on protecting the local environment. This reflects what Woods (2003) calls a “nature-ruralist perspective”, meaning the local natural landscape (rather than the global environment) is perceived as *nature*. The actors I have placed within the NCD also question the prospect of significant economic profit for local actors. However, their main point is that the park does not include enough positive consequences for Døldarheia to be “sacrificed”, as several of the actors within the NCD phrased it.

It is evident that there is a conflict between actors from the two discourses in the case of Døldarheia, particularly in the way they claim to represent the interests of the environment. The actors within the discourses attempt to discredit each other by saying their opponents are motivated by additional and selfish interests when representing the environment. The rhetoric often used states how opposing actors “lack commonsense”. The WWD argues that the NCD has too narrow a view on the case and that they should instead focus on the positive consequences. They also mention that the view within the NCD reflects the so-called NIMBY attitude, which proposes that motivation is mainly selfishly protecting the scenery for personal enjoyment. Several of the win-win actors also state that the area is trivial in a regional context, when it comes to landscape qualities and biological diversity. The NCD argues, on the other side, that the WWD is purely motivated by the prospect of financial gain. All actors within the NCD argue that the win-win actors do not care about the environment, neither locally nor globally. In other words, the discourses mutually doubt each other’s motivations for representing the environment and suggest each other’s claim as being a matter of stake. And as Haggett and Futak- Campbell (2011) emphasize, it is clearly crucial for actors concerned with wind power parks to not have their environmental argument dismissed as a matter of stake (Haggett and Futak- Campbell 2011:210). Both discourses, in my case, claim that the opposing environmental arguments are not genuine and those representations of the environment contain other motivations. This also suggests that all the actors look to represent the interests of the environment as something fundamentally positive. It is therefore important for actors to prove how they are the ones who “truly represent” the interests of the environment.

In addition to doubting the other discourse’s motivations, the positions go far in attempting to discredit essential assumptions in each other’s environmental arguments. The actors within the WWD make reference to how wind power supposedly is a reversible interference with nature and so the area will “recover” to its “original” state when the park is closed. Considering that the WWD does

not see the interference as permanent, they question one of the main arguments from the NCD, namely, that the change in the area is unacceptable. The win-win argument proposes that nature will “reclaim” the area when the turbines are removed. The NCD challenges the basis of the environmental argument in the WWD by stating that there is no need for more energy (renewable or not) in the region and that wind power does not necessarily cut emissions from fossil-based energy sources. They therefore argue that wind power at Døldarheia is not an effort to mitigate current climate change, demonstrating how they doubt the basis of the environmental argument within the WWD. So the discourses concerning the wind power park at Døldarheia actually discredit fundamental parts of the opposing discourse, specifically as they relate to the environment.

My findings at Døldarheia show how important it is for each stakeholder (except for the representative from the Norwegian Water Resource and Energy Directorate) to argue the superiority of his/her environmental argument. This shows the importance for stakeholders to prove their “environmentalism” in debates about wind power. My thesis demonstrates how actors use the environmental arguments to present their view on the case and wind power in general. It also shows how the environmental argument is perceived as an indisputably positive argument by the actor. This suggests that referring to the environment has developed into being a cultural value and is taken for granted by actors as something positive. This can be related to how Marianne Gullestad (1992) stresses the importance of distinguishing people’s explicit ideas which are “open to debate” and the ideas which are “taken for granted” (Gullestad 1992:21). Gullestad (1992) finds it important to gain access to cultural categories, or key notions, in people’s argumentation— categories which is used to organize and legitimate social relationships. Especially important then, for researchers, is to search for those “categories which are used to justify without themselves needing justification” (ibid). The environmental argument in the case of Døldarheia is used to justify the stance actors have in relation to the planned park. The environmental argument apparently does not need justification, but instead it is taken for granted as a positive argument. This shows how the

environmental arguments are “used to justify without themselves needing justification”. This is an interesting finding because it shows the importance of analyzing the arguments made by actors, to understand what views they actually promote. This also shows the importance of thoroughly examining the knowledge and attitudes that exists in the local contexts, which will then provide a more nuanced picture of any case. However, this knowledge and these attitudes will not be objective. Actors will most likely have additional underlying interests which are not communicated, when it comes to wind power development, as I have shown throughout this thesis.

In this conclusion, I must also stress the importance of understanding the context into which wind power is introduced, especially for the associated environmental arguments. This is first and foremost because wind power is introduced in a variety of contexts that vary significantly. Døldarheia is located in a relatively wealthy municipality in Norway and Norway is ranked as number one on the human development index (UNDP 2013). This implies that there is no immediate need for increased economic and social development in the municipality. This again suggests that the local inhabitants can focus on other considerations than the development aspect of increased energy production. As for example within the NCD where there is much focus on how the area has value for the scenery’s sake and the possibility to do recreational activities, which again enhances increased life quality for them. If a wind power project is to be introduced in contexts where the need for economic and social development is higher, the actors would most likely focus on the prospect of increased development instead of the changed local nature. Meanings that the actors will have different priorities when it comes to how they argue about a wind power park in different contexts. Norway is also a country where much of the energy production is based on renewable energy (hydro power) and 99 % of electricity production is based on renewable resources (Minstry of Energy and Petroleum 2007). I have referred to case studies done in different contexts in this thesis, for example from Great Britain (Woods 2003 and Szarka 2004), Denmark and France (Szarka 2004).

Compared to the Norwegian context, these are also countries that are relatively high on the human development index. However, all these countries depend much more than Norway on non-renewable energy sources, Norway has after all a considerably higher “renewable energy percentage” than any EU country (Ministry of the Environment 2012). It is then, for example, easier for actors to clearly understand the need for wind power, and the environmental arguments that are used to support wind power, in these EU countries. Because the need for increased renewable energy production is clearer and easier to comprehend for actors related to proposed wind power park. From this, it is evident that actors in different contexts will have different preferences when it comes to how they argue about a proposed wind power project and the involved environmental argument.

Although contexts differ, I argue there are some lessons to be learned from the case of Døldarheia as shown in this conclusion. Especially in relation to how actors claim to represent the environment in controversies surrounding the introduction of wind power technology in Norwegian contexts. I hope that my findings can be an empirical contribution to the on-going debate about environmental issues related to introduction of wind power parks in Norway—both in the rationale for their construction (the global argument), and the opposition to their interference (the local argument).

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Thomas Vestbø

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Interviews

Aslebygdi, Brynulf (male): Representative from the municipality board. Vindafjord per telephone: 19.09.12

Elvebakken, Hallgeir (male): Local inhabitant. Vindafjord: 12.09.12

Emanuelsen, Heidi (female): Representative from Forum for natur og friluftsliv i Rogaland. Stavanger: 18.09.12

Haslenes, Laura (female): Representative NVE. Oslo: 27.09.12 (two additional employees from NVE participated in the interview)

Hå, Sigurd (male): Local landowner. Vindafjord: 10.09.12

Ivedal, Vagleik (male): Representative from Haugesund Turistforening. Haugesund: 17.09.12 (together with Kvardal)

Johannesson, Vegar (male): Local landowner. Vindafjord: 19.09.12 (his wife and son participated in parts of the interview)

Josteindal, Varg (male): Local inhabitant. Vindafjord: 10.09.12 (his wife participated in parts of the interview)

Kvardal, Kornelius (male): Representative from Haugesund Turistforening. Haugesund: 17.09.12 (together with Ivedal)

Kvileland, Gudmund (male): Local landowner. Vindafjord: 11.09.12

Roaldnes, Sivert (male): Local inhabitant. Vindafjord: 17.09.12

Rognevik, Petter (male): Representative from Haugaland Kraft. Haugesund: 17.09.12

All my informants are anonymous, I have given them made up names.

Appendix

Under is the interview guide for local inhabitants without landowning interests in the wind power park at Døldarheia. I made six different interview guides for my six different groups of actors, the other interview guides did not differ much from this one.

Intervjuguide til lokale (uten eierinteresser):

1. Vindkraft

- a) Hva er dine erfaringer med vindkraft?
- b) Er du kjent med hvorfor det er et politisk mål å øke produksjonen av vindkraft? Hva mener du om det? Miljøargumentet?
- c) NVE sine kriterier for å få konsesjon for utbygging av vindkraftverk: Hva vet du om NVE's kriterier for å få konsesjon for å starte vindkraft produksjon?
 - *Vindressurser*
 - *Regional energi balanse*
 - *Nærhet til kraftnett*
 - *Innvirkning på miljø*
 - *Regionale planer som omhandler vindkraft*
 - *Påvirkning på andre næringer*
 - *Holdningen til lokal befolkningen (nevnt at det ikke er eget punkt).*Hva mener du er de viktigste kriteriene for at gitt område skal være passende for vindkraft?
- d) Hvordan ville det perfekte området for vindkraft se ut? Presenter det tilsynelatende paradokset og aspektene ved det--- konsekvensene av å plassere det nært (lyd, skrygge etc.) og konsekvensene ved å plassere det langt borte (INON, friluftsliv, bio.mangfold etc.). Nært eller langt borte fra hvor folk bor?

2. Døldarheia (uten vindkraft)

- a) Hvordan vil du definere området? (hvis du skulle fortelle om det til noen som aldri har vært der før).

- b) Hva innebærer bruken din av Døldarheia nå?
- c) Hva betyr område for deg? Har du noen spesielle miner fra området? Føler du noen spesiell tilhørighet til området?

3. Døldaheia (med vindkraft)

- a) Hva er din holdning til vindkraftparken? Begrunn hvorfor.
- b) Hva tror du blir de positive konsekvensene av vindkraftparken? Og negative?
- c) Har du sett visualiseringskartene? (hvis nei: visse kartene)
- d) Hva synes du om vindturbinene i seg selv? Og i landskapet? (fortelle om skala, plassering etc. hvis personen ikke er kjent med det).
- e) Hva tror du vil skje med området etter at parken eventuelt blir avviklet (om ca 25-30 år ifølge tiltakshaverne)?

4. Konsekvensutredningen

- a) Kjenner du til prosessen med utarbeiding av konsekvensutredningen? (hvis nei, fortell og begrunn hvorfor den ble laget)
- b) Hva synes du om at det har brukt en analytisk måte å sette verdi på aspekter som har med landskap, biologisk mangfold og menneskers opplevelser av natur? (altså aspekter som ikke er prissatt) (forklar metoden og gi eksempler). Hva synes du om at de ikke har snakket med noen som bor i nær område?
- c) Hvilke av aspektene er viktigst for deg?
- d) Hvilken verdi ville du gitt til området på de forskjellige punktene? (stjernesystemet)

5. Prosessen

- a) Hva vet om planleggingsprosessen for vindkraft i Norge?
- b) Hva synes du om prosessen med planleggingen av Døldarheia vindkraftverk har vært så langt?
- c) Informasjonen? Hvordan informasjonen har blitt delt ut? Synes du det er gitt nok informasjon?
- d) Deltagelse? Har du deltatt på høringen? Har det blitt tilstrekkelig annonsert?

e) Er du kjent med på hvilket stadiе av prosessen parken er på nå?

6. Framtiden

a) Tror du parken vil bli bygget?

b) Er det noen aspekter med vindkraftparken jeg ikke har vært inne på som du føler burde vært nevnt?