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A 'green-on-green' paradox

- Discursive struggles of what role windpower ought to have
in the Norwegian electricity system

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Abstract

In 2010, Norway had a goal to attain 3 TWh of windpower that was not reached. Recent years, the Norwegian windpower generation has increased dramatically, with yet projects to be built. Whereas almost 4 TWh was produced in 2018 and a planned theoretical production of about 13 TWh in total. But, as the windpower generation increase despite that there are no set goals, this begs the question of why Norway need windpower and what its role is in their electricity system? This thesis is a discourse analysis of relevant actors' main perspectives on what role windpower ought to have in the Norwegian electricity system. The main findings are two derived discourses. The perspectives that has been retrieved from the data collection, that advocates windpower are visions on electrification processes, increased exportation of electricity, and local value creation. Perspectives that advocates against windpower are windpower's ruining of untouched nature in terms of human experiences such as outdoor life and tourism industry, and degrading of nature in terms of biodiversity, fauna, flora, etc. This thesis takes an argumentative approach and establish storylines to investigate the argumentative structures. The content is interpreted as well as how actors gain support for their view and how it influences decision-makers.

The discourses are called "Opportunism with windpower" and "Destruction with windpower". It turns out as a struggle between climate and the natural environment, hence a paradoxical 'green-on-green' battle. Most discursive authority is found in "Opportunism with windpower", but an increasing challenge for discursive authority is opposed by "Destruction with windpower". An unanimity is found between the discourses, that emissions must be reduced. Should windpower be part of the Norwegian electricity system, its role is mainly to reduce emission. But, whether windpower proposes the quality to fill this role or if windpower's interference in nature is too severe compared to a limited contribution in mitigating climate change, remains a struggle.

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1 – Introduction

This master thesis will be about windpower in Norway. Its overlying topic is the growth that has taken place the last years, and the area that will be investigated is the different perspectives on windpower development in Norway and how different actors perceive the world of windpower and how their perspectives constitute their reality. In the following, the theme will be presented together with the basis of the necessity to do discourse analysis on the research field. To do so I will present the current state of windpower in Norway. A literature review will also be presented as will serve as background information to what I will do my thesis on.

1.1 Theme

This master thesis will study the drivers and motives for windpower development, both from industry, business activity and political point of view. The general background for the choice of topic is that of the special report on 1,5-degree target issued by the International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). The stated that it was critical to undertake drastic measures if the world were to stay below the 1,5-degree threshold (IPCC, 2018). This shows the urgency to implement ambitious climate policy, where windpower is one example, and analyse different perspectives on how this may be important for Norway.

The sustainable transition of the energy sector has received increased attention in most parts of the world. While the general energy demand is already huge, the energy demand in many regions is increasing. Most of the energy usage in the world comes from fossil-based sources, whereas petroleum accounts for more than 80 % of total primary energy supply (TPES). For electricity generation, 75 % comes from fossil fuel based sources (IEA, 2018, p. 2 and 14). In Norway much of their energy use comes from hydropower, hence, it is mostly renewable energy in their electricity generation. Considering this fact, what does Norway need windpower for at all?

Windpower does not have a too long history in Norway. The reasons for this can be many, but it is likely that it is partly due to the fact that Norway is geographically located with large and many hydro energy storage reservoirs which have made Norway almost self-sufficient in renewable electricity systems for many years now. Between 1997-2011 installed capacity in windpower was less than 600 MW. This has more than doubled and the pace in production of

wind farms has put on speed (NVE, 2018, p. 5). In 2018 windpower had an installed capacity of about 1749 MW[1] which is anticipated to have a total theoretical production of approximately 5,4 TWh, though total production in 2018 was about 3,8 TWh (NVE, n.d.). Further, there is a planned capacity of about 3952 MW in total, assuming production of more than 13 TWh (Vindportalen, n.d.). With a yearly production of electricity in Norway, with normal precipitation, of approximately 140 TWh (Energifakta Norge, 2019), windpower will accounts for, in total with planned capacity, about 10% of the electricity.

Windpower development in Norway was slow, relative to total electricity production, with a steady increase until 2011, with a total installed capacity of 520,5 MW. From about 2012, with a total installed capacity of 788,3 MW, the growth expanded considerably and the following years is characterised by a dramatic growth relative to the growth until 2011, with total installed capacity 1748,63 MW in 2019 (NVE, n.d.). Although it is crucial that the world increases its share of renewable energy, it is not evidently clear what the reasons are to increase windpower production in Norway, yet, considering installed capacity in 2011 compared to 2018, the growth in wind farms is drastically increasing which makes it interesting to explore why this is so.

1.2 Why does Norway need increased windpower right now?

In 2010 Norway had a goal to reach 3 TWh of wind power which were not achieved at the given time (Ministry of Petroleum and Energy, 1998) (Blindheim, 2013). The Fosen wind farm will have an installed capacity of about 1 GW and has a planned production of 3,6 TWh alone, which will be Europe's largest wind farm (Statkraft, n.d.). Fosen will then alone account for more than what the goal of installed capacity was in 2010, which will be emphasized later on in this chapter.
The steady increase until 2010/2011 indicates that it is not just political goals that drive wind power development. The leading question that this thesis raises is, therefore, why is windpower so important right now? This question contains what the motives are to increase the windpower capacity and the reasons for this. This study is under the assumption that there are many different meanings and drivers for this growth which would necessarily have to be investigated. Considering the huge capacity of hydropower in Norway and the water reservoir

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[1] W – [abbreviation] Watt is the unit of measurement for effect, which is the installed capacity. Wh – Watt hour is the unit of measurement for production [of the effect]. → MW, GW and TW – abbreviations for large amounts of Watt - Mega, Giga and Terra respectively.

storages, it is not given what reason there is in Norway to develop wind power despite it being propitiously located geographically.

Norway is not under a critical condition where they are dependent on electricity imports as they are more or less self-sufficient with hydropower, although vulnerable in dry years with low precipitation. The goal for windpower that was not achieved, and considering the growth in windpower today, gives the impressions that actors on windpower have changed their perspectives on why Norway needs more windpower. As something must have changed, what are the perspectives on why Norway needs the increased windpower production now and not in 2010 when it was a specific goal to strive for? What are their perspectives and what do they, together with the political landscape, want to achieve with the growth in windpower that is currently taking place? This begs the questions of what arguments that are used to achieve the desired windpower development?

There are different aspects that make this relevant. It is given increased attention to climate policy and politics the last decade, among other things, the Paris Agreement where the different nations stated what they would contribute with in order to avoid catastrophic global warming, whereas ambitious targets were made. In addition, Norway's climate goals on reduction of greenhouse gas emissions are highly related to the European Union's (EU) goals as Norway aims at reaching their goals together with the EU (Ministry of Climate and Environment, 2015, p. 6; 2017, p. 5). The goal of the increased share of renewables in the electricity generation and the goal of higher transmission capacity across country borders in Europe (Ministry of Petroleum and Energy, 2016, p. 90) might also be factors that influence the growth of windpower in Norway. Thus, energy and climate politics both in Norway and the EU and elements concerned with support mechanisms that are available to reach the different goals indicate that it might have something to do with the increase in windpower on the Norwegian mainland. Despite political cooperation with the EU, there are many actors involved with the acceleration in windpower, also in the private sector. These are some aspects that argue for an investigation of windpower in Norway. Why is it that when Norway had a goal, they did not reach it, and when there is not a finite goal Norway experience dramatic growth in windpower? This begs the question of what the different actor's on onshore wind power in Norway have for reason to develop wind power in this pace, right now?

The timing of the growth in windpower that is taking place set out the ground for looking at the different opinions and intentions, precisely due to the goal that was not reached in 2010. By conducting a discourse analysis to such an investigation provides the opportunity to look at how the 'real world' [of windpower] is understood according to different actors that are concerned with the development. An investigation of the 'real world', as understood as by the actors', makes it possible to enter their social world to obtain greater knowledge on the perspectives on windpower development in Norway. It is thus reasonable to do such an analysis to both understand the development, but also to look at perspectives that argue against the development, as to challenge the need for windpower. Discourse analysis gives a framework to look for these factors and is necessary to get more understanding of the phenomenon.

1.3 Basis for chosen topic

To build up a groundwork for the choice of topic some important work in the field will be presented later in this chapter. The increase in windpower development and the trajectories for windpower in Norway the coming years makes it important to investigate the pace of this development and the reasons for such an increase. This is partly due to that there is no clear direction for what Norway want to achieve with this increase that appears in a white paper concerned with power production till 2030 and the development of windpower the coming years (see Ministry of Petroleum and Energy, 2016). The white paper dealing with energy politics and power production in Norway does not state any objectives for windpower development, but that the government will account for a predictable development (Ministry of Petroleum and Energy, 2016, p. 192). In this white paper it says that the licensing process will evaluate the necessity of windpower (Ministry of Petroleum and Energy, 2016, p. 193), however, this does not amount to a national strategy for windpower, as the licensing process is merely an approval of the feasible projects, basically leaving the national windpower developments to the investors and project developers. The government's attitude towards development is thus to support development where it is wanted or needed, and not a criterion to what function it ought to have in the system. Thus, the directions for what is wanted to achieve with windpower needs to be illuminated and analysed which makes it important study to study the actors' motives. Both with concerns to windpower's field of research and its relevance for society at large.

Its relevance for society is many, especially considering the acceptance for windpower development in communities etc. To be able to understand the reasons and goals for windpower development it will be easier for society to make sense of the development trajectories, which is not always easy considering that Norway already has a lot of renewable power in the electricity mix. By illuminating perceptions about the development and access different actors' realities, it will help societies in Norway understand these trajectories and why it perhaps is valuable [or unnecessary] for the Norwegian energy system which might influence the acceptance for windpower, although, this thesis will not be concentrated around acceptance as a research field. Municipalities and other public entities can also benefit from such knowledge that can be derived from this thesis, especially in counties that have a large involvement in wind such as for example counties in western Norway. Providing such entities with information that can give a more thorough understanding of windpower development will also be beneficial to the local community and to how the discussion is held. The policy relevance of this master thesis is that it will try to provide valuable information to decisions made about the energy system in Norway and on future windpower policy. If different perceptions about windpower are constituted by different 'realities' on the matter, it is valuable to understand these differences in decision-making.

1.4 Problem statement and research questions

Besides goals itself in attaining a certain amount of wind power in the energy mix, it is lacking a reason for what the goal is (see Ministry of Petroleum and Energy, 2016), and what the different actors involved in windpower development want to achieve. Research-wise it should be investigated further in the field of windpower in Norway what meanings there are to develop windpower and which achievements the different actors together with the political landscape is after. Thus, the problem statement for this thesis will run as follows;

What main perspectives can be found arguing for the role of windpower in the Norwegian electricity system, and what are the implications of this?

To answer this problem statement, I have formulated a set of research questions to function as guiding of the analysis into answering the problem statement. These research questions are:

*1.	Which actors make themselves relevant in the development of windpower in Norway?*

*2.	What arguments can be found arguing against windpower development in Norway?*

3.   What arguments can be found amongst actors that advocates an increased electricity generation?

4.   What are the discursive structures in perspectives about the role of windpower?

How the problem statement ought to be understood; research question is here interpreted as a means to find out what perspective there are on why Norway need windpower [or does not need windpower]. Further, it should be interpreted to explore to what extent windpower offers advantages in an energy system where the electricity mix consists of almost 100 % renewable power. There are many aspects which are concerned with windpower, however, the research questions have naturally limited the scope of this thesis already. This master thesis will not engage with the evaluation of the different perspectives' truth. By that, I mean that the analysis will engage in what the different perspectives are and how they can be interpreted, and not to which extent they are correct.

Windpower's actual effect on mitigating climate change falls out of this thesis' scope. It is not relevant to analyse how Norwegian windpower works in reducing greenhouse gases in comparison with what the perspectives on the matter are. Thus, it is only relevant what the perspectives are. The scope of this thesis is limited to Norway and will not engage with perspectives on Norwegian windpower from for example actors in the EU.

Within the field of research, the problem statement that is to be investigated consists of many different actors, and thus, probably differences of opinion amongst those who are involved in the diffusion and development of windpower. It is, therefore, necessary to explore these together and look at how they relate to each other. By doing so one can establish coalitions with the same aims and objectives on windpower and a further look at to which degree these coalitions have the power to influence the decisions that are made. Therefore, discourse analysis is suitable for this type of study because it offers a framework where the researcher/analysist can investigate different meanings from different sources, such as documents, statements, interviews, etc., and analyse the data together. Marteen Hajer (1995) offers a framework to analyse the argumentative structures that are centred around sets of storylines, which gives actors a way to draw upon different discursive categories. This will be further elaborated on in the theory chapter.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

This thesis will be structured as follows:

The *Theory chapter* is the next section of this master thesis. It will be the theoretical framework in which the data will be analysed. As this thesis will be doing discourse analysis, the chapter on theory will account for what a discourse is and elaborate on the argumentative approach which this thesis will use. The function of the theory will be to give a way of deriving what the discourses are and what the discourses contain.

The *methodological approach* will be the chapter that follows the theory chapter. In this section, the sources and collection process will be explained. Two main data sources have been collected. These are interviews and media sources. Additional data is collected through official documents. Thus, the methods that will be used in this thesis is interviewing and document analysis. The chapter will also contain a description of how the interviews were conducted, and which approaches that was used. Also, the methodological aspects of discourse analysis will be explained in this section, mainly how the analysis is done.

After the methodology chapter, the data will be presented in n *data and analysis chapter.* I have chosen to integrate data and analysis into one chapter in order to maintain a flow in the writing. In this part of the thesis the relevant data that is gathered will be presented and what the results are. The aspects that make the specific data relevant will also be presented in order to get a basis for the analysis that follows this chapter. Further, the *analysis* will be conducted. After an analysis of the different discourses is presented, I will discuss them in relation to each other.

After the analysis, the findings in this thesis and the results of the study that has been conducted will be presented in the *conclusion.* The *concluding remarks* is the last chapter where the main results will be presented together with reflections on the thesis. Depending on the findings, some thoughts at the end of the thesis as concluding remarks will be given to what could be useful to investigate further.

1.6 The literature review

A number of studies focus on windpower in Norway from different perspectives, e.g. investment behavior, diffusion and innovation, and Norway's electricity sector in international connections. For example Finjord, Hagspiel, Lavrutich and Tangen (2018) who

looked at how green certificates affected investment behavior. Jorund Buen (2006) who looked at reasons why the wind industry in Norway had only limited diffusion and innovation on wind technology [before the increase that is now taking place]. Cooperation between Norway and other countries has also been studied, for example by Gullberg, Ohlhorst and Schreurs (2014) who looked at collaboration between Germany and Norway's electricity sector from different angles with German actors who see Norway as a reasonable collaborator to reach their national targets on renewable energy and from Norway's take on such collaboration, which is a study that is concerned with EU's renewable energy politics and its connection to Norwegian electricity sector. These articles may prove to be of importance later in this thesis depending on the findings.

The following articles that are selected to be presented in the literature review offer insight into the study that this thesis would like to explore. These three articles present which levels that need to be taken into account when studying this topic and gives information on why wind power struggled with diffusion in Norway. The literature review that has been conducted will provide a basis for showing where this thesis seeks to contribute to the research, by offering new insight.

Even though Norway has today installed capacity, in addition to the planned capacity to be built, of about 13,1 TWh of wind power, and that the capacity in 2017 more than doubled with further exponential growth coming (Vindportalen, n.d.), this rapid increase in wind power has not come about without obstacles. Bern Blindheim (2013) studied why the goal to attain 3 TWh of wind power within 2010 were not reached. The goal was stated in an official governmental document (Ministry of Petroleum and Energy, 1998) and by 2010 there were only 1 TWh of installed onshore wind power in Norway (Blindheim, 2013). Blindheim found that the main reason for this was, arguably, political uncertainty which led to inefficiency. Especially considering that it was, according to Blindheim's article (2013), an unpredictable framework to work with when giving concessions and therefore uncertainties for investors. The investors would, therefore, evaluate the risk to be too high. The support scheme that the government issued, Enova, was probably one of the great uncertainties, as the scheme was discussed and it was therefore uncertain whether investors could trust the current decisions (Blindheim, 2013, p. 342). Blindheim argues that the Ministry of Petroleum and Energy has been a bottleneck in the progress and that they did not have adequate focus on wind power (Blindheim, 2013, p. 343). In addition, the subsidies ascribed to wind power was considerably low until the very end of the period for the goal, i.e. between 1998 and 2010. Considering that

windpower earlier was dependent on subsidies this was, arguably, crucial for wind power diffusion to take off. The article also argues that the role of wind power in the energy market was uncertain and that in some cases a more goal-oriented project development could speed up the process (Blindheim, 2013, p. 341).

Blindheim's article offers an important insight into this thesis. Considering the huge increase in the development of wind power it is likely that some of the issues Blindheim found have improved, which will be important data when investigating the role of wind power in Norway, especially when looking at the political level. It is, therefore, reasonable to focus the analysis period mainly on the period after 2010, however, background data from before 2010, such as Blindheim's article, must be given attention to getting a better understanding of the perspective on the development of windpower.

Many studies have looked at windpower in different methodological and theoretical approaches, ranging from impact assessments, environmental concerns/benefits, cost, and competitiveness together with schemes that trigger investments, etc. Blindheim did also conduct a study that focused more on the investment in windpower which relates to his article from 2013. He studied factors that drive investments (or does not drive investments), in his article from 2015, where he studied the Norwegian licencing process and how it affected investments in wind power, and thus political goals. Blindheim found and discussed evidence that supported his argument that the licensing process for wind power development in Norway was time-consuming and somewhat unpredictable. This resulted in a greater risk for investors and did not support a push to increase investments (Blindheim, 2015).

This serves as a background for the motives to increase windpower development from the actor's perspectives. With Blindheim's articles in mind, it seems necessary to do a discourse analysis to get a greater understanding of why Norway should develop windpower. Blindheim's article will help to understand what has led to an increase and what drivers for windpower there is, when in fact Blindheim's findings tell that there has been a lack of efficiency in pushing investments into windpower. Considering the great role the political landscape has in wind power development in Norway, such as this article discusses, highly relates to Espen Moe's article (2017).

Moe (2017) analyzed windpower related interests, explaining that politics matter for the swings in windpower development in all cases. Besides politics, the argument of geography, economics, and technology might be factors that drive development, but that this is individual

for each country and politics is a stable factor. However, it seems like this will eventually add up to economics, meaning that one should invest in windpower because it is economically viable. Moe did not look at Norway, but rather a case study of The United States, Japan, China, Denmark, and Germany.

Moe finds that interests are also driven by lobbyism, politics, interest group strengths, etc. (Moe, 2017, p. 344). Moe looks partly at reasons such as energy security and availability, technological innovation, economics, and politics as drivers for windpower diffusion. His main finding is that politics has a huge role in energy development in all countries. Moe does not undermine the role of other factors, but emphasize the role of politics. What he described was that there are factors in some countries that are not so important in others, but that politics is a common factor.

This study, however, does not consider the voice of the different actors and looks more towards reasons for why wind was built and not for interests as to why it should be built and what the motives are, and eventually, what the means for windpower diffusion is. This is where the argument of the environment in the actor's point of view is partly overlooked, although it might be an underlying factor for all of the reasons above, this is something that should be further investigated in order to map out why actors would want to build wind power besides it being profitable. Moe's study serves as an important background work which might be good empirical data for my thesis to the degree that Moe points out cases where different factors have served as drivers for windpower diffusion in addition to politics. These are factors that my study expects to find as well.

Although it is not part of the study it is important to also see the environmental argument in the case of climate change. Not that Moe's objective was to figure out the actor's motives to windpower development, but drivers for the actors might have just as much a role as politics. My thesis assumes thus, that there are other factors and motives for windpower development besides economic reasons and political factors that affect swings in windpower diffusion. The following thesis is, however, an investigation of motives for windpower diffusion and development in Norway. The emphasis of Moe's study is that politics matter for windpower diffusion in all cases of the study, even though other factors may also play a role, such as technology, economics, and geography. My study will not take a stand and question Moe's findings, but rather argue that there are other underlying interests for windpower diffusion and development in Norway. Not that politics does not matter, but that these interests need to be

explored by investigating the voice and arguments of different actors that have an interest in windpower being successful. Thus, the following study assumes that there are different drivers and motives for windpower development other than the factors mentioned above, such as moral stands, ethics and environmental reasons which will have to be investigated, together with other drivers. This will be through the actor's point of view and their motives and means for windpower.

In addition, Norway which has large public investments in renewable technologies and wind power stations might also turn out to be evidential to that politics does play a larger role beyond swings in development, and that the political landscape has actual interests that serve as drivers and motives for windpower development. An assumption is thus made that politics is part of a larger discourse concerning interests and motives for windpower development.

Moe's conclusion does not quite give an adequate explanation for Norway's windpower development and its motives. If the assumptions that are made for this following study is correct it can possibly fill a hole and be a supplement to Moe's findings, i.e. another explanation in addition to the fact that politics matter in windpower diffusion and development. This does not contradict Moe's findings in any ways as he writes, "Can we discard all the other explanations in favor of politics? Obviously not: My argument is that politics is important to understanding swings, but other explanations may still work well at explaining development trajectories."(Moe, 2017, p. 365). By studying the "other explanations" for development trajectories this thesis will give additional information that hopefully will be beneficial within the field of research in which Moe's study is conducted. Finally, Moe (2017) writes that politics is important in every country, and that the role of actors and interest groups differ from country to country. He writes:

> *"The interest group game differs from country to country because the political constellations are different in every country. This makes comparative case-studies an extremely important methodological tool. But the patterns of interest group politics, regulated by government, as the main cause behind swings in installations, is something that every country has in common"* (Moe, 2017, p. 368)

Thus, the following study will, as mentioned, not go about falsifying Moe's result, but rather look at the role of actors in Norway and add to his study, as it is clear that these cannot easily be explained without an investigation. This literature review guides this thesis into the necessity of doing a discourse analysis. The fact that there are many actors that are involved

with windpower shows that there is a need to understand how they perceive the world of windpower. A discourse analysis gives an tool to look into different actors' reality and interpret it.

1.7 Aims and significance

The contribution this study has (Blaikie, 2010, p. 27) is that (1) it will give valuable insight to Norway's objective with windpower development, through an investigation of the meanings, reasons and goals with windpower from the actors' point of view. (2) This study will help to understand, and possibly provide, new information on the current situation in the transition process in Norway and the future scheme in the energy sector. This study's significance is that it will fill a gap where Norway's energy sector trajectories is somewhat diffuse.

The theory chapter accounts for the foundation of the thesis which is a framework that is used to understand the phenomena and elements that is needed to interpret the discourses and the findings within (Bryman, 2016, p. 18). There are many possible theoretical approaches to a research (Sovacool, Axsen, & Sorrell, 2018, p. 14) depending on the focus and aim of what is being studied. Theory can be viewed as a tool used to guide the focus towards the relevant aspects of the occurrence of a phenomenon and help to structure a way to obtain an answer through the analysis on what is being studied (Blaikie, 2010, p. 124). It is a necessary tool to gain understanding of what has been observed [or not observed] and a way of interpreting these observations. A framework derived from theory gives a way of addressing reality with technical concepts, such as with discourses, where arguments, ideas and meaning from the real world can be interpreted. In this sense, theory offers to organise what has been observed and information that has been collected (Blaikie, 2010, p. 124).

The traditional approach that suits the choice of theory [discourse theory] for this thesis is the *hermeneutic* tradition. This tradition origins from language used amongst lay people and not in the language from a discipline (Blaikie, 2010, p. 119). It is a part of a study where the aim is to establish the meaning about a phenomenon (Yin, 2011, p. 310). It is a way of interpreting rather than translating what is being studied (Blaikie, 2010, p. 119; Neuman, 2014, p. 103). The hermeneutic process is to draw from everyday concepts and putting them into order in technical concepts (i.e. terminology from the discipline/ theoretical terminology) (Blaikie, 2010, p. 123; Neuman, 2014, p. 103) This tradition corresponds well to the aim of this thesis, which substantiate the choice of theory.

2.1 Considerations to other applicable theories

Alternative theoretical approaches could be used for this thesis, however that would change the focus and aims. An obvious direction could be a narrative analysis that focuses on the stories that are created from a literary point of view. This approach does however, have distinct similarities with the argumentative approach to discourse analysis, as will be elaborated on later in this chapter. I have chosen the argumentative approach instead of the narrative analysis because the aim is to understand the language that is used about windpower development in order to understand the goals that lies with the development, whereas it is

relevant to look at the structures in the arguments. Another approach that could have shed relevant light on the problem under scrutiny is the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF). ACF has its point of departure in the notion that there are many actors involved in policy change and that these actors form coalitions together with those that have the same belief system and perceptions of a problem (Gründinger, 2017, p. 55; Sabatier & Weible, 2007, p. 196). In order to use this framework, the research question of this thesis would have needed adjustments. Rather than looking at reasons for windpower development, the ACF is more focused on the power that the different coalitions have in influencing the outcome of a policy process (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, p. 196). The ACF is more concerned with explaining policy change over time, rather than understand, which is the main difference between discourse analysis and the ACF (Sabatier & Weible, 2007, p. 208). Although, the ACF does also seek to understand, although this is not where the focus lies. Discourse analysis is more concerned with the meaning that is given to a phenomenon through language, which is why I have chosen this approach, as it suits the problem statement and research questions. The argumentative approach to discourse analysis carries some similarities to the ACF by looking into actors that form coalitions and how these coalition gives the same meaning about the phenomenon. This will also be emphasised later in this chapter.

2.2 Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis within social sciences springs from the post-positivists tradition to interpret and understand various connections and meaning in a social process (Hajer, 1995, p. 43). Discourse analysis is both a theory and a method and there are many different approaches to doing a discourse analysis, such as critical discourse analysis whereas work from Norman Fairclough is considered as an important scholar and Foucauldian discourse analysis which focuses primarily on power relations. Michel Foucault was the one that really placed emphasis on discourse analysis (Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999, p. 21). He criticized the practice of political theory with the fact that they did not give enough attention to the smaller different actors, or micro-powers, that influences the discourse of a certain topic or problem, but rather focusing on the institutions (Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999, p. 47). Foucault placed emphasis on the influence from such that brought about change.

In discourse everything can be interpreted as text, although it is not necessarily written down, speech and dialogue can be interpreted as text (Neumann, 2001, p. 23). This is also emphasised in the hermeneutic tradition that dialogue, expression, pictures etc. can be read as

text (Neuman, 2014, p. 103). In this sense, it is an interpretation of language that is understood as more than just speech, but rather a tool that is used to constitutes social reality (Yin, 2011, p. 108)

How meaning is created does not have an ontological assumptions to it (L. C. Jensen, 2006, p. 12), but it is an assumption for discourse analysis that language affect the way we understand reality and how we see the world (Hajer, 2006, p. 66; Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999, p. 9). As discourses constantly change and reproduce representations it is a matter of knowledge production and how we can have knowledge about reality, which is an epistemological focus in discourse analysis (Neumann, 2001, p. 179). The discourse is what shapes how we see and understand reality, thus constructing our meanings about reality. The perception we have about reality, the social world, is shaped through a discursive practice[2], i.e. language, and is therefore constituted through discourse (Bryman, 2016, p. 532; Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999, pp. 28-29; Neumann, 2001, p. 18). This thesis adopts the notion about discourse as a concept that includes text [in its wider meaning]. Discursive practice together with social practice, i.e. other practices that gives an understanding of phenomenon that is not understood through text, mutually constitute each other and further constitute our reality (Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999, p. 28).

 From social constructivism, discourse adopts what was shown about perceptions of problems. A problem can have different definitions depending on the actors' point of view (Hajer, 1995, p. 43). What is relevant to discourse analysis is to and analyse the representations and explore why something is left out and why something [such as a meaning] is given power (Hajer, 1995, p. 43). To do so, one must examine the stories and meanings that are uttered. The analysts task is to find clear and precise meaning in social reality by following the different discourses and explore which discourse has most authoritative power (Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999, p. 34).

2.3 Establishing the discourses

Discourse analysis is defined differently or emphasises different aspect depending on the issue and within different disciplines (L. C. Jensen, 2012, p. 31). Unlike from everyday speech, a discourse in social science is not the same as a discussion. "A discourse refers to a

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[2] By practice, in this sense, means how we act and frame ourselves about a phenomenon, emphasised as, "(…)embedded routines and mutually understood rules and norm that provide coherence to social life" (Hajer, 2006, p. 70).

set of concepts that structure the contributions of participants to a discussion" (Hajer, 2006, p. 67). Hajer (1995, p. 44) defines a discourse as "(…) a specific ensemble of idea, concepts, and categorizations that are produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities." This definition is not unlike from John Dryzek's (2013, p. 9) definition, "A discourse is a shared way of apprehending the world. Embedded in language, it enables those who subscribe to it to interpret bits of information and put them together into coherent stories or accounts." These definitions emphasise the practices as something that gives content to the meaning through language and in doing so ensure the context through an interpretation of what, why and to whom language is used as a tool in the discursive practice. This means that it matters how an issue is framed and not only what is framed. This does not only show us how we see reality, but actively create and reframe our social world (L. C. Jensen, 2006, p. 9; Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999, p. 9)

Reality is understood through a determined way of expressing what the reality is. A discourse consists of for example statements, speech, documents etc, which is language and is part of a contextual coherence. The language we use draws upon concepts that serves the purpose of creating and structuring what meaning is given to reality, how reality is described, and to construct the statements we make to describe and interpret our surroundings, which is how we understand the world, (L. C. Jensen, 2006, p. 13; 2012, p. 31). Truth and meaning is created discursively (Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999, p. 22), which means that there are no objective truths within this tradition, only perceptions that is established and constituted through discourse. To establish what a discourse is one must look for these concepts [together with categories and ideas], and by finding them it makes a platform to study the discourses. By drawing on discursive categories one can give meaning to a phenomenon, however, by changing the discursive categories the phenomenon will be understood differently. One can only make sense of the world with the discourses available (Hajer, 1995, p. 53). discourse is not something that one aims at producing, but rather something that is produced unconsciously. It is structures that are found in language, i.e. communication through written and spoken statements, documents, etc. Discoursing subject, i.e. actors, practice discourse theory all the time and is thus part of production and reproduction of the discourse, however, without being aware of this practice (Hajer, 1995, p. 53). Although, actors are aware their own interest, but not its involvement in the discourse. It is by looking at the discoursing functions that one can observe and interpret what the discourse is.

2.4 The argumentative approach

Hajer followed the perspective of social-interactive discourse theory from which he developed an approach to discourse theory called Discourse Coalition Framework, which have an argumentative approach, to fill gaps where a discourse analysis came short in the analysis of policy processes. This approach is suiting for the thesis because it gives a framework to look at not only interaction amongst discoursing subjects and structures, but also to look at why something is being said, to whom and what that is being criticised, which makes the context of the discursive process (Schmidt, 2011, p. 56). It enables the analyst to investigate the power actors have to make others see the issue through their understanding of reality, where they struggle to have dominance. This is called an argumentative approach (Hajer, 1995, p. 53).

> *"Therefore, to understand the meaning of a sentence or whole discourse in an argumentative context, one should not examine merely the words within that discourse or the images in the speaker's mind at the moment of utterance. One should also consider the positions which are being criticized, or against which a justification is being mounted. Without knowing these counter-positions, the argumentative meaning will be lost." (Billig, 1996, p. 121).*

This approach seeks to fill a gap in discourse analysis where it is argued that subjects should be studied as the producers and the ones accounting for transformations of a discourse, thus being more actively involved in the discourse analysis (Hajer, 1995, p. 55). It is, therefore, important to investigate how the notion of the real world is maintained through the positioning of key actors through discourse. Supplementing such an investigation one should [equally] look to actors that criticise and challenge the view of the arguments put forward in order to get a better understanding of the context (Billig, 1996, p. 121). In addition to study the 'subject positions'[3,4], it thus becomes important to study the 'structure positioning'(Hajer, 1995, p. 56). These positionings are structures in institutions, values and representations of identities that are either changeable or institutions that are persistent, meaning that positions

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[3] Davies and Harré (1990, p. 49) defines position in this sense as "the discursive process whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced storylines. There can be interactive positioning in which what one person says positions another. And there can be reflexive positioning in which one positions oneself."

[4] Subjects position is the position that constitutes the subject; one deals with a phenomenon according to values, representations and institutions that represents one's identity, and identity is what constitutes the position (Neumann, 2001, p. 94). It is like a circle, where action is what reproduces the notion of social reality

can be reproduced, but some can also be transformed. It could for example be that an energy company that focus on petroleum have diversified into focusing on more environmentally friendly methods due to perceptions about climate change.

Here, in many different representations of the phenomenon, actors will not have the opportunity to do as they please in each given process, but are tied to their positions, in which they utter themselves (Hajer, 1995, p. 56). When investigating the different elements of the discourses it is important to keep in mind that [often] it is not the individual that will be investigated, but rather its positioning. However, as one draws on a discourse and take the position as one's own, social reality is seen accordingly so that the positions will in many cases also reflect the individual itself (Davies & Harré, 1990, p. 46; Hajer, 1995, p. 56). There are, however, nuances to this depending on the role of the individual, e.g. employee, expert, mother, friend etc.

A decisive concept within the argumentative approach is *storylines.* This becomes especially important when looking at discourses within politics, especially environmental problems, due to the vast representation of an issue from different holds. A storyline is defined as

> *"(...)a generative sort of narrative that allows actors to draw upon various discursive categories to give meaning to specific physical or social phenomena. The key function of storylines is that they suggest unity in the bewildering variety of separate discursive component parts of a problem (...)"* (Hajer, 1995, p. 56)

Storylines is a way of seeing both the understanding that an actor holds through its position and to see how specific actors have the ability to exercise choice in the practices that is available to them, without being bound to a position (Hajer, 1995, p. 56). The storyline tells that different discourses can adopt external elements, i.e. concepts, categories, references etc, from other discourses to structure an argument. How reality is perceived gives the opportunity to tell a story with the meaning as it is perceived by appealing to the message receiver through common grounds, and by doing so the story draws upon other discourses. For example, a discourse concerning offshore oil drilling might have a storyline that draws upon categories from a discourse concerned with marine biology. This helps to give meaning to the story that is told. It is, for the given discourse, a helpful tool that can empower the discourse, using for example rhetorical means or metaphors, to appeal to hope or fear that aims at giving a solution that influences the decision-makers. In this example a storyline could include how offshore drilling makes ocean habitats vulnerable to oil spills.

The argumentative approach assumes that there is not a full understanding of a problem and that communication is based on interpretation amongst the different actors involved. Storylines are narratives that try to explain reality as it is seen and understood [through the discourse that is using it] by drawing from all the necessary elements outside of the discourse which gives the actors a platform that indicates and put forward a common understanding of the phenomenon. This can be used to give a 'quick' explanation to the problem that summarises a complex issue or phenomenon. By tracing the storylines the analyst will also see that the problem definition is not fixed and that it is continually changing through storylines. Storylines show that a 'mutual understanding' of what is being said or written is not always the case, i.e. that the message sender and message receiver does not always understand one another because they emphasise different things in the message (Hajer, 2006, p. 69). By establishing what storylines there are it will help to interpret the discourses which finds itself in a fluctuating social reality.

There are different tools that are used in storylines, that can be helpful to the focus of this thesis on windpower discourses. *Metaphors* is such a tool that [often] plays an important role when investigating the storylines. Metaphors is used to say something about something else than what is being said, and as Hajer (2006, p. 68) puts it, "metaphors bring out the 'thisness' of a that or the 'thatness' of a this". It can, for example, be in terms of symbolism in speech. *Analogies, historical references, clichés* and *appeals* are also tools to look for when tracing the storylines in a discourse (Hajer, 1995, p. 63). As the storylines says something about what is behind the content, they become important to understand the discourses. Thus, making sure that elements of a discourse is not overlooked, and to see if storylines are understood as they are meant to be understood.

What Hajer (1995) especially emphasize in his revision of the discourse analysis is the role of coalitions and how they emerge. *Discourse-coalitions* are defined as, "(…) the ensemble of (1) a set of storylines; (2) the actors who utter these storylines; and (3) the practices in which this discursive activity is based" (Hajer, 1995, p. 65). By the definition it is clear that storylines is vital for the coalitions to exists, as coalitions form due to their common use of storylines and that these storylines tells the same argument despite their [sometimes] vastly different interests. The practice in which the storyline is uttered is of importance because it is in the specific settings one can discover the storylines and see when discourses are drawn upon (Hajer, 2006, p. 70). Hence, it is the practices in the context the storylines are uttered that form a discourse-coalition.

Actors that uses the same [various] discourses to partake in a discussion forms the coalitions, however, they do not necessarily have anything to do with each other (E. Hovden & Lindseth, 2004, p. 66). These coalitions have greater probability to influence decision makers. When different discursive practices interact and affect one another, as they argue through storylines, new understanding/meaning of the phenomenon can occur which produces the discourse-coalitions. These can be found by looking for the different arguments that tells the same story [although they might be told differently] and further establish the coalitions. These actors might want to achieve the same outcome/objective, despite their motives may be different. In the argumentative approach, language is seen as actively used, with the different tools used in storylines, when engaging in discourses. Language is used as a specific communicative device to shape motives, meanings, preferences and interests and is thus a highly powerful tool in discourse theory (Hajer, 1995, p. 59).

The argumentative approach does not consider actions and perceptions as something with a background in "deeply held beliefs and belief systems" (Hajer, 1995, p. 59). Actors will argue according to their way of seeing reality and gaining support for that view, i.e. the framing of the phenomenon. "The argumentative approach conceives of politics as a struggle for discursive hegemony in which actors try to secure support for their definition of reality." (Hajer, 1995, p. 59). There are three dynamics in the argumentative approach that is vital to gain support: credibility, acceptability and trust. (1) Credibility – that the subject positioning is reliable through what the discourse implies meaning that actors believe in their own position within a discourse. (2) Acceptability – these positionings are considered as 'attractive or necessary'. (3) Trust - to secure that the discourse seems trustworthy and precise. What this implies is that arguments may change perceptions and interests because of some characteristic of the arguments, e.g. that is seems logical or sounds right (Hajer, 1995, pp. 59-69).

In every scientific paper or master thesis there are several methodological choices that will have to be made. A research design is an explicit plan where these choices are made (Blaikie, 2010, p. 15; Bryman, 2016, p. 40). The aim with such an explicit plan is to show what that has been studied and how it has been studied, in order to have a trustworthy study. The design addresses the connection between the research questions, the collection of data and how this will be analysed (Yin, 2011, p. 76). In the following, I will go through the choices I have made for the thesis as well as elaborate on what has been done during the duration of the thesis.

3.1 Problem statements and research questions

The theme of this thesis is the role of onshore windpower in Norway. The overlying problem statement for this study is as stated:

What main perspectives can be found arguing for the role of windpower in the Norwegian electricity system, and what are the implications of this?

In order to address this problem some research questions have been formulated. These are:

Which actors make themselves relevant in the development of windpower in Norway?

What arguments can be found arguing against windpower development in Norway?

What arguments can be found amongst actors that advocates an increased electricity generation?

What are the discursive structures in perspectives about the role of windpower?

These research questions are formulated to deal with the world of windpower in Norway. They also serve the purpose of making rational choices concerning strategy and methodology (Blaikie, 2010, p. 57).

3.2 Strategy

3.2.1 Where the thesis fits

This thesis is concerned with creating further *understanding* of a phenomenon. It will also seek to explain the role of windpower in the electricity system, but through attaining deeper understanding of the social reality of windpower. It is therefore a semantic explanation study. This is not to be mistaken for *causal explanation* where the aim is to explaining 'why' [there is so much] and explain the causes for a phenomenon, but it is rather *reason explanation,* thus to understand. It is because this thesis seek to gain understanding about social reality and find the meaning of an event through the social actors (Blaikie, 2010, pp. 71-72). This is therefore associated with this thesis' theme and the research questions that are put out to deal with the problem statement.

3.2.2 The abductive research strategy

There are four research strategies that can be utilised in research. The inductive, retroductive, deductive and abductive research strategies. All of these gives a different logic to pursue the research questions (Blaikie, 2010, p. 81). The procedure that is chosen to pursue the research questions is an abductive strategy. There are some differences to how the abductive research strategy is defined. Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, and Karlsson (1997, p. 145) do not see it necessary to develop a theory in the abductive strategy as it put forward that the strategy is a logic to attain knowledge to interpret meanings about a social phenomenon and do not specify the theoretical framework of the logic. It is reasonable to answer the research questions through an established theory, rather than generating a theory that can be tested, as is the case with Blaikie's understanding of the strategy (Blaikie, 2010, p. 89).

This strategy provides a logic to answering both 'what' and 'why' question. The former to 'explore' and the latter to 'understand' (Blaikie, 2010, p. 89). I chose abductive strategy because it gives the closest logic to pursue the questions put forward in this thesis. It is because this logic has its point of departure in a description and meaning from the social world and then creating concepts and categories that makes the basis to understand the phenomenon (Blaikie, 2010, p. 89), which is a suitable logic to doing a discourse analysis. It is not desirable to instruct, impose or recommend anything to, but to discover and describe it. A strategy provides a guide to what conclusions can be drawn. This logic does not give an absolute truth, but gives a logic to tell how something can be, thus being one of many possible

truths (Danermark et al., 1997, p. 146). The strategy rather exclude some alternatives to the truth by attaining a deeper understanding of the phenomenon (Danermark, Ekstrom, & Jakobsen, 2005, p. 94; Neuman, 2014, p. 114).

As this thesis aims at understanding the role of windpower in Norway and the motives of the actors, and seek to gain this understanding by interpreting the language in everyday lives of actors, it is reasonable to use and abductive strategy (Blaikie, 2010, p. 89). This logic will, as in the theoretical tradition this thesis finds itself, interpret and convert everyday language into technical concept, that can be analysed to get the understanding this thesis is after (Blaikie, 2010, p. 90).

The logic is: (1) There are perceptions about the social world and actions that are made, which can be provided/told to the researcher. (2) The perceptions must be discovered/investigated and concepts, meanings, motives and interpretations of everyday language must then be recorded. (3) These recordings must be generated into technical concepts. During this process it is vital that actors of the social world can identify; due to the integrity of the thesis I must make sure that the social world is grasped correctly and not changed "too much" in order to make it researchable. (4) The final stage of this logic is to make sense of what is found and elaborate on the obtain understanding (Blaikie, 2010, pp. 90-92).

3.3 Type of thesis

This thesis will be an empirical study based on mixed methods in collecting and analyzing the data. The thesis is mostly qualitative, but a small part of the data collection is quantitative when collecting data from media. It is qualitative through the character that this thesis is concerned with meanings and interpretations, and creating the discursive conceptualisations of the representations that can be found in the social world (Blaikie, 2010, pp. 204-205). In the analysis of all the data it is merely qualitative. Qualitative data does also often consists of data in form of text, which is the form that will be analysed in this thesis. There will be limited generalisation from this thesis. Generalisation happens to the degree that I will find patterns of actors' motives, intentions and perceptions about windpower development in Norway and its role in the electricity system. Meaning that this thesis will produce assumptions on the account of development of windpower and its role, based on relevant actors' perspectives.

Through these qualitative methods of collecting the data I will not be taking an observational role. I will instead, through interviewing participants of the social world, i.e. actors, report on what can be established as meanings and representations in the interviews and through the investigation of data sources (Blaikie, 2010, p. 207).

3.4 Discourse analysis as method

This thesis adopt the methodological framework from discourse analysis, as have been elaborated on in the previous chapter. The methodological guidance from discourse analysis is that which can be derived from Hajer's (2006) ten steps of doing a discourse analysis, as far as it is reasonable to do so. These steps are paraphrased below and adjusted to this thesis (2006, p. 73):

1. *Desk research:* a general review of relevant documents and positions on windpower development; newspaper analysis, a general overview of relevant official documents and institutions and organisations involved.
2. *Helicopter interviews:* interview informants that have an overview of windpower development. Especially researchers that is familiar with the field will be asked to be informants for this thesis.
3. *Document analysis:* analysing documents for structuring concepts, ideas and categorisations; employment of storylines, metaphors, etc. Arguments that are found in the relevant documents and statements from newspaper etc. will be analysed to see which arguments that are basically the same. This should result in a first attempt at defining structuring discourses in the discussion.
4. *Interviews with key players:* With basis in the first three steps, central actors should be interviewed. This is actors from organisations and institutions involved in development of windpower. The interviews will be used to establish what the different actors meant by certain decisions, statements etc. The interviews should be used to develop greater understanding of what is established from the three former steps.
5. *Site of argumentation:* Search for data that will account for the argumentative exchange, e.g. debates, and especially minutes of inquiry of a certain decision (this is important for *key incident*, see step 7).
6. *Analyse for positioning effect:* actors can get 'caught up' in an interplay. They might force others to take up a particular role, but as they get aware, they might also try to refuse this role.

7. *Identification of key incidents:* Key incidents are incidents that are essential to understand the discursive dynamics in the field. Try to gain as much knowledge about the case as possible to get a better insight in which determined their political effects.

8. *Analysis of practices in particular cases of argumentation:* instead of assuming coherence on part of particular actors, one should examine the data to see if the meaning of what was said is related to the practices in which it was said.

9. *Interpretation:* on this basis one may find a discursive order that governed a particular domain in a particular time. It is good if one are able to account for the discursive structures in a discussion and interpret the practices, the sites of production that were of importance in explaining a particular course of events.

10. *Second visit to key actors:* After the discourses is constructed, one should inquire about the discourses and ask the actors if they recognise some of the hidden structures in the language. This is a way of controlling that the analysis makes sense. It is chosen to do this over e-mail due to the time limits of this thesis.

How meanings about windpower development evolved to the actual development should be investigated by looking at the discourses which are 'exchange of ideas' (Schmidt, 2011, p. 56). It is crucial for this thesis to investigate the different perceptions of windpower development. This thesis will practice the definition of Hajer and Dryzek with an emphasis on the context of the discursive progress. In an investigation of the relevant actors, this thesis must focus on social practices, which is found by looking at situations, thoughts and reasons for an argument, who is the messenger and who is the message receiver (Hajer, 1995, p. 44; Schmidt, 2011, p. 56). In doing so, I will focus on the storylines that can be derived from the discursive practices. Such an approach gives an opportunity to identify the authoritative discourses and see which actors gain support for their view. How a phenomenon is framed, i.e. what is being said and to whom it is said, must therefore be seen in context to the practices in order to obtain the meaning of the discourse.

In this context it is necessary to investigate whether any established discursive practice has greater influence in arguing a perspective on windpower development. Within these practices are sets of rules and ways to apprehend a phenomenon according to given concepts, ideas and categories that are found in the discourses. Hence, a discourse creates a certain type of arena where one can discuss a problem.

Discourse theoretical contribution to this thesis will therefore guide the investigation into looking at specific tools that are used through the language by different coalitions, especially concerning storylines. For the purpose of this thesis the arguments that are being told and the story that is used to tell them will be investigated in order to establish a connection between the content of the discourses and how it relates to the struggle between the discourses that are found. Eventually this will give additional information to establish storylines and to comprehend what the discourse is about. The theoretical aspect is what storylines are and how to establish them. The discursive tools in the formation of storylines will be in focus when trying to establish them. Discursive tools have a guiding purpose for such an establishment because they are noticeable in texts. Furthermore, these establishments will help to gain insight into the power and influence of the discourses. This will elucidate the thesis' aim and give a clearer direction of the task that is put forward.

3.5 Data selection

There are three types of data; primary, secondary and tertiary. Primary data comes from direct contact with the source. Secondary data are produced by another researcher that collected the data, hence, a link between the researcher that does the analysis and the sources. Tertiary data is already analysed by another researcher and therefore two links between the researcher and the source (Blaikie, 2010, p. 161). This thesis will mainly use tertiary data sources, namely official documents and reports. In addition will primary data sources be used to supplement the secondary and tertiary sources, which in this case consists of interviews. The disadvantage with this is that it is relatively time-consuming, however, judging the quality of the data is, to a large degree, up to this thesis whereas interviews is considered valuable. The selection of method for conducting the interviews is non-probability, meaning that informants are not chosen randomly, but rather chosen due to their expertise, profession or other relations and chosen as actors concerned with windpower in Norway. The interviews will use the snowball technique for the possibility to be recommended other possible candidates that can suit as informants (Blaikie, 2010, p. 179; Yin, 2011, p. 312).

During the collection of data this thesis is interested in the actors' accounting of the phenomenon in the social reality that is studied which makes this a collection of data in a semi-natural setting. In this setting, individuals will be treated as informants and representatives, where they give account of motives, meanings and interpretations that

represents actors on windpower. The individual itself is not of relevance to this thesis (side 167).

3.6 Data collection

I have tried to make reasonable choices with background in the considerations made to which data sources that should be included in the thesis. These considerations have mainly been an evaluation of the sources' relevance. The relevance has been evaluated in the degree actors are involved and have perspectives about development of windpower, governmental involvement and the documents used as sources have been evaluated by the degree windpower is considered, mentioned and commented on. The documents consist mainly of newspaper articles where it is found debates and statements on windpower. Other documents are used to either substantiate or give further emphasis on what is found in the media or through interviews. There have not been collected any sort of secondary data for this thesis.

3.6.1 Interviews

The primary sources for this thesis consist of interviews that I have conducted for the purpose of this thesis. This form of collection is meant as substantiation to what is found in the documents that have been searched and investigated.

Informants in the interviews have been divided into two categories, namely helicopter interviews, and key-informant interviews, both of which are in-depth interviews. For the sake of structure, the interviews will be separated as helicopter interviews and key-actor interviews. The helicopter interviews consist of researchers that have conducted studies on windpower and holds valuable information on the field and one bureaucrat. The key-actor interviews consist of actors concerned with windpower. The purpose of the helicopter interviews is to get an overview of the topic that will be investigated, and the key-actor interviews will account as supportive material for the representations that are found in documents.

The basis for the interviews is two different interview guides. One guide for helicopter interviews, and the other guide for key-actor interviews. The interviews will be semi-structured interviews (Blaikie, 2010, p. 207; Bryman, 2016, p. 468). That is interviews that takes a conversational form with the basis in the interview guides, but no specific formulation of questions that will be asked. However, keywords and themes are written down in advance in order to partly structure the conversation. Through the interview the answers that are given

directs the interview towards the next question or topic. Hence, it is conversations that is partly structured by me as the one conducting the interviews.

The helicopter interviews are a methodological choice to obtain the width and overview of the world of windpower in Norway and is especially valuable in the early stage of the process of data collection. The selection of helicopter interviewees has been a non-probability sampling, meaning that the choices are made strategically (Blaikie, 2010, p. 186). This selection method is chosen because it is not practical, nor necessary, to have a representative sample size through random sampling because this thesis seeks specific information from specific actors.

The key-informant interviews consist of actors that is or has been involved in the world of windpower in Norway and are in-depth interviews. Interviewees are actors that advocate windpower development and actors who oppose it. The informants are also picked through non-probability sampling (Blaikie, 2010, p. 186). The thesis seeks informants that can represents different points of views on the role of windpower, but it does not have to be a representative sample where the population consists of all that are involved in windpower development. It is only necessary with some actors that possess knowledge about different points of view and representations. Additionally, informants are strategically picked with basis in information that has appeared in the investigation of windpower and through the recommendations from the snowball sampling. Key informant interviews are characterised by that the informant have specialised knowledge about the phenomenon. In key informant interviews the interviewees have a privileged position as they hold specialised and detailed knowledge that will shed light on the thesis' problem statement and research questions.

There are some disadvantages with a semi-structured approach. As these interviews have not formulated the questions in advance the different interviews will not be the same and the questions asked depends on the informants take on the conversation. However, such an approach allows for a structuring that maintains the same categorical structure and will be able to touch upon the same themes. In this way it is reasonable to assume that the interviews will appear as quite alike as all the informants have at least the phenomenon of windpower in Norway in common. Despite this, it is not a goal itself to compare the responses, only to obtain the representations. This does not show as a disadvantage in the helicopter interviews, as these interviews will mainly serve as background information in order to strengthen the thesis reliability where the knowledge from the informants, i.e. researchers, is the desired information.

In addition to the interviews I will collect data from newspapers and the media. This source of data is tertiary, however, the collection of it is a quantitative collection of primary data of newspapers and media concerning windpower. It is a first-hand collection of these through a database called Retriever. It is not until the review of the articles that it becomes a form of tertiary data and a qualitative investigation. Further emphasis will be given to this data later in this chapter.

There are, as with any method, both advantages and disadvantages with *interview as a method*. One obvious advantage is that interviews are a primary source of data and is therefore not been changed through working with the material. It is also reliable to get first-hand material although one can never be hundred percent sure that the informants tell the truth. To deal with that issue several sources will be investigated. To maintain the primary sources reliable, I will come back to the informants after processing the material to make sure that I have portrayed them right.

Since these interviews are semi-structured there are no specific questions that are formulated, but rather themes and topics that will guide the interviews into conversations. A replication of interviews is difficult considered that different presentation of topics and themes and by asking the questions differently, different researchers can get different answers (Blaikie, 2010, p. 216). This is an inevitable consequence of such a method. I will try to deal with this issue by covering as much [relevant] ground as possible during the interviews in order to get a better understanding of the answers.

In-depth interviews are particularly suited when meanings and interpretations of a phenomenon is what is being investigated (Blaikie, 2010, p. 207). Performing such interviews in a semi-structured way one is removed from the natural settings and one is not trying to observe the informants, but report on what is said. This helps to not manipulate the interviews through personal interference/interaction with the informants that can affect how questions are addressed.

In regard to interviews, anonymity and sensitivity must be addressed. Often when collecting data through interviews one will encounter the question of how to handle sensitive information and whether to anonymise the interviewees or not (Bryman, 2016, pp. 131-133). Prior to the interviews I applied to Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) to get approval to conduct interviews for the purpose of this thesis.

One of the focusing aspects of this thesis is 'who says what, to whom'. This particular aspects makes it valuable to be allowed to not anonymise the interviewees, however, I have chosen to anonymise every interview. I made the consideration that the quality of the collected information endures. In order to maintain the integrity of the thesis all the interviewees have been delivered a sheet that provides information about the thesis and their rights as interviewees as well as a consent form. This includes getting their consent to record the interview. In addition, their consent can be withdrawn at any time through the duration of the thesis.

3.6.2 Documents

The absolutely most searched data in this thesis have been *documents.* Documents belong to the category of tertiary data. There are clear disadvantages to such data. First of all, one must check the data's trustworthiness and even though it can be trusted and that it is clear that it is a reliable source, it might have been collected with the aim of achieving a specific outcome and its reporting might be selective (Blaikie, 2010, p. 161). In addition, to check if the sources are reliable, the interviews that are conducted for this thesis will help to cancel out possibilities of error by "checking" that what is found is correct. Despite these disadvantages, this thesis aims at finding the different representations of the phenomenon, hence, it will not be necessary to merely find factual information about the phenomenon, but rather subjective meanings and interpretations. The aim of the thesis is therefore in itself avoiding some disadvantages with collecting tertiary data. The aim of the tertiary data is to attain information about actors concerned with windpower and what perspectives there is on the phenomenon that is being studied.

Documents are seldom produced with the purpose of being a social research source, thus often a source that is not requested by a social researcher (Bryman, 2016, p. 546). This thesis will mainly use two different document sources. That is official documents deriving from the state/government and official documents deriving from private sources, such as organisations, companies, and industry.

Official documents deriving from the state are: acts of parliament, white papers, official reports and a supplementing source of data is the documents' consultation responses from public inquiry. Official documents from the state is regarded as reliable sources, however, this does not mean that such sources are free of errors and biases (Bryman, 2016, p. 552), which is something one must be aware of when collecting data from such sources for this thesis and

should be evaluated ongoingly in the data collection process. These sources will be investigated in connection to the representations that are found during the analysis to find what information that is drawn upon in how the world is perceived by the actors.

Official documents deriving from private sources are: reports, speeches, statements, newspapers, etc. In addition, virtual documents such as websites, homepages, etc. will be collected (Bryman, 2016, p. 556). This is in order to attain important meanings about the phenomenon from companies, or others, that do not produce other sorts of documents.

In the collection of official documents from private sources, one must be aware that such documents often have a message that the private source wants to send and these documents often have a particular point of view (Bryman, 2016, p. 553). This does not come across as an obstacle for this thesis as it is discourse analysis and this thesis want to obtain different perspectives and meanings about the phenomenon, for that case, official documents from private sources is considered as a highly valuable source. This does not mean that sources will not be evaluated on its reliability and trustworthiness.

3.6.3 Collection process

How the process of data collection will be presented in the following in order to show how this thesis went about the methodological choices presented above. As what was planned and considerations to what choices to make has been presented, the following will account for what has been done afterwards.

In the collection process of the interviews, I have conducted eight[5] interviews, all in a semi-natural setting. Most of the informants I approached made time to an interview, although certain inquired interviewees did not answer. This was no more than what was expected and I had made considerations to that in advance. Five interviews were conducted at the informants' workplace, except three, which were held over the phone. The interviews can be divided into three groups, 'helicopter interviews', 'pro windpower key-actor interviews' and 'against windpower key-actor interviews'. Three of the interviews is considered helicopter interviews, the other five interviews are considered as actors on windpower in this thesis.

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[5] There were seven different informants, however, one of the informants accounted for two interviews, as the person concerned holds two different roles. Due to anonymity I will not present which two roles were held by the same person.

I used the *snowball technique* in my interviews and got many good recommendations, however, due to time limitations I could not follow through on every recommendation. I did get to contact some of whom I was recommended and were able to get in touch with them. What I noticed was that the informants were not obsessed with suggesting informants with the same view as themselves, but rather to provide me with good and reasonable recommendations that would make my investigation better, and they would, therefore, recommend informants from "the opposite side" of themselves as well.

The interview guide was partly adjusted after the first interview. In addition, some themes were irrelevant to touch upon with certain actors. Therefore, I chose to adjust the guide to every actor based on the documents that had been searched. Yet, most of the interview guides were quite similar, and there was not much difference between the interviews. After all the interviews I made time to transcribe them all in order to manoeuvre more easily through the information at hand. This will be elaborated on later.

In the collection process of media articles, I have collected 2366 media articles through Retriever. Retriever is a database containing millions of articles from newspapers, magazines, online newspapers, etc. The period that has been searched is 1st January 2012 – 30th April 2019. It is a necessity to limit the period that will be investigated in order to not grasp too much to handle, yet enough to have a thorough study (Neumann, 2001, p. 56). The beginning of this time period is set as it marks the *key incident* that is chosen for this thesis. A *key incident* is in discourse analysis something that helps understand the discursive dynamics (Hajer, 2006, p. 73). The period where the electrical certificates came into force seemed as such an incident as windpower development gradually put on speed after this, thus being a reasonable starting point for data collection (Neumann, 2001, p. 57). This incident made it possible to develop profitable windpower stations and would, therefore, naturally, increase the speed of windpower development. Additionally, this incident has been mentioned in all the interviews that I have conducted which substantiated the choice afterwards and which also indicates that this is of importance. The key incident will be further emphasised later in this thesis. The end of the search period is set towards the end of the duration of this master thesis. I chose to include as much of the period until the date of delivery. 1st April NVE launched a proposal for the National framework for onshore windpower (NVE, 2019b). As shown in Figure 3-1 below, this gives much attention to windpower in the media and important information surrounding the windpower debate would be available, therefore, I chose to include as much time as possible after this launching to be able to give a more

thorough account of the discourses. Despite the search only contains the first four months of 2019 it has almost as many search hits as previous years in the search period.

The search can be organised with different search terms that help to limit the search to what is desirable. These are: AND, ANDNOT, OR, and *. AND searches for more than one word, e.g. "windpower AND debate". ANDNOT exclude a word, e.g. "windpower ANDNOT offshore". OR search for articles consisting of at least one of the words, e.g. "windpower OR wind energy". The symbol *, search for all words in the stem of a word, for example: "nature*". What I was after when searching Retriever was different representations on windpower and conflicting meanings that would account for the discourses. The search was as follows [in Norwegian]: (vindkraft*) AND (konsesjon or eksport or klima* or utslippskutt or natur* or sårbar*) ANDNOT havvind. [Translated: (windpower*) AND (concession OR export OR climate* OR emission reduction OR nature* OR vulnerable*) ANDNOT offshore wind].

I included highly used national media; NRK[6] which are the state-owned media, together with some of their local offices based on information that came forth during the data collection. "Verdens Gang" and "Aftenposten", which I consider to some degree conservative newspapers. "Dagsavisen" as I consider it with an angle with tendencies towards the political centrum. "Klassekampen" as I consider them as a critical news media which are left-wing oriented politically. "Dagens Næringsliv" to have an economic directed perspective. "Enerwe" which is a media source that is concerned with energy in general. In addition to these, I chose to include two local media[7] from Stavanger and Kristiansand, which are large cities in Norway in regions where windpower development is highly debated and is concerned with windpower development, the newspapers are "Stavanger Aftenblad" and "Fædrelandsvennen", respectively. It seemed like a rational choice based on the search. I also chose to include "Fjell og Vidde" which is a magazine by "The Norwegian Trekking Association". Both online- and paper media sources were chosen.

The problem in including both newspapers and online newspapers is that the search hit gets skewed as many of the same articles will show more than one time. I chose to deal with this by only including either online or paper edition from the same sources. The choice was made

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[6] I chose not to include all local offices in order to limit the search to a comprehensible collection, but still capture the width of Norway where windpower is actively debated. The local offices included in the search are: Hordaland, Trøndelag and Finnmark.

[7] I evaluated that Rogaland and Sørlandet was covered in the chosen local newspapers, which is why these regions are not part of the NRK local offices.

based on which type of source that had the most hits. Yet, where the media source had many hits both on paper and online I chose not to exclude either of them. The table below shows the hits on each media source (Table 3-1). Another error that occurs in this search is articles that are not concerned with what is being studied, for example, articles that cover windpower in other countries, or issues that are not relevant for the discourses. By concentrating the search even more, it was possible to exclude some of the irrelevant articles. Nevertheless, I found that the search contained errors to some degree, but to a limited extent, however, this will affect the number of hits.
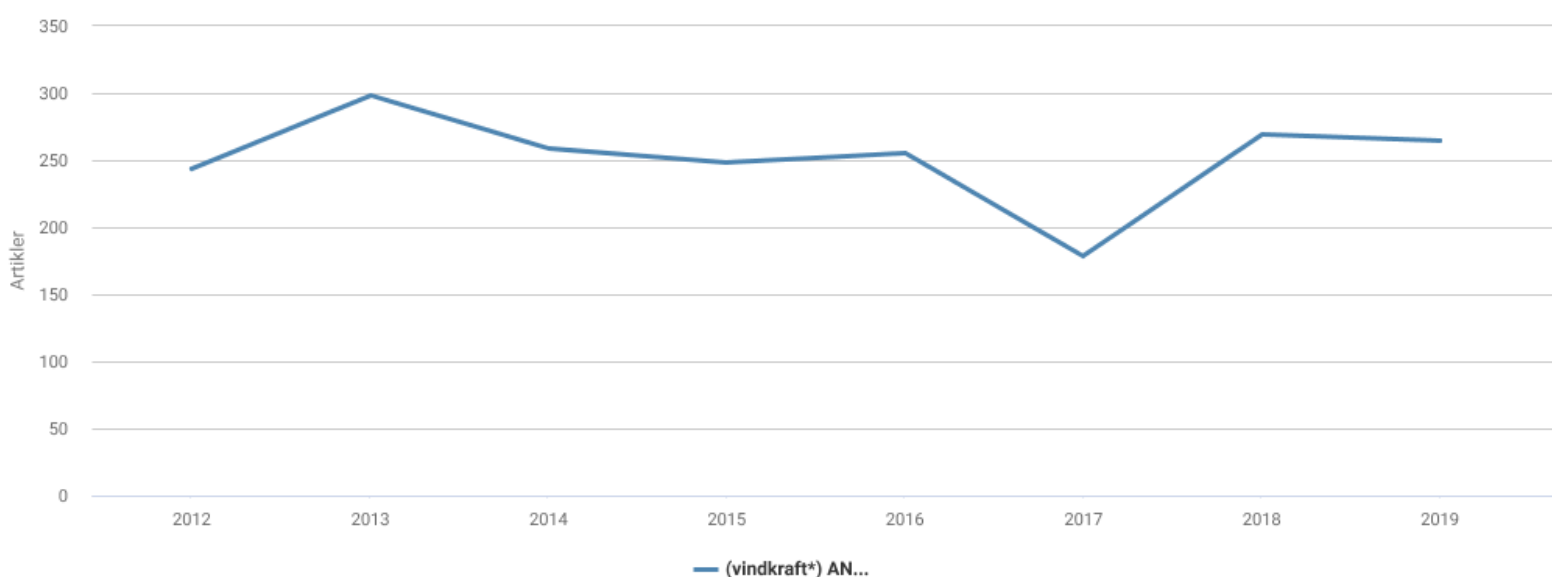
Figure 3-1 Coverage per media source

Table 3-1 Number of hits per media source per year

Hits per media source

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	Total
Stavanger Aftenblad	97	89	56	46	52	27	53	42	**462**
Fædrelandsvennen	31	61	51	56	48	33	33	79	**392**
Klassekampen	39	38	32	31	32	22	77	34	**305**
Aftenposten	21	29	20	27	45	38	17	19	**216**

Dagsavisen	5	26	17	14	27	20	37	19	**165**
Verdens Gang	19	13	5	12	10	10	8	12	**89**
Fjell og Vidde	11	8	6	7	7	-	9	2	**50**
Verdens Gang (web)	4	4	5	10	5	6	7	10	**51**
NRK (web)	10	12	28	10	11	11	13	12	**107**
NRK Trøndelag (web)	13	10	14	11	12	4	5	15	**84**
NRK Hordaland (web)	-	1	3	-	-	-	5	6	**15**
NRK Finnmark (web)	-	-	-	5	4	7	2	5	**23**
Dagens Næringsliv (web)	5	15	28	31	17	8	16	21	**141**
Enerwe (web)	-	-	11	18	14	64	83	76	**266**
Total	**255**	**306**	**276**	**278**	**284**	**250**	**365**	**352**	**2366**

3.7 Data reduction and analysis

It is necessary to reduce and compress the data that is collected to make the investigated material comprehensible. Coding data is a data reduction method that leads to the analysis. There is no specific way this has to be done, one can therefore adjust the coding process to what seems most logical and necessary (Yin, 2011, p. 186). This process helps to exclude irrelevant data. One disadvantage with this is the risk of overlooking important information (Yin, 2011, p. 186). By coding it means to for example take words or sentences and give them a code, these codes can be categorised, further, one can dive deeper and give sub-codes that explains what the categories contain. This thesis has made use of the software NVivo to carry out the coding process of the interviews. This helps to establish the codes together with the document sources, thus getting a uniform coding process. This software is an assisted software to analyse qualitative data enables to manoeuvre through multiple documents at the time (Bryman, 2016, p. 693). NVivo was especially used with the transcribed interviews to

make, among other things, word clouds and show tables of how often different words showed up. Though the software was only used supplementary it was both valuable to confirm what I had already found, as well as making the analysis less time-consuming.

In order to thoroughly include the interviews in the coding process I transcribed all interviews to better manoeuvre in the material. A transcription process is a time-consuming process and it is reasonable to estimate 3-5 hours of transcription per hour of recorded material. However, the value of such a process has been evaluated as necessary despite the time it takes. In order to maintain an integral process, the recordings will be deleted straight after the transcription. This has also been communicated to the informants.

In order to analyse the data that have been collected this thesis have engaged in a coding process. Such a process is structuring that helps to maintain a tidy order of the data, where the aim is to ease the analysis from errors that occurs by overlooking evidence that strengthens or substantiate the findings. Additionally, coding the data is a procedure to sort the findings and break down into categories (Blaikie, 2010, p. 211; Bryman, 2016, p. 689). The point of departure for the coding process is the discourse analysis that this thesis uses. Here the data will be coded through its characteristics that can be tied to storylines and discourse-coalitions. Especially the storylines where the language is used with different tools in order to gain support for the views that are represented in the discourses, such as metaphors, analogies, rhetorical means, historical references and clichés, and these will be pointers for the coding process.

This method of action guides the thesis into the analysis where the coding process will be the basis for deriving the discourses. The period of the analysis is set from when the green certificate scheme came into force, a bilateral agreement between Norway and Sweden.

The retrieved data consists of 2366 media articles that account for the discursive investigation on the perspectives on windpower and its role in the electricity system. The analysis in NVivo, together with the media articles showed five categories that were often mentioned; electrification, exportation, value creation, nature conservation and outdoor life. These categories account for the representations. Other concepts and categories that often showed, which is found within the representations are: Nature vulnerability, emission reduction, profit, foreign investment, certificate scheme, climate change, and sustainability. The coding process showed how these words are heavily used in the public dispute. This gave the direction to sort out the representations and derive the discourses.

3.8 Reliability

I have chosen to translate all quotes that are used. To maintain an integral translation, I will be translating directly in best effort, also with grammatical mistakes. An issue that presents itself is that my translation might affect negatively. To limit the risk and maintain a reliable presentation all quotes are cited thoroughly.

Can this thesis be reiterated? The reliability of a measure, or the data that has been collected, is concerned with reaching the same result if the study ought to be reiterated, hence a stable measure (Abbott & Bordens, 2011, p. 130; Bryman, 2016, p. 695). A weakness with my method is that discourse analysis is difficult to make transparent (Sovacool et al., 2018, p. 29). It is often based on subjective choices on where to look for data and how data is collected, this creates an obstacle to replicate the study, thus risking the reliability of the thesis (Bryman, 2016, p. 695). In this chapter the data collection, as well as data selection, have been accounted for. The search in the database Retriever can easily be reiterated, yet the variability of the search can be discussed. The search I chose tried to concentrate the search so that it only included relevant data. Still, some errors occurred, as was discussed earlier in this chapter. It should be possible to achieve the same results as have been achieved in this thesis. The process of how I went about the search for media articles is thoroughly explained in order to increase the reliability of this thesis. Further, the interviews will be harder to reiterate. I would, for the sake of reliability of this thesis, suggest that informants are chosen on the basis of the media search and general affiliation to windpower. Methodological choices have been accounted for in order to examine the process of this thesis.

In this chapter, the result will be presented while having an ongoing analysis. After the representations in the discourse are presented I will review the discourses, followed by the analysis of storylines and discourse-coalitions. After both discourses are mapped and presented I will review them and discuss their relations as well as analysing the influence of the discourses. Finally, I will discuss the implications of the discourse analysis and the thesis in relation to the literature review that was presented in the introduction chapter.

4.1 Electrical certificate scheme – the key incident

In the ten steps of doing discourse analysis, one should try and map out the key incident that accounted for the diffusion. The key incident that is chosen for this thesis is the implementation of the electrical certificate scheme. Although it was not specified that the new renewable production had to be windpower, the production of windpower has increased dramatically after implementing this scheme. It seemed therefore reasonable to account for this event as the key incident.

4.2 Two discourses derived

During the analysis, two separate discourses were derived; One arguing for the role of windpower in Norway and the other argues against windpower in Norway. Each, separately representing either for or against windpower. These are what I have chosen to call "Opportunism with windpower" and "Destruction with windpower", respectively. The first discourse that will be presented consist of three representations and the second consist of two representation. The following representations[8] are given codes which will be used where it is convenient, in referring to the specific representation. To maintain a textual flow the name of the representation will be used as well, where it is the most convenient.

In this data presentation and analysis, I will use a number of quotes translated from Norwegian. They are translated in best effort, and every quote is cited with source. Within the discourses, there are several representations that are not emphasised in the thesis, as every

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[8] All representations will be given codes that is used throughout the thesis. The code consist of the first letter of the discourse and the representation number in the order it is presented.

nuance to the discourses cannot be mentioned. I have rather chosen to present the most evident representations and interests.

4.3 Discourse 1 – "Opportunism with windpower"

4.3.1 Actors in the discourse

There are several actors that partake in this discourse with different representations, however, many actors have multiple representations, which they use in arguing for their case. The most noticeable are Norwea [the Norwegian windpower association], and the power industry, namely the developers and contractors. These actors can be seen in all the representations that will be presented. This was also expected, as these actors will make use of the perspectives that advocates windpower. However, they are more distinctive in the first two representations. To some extent, individual politicians are also seen as advocates for the development of windpower. Other actors in this discourse are landowners and host-municipalities that already have or are in the process of acquiring windpower within their municipalities, for example the organisation "Medlemsorganisasjonen for Norges vindkraftkommuner" (LNVK) [Translated: Member organisation for Norway's windpower municipalities]. Environmental organisations are actively involved, such as Zero and Nature and Youth. There are also individuals that windpower must have a role in the electricity system. While these actors to a small degree have been active subjects in the discourse, they have substantiated the existence of the different perspectives that are found.

4.3.2 Representation and Analysis

The first representation in this discourse is what I have labelled *"electrification as an inevitable need" [code: O-REP1]*. During the search period, I found the representation that advocates an electrification process. *O-REP1* holds different goals. Goals within this meaning range from electrifying one specific sector to a more general electrification process. Especially two sectors that are mentioned repeatedly is the Norwegian continental shelf and the transport sector. "An electrification of the Norwegian shelf in the oil sector and electrical ferries in the transport sector are examples of transitions from fossil fuel to renewables, with a great potential" (Jan Olav Andersen in, Skjeseth, 2015, in Klassekampen). There are some differences in arguing for electrification of the petroleum industry. Some argue that every new platform installation should be electrified, and some argue that platforms with the most feasible electrification process should be electrified.

> *"It is, in the meantime, fully possible to increase Norwegian energy production from wind equivalent to the energy consumption from the oil field at Utsira-height. Windpower projects already exist with a concession from The Norwegian Water Resource and Energy Directorate with sufficient capacity within immediate proximity to the power cable to the oil field Utsira-height"* (F. Olsen, 2014, in Aftenposten).

To electrify the transport sector is often an argument used to advocate windpower. In this sense it is argued that if Norway are to reach their emission reduction goals, the electricity generation must increase and electrify the transport sector. It is also argued that this should include maritime transport sector. To advocate windpower it is often argued that power intensive industries in general need to be electrified. That can be for example data processing centres or metallurgical industry.

The representation is split into two versions: one is about electrification and the other about increased electricity demand, where the former works with changing from one energy source into an electric energy source and the latter argue that it is an increased electricity usage in general. Though both arguments are closely tied, and rarely is argued as opposition to the other, there are nuances that separate the two, for example when it is argued that people use more electric supplies that do not replace former fossil fuel based supply. Within *O-REP1* actors see that the future holds a certainty of increased electricity demand in the coming future, both near and distant. The increase will be to the extent where Norway will have too little power in the grid to sustain the need for it. Therefore, it is crucial to develop more renewable energy, specifically windpower. One informant from an NGO stated that "in an analysis my colleague and I did, we had no problem of seeing an increase of 50 TWh in our electricity consumption" (key actor interview, Anonymous informant 1, 2019). This also came forth in an article presented by Norwea in Enerwe (Aasheim & Willoch, 2019, in Enerwe), mostly due to electrification. This meaning has been an established representation since the beginning of the period that has been investigated and continues throughout the search of investigation. It has only strengthened with the years as visions on the future electricity demand has increased. Other actors holds representation *O-REP1* as well, among others, Norsk Vind Energi and Zero (Arnøy, Aasheim, & Hersvik, 2015, p. 18, in Stavanger Aftenblad) together with the governmental institution NVE and Statnett (Aamodt, 2018, in Enerwe; Brenna, 2018, in Enerwe; Statnett, 2019, p. 3). As an electrification process happens, "All this will demand a lot more power, and it is estimated that in the future we will require somewhere between 30-50 TWh more power than today" (Brenna, 2019, in Enerwe). If

Norway is to maintain status quo in regards to consumption, windpower is the right way to go and it is the cheapest way to sustain Norway's consumption. The representation advocates for increased renewable energy, but especially windpower as this is the source that is the cheapest to build from scratch versus other new renewable power station sources. "We need more new renewable energy and we will use both hydropower and solar power, but we cannot afford to exclude windpower as it is the cheapest source of new electricity in the market today" (key actor interview, Anonymous informant 1, 2019). Another, similar way of expressing the need for windpower due to electrification is as Norsk Vind Energi does on their web page, where it says that the future is electric (Norsk Vind Energi, n.d.), similar to Statnett's slogan which is in fact "The future is electric" (Statnett, n.d.). Other actors that argue the importance of electrification and sees windpower as part of a solution are Fortum in Norway and Energi Norge (Kroepelien, 2019, 4th April; Mathisen, 2019, in Stavanger Aftenblad)

It is vital to understand the meaning that lies with *O-REP1*. It seems as if actors in *O-REP1 appeal* to the consumption that is practiced today. It differs to which extent the electricity demand will increase, however, the message is the same. Findings show that the perspective that is carried in *O-REP1* is that windpower should have a role in the electricity sector of adjusting for an electrification process. Since 2012 the actors that have had this perception draws upon the electrical certificates scheme. This perception does not necessarily argue against hydropower, but rather argues *for* windpower. By drawing upon the certificate scheme, it is argued that windpower is the cheapest source of new electricity because of the subsidies. Because the government wanted more renewable energy on market conditions with subsidies and lower taxes on windpower production, *O-REP1* draws upon governmental decisions when arguing for windpower. Despite of this, the actors of *O-REP1* requests a more direct message from the government, as their decisions are subtle when only asking for renewable energy but indicates that windpower is a desired way to go. This has also been brought up in an interview with an NGO (Anonymous informant 1, 2019). *O-REP1* draws from the older, yet overlapping view, that increased demand require increased energy development, as have been a representation in energy discourses for a long time. Advocating for increased energy production has been an established representation, as for example among actors advocating more hydropower, especially earlier, before windpower was a viable option to energy production.

While analysing the data in light of discourse theory it is found that subject positioning (Neumann, 2001, p. 94) is noticed throughout the power sector as this sector seek to sell

electricity. This is interpreted as those who develop windpower will adopt the position that electrification is necessary, thus being a part of *"electrification as an inevitable need"*. Although the goal itself might be to develop more profitable windpower. *O-REP1* uses the argument that it will be a heavy increase in electricity demand. From a discourse analytical point of view, the interpretation of *O-REP1* is that it is an argumentative strategy to appeal to an increased demand if the consumption [with habits and ways of living etc.] should maintain. Furthermore, stating that there will be an increased demand is, as found during the analysis, another way of advocating for electrification. This view is challenged with the potential to lower the consumption and to rather make more energy efficient choices, this will be emphasised later.

"Electrification as an inevitable need" draws upon the notion that the potential in hydropower development is not enough to sustain the electricity demand which was often used when arguing that hydropower cannot electrify Norway alone. In doing so it draws from a white paper which states the theoretical potential for hydropower development and that there are limited resources left after considering price and preserved water resources (Ministry of Petroleum and Energy, 2016, p. 157). Additionally, it is found that in the last years *O-REP1* has gained speed as it is drawn upon a government motion that was carried that all new cars should be zero-emission cars from 2025, which is stated in a white paper concerning the transport sector (Ministry of Transport and Communications, 2017, p. 16). For *O-REP1* it is illuminated that electrification, increased electricity demand and argumentation for windpower are perspectives about the challenges of climate change, and therefore, the representation argues for the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions in Norway, by increasing renewable energy development, namely windpower. Discourse analysis is a way of interpreting what is being said and understand connections and meanings in a social process. This is because when investigating for example a public dispute, the message receivers might not understand what is being said or understand the message differently than what was intended, etc. While trying to interpret *O-REP1* I found that it is not only a conviction that the demand will increase, but it constitutes a wish as well. Different actors, especially energy companies, have an interest in increased demand. *O-REP1* cannot only be understood as actors with precautionary actions on predictions on the electricity demand but must be understood as an isolated interest as well. Trying to draw this further, advocating for windpower development and a necessity to electrify sectors in the society, this must be understood as economic interests as well. As the power industry is a part of a market that sells

electricity, I interpret it to the degree that there are interests in increasing the profit as well. One can look at the certificate scheme as substantiation of this because the certificate scheme laid terms for a competitive windpower industry.

It should be mentioned that *O-REP1* rarely advocates just windpower, but rather renewable sources generally. However, windpower carries a lot of weight as it is argued that it must be windpower as well. In the public dispute, it is arguments concerning windpower that points out in the analysis, though actors often argue for renewables in general. It is windpower that creates the most tension between discourses and is, therefore, a more noticeable conflict in the dispute. An incident that often stands out in *O-REP1* is the electrification of a processing station for natural gas at Melkeøya. This has, over the years, been an argument for increased windpower development that is frequently used (Aamodt, 2019, in Enerwe; Aasheim & Willoch, 2019, in Enerwe; Rapp, 2018, p. 8, in Klassekampen; Riisnæs, 2017, in Dagens Næringsliv).

The second representation is about exporting surplus electricity to the European continent. I have chosen to call this representation *"Norwegian wind is part of Europe's solution" [code: O-REP2]*. There are perspectives that deliberately argues for surplus energy because it is a unique opportunity for Norway to be able to export renewable energy to the European continent. "Norway must join to save the climate, and simultaneously get a safe and lasting revenue source" (Eriksen, 2015, p. 24, in Klassekampen). In this context, it is argued the opportunity Norway will get by exploiting windpower as an energy source. Another, highly similar, way to express this point of view is,

> *"My view is that Norway has a joint responsibility to reduce climate emissions in Europe and play along with the energy transition in out neighbouring countries. It is good for the climate, it also gives an opportunity for value creation and export revenue"* (Bjartnes, 2019, in Verdens Gang)

In *O-REP2* it is often referred to the character of Norway as a renewable nation, considering that they have huge hydropower resources. In this context, it refers to the flexibility of hydropower and how well suited it is to implement windpower in the electricity sector because it is easy to balance. As Marius Holm in the environmental organisation Zero argues for windpower, he refers to the Norwegian hydropower and says, "Many countries have energy systems which in the future must almost solely rest on sun and wind. Then they will need Norway as a partner in phasing out fossil energy" (Nylenna, Løken, Johnsen, &

Johansen, 2019, in NRK Hordaland). In this sense, windpower can be used, while Norway can store water in their reservoirs to be exported when needed.

The '*Norwegian wind is part of Europe's solution*' representation carries a perspective that argues that the role windpower ought to have in the electricity system is an exporting commodity. There are two interests that stand out in this perspective, (1) windpower as a revenue source through electricity export, and, (2) windpower as a means to reduce greenhouse gasses. The most used tool in the language in this *O-REP2* is an *appeal* to Norway as having a global responsibility due to their convenient natural premise to exploit the wind in energy production. *Historical references* are also a tool that is used by arguing the advantage Norway has with the hydropower which through many years have put Norway in a position as a renewable energy nation, which in term has given them a unique opportunity to provide Europe with green electricity. In many cases, it is added that it is only convenient that this also is a great trading opportunity that creates revenue. What comes forth in the analysis is that the representation uses two different concepts in the argument, namely *export of power* and *power exchange.* In the debatable argumentation, this seems like a softer way to argue for the cause of profitable trade-offs. Especially considering that they are both largely used interchangeably. However, all the same, these are both about providing European countries with renewable energy at the same time as having a profitable trade-off of power. It should be noted that there are nuances to this, concerning the balancing of power grids, which I will not delve further into.

Similar to the former representation, this also draws upon governmental decisions such as the certificate scheme and the political demand for more renewable energy production. It is found that one of the reasons why windpower is advocated is because the power sector in Norway is based on market conditions. By implementing the certificate scheme windpower has become attractive as there are favorable conditions to invest in windpower. *O-REP2* draws on, among others, the governmental white paper "Kraft til endring – energipolitikken mot 2030" (Ministry of Petroleum and Energy, 2016) [translated: power to change – energy politics towards 2030]. The interest in exporting electricity increases with the flexibility hydropower has. I interpret *O-REP2* as interests in windpower through favorable conditions together with the flexibility in hydropower because it gives the power sector the opportunity to export electricity when the prices are high, as is emphasised in "power to change – energy politics towards 2030" (Ministry of Petroleum and Energy, 2016, p. 41).

One of the arguments that are clearly stated in *O-REP2* is the responsibility to reduce emissions in Europe and that it is in Norway's interest to do so. This comes forth as an interest in the climate, thus being a climate strategy. Through the investigation of the *"Norwegian wind is part of Europe's solution"* there is evident argumentation in the data, that this is a case of economic value [as well]. It does not mean that there are no interests in emission reduction, but it is clearer that this is also a case of revenue, although it is usually spoken as a climate strategy. In the collected data it can be interpreted that 'responsibility' really means selling more power. This points out as an example what (Hajer, 2006, p. 68) 'thisness of that'. This appears clearer in *O-REP2* compared with *O-REP1*. I interpret *O-REP2* as argumentation for a plus-sum game, where Europe reduce their greenhouse gas emissions and Norway gets to trade electricity.

There are important similarities to the former representation when it comes to interests. Both advocate windpower through arguing for a reduction in the emissions, which is why they are closely linked. The difference is that 'Norwegian wind is part of Europe's solution' argues for export of electricity in contrast with 'electrification as an inevitable need' where it is argued that the need for windpower development is due to electrification [nationally]. The difference is thus that the *O-REP1* argues for emission reduction in Norway, and *O-REP2* argues for emission reduction in Europe by selling green electricity from Norway. Eventually, these to representations, both "electrification is an inevitable need" and "Norwegian wind is Europe's solution" can be tied together into one common, yet different, interest. This interest is merely reducing greenhouse gas emission, whether it is in Norway or in Europe.

Both *O-REP1* and *O-REP2* argues in favour of the environment through strategic windpower development, however, in the analysis it is found that the economic argument is a distinct part of both representations. *O-REP2* does not only advocate that one should export surplus energy, but it is interpreted that it is a deliberate desire to adjust for surplus energy. This might indicate that *O-REP2* is affected by highly economical factors. It is not interpreted that the climate argument is a solely substitutive argument, but rather a two-sided argumentation, whereas both arguments are true in their perspective, notwithstanding. This came forth in various interviews. One substantiation of this interpretation is the way the power industry in Norway works, that it should be marketorientated (Ministry of Petroleum and Energy, 2016, p. 29). This was a result of the liberalisation of the power industry in Norway in 1991. This interpretation is substantiated in various interviews (Anonymous informant 1, 2019; Anonymous informant 2, 2019), whereas one interviewee said: "We are dependent that the

industry sees profitability, the green transition will stop if it is no revenue" (key actor interview, Anonymous informant 1, 2019).

The third representation that will be presented in this discourse is, what I have called, *"Local interest in value creation" [code: O-REP3].* There are two argumentation platforms that are highlighted in this investigation. *O-REP3* bases itself in the argument that windpower generates value for the community, to the municipality and to landowners. "Not just do we get revenue in the development phase and operation phase, but also long term revenue in the form of property tax" (Geir Knutsen in, Buljo & Arvola, 2016, in NRK Finnmark). *O-REP3* argues that development of windpower will give the local community values in terms of employment and taxes. It is sometimes argued that there is a significant knock-on effect of windpower development. It is primarily the industry that starts such an argumentation, but *O-REP3* is carried by host-municipalities, landowners and the windpower industry. For example, developers will often approach landowners (Inderberg, Rognstad, Saglie, & Gulbrandsen, 2019, p. 185), but the subject positioning is further adopted by landowners, thus arguing for the value creation. Norsk Vind Energi AS stated for example after Facebook financed a windpower station they build that,

> *"This is so far Facebook's biggest purchase of renewable energy, a result of their wish to become renewable in all their enterprises globally. To us locally it means much business in many years for contractors and entrepreneurs, welcoming tax revenue for the municipality and revenue for landowners"* (Rune Hersvik in, Dagens Næringsliv, 2018).

Firstly after the development one can see the argumentation from the host-municipalities, as for example from the mayor in Fitjar municipality who states the importance of the payment the municipality gets through windpower development, "How we would pull through without these millions, I cannot imagine" (Wenche Tislevoll in, Løken & Nylenna, 2019, in NRK Hordaland).

An investigation of *O-REP3* shows that it is the most different from the representations. It separates from the other representations because there is not the same focus on climate politics and climate strategies, as it is a local opportunity despite what it might be in a bigger picture. Thus, the perspective on what role windpower has in Norway is merely seen as local value creation. It is, for many small municipalities, interesting to become host-municipality for windpower stations as it provides revenue and possibly other business activity, namely a

knock-on effect from the development. In these cases, the municipalities become discursive subjects in this discourse. For their case, it is argued in terms of value creation, both economically and activity wise. The municipalities that carry 'local interests in value creation' are those that already hold the position as host-municipality or aims at becoming one, for example members of LNVK. To argue with *O-REP3* is a strategy that is used to appeal to the municipalities that consider becoming a host-municipality. Additionally, a highly important factor in *O-REP3* is that it appeals to the local society. A rhetorical instrument that is used in this argumentation is to argue with the knock-on effect windpower development carries. Referring to other host-municipalities and their success in being so is also a way to use the rhetoric in *O-REP3*. There are many factors that bring about *O-REP3* arguing for the possibilities windpower development creates for local communities.

In the public dispute tourism, outdoor life and the consequences of windpower development is often part of the argument. From the perspective that windpower must be developed an interviewee from an energy company argued that "experience from windpower plants along the Norwegian coastline is shown to be more frequently used after the wind farm is built. This is due to easier access to the areas using the roads for both hiking, cycling, and skiing. It is documented the added value for the tourist industry around wind farms in Norway and that there is a positive impact on larger hotels around wind farms and that there are no or insignificant effects on other tourist companies" Anonymous informant 5, 2019. The interviewee draws upon a report that looked at the knock-on effect of wind power development. It is thus argued that development will have positive knock-on effects on both tourism and outdoor life. This was also emphasised by another interviewee, who argued it was argued that due to windpower stations the infrastructure is better adjusted for those that want to experience outdoor life and tourism may flourish because of the interest in the windturbines (Anonymous informant 1, 2019; Anonymous informant 5, 2019). In order to go through with the planned projects, it is important for the developers to ensure local acceptance (Nyheim, 2013, p. 14). I interpret this as a way of appealing to the local community by arguing with the knock-on effects of windpower development. This comes forth during the analysis as an important element of the discourse as it needs the support of local communities in order to go through with the development. I find support in a study that looked at attitudes towards windpower that this is an important factor for the local community and important when trying

to understand the conflict about windpower, thus important for a discourse analysis (Heiberg, Aall, & Tveit, 2009; Knagenhjelm & Sataøen, 2005)[9].

In the ten steps of doing a discourse analysis (Hajer, 2006, p. 73) one should look for the positioning effects a representation has. In *O-REP3*, such an effect was found. When landowners sell or rent out their land they give developers the rights to build windpower stations at their land. Usually, several landowners must give this right to the developers in order for them to secure rights to sufficient areas. In some cases, landowners contact developers to discuss development possibilities (Inderberg et al., 2019, p. 185), but usually, it is the other way around. In the case where landowners sell their land, it can have this positioning effect on the other nearby landowners, which might push them to do the same, even though it might not be their initial wish to do so. This was emphasised in an article which interviewed two landowners that were exposed to this effect "Now we can sell the place all the same. Everything will be ruined for our case. We do no longer have the nature, freedom and peace we had when we bought" (Geir Lode in, Martinsen, 2019, p. 8, in Fædrelandsvennen). It is further emphasised what the positioning effect had, "To say no will most likely be the same to get the property expropriated for access roads and cables. At the same time, you will get the disadvantages and lose a considerable compensation" (Dag Ingvard Sandåker in, Martinsen, 2019, p. 9, in Fædrelandsvennen). This does not, however, mean that this is the case in all windpower development plans, it is merely an illustration of how the positioning effect can be.

4.3.3 Summed up

I have presented three representations within "Opportunism with windpower" (Table 4-1). I chose not to go into every perspective there is, to rather focus on the most evident representations in the data. Within these representations are nuances, however, these have not been the focus during the presentation. Three main perspectives argue for what role windpower ought to have in the Norwegian electricity system. (1) The need for more renewable energy to meet the need of electrification, (2) exportation of surplus energy to reduce the use of fossil fuels in the electricity mix in other European countries and (3) to create local values for municipalities, landowners and a knock-on effect of windpower development in the community. These have all accounted for the discourse "Opportunism

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[9] The study was a quantitative study which found attitudes both positive and negative to windpower development. Further elaboration of the study is omitted as it do not affect the perspectives that is found in a discourse analysis.

with windpower". Additionally, some actors are participants in more than one representation. Especially the power industry, as they do have great interests in increased windpower generation. In the following, I will present the storylines and discourse coalitions, as well as discussing the influence the discourse has, before moving in to the next discourse.

Table 4-1 Summary of representations in "Opportunism with windpower"

SUMMARY OF REPRESENTATIONS IN "OPPORTUNISM WITH WINDPOWER"			
	O-REP1	*O-REP2*	*O-REP3*
NOTICEABLE ACTORS	Norwea	Norwea	LNVKNorwea
	Zero	Zero	Municipalities
	Nature and Youth	Nature and Youth	Landowners
	Windpower industry	(Statkraft)	Local community
	Energy companies	(Energy companies)	
	Statkraft		
	(Oil and gas sector)		
GOALS/MOTIVES	Reduce emissions	Replace fossil fuel in Europe	Employment
	Replace fossil fuel in Norway	Reduce emissions	Value creation in the community
		Have surplus energy	Profit for the municipality
INTERESTS	Windpower development	Windpower development	Windpower development
	Profit	Profit	Knock-on effect
	Electrification nationally	Exportation of power	
CHARACTERISTIC	Appeals	Appeals	Appeals
	Climate initiative-aspects of windpower development	Argue the responsibility Norway has in terms of favourable conditions to produce renewable energy	Argue the knock-on effect windpower development can have in the community
	Argue that it is suitable to exploit windpower	Climate initiative-aspects of windpower development	
		Argue Norway as a renewable nation with a suitable character for exportation due to regulative power sector	

4.3.4 Review of "Opportunism with windpower"

The motive of this discourse is found, through media articles, as more national interests with roots in the power industry, rather than local interests. All in all, there is more focus on what windpower can provide for local communities, power industry and Norway as a whole in newspapers that covers national news, rather than local newspapers. Although there are every now and then covered locally as well, but it is definitely more focus on why windpower is a good initiative on the national news. The relevant actors in this discourse do not only draw on national politics, but it looks like the government is a vital actor in this discourse. Despite that bureaucrats and government institutions officially do not hold specified meanings about the phenomenon, actors such as NVE are found to be discursive subjects in this discourse (Brenna, 2018, in Enerwe). It is found that the government [generally] partake as 'positive to windpower. Although it is more common that they argue in terms of 'positive to new renewable energy' it often ends up at being about windpower in the public dispute. In the examined articles, the government was rarely negative to windpower development.

What follows the whole analysis period is the focus on the certificate scheme. Several of the interviewees brought up the importance of the certificate scheme [which is one of the reasons why it was chosen as a key incident]. They argued that the certificate scheme helped to activate large scale investments. Though many of the interviewees would say that it was the investments [much due to foreign investments] that set off the large scale development they would emphasise that the scheme has been an important factor. There are [important] factors concerning the certificate scheme that falls outside the scope of this thesis, such as electricity prices, which will not be elaborated on in this discourse analysis.

The debate about windpower in Norway has existed for a long time. It has become much clearer 'who means what' the last decade, and it has been an increase in the focus given to windpower since the white paper from 1998 that stated the first windpower goal on 3 TWh, notwithstanding (Ministry of Petroleum and Energy, 1998). During the analysis period, the number of hits on media sources were evenly distributed over all the years from 2012-2019. However, considering that only the first four months of 2019 were included it is reasonable to assume that the focus on windpower will be much more if one were to compare 2019 with other years. Without this being a part of the analysis, I assume that it had to do with the 'National Framework for Windpower' which were first launched April 1st. Yet, the focus on windpower in the media has changed, not concerning how much focus, but where the focus

lies. While going through articles from 2012 until 2019 the conflicts around windpower has risen, a reasonable interpretation of this is because of increased development.

The content of this discourse derives from notions about climate change and the global crisis that follows. For that matter, this discourse is heavily dependent on the argument that the world needs change and that Norway is no exemption. "Opportunism with windpower" argues in a proactive way, arguing that if the needs on energy and the needs for emission reduction ought to be met, windpower must be developed further. I interpret the perspectives in this discourse as somewhat opportunistic, hence "Opportunism with windpower". I found that there is a deliberate strategy to utilise nature, i.e. windpower, in order to reach a goal, which is climate change mitigation and revenue at the same time. Although there is no clear evidence that points to which is the primary and which is the secondary goal, many articles focus on opportunities in terms of revenue, which indicates the importance of a stable profit. It can, arguably, be interpreted that despite the focus on climate change, this is often a substitutive argument. Energy company informants mentioned that the industry is primarily engaged with profit [although with certain exceptions in terms of what focus and to what degree it is given to climate contra profit] and that the climate effect of their business is a rather beneficial outcome (Anonymous informant 2, 2019; Anonymous informant 5, 2019). Despite the focus on climate mitigation, my interpretation is that economic profit is vital, thus a driver for the windpower industry.

> *"EU has established goals for 2020 and 2030. Each member state has established goals for 2020 and is now in the process of establishing goals for 2030. These goals are also applicable for Norway as a member of the EEA. The Norwegian government has established a system for green certificates in order to make renewable energy in general and wind power in particular profitable. The individual developers of wind power projects are dependent on a profitable market. A profitable and stable market will secure continuously development of wind power projects in Norway"*
> (Anonymous informant 5, 2019).

Windpower is perceived as a means for the transition to a greener economy, meaning that this discourse sees the need for 'green focusing areas' while having revenue. Here the argument is twofold, on the one hand, it gives the local community a green initiative that can provide growth in the economy and employment. On the other hand, it gives Norway as a nation a green initiative that provides revenue while reducing emissions. This characteristic of the

discourse draws upon a more general environmental discourse that holds the perceptions of ecological modernisation in the sense that it is possible to have environmental initiatives without confining growth in society in general, as is one of Dryzek's discourses (Dryzek, 2013, p. 166). The way the 'Opportunism with windpower- discourse' draws upon the established discourse from Dryzek is that 'Opportunism with windpower' tells it is possible to have a transition while having a stable profit, meaning that in the sense of climate change it is not necessary to only get negative consequences in a transition process.

Despite the different representations in "Opportunism with windpower", actors of the discourse are quite united in their interest in windpower. Generally, through the discourse, profit and revenue are continuously on the record, and so is the climate aspect of the discourse. The differences show more in what will maintain these interests and comply with them. However, actors are seen across the different representations, which I interpret to the point where it is not really important how the power from wind is used, but rather that windpower is being developed and that it fulfils the interest of reducing emissions and giving profit. As actors want to gain support for their view, it can become challenging when there are internal differences of interests within the discourse. Gaining support will, therefore, be a struggle as it is not a unified direction to why actors should get support.

Throughout the discourse, what is a stable factor of all interests, are the possibilities in windpower in Norway, which points to the geographical advantages Norway has in exploiting windpower. This comes through as one of the important messages from the actors that constitute their perception through this discourse. The advantage Norway has is used to appeal to responsibilities as well as opportunities. It thus appears as a 'too good to be ignored' possibility that windpower is both regarded as profitable and necessary compared to previous years where it was not profitable and the focus on a green transition was not as distinct as it is today.

By drawing on different communities, decisions, businesses, political institutions, and other discourses it places this discourse in the context it is used. Through the examination of different media articles, it is found that it is argued in the context of convincing the common man that windpower is necessary. It is not so much argued against the opposition to convince them of their perception, but rather as general speech that should reach everyone. This was different than expected and came forth as if the interest in addressing the oppositional forces were not present, but rather an interest in convincing in more general terms. However, it

should be mentioned that actors of this discourse did partake in debates and that this observation is more generally speaking.

This discourse does definitely have a great influence on decisionmakers. As there are several governmental papers that are drawn upon and politically it is general support for windpower. Especially the white paper 'power to change – energy politics towards 2030' (Ministry of Petroleum and Energy, 2016) is drawn upon. This does, of course, not mean that the discourse controls all energy political decisions that are made, but they do have a huge influence. This can also be seen by looking at the speed of windpower development in the last couple of years. The discourse finds support in reports such as Statnett's report on electrification of Norway, which states that there must be an increase in new renewable energy production and that windpower is a realistic option, although part of the increase can be met by other sources, but windpower is to some degree inevitable (Statnett, 2019, p. 6). Additionally, Kjetil Lund, the new Chief Executive Officer in NVE, wrote that 10 TWh of windpower could phase out power production in Europe equivalent to five million [metric] ton of CO2 yearly (Lund, 2019, in Dagens Næringsliv) which of course is more complex than only windpower production or not, but it argues in favour of windpower and is an utterance that is drawn upon by advocates of windpower. Drawing on governmental decisions and meanings do not necessarily mean that one will get break-through in political decisions. The complexity of decision-making with several relevant actors and authorities, there are other factors that must be appraised as well, such as feasibility and economy, necessity, grid capacity and of course the political majority in the parliament.

4.3.5 Storylines

Some storylines can be drawn out from the discourse. These storylines are used in the advocacy of the discourse and are often used with linguistic tools, such as appeals, rhetoric, etc. to give meaning to the perspective that is carried. The storylines are:

- Norway has geographical qualification to exploit windpower
- Due to our circumstances, we have a joint responsibility to take our part to resolve the challenges of climate change
- Norwegian windpower helps the emission reduction internationally
- It is a lesser evil to intervene in nature to produce renewable energy for the sake of climate change / Climate change threatens nature more than windpower industry

- The infrastructure that comes with windpower development adjust for an increased outdoor life
- windpower creates economic opportunities locally

4.3.6 Discourse-coalitions

As have been elaborated, many actors hold different representations across the discourse and are not necessarily set to one discourse-coalition. Nevertheless, I believe I can draw some decisions on what the discourse-coalitions are. The environmental organisation Zero is expressly an advocate for increased renewable production and sees valuable opportunities in reducing greenhouse gases in Europe by exporting surplus energy, for this view, governmental institutions are also a part of this coalition, and Norwea, together with the power industry. These actors consist of a network that sees the need for increased renewable energy production, despite their interest might be different, being either exporting-interests or electrification-interests. They still argue with the same storylines. The second discourse-coalition consist of host-municipalities and landowners, which argues with the same set of storylines that consists of growth, both in terms of economy, but also the community and employment in general. A characteristic of this coalition is the opportunism on what windpower can bring to the local community, despite what it might mean for Norway.

Interestingly the first discourse-coalition have another actor involved, although more separated from the other actors. It is found that interests in the hydropower industry have to some degree the same as the windpower industry. Although their interest is not in windpower, they argue with the same storylines that are concerned with the argument of the responsibility Norway has in reducing emissions internationally, i.e. exporting power, [although only evident in the collected data material which focused on windpower, hence, a incidental observation]. In addition, they argue that increased renewable energy is necessary, however, to their extent they argue for the increase of hydropower. This is merely found as comments connected to media articles that cover windpower, and will not be further elaborated as it falls out of this thesis' scope.

4.4 Discourse 2 – "Destruction with windpower"

4.4.1 Actors in the discourse

Also in this discourse, there are several actors with multiple representations, which they use in arguing for their case. The most visible actors in this discourse are organisations such as Den Norske Turistforeningen (DNT) [Translated: The Norwegian Trekking Association], La Naturen Leve (LNL) [Translated by me: Let the Nature Live], Norges Naturvernforbund (NNV) [Translated: Norwegian Society for the Conservation of Nature], The Norwegian Ornithological Society and [a few] municipalities with [often] belonging local communities, but also local communities where the municipality has passed motion on windpower. Other actors [among others] are some County Governors, Word Wild Fund for Nature (WWF), Sabima, Norsk friluftsliv [Translated: Norwegian Outdoor life], Norwegian Association for Hunters and Anglers, but these are not as noticeable in the public debate as for example DNT and LNL. In addition, a distinct share of lay people partakes in this discourse. Individuals have been marked as active discursive subjects, and to a much larger extent than in the previous discourse. Utterances and participation in the public dispute are significantly more distinct from a 'negative to windpower- point of view'. This is also reasonable considering that during a hearing process, the written hearing answers is often related to concerns on the implication of windpower, rather than expressed support (Inderberg et al., 2019, p. 186). It does not mean that there is no support, but it can indicate that it is more active participation in the public dispute from the 'negative to windpower- point of view'.

4.4.2 Representation and Analysis

For the first two representations that follows I have chosen to separate them as I see that they differ to much in order to present them together. Yet, they do both have many similarities which will be treated as such when both representations are presented and will be analysed all together.

The first representation in this discourse is what I have chosen to label *"ruining of untouched nature" [code: D-REP1]* holds the perspective about outdoor life and that windpower will ruin the nature to experience outdoor life and for travelers and tourism that depends on the wild nature. *D-REP1* account for the experience of nature and how the people experience the value of untouched nature. In *D-REP1* it is often referred to untouched nature, which, with windpower will become highly affected, not just by the turbines, but also the infrastructure

that needs to be built in order to run the industry. "I experience that we are in a time of destiny for Norwegian nature" (Per Hanasand in, Nylenna et al., 2019, in NRK Hordaland). In this view, it is often questioned what the needs are for the power that is being built. For this sake, actors do not see the need to ruin *unique* Norwegian nature in order to provide Europe with energy, i.e. exportation. It is through the media expressed for example:

> *"Why in the world should we in Norway ruin our nature to produce power – and export the power to other countries? Norway cannot save the whole world. Germany wants to invest in windpower in Norway. They do not want to ruin their own nature – better to ruin the Norwegian nature. The economy prevails, while the people lose!"*
> (Fidjeland, 2019, p. 42, in Fædrelandsvennen)

There are especially lay people that account for *D-REP1* together with DNT and environmental organisations such as LNL and NNV. It is argued that the windpower development happens on the expense of health, the calm and quiet that can be experienced and that this might not be as sustainable despite the power being 'green' (S. Hovden, 2019, p. 33, in Fædrelandsvennen). *D-REP1* holds nuances that differ from the other representation which will be emphasised later. Not all actors are totally against windpower, but more reluctant to develop windpower in untouched nature. Thus, a more moderate argumentative approach in "Destruction with windpower- discourse" (Anonymous informant 4, 2019). The chairman of the DNT board uttered that "This is severe interventions in nature. We are about to destroy the beautiful nature that people come here to see. Norway needs a climate solution that causes the least loss of nature" (Per Hanasand in, Nylenna et al., 2019, in NRK Hordaland).

Placing *D-REP1* into the context of "Destruction with windpower" there are many different arguments that emerge. In many cases, *D-REP1* sees an effort to produce more renewable energy, especially windpower, are tied to issues concerning trans-national power cables, due to the exportation of power. If more power cables are initiated, thus increased exportation, the greater interest there are in windpower development. Though issues concerning power cables fall out of this thesis' scope, the argument show due to fear that exporting interests will ruin Norwegian nature on the expense of local communities and the natural environment, and all that is left are more expensive power bills (Handegård, 2013, p. 17, in Klassekampen). It is a matter of interests that makes *D-REP1* clash with windpower development. It is seen as an unnecessary infliction of nature when they do not see the climate effect that is argued for the

development. They do often argue in terms of untouched nature, meaning nature without any human influence or artificial objects.

Treating *D-REP1* through the lens of discourse analysis reveals that in the public dispute it is *appealed* to the 'Norwegian spirit'. That is the proximity to nature and to experience outdoor life. By arguing that windpower will 'destroy the nature' that Norwegians holds dare is the use of strong words which is a linguistic tool of rhetoric that appeals to the sensation of nature. This can be interpreted in the previous quotes that have been given in *D-REP1*. In addition, this can be found [among others] in this quote:

> *"We must then ask ourselves if this extra profit for the few is worth the destruction of nature for the many. It will probably depend on which view on nature we base on. The relative untouched nature gives us many material values in the form of hunting and fishing, grazing (especially for reindeer), gleaning of mushrooms and berries, etc. All this will in a varying degree be diminished by the development of power."* (O. B. Jensen, 2019)

Interpreting practices that want to prevent windpower development, it is found that interests in *D-REP1* are to utilise the natural environment for outdoor interests, e.g. hiking and harvesting. As outdoor life seems essential in *D-REP1* it is natural that DNT is a strong and visible actor with this perspective. Though DNT has engaged in the windpower dispute for a long time they were not as noticeable in the dispute before but became more and more prominent around the time of the starting point for this analysis period, i.e. 2012. As more windpower was developed DNT would engage even more in this discourse and is particularly noticeable in the last years of the analysis period. In their own magazine, "Fjell og vidde" [Translated by me: Mountain and high plateau], it was demanded that DNT must take a more strong clarity on windpower development, and the argument that demanded this was,

> *"Even though many interventions happen singly and locally, will they together form a big threat. A local windpower station might not seem like a national threat. But if one look at the proposed plans for the whole country, one is about to destroy significant parts of our outdoor areas and out unique coast- and fjord landscape"* (Ore, 2012, p. 86, in Fjell og vidde)

It should be included in the analysis that DNT is a member organisation, which makes it a chance that there might be a degree of a *positioning effect*. As the board and the congress of

the organisation decide the way the organisation wants to go and what they want to mean about windpower it is a chance that this might lead to some sort of positioning effects. Nevertheless, it is not found that this happens in DNT. On the other hand, DNT experiences an enormous boost in new members of the organisation, which indicate that there is general support amongst their members and that it is, in fact, the opposite of the positioning effect.

The second representation is similar and is what I have chosen to label *"there is no solution to degrade nature" [code: D-REP2]. D-REP2* consists mostly of argument connected to biodiversity, rather than outdoor life when it comes to windpower on the expense of nature. It accounts for animal life [especially endangered species] and other fauna, but also the natural value itself. The actors that are involved with and carry *D-REP2* has interests in keeping the nature natural for the sake of the climate and argues that the loss of nature is more severe with windpower development than what windpower development is a solution. LNL is highly active together with local initiatives to stop windpower development. For example, the initiatives at Frøya, a place in Trøndelag where concession has been given to start the development, but as the local initiative to prevent this development has emerged, they argue that it is devastating for the nature on the island.

> *"It is talk about huge irreversible interventions in the nature. Our ecosystem is vulnerable. Untouched areas where birds, animals, insects and fauna get to be in peace is the new scarce commodity. We cannot sacrifice essential nature and put public health at risk. We must take measures before it is too late"* (Skarsvåg, 2019, in Verdens Gang)

Another active actor in *D-REP2* is NNV. They have local member organisations, which argues that they do not want the windpower development that is happening in Norway today. Despite them being advocates for renewable energy (Naturvernforbundet, n.d.), they argue that it is not a necessity to exploit more renewable energy, as there are many other viable alternatives, such as improvement of energy efficiency.

Through interpreting the arguments in this discourse, it is found that the representations that are presented differ to some degree. How *D-REP2* differs from *D-REP1* is how nature have value through its biodiversity and other natural values, while the former account for the value nature has for people, through usage and experience of untouched nature. What *D-REP2* argues is that more new renewable energy in the electricity system is not needed in order to go through with necessary electrification and other climate strategies. It should be noted that it is,

to no extent, found that the representation argues against climate initiatives, but rather windpower in an isolated matter. Actors that holds these perspectives on windpower development often emphasise that it is not a matter of whether it is reasonable with climate initiatives or not, but rather that windpower is not the solution, but that they do argue in favour of climate initiatives. As biodiversity also is threatened by climate change. The point that Norway cannot ruin nature for climate's sake is a strong argument in this discourse due to how nature is threatened as well, and that nature must be treated like it is an issue with the consequences of climate change. This tells something about the dispute on windpower and can be interpreted to the point where actors do not necessarily understand each other's world as it is perceived. What is emphasised in discourse analysis is that the discourse constitutes reality. This has, definitely, challenged the dispute across the different discourses, due to vastly different realities. In the point of view of an NGO that was interviewed for this thesis, it was emphasised that the industry's interest in windpower development is due mostly to economic factors. It was argued that the climate arguments used by the wind industry are substitutive for interests in a cost-effective market. "The windpower industry is purely market-driven" (Anonymous informant 3, 2019).

It is found during the analysis that NNV is actors in this discourse and holds, to a large extent, the perspectives in this discourse. They were not as strongly against windpower before, as they perceived it as 'green energy', yet they were more restrictive than advocates for windpower. In the public dispute, I only found evidence that they argue against development. In many of the planned windpower projects [or applied projects], the organisation gives hard statements that it is too risky for nature. Instead, they often argue for alternatives, especially the improvement of energy efficiency. The point ends up being that Norway does not need windpower at all, as there are more than good enough alternatives (Maren Esmark in, Enerwe, 2018, in Enerwe; Lundberg, 2018, p. 16, in Klassekampen; Nordø, 2018, p. 16, in Klassekampen).

A highly visible actor in 'Destruction with windpower', that holds especially representation *D-REP2*, is LNL. Their web page states clearly what they represent. It says [Translated] "Yes to a renewable future! No to windpower in hydropower-country!" (La Naturen Leve, 2019). One of the arguments LNL uses is that windpower is bought by foreign investors while Norwegian investors stay away. They see this as a fundamental problem for the Norwegian nature and ask why Norway must ruin their Nature for foreign pension funds. Many actors have picked up that it is, to a large degree, foreign investors that funds windpower

development. This is highly noticeable in the public dispute as it is almost mentioned in every debate that was found in the article search.

The utmost used argument in both *D-REP2* and *D-REP1* is that it does not help the climate to ruin the natural environment. Especially in *D-REP2* which account for arguments that it is contrary to mitigate claimte change, it ruins the natural environment which is also threatened by climate change. "There is no solution to degrade nature" draws upon the threats against biodiversity and points towards reports by for example United Nations as well as national political documents that account for the threats on fauna, such as birdlife in Norway, etc. In "Destruction with windpower" the message that is carried can be interpreted to a 'green versus green' aspect. It is often referred to that the climate initiatives are a bigger threat to the nature in Norway than what climate change is itself. In both representations, it is often used words as 'destruction', 'ruin', 'threat', 'sacrifice', etc. which are strong words that are used to strengthen the message the actors want to send out. In discourse analysis, this comes forth as a linguistic tool in the argumentation.

What is emphasised in "Destruction with windpower" is how windpower is perceived as a means for exportation of power. Yet, this argument must be tied to *D-REP2* because in "Destruction with windpower" exportation is part of a context which argues the disadvantages of windpower for the natural environment. It is thus argued that Norwegian nature is exploited with limited advantages for the purpose of selling electricity Europe. A pillar in *D-REP2* [for that matter, in *D-REP1* aswell] is an argument that often shows, that Norway ruins their nature because other countries do not want to with only a marginal contribution of Norwegian windpower in mitigating climate change.

What belongs to the analysis of "there is no solution to degrade nature" is to discuss possible interpretations, as (Hajer, 2006, p. 68) called the 'thisness' of that. One cannot rule out that actors or supporters of this representation, and even "Destruction with windpower-discourse" itself, holds the meaning that they merely do not want wind turbines in their community. Arguments can be found that uses biodiversity as a substitutive argument. Though this is not highly evident, the analysis pointed towards that this is sometimes the case. It is thus more effective to argue for the loss of biodiversity and other flora as a substitutive argument for not wanting the wind turbines merely because they, for example, are big or throw shadows. Arguments are found that windpower industry is an unwanted business because the turbines throw shadows and that icing on the turbine blades might be a problem, yet these arguments

are often substantiations of the argument covering nature and biodiversity. Some informants also substantiated this interpretation.

4.4.3 Summed up

"Destruction with windpower" accounts for two similar representations (Table 4-2), yet, both representations covers much ground, e.g. exportation. The reason why it is only two representations is that the argumentation can usually be broken down into dealing with environmental destruction, despite the argument being about the unnecessary role of windpower being merely exportation. The two representations hold meanings about biodiversity and wildlife as well as outdoor life and tourism. Though both argue with the destruction of nature the interests are different. Where "ruining of untouched nature" argues for the outdoor interests and tourism industry, "there is no solution to degrade nature" argues in terms of biodiversity and puts that nature is as much threatened as the planet itself with climate change.

Table 4-2 Summary of representations in "Destruction with windpower"

SUMMARY OF REPRESENTATIONS IN "DESTRUCTION WITH WINDPOWER"		
	D-REP1	*D-REP2*
NOTICEABLE ACTORS	DNT	LNL
	Lay people / local community	NNV
	Some municipalities and County Governors	WWF
	(LNL)	The Norwegian Ornithological Society
	(NNV)	(DNT)
	(Other environmental organisations)	Other environmental organisations
GOALS/MOTIVES	Prevent windpower development in nature	Prevent windpower development in general
	Maintain the tourism industry	
	Maintain outdoor life interests	
INTERESTS	Maintain outdoor areas untouched	Keeping the natural environment untouched
	Utilise the natural environment in outdoor life	Conserve biodiversity and other fauna and flora

CHARACTERISTIC	Appeals to 'Norwegian spirit'	Statements concerning wildlife
	Argue the marginal contribution Norwegian windpower have in reducing emissions	Argue the marginal contribution Norwegian windpower have in reducing emissions
	Outdoor life enthusiasts	Do not see windpower [in Norway] as 'green' energy

4.4.4 Review of "Destruction with windpower"

This discourse has existed for a long time and can arguably be tied to the resistance to hydropower. But it is especially in the later years this discourse has gained speed in its conspicuity in the public debate. The signification of this discourse is relatively wide in order to embrace more actors. Thus, this discourse consists of discursive subjects that both argue a hard no to windpower and those that argue more nuanced. An example is noticeable actors such as LNL and DNT, which both argues against windpower, though DNT argues against windpower in untouched nature while LNL argues against windpower in general. Despite the discourse being wide, I found that the message is to a large extent meant to reach the local communities and appeal to them why windpower is not the right solution. What this discourse describes is the local environment and not explicitly the global environment. This can be interpreted by the focus on what windpower will bring of values to the local community, arguing that it is not much and that it does not at all makeup for the destruction of nature that comes with it, and that the contribution to reducing emissions is not enough to compensate for the loss of nature.

In this discourse as well, the certificate scheme is often referenced. Various interviewees frequently referred to the certificate scheme as one of the reasons why windpower is being developed at the rate that is happening now, as it laid terms for investments [also foreign investment]. After an increase in concession applications actors in "Destruction with windpower" would become more and more noticeable. Naturally, as more windpower has been built, the more active discursive subjects have become. Despite the importance of the certificate scheme in this discourse, the argumentative structures become more visible after the entrance of foreign investors in the Norwegian windpower industry. This shows as an important factor in the public dispute and is used as an argument as to why windpower is an unwanted industry. The certificate scheme is referenced in this discourse as a subsidy to an industry that cannot make it in the market without supporting mechanisms. What is used as the argument in the public dispute is that windpower is subsidised by electricity consumers

(Lorentzen, 2015, in NRK Trøndelag; Sande et al., 2018, in Stavanger Aftenblad; Vågene, 2018, in Stavanger Aftenblad). The argument is often that there are "hidden" costs in the electricity bill due to the certificate scheme. This argument is the opposite of how "Opportunism with windpower- discourse" talks about the scheme. I interpret this as a direct message to the people, where actors actively try to appeal to the consumers.

Though there are many discursive subjects, especially NGO's, that engage in "Destruction with windpower- discourse", LNL and DNT stand out as significant actors, as they are highly noticeable in the public dispute. But, interestingly, the local communities are found as both important and central actors in this discourse as well. A local initiative at Frøya, an island along the west coast, with the goal of preventing planned windpower projects, has created a lot of attention. This might indicate that local communities appear as active discursive subjects in this discourse. Studies that have looked at the conflict on windpower map out many different opinions which is all concerned with the local environment, both in terms of nature and other aspects of the community (Knagenhjelm & Sataøen, 2005). What comes forth in "Destruction with windpower" is that it is not just a concern in the isolated local community but stands out as significant discursive subjects as well, as the local initiative at Frøya is an example of.[10]

In almost all the articles that were examined, concerned with this discourse, it was a focus on nature in different settings. It is often mentioned to what degree nature is degraded and how windpower is the cause of it. In addition, it is often added what the effects of such development might have for either wildlife and biodiversity, or outdoor life and tourism. Arguably, these interests can be seen separately. Yet, it is argued that matters concerning nature should be seen in relation to each other. During the data collection, I interpret this argument as a way of embracing as many as possible and gain support for this discourse. Despite different actors' focus on nature, either that being outdoor life or biodiversity, informants from NGO's would argue that both arguments are tied together (Anonymous informant 4, 2019).

The content of "Destruction with windpower" is derived from the argumentative structures in the media sources. It is in the context of climate change and its solutions that this discourse finds its argumentation by arguing that windpower will not have any considerable effect on

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[10] Local communities are not unified in their perspectives on windpower development, but appear as more active in this discourse compared to the previous discourse.

mitigating climate change. This comes forth by arguing that Norway's help in reducing the emissions in Europe is too small to have any considerable effect. It appears through the analysis that the actors use arguments that see the need for action on reducing emissions, but that windpower account for more harm than good in this mission, namely ruining the Norwegian nature on the cause of limited emission reduction.

How the arguments are formed in this discourse is what creates the reality that the actors have. "Destruction with windpower" argues in a reactive way, as actors find that too much nature has been ruined and it cannot be ruined even further if Norway is to keep the landscape. The statements and arguments form the contextual coherence that is used in their argumentative approach in addressing their perception of truth. It is expressed the unnecessary degrading of Norwegian nature, which, compared to the limited reduction of emissions that can be accomplished by windpower development does more harm than good. In this discourse concepts such as sustainability is heavily drawn upon when arguing that the degradation of nature is not in any matter sustainable despite the objective being to reduce emissions, thus stating that there are other [better] alternatives to go about this mission. Such concepts create and structures their reality and give the means to describe and construct their interpretation of the world in which they find themselves (L. C. Jensen, 2006, p. 13; 2012, p. 31). The focus of this discourse lies with the sustainability of Norwegian nature in an isolated matter, thus is the actors' perspectives on windpower created, and gives an understanding of why this discourse sees windpower as an unnecessary mean as a climate initiative.

An interviewee argued that public acceptance of the current windpower development in Norway is due to increasing fear of the consequences of climate change. This fact is used by the wind industry together with rhetorics that argues that windpower in Norway is part of the solution (Anonymous informant 3, 2019). Given this statement, it makes it more clear why the discoursing subjects in "Destruction with windpower" only sees the interest in windpower is due to economic factors, because, from this discourses perception of reality windpower will not be the solution and therefore there must be another explanation for the interest in windpower. From "Destruction with windpower" point of view "Opportunism with windpower" must have economically driven perspectives on why windpower is good. This clearly exemplifies how truth is created discursively through the reality that is created (Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999, p. 22). Different truth that is created discursively makes an arena for conflict, but an issue that arises from such conflicts is that the language that is used is not

necessarily the same. Although discursive subjects talk about the same phenomenon, they still talk about different things, as their realities are not understood by one another.

4.4.5 Storylines

After searching media articles and analysing them I believe I can retrieve some relevant storylines that are used when arguing within this discourse. These storylines are a way of structuring the arguments and draws upon concepts that are used to describe the reality as is perceived in this discourse.

- Biodiversity and nature are threatened by industry.
- Tourism and outdoor life want to explore the unique untouched nature.
- It is important to maintain untouched nature sustainable.
- Degradation of Norwegian nature is no solution to the consequences of climate change.
- Windpower does not adjust for economic development locally.
- Exportation of Norwegian power gives only a limited contribution to climate change mitigation.

These storylines draw upon other discourses that are concerned with climate change, tourism industry, and biodiversity. By doing so the storylines give more complete meaning to the perspectives that are found on windpower. It is seen through the analysis that using concepts concerned with these storylines helps to substantiate the arguments as well as describing the reality as it is in the discourse. For example, 'exportation of Norwegian power gives a limited contribution to climate change mitigation', contains a description of why it is unnecessary with windpower in Norway, even irresponsible. Finding these storylines makes it easier to understand what this discourse is really about – which is a more local community-oriented discourse.

4.4.6 Discourse-coalitions

At this stage, it is suitable to make some considerations on the discourse coalitions. I will present the findings on which actors make use of the same storylines. As with the previous discourse, this is also a highly concentrated discourse.

Some of the storylines that are used forms alternative [or even new] meanings about windpower. Renewable energy is usually seen and understood as 'green', thus climate

friendly energy. In this discourse some storylines are used to challenge this point of view, arguing that in this case, meaning the reality of this discourse and also the reality of its actors, windpower is not 'green' energy despite its characteristic of being renewable. 'Green' energy would, in this case, refer to its impact on climate change and nature, but in this particular discourse, it is not 'green'. The use of the storyline "Biodiversity and nature are threatened by industry" it means that it is the renewable energy industry, namely windpower industry, that threatens the nature and its natural habitats for animals and other species. Actors that uses this storyline, and other storylines, which creates the discourse coalitions are NNV, LNL, and local communities, e.g. local initiatives such as the initiative at Frøya. It is not so much evidence that is found which shows that their aims are different, as can be the case with discourse coalitions despite their same use of storylines. However, it is found that their focus is to some degree different, as local communities aim their focus on their community while LNL, for example, is more focused on the national debate. NNV is more hybrid in their focus as they are an organisation with many member organisations, thus different focus depending on whether it is the parent organisation or a member organisation that engages in the discourse practices. Despite the different focus it is argued to gain support for their perception of reality and by employing the language in the storylines that are used will characterise how the phenomenon is framed and in such the actors try to influence the meaning of others.

DNT together with some individuals that are discursive subjects in this discourse uses another set of storylines that draws upon the value Norwegian nature have. It is not so much related to energy itself, but more to the fact that it is more desired to make use of the outdoors when it is untouched rather than with artificial development and infrastructure. It is especially the storyline "Tourists want to explore the unique untouched nature". This storyline draws upon how Norway is looked upon and perceived by tourists and that the tourist industry in Norway is much due to the nature that is offered to see and explore. This will in fact not relate to windpower as an energy source itself, but as an intervention in nature. Thus, it is as mentioned argued that it only relates to windpower in nature, and not 'negative to windpower' in general. This discourse coalition separates from the former coalition as it finds windpower as a 'green energy source'. DNT, for example, finds that it is relevant to discuss increased renewable energy production and finds it both important and necessary, but argues for more restrictive windpower development. In terms of discourse coalitions, it is possible to distinguish two coalitions in this discourse. Nevertheless, both coalitions make use of some of the same

storylines such as "Degradation of Norwegian nature is no solution to the consequences of climate change".

Because organisations such as LNL who uses all the storylines listed above it is possible to relate them in both coalitions. This makes it challenging to analyse the discourse coalitions in this discourse as two separate coalitions. I will still make the argument to distinguish them as it gives a more lucid description of how the different actors relate to each other. This distinction can indicate that collaboration between the different actors can be challenging as they do have different goals and ways of argumentation. For example, DNT's politic is that they argue in terms of outdoor life and nature, which is the focus area where they have competence. This means that they do not engage as much in questions regarding exportation of power, prices on electricity and other factors concerning windpower besides the footprint it has in nature. The differences between actors in "Destruction with windpower" was brought up in various interviews with NGO's as something that makes it hard to collaborate, yet they still have an exchange of knowledge and information and other communication.

4.5 Discourse reproduction

After an investigation of the discourses what is more lucid is how a discursive process works. While actors produce the discourses and employ different sets of storylines, interests must be reproduced because of the interplay between the discourses. The data shows that as actors in "Opportunism with windpower" employ storylines, "Destruction with windpower" use a competing set of storylines, and vice versa. Further, if new interests emerge within one of the discourses, the other discourse reproduce their interests as well. The process of the discursive practices can be explained as shown in Figure 4-1 below. In the following, the interplay between the discourses and their relation will be discussed.
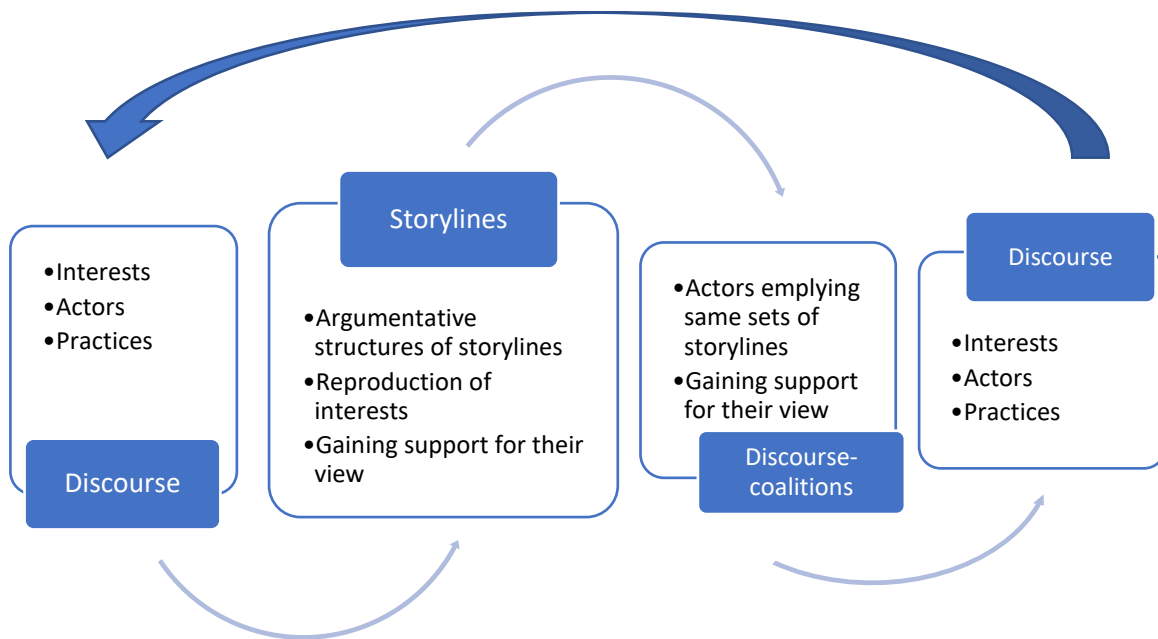
Figure 4-1 Discursive practice and reproduction of discourse

4.6 Relation between the discourses – discussion

Now that the two discourses have been accounted for it is reasonable to see them in relation to each other and discuss the discursive practices in the public dispute. As have been explained in the reviews, there are one 'positive to windpower- discourse' and one 'negative to windpower- discourse'. In both discourses, it is taken for granted that windpower development has an impact on nature. In this matter, the dispute is centred around to what degree it should be acceptable to interfere in nature and at what cause, in which the discourses highly disagree. Another 'taken for granted- aspect' is the severe challenges the world and Norway face considering climate change and that this must be handled accordingly. Yet, it is highly different what is emphasised in this context and what is considered climate friendly. The actors in "Opportunism with windpower" regard wind turbines as (1) a climate initiative and (2) a high cost-efficiency seen in relation to the effect it has on the challenges with climate change. On the other hand, in "Destruction with windpower", wind turbines are regarded as cost-effective, but not seen in relation to the effect it has on the challenges of climate change. In fact, it is not regarded as a climate initiative at all. Despite the different interests and representations in the discourses, much of the public dispute argues in line with these two 'agreed upon' matters.

Arguing with 'Climate change' as a category and 'sustainability' as a concept is found as institutional discursive practices with greater influence - in arguing a perspective on what role windpower should have - than other practices in the argumentative exchange. The windpower-discourses has created a certain type of arena to discuss climate change mitigation in terms of electricity production (see Hesstvedt, 2015, in Stavanger Aftenblad; Lindefjeld, 2017, in Enerwe; G. O. Olsen, 2017, in Dagsavisen). As both discourses consist of large non-governmental actors such as large nationwide organisations and associations, e.g. DNT, NNV, Zero, Norwea, etc. Their focus affects policy decisions, through for example [often] being 'body entitled to comment' in public hearings concerning windpower. By addressing climate change mitigation actors [especially in "Opportunism with windpower"] seek to influence policy decisions as well as party politics. Arguments concerning climate change are, therefore, an institutional practice that, arguably, work as a gateway in getting political attention and influencing policy decisions, regardless if climate change is the initial interest. Likewise, by addressing sustainability actors in "Destruction with windpower" aims at altering conceptions about 'climate change-and-windpower' in the political landscape, regardless of initial interests. Addressing climate change and sustainability has a greater influence than other discursive practices, whereas the aim is to influence policy and politics. What comes to show is the struggle for what is 'green'. Additionally, this is substantiated through that party politicians joins the public dispute in the media and utter themselves about windpower, yet it is varying and changing perceptions. The fact that they join the dispute shows indicates that there is an influence on politics as the windpower dispute engages politicians. A 'green-on-green' struggle is paradoxical as it can be interpreted as climate versus the environment. It would in many cases be perceived as a joint issue to mitigate climate and environmental destruction, however, in these discourses, it is separated from one another.

Much investments in windpower come from foreign investment companies. This is a factor mentioned in the interviews and must, therefore, be addressed. Actors that advocates a role for windpower does not disregard that much of the investments come from foreign investors. Nevertheless, what seems typical is that it is often given more emphasis to the investments that come from Norwegian companies, despite its percentage in the total investments. This is interpreted as tactical practice of the argumentative structures. From another point of view, from those that are negative to windpower, it is to a larger extent used as an argument against development, arguing that the money does not stay in Norway and value creation will not

come to local communities' gain. In this site of argumentation, it is an important argumentative exchange as it forms a basis for the interests of both discourses (Hajer, 2006, p. 73). Investments are often brought up in the context of the certificate scheme, as this made it more profitable to invest in windpower. While "Opportunism with windpower" argue that it is advantageous with foreign investments, and that it does not affect the knock-on effect of value creation such as employment, "Destruction with windpower" argue that, for example, hydropower is a better alternative because the natural resources belong to the Norwegian fellowship, thus benefits through tax returns, etc., as there are more taxation on hydropower production than windpower production (Holstad et al., 2018, in Stavanger Aftenblad). In several of the examined articles, the benefits of hydropower versus windpower are debated. As have been brought up in several interviews (Anonymous informant 1, 2019; Anonymous informant 3, 2019; Anonymous researcher, 2019), it was mentioned that foreign investors are comfortable with lower profit and with a longer horizon with regard to return on investments. They do not need as much short term profit as Norwegian investors do (Holstad et al., 2018, in Stavanger Aftenblad). This factor in the windpower debate is implemented in the storylines. Especially how values are created and managed, through the storylines [O5] versus [D5] (see Table 4-4) that is employed when debating the implications of foreign investments. These storylines either legitimise or delegitimise economic development with windpower. The argument of the implication of foreign investment is mostly used in "Destruction with windpower- discourse" as a way of delegitimising the economic development of windpower.

Arguing through storylines, as the example above, is valuable in trying to get political attention as well as influencing policy. As the two discourses have clashed in how windpower adjust for economic development, this has led to policy influence. Hydropower production pays more tax than windpower production does which has created much attention (see Løken & Nylenna, 2019, in NRK Hordaland; Nysted, 2019, in Enerwe; Reite & Øvrelid, 2014, in NRK). As this has been used as an argument on how windpower does not adjust for economic development [in comparison with hydropower], this has in recent time led to a committee which will investigate how hydropower, and also windpower, are taxed today [and if changes in taxation is needed] (Ministry of Finance, 2018). This indicates how the public dispute and discourses influence decision-makers. At least shows how the dispute gains attention. There are tendencies in the searched articles which show, though not empirically obvious, that the debate about value creation, especially considering that much of the investment in windpower

comes from foreign companies, will, presumably result in more taxation on windpower than it is today. That is a clear example of how the discourses influence 'the real world'.

It is many local differences in Norway, and it is embedded in the democracy that local democracy should, to a large extent, outweigh national interests, or at least count [much] in national decision-making. The "Destruction with windpower" is thus seen as a discourse that tries to appeal to local communities in order to prevent the development of windpower. It is often, in practice, possible for municipalities to veto the licence application (Inderberg et al., 2019, p. 186). Hence, municipalities have a huge influence on the turn-out on licence applications. It is therefore reasonable that the local community actively engage in discourses, which sends a message to the municipal government. As it almost never happens that windpower development takes place without the approval of the host community, it puts the case of Frøya in an interesting light because the municipality approved of windpower development, but has in later time re-voted and then voted no, just before the development would take place. The local community have been clear in their message with the initiative they started to prevent the development taking place. During the period of investigation, the project was currently at hold due to the circumstances. That exemplifies the influence "Destruction with windpower" have on development.

As should be noted, during the dispute a social media poster compared windpower developers in Trønderlag[11] and their project with the Nazi occupation in Norway, referring to part of the developers being from Germany. The poster said, "TrønderTerror – ny okkupasjon" (NTB Nyhetsbyrå, 2019, in Enerwe). The poster itself does not give any further information on the discourses, but it illustrates how polarised the dispute can be. While the discourses constitute the actors' reality and how the world [of windpower] is perceived it is also an example of how the discursive practices can escalate when different realities clash. This gives an indication to the importance of discourse analysis which in turn can give a better understanding of why there are differences in the perceptions of the world [of windpower]. Because there are many local interests in whether windpower is to be developed in the nearby community or not, the two discourses at hand have, to a degree, become a polarised dispute. On the other hand, actors have engaged in trying to settle a more fact-based and nuanced line of demarcation in the public dispute (Lundberg & ESMARK, 2019, in Verdens Gang; Verdens Gang, 2019).

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[11] Trønderenergi and Stadtwerke München [together with their joint company Midgard Vind Holding] (NTB Nyhetsbyrå, 2019, in Aftenposten)

It is relevant to investigate what kind of wording that is used in the public dispute. How are statements substantiated and emphasised? And among the discourses, which storylines are competing? Typical wording that is used in "Opportunism with windpower" and "Destruction with windpower" are found to be quite different (Table 4-3). The reason for this is that "Destruction with windpower" is interpreted as a discourse that fears a loss and needs to prevent windpower development.

Table 4-3 Typical wording used to substantiate the content of the discourses

Typical wording in the discourses	
Opportunism with windpower	Destruction with windpower
Careful/ gentle intervention	*Catastrophy*
Power exchange	*Windpower station*
Wind farms	*Brutality*
Necessity	*Destruction*
Responsibility	*Vulnerable*
Resistant	*Untouched nature*
Threats of climate change	*Threats to biodiversity*

By using a specific set of words to substantiate the content of the discourses can be a useful argumentative tool. Often the words are found to deliver strong messages or making a message more attractive or tolerable. Thus, the discourse that argues for windpower would necessarily use words that do not substantiate the interference with nature, and the discourse that argues against windpower would use words that demonstrates the risk that windpower has and the consequences of the development. Although it is not always a direct use of the words it is interpreted through the discursive structures in the dispute that is found in media sources that this is how the dispute comes about and is an important factor in the interpretation of the discursive practices. It was for examples emphasised that advocates for windpower

systematically use less "harmful" words when they speak about windpower, by for example using words as wind farms instead of windpower stations and windmills instead of wind turbines, which, from actors of the "Destruction with windpower- discourse" reacted to as a way of hushing up what it was really talk about (Fjell og Vidde, 2012). During some of the interviews, I noticed that this was the case, which is relevant to discursive framings of a phenomenon, pointing towards that the framing is based on what message the actor wants to send. Deliberately using less "harmful" wording in the public debate is interpreted as a discursive tool.

Similarly, one can investigate the storylines and see which storylines that compete with each other (Table 4-4). By looking at this one can both find which interests that clash and the representations that argue against one another, and one can see how the dispute comes about, similarly to looking at the typical wording that is used in the dispute. The storylines are not so unlike the storylines that were found in a discourse analysis on the windpower conflict in the United Kingdom and Australia (Jessup, 2010). Storylines found in this analysis is not identical to those found by Jessup (2010), they do carry many of the same characteristics in regards to animals, economic values, landscape, and climate change. Not only might this substantiate the findings of this study, but additionally it indicates that the storylines that are found on windpower in Norway are not isolated for the Norwegian windpower world.

Table 4-4 Competing storylines

Competing storylines		
[code] Opportunism with windpower		*[code] Destruction with windpower*
[O1] It is a lesser evil to intervene in nature to produce renewable energy for the sake of climate change / / Climate change threatens nature more than windpower industry	←→	[D1] Biodiversity and nature are threatened by industry
[O2] Due to our circumstances, we have a joint responsibility to take our part to resolve the challenges of climate change	←→	[D2] It is important to maintain untouched nature sustainable / Exportation of Norwegian power gives only a limited contribution to climate change mitigation

[O3] Norwegian windpower helps the emission reduction internationally	←→	[D3] Degradation of Norwegian nature is no solution to the consequences of climate change
[O4] Norway has geographical qualification to exploit windpower / Infrastructure that comes with windpower development adjust for an increased outdoor life	←→	[D4] Tourism and outdoor life want to explore the unique untouched nature
[O5] windpower creates economic opportunities locally	←→	[D5] Windpower does not adjust for economic development locally

As both discourses change constantly and reproduce the representations it is a matter of knowledge production. Actors from both discourses reframe and create further knowledge within the representations they hold through the discursive exchanges, which shows how discourses are seen as a struggle for discursive hegemony (Hajer, 2006, p. 59). How the phenomenon is framed matters when participating in the discursive practices of a discourse. The framing of what role windpower ought to have has either a base in legitimating or delegitimate it. In a struggle to have the 'green' perspectives on windpower, the discourses produce counter-arguments on the basis of the opponents argument which is a form of co-optation of the opposing discourse, where the logic of the opposing discourse is turned upside down to regain support (L. C. Jensen, 2012, p. 36). In doing so interests are constituted through discourse. Further, the storylines argue in terms of interest.

By interpreting which storylines that clash it is found that there is a definite coherence amongst the storylines. Seeing these clashes indicate that both discourses did, in fact, come into being due to one another. As interests arise in the one discourse it is answered with a counter-interest in the other. For example, during the analysis period, it was "Destruction with windpower" that seemed to address outdoor life and tourism through the storyline [D4]. As this entrenched within representation *D-REP1,* "Opportunism with windpower" transformed to account for this element as well through a co-optation of the storyline about tourism and outdoor life, i.e. [O4]. The competing storylines emphasise what main perspectives are found that argues for the role of windpower in the content of the discourses and what oppositional

perspectives and counter-arguments there are in the public dispute. By continuously co-opting the opposing discourse and producing counter-storylines actors secure the reproduction of their interests (Hajer, 1995, p. 51). It is interpreted that the public dispute, namely through storylines, has a huge influence on development decisions. How interests are uttered is interpreted as highly influential in municipalities. It thus becomes important to have convincing arguments that affect local decision-making.

The discursive factors that make this discourse analysis relevant are how the world of windpower is constituted through different sets of 'fact'. All the different interests and perspectives on windpower development that has been illuminated operate with different sets of facts. These facts make the different actors utter their intended meaning, as understood through the storylines. The clash of storylines is a battle about what perspectives are the 'green' perspectives. Whereas there is no common ground that account for the actual advantages or disadvantages windpower has in Norway, actors may use storylines to present their understanding of reality, which between these discourses becomes a 'green-on-green' battle. In the practice of co-optation of the discourses, there is a struggle for discursive hegemony through an interplay between the discourses of what should be understood as 'green'.

The storylines have an obvious connection to each other. The interests that are presented in the different representations can all be tied to the different sets of storylines. It can thus be argued that interests form the basis of storylines. Different interests are highly important in understanding the discursive dynamics as it is interpreted that storylines make up the argumentative approach of the discourses. This both indicate that there is a constant clash between the discourses, which tells that the discursive factors in both discourses play out of the other. As one of the discursive subjects from one of the discourses uses a set of storylines, discursive subjects from the other discourse automatically use a set of storylines that clash. Especially, this is found in debates through newspaper articles, for example in regards to birds and biodiversity, actors employ storylines that clash with different "facts" to substantiate their claims (see Hesstvedt, 2014, in NRK; Sjølie, 2014, in NRK). Storylines represent what I interpret to be "facts". These "facts" are correct in both discourses given the truth, as it is constituted discursively. The storylines in these discourses are the utmost best example of how language affects the way the world is perceived and understood (Hajer, 2006, p. 66; Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999, p. 9). This indicates what the argumentative approach in

discourse analysis tries to underline, that the discursive subjects are the ones that produce the discourse and account for the transformation of the discourses.

Both discourses use sets of storylines that draw upon various categories and concepts. Typically, "Opportunism with windpower" draws upon concepts that are concerned with economy. Under the circumstances, these storylines are used one can understand the intentions of the actors that use them. For example, the storyline [O2], i.e. using the storylines as references, to appeal to message receivers about what is at stake when it comes to climate change. On the other hand, "Destruction with windpower" draws upon concepts such as sustainability, and refer to the nature that is held dear by Norwegians, [D2; D3]. What becomes interesting in the argumentative structures of the discourses is, as both discourses draw upon climate change, the different actors do not have the same intentions, and the message that is sent by using for example [O3 and D3] is vastly different. While "Opportunism with windpower" use climate change as a category for energy development, "Destruction with windpower" use climate change as a category that covers sustainability in nature and biodiversity. As the argumentative approach assumes no coherent understanding of a problem, the actors have the opportunity to communicate their understanding of an issue through the storylines, which in this case are the need for more renewable energy contra the need to preserve the natural environment. As these "facts" comes from two different understanding of reality, message receivers are presented with a choice of how they will interpret windpower development, thus giving support to either of the views they are presented with.

Sets of storylines are used to influence policy decisions. "Destruction with windpower" try to destabilise advocates for windpower and the storylines they utilise in trying to influence policy decisions. An ongoing debate about the advantages or disadvantages of windpower seek to gain political support in the struggle of what is 'green'. Discourse analysis is used when analysing the influence on policy changes. Seeing the development that is happening, actors in "Destruction with windpower" uses reactive arguments [by addressing what has happened] to try to influence future decision-making, such as licencing processes. In terms, the struggle in having the 'green' perspectives it entails policy disputes in addressing (dis)advantages with windpower [and other climate initiatives]. Thus, influencing a dispute in the political landscape as well.

Upon the investigation of the interaction between discourses, I interpret that it is unclear what role windpower ought to have in the Norwegian electricity system. Actors have different opinions both within and between the discourses. As such, there is no unification on why windpower is developed. "Opportunism with windpower" appeals to a larger audience as well as appealing to governmental goals, such as renewable initiatives, and industry and commerce. Through this characteristic "Opportunism with windpower" gains much support for their view, thus having an authority which is difficult to challenge. I interpret advocates for windpower as the incumbent actors, thus engaging in the incumbent discourse. An issue that presents itself in trying to gain support for their view is the different perspectives might send different messages. Message receivers might, therefore, have an unclear opinion on the reasons for windpower development. Without a unified perspective on the role of windpower, the actors might struggle in using their resources to gain support. How the public dispute comes about I interpret that it is a clear authority in "Opportunism with windpower". Despite the struggle for what is 'green', more support is given politically to windpower development than the opposing discourse. This means that it is more support to windpower as 'green' and necessary. Though there are challenges and environmental issues, which are highly noticeable in the public dispute, "Opportunism with windpower" is closer to a 'discursive hegemony', thus the authoritative discourse.

Representations within "Opportunism with windpower" has made its mark in the political landscape. Windpower is perceived as necessary, both in regards to electrification and as a reasonable direction in terms of exportation and connection to the European electricity market (Lønnum, 2019; Ministry of Finance, 2017, p. 93; THEMA Consulting Group, 2016, p. 7). It is often, for example, perspectives on the Norwegian renewable energy production, mentioned that windpower is suitable together with regulative hydropower and will become much more important in the coming years (Menon Economics, 2017, p. 3). This indicates that advocates for windpower, namely "Opportunism with windpower", has a strong influence on politics as well. Yet, it is not to disregard that it is also political differences, especially in party politics, whereas "Destruction with windpower" also sets its mark. It can be argued that "Destruction with windpower" has an increasing influence on party politics, as is seen in the media articles.

"Destruction with windpower" on the other hand, is a narrower discourse that appeals to a smaller audience[12], arguably with more local anchoring, which could be argued as having

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[12] Smaller/larger is not in term of amount of people, but rather in terms of different entities.

much less "chance" in the discursive struggles. On the other hand, though "Destruction with windpower" springs more from groups with less authority on windpower, this discourse has gained much support from individuals over the course of the discursive struggles. One of the resources the actors' have in gaining support for their view is to a large degree more unified ground of argumentation. Though there are differences in the perspectives of those that argue against windpower as well, the perspectives are a lot more unified. Using that as a basis in the argumentative exchange seems valuable for the actors in convincing other people.

It is empirically evident that "Opportunism with windpower" has, over the course of windpower development, had a greater influence on decision-making, thus more discursive authority. Tendencies in the data material show that "Opportunism with windpower" is more anchored in the political landscape. It can be various reasons for this. But it is especially two aspects that considerably separate "Opportunism with windpower" from "Destruction with windpower"; producing more renewable energy and the focus economic aspect. The political landscape advocate increased electricity production, and because of the economic aspect, namely revenue, "Opportunism with windpower" has an advantage that is difficult to challenge with natural environmental considerations. An interpretation is that "Destruction with windpower" acts more idealistically angled in their argumentative approach. However, "Destruction with windpower" does account for a discursive challenge in the struggle for discursive hegemony.

As is discussed, there are tendencies showing that 'Destruction with windpower' prove an increasing challenge to 'Opportunism with windpower'. For example, the proposed national framework on windpower set out to examine 43 areas, whereas only 13 areas were pointed out as suitable for windpower development (NVE, 2019a, p. 125). It is not obvious that it was due to 'Destruction with windpower' that only 13 areas were pointed out, but, presumably, it indicates that 'Destruction with windpower' affects future licencing processes, as it is reasonable to assume that licence application outside of the 13 suitable areas will not be granted licences. It is therefore argued that the framework has been influenced by "Destruction with windpower". Thus, the argumentative structures that are used by employing different sets of storylines have, arguably, much influence. Though much windpower has been and will be developed, many licence applications have been rejected as well, which might indicate that there is a balance in the authority between the discourses.

The extensive number of articles investigated for this thesis indicates that it is more authority in "Opportunism with windpower", but greater attention is given to "Destruction with windpower" in the media. As the media, arguably, affects both perceptions and decision-making to a large extent, "Destruction with windpower" seems to get more and more support for their view. By utilising storylines that counter "Opportunism with windpower" while trying to lift the debate to the political landscape even further, "Destruction with windpower" has arguably found a highly useful "trick". This is a resource used in the struggle for discursive hegemony. Through focusing on appealing to larger groups of the people, locally and nationally, "Destruction with windpower" gives a bigger challenge to "Opportunism with windpower" which to a degree evens out the discursive struggle, mainly through using the media as the gateway to gaining support for their view. Because municipalities seem to have an informal veto power to say no to windpower in their municipality (Inderberg et al., 2019, p. 186), it is reasonable for "Destruction with windpower" to focus their resources on local communities and municipalities as arenas to gain support for their view.

4.7 Relation to the research on windpower

This thesis started by addressing the literature in which this thesis would conduct its study. It is thus reasonable to address how the findings fit together with the literature review in the introduction chapter.

An assumption that was made in the introduction chapter of this thesis was that other factors besides politics and economics affects changes in windpower diffusion rates. As was argued that politics was a common factor in windpower diffusion in different countries (Moe, 2017), this discourse analysis has accounted for discursive factors that affect policy decisions concerning windpower, whereas storylines give an understanding of different perspectives and argumentation on what role windpower ought to have in the electricity system. Not only are there different perspectives for windpower, but perspectives against windpower does also affect the swings. For example in the case of Frøya, where local community initiatives have engaged in the public dispute, it shows how the "facts" different actors base their perspectives affect windpower development, besides politics.

Different studies have looked at the role of politics and the effects on windpower development (Blindheim, 2015; Moe, 2017). This discourse analysis indicates that there is a strong influence on decision-makers and that development is affected by actors outside of the political landscape. Both discourses consist of many actors, with many representations. It is a

wide range of actors that affect windpower development, and the swings in the diffusion. Though Moe acknowledged that there were definitely other important factors that could account for changes in windpower development (2017, p. 365), this discourse analysis shows that one must understand the different perspectives on windpower in order to understand its development and the pace of it as well. One aspect that might explain why there are other important factors besides politics is because of the liberalisation of the electricity market, as was pointed out in several of the interviews. This gives one aspect to why there are many different perspectives on windpower and why these affect the development, and not just developers, politics, energy companies, etc.

From 2012 [as is the start of the analysis period, but may just as well been the case pre-2012] many actors, both advocates for and against windpower, inquired a national framework for windpower development. Over the analysis period, this focus increased until it was decided that NVE would account for such a framework. This framework proposal was launched 1ˢᵗ April 2019, which became decisive for when the end of the analysis period should be [which was set as 30ᵗʰ April]. During the discourse analysis, this was not found as a site of argumentation but rather a unified request. Yet there are to a certain degree different opinions on what the framework should look like. Various interviewees mentioned that the national framework on windpower was a desired framework from different NGO's as well as the windpower industry. Actors from "Destruction with windpower- discourse" finds that the framework is not how they wished it to be, yet they do not want to reject the work that has been done in connection and prior to the framework (Anonymous informant 4, 2019).

The uncertainties with windpower concession given to windpower before the goal of 2010 of 3 TWh which were discussed by Blindheim (2013) comes forth in this thesis as an issue with decreasing attention, yet continuous attention throughout the analysis period. Interviewees mentioned that the Norwegian concession system is sufficient, yet, it was added that it would be more adequate if the Norwegian Environment Agency had a bigger role in the concession system (Anonymous informant 3, 2019). As Blindheim (2013) discussed the reason for why the goal was not reached it seems as if actors in both discourses still argue that the transparency could be more sufficient. This can be substantiated by Inderberg et al. (2019) who found that there is a lack of transparency and predictability on which projects are given licence and which are not. However, as it was to a large degree argued that a national framework would make this issue better it remains to be seen what the effects of the framework that is now launched will be. Blindheim (2013) argued that the Ministry of

Petroleum and Energy was a bottleneck which was part of the reason why the goal in 2010 was not reached. This comes forth in the discourse analysis as a non-existing issue. Although it might still be the case, it is not mentioned in either of the interviews nor found any specific arguments in the analysis that argues Ministry of Petroleum and Energy as a bottleneck.

A highly important factor in Blindheim's article (2013, p. 342) was the uncertainties with subsidies given to windpower and that they were low, which was part of the reason why it did not take off with windpower development. Although the aim of this thesis is not to find reasons for why it took off, it comes forth in the analysis, in both discourses, that the certificate scheme, together with foreign investments [which points back to the certificate scheme] have been important for windpower development. This substantiates both Blindheim's argument that the subsidies were an important factor for why Norway did not reach the goal in 2010 but also indicates that these uncertainties are no longer an issue. In all interviews, I started by asking what the informants thought was the reason why Norway did not reach the goal in 2010, yet now, windpower has increased drastically? All informants argued that [among other things] profitability and the certificate scheme must be seen as one of the reasons for this development. Despite the certificate scheme being an important reason for the development, it is not necessarily arguing in a positive sense. One informant that I interview argued that the certificate scheme, together with increasing electricity prices, makes it profitable to invest in windpower. This will, in turn, increase commercial interests in windpower and therefore be a case of economic incentives rather than a climate initiative (Anonymous informant 3, 2019). Yet, it seems through the analysis that in both discourses one agrees that it is [partly] due to the certificate scheme and price developments that windpower has taken off in development, compared to the time before 2010.

Despite Blindheim's (2015) argument that the licensing process was somewhat unpredictable which in turn affected investments, this has changed over the course of the analysis period. As both discourses acknowledge, which is also mentioned in various invterviews (Anonymous informant 1, 2019; Anonymous informant 3, 2019) the economic aspect has changed both due to price development and foreign investors that have [among other things] brought about the windpower production increase. This does not falsify Blindheim's (2015) finding on the importance of the political landscape in windpower development, but this discourse analysis argues that there are in fact other highly important factors that affect development, namely different actors' role in development and their perspectiva es on windpower. It is therefore decisive to understand arguments in different perspective, e.g. profit, environmental

preservation, emission reduction etc. It is of especial importance to understanding that there are, to a degree, substitutive arguments, thus interests. This might have a huge influence on decision makers and lay people in general.

This discourse analysis shows there are a different perception of the world of windpower when it comes to how it is understood and perspectives on what role windpower ought to have in the electricity system. Blindheim argued that a more aimed development could speed up the process (Blindheim, 2013, p. 341) [or prevent it]. As a substantiation of this, my argument is that a focus on transparent interests in the process of development will make the process more understandable, whereas it is reasonable to assume more effective processes [whether it is more or less development]. this discourse analysis can be interpreted to the point where there are in fact specific aims on windpower, notwithstanding there are many perspectives that argue its role. To this point, it is more easily understood what the world of windpower consist off, thus what the aims are. A step which in turn can give greater insight into what needs to be understood when structuring such a process.

5 – Concluding remarks

5.1 Implications of the discourses

In this study I have used discourse analysis to gain further understanding of the role windpower ought to have in Norway. I believe discourse analysis has been a suitable framework to gain understanding about the perspectives that are found. However, limited knowledge was obtained by merely deriving the discourses. It was highly necessary to apply the argumentative approach of discourse analysis as well. In regard to the argumentative approach, investigating storylines has been an effective approach in obtaining further understanding of the argumentative structures actors have. By understanding these structures it became more transparent to what degree the discourses influence others, especially policy influence. This is because it becomes noticeable when other actors, for example, party political actors, use the same sets of storylines as is used in the discourses. I interpreted such events as an indication of what influence there are. Investigating storylines also makes it more lucid how the discourses relate to one another, as I argue that these storylines represent "facts" in the perceptions of the discourses. In addition, seeing how storylines accounts for influence proved to be a thorough way to understand how discourses operate in and deal with 'the real world'.

The main contribution of this thesis is two derived discourses with positive and negative perspectives on the role of windpower, that I have called "Opportunism with windpower" and "Destruction with windpower", respectively. Over the course of the period that has been investigated an important finding is that the two discourses compete in a paradoxical struggle for what perspectives are understood as green, namely climate versus the environment, thus a 'green-on-green' battle. In this sense, I argue that the world of windpower is understood differently, which in turn can create misunderstandings. Therefore, I argue that actors talk apparently about the same phenomenon, yet they talk about two different things. It is reasonable to assume that windpower is considered 'green' energy as it is renewable and because of a common understanding that renewable sources are 'green'. Despite windpower having the characteristic of being renewable, it is an increasing struggle in "Opportunism with windpower" to convince others [e.g. people, institutions, industry, etc.] that their perspectives are the 'green' perspectives. This struggle comes from the challenges they are met with by "Destruction with windpower". "Destruction with windpower" challenges windpower as

'green' energy by setting it up against perspectives that account for preservation of the natural environment as 'green'.

In light of the problem statement, it is not only one specific role of windpower in the Norwegian electricity system. But, I argue that if windpower ought to have a role in the electricity system, the main role windpower should have is to reduce emissions and mitigate climate change. However, this is highly challenged by opposing perspectives which argues that this role is not fulfilled. Therefore, it has to be an alternative to windpower to fill the role of reducing emissions. A consensus between the discourses is at least that emissions must be reduced, but it remains a struggle whether windpower propose this capacity.

"Opportunism with windpower" has had more authoritative power and their argumentative practice especially concerning 'climate change mitigation' has shown to be more influential than other arguments and practices. Therefore, it is reasonable for actors in "Opportunism with windpower" to drill on the advantages concerning windpower in a world threatened by climate change, regardless of their initial interests. As interests become visible, arguments to convince others of the particular interest are presented through storylines. It has thus become an institutional practice for the opposing discourse to produce counter-storylines. "Destruction with windpower" seek to destabilise advocates for windpower and the storylines they utilise in their aim at influencing policy climate initiatives. Actors that try to prevent windpower development is an increasing challenge for "Opportunism with windpower-discourse". One of the reasons for this is that they have much attention in the media and have an increasing opportunity to lift the debate to the political landscape. "Destruction with windpower" utilise storylines that address the sustainability issues with windpower development. I argue that it is a continuous struggle to achieve the 'green' perspectives. Additionally, I argue that in trying to prevent windpower development, "Destruction with windpower" represent challenges in regard to environmental concerns.

The considerations I have made about the theoretical implications; Discursive creation of reality, which otherwise is referred to as a form of subjectivity of the real world as it cannot be regarded as objective truths, has been pointed out as a struggle within the discourses. The representations presented in the discourses point to very different perspectives on what is 'green'. This indicates that the point of departure for the role windpower should have [or not have] in the electricity system are inherently different. It is especially through the storylines that the discursive factors come to show, which point out how the different understandings of

the phenomenon give vastly different interests in terms of the role of windpower. Thus, the storylines show how actors actively engage in the discourses and reframe the understanding of a problem by using different sets of storylines (Hajer, 1995, p. 55). By understanding what main perspectives there are on what role windpower ought to have it gives a basis to understand windpower development. This thesis gives an understanding which is important for society at large.

5.2 Further research

There are many research opportunities for further study. It should be conducted a narrative analysis and investigate narratives in the political landscape. To map out what narratives party politics account for, in regards to what role windpower should have, is a reasonable direction in connection to this thesis. This will give a more thorough understanding of what the political goals are with renewable energy initiatives. In addition, it is highly necessary to investigate the effect windpower production has on emission reduction both nationally and internationally. To assess to what degree windpower production helps in climate change mitigation will, in connection to this thesis, give a more through platform to discuss what role windpower ought to have in the Norwegian electricity system.

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