

Windturbine Resistance in Norway: 'Place'-Making, Citizenship and Energy Infrastructures



"Stop the Windturbine Hell"

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Abstract

Windturbines have proliferated across Norway. With their increase, the resistances against this infrastructure gained momentum since 2018. This study seeks to understand why the resistance in Norway has emerged, how it affects anti-windturbines and influences their understanding of windturbines. It goes beyond the ways in which 'social acceptance' scholarship has sought to research why opposition to renewable energy infrastructure emerges. Instead, based on two months of fieldwork in Norway with interviews and participant-observation, this study combines scholarship on place-making, the state and citizenship. I will argue that the resistance to windturbines' destruction of anti-windturbines' 'place' becomes intertwined with wider political issues regarding the Norwegian state and its initiatives, or lack thereof, to tackle climate change. Resistance affects anti-windturbines' political subjectivity and their relation to the material environment - be that windturbines or their 'place'. The study points to how, rather than delegitimizing those resisting renewable energy infrastructure, anti-windturbines' critiques should be taken seriously. From this an engagement with multiple, possible fossil fuel free energetic futures can emerge beyond those proposed by states and companies.

Declaration

'I have read and understood the School regulation concerning plagiarism and I undertake that all material presented for examination is my own work and has not been written for me, in whole or in part, by any other person(s). That any quotation or paraphrasing from the published or unpublished work of another person has been duly acknowledged in this ISP. That I have not incorporated in this ISP without acknowledgement any work previously submitted by me for any other course forming part of my degree'.

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Introduction



Figure 1. Windturbines' immensity

I double-checked Google Maps. It would take more than an hour to reach the entrance of the Frøya windturbine complex¹ by foot. I had walked for thirty minutes, but the windturbines already seemed so near. Google Maps could not be right. It was. Fifteen minutes passed, still no entrance. It took another thirty minutes before I saw the gravel road leading into the windturbine complex. A wooden structure opposite the entrance indicated the presence of the once lively protesting camp. Here, the first sustained protesting against windturbines in Norway began in 2018. I thought, only five more minutes and I will be under a windturbine for the first time. It took me fifteen. Once there, I looked up and with its 180 meters, the windturbine seemed to be stretching for the clouds. When previously seeing windturbines from further away, I thought they were big, but not as immense as described by anti-windturbiners. When standing underneath them I finally understood why anti-windturbiners described them as such.

The summer of 2021, I travelled to Norway to understand why protests against windturbines - infrastructure I then perceived to be largely unproblematic - were occurring. Anthropological scholarship has explored this in, for example, the context of Mexico (Boyer 2019; Howe 2019). I was interested in understanding which form such a protest takes when located in the Global North, particularly Norway whose history as an 'energy nation' is riddled with the paradox of exporting oil whilst framing itself as a renewable energy forerunner as evident in state documents (KLD 2021).

Many of those I met were opposed to windturbines since the first concession processes began in the early 2000s. These oppositions were local and far from

¹ I am writing windturbine complex instead of wind farm to highlight its industrial nature

constituting the nationally organized resistance I encountered. They were the product of a policy introduced in 1998 to have windturbines generating 3 TWh before 2010 (Vasstrøm and Lysgård 2021, 4). Windturbine constructions proceeded slowly until 2015. This changed in the following years. Wind power capacity increased from 14 MW, in 2015, to 672 MW in 2021 (NVE 2021a). Today, 1164 windturbines are scattered across 53 sites (NVE 2021b). As windturbine constructions increased, so did protests. Haramsøya, Fosen, Øyfjellet, Brungmarka & Flåmarka, Stjørdal and Selbu were some of the many places where mobilizing happened. In the beginning, they were largely isolated pockets of local resistance. This changed with the protest on Frøya in 2018. The public and social media attention it gained catalyzed an awareness that others, elsewhere in the country, had similar reasons for being anti-windturbines. People not directly affected also joined the resistance. From this emerged 'Motvind'² in 2019, the only organization dedicated solely to fighting against windturbines in Norway (Motvind n.d.).

I am not the first interested in opposition to renewable energy infrastructure. Scholarship on the 'social acceptance' of renewable energy explores which factors affect people's support or opposition to the infrastructures (Devine-Wright 2012; Burningham, Barnett and Walker 2015; Batel, Devine-Wright and Tangeland 2013; Wüstenhagen, Wolsink and Bürer 2007; Liu, Wang and Mol 2013; Enevoldsen and Sovacool 2016). I however seek to go beyond this literature due, what I consider, its restrictive methodological approaches and trivialization of communities' opposition to renewable energy infrastructure constructions. This scholarship attempts to transcend Not-in-my-backyard [NIMBY] approaches to understanding opposition to

² Literally translated as 'headwind'

renewable energy infrastructure. NIMBY “refers to the sentiment in which one supports something in general or in the abstract, but not if it is located close by” (Carley, Konisky, Atiq and Land 2020, 2). It has been critiqued for overlooking the social complexities fueling resistance (Devine-Wright 2012). Similar to NIMBY, ‘conventional’ social acceptance research trivializes opposition to this infrastructure. It frames renewable energy infrastructure, in its current form and implementation in a green capitalist context, as necessary to climate change³. It assumes oppositionists’ reasons for opposing the infrastructure are invalid, thus researching with the aim to foster ‘social acceptance’. This questions whether ‘conventional’ social acceptance scholarship can understand protestors’ “full range of reasons and ethical, social, political or personal rationales” (Aitken 2010, 1838).

‘Critical’ social acceptance scholarship seeks to overcome this trivialization by understanding social processes underpinning opposition without devising strategies to increase acceptance (Clausen and Rudolph 2019; Batel 2020; Batel and Rudolph 2021). Despite calls to adopt qualitative research methods such as ethnography (Batel 2020, 3), this scholarship continues the research practices of ‘conventional’ social acceptance consisting of interviews, surveys and polls restricting their understanding of opposition to arguments and opinions. I seek to go beyond ‘critical’ and ‘conventional’ social acceptance scholarship by approaching anti-windturbiners’ resistance as legitimate and capturing qualitative insights of the resistance through my methodology of participant-observation conducted with anti-windturbiners for two months in Norway.

³ Scholars have questioned the possibility of effectively addressing climate change solely by implementing renewable energy infrastructure whilst continuing capital accumulation (see Paterson and P-Laberge 2018; Foster et. al. 2010)

Through this thesis, I will distance myself from 'social acceptance' approaches and argue that the resistance to windturbines' destruction of anti-windturbines' 'place' becomes intertwined with wider political issues about the functioning of the Norwegian state and its initiatives, or lack thereof, to tackle climate change. This affects anti-windturbines' political subjectivity and their relation to the material environment - be that windturbines or their 'place'. Anti-windturbines' reasons for resisting the construction do not evolve in a linear causal manner, but that practices and reasons mutually reinforce each other.

The first section explores how many anti-windturbines' resistance begins from 'places', which they have intimate attachments to, being altered, or threatened to be, by the construction of windturbines. I will look at how from these experiences anti-windturbines develop a different, embodied understanding of windturbines' destructiveness. This is the starting point from which other reasons for opposing the construction evolve and practices part of the resistance develop. These evolving reasons are explored in the next section. I look at how, once anti-windturbines gain an awareness that 'places' are destroyed in multiple localities across Norway, their resistance becomes geared towards a critique of the Norwegian state's functioning. This critique emerges in their meetings with the state through windturbine infrastructure. It catalyzes the citizenship practices that anti-windturbines employ to dispute the construction of windturbines and through which they form a counter-narrative about windturbines. The fourth and third section explore this in further detail through looking at how citizenship practices change anti-windturbines' perception of the state and how this affects their political subjectivity as well as understanding of

'place'. Lastly, I examine anti-windturbines' critiques of windturbines as climate change infrastructure in Norway based on the experiences and knowledge acquired when their 'place' is destroyed, by their perception of the Norwegian state and through citizenship practices. Throughout this exploration I ask the following research questions: *why do anti-windturbines resist windturbines? How does the process of resisting change anti-windturbines? What do windturbines represent to anti-windturbines?*

Methodology

I conducted participant-observation for two months in Norway speaking Danish whilst interlocutors spoke Norwegian - languages so similar that communication was fairly easy. I stayed in Trondheim, the biggest city of Trøndelag, the region where most windturbine construction and protesting occurs. I visited people's 'hytter' (Norwegian cottages), joined demonstrations, spoke to politicians, went on coffee dates, hiked and foraged with anti-windturbines. I wanted to trace the resistance movement which brought me multiple places where resistance occurs across the country. This included Oslo, Frøya, Mosjøen, Selbu and Stjørdal. I conducted 12 semi-structured interviews of 2-4 hours each. I transcribed and subsequently open and focused coded the interviews and field notes (Emerson, Fretz and Shah 2011, 172). I joined the Facebook groups where anti-windturbines organize, analyzed key Norwegian state documents on wind power and interviewed a windturbine expert from the Norwegian Environment Agency. I will use the word anti-windturbines to refer to those I spoke to in my two months in Norway. I am therefore not making claims on behalf of everyone engaged in the resistance. The Sámi, the Indigenous people with

traditional territories within the borders of Finland, Norway, Sweden and Russia, have been resisting windturbine constructions since 1999. I was told this by one of three Sámi women dedicating their time to speak to me. Despite these conversations, I was not able to engage extensively with Sámi people's reasons for and ways of protesting. As I do not wish to speak on their behalf on such a small knowledge basis, I have not to include them in my thesis. I however far from wish to invisibilize them as this is as much, if not more, their story⁴.



Figure 2. Foraging

⁴ Sámi resistance to wind power is the continuation of a fight against colonization and oppressive practices within Norwegian borders (Fjellheim 2016; Fjellheim and Carl 2020; Normann 2020; Fjellheim 2020)

‘Place’ and Windturbines’ Destructiveness

Over a cup of coffee in Solveig’s⁵ living room I asked her whether it is different to walk in nature on Haramsøya, where her family originates, compared to elsewhere in Norway:

S: Yes, there is a difference, because I have the longest history there in a way. Both my personal and that of my ancestry. I feel as if it [Haramsøya] is mine, even though I know that it is not. But it feels like it is mine. But it is everyone’s. It is like I tried to explain to you on Øysand. I don’t just see it how it is now because I have with me my whole history.

C: Is it part of how you see the island or the beach or the mountain?

S: Yes, all the memories are there with me when I am there. I am dreading the collision between these, and now when I have to walk on the mountain and it [the windturbine complex] is fully constructed on Haramsøya. I don’t know if I will be able to handle it. But I feel an obligation to do it. [...] I am afraid that it will... I reckon that it will have a big impact physically. That I will feel it in a very physical way on the body. I don’t know how my body will react, if I can endure it.

⁵ All interviewees are anonymised with names from the top 100 male and female Norwegian names.

I wondered how the windturbine constructions on Haramsøya affect her as the 'place' holds many profound memories.

S: If it was just nature that was being ruined, then I could have found myself another place that has beautiful nature which is not ruined. But my ancestors come from this exact place. There is no other place. They come from there. That cannot be replaced.

Solveig's experience of Haramsøya is intertwined with the memories this 'place' enshrines. Visiting the island is an experience of returning to an area where Solveig's familial and personal history has unfolded - not just a beautiful landscape. No other locality can provide this. Most anti-windturbines I met had such attachments to 'places'. Many became anti-windturbines when these were threatened to be altered by windturbines. Others, opposing for different reasons, empathized with the destruction of 'places', having themselves such attachments to a locality.

I am using 'place' to describe an intimate relationship many anti-windturbines have with localities affected, or threatened to be, by windturbines constructions. It is shaped by the memories these 'places' hold and a profound knowledge of them. It affects how anti-windturbines experience 'places' and the meaning they attach to them. They are not the only developing such relationships with localities (Nagendra and Sen 2019; Rodman 1992; Escobar 2001; Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003; Basso 1996). Place-making as a process of forming intimate relationships is one aspect explored by scholarship. Moving through localities, constructing narratives

about them (Escobar 2001), recollecting ancestral histories and memories in them (Basso 1996), and altering them (Nagendra and Sen 2019) are ways place-making occurs. A locality is transformed into 'place' when "people form meaningful relationships with the locales they occupy" (Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003, 13). Another aspect of place-making is the politicality of the process. The production of 'place' emerges from multiple, different, and sometimes oppositional meanings, attachments and identities tied to 'place' (Escobar 2001, 152-153; Svašek and Komarova 2018). I will return to the difference between these aspects in the section about tracing infrastructural activities.

Many anti-windturbiners have place-attachments to where their houses and 'hytter' are located. This became apparent to me when I visited Helge and his family in their 'hytte' on the mountain, Tumfjellet⁶. We went for a day hike together. Not long passed before the family stopped and announced that the two dead tree trunks in front of us marked the mountain's entrance. One was lying on the ground; the other was leaning on a tree. We ducked through the triangle they formed. We stopped at the 'internet tree' which marks the nearest spot for Wi-Fi from their 'hytte'. The 'resting stone', 'tree that did not want to grow' and best chanterelle picking area are other spots name-given and commonly known amongst the family.

"We have a lot of memories. When you have walked in an area for [...] more than 30 years, then you get very well acquainted. You know every stone which lies up there and every tree. [...] The kids talk about the tree where grandad had plans of building a 'hytte'. [...] Enormous old pine tree on the

⁶ To protect Helge's anonymity I fabricated the mountain's name

mountain. It is beside the pathway. It is a fine spot to sit down and have some chocolate”

The family’s experience of Tumfjellet is shaped by the inter-generational memories enshrined, how they usually move through and alter it. The name-giving practices and Helge’s narrative showcase this. The shared knowledge about the chanterelle picking spot for example attests to the family’s practice of altering the landscape by picking mushroom springing from its soil. Although each family member experiences Tumfjellet differently, they share a unique reality and knowledge through which they experience the mountain. It is a reality I only glimpsed during our hike, but as a stranger to the ‘place’ I far from held the same attachments to the mountain.

Embodied Destructiveness



Figure 3. Frøya protestors’ camp

From this place-attachment, an embodied experience of windturbines' destructiveness emerges amongst many anti-windturbiners. Embodiment is a process of knowing and experiencing through the body. As a concept 'embodiment' explores "the body [...] as lived experience, and as a center of agency, a location for speaking and acting on the world" (Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003, 2). The body becomes a center through which windturbines' destructiveness is experienced. One evening on Frøya, the main organizing group of anti-windturbiners had a get-together with hot dogs and all the sauces needed for such a dinner. We met in the protesters' camp. The day after, Karoline and Christian told me they had gone to bed at 9 pm straight after coming home from the get-together. Every time they are near the windturbines, an immense tiredness descends upon them as if the windturbines are sucking the energy out of them. Before the concession to build windturbines on Tumfjellet was rejected, Helge embodied a similar sense of destruction when walking on the mountain. His anticipatory sense manifested itself through the sadness filling him when on the mountain. It came to life through a different way of seeing his 'place'. The reality he and his family share was affected when he imagined how the windturbines would alter the landscape:

"I walked and saw for me the terrain, where they would build roads and where they might place the construction scaffolding and where the windturbines might be placed. [...]"

Helge told me, the changes to the environment would have made it unbearable to set foot in the 'place' he has walked for over 30 years. Similarly, many anti-

windturbines avoid looking at and being in windturbine complexes. The pain and mental impact are too big.

The alterations, or potentiality thereof, to anti-windturbines' 'place' enables a different understanding of windturbines' destructiveness. Many told me they had seen windturbines before on TV, when driving past them or in other countries. They did not mind the windturbines' aesthetic alterations to the landscape. Only once their own 'place' was threatened or underwent changes did they realize windturbines' the imminent destructiveness. Only reading about it, as many Norwegians do, provides a different knowledge basis to understand windturbines' effects. This is partly why, many anti-windturbines say, other Norwegians cannot properly understand windturbines' destruction of nature. There are several, converging reasons for anti-windturbines sense of immanent destructiveness. An important aspect is their place-attachment depending "on the geography and architecture of the places themselves" (Gieryn 2000, 481; Nagendra and Sen 2019, 415). The meaning, memories and intimate knowledge creating place-attachments emerge from the localities' specific composition and relationality. 'The internet tree', 'Resting stone' and "mountain entrance" attests to this. Windturbines will inevitably unmake the particular composition of 'places', thus changing or removing parts of the 'place' holding specific memories and enabling certain ways of moving through the landscape.

That many anti-windturbines' resistance emerges from their 'place' being destroyed, or threatened to be so, far from makes it NIMBYism. NIMBYism reduces people's opposition to infrastructure to selfishness. It assumes that if constructed elsewhere, oppositionists would support it (Carley, Konisky, Atiq and Land 2020). Describing the

destruction of 'place' as solely selfish simplifies the complexity of why anti-windturbiners resist the destruction of their 'place'. This includes the intergenerational memories and their intimate relationship to these localities. Differently from what NIMBYism assumes, anti-windturbiners resist windturbine constructions in general. This is why many travel across the country to support resistances occurring elsewhere.

Not everyone joining the resistance against windturbines faces the threat or actualization of their 'place' being altered by this infrastructure. Some join because they disagree with the Norwegian state's handling of windturbine constructions, others are concerned about the biodiversity crisis, and some are outraged by the breach of Sámi people's Indigenous rights. Those directly affected by the construction of windturbines and joining for other reasons often start organizing with the wider, national resistance movement which gained momentum in 2018. The struggle limited to 'place' or a personal reason becomes enmeshed in a web of protests occurring across Norway. What before was a multitude of different, individual reasons for joining intermesh through the experiences of resisting windturbines. Whilst still anchored in the destruction of 'place', the critique of windturbine constructions goes beyond this to being a multitude of problematic, overlapping aspects about the functioning of the Norwegian state, its pursuit of economic growth and handling of climate change. These critiques emerge from the perception of the Norwegian state which anti-windturbiners form by meeting it through windturbine infrastructure. Next, I turn to how they 'meet' the state, which perceptions they form and how this relates to their previous relationships with it.

‘Meeting’ the Norwegian State

“It was evident that things were happening in multiple places, but given that it was secret and made confidential, it was not easy to understand how big it was” (Helge)

Once an awareness developed that multiple, similar protests were occurring across the country, the destruction, or potential destruction, of ‘place’ acquired a different meaning. The public and social media attraction gained by Frøya protests in 2018 made anti-windturbines aware that the destruction was not a localized, one-off experience of unfairness, but a systematic occurrence perpetuated by companies whose activities are shaped by the Norwegian state’s wind power regulatory framework. The Norwegian state’s priorities became a main reason for why windturbines are constructed whilst disregarding the wellbeing of communities. The state’s disregard is also experienced during the local processes of concession approval and windturbine installation. For some anti-windturbines, the inadequacy of the Norwegian state is an added reason for their resistance, whilst for others it is the spark that lit their engagement. Common, is that meeting the Norwegian state through windturbine infrastructure changes their perception of and relationship with it.

Anti-windturbines are not the only subjects whose relationship to their state is mediated through infrastructure. Infrastructure often functions as a medium for meetings. This is the case with water infrastructure and toilets in Mumbai (Anand 2017; McFarlane 2019), prepaid water meters in Soweto (Von Schnitzel 2016) and

house communes in the Soviet Union (Humphrey 2005). Whether infrastructure is granted, how it is constructed and the bureaucratic processes surrounding this, reflects the state's attempts to shape its subjects and how it 'sees them' (Scott 1998). These processes also shape how subjects 'see the state' (Corbridge et. al. 2005). Anti-windturbines meet different parts of the Norwegian state to whom their relationship differs. This is the case with municipalities which, for some anti-windturbines, are considered caught in-between powerful actors' interests such as the government and companies. Others view municipalities as complicit with the government in catering to companies' interests. Whilst this points to how anti-windturbines do not perceive the Norwegian state as "discrete or singular" (2005, 5), these meetings with different parts of the Norwegian state nonetheless lead anti-windturbines to form an overall impression about the political system. This perception is one of companies, both municipality-owned and private, being given the steering wheel in a boat they should not sail.

This view is made possible by the Norwegian neoliberal context in which windturbine constructions has occurred. A topic I will return to shortly. Neoliberalism is a political apparatus set up to work in many ways, with different effects and to varied extents (Gane 2020; Venugopal 2015). In the context of the Norwegian state's approach to climate change and energy politics, neoliberalism emerges as a way of governing where the state "create[s] and sustain[s] the environment in which the market discipline could work" (Cammack 2001, 173). The market becomes a main driver to solve climate change and drive infrastructural energy construction with the Norwegian state's support (OED 2016; OED 2020; KLD 2021). This is evident in for example a document by the Ministry of Petroleum and Energy saying the

government believes that the operation of energy systems and energy trade should as far as possible be based on market-based solutions (OED 2016, 8).

This neoliberal approach has shaped the regulatory framework surrounding wind power. Companies have driven the construction of windturbines with support and incentives from the state. Since the 3 TWh target in 1998, different support schemes were implemented over the years to facilitate this process and increase the rate of construction (Vasstrøm and Lysgård 2021). The Green Certificate Scheme was one of these where the Norwegian state subsidized 13,2 TWh of renewable energy (2021, 4).

Catering to companies' interests instead of citizens' or nature's is a defining feature of how anti-windturbines 'see' the state in their meeting with it through windturbines. This view is formed through experiencing the legal apparatus crumbling, loosening or being altered to accommodate companies' interests.

"The rule of law is threatened [...] You cannot have such a [green] transition without having the rule of law

[...]

It is a thoroughly rottenly bad system. My explanation is that they mix administration, public administration, and business. It is sauced together. That which should be a public concern, to take care of people, is left to the constructors who are not interested in it." (Eli)

Eli is not the only anti-windturbiner whose windturbine resistance is primarily fueled by concerns about the de-prioritization of people and nature. Anti-windturbiners observed several cases where companies were allowed to act differently than ordinary people to accommodate their needs. One of these is the disregard towards the white-tailed eagle's nests on Frøya. This is a bird whose secrecy and rareness anti-windturbiners on Frøya have grown up respecting. Egil explained, constructors were allowed to build the windturbines close to existing nests during the white-tailed eagle's nesting period. Two disruptions ordinary people would never be allowed to make.

Anti-windturbiners also experience a concession approval process and planning phase where their concerns are overlooked. Inger went to a meeting with the constructors on Frøya:

“It was a very weird meeting. We were not allowed to ask questions. There was a constructor who informed us that a project was planned and then we were allowed to see some paintings and models which he had with him, but it was not permitted to ask questions in plenary for example”

The absence of adequate state regulatory frameworks on windturbine construction, how companies can obtain the concession and the amount of information they have to give shapes anti-windturbiners experience of the state which is mediated through the constructors. “The state comes into view” for anti-windturbiners through its absence (Corbridge et. al. 2005, 7).

The state's disregard towards anti-windturbines' voices is also experienced when anti-windturbines directly confront state representatives such as politicians with their discontent. This disregard is often experienced as a consequence of accommodating companies' needs. This is the case for Annette. She embodies the destructiveness of windturbines through rashes, sleepless nights and constant nervousness. To her, and other anti-windturbines like her, the Norwegian state is responsible for this embodied destructiveness. In Annette's meeting with parliamentary representatives on Nordre Gata she experienced an evasion of this responsibility. In the run up to the elections, every party had a stand on Nordre Gata, a street in Trondheim. Anti-windturbines organized a meet-up to go from stand to stand speaking and questioning politicians about windturbines' harmful effects. Annette continuously shared how the windturbines affected her and voiced concerns about their general health impacts. At best, politicians agreed more research needed to have been done before installing the windturbines.

Windturbines: Shining Light on the Obscure State

The Norwegian state which comes to view through its absences and presences creates a perception amongst anti-windturbines that light has been shone on aspects of the political apparatus previously in darkness. For some, this political world always existed. For others, it came into existence as a product of windturbine constructions. In both cases the windturbines have catalyzed the surfacing of a political world operating in obscurity.

“It is a reality we are not used to. We have gotten an insight into a world which we were not supposed to see” (Helge).

“There is something happening which I don’t understand. I don’t recognize Norway. I don’t recognize what is happening. It is weird” (Eli).

“I think that it has always been like this. It is just now that we are uncovering it, that it is like that” (Inger).

These perceptions are affected by and enmeshed with expectations of how the Norwegian state should be working. Anti-windturbiners judge its actions from previous experiences with energy infrastructures. The importance of the past in assessing the state and infrastructure in the present has been pointed out by scholars (Barry 2013, 10). “We always see the state [...] with close regard for past memories” (Corbridge et. al. 2005, 8). Windturbines are not the first energy infrastructure to significantly expand in Norway. Oil, gas and hydropower are other energy infrastructures which have played important roles in Norway, affecting its economy, landscapes and inhabitants. Hydropower was developed in the late 1800 and the last sizable expansions ended in the 1970s. The cheap energy is considered a backbone of Norway’s industrial development (Vasstrøm and Lysgård 2021, 4). Oil resources were first found on the Norwegian shelf in the early 1960s. The oil industry has since boomed, contributing with an estimated 16.500 billion (current NOK) to the GDP (OED 2021; “The Government’s” 2022). Many Norwegian state documents often mention that Norway is an energy nation (OED 2021; OED 2016).

The loosening of regulatory frameworks between these energy infrastructures and windturbines form the backdrop upon which the state is perceived. This does not mean anti-windturbines unquestionably view oil and hydropower infrastructures as positive. They often condemn their harmful impacts on the climate and environment. There is nonetheless a generally more positive understanding of these infrastructures' regulatory frameworks. One such case is the difference in payment for the 'use of nature'. With hydropower, constructors must pay for using the rivers and surrounding nature ("Taxation of the" 2017). Only until recently, has applying this policy to windturbines been considered (OED 2021, 7). Anti-windturbines also perceive the oil and hydropower as more beneficial for Norwegians' economic welfare. Through ownership structures, these energy infrastructures were created with the intention to enrich the Norwegian nation. The changes between windturbine infrastructure and that of oil and hydro can be attributed to Norway's liberalization of its energy market. This was undertaken in the 1990s (Vasstrøm and Lysgård 2021, 7).

Anti-windturbines' sense of discovering a Norwegian state whose obscurity they had not experienced is a product of a previously privileged position vis-a-vis the political apparatus. Seeing the state as a stakeholder which should act in your interest, is a privilege many marginalized communities, that are a minorities and racialized, have never enjoyed. Rather, the state is representative of neglect and repressive power (Corbridge et. al. 2005; Nelson 2010; Dasgupta 2019; Roberts 2017). This is the case with Indigenous people in Cucapá, Mexico, who live under water scarcity due to a state treaty directing more than 90% of the Colorado river water into the United States (Muehlmann 2012). Similarly, in South Africa, township residents' protests

against the installation of prepaid water meters “became a site for the articulation of long-standing questions about the promise of citizenship in the post-apartheid period” (Von Schnitzel 2016, 26).

That anti-windturbiners often express a sense of meeting an unexpected Norwegian state makes visible their assumption that the state should their concerns and well-being. This is a relationship which groups in Norway such as the Sámi people never had the privilege of having. The Norwegian government’s disregard for their livelihoods, culture and rights has amongst others manifested itself through infrastructure. Windturbines is one amongst a myriad of infrastructures which historically has encroached their territory and continues to do so. It is colonialism turned green (Fjellheim and Carl 2020). Hydropower plants, ‘hytter’ and mines are some infrastructural and raw material extraction sites which dispossess Sámi people making them unable to continue their reindeer herding practices (Normann 2021; Fjellheim 2016; Arctic Circle 2020). For them, the regulatory framework surrounding hydropower plants is not better than that of windturbines, but a continuation of the repressive policies they have endured since the creation of the Norwegian state.

Through the construction of windturbines, anti-windturbiners see a Norwegian state who disregards their well-being, that of others and nature to accommodate companies’ interests. Anti-windturbiners’ critique of the Norwegian state’s prioritization is part of anti-windturbiners’ multiple reasons for disputing windturbine constructions. How they do so, in what way it further shapes their perception of the state and how it becomes part of their citizenship is explored next.

Contestatory Citizenship

Anti-windturbiners' mode of citizenship changed in their meeting with the Norwegian state through windturbines. A contestatory citizenship emerged. Interpreting citizenship as solely a legal status overlooks the complex aspects making up the relationship between subjects and the organizers of their political community, be that the state, city, municipality or trade unions (see Lazar and Nuijten 2013). That citizenship is more than a legal status also emerges in anthropological scholarship (Lemanski 2019; Shelton 2017; Isin 2009; McFarlane 2019; Von Schnitzel 2016). In the context of Mumbai settlers, Anand (2017) has explored how gaining formal citizenship does not equate to gaining goods, services, and rights, also known as substantive citizenship. Ong (1996) has looked at how rich and poor Asian immigrants in the United States engage, and are made to, with certain practices to be accepted as cultural citizens. Common to these scholars, is that citizenship is seen as "inherently a political relationship" between subjects and their given political community (Lemanski 2019, 1). Only through understanding citizenship in an expansive way is it possible to trace how anti-windturbiners' relationship to the Norwegian state changed. It is a relationship of obligations and expectations between both parties.

Infrastructure is a way through which the political relationship of citizenship is mediated. For states to provide substantive citizenship, the provisioning of basic services such as water, energy and transportation is necessary. This can only be achieved through the presence of infrastructure. In this way, states influence whether and how substantive citizenship is experienced. This points to some of the top-down

processes of 'making' citizenship which extend beyond the provisioning of infrastructure (Lazar and Nuijten 2013; Hacking 1996; Foucault 1977, 2008). Infrastructure also mediates bottom-up aspects of citizenship. As explored in the last section, subjects' interpretation of their relationship with the state by meeting it through infrastructure changes how they position vis-à-vis the state. It is also a medium through which citizens' expectations and claims to the state can be articulated. This occurred when Soweto township residents dug out pipes laid out for the installation of new water infrastructure and prepaid water meters to protest bad local governance (Von Schnitzel 2016, 65). In sum, citizenship affects the practices, views and emotions with which subjects relate to the state changing their political subjectivity (T.M. Luhmann 2006 and Biehl et. al. 2007)⁷.

Through disputing the Norwegian state's enabling of windturbine constructions, anti-windturbiners position themselves as citizens of the Norwegian state. Their focus is not on articulating their claims through a language of rights, thus constituting themselves as people "with the 'right to claim rights'" (Isin 2009, 371). This contrasts much literature which uses citizenship to understand processes where claims using the language of rights are made (Von Schnitzel 2016, 5; Shelton 2017, 424; Lemanski 2019, 2-9; Anand 2017, 149; McFarlane 2019). Instead, anti-windturbiners mostly articulate expectations to their relationship with the Norwegian state through its failure to meet their expectations. As explored, these unmet expectations consist in the de-prioritisation of nature and people to meet companies' needs. That this is not caused by a lack of infrastructure provisioning basic services as often occurs in

⁷ I focus on unpacking how anti-windturbiners' citizenship is affected by their resistance instead of tracing whether these are products of bottom-up and top-down processes.

less wealthier contexts (see Harvey and Knox 2015; Anand 2017) points to the wealthy context in which they articulate their claims. How anti-windturbiners formulate expectations to the state and an entitlement to contest its actions are a sign of a changing citizenship, a product of anti-windturbiners' changed perception of the Norwegian state.

For many, although not all, anti-windturbiners it is their first time actively contesting state actions, at least to such an extent. Many gain a contestatory citizenship previously not occupied. Its practices consist in demonstrating, confronting police, and challenging politicians face-to-face with their decisions. Protesting often leads to new or fuels existing reasons for engaging in these activities. Erling's dad is one anti-windturbiner whose political subjectivity was activated and manifested itself in contestatory practices.

“He has been a carpenter his whole life. He works, comes home, eats dinner, takes an afternoon nap, smokes, drinks coffee and watches tv. That is his life. Never protested about anything.”

Erling was therefore very surprised when his dad's car rolled in amongst many others to delay the windturbine constructions on Frøya.

“Suddenly I saw my dad's car [...] I was on the verge of tears when I saw that he came. Then the police arrived. They yelled that if people do not move their cars, they will get a fine. No one moved their car. After the protest we organized a fundraiser to cover the fines. The money came in. [...] Then I said

to my dad, you can just come with your fine, then I will pay. “No”. That was the proof that he had been a protestor. He was going to frame it and hang it on his wall.”

The windturbine constructions on Frøya changed how Erling’s dad positions himself and interacts with the state via its police. It led to a direct confrontation with the police, one previously never had. Not all anti-windturbiners are unfamiliar with protesting. Some have engaged in protesting for gender equality, against nuclear energy and other environmental destruction. Almost everyone however told me they have never partaken in such wide-scale protests affecting their lives so profoundly.



Figure 4. Anti-windturbiners protesting by the Norwegian Parliament

Contesting. Facing. Perceiving the State

This contestatory citizenship increases the frequency of anti-windturbiners’ face-to-face meetings with the Norwegian state through the police and politicians. This

happened when walking down Nordre Gata. Anti-windturbines held party members, municipality politicians and members of parliament responsible for windturbine constructions. Both times I participated, anti-windturbines challenged politicians' stances on windturbines amongst others by identifying their unaccounted procedural considerations about the disposal of windturbines. This included who would be responsible for dismantling the complex once the concession runs out and whether the non-recyclable windturbine blades will be buried in landfills. In engaging in these practices, anti-windturbines actively vented their dissatisfaction whilst also attempting to shape their political context. Meeting politicians dismantled the authority anti-windturbines previously attributed to them. Their unaccounted gaps and lack of knowledge on certain areas, left many anti-windturbines with the feeling that politicians do not have more expertise. It also further fueled a sense of disregard as was the case with Anette. These contestatory practices change the dynamic of anti-windturbines political relationship with the state.

The next section turns to how anti-windturbines distrust towards the state materialized and was perpetuated through tracing the infrastructural activities enabled and produced by the Norwegian state. It also explores how this changes anti-windturbines' relationship to their 'place' whilst also affecting their understanding of the role of windturbines in addressing climate change and fueling the biodiversity crisis within Norway.

Citizenship Practices: Tracing Infrastructure

“We knew that agreements had been made between the constructor and Frøya municipality which were not public. There were talks about constructing new roads through Flatval where we were just driving. That road was a result of the negotiations between the constructor and Frøya municipality. The harbor in Nord Hammervik was also part of the agreement.

[...]

Everyone knew that when the construction of that road and harbor area on Nord Hammervik happened it was part of that agreement, but no one [relevant stakeholders] wanted to say it was part of the agreement.” (Inger)

After taking a sip of coffee, I asked how Inger thinks windturbine construction fits with other infrastructural developments.

“It is part of the same. We want more and more and more which we think is better, becomes better, but I don’t think that. We won’t stop having car crashes if we drive 110. Deaths in traffic will continue, but some people can be happier about driving 110 km/h. I think that we don’t need it. We ruin so much nature, moss, fertile earth, homes so that the road will not have to curve, and then we have thousands of roads which need improvement because they are dangerous.”

Inger's infrastructural awareness is directed towards two types of infrastructural development. One is those which precede the construction of windturbines, signaling their erection. The other concerns those infrastructural developments whose value Inger is contesting as with windturbines. She is specifically speaking about the newly constructed E6 highway running through much of Norway and enabling higher driving speeds. These are two important aspects of anti-windturbines' citizenship practices of tracing explored in this section.

Tracing infrastructure pursued and enabled by the Norwegian state is part of and a product of the contestatory citizenship, but its practices are distinct. It is a product of anti-windturbines' distrust towards the Norwegian state which develops in their meetings with it. The obscurity surrounding its operations creates a need amongst anti-windturbines to trace that which they experienced would otherwise not be communicated to them. The dismantlement of politicians' authority through meeting them in places like Nordre Gata opened an already slightly open door to question the legitimacy of the state's claim to address climate change with windturbines.

Contextualizing windturbines to wider infrastructural developments pursued and enabled by the Norwegian state helped challenge this.

It consists of tracing infrastructure preceding and needed to construct windturbines. Electrical transmission lines is one such infrastructure. Anti-windturbines have experienced that electrical transmission lines are expanded before they are informed about plans to construct windturbines. To erect windturbines, the presence of the grid is necessary. Its management and expansion are allocated to the state-owned

company Statnett (Statnett 2018a; Statnett 2018b) who ensures constructors have access to the electricity grid where the windturbine complex is located. Tall electrical transmission lines also alter the status of the land as it can no longer be considered 'intervention-free'⁸ nature (Miljødirektoratet n.d.) making it likelier for windturbine concessions to be approved.

Helge brought this to my attention when he and I were on top of the mountain near his family's 'hytte'. I looked out and saw a beautiful landscape filled with mountains, valleys, and woods. Helge pointed towards a mountain and told me it hosted a windturbine complex. He turned towards a mountain in the other direction. Another windturbine complex was located there. Tumfjellet was in between these making him and his wife Kjersti worried windturbines would be constructed on it. This is despite the fact that a request for a concession has been rejected by the municipality. Helge explained it is likely that electrical transmission lines will be installed on Tumfjellet to connect the two windturbine complexes. This will increase the chances of windturbine constructions on Tumfjellet because the area is no longer considered 'intervention-free'.

Helge's tracing of yet-to-be-visible electrical transmission lines affects his political subjectivity. A "cultivation of a mode of being" where "inward reworkings of the world" occurs (Biehl et. al. 2007, 6, 15). The mountains, valleys and woods turn into possible sites for infrastructural development. Generators, electrical transmission lines and windturbines can change the landscape he has known for over 30 years. The nature no longer only reminds Helge of the memories forming part of his place-

⁸ Translated from Norwegian: 'inngrepsfri natur'

attachment. It is stained by the potentiality of windturbines' destructiveness. His 'place' has transformed into a territory. Here, I borrow from Svašek and Komarova's distinction between 'place' and territory where the latter is "understood as a process of claiming and bordering areas by a particular group" - in this case the borders of the Norwegian state (Svašek and Komarova 2018, 8). Helge's 'place' becomes a space where the Norwegian state is enabling the possible intervention of companies, private and public. Helge shares his changed way of seeing 'place' with other anti-windturbines. Anti-windturbines become subjects of the state, not just hikers, foragers or people residing in 'hytter'.

The tracing of infrastructure preceding the windturbine constructions such as electrical transmission arise from and further contribute to the perception that the Norwegian state operates in obscurity. Anti-windturbines have previously experienced infrastructure preceding windturbine constructions as part of agreements between municipalities, the state and constructor companies. This is evident with Inger's experience on Frøya where the harbor and roads were constructed before the windturbines. These infrastructures become the visible outcome of obscure agreements enabling the construction of yet-to-be-visible windturbines. Tracing infrastructures preempting windturbines is a way in which anti-windturbines attempt to shine light on the agreements experienced to happen in obscurity. The anticipation of these invisible-to-become-visible windturbines combined with the construction of preemptive infrastructures creates a sense that windturbines could surface anywhere, anytime. Many landscapes, beyond anti-windturbines' 'place', transform into sites of intervention for companies, private and public.

Contextualizing Windturbines

Anti-windturbiners are also aware of and monitor the construction of infrastructure not directly needed to construct windturbines. This is particularly the case with environmentally harmful infrastructures or those hosting energy intensive economic activities. This includes the E6 highway, crypto factories, modern 'hytter' and battery factories. Anti-windturbiners from across Norway share information about the materialization of these infrastructures in Norway creating an awareness amongst themselves of their existence on the territory.

The tracing has two effects. The infrastructure hosting energy intensive economic activities changes the meaning of wind power from one needed to curb greenhouse gas emissions to one fueling increased economic activities. It is not replacing fossil fuels but expanding the amount of energy. A trend pinpointed by other than anti-windturbiners as common for renewable energy production (TNI 2021). The windturbines therefore become a sign of the Norwegian state's contradictory climate change policies because windturbines are seen as providing the energy needed for increased energy consumption instead of replacing fossil fuels.

The second effect is that windturbines become one amongst many unnecessary infrastructural constructions harming the environment enabled by the Norwegian state.

“All of a sudden one needs to drive 110 km/h. When did that become a requirement? Then they manage to make it green by saying “it is effective and therefore green”. Then it is faster for a mom who needs to pick up her kids from the kindergarden, she will drive further on the liter if she drives 100 instead of 80. It is completely absurd. How can that be green? It pollutes. You use more fuel and you consume more asphalt and then you must build bigger roads.”

The construction of these infrastructures comes at the expense of nature. The E6 has been planned by ‘Nye Veie’ to run through a legally protected nature reserve (Holø 2020). This state-owned company was recently established to plan and construct roads in Norway. Furthermore, new ‘hytter’ are responsible for a fourth of all human-induced nature conversion to built environment in Norway (Statistics sentralbyrå 2020). When anti-windturbiners spoke about these infrastructures, their descriptions were often those of an overly visible presence in the landscapes. From this infrastructural awareness windturbines emerge as part of the unnecessary continued expansion of the built environment at the expense of nature. Windturbines are one of the biggest drivers of this as they confiscate vast areas. Windturbine constructions are often described as the biggest industrial development in Norway’s modern times.

A sense of infrastructural surplus emerges amongst many anti-windturbiners due to infrastructures’ environmental harmfulness and the perception that they do not improve living standards. They become the product of the Norwegian state’s incorrect prioritization. Anti-windturbiners will for example point out that the highway

simply enables drivers to speed up from 80 km/h to 110 km/h. The ability to do so does not truly improve drivers' living standards. It is unnecessary especially when at the expense of biodiversity. These infrastructures also become the product of the Norwegian state's pursuit of too much economic growth. Håkon mentioned he drove on roads recently constructed further south in the country by 'Nye Veie'. Rather than building tunnels and making the road follow the hilly landscape, as Håkon said usually is the case, 'Nye Veie' maintained the road at a constant height. This involved constructing bridges and making the roads go over rather than through hills. A much greater disruption to the landscape occurred. Håkon explained, this was to save money as building tunnels and making the roads follow the hills is more expensive.

These infrastructures become representative of the overly-materialization of Norwegian society. The Norwegian state's continued pursuit of economic growth is seen unnecessary⁹. Solveig mentioned how despite her childhood being poorer than her current living standards, she and her family had not missed anything. Instead of going on holidays abroad, they visited extended family on Haramsøya. So many lived in one house that Solveig and her cousin one summer had to sleep under the staircase. No one desired anything else. Many anti-windturbiners share Solveig's experience of growing up in a Norway less richened by oil money. They were far from living in poverty. At that time they were simply not living in the overly rich country which Norway has become today. Teslas, 'hytter' and multiple yearly overbroad holiday trips are everyday life for many, although far from all, Norwegians

⁹ This opinion is not shared by all anti-windturbiners. Some think pursuing economic growth is inevitable.

(Klesty 2022). This extravagance is identified by anti-windturbiners as excessive. That windturbines and related infrastructures represent the overly-materialization of Norwegian society differs from ethnographies undertaken in less wealthy contexts where “infrastructures are [also] aspirational and carry great promise” of modernity and progress (see Harvey and Knox 2015, 6). In contesting the necessity of these infrastructures, anti-windturbiners protest and engage with the Norwegian state’s prioritizations.

A Territorial Awareness

A territorial awareness emerges from the practice of tracing. The monitoring of infrastructures preceding the construction of yet-to-be-visible windturbines turns ‘places’ and landscapes into possible sites of intervention for companies. The sovereign power of the Norwegian state’s ability to shape these locations is part of how anti-windturbiners experience them. Both as a consequence of state-owned companies intervening and enabling private companies to do so.

This points to how windturbine constructions is a conflicting political process of state and capital forces treating locations as space in contrast to anti-windturbiners’ experience of them as ‘place’. When choosing where to locate windturbines, the Norwegian government does not base its choices on inhabitants’ place-attachments formed through memories, intimate knowledge and meaning given to these areas. The government for example released a report which assessed where in Norway it would be most beneficial to construct windturbines (NVE 2019). These localities were chosen amongst others based on the availability of the electrical grid, noise

effects on neighboring people, wind quality and landscape value. The latter factor encompasses the extent to which a specific type of nature exists in other parts of Norway and how common it is (OED 2020, 61; NVE 2019, 127). The Norwegian government treated these windturbine locations as separate from “the bodies that occupy” them “and from the particularities that these bodies lent to the places they inhabit” (Escobar 2001, 143). It relates to them as space rather than ‘place’. Space is dissociated from the people “that occupy it and from the particularities that these bodies lent to the places they inhabit”, thus not holding the same meaningful and intimate relationship with localities as ‘place’ does (2001, 143).

The distinction between the Norwegian state’s treatment of anti-windturbines’ ‘place’ as space showcases the importance of narrowing the definition of ‘place’ compared to its use within place-making scholarship. Part of place-making scholarship highlights how localities are shaped through multiple actors’ different ambitions and interests in areas (Escobar 2001; Rodman 1992; Svašek and Komarova 2018). This differs from scholarship which explores how place-attachments arise from ways of moving, knowing and altering localities. The scholarship treats ‘place’ in two different ways as highlighted by Arturo Escobar (2001, 152-153). The politicality of anti-windturbines’ place-making arises because the Norwegian state treats the localities as space. It is exactly because the state is not prioritizing how these localities are a ‘place’, as in having intimate attachments to it, that the politicality of the process emerges. Hence, instead of anti-windturbines’ ‘place’ being a product of multiple, sometimes conflicting, understandings and attachments to them, it should be thought of as a contradiction between treating locations as ‘place’ versus space.

Anti-windturbiners' territorial awareness also emerges from attempts to trace infrastructural activities that are environmentally harmful or hosting energy intensive economic activity. These are happening in multiple places within the country creating an awareness of energetic flows and environmental destruction across the Norwegian territory. This is partly a product of the

Figure 5. Location of Windturbine Complexes in Norway (NVE n.d.)



materiality of windturbines. The incorporation of windturbines in the energy supply requires state planning to avoid over-burdening the electricity grid, transportation lengths that are too far or the over-production of electricity in certain areas. Their construction in Norway has therefore taken place across the country as evident in Figure 5. This has shaped the network of windturbine resistance existing across Norway and thereby the sharing of information about the construction of infrastructure hosting energy intensive economic activities in various locations within the state. It has also made the infrastructural project one that is state-wide similarly to that of environmentally harmful infrastructures such as roads. They are the product of the same unnecessary pursuit of economic growth.

Next, I turn to how anti-windturbiners critique windturbines as being capital accumulation, rather than climate change, infrastructure. This emerges from the experiences and knowledge gained through the destruction of 'place', meeting an

unexpected state and tracing of infrastructure. I explore how anti-windturbines experience a silence reigning within Norwegian society about their critique.

Windturbines: Capital Accumulation Infrastructure

Windturbines' negative effects and GHG emitting activities simultaneously happening within Norway seize to make it a climate change infrastructure in the eyes of anti-windturbines. There are many and different negative effects anti-windturbines associate with windturbines. I will outline a few. One is windturbines' destruction of nature. Many anti-windturbines highlight that climate change is not the only crisis affecting the planet. The biodiversity crisis is another (IPBES 2019). These crises are intertwined, creating a planetary crisis, as scholars have pointed out through models such as the planetary boundary framework (Röckström et. al. 2009). Windturbines have often been constructed in areas where human presence was either limited or in a regenerative relationship with nature as is the case with Sámi people's reindeer herding. Anti-windturbines point to how windturbines negatively affect animal and plant life. A problem whose cumulative effects, combined with it causing a change in land use, are part of a wider trend known to exacerbate the biodiversity and climate change crisis (IPCC 2019; May, Jackson, Middel, Stokke and Verones 2021; May, Middel, Stokke, Jackson and Verones 2020). The sense of destruction is enhanced amongst many anti-windturbines due to their intimate knowledge of 'places' and their particularities. 'A nature' is not only destroyed, but one whose particularity they know.



Figure 6. Tattoo of a bird disassembling a windturbine



Figure 7. It strikes back at the harm windturbines inflict on it

Windturbines' inadequacy to address climate change is worsened by their role as energy expanding infrastructure making them an activity supporting the Norwegian state's continued pursuit of economic growth. This understanding emerges from the tracing of infrastructures hosting energy intensive economic activities and the overproduction of electricity currently happening in Norway. This electricity is exported to other countries and sold to companies such as Google, Facebook and Alcoa (Froggatt, Stevens and Bradley 2020, 29; Normann 2021, 79). Many anti-windturbines think that continued capital accumulation is incompatible with effectively addressing climate change and the biodiversity crisis due to the expanding need for energy and increased consumption. An opinion shared with scholars arguing that under green capitalism the Paris Agreement cannot be met (Hickel and Kallis 2020), nature is commodified (McCarthy 2015) and continued environmental pollution occurs (Sovacool et. al. 2020; Sovacool et. al. 2021).

“Those talking about green growth, it is a contradiction, as I view it. [...] If you need to have a green transition and then continue to have economic growth, then that means, you need to produce more. You need to consume more and then produce more. That is the problem now [climate change and biodiversity crisis]. We have produced and consumed too much” (Ingunn)

The inadequacy of windturbines as climate change infrastructure is enhanced by other infrastructures simultaneously existing in Norway. This includes Norway's continued oil and gas explorations (BBC 2021; Klesty 2021).

“We need to dismantle the oil industry. Why do we need to electrify the oil industry, if we have to dismantle it? It becomes like: “what is the point?” It makes no sense” (Ingunn).

The electrification of the oil industry, which Ingunn is referring to, makes windturbines a product of contradictory climate change policies. The Norwegian government wants to construct windturbines using the generated electricity to power oil platforms (Molnes 2022). The wind power will replace the currently used gas. This diminishes GHG emissions on Norwegian territory whilst continuing an industry which to effectively address climate change should be phased out. The Norwegian government has however not given an end date to this industry (BBC 2021). These, and other actions, or the lack thereof, are often mentioned by anti-windturbines when expressing that windturbines are not helping with climate change.

Why Are Windturbines Welcomed? Silence and Consensus

A silence reigns in Norwegian society about these negative aspects of windturbines. This feeling is commonly experienced by anti-windturbines. This became apparent in conversations with anti-windturbines, when I attended events, demonstrations and through everyday acts such as watching the news. Trouillot (1995) has brought attention to how the production of silence is unavoidably and inherently part of the construction of historical narratives. Producing them is an “active and transitive process” (1995, 48). Anand (2017) has used this insight to explore how narratives of scarcity are produced by Mumbai officials to justify the management of water services and their unequal impacts. The scarcity narratives rely on actively silencing

issues otherwise revealing their gaps (2017, 41-59). Their insights are particularly generative for understanding how anti-windturbiners experience windturbine narratives. They are riddled with silence about windturbines' negative effects. Rather than looking at how silence is produced by those creating the narratives, I am therefore looking at how a feeling of silence emerges amongst those on the receiving end.

Silences in windturbine narratives are not only experienced through a sense that their negative effects are not talked about. They are felt in the continued repetition of certain phrases and words. 'Renewable', 'clean' and 'green' are words commonly used to describe windturbines - in Norway and worldwide. The use of these words by politicians and other people often frustrates anti-windturbiners for whom windturbines are neither green, clean nor renewable. Their destruction of nature makes these descriptive words inadequate. A silence is produced about windturbines' contribution to deepening the biodiversity crisis. Even when their negative effect on nature is recognized and such words are used, creates a framing in which their destructiveness is not regarded as inherently part of them. For anti-windturbiners using these words invisibilizes this inherency making them unacceptable descriptions.

Another silence pinpointed by anti-windturbiners is the biodiversity crisis which conceals the windturbines' inadequacy as planetary crisis infrastructure.

"The UN's climate change report came and then two months passed and then came the UN's nature report. No one talked about the nature report, it was put

in the drawer: 'It is the climate change report. We must make green electricity'" (Erling)

The lack of attention towards the IPBES report (2019) is a sign to anti-windturbiners of greater attentiveness towards the climate change crisis compared to that of biodiversity. Windturbines are assessed and installed according to their climate change contributions. Their effects on nature, thereby inadequacy to address the biodiversity crisis thus becomes less important to assess this infrastructure.

To anti-windturbiners these silences are noisy. This became apparent to me when I joined talks with anti-windturbiners during the festival 'Olavsfestdagene' in Trondheim. Some events were about sustainability, climate change and windturbines. I attended some of these with Solveig. When panelists used the words 'green', 'clean' or 'renewable' to describe the windturbines, Solveig often looked frustrated towards me or whispered, 'they are not'. Solveig could identify the silence. It was noisy to her.

These silences are especially problematic for anti-windturbiners because they manufacture consent in Norwegian society about windturbine. This consent is experienced as a powerful tool benefitting Norwegian politicians and windturbine constructors whilst delegitimizing anti-windturbiners. That power is exercised through consensus and the establishment of 'truth' is an important aspect of Gramscian and Foucauldian (inspired) scholarship (Foucault 1982; Foucault 1972; Stoddart 1972; Laclau and Mouffe 1985). These theories differ in the extent to which they conceptualize the possibility for resistance, locate the source of power, if identifying

one, and what type of inequalities power as consensus/knowledge reifies. Common is their understanding of power as not only coercive, but productively shaping ideas and meaning-making changing which actions people can imagine taking. That windturbines are adequate climate change infrastructure is experienced by anti-windturbines as an unquestionable truth dispersed in most of Norwegian society amongst others through the production of silences. This “incites, it induces, it seduces, it makes it easier” to erect windturbines and for the public to accept it (Foucault 1982, 220).

This is felt through Norwegian media’s rejection of anti-windturbines’ ideas about windturbines’ inadequacy as climate change infrastructure. This took me a long time to understand. Many of those I spoke to, often told me they were getting very little media attention. As far as I knew the resistance to windturbines had been widely covered by the media. What I came to understand is that anti-windturbines were not concerned that their resistance was not getting coverage. They were protesting the unbreakable barrier they felt was erected keeping their ideas, not protest, out of mainstream media.

To break the consensus and prove the validity of their different understanding of windturbines, anti-windturbines engage in knowledge production and sharing practices. Motvind released a report entitled *Energy Politics on Nature’s Premise - for the climate, humans, biodiversity and business* (2021, my translation). This was in reaction to the Ministry of Petroleum and Energy’s white paper (OED 2020) on windturbines. Motvind’s report challenged the consensus on the necessity of installing windturbines by proposing a different pathway Norway should undertake to

fulfill its fossil fuel free energy needs than outlined by the state. Anti-windturbiners also collect data to strengthen the validity of their understanding of windturbines. In wake of the installation of windturbines on Frøya, some anti-windturbiners have for example made it their mission to

“register birds and things which are not good about the power plant. That is the main priority” (Eigil)

This is to understand windturbines’ impact on surrounding nature and humans living nearby as well as document their other negative effects. Undertaking this practice stems from commonly held understandings amongst anti-windturbiners that current knowledge about windturbines is very limited and created through non-rigorous methods¹⁰.



Figure 8. A presentation held to share knowledge about windturbine ownership structures

¹⁰ A view shared to some extent by politicians I met on Nordre Gata.

Capital accumulation replaces climate change as the most accurate description of windturbines in the eyes of anti-windturbiners. The privatization of windturbine ownership and majority share thereof by foreign pension funds and international investment companies (Normann 2021) is part of the explanation for why windturbiners are perceived as capital accumulation infrastructure. According to statistics from The Norwegian Water Resources and Energy Directorate 61,7% of windturbine complexes are foreign owned (Skeie et. al. 2020). Another part of the explanation is the neoliberal regulatory framework surrounding windturbines previously mentioned. Through support schemes the Norwegian state sought to direct and support the market in constructing windturbines. The state therefore helped to make it profitable to erect windturbines and only because of that, do many anti-windturbiners emphasize are windturbine blades now spinning on top of mountains, in forests and on mossy areas of Norway. That windturbines are seen as capital accumulation infrastructure is evident in how anti-windturbiners talk about windturbines as investment objects.

“You have the damn striving for earnings and financial gains. That is what makes this possible. That is that someone needs to earn money on it. When the political parties to the right tell us how we should behave, how we should change to live a greener life, then an alarm clock should ring.” (Ingunn)

“Normally there are big international forces behind. Trøndenergi, then there is Stadtwerk München. Take for example Buhei, then it is an Italian firm. Take Fosen, then it is Black Rock, the world’s biggest investment company.” (Finn)

Windturbines become symbolic of a state whose influence is waning to ensure economic growth by accommodating companies' interests whilst compromising the well-being of nature and humans. This does not only manifest itself in the construction of windturbines. It also occurs through for example other infrastructural activities which anti-windturbines are aware of through their citizenship practices of tracing. E6, hytter and battery factories are product of the same attitude.

Windturbines are the epitome of it. They represent the embodied destructiveness of 'place' which many anti-windturbines endure due to the Norwegian state's current workings.

Conclusion

The resistance to onshore windturbine complexes in Norway emerges from the destruction of anti-windturbines' 'place'. Anti-windturbines' place-attachments enable them to gain an intimate knowledge of windturbines' destruction of these localities beyond their contribution to extinguishing species and 'nature types' and towards changing the particular composition of nature areas. This understanding is embodied. Anchored in this initial reason for protesting, anti-windturbines develop a critique of the Norwegian state's prioritization of economic growth which is incompatible with addressing climate change and the biodiversity crisis. It comes at the expense of humans and nature. The construction of windturbines within this prioritization, and a society which is already overly-material, makes this infrastructure unnecessary and insufficient to address climate change whilst exacerbating the biodiversity crisis.

This critique evolves from the meetings anti-windturbiners have with the Norwegian state through windturbine infrastructure. Both those face-to-face with politicians and police as well as the absence of adequate wind power regulatory frameworks to accommodate companies' needs. These meetings reinforce the citizenship practices that anti-windturbiners develop through their resistance. These citizenship practices further fuel a sense of the Norwegian state as operating in obscurity in attempts to prioritize companies' needs over those of humans and nature. The infrastructural awareness, part of the emerging citizenship, is part of the basis upon which anti-windturbiners critique windturbines as energy-expanding infrastructure which harms the environment - a product of the pursuit of excessive wealth.

Developing this critique, perception of the Norwegian state and undertaking these citizenship practices changes anti-windturbiners in the process. They relate differently to their 'places' as they become possible sites of state and capital intervention. A contestatory political subjectivity is 'awoken' and a different position vis-à-vis the state is acquired.

Anti-windturbiners' resistance to windturbines - an infrastructure considered renewable - is the product of many complex and interlocking processes. It changes those resisting in the process. This points to the importance of researching opposition beyond current 'social acceptance' approaches. Looking at why certain factors influence opposition through methodologies omitting participant-observation risks overlooking how resistance can form through practices and reasons that mutually reinforce each other rather than being in a linear, causal relationship. It risks neglecting how people and their relationship to the state and environment

changes in the process. Rather than delegitimizing those resisting renewable energy infrastructure, their critiques should be taken seriously. From this an engagement with multiple, possible fossil fuel free energetic futures can emerge beyond those proposed by states and companies.

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Appendix

To make sense of the themes and ideas emerging from my fieldnotes, I painted some of the thoughts that have become part of the thesis. The following paintings reflect some of those themes:

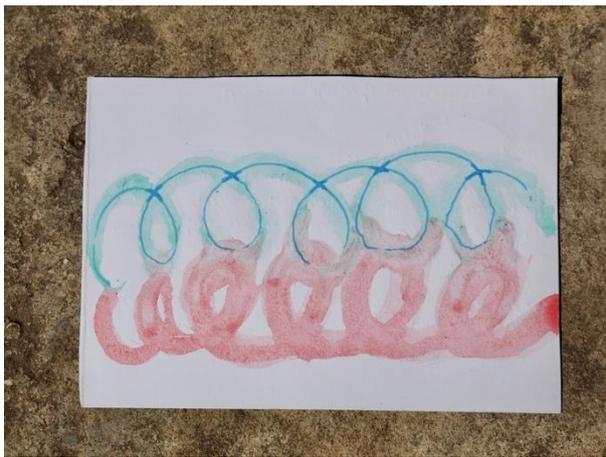


Figure 9. The resistance to windturbines does proceed in a linear, causal manner. Different practices and reasons mutually reinforce each other.



Figure 10. The “resting stone” and “internet tree” are aspects of the landscape on Tumfjellet which Helge and his family have name-given.



Figure 11. The windturbines form a network across Norway that harm the environment and people affected by their existence.



Figure 12. The windturbines (the black spots) environmentally harm nature (the green areas).



Figure 13. A contestatory citizenship emerges amongst anti-windturbiners (the red and orange) which pushes against the obscure Norwegian state (the green)



Figure 14. Windturbines (black) negatively affect those living around it (yellow), but also affect other anti-windturbiners not directly affected (red)

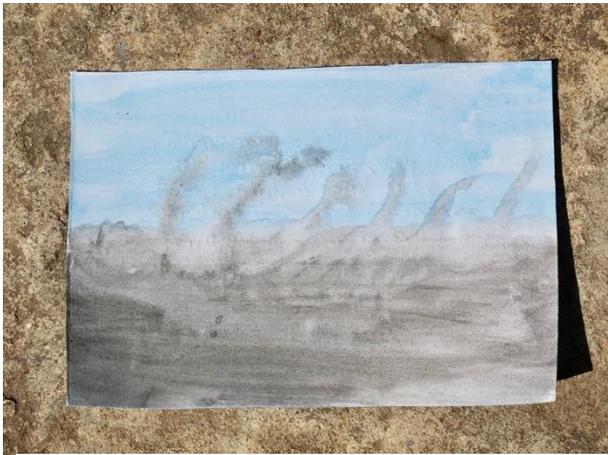


Figure 15. An obscure state (the black) surfaces with the construction of windturbines.

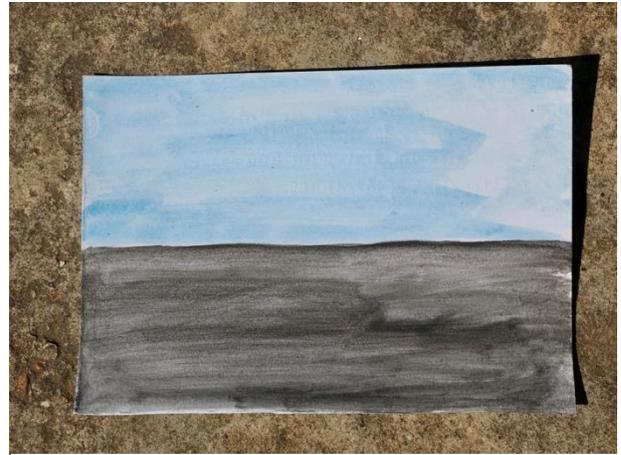


Figure 16. An obscure state (the black) exists which anti-windturbines and others cannot gain access to (blue).



Figure 17. Anti-windturbiners have a special relationship with certain localities (green) making them into 'place' (yellow).



Figure 18. Anti-windturbiners see ‘places’ with regards to the memories they enshrine. The drawn road and house is not part of how Solveig imagines her ‘place’. How it looked in her childhood is mostly how she relates to it.



Figure 19. The destruction of ‘place’ (green spots in the red) is the anchor from which anti-windturbiners engage in citizenship practices (red and orange) and perceive the obscure state (green, top right corner)