

Fill their stomachs with herring,  
 And their coffers with taxes,  
 busy their harbours,  
 And applaud their expansions.  
 As the centuries roll  
 they shall pay back their toll,  
 And the land it will swallow the sea.  
*Telluric Summoning Chant, ca. 4000 B.C.*

“Og det er i det område, der er markeret på kortet  
 her - skal der være land, hvor der i dag er vand”  
 Lars Løkke Rasmussen præsenterer Lynetteholmen, 5. Oktober 2018<sup>1</sup>

# Ten Propositions

or: *Lynetteholmen and The Ghost-in-the-Machine*

## The Numbers

1. Manufacturing necessity
2. Adopting the narrative
3. Build it and they will shut up
4. What's wrong with this picture?
5. Cutting time like salami

## The Letters

- |                               |    |
|-------------------------------|----|
| “The Need” never dies!        | .a |
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| Emergent birthwishes          | .c |
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Taking inspiration from Bent Flyvbjerg’s essay ‘Rationality and Power’<sup>ii</sup>, this text presents ten propositions. All ten are concerned with Lynetteholmen, a planned artificial island in the harbor of Copenhagen, and the governance strategies implemented in its realization.

Five of them, *The Numbers*, approach the issue by traditional, scholarly means: so-called non-fiction. *The Numbers* utilize discernible theories, agreed-upon facts, and various public positions reported in news stories to illuminate how Lynetteholmen and its public discourse are taking shape.

The other five propositions, *The Letters*, are speculative. While still referring to scholarly works and “factuality”, *The Letters* operate with artistic freedom. They establish a counterweight to the ‘known’ story of rationales and rationality that usually dominate the discourses of governance.

# 1. Manufacturing necessity

*In which Lars Løkke, Ole-Birk Olesen and Frank Jensen have a Grand Gesture that can typify them as Men of Action, and all they need is a problem it can solve.*

A megaproject is a large-scale, complex infrastructure project that typically involves significant investment and construction and often has a considerable impact on the surrounding community. Megaprojects can include various projects, such as transportation systems, water and waste treatment facilities, large-scale housing developments, and more. Megaprojects can be an essential part of urban development, as they can help to drive economic growth, improve infrastructure, and create new opportunities for residents and businesses. However, megaprojects can also be controversial and pose significant challenges in financing, planning, and execution.

Lynetteholmen is expected to function similarly to Ørestad and Nordhavn, which is to say it will utilize private-public partnerships and land-value capture strategies with the expansion of the subway system as a primary driving force for the development. In this model, the land is created (or assimilated by strategies like planning, cleaning contaminated areas, or others) and then pumped full of financial potential by establishing necessary infrastructures for offices and housing. The actual urban mass, the domiciles and apartment blocks, are constructed by private actors, who then pay back the city's investment through a number of levied taxes. These taxes come on top of the regular property taxes, which also scale to some extent (taxes, of course, being higher for more valuable land ownership). Thus, the value of the land is recaptured by the public actors; Land Value Capture<sup>iii</sup>.

Using the Land Value Capture model has been hugely successful for Copenhagen on almost all growth measures. Critics argue that the strategy and the developer-driven, homogenous housing mass that results from it, exacerbate social inequality in Copenhagen<sup>iv</sup> and neglect climate- and biodiversity concerns<sup>v</sup>. However, with decades of the model's results being peddled as unequivocal successes by both state and municipal governments, the continued use of the model in the near future seems inevitable.

Because of their scale, megaprojects like Ørestad, Nordhavn and Lynetteholmen require the involvement of a legion of actors, with examples ranging from supranational entities (in our case, the EU), high-ranking political officials, and business leaders to civil servants, architects, engineers, entrepreneurs, artisans, communication specialists, and not least, voters. In

order to coordinate such myriad efforts, decision-makers must exercise considerable financial and political power. Bent Flyvbjerg proposes that *rationalization presented as rationality is a principal strategy in the exercise of power*<sup>vi</sup>. Our study of Lynetteholmen thus commences with a look at the very first presentation of the project to the public in October 2018<sup>vii</sup>. In the presentation, we specifically look for *rationalizations presented as rationality*.

After a short introduction, Lars Løkke leads by calling the project “*long-sighted and visionary*”, then quickly goes on to explain how they “*wish to solve the problems of the future in due time [...] with one collected project, a kind of “kinder egg”, because it has to solve, at one and the same time, three things*”. Obviously, we see that the communication here seeks to frame the project as positive, even *visionary*, but we also see how the communication effectively boils down the future problems facing the city to just three things. Already we see some evidence of rationalization as rationality. Surely the city faces more than three challenges in the future, but in plain language, Lynetteholmen is presented as a reasonable, necessary, and to some extent, exhaustive solution.

“*First of all*”, Lars Løkke continues, “*the shortage of housing in Copenhagen [...] in the long run, Copenhagen wil run out of plots for development, and because of that we wish to build a new island in the harbor*”. While there certainly appears to be a housing shortage in Copenhagen, it is primarily a shortage of *affordable* housing. In fact, data suggests that the trend is changing and population growth in the city is slowing down, not least on account of the high housing prices in the newly built Ørestad and Nordhavn<sup>viii</sup>. Lars Løkke also leaves out that the project, including the mandatory 25% affordable housing, is financed by the profitable sale of the land, which effectively means the affordable housing won’t be constructed until the later phases of the project, 50 years in the future<sup>ix</sup>.

“*The second problem is traffical. Today, motorists have to go all the way to centre of Copenhagen to pass east of the city. [...] And because of this, there has, for a very long time, been talk of a harbor tunnel, that allows direct access to the airport, to Amager and to Christianshavn. It would be of use not only for Copenhagen but for the entire capital*”. Again, we can look for rationalizations by simply asking: what is not being said? It is a well-established knowledge in urban planning that more roads, by virtue of Jevon’s Paradox<sup>x</sup> and the effects of induced demand<sup>xi</sup>, lead to more cars<sup>xii</sup>. Later on, we will see that Lynetteholmen also addresses the consequences of climate change. Ironically, the proposed harbor tunnel is virtually guaranteed to increase the number of cars in the capital area, and thus to contribute to raising levels of Carbon Dioxide in the atmosphere, conflicting with the city’s green ambitions<sup>xiii</sup>. The tunnel might

even lead to an increase in cars in the centre of the city, potentially conflicting with another of the city's stated ambitions: car-free zones and neighborhoods<sup>xiv</sup>.

The third core tenet is protecting the city from rising waters resulting from climate change. Løkke says *"with a new island, Lynetteholmen, north of Refshaleøen, it becomes much easier to protect the harbor of Copenhagen, og thus the city of Copenhagen, against rising waters. That is due diligence"*. This is perhaps the most clear example of rationalization in the presentation; while there is a broad consensus that rising waters is a threat to Copenhagen, constructing an entire artificial island with the scale of a small city, instead of the much smaller, faster and less expensive solution of a storm-surge barrier, can only seem a rational course of action if we accept the other premises for the project. As we have seen, both traffic issues and housing issues are barely solved by the proposal, if they are solved at all. Presenting the project as a *kinder egg*, however, and going on to suggest that the net-costs of the project would amount to *"approximately zero kroner"*, the island project is made to appear rational.

Machiavelli wrote: *"We must distinguish between . . . those who to achieve their purpose can force the issue and those who must use persuasion. In the second case, they always come to grief"*<sup>xv</sup> Luckily for our dear, artificial island, these three boys could force the issue. Within weeks of the announcement, before the public and, to some extent, the expert body had had a chance to discuss it, the project had been approved by lawmakers - elected officials. In this way, by presenting the project with all the authority of three suit-clad top officials and quickly signing the projects execution into law, Lars Løkke, Ole-Birk Olesen and Frank Jensen produce rationality. Executing the project is now as reasonable as following any other law. They also manage to frame themselves as strong and capable leaders, which is almost as salient for the three men as the project itself. According to Sigge Winther, the Danish political scene has become more and more concerned with presentation and less concerned with implementation<sup>xvi</sup>, a point which seems fairly salient given the timeline of Lynetteholmens initial presentation and treatment in parliament.

Lars Løkke is no stranger to this order of operations. During his first stint as Prime Minister, he returned from summer vacation and found a storm had brewed about the allegedly rampant bureaucracy of the old Amt-system. Løkke acted decisively and swiftly to meet the public demands. Only *after* proposing a reform that would replace the old Amt-system with a new Regions-system did he set aside resources to figure out what problem such a reform could actually solve<sup>xvii</sup>. Which is the *kinder egg* and which is the

kinderchicken in the case of Lynetteholmen? Flyvbjerg asserts that *“power, quite simply, often finds ignorance, deception, self-deception, rationalizations and lies more useful for its purposes than truth and rationality”<sup>xviii</sup>*. Strong wording to be

-in-the-machine?

## “The Need” never dies .a

*In which ordinary citizens kill a megaproject using novel socio-digital technologies, only to witness the project’s ghostsoul shapeshift and flee into the dark waters of the harbor.*

This is kind of the story of Nikolaj Kirk and that strange frog, only kind of. That is to say: all characters and events in this story - even those based on real people - are entirely fictional.

My friend Bent, whom you met before, says it takes a lot of power to produce rationality<sup>xix</sup>. Well, here’s an exciting tale of what happens when that rationality producing power came into the hands of ordinary citizens, as told by me, Hippodamus. I have followed the events avidly and with great interest during a thick, dull lull in my work as a P.I. You might notice that I keep bringing my hands up in airquotes, like when I mention *“the market”* and *“the ghost”*; well, to me, it’s all the same, it’s probably some sort of weird ghost, and it’s all very dog gone murky, so that’s why I airquote. I’ll explain more later, but for now, let’s focus on the frog.

Bent always used to say: the freedom to use rationalizations and rationality to make your point the only valid one and get your way is a really important part of how power operates<sup>xx</sup> Well, he didn’t say it exactly like that, but that’s exactly what was happening. The frog was minding its own business. But around the city, in halls, boardrooms, and editorial offices, *“the ever-increasing demands for housing”* in the Copenhagen area grew from murmurs to yells and *“the consequences of continued population growth”* set its city-developing eyes on the frog’s moist habitat: Amager Fælled. It was not like anybody liked the idea too much at first, except maybe some of architects who wanted to decide what the neighborhood should look like. After all, the frogs habitat was a beloved green area in the city. Alas, it soon seemed like every other plot of land had already been filled by *“the insatiable hunger of the housing market”*, so after some necessary rationality, it was decided that the frogs habitat was pretty much the only place that Copenhagen could ever hope to build anything ever again, and it was looking pretty grim for the frog right about then.



But then something wonderful happened. The famous chef Nikolaj Kirk and the frog became happy friends, and they made many more friends using SoMe, which was a somewhat novel technology that allowed all the friends to organize themselves real efficient and dynamic-like, and all these friends came together in a great big feel-good musical showstopper and managed to stop *“the regrettable necessities of international competition between cities”* from destroying The Shire, that is to say, from consuming their beloved Fælled and the frog could go back to minding its business.

Bent actually had something more to say about this; he said that rationalizations, like the one about how Copenhagen absolutely had to built on the frogs moist meadow, can be challenged. He said they can be challenged rationally, like with numbers and science and stuff, but they can also be challenged by means of other rationalizations. I think that’s exactly what happened at Amager Fælled: Nikolaj Kirk and the frog and their friends came together, and they created a new, exciting rationalization, based on the rational facts that the frog was very rare and there was really nowhere else it could live. It didn’t matter much that the frog had a bunch of cousins all over the continent, or that some architects said they knew a way to re-house the frog between the new romantic apartment buildings, because the pro-frog rationalization was repeated and refined until it became a real rationality - just the way the plans were decided in the first place. Isn’t that something?

Well, anyways, that *“ghost-in-the-machine”* that was supposed to develop the meadow? It didn’t disappear. Ghosts seldom do. Instead, it shook loose and flew high above the city, and then plunged into the harbor where it merged all ghost-like and writhing with another ghost that was called *“the traffical necessity of constructing a ring-road around Copenhagen”*. I saw it with my own eyes.

## 2. Adopting the narrative

*In which Lars, Ole-Birk, and Frank move on with their lives, and the orphaned megaproject comes under the care of Anne Skovbro and the public asset corporation ‘City & Port’.*

City & Port is a privately operated, publicly owned company. According Luise Noring, *“City & Port operates under a national statutory mandate to maximize revenue to fund large-scale urban regeneration and city-wide infrastructure. This mandate shelters City & Port from political interference by*

*obliging City & Port to always choose the investment proposition that yields the most revenue*". [Noring, PAC-paper]

After the Lynetteholm-project was announced and hurried through parliament, Lars Løkke, Ole-Birk Olesen and Frank Jensen, for various reasons, left their positions. The hard work of continually reiterating the knowledge that power wants to count as knowledge was now out of the hands of the politicians. Sigge Winther summarizes: "[...] *you can sometimes sit and look for who owns [Lynetteholmen] politically, and it's a huge problem that you don't have someone who whips up a mood about how important it is. [...] Right now it seems as if that task has been outsourced to Anne Skovbro, who is being sent out and has to fight against all sorts of Facebook groups*<sup>1</sup>".<sup>xxi</sup>

We can say that the hard task of producing rationality has been put on the shoulders of director Anne Skovbro and the rest of City & Port, who now ardently push the narrative they deem necessary for Lynetteholmen to happen. It appears that the mandate to maximize revenue also involves power and obligation to reiterate, and if necessary fabricate, rationality and rationalizations in the pursuit of said revenue

In spite of being shielded from the usual responsibilities of elected officials, City & Port have been at the center of considerable controversies. Søren Have voiced concerns regarding lacking or misleading citizen dialogue, rushed consultation processing and undemocratic timelines for the treatment of the legal processings. He even commented that he understood how politicians get cynical; when the processes get going, rational argument and democratic rules are ignored since the answer is already given<sup>xxii</sup>. We could also say: 'a rationality is already in place', or: 'the project has already been rationalized'.

*"People can be quite angry at By & Havn without it really hurting them. [...] The democratic chain of command is hard to discern, and because of that they act a little like a state within the state"* notes Christoph Ellegaard. Other critics are concerned with repetitive and dismissive rhetoric from the company<sup>xxiii</sup>.

What Have, Ellegaard and others see is the specific workings of power producing rationality. Bent Flyvgaard writes: *[...] not only is knowledge power, but, more important, power is knowledge. As such, power determines what counts as knowledge, what kind of interpretation attains authority as the dominant interpretation. Power procures the knowledge which supports its purposes, while it ignores or suppresses that knowledge which does serve it*<sup>xxiv</sup>". In a succinct showcase

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<sup>1</sup> That's Anne Skovbro's main antagonist, by the way - just like in the frog adventure!

of this dynamic, Anne Skovbro showed up at The Royal Academy to present Lynetteholmen to students and academics. When confronted by academics who wish to discuss and problematize the megaproject, she dismissed the critique as academic nonsense<sup>2</sup>.<sup>xxv</sup> In a similar vein, a printed response from City & Port to critics concerned with the legality of salami-cutting (see: 5. Cutting time like salami) was worded in a manner to completely dismiss any professional or expert opinions not procured by City & Port themselves: *“We have used all the knowledge and experience available from the past combined with the latest research and the best experts in the field to shed light on the environmental consequences of Lynetteholm, and the studies have gone as close to reality as possible without establishing an island”*<sup>3</sup>.<sup>xxvi</sup>

Mikael Colville-Andersen puts it plainly: *“In all of [City & Port’s] communication they’ve been writing, “[Lynetteholm] is coming. This is a thing. There is no doubt about it.”*<sup>xxvii</sup>

“Knowledge kills action; action requires the veils of  
illusion - that is the Hamlet Doctrine”

Friedrich Nietzsche<sup>xxviii</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> She actually used the term *sort snak*, equating the critique with the legions of Sauron whose language bears that very name. It could be a coincidence.

<sup>3</sup> The best experts, the best knowledge, the best words... Remind you of someone?



## Plotting holes, filling plots *.d*

*In which plotoles start appearing in the 'real' story of Lynetteholmen's ongoing birthing. As they fill out with fabricated historicity, we are left to wonder if other holes have filled in, too.*

This time the nonsense was too steep even for me to climb. Grown people, elected politicians discussing salamis and hockey sticks in the news. Arrogance to rival the Dutch. A new island to be taken from the sea! The ocean breeze lifts the skirt of Atlantis, what a joy to behold, what a wonderful imaginary! Bollocks.

As if the concept of building more islands to meet housing demands and guard against flooding wasn't thought up over and over again... I heard Jens Thomas Arnfred even had an idea for it back in 80's! Or was it the other guy? What I mean to say is: the idea was already a sweet and mature fruit when the politicians bit into it. So what was the difference? The difference is that a project like that one needs a big, old ghost inside it, and when the old, war-seasoned politicians needed one, they procured it. How did they get the ghost into the machine, you might ask?

Well, my friend Rega actually tried to explain it to me. He said that in Hidden Writing, a main plot is constructed to camouflage other plots. The camouflaged plots sometimes register as plot holes, but they're actually overlapping with the surface plot. They're camouflaged by overlapping them with the surface plot, you know, the superficially dynamic plot, the official story, or with the grounded theme. They're layered into a story that seems to make sense. [Negarastani, Cyclonopedia, edited] Rega says that in the terms of such a writing, the official story is the map or the blueprint for the concentration of the plot holes, which is to say, the other plots; the plottings. He did really say that right? I feel like I'm losing my footing here. What did he mean "Hidden Writing"? Maybe I should start looking at what's being hidden between the stories instead of just looking at what's not being told?

As is known, more than a third of the municipalities area is reclaimed, either by damming or filling. The fillings are pure earth, construction waste, trash, slag, fly ash, actual shit, chemical waste etc. Most of the activity, as measured in area, has happened after 1900, but it's gone on for centuries before that<sup>xxix</sup>. The prime minister even mentioned it when he gave that glittery presentation.

In terms of old ghosts, Lynetteholmen comes pre-packaged with all the layers characteristic of historic European city development. It's a defensive structure that's repurposed, nay: *pre-purposed*, as housing, just like Christianshavn, the 500 year younger sibling. Lynetteholmen is said to be the

largest city development project in Denmark since then, so it's only fitting that they would share some rationale.

I can't help but think of something Bent used to say: *"through decades and centuries of careful maintenance, cultivation, and reproduction of power relations, business created a semi-institutionalized position for itself with more aptitude to influence governmental rationality than was found with democratically elected bodies of government"*<sup>xxx</sup>. He was talking about a bus-stop when he said it, but still... Did that happen here, too? Someone said the island is actually just a real-estate project, but then why is it presented as future-proofing? If it's plain old profit that's the ghost, where can I look for it? Some dark, closed boardroom?

### 3. Nude power

*In which the megaproject begins construction despite criticism. The sheet piles and rock deposits start to look like 'rational' arguments. Or do they look a bit like naked power?*

Is City & Port exercising naked power when they decide to go ahead and put the materials into the harbour despite doubts?

There's doubt about the legality of the project in an EU-framework (VVM)<sup>xxx</sup>.

There's doubt about the economy of the project. One doubt is whether it can make the money it's supposed to<sup>xxxii</sup>, another doubt is whether it can be completed within the budget. It's already running up extra costs<sup>xxxiii</sup>, and we still got about half a century to go.

There's doubt about whether the island even functions sufficiently to shield the city from flooding<sup>xxxiv</sup>.

There's doubts about the economic consequences of the project, even far away in the Baltic Sea and neighbouring nations are voicing their concerns<sup>xxxv</sup>.

There's doubt, or I should say, there's no doubt, about whether the proposed traffic tunnel will alleviate the traffic issues of Copenhagen. The problem, as we saw in Chapter 1, is that the consensus is *against* the rationale presented by the authorities.

So how can City & Port and their allied, private contractors go ahead and pour rocks, dirt and sheet piles into the ocean? Is this what naked power looks like? Or is it just nude; not quite naked, but heavily suggesting what's underneath? There's a great quote from professor of transport economy Mogens Fosgerau: *"The plan proposes regional development projects. One of these is located in Copenhagen and can accommodate a larger provincial town. This is not*

*what is understood by regional development. I miss a comprehensive plan for Lynetteholmen, so that the public has the opportunity to discuss the overall project. It seems like you are trying to sneak it through by breaking it up into chunks”<sup>xxxvi</sup>.*

Sneaking it in. Not quite naked, just nude, but way more scantily clad than any elected official could be. It’s an advantage afforded to City & Port by their mandate to maximize revenue.

Flyvbjerg writes: *“Special interest groups have substantially more freedom to use and benefit from the gamut of instruments in naked power play than do democratically elected governments”<sup>xxxvii</sup>.*

He also presents a potential explanation for why City & Port seem to think their aggressive and dismissive rhetoric is well-suited for their revenue-maximizing purposes: *“Rationality yields completely, or almost completely, to power in open, antagonistic confrontation because it is here that naked power can be exercised most freely”<sup>xxxviii</sup>.*

## Emergent birthwish .c

*In which a distant cousin of Lynetteholmen becomes so complicated that a birthwish emerges inside of it. Despite his best efforts, Hippodamus can’t trace the birthwish to a lower order.*

I thought I could just retell some of the stuff from a book I almost read called ‘Aramis - Love of Technology’<sup>xxxix</sup>. In Aramis, some sociologist dons a -coat and goes looking for the Ghost-in-the-Machine of a stillborn Parisian infrastructure project, but when I told the story, I would be alleging that Østre Ringvej is the Ghost-in-the-Machine of Lynetteholmen. I could just do it with a short resume for all I care, but I would have to end it on this question: could it really be that a mid-century dream of a ring road is the ghost-in-the-machine? Surely there’s more to it; and isn’t the ring road just a small part of a much larger project to populate the world with cars? And isn’t that project just a small part of the much larger project of modernity itself? And isn’t modernity itself... Stop. It’s too much.

I think I have to just stop and ponder the nature of the city as a “project”, the fact that megaprojects are always enrolled in the bigger project of the city, with the manifold new complexities and contingencies that this implies. Does a city achieve a birthwish like a megaproject? Does it have a continuous lifewish? Is the growth paradigm next to it or above it? Is it older than the cities? Did the cities always have to grow to survive, even since mythic times? I wish there was more time.

## 4. What's wrong with this image?

*In which architectural modes of representation are harnessed to rationalize Lynetteholmen. Some are iterative, some are realistic, most are optimistic, and all reinforce the same future.*

Looking at the images that are produced for and disseminated by City & Port, some interesting features present themselves. It is known to architects that a good drawing can become a *future-generating machine*<sup>4</sup>, and it is probably safe to assume that City & Port knows this, too. The first drawing we can direct our attention to is the second iteration of Lynetteholmens coastline. This second iteration contains a number of changes from the original plan, including a major increase in the landmass of the project, but more importantly, it is presented as a *final* iteration. By re-presenting the outline of the coast, and alleging to have listened to and incorporated expert opinions and other concerns, City & Port, together with their allied engineers and architects, present a design that is impervious to further discussion. *Concerns have already been addressed.*



*The old and the new outline of Lynetteholmen*

The second drawing of interest is a particular rendering of the east coast of the island, namely the landscape design that will seek to shield the side from flooding. The render draws heavily on the romantic tradition of landscape painting, historically instrumentalized to produce pride and national sentiment regarding the Danish pastoral landscape following a major loss of territory in the 19th century. It is easy to suspect that such an aesthetic was chosen for the rendering precisely to elicit pride and national (or regional) sentiment concerning the development of Lynetteholm. The

<sup>4</sup> That's not to say it can be a ghost-in-the-machine all by itself, but it can certainly nurture such a ghost.

presence of oxen in the image only underlines the point of romanticism; such oxen will hardly walk onto the islands beach from the ocean floor. While Tredje Natur, the architects responsible for producing the image, insist that the rendering is an accurate representation of the design, it is well known to architects that many other modes of representation could be utilized to present the project, and that the use of photorealistic and romantic rendering is, indeed, a rhetorical choice.



*Eye-height rendering by Tredje Natur*

The third drawing is perhaps the most interesting. The aerial rendering of Lynetteholm, produced by Ramböll for City & Port at a price-tag of 50.000 kroner, shows Lynetteholm's new outline as seen from a birds-view perspective. The fascinating thing is that, in the rendering, Lynetteholmen is not finished - it is being made! Previous renderings seen from the same perspective filled in the islands landmass with a placeholder urban fabric, but this time we see only the sheet piles and a part of the island filled in. As this is obviously also a choice on the part of City & Port, we're left to wonder: what rhetorical purpose does this image serve? Perhaps it seeks to inundate it's audience, not to the fact of an island in the future, but to fact of an island being constructed right now; this is, after all, the reality that City & Port is currently attempting to fabricate. The later phases of the project are suspended in time, cut into salami pieces to be savored in a decade or two.



*Aerial rendering by Ramböll [cropped]*



## Images Dream Realities .b

*In which reality is shaped by our goals, our goals are shaped by our dreams, and our dreams are shared through images. There is an old one of an island emerging from the ocean.*

“Tell me about the spaceships and smartphones and western civilization’s obsession with its own demise! Tell me about our escape into fantasy worlds, and perhaps tell me about the spear and the carrier bag and tell me that the spear could be the ghost in the machine, but the bag could never”.

I find myself... on Atlantis. It’s way more advanced than I ever suspected; it’s all clean, white minimalism. Calatrava. MacBook. Sleek yet inviting curves. There’s a plethora of images on the sides of the buildings? Screens? Projections? It’s kaleidoscopic: our technological development in backwards order, starting with spaceships and smartphones and accelerating and transforming and ending with a simple spear, repeated hundred-fold on the myriad screens. All at once, they pop out of their images and rain down on my in a hailstorm of piercing flint.

I woke in a sweat. Did I scream? It’s still dark out, but that doesn’t mean much. This season. These latitudes. I called Ursula, to talk about it. She would know. I explained the dream. Ursula told me that the dream is an old dream. She said it’s the same dream as the dream of golem and pygmalion: the dream that man can conquer and control all of the material world. The dream that man is God, man alone is the ghost-in-the-machine animating what otherwise would be naught but dead matter. Ursula said that the dream is dangerous, and she suggested *“that tonight, Hippodamus, you should dream another dream: a dream about carrier bags”*. So I went about my private-eye business, and through the entire day I saw my dream reflected in the fantasy world around me. The fantasy worlds of shopping malls, the manicured neighbourhoods of suburbia. I feel like I’m closing in on the ghost, but I also feel like I’m slipping. Maybe the ghost is more complicated than just ... maybe it’s rolled up in some bigger, older mystery.



When I went to bed I remembered what Ursula had said, but instead of dreaming of carrier bags, I had a nightmare. I found myself back on Atlantis. It was writhing with angry ghosts.

## 5. Cutting time like salami

*In which the project overcomes adversity by proposing a new rationality: cutting the project into pieces, legally and narratively. It turns out to be only-maybe-legal, and it kills time.*

According to Frederik Roland Sandby, criticizing the salami is the same as choking on it<sup>xl</sup>. The salami is euphemism for having Lynetteholmen judged, not as a single project, but as a number of individual projects that, together, form a big metaproject. A megaproject, you could say. We might recall that the project was presented as a single project that could solve several problems in one, benign, swoop, but that was before the salami.

*“Political actors are expert at judging how far a democratic constitution can be bent and used, or simply ignored, in nondemocratic ways”<sup>xli</sup>* says Flyvbjerg, and it’s hard not to think of the salami. Roland insists that everything is always cut like a salami; the metro and the neighborhood it services, the storm-flood-shielding coastline and the housing project it protects. This is the normal way we think of time when we think about big projects that take a while to finish. We can object and say: hold on, time does not function like a salami; things happen concurrently, past events keep influencing the future, our dreams of the future hold sway over our present, and this might be rational, and we might even be right, but as Flyvbjerg so eloquently puts it: *“Power has a rationality that rationality does not know. Rationality, on the other hand, does not have a power that power does not know”<sup>xlii</sup>*.

## Deep-time interfacing .e

*In which a disgruntled private eye winds up in a mess bigger than himself and comes face-to-face with the Cthuluesque force our dear, proposed island seems so complicit with.*

Hippodamus, the private eye, was on the run. He had received a tip that the municipality’s secret police were after him and he needed to flee the city as quickly as possible. With nothing but the clothes on his back and his trusty 2004 Fiat Punto, he made his way out of Copenhagen and across the Oresund Bridge to the Swedish city of Malmö.

Once in Malmö, Hippodamus made his way to a safe house in the Turning Torso. As he entered the apartment, he was immediately struck by

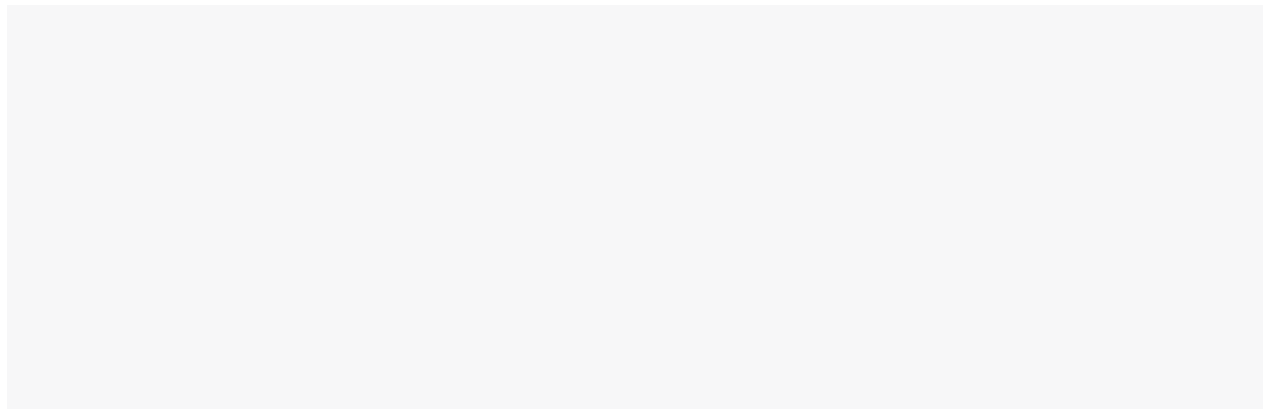
the strange artifacts scattered about the room. There were a number of mysterious documents, a pair of strange binoculars, and other items that seemed to hint at something far more sinister than he had initially imagined. As he began to sift through the documents, a picture started to emerge of a major conspiracy behind current development plans in Copenhagen. The deeper he delved, the more he realized that the forces behind this conspiracy were not of this world, and he knew that he was up against something truly demonic.

Hippodamus was determined to get to the bottom of this mystery, no matter what it took. He spent the next several days pouring over the documents and using the strange binoculars to scan the city for any signs of the demonic forces at work. He found himself becoming increasingly paranoid, wondering if he was being watched by the secret police or if the conspirators had already discovered his presence in the safe house.

Despite the danger, Hippodamus was relentless in his pursuit of the truth. He spent countless hours poring over maps of the city and the blueprints of the development projects, trying to piece together a picture of what was really happening. He even went so far as to sneak into the city under cover of night, risking capture to gather more information.

Finally, after what seemed like an eternity, Hippodamus discovered the true extent of the conspiracy. As he brought the strange binoculars to his eyes one last, fateful time, he scoured Copenhagen and the surrounding land mass across the sund. At first he wasn't sure, it was very subtle. It took a ten minutes of patiently fixing the binoculars, but then he saw it.

Breathing slowly the breath of centuries, a vast and ancient ghost. Its heaving mass animating the city, the sund, indeed the very ground beneath the tower Hippodamus perched in. He grew dizzy. The binoculars started to slip from his hand. As the ghost rushed majestic towards him, enveloping his field of vision, a sound of theluric chanting sounded in Hippodamus ears. It sang of only one wish.



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