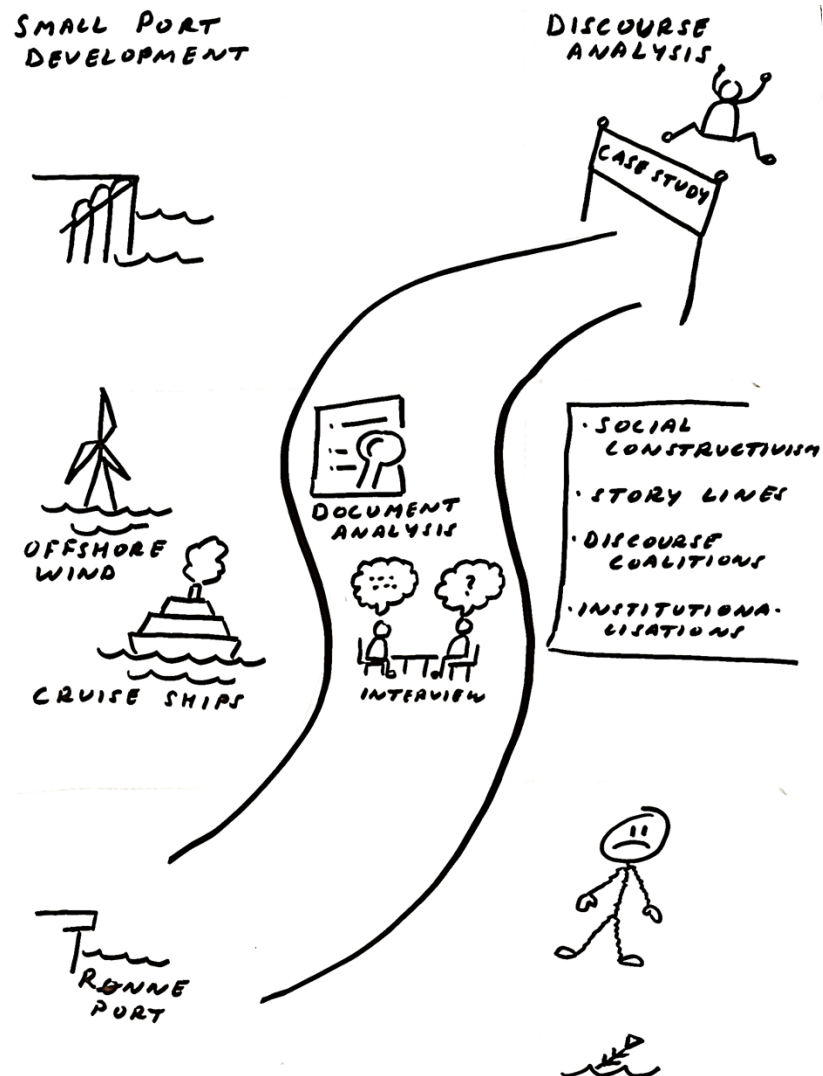


# Framing Decisions: Port Development through Story Lines in Rønne, Denmark.



Author: Victoria Zank Bryanne  
Aalborg University, Copenhagen

Supervisor: Daniel Galland



**AALBORG  
UNIVERSITET**

**Department of Planning  
Master of Sustainable Cities**

**Project:**

Master Thesis

**Titel:** Framing Decisions: Port Development through Story Lines in Rønne, Denmark.

**Period:**

February - June 2022

**Submitted by:**

Victoria Zank Bryanne

**Supervisor:**

Daniel Galland

**Pages:** 89

**Appendices:** 11

**Finished:** June 3rd, 2022

# Abstract

Port development is in this thesis project analysed via a social constructivist lens built on Foucault's relational power and agency. In particular, Hajer's concepts of story lines, discourse coalitions, institutionalisation and discursive hegemony are employed to create a data-dense case study of the decision-making process leading up to the port expansion of Rønne Port, Bornholm in Denmark. The main story lines were found to evolve around offshore wind, cruise ships tourism and job creation. The analysis showed how the port achieved discursive hegemony and was able to control the further development by creating discourse coalitions deep inside municipal and national planning authorities. This was achieved by a strategic and dedicated branding of the port as a responsible partner being able to offer key services while being situated strategically in the middle of the Baltic Sea. This hegemony has led to an impressive success in attracting offshore wind contracts to Bornholm and being at the forefront of the green transition. However, the neoliberal framing of the story lines has drastic consequences for the democratic decision-making process, sidestepping local stakeholders and reducing governmental institutions to merely facilitating the framed development without any agency to challenge the plans. Further, the privatisation of capital accruing from common property is questioned in this study. The author believes the findings will add phronetic value to the topics of port development and the neoliberal dominance within planning.

# Table of Contents

<b>Abstract</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Table of Contents</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Chapter 1: Introduction</b>	<b>5</b>
1.1. Introducing Rønne Port	7
<b>Chapter 2: Theory</b>	<b>9</b>
2.1. Social Constructivism	9
2.2. Part Conclusion	11
2.3. Discourse Analysis	11
2.4. Storylines and Discourse Coalitions	12
2.4.1. Story lines	12
2.4.2. Discourse Coalitions	13
2.4.3. Discourse Institutionalisation	14
2.4.4. Political Agency and Political Change	15
2.5. Part Conclusion	16
<b>Chapter 3: Problem Formulation</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>Chapter 4: Methodology</b>	<b>19</b>
4.1. Case Study	19
4.2. Generating the Data	21
4.2.1. Documents	21
4.2.2. Interviews	22
4.3. Research Design	23
<b>Chapter 5: Story Lines</b>	<b>25</b>
5.1. Port Expansion	25
5.2. The port as a Driver for Job Creation and Growth	27
5.3. Cruise Ship Tourism	28
5.4. Offshore Wind	29
<b>Chapter 6: Circulation of the Story Lines</b>	<b>32</b>
6.1. Securing Financing of the Port Expansion	32
6.2. Branding Rønne Port	34
6.3. Branding coalesces into financing	39
6.4. Tracing the Discourse Coalitions	40
<b>Chapter 7: Institutionalisation</b>	<b>47</b>
7.1. Facilitating the Expansion	47
<b>Chapter 8: Constructing the Port</b>	<b>51</b>

8.1. Phase-1	51
8.2. Phase-2	52
<b>Chapter 9: Hegemony</b>	<b>54</b>
9.1. Challenging the Story Lines - Galløkken and Kanondalen	54
9.2. Cementing the Dominance.	60
9.3. Soft Values versus Economic Growth	63
9.4. Changing parameters	67
9.5. Part Conclusion	68
<b>Chapter 10: Discussion</b>	<b>70</b>
<b>Chapter 11: Conclusion</b>	<b>72</b>
<b>Reference List</b>	<b>75</b>

# Chapter 1: Introduction

*This thesis takes its starting point in the work I did during my internship at Rambøll in the department for ports, marine and geostructures that really opened up my eyes to the dilemmas and conflicts within port development and sustainability.*

Ports are multifaceted as they literally act as ports or portals both geographically, economically and administratively. In the literature, they have been studied extensively in relation to the port-hinterland development both in terms of sustainability (Mortensen et al., 2020), urban metabolism (Bahers et al., 2020), circular economy (Haezendonck, 2021) and spatial planning (Bird, 1973; Akhavan, chapter 2, 2020). Economically, ports form vital links in the global supply chains with consolidation (Bonney, 2002) and containerisation (Parola & Musso, 2007) as major consequences. Administratively, ports in Denmark are often owned by the municipality either directly or indirectly via a municipally controlled limited company (Danske Havne, 2004), creating a tension to the often internationally operating companies using the services facilitated by the ports. Gritsenko and Yliskylä-Peuralahti, (2013) note how that can lead to a fragmented and slow implementation of environmental protections where ports are waiting for the market to indicate which development is best in the absence of international treaties.

Traditionally, ports employed thousands of workers on ship yards (Keulen and Kroeze, 2021), as dock workers (Turnbull & Wass, 2007) or in the fishing industry (Copenhagen Economics, 2018; Lange and Ounanian, 2020), but liberalisations, globalisations and specialisations have led to a drastic reduction or even collapse of these industries and now Danish ports only employ 1200 people directly (Danske Havne, 2018). These changes have led to a diversification of activities accompanied with a subsequent specialisation meaning that most ports now focus on one or two activities in steep competition with other ports (Danske Havne, 2018).

However, so far very little has been written about the decision making process within port development and the realignment into a new world order. Few authors, have used

a multicriteria approach to frame port development within economic, social and environmental dimensions (e.g. Cavello et al., 2015) or for a spatial analysis of port selection within the one belt one road initiative (Bhatti and Hanjra, 2019) or even logistics (Lee and Yang, 2018). Gharehgozli et al. (2017) saw port development as a ‘wicket problem’ and Zhuang et al. (2014) studied the specialisation of ports using game theory in a competitive setting. However, there is a gap in the literature on port development and the decision making process from a more discourse oriented perspective.

This study has chosen a narrative approach to study the decision making process, believing that decisions are informed by how a topic is discussed and framed.

Discourse analysis in the decision making process has a long tradition within medicine (e.g. Robertsen et al., 2011; van Brussel & Carpentier, 2012; Lamore et al., 2020), education (Rogers, 2002), public participation (Kurian & Wright, 2012) and business communication (Aritz & Walker, 2010), but will here be applied to the discourses leading up to a rather large expansion for a small port in the Baltic Sea.

Between 2010 and 2020, Danish Ports have planned and constructed expansions for 6.2 billion DKK corresponding to an increase in surface area by over 40 % of the present area or 1136 hectares of extra land area (Danske Havne, 2014a). But which discourses precede these expansions and how do they influence which aspects of a holistic planning has been considered and included in the design of the port and which has been left out?

Or put more formally:

### Research Questions:

*How does the framing of the complex problem of port development influence the decisions regarding functionality and which actors are invited into/involved in the decision process?*

To narrow down the scope of the thesis, it was decided to focus on the port I already had some experience with, that is Rønne Port. So the rest of the thesis will focus on

Rønne Port and the decision-making process leading up to the construction of phase-1 in 2017 and phase-2 in 2021 of the port expansion, see figure 1.

## 1.1. Introducing Rønne Port



Since Bornholm is an island, the port is crucial for shipping in practically everything that is not flown. 80% of domestic trade in Denmark is transported by truck, and the ferries are crucial to connect Bornholm to this transport network. In fact, since there are no motorways on Bornholm, the port has been called ‘Bornholm’s highway’ (e.g., Øhrstrøm, 2017).

*Figure 1. Google image of phase-1 of the expansion in Rønne. (The illustration is created from Google Earth Imagery, (Google Earth Pro, 2020).*

In 2004, the port went from being a municipal owned and run port, to becoming a limited company (Erhvervstyrelsen, n.d.) with the municipality as being majority stakeholders and LO Bornholm and DI as the minority holders in order to make the port function on market terms.

By 2010–2015, around 3200 ships visited Rønne Port every year, but the physical dimensions of the port were posing a larger and larger challenge: despite having more than 3000 m of quays, most of these quays were non profitable by having too shallow a water depth. The entrance to the port limited the lengths of the ships to 240 m and the draft to 8.0–8.5 m, however it was only possible to navigate ships over 200 m under very favourable weather conditions (NIRAS, 2016b).

The plan is thus to expand the port. In the end the project will be conducted in phases and the first phase will be ready by 2019. But which narratives were used to justify the expansion and why was so massive a design opted for? This thesis will focus on the actors and arguments leading up to the construction.



## Chapter 2: Theory

*The choice of theory will define the types of research questions that can be asked. As I am interested in why a certain decision was taken and to analyse the network of actors to see how agency was created, I have chosen a Foucaultian approach (Rydin, 2021) stemming from a social constructivist epistemology.*

*This chapter will outline the basis of social constructivism and how I see it can be combined with a more realist ontological perspective. I do not attempt a thorough description of social constructivism; my aim is merely to illustrate and state how some of the theories and concepts of social constructivism have influenced this study. Further a detailed description of Hajer's concepts of Story Lines, Discourse Coalitions and institutionalisation will follow, which I intend to use as the basis for the analysis.*

### 2.1. Social Constructivism

Social constructivism considers knowledge to be *socially constructed*. Instead of considering reality to be ahistorical and free from cultural path dependencies (a realist perspective), social constructivism claims that our understanding of reality is coloured by culture, history, ideology, personal experiences, etc., to shape how we make sense of the world. Since, a major method of influencing a subject (person) is through discourse, social constructivism is often linked and almost equated to Discourse Analysis (Greenhouse and Callanan, 2006).

It is important to note that social constructivism is not a unified definition but contains many schools and ontological and epistemological perspectives. But in general there are few common characteristics:

- First and foremost it does not consider any knowledge to be privileged and thus religious knowledge is as valid as scientific or journalistic knowledge. (Jørgensen and Philips, 2011b).
- Secondly, focus is on uncovering how truisms are established in order to be able to challenge such orders that limit our society. Thus another assumption is

often that the truism is wrong. A strong example of the liberating effects of social constructivism is Simon de Bouviers deconstruction of the patriarchal society and the beginning of the feminist movement by insisting on the constructed definition of gender (Elder-Vass, 2019).

- Thirdly, meaning is shaped and maintained by social processes and in turn our understanding limits and/or enables certain actions and discourses in society. Thus the way knowledge is constructed has material and social consequences (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2011b).

There are varying degrees of constructivism in terms of how radical this concept is carried through. Some schools within social constructivism consider everything to be socially constructed to the point it becomes impossible to consider one narrative of a case (e.g. scientific finding) more valid than another, since they both are contingent on social and cultural processes of equal value. This dilemma is termed relativism and is something every representation within social constructivism will have to either circumscribe or embrace (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2011b).

According to Andrews (2012) this critique arises when considering social constructivism as an ontology. Social constructivism should be considered an epistemology, i.e., concerned with the production and stabilisation of knowledge and meaning, and not with a philosophical perspective on the nature of the world (ontology), (Andrews, 2012). Elder-Vass, 2012, goes to far as to say that social constructivism would benefit if combined with a realist ontology to create a 'realist social constructivism'. I hold with Elder-Vass and Andrews that ontologically a 'real' true world exists. Rising sea levels (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2006a), diseases (Andrews, 2012), acid rain (Hajer, 1997) are all concepts which exist independently of a social construction. What is socially constructed are the *meanings* and thus subsequent *actions* ascribed and associated with these phenomena. As Jørgensen and Phillips (2011a) explains: the water is rising irrespective of the meaning, but whether it is seen as an act of god, due to poor management by the municipality by not installing dykes or due to global warming will lead to very different political actions.

## 2.2. Part Conclusion

So to summarise: ontologically the world is 'real', and an independent 'truth' does exist. However, since we can only learn and gain knowledge through various social experiences and discourses, our understanding and interpretation of this reality is socially constructed. This understanding of reality is not only shaped by social patterns and structures such as language, but our understanding again shapes and maintains the possible actions influencing our society. Thus epistemologically, my claim is that by focusing on how meaning is created in Rønne, I will be able to conclude on why certain decisions and actions were opted for and why others were not.

## 2.3. Discourse Analysis

If meanings are socially constructed, it implies that great attention should be given to how these meanings are created. Since beliefs, opinions and meanings often are conveyed and influenced by words, it follows that social constructivism places great emphasis on discourses and narratives.

Discourse analysis is heavily influenced by Foucault and his concepts of knowledge and power being distributed in networks rather than located in a single agent (sovereign) (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2011a). During his 'Archaeological phase', Foucault defined discourse as:

*We shall call discourse a group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation [... Discourse] is made up of a limited number of statements for which a group of conditions of existence can be defined. Discourse in this sense is not an ideal, timeless form [...] it is, from beginning to end, historical – a fragment of history [...] posing its own limits, its divisions, its transformations, the specific modes of its temporality. (Foucault 1972: 117 in Jørgensen and Phillips, 2011a)*

The focus in this definition is 'statements' and the fact that they are transient. Another important point is that in theory, statements could take an unlimited number

of forms and be expressed in a multitude of ways, but in practice we find that statements are highly uniform and conform to certain rules which constrain what and how things are said. In other words, there exists some kind of relational power that can retrain the discourse (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2011a).

In his later work, during his ‘genealogical phase’, Foucault studied power and knowledge in relation to punishment and the prison system. In particular, he was interested in how discourses can be broken down into ‘practices’ which seem to regulate the discourses. So even if the discourse of punishment is ‘equalitarian and just’, the micro-practices of everyday mechanisms executing the punishment are essentially ‘non-egalitarian and asymmetrical’ (Hajer, 1997). This can help explain why plans and policies are not implemented as intended (Rydin, 2021). So in the end, both power, knowledge and discourses are distributed in relational networks that can both be enabling and restraining. Instead, a person’s or institution’s power is the result of ‘the constant reproduction of the rules of the discourse’ (Hajer, 1997).

## 2.4. Storylines and Discourse Coalitions

*But how do we operationalise these concepts of relational power, knowledge and discourses? For this I will use Hajer’s concepts of storylines, discourse coalitions and discourse institutionalisms.*

### 2.4.1. Story lines

Following the logic of Hajer’s explanation of ‘acid rain’, the term ‘Port Development’ is an inherently complex discourse. Not only does it draw upon discourses from economics like profit-loss, employment rates, cost-benefits, and trade, it draws upon social issues like labour unions, work safety and working conditions, and anti-terror laws. To top it all, issues like particle emissions, global warming, port-hinterland relations, sediment handling, noise and dust challenge the traditional way of running a port. Experts from widely different fields are required to individually participate with a small piece of knowledge to jointly create an ‘inter-discursive’ narrative which

might be contradictory and at times non-coherent, but which still is remarkably authoritative. How is that possible?

According to Hajer, the key is *story lines*. Story lines acts as:

*'a generative sort of narrative that allows actors to draw upon various discursive categories to give meaning to specific physical or social phenomena. The key function of story-lines is that they suggest unity in the bewildering variety of separate discursive component parts of a problem like acid rain [or port development, red.]. (Hajer, 1997, p. 56)*

Hajer notes that story lines effectively work as metaphors: by invoking a specific part of the discourse the entire story line with its associated meanings and associations are invoked. Using storylines, actors are able to interpret and make sense of a discourse which is outside their field of expertise or to fill in the gaps which are ambivalent. Extreme cases are when complex issues are reduced to one-liners or a single graph practically eradicating all doubts and uncertainties. An example could be the goal of limiting global warming to 1.5 °C. Thus story lines are essential *political devices* aimed at reaching a common understanding and to fix the discourse in a certain way.

#### 2.4.2. Discourse Coalitions

But story lines do more than act as metaphors. They *position* actors in relation to the discourse and in relation to each other *'as victims, as problem solvers, as perpetrators, as top scientists, or as scaremongers'* (Hajer, 1997, p 65). They allow each actor to fit into the jigsaw puzzle. By aligning actors, story lines create *'discourse coalitions'* of actors that propagate and reproduce the story line. What differs Hajer's discourse coalitions from governance theory networks of social actors is that the actors can be networked even if they have never met. They are connected if they apply the same discourse rules and story lines. So a discourse coalition could consist of scientists, politicians, journalists and NGOs all producing and reproducing the story line. Hajer also notes that it is not interests, as in governance theory, that join them together, but language. Since we already noted authority comes from the constant reproduction of discursive

rules, it suddenly becomes interesting, rather than tedious, when the same arguments are reproduced in report after report, since it provides and proves the stabilisation of the discourse coalition.

According to Hajer, there are three factors to how a story line becomes dominant: credibility, acceptability and trust. The story line has to be *credible*, that is other actors have to believe the role and position in the discourse structure the story line appoints to them. That role or position has to appear necessary or appealing, that is *acceptability*. *Trust* is the most tricky of the three and involves that any doubts or inherent uncertainties are suppressed and the story line is adhered to nevertheless. It relies on confidence in the author which again is related to plausibility and persuasion which are not purely cognitive processes (Hajer, 1997).

To gain discursive hegemony, actors create alliances. Hajer defines a discourse coalition as:

*‘The ensemble of (1) a set of story-lines; (2) the actors who utter these story-lines; and (3) the practices in which this discursive activity is based’.* (Hajer, 1997, p. 65)

Further, he notes that the story lines are the cement that glue the actors together, and discourse coalitions form when *practices* which were previously independent, suddenly get a common meaning.

### 2.4.3. Discourse Institutionalisation

Thus, story lines are political devices that convey meanings to complex issues and bind actors together to form discourse coalitions. Hajer talks about ‘*discourse structuration*’ when an actor has to conform to a certain set of norms, concepts, ideas in order to gain credibility.

To illustrate discourse structuration, consider the example of the dilemma of environmentalists whether to speak the language of neoliberalism and gain influence by talking about cost-benefits and long-term investments of environmental protection, or if they should risk losing credibility by talking about the inherent value

of a rainforest and biodiversity; that is relying on other norms and concepts than the dominant.

When the discourse is translated into institutional arrangement or political policies, Hajer terms it '*discourse Institutionalisation*'. Both discourse structuration and discourse institutionalisation must occur, for a story line to gain hegemony.

#### 2.4.4. Political Agency and Political Change

The last point is on political agency and political change. Story lines are political devices to bring actors together across inter-discursive divisions by simplifying (reducing the conflicts) and by being flexible enough to allow multiple interpretations. Thus by framing an issue in the right way, actors gain political agency. We have already noted how a story line gain hegemony and can be able to control the discourse and various practises through its constant reproduction of power. Naturally, it follows that by changing the discourse and the narrative, political change is also possible.

According to Hajer, policy making is '*not simply a case of defining a set of socially acceptable solutions to a well-defined problem*'. He maintains that this definition of a problem cannot be taken for granted, but is constantly challenged and contested by alternative definitions and understandings. But slowly a story line develops and settles the political agency into a '*discursive closure of policy problems*'. Hajer sees that as the first step in '*regulation*': to develop a common understanding of the problem and to agree on the target. The second step is to find ways to make the interventions socially acceptable. Thirdly, it should lead to '*problem closure*' i.e. it should remedy the situation that was seen as problematic.

Naturally, these steps are not mutually exclusive nor straightforward. It is very well possible to define a problem in technical terms which has no social acceptability, or to find a socially acceptable solution, which will not remedy the problem. This will inevitably lead to contestations and non-closure of the issue and the development of alternative story lines.

## 2.5. Part Conclusion

So to summarise these sections: I intend to identify the story lines in the case study of Rønne and see how they are reproduced to create discourse coalitions across both public and private actors to develop the political agency that leads to the expansions of the ports. These discourse coalitions together with the story lines form the basis for the discourse structuration. The dominant storylines will most likely possess the agency to lead to discourse institutionalisation and the actual implementation of the story line. The different concepts are interrelated as illustrated in figure 2

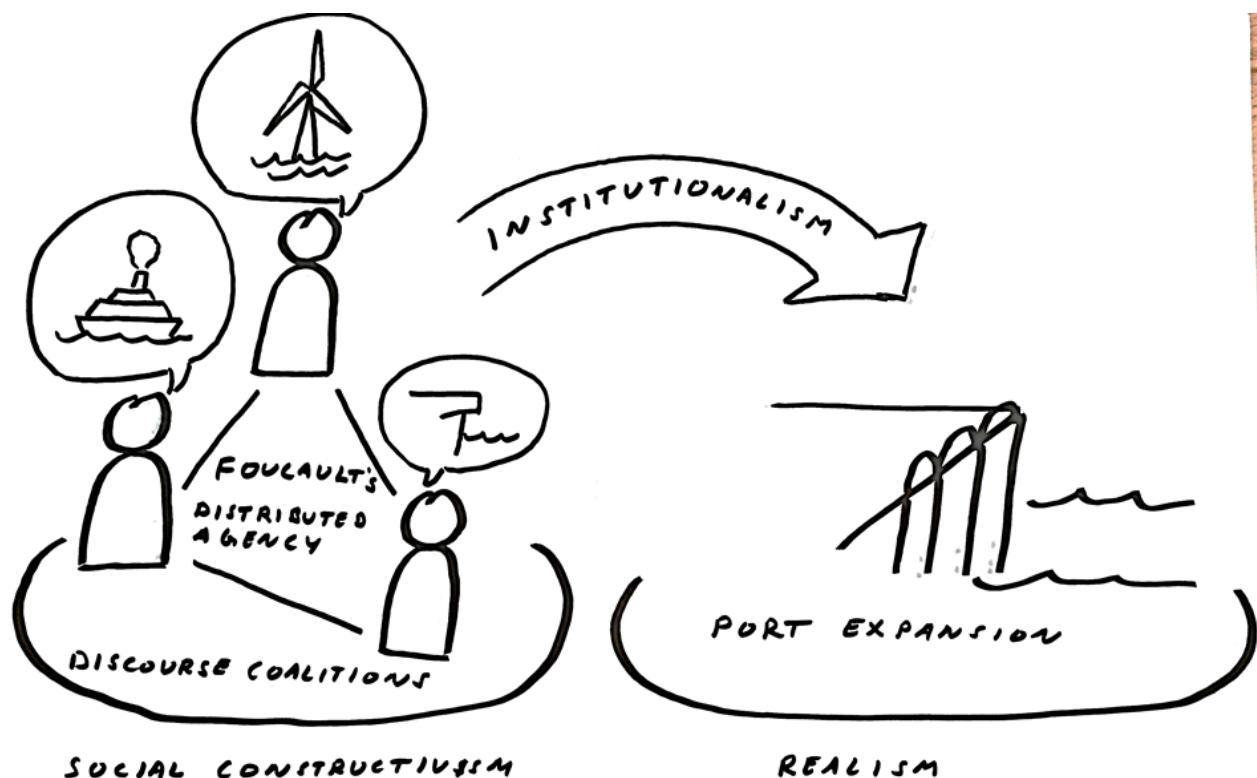


Figure 2. The different theoretical concepts are interlinked as illustrated in the figure. Epistemologically, meaning is seen as socially constructed and transmitted via story lines and discourse coalitions giving power and agency to act. Institutionalisation is the practical implementation of the story lines moving meanings from the socially constructed to a real physical manifestation. (My own figure).



## Chapter 3: Problem Formulation

*This chapter will frame the research questions.*

Following this discussion on social constructivism, discourse analysis and finally Hajers concepts on discourse structuration and institutionalisation, we can reach a final problem formulation to expand the Research Question:

*How does the framing of the complex problem of port development influence the decisions regarding functionality and sustainability and which actors are invited into/involved in the decision process?*

As we now know that framing can be understood in the light of discourse analysis, the sub questions will be framed in terms of Hajer's concepts of discourse structuration:

Subquestion 1:

- *How does the process of discourse structuration take place?*

But as discussed in chapter 3, discourse structuration is an enveloped concept similar to a Babushka Doll, revealing other concepts of story lines and discourse coalitions inside, necessitating further under questions to answer the sub question:

- *What are the story lines on Bornholm?*
- *How do the storylines influence the discourse coalitions? I.e, how are the story lines created and propagated?*

So by answering these two under questions, sub question 1 is hoped to be answered.

To answer the part of the research question related to the decisions regarding functionality, Hajer's concept of discourse institutionalism will be employed.

Subquestion 2:

- *How does the process of discourse institutionalism take place?*

As discussed in chapter four, discourse institutionalism can be traced in the implementation of politics and strategies or in changing institutional arrangement, giving us the following sub-sub questions:

- *Which policies and strategies were followed?*
- *Which decisions regarding functionality were finally taken?*

Finally, to elucidate the concepts of power and agency and to explain why certain actors were involved or certain viewpoints were incorporated while others were ignored, a final sub question regarding dominance of the story lines have been made:

Subquestion 3:

- *How do the story lines become hegemonic?*

Where hegemony will be traced and understood according to Hajer, see section 2.4.2.

# Chapter 4: Methodology

## 4.1. Case Study

Methodologically the study will depend on a detailed document analysis to establish the story lines combined with semi-structured interviews of key persons to create a data-dense and narrative case study in lines of Flyvbjerg's famous study of Aalborg (Flyvbjerg, 1998).

In his 2006 essay 'Five Misunderstandings of Case Studies', he notes that it is generally perceived as difficult to generalise from a case study:

*Misunderstanding 5: It is often difficult to summarize and develop general propositions and theories on the basis of specific case studies.* (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 221)

However, as Peattie (2001) comments, it is often not beneficial to summarise a complex, context dependent case study into a general theory. Flyvbjerg elaborates further on this point and returns to Aristotle's concepts of *phronesis*. According to Aristotle, there are three forms of knowing: *episteme*, *techne* and *phronesis* (Peattie, 2001). *Episteme* and *techne* has given us the English words epistemology and technique. It is the last dimension which interests Flyvbjerg. It has no English equivalent, so we will use the Greek term: *phronesis*. It is related to practical wisdom and experience, but has more to do with ethics and 'doing good' than *episteme*. According to Aristotle, *phronesis* is a quality possessed by good rulers and administrators, who know how to handle a situation for a greater good (Flyvbjerg, 2004).

Flyvbjerg argues that in order to become an expert in a field, experience with numerous examples are necessary and case studies are a way of teaching excellence (Flyvbjerg, 2006). So the value of a case study is not necessarily its ability to generate theories, though Flyvbjerg do provide a methodology for using case studies to verify

or falsify theories, but to give insights into contexts and specifics which can provide the reader with a level of 'phronesis' and learning by example.

The theoretical and philosophical challenge is how can you position yourself outside the narrative in order to develop the key learnings needed for phronesis (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2011b)? I am of the opinion that the historical approach assumed in this report by following a timeline, gives me the benefit of being able to judge the development with the knowledge of hindsight, creating the necessary distance to be able to critique it and thus to draw out the learnings.

However, to avoid the pitfall of constructing another ideological narrative, it is important to be transparent about the social and historical contingencies, I as a researcher operate within, to allow the reader to challenge this account. This levels out the playing field between the reader and researcher by not assuming a privileged status of the researcher as possessing knowledge that others do not have. On the other hand, I do not believe that all knowledge productions are equally 'true' or equally good representations of reality. This 'correctness', however, is decided by the rigidity of the methodology and choice of theory rather than assuming a 'special' position of the researcher as being 'all knowing'.

Nevertheless, I will be honest and acknowledge my political standpoint in favour of a sustainable world with a circular economy and empowered local stakeholders, which causes me to take notice when planning practices appear to neglect that. Other researchers using the same methodology and theory, will still find the same story lines, but might not pay as much attention to the loss of sustainability as I did. They might, however, have noted something else, maybe within the economic sphere which I missed due to my lack of knowledge in economic affairs. That is, how you frame your investigation will affect the answers you find.

So in view of this discussion, I intend to create a data-dense case study of port development as it appears on Bornholm to construct a narrative that can inform the reader on how planning in practice can look like in the Baltic Sea in the 2010s. Its value will mainly be to illustrate how the political devices of story lines were employed to

generate the agency needed for the port expansion. It will be up to the reader to add the main conclusions to his or her phronesis. In other words, I do not claim that whatever conclusions will be reached, can be generalised to another setting, but I do believe that the case study has a value in adding to the discussion on how planning can unfold.

## 4.2. Generating the Data

To generate the data, a detailed document analysis will be conducted and the story lines will be triangulated by semi-structured interviews.

### 4.2.1. Documents

The documents fall into three main categories:

1. Press releases and annual reports released by Rønne Port on their own homepage [www.roennehavn.dk](http://www.roennehavn.dk).
2. Municipal and national planning documents, local plans, EIAs and permissions including hearing answers and technical investigations like geotechnical or marine archeological investigations.
3. Media articles related to the port expansion or the propagation of the storylines in both regional and national media published in Danish. The database, Infomedia, was used to find the articles.

The press releases and the municipal planning documents were all coded in NVIVO, but unfortunately, the licence agreement with Infomedia, does not permit downloading of the articles, which made it impossible to code the articles in NVIVO. Nevertheless, the coding of the press releases and planning documents ensured objectivity in the study of the story lines as propagated and repeated in these documents as well as gave a statistical confirmation that certain concepts were dominant both in terms of number of codes and number of words coded. Here objectivity is understood as a fair representation of the documents, by not reading a

meaning into the documents which was not there. By including every article and document I could find, even if it was the 20th repetition of the same story, I aimed at avoiding my own subjectivity by selectively choosing some articles over others. Thus I maintain that the representation of the story lines and discourse coalitions, is a valid representation.

The opposition to the story lines were identified in two types of documents: first and foremost in the articles and letters to the editor found in the local newspapers and secondly in the hearing answers. Since only the hearing answers could be captured in NVIVO, the codes and statistics to the alternative story lines challenging the narrative of the port are not fully captured by NVIVO. Nevertheless, as already stated, the coding ensured a more objective feeling for the material and worked as a guide to assist the reading. This was the case both when the document followed or did not follow the prevailing story lines or arguments.

#### 4.2.2. Interviews

To give an initial feeling with the timeline of the project, 3 semi-structured interviews were conducted with:

1. The chairman of Offshore Centre Bornholm on February 15th, 2022
2. The project manager for MarLog on February 15th, 2022
3. The head of Cruise Department and Port Security (retired) on February 22nd, 2022

These interviews gave me an initial understanding of the issues and drew attention to parts of the story line I would otherwise have missed.

To triangulate the story lines 3 additional semi-structured interviews were planned at the end of the project:

1. The former mayor and chairman of Rønne Port, Thomas Thors. Conducted on 23rd May, 2022.

2. The leader for the support group for Kanondalen, Michael Trolle. Conducted on May 27th, 2022.
3. The leader of Rønne Byforening (Rønne City Association). Unfortunately, the request was declined citing incompetence.

These interviews enabled me to put the different story lines into relation to each other and clarify doubts and uncertainties from the document analysis.

The audio recordings (except the interview with the project manager at Marlog, which was not recorded) are attached as separate appendices to the report.

### 4.3. Research Design

In view of the above discussion, the research design appears as follows. The research question is divided into 3 sub questions, which is further divided into questions linking the sub questions directly to Hajer's theoretical concepts. In order to answer the three sub questions, a detailed case study will be constructed following Flyvbjerg's notions of phronesis and the value of the case study for teaching excellence. Again inspired by Flyvbjerg, a chronological narrative of the case will be pursued unfolding the events as they occurred rather than jumping to conclusions based on the wisdom of hindsight.

The story lines will be deconstructed via a careful document analysis and triangulated with semi-structured interviews. This will allow me to trace the discourses between different actors and to map out the discourse coalitions stabilising the agency to facilitate the expansion. The research design is summarised in figure 3.

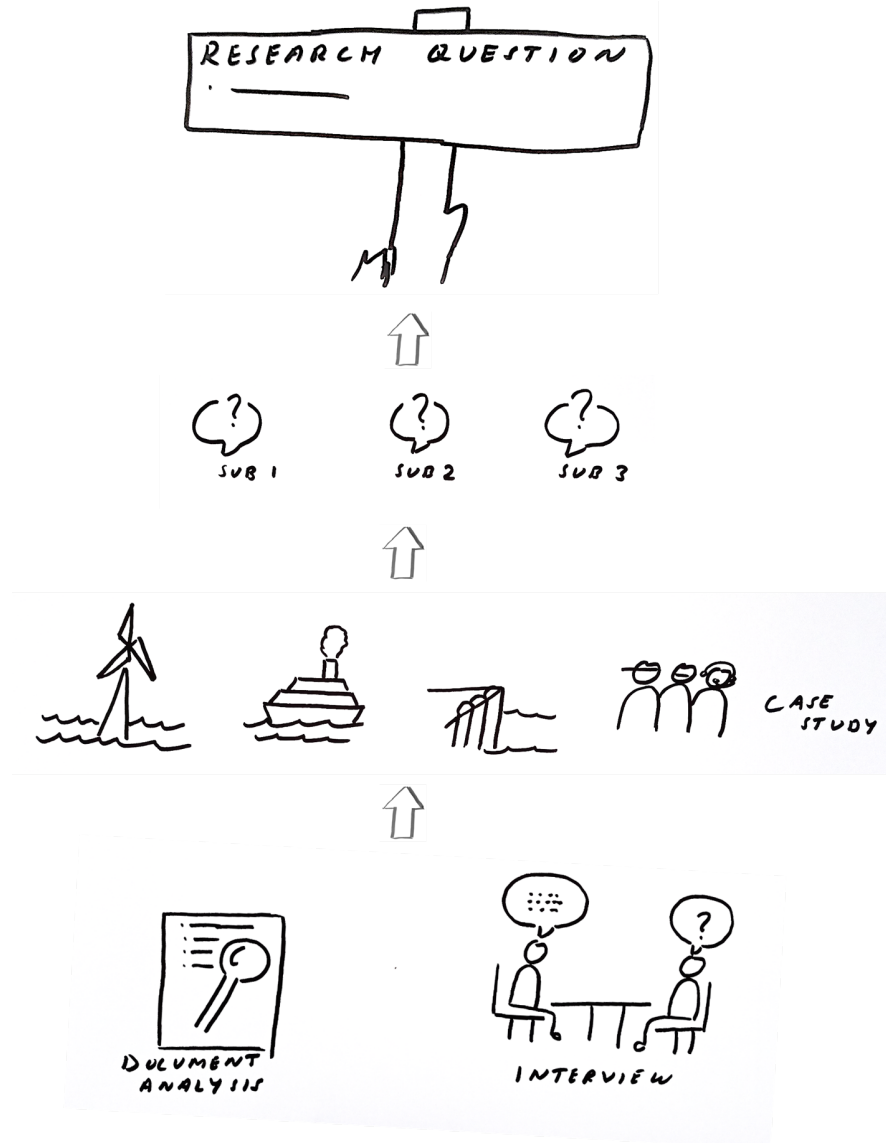


Figure 3. A document analysis and interviews will be used to construct a case study, which will answer sub questions 1-3 and finally the final research questions.

The report is organised as follows: Chapter 2 will frame the research of port development in an epistemological framework in discourse analysis before continuing by discussing Hajer's concepts of story lines, structuration and discourse institutionalisation. These concepts will be used to frame the research questions in chapter 3 while chapter 4 outlines the methodology. Chapters 5-9 are the main chapters of the analysis investigating the framing and the narratives surrounding the development of the port leading to the decisions. Finally chapter 10 and chapter 11 are the discussion and conclusion.



# Chapter 5: Story Lines

This chapter seeks to answer the first under question of the Subquestion 1:

- *What are the storylines on Bornholm?*

This is the first part of identifying the discourse coalition and discourse structuration.

## 5.1. Port Expansion

The very first document linked to the idea of expanding the port is an article in Bornholms Tidende in December 2008. Already the title links the port to the prosperity of Rønne: *'The source to the city's prosperity' (Kilden til Byens Velstand)*, (Nielsen, 2008).

The article was coded in NVIVO and the dominance of economic terms are clear from the graph displayed in figure 4.

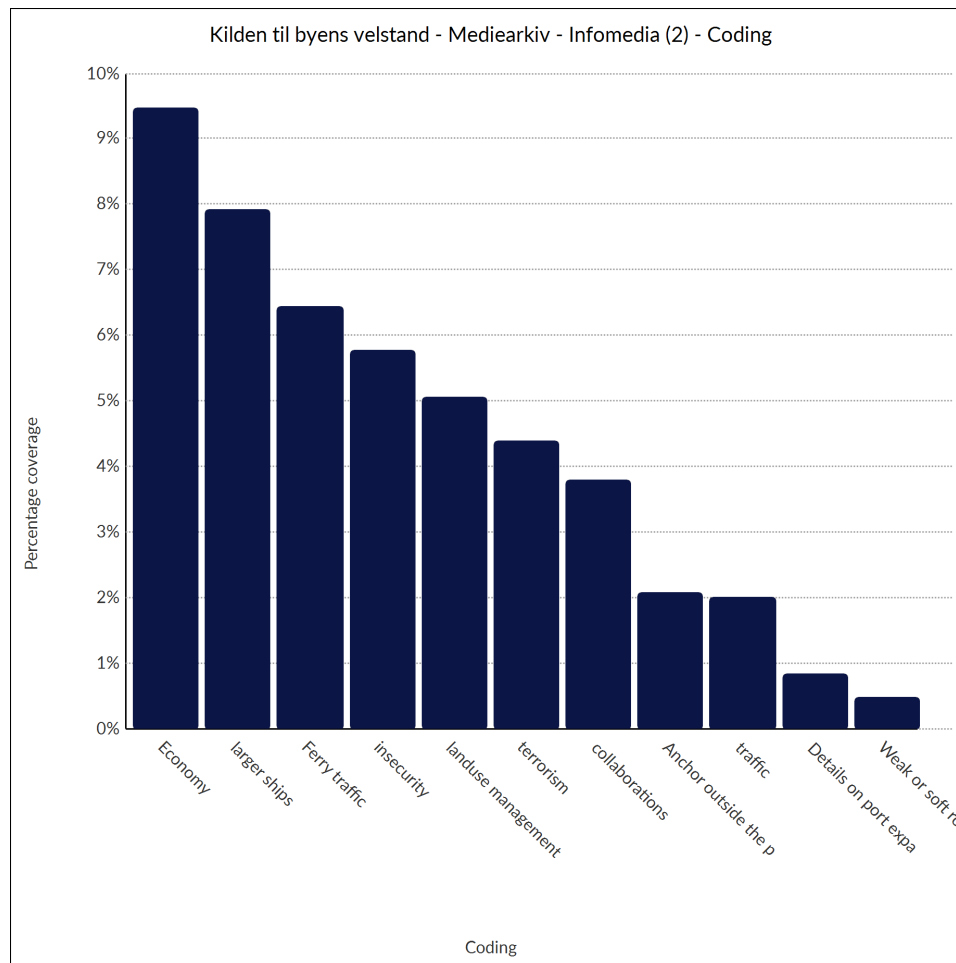
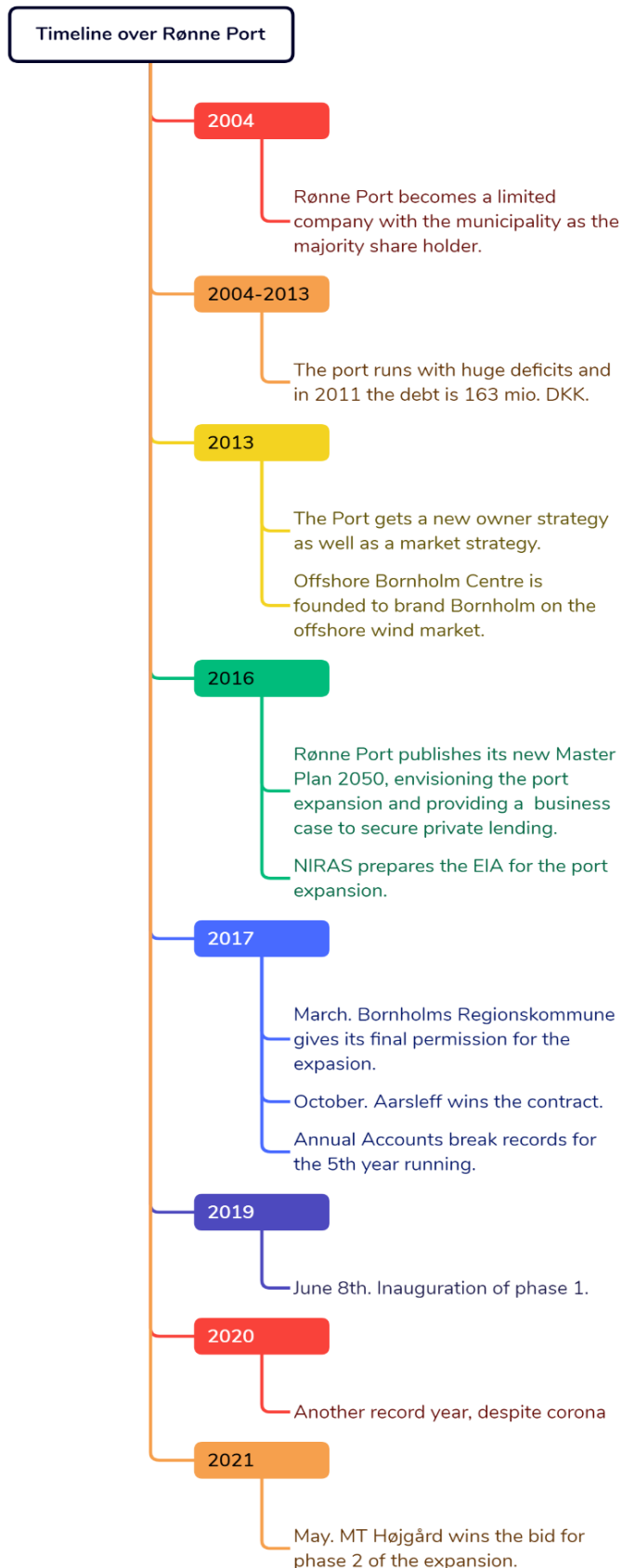


Figure 4. Economic concepts like SWOT analysis, and development of local business take up more than 9% of the article. Among other things, the port director, Hans Kümler, emphasises that any expansion will have to be paid by the users of the port.

The article is seeped in uncertainty about



Presented with XMind

what and how the port is to be developed, but in this article we get the first argument that the port is too small from the then CEO of the port, Hans Kümler:

*‘The analysis of the area kickstarted the work together with the fact there is a shortage of space in the port area, Hans Kümler explains...’*  
(Nielsen, 2008, my own translation)

The lack of space is mainly explained from a perspective of the ferry traffic, noting how the port requires space for double the number of passenger vehicles. That is, if the ferry carries 400 cars, the port needs space for 800 cars. Since the size of the ferries are increasing, the port is finding it difficult to accommodate everything.

*Figure 5. Timeline over the main events in the expansion of Rønne Port. In 2013, a new owner strategy was devised. In 2016, the masterplan for the expansion was released and by 2019 phase-1 was complete.*

Interestingly, in this article we also see the beginning of the story lines related to cruise ships. The

consultancy company, Gemba Seafood Consultancy, suggested that a development pathway for the port could be to expand it to be able to facilitate the cruise ships which now are forced to put down anchor outside the port. But the port director is not convinced that an expansion will lead to substantially more ships choosing to visit Bornholm: *'Maybe we can get three, four, five larger ships per year for an investment of 100 or 200 mio. DKK'*, he is quoted as saying (Nielsen, 2008).

## 5.2. The port as a Driver for Job Creation and Growth

The same article refers to an economic analysis made by Gemba Seafood Consultancy in 2008 of the various activities of Rønne Port. In this report we find the beginning of arguments that will shape another important story line around Rønne Port:

- 1) Rønne Port is essential for the city of Rønne and Bornholms Regionskommune as a driver for job creation and growth:
  - a) As host to a number of highly specialised companies within transport, marine services, shipping and raw material extraction, it indirectly employs 1850 people and supports 20% of the taxes on Bornholm.
  - b) As location for a small fishing fleet supporting fish factories and trade.  
(This argument will practically disappear in the next few years).
- 2) Rønne port is an important traffic node as the main ferry terminal to and from Bornholm.
- 3) Rønne port is an important place for bulk trade.
- 4) Rønne Port is crucial for the tourism industry in general and particularly for the cruise ship industry.

These conclusions were incorporated almost word for word into the new *'Strategy and Vision Plan for Rønne Havn A/S towards 2020'* by the board members of the port during 2009 and 2010. Recommendations were made as to how to strengthen these areas and

a strategic plan for an expansion around 2020 were made. Also the decision to make an actual master plan was taken.

So far no further details on the port expansion is known, but two areas are suggested: either westward by extending the breakwaters or southwards . The main focus is on ferry traffic, which is anticipated to grow and with larger ferries necessitating an expansion of the ferry terminal. Cruise ship tourism is noted as being important, but focus is mainly on increasing the collaboration with other actors such as Cruise Baltic to promote cruise ship tourism in the Baltic rather than linking the cruise ship industry to the port expansion (Rønne Havns bestyrelse, 2010).

### 5.3. Cruise Ship Tourism

But Bornholms Regionskommune sees a larger potential in the cruise ship industry, than Rønne Port initially does. In 2012, Bornholms Regionskommune published an ambitious report titled 'Bornholms contribution to development of Denmark's cruise ship tourism' (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2012). It formed a part of the negotiations for national investments in infrastructure 2013-2015, and showcased how a small investment of 140 mill. DKK would lead to 112 new Danish jobs - 39 of them in Copenhagen and 31 mio. DKK extra tax revenues - every year. The cruise ship market is described as only increasing in the baltic Sea, but unfortunately, 9 out of 10 cruise ships skip Bornholm and continue straight to Stockholm or Tallinn. Again we see the purely economic framing of the story line. Bornholm is presented as something unique, that can supplement the large cultural centres of Copenhagen, Helsinki and Saint Petersburg, but which unfortunately is not utilised as the water depth in the port is inadequate. This forces the large ships to anchor outside the port, but studies have shown that substantially fewer passengers choose to leave the ship when barrages are used compared to when a landing bridge is employed. Even worse is it, when Bornholm must be given up altogether due to bad weather, and the cruise ship continues to its next destination without visiting Bornholm (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2012).

Thus in this report we see the introduction of another dimension of the story line stating that the port is too small. Earlier, the space requirement was mainly horizontally on the quay to handle the larger volumes of bulk trade and ferry passengers. But now the port is also too small vertically and cannot continue with its presently 5–8 metres water depths, but must be dredged to 10 metres.

## 5.4. Offshore Wind

In 2014, an agreement between the national government, Bornholms growth forum (Bornholms Vækstforum) and Bornholms Regionskommune for increased economic growth in Bornholm was signed (Regeringen et al., 2014). In the agreement it is emphasised that the isolated location of Bornholm necessitates a special effort and that two areas are of special importance: transportation and education. Transport to and from the island is deemed as crucial for the society on Bornholm together with access to quality primary, secondary and tertiary education on the island to prevent people from moving away from the island. The agreement identifies five focus areas, among them cruise ship tourism and maritime services, cheaper ferry connections and a generic focus on businesses and job creation.

Important for the storylines around the port expansion is the repetition that the port is too small to cater to the increasingly larger cruise ships and that it has negative consequences for the economy of Bornholm. An expansion of the port is also linked to the possibility of using larger trade vessels which would decrease costs of transportation of goods such as granite and sand.

The agreement also for the first time mentions the possibilities of Rønne Port functioning as a service- and installation port for maritime services linked to the offshore wind market. In particular, Kriegers Flak windmill farm is mentioned as a possibility to offer employment for a range of businesses on Bornholm.

According to the newly retired Chief Business Officer Cruise and PSO of Rønne Port, this parallel argument was developed because cruise ship tourism alone could not

finance the expansion of the port (Interview with Chief Business Officer cruise and PSO, Rønne Port).

To continue the process, it is agreed that the national government will support Bornholms Regionskommune and Rønne Port to develop a business case investigating potentials and risks associated with an expansion of the port and to assist finding private investors to finance the port.

So it appears we have three story lines all supporting the bottom line that the port is too small:

- The initial storyline, that the port is vital for the economy of Bornholm and that it serves as a driver for job creation both directly and indirectly. It does so by directly employing people, but also indirectly by offering services like quays, cranes, bunker oil, meeting space, etc., for a number of other businesses in Bornholm. The port is seen as '*Bornholm's motorway*' (e.g. Hansen, B., 2015) serving as a port of supply.
- Secondly, cruise ship tourism will bring business to the rest of Bornholm via increased demand for tour guides, bus drivers, cafés and restaurants, and day trip destinations. Unfortunately, the ships are getting larger and larger, making it impossible to visit Rønne (cruise ships). One reason for the cruise ships to get larger is that the new EU directive on sulphur emissions forces the older (smaller) ships to be decommissioned leaving only the newer cruise ships in operation, which all tend to be larger (Nielsen, H., 2015b). The framing is purely economic and no discussion regarding air pollution, the size of the ships in relation to Rønne town, or the potential impacts on Bornholm of 3000 tourists arriving simultaneously, are found.
- Thirdly, an opportunity to profit on the offshore wind projects is also beginning to develop. There is a feeling that Bornholm has an extensive know-how on marine services like ship building and maintenance due to the fishing fleet. The fishing industry had been largely dismantled by the EU fishing quotas on fishery in the Baltic inflicting wounds on Bornholm's image as itself as being

connected to the sea (Interview with the chairman of OCB). The offshore wind industry is seen as a way of reviving the old maritime knowledge and again enabling Bornholm to live off the sea (Grøn, 2015; Nielsen, H., 2017g).

As the ships are getting larger, the port is facing difficulties performing its vital duties as a transport node to and from Bornholm making the rest of Bornholm suffer. Initially, the space requirements were mainly for more land area for parking and storing bulk goods like granite and biomass. But later, the wish to accommodate the cruise ships inside the harbour increases, making a vertical expansion necessary. Finally, the offshore industry requirements towards the strength of the quays as well as the size of the storage area (windmill foundations weigh up to 400 tons, being 50 m long), necessitates a much larger expansion than what the two other story lines warrant.

# Chapter 6: Circulation of the Story Lines

This chapter aims at investigating the next under question of the subquestion 1 related to discourse structuration:

- *How are the storylines propagated and circulated among different actors leading to discourse structuration?*

## 6.1. Securing Financing of the Port Expansion

The bottom line of the story lines as seen in section 5.4, is that the port is too small. But how to finance the expansion? The estimated costs for the expansion was 650–700 mio. DKK around 2015 (Maritime Danmark, 2015b). The owner strategy from 2004 for the port is unequivocal: any investments must be financed by the port's own assets (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2013). The problem was that in 2012, the port was showing an annual deficit of 8.5 mio. DKK and a debt of 144 mio. DKK (Rønne Havn, 2013). So the chances to secure financing on the private market looked slim.

In 2013, a new market strategy was devised and financial targets were set. The port had already reduced the number of staff by 7% (from 42 to 39) in 2012, but in 2013, the owner strategy was reevaluated (Rønne Havn, 2013). As presented by the mayor, Winnie Grossbøll, in an article in Danish Ports: *‘we want the port to earn money. We want the port to have the money to invest in infrastructure and thus in Bornholm... we want the port to take social responsibility... we want the port to incorporate the green agenda...’* (Danske Havne, 2014). She continues to explain that the port has managed to turn the business around in just three years to get the capacity to invest in infrastructure, to pay for Offshore Centre Bornholm, OCB, and to future proof the port to accommodate the larger ships. Satisfied, she mentions the port expects a profit of 10 mio. DKK this year (in 2014).

To turn around the business, a massive effort of professionalising the board was initiated. In 2012, a new younger more visionary CEO was hired (Rønne Havn, 2019a), and in 2013, it was decided to follow the ‘guidelines for good board management’ in a



very transparent manner which were further updated in 2014 (Rønne Havn, 2016a). In the interview with the former chairman of the port, it was emphasised the importance of appointing Lars Karlsson as a member of the board, due to his extreme expertise and experience from other ports (Interview, the former chairman of the port). The aim of following these guidelines was to capitalise on the increased trust from investors and thus increase the resilience of the port in the long run. As the chairman of the board, Thomas Thors, explains in *Klar Kurs*, a newsletter published thrice a year by Rønne Havn:

*'Basically it is about making it attractive to invest in the company. The idea is that good management leads to economic value creation. That means it is easier to obtain capital which in turn reduces costs for the company.'* (Rønne Havn, 2015b).

This was followed by dedicated education of all board members and from 2016 use a professional recruitment company to ensure that members of the board are chosen so to reflect various competencies such as experience in port management, cruise ship tourism, construction management, networking and leadership (Danske Havne, 2016a; Johansen, 2019).

Simultaneously with working on increasing the capital of Rønne Havn A/S, national funding is sought. National Assembly Candidate, Lea Wermelin, is clear that a strong regional politics are required to ensure growth and jobs (Maritime Danmark, 2015d) and lobbies actively to get the Minister for Industry, Business and Financial Affairs to help finance the breakwater (Larsen, 2015). The argument is that, as the national government assists other west facing ports on the Danish West Coast, they should also assist Bornholm which is also west facing (Nielsen, H., 2015a; Nielsen, J.B., 2016d). But by 2016, the hopes are dying that the national government will support Bornholm financially, forcing the port to focus on raising the capital itself. To be able to do so, branding becomes crucial.

## 6.2. Branding Rønne Port

In 2013, together with the other initiatives, it was decided to invest a larger amount dedicated to branding Rønne Port especially within the offshore market, maritime services and cruise ships (Rønne Havn, 2016a). A dedicated strategy called *Clear Coast Ahead 2025* (Klar Kurs 2025) was envisioned in 2015. Collaboration was sought in a number of different networks such as Offshore Centre Bornholm, OCB, to promote offshore wind and Cruise Ship Bornholm Network, CBN, to promote Bornholm as a cruise ship destination. The latter was also promoted extensively by Destination Bornholm.

In the interview with the chairman of OCB it was emphasised how difficult it was initially to brand Bornholm as something else as a holiday destination. He remembered receiving comments like: *‘Did you bring the smoked herring?’* when participating in trade fairs (Interview with the chairman of OCB). This view was repeated by the project manager on another initiative called Marlog (Maritime Logistics), who mentioned that it was a long and hard battle to place Bornholm and the port of Rønne on the map (Interview with the project manager, Marlog).

Looking at the 29 press releases by Rønne Port on their own homepage, roenneport.dk between 2015 and 2022, 10 repeat the story line about the importance of Rønne Havn for job creation on Bornholm and 11 mention either offshore wind or other maritime services. Only 6 mention cruise ships tourism, while 11 have some economic angle to the article, see appendix 11 for more details. Interestingly, none of the press releases mentions that the port is too small, or that Rønne Port is an important traffic node. But also other media outlets are used to brand Rønne Port. Winnie Grosbøll, the mayor, had an interview in Danish Ports in 2014 (Danske Havne, 2014b), in which she repeated all the three storylines arguing for the importance of the port. Thomas Thors, the previous mayor and chairman for the port, did the same in 2016 (Danske Havne, 2016a).

The branding continued in March, 2015, as Søfart (a maritime newsletter) and Bornhoms Tidende each featured an article focused on the offshore potential of Rønne

Port. All maritime services, repairs, oil bunkering etc. are said to be available within 7 minutes from Rønne Port. The only thing Rønne Port cannot handle is offshore wind installation, as they lack the area, repeating the storyline that the port is too small. Even the cruise ship industry would benefit by considering the location of Bornholm at the entrance to the Baltic, as with the new ECA rules the ships cannot carry enough maritime bunker oil to reach Stockholm or Tallinn. The hope is that they would consider Bornholm as a place to tank up (Brandt-Jensen, 2015a; Grøn, 2015).

To further brand the port and get an edge over the competitors, Rønne Port becomes the first port in the world to be ISO certified in four different disciplines: Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR DS 49001), Environment (ISO 14001), Quality (ISO 90001), and Work Environment and Safety (OHSAS 18001). It is especially the offshore wind industry that requires proof of quality and transparency (Nielsen, H., 2015d). It is an move that is published both on both their own homepage (Rønne Havn, 2015a) as well as in Bornholms Tidende (Nielsen, H., 2015b), Maritime Danmark (Maritime Danmark, 2015c) and TV2 Bornholm (Nørgård, 2015).

By October, 2015, the effort started to show, and a breakthrough occurred, when KPI Bridge Oil agreed to market Rønne Port as a destination for bunker oil. The target was to attract some of the 60.000 ships passing by Bornholm to market Rønne Port as a serious player in maritime services. This was the first time that the story line around maritime services led to concrete business contracts and it was widely published (Rønne Havn, 2015c; Boris, 2015; Nielsen, H., 2015e; Brandt -Jensen, 2015b, Maritime Danmark, 2015a and 2015e).

The branding continues in 2016. In February, Winnie Grosbøll features with the same interview in three different outlets: TV2 Bornholm, Danske Havne and Bornholms Tidende (Holland, 2016; Danske Havne, 2016b; Nielsen, H., 2016d). Though repeating the same story lines as outlined earlier, a new focus on how the port has managed to change its economic results in just three years due to its new owner strategy is evident. This article is meant to show that Rønne Port has the capacity to invest in huge infrastructure projects. This new story line of economic capability is repeated by the chairman of Rønne Port, just a week later, again in Danske Havne, in an interview

in which he talks at length about the professionalisation of the board. He notes that the port now has an investment capacity of 360 mio. DKK, while the debt will be technically zero by 2017 (Danske Havne, 2016a).

At the same time, a shift in the internal importance of the story lines occurs. During 2016, various articles in different media outlets alternate the different story lines sometimes focusing on cruise ships (Leth, 2016; Liljeroth, 2016a, Hviid, 2016; Nielsen 2016m) and larger ships (Nielsen, H., 2016n), sometimes on bunker oil and LNG (Stubkjær, 2016c), sometimes on the professionalisation of the board (Nielsen, H., 2016k) and sometimes on networking within the green agenda (Nielsen, H., 2016j and 2016a). But more and more articles appear that focus on the offshore industry as the next great adventure for Bornholm. In January, Bornholm was host to the Windforce Baltic Sea conference highlighting the infrastructure on Bornholm (Rønne Havn, 2016b) and on March 18th, Transport Magasinet brings four articles, three of them focusing on the efforts by Offshore Centre Bornholm to brand Bornholm and the competences already existing on Bornholm (Nielsen, J.B., 2016a, 2016b, 2016c). Competences like aluminium welding and repair of ships and machines are highlighted. The maritime chief notes that she spends most of her time on offshore wind as '*that is where there is most potential*' (Nielsen, J.B, 2016b). Another reason seen is the infrastructure on Bornholm and that everything from the airport, ferry terminal, hospitals, hotels, restaurants, etc. can be reached within 7 minutes. So far the branding is not aimed at securing installation orders of windmills, but all the subsequent monitoring, maintenance, and repair of the large wind farms and the ships, is seen as a market (Nielsen, J.B, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c).

The last article out of the four brought in Transport Magasinet on March 18th, repeats the new story line of economic strength and investment capacity. It also repeats the argument that the national government should assist all west facing ports in Denmark and not only the ones located on the Westcoast, emphasising that Rønne port is forced to expand to cater to the larger ships in 10-15 years (Nielsen, J.B, 2016d).

In effect three new or alternative storylines are propagated, that:

1. Rønne Port is a responsible player with impeccable records also proved by the certifications.
2. Bornholm has a lot of maritime expertise which the offshore wind industry requires and finally that
3. The location of Bornholm, rather than being seen as isolated, is in fact a strength. The distances are short both to the wind farms as well as on land making everything reachable within 7 minutes.

These storylines help create trust in the brand of Rønne Port and to generate revenues. The annual results of 2015 and 2016 are the best ever – which is again published across the discourse coalition: Nielsen, H., 2016b, 2016e and 2017e; Kaas, 2016b; Maritime Danmark, 2016 and 2017a; Transport Magasinet, 2016a, 2016b and 2017a; Søfart, 2016; Adolfsen, 2017; Clausen, 2017a; transport nyhederne, 2017.

Figure 6 shows the media coalition as it looks in 2016. In section 9.2 it will be shown how this initial core coalition expands manifold. The two online media, Søfart and Transport Magasinet, are both owned by the media concern, Nordiske Media, which might explain the repetition of the same articles.

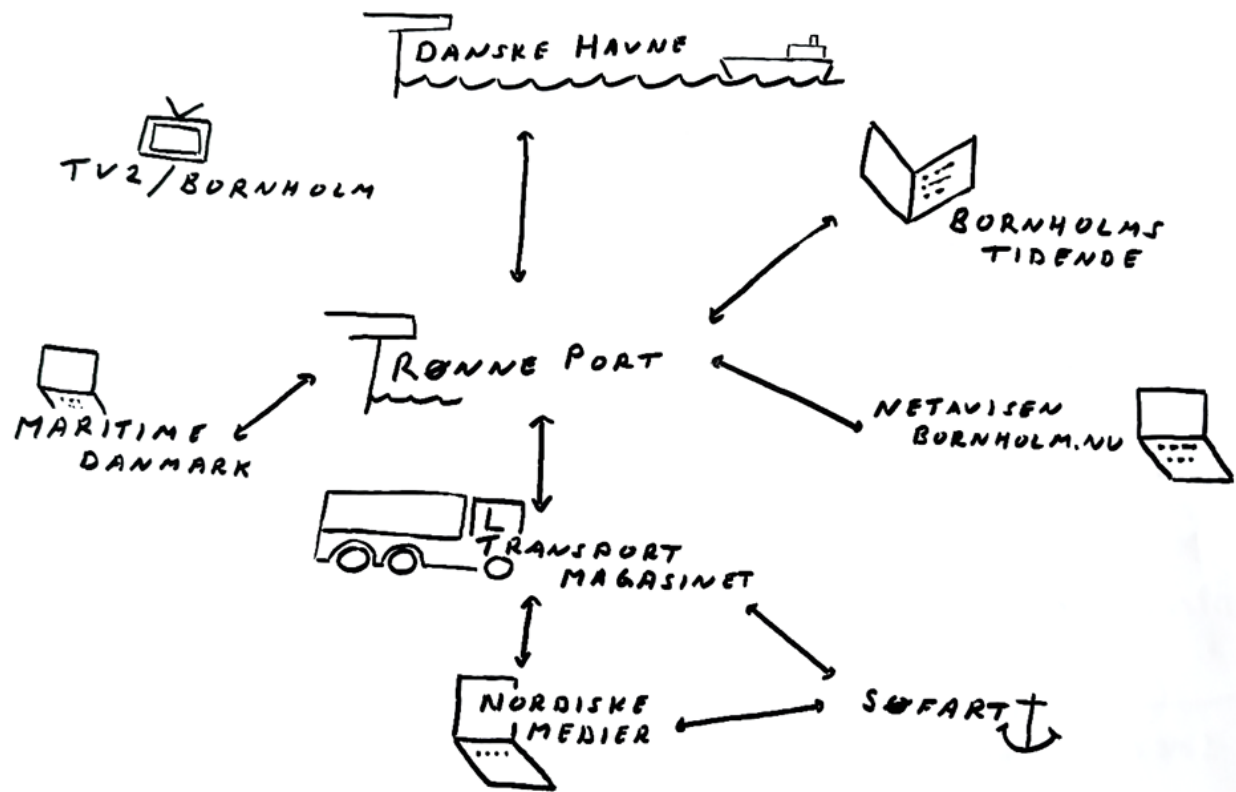


Figure 6. The various media outlets that publish articles about Rønne Port repeating one or more of the story lines up to 2016. It is either local news outlets like Bornholms Tidende, Netavisen Bornholm.nu or TV2/Bornholm, or online media specialising on transport and shipping. Danske Havne is the interest organisation for ports in Denmark, and is an important coalition partner.

Thus we see a discourse coalition within media in which Rønne Port publishes a press release, which then are repeated first and foremost in Bornholm Tidende, but also often in Transport Magasinet, Maritime Danmark, Søfart, TV2 Bornholm and Netavisen Bornholm.nu. Danske Havne is an important discourse partner since they use Rønne Havn as an example for other ports to follow, lending credibility to Rønne Port.

### 6.3. Branding coalesces into financing

We have seen how the story lines have begun to stabilise and spread into a stable discourse coalition in the media, exemplified by the enthusiastic editorial in Bornholms Tidende in March, 2016, fully in favour of a new cruise ship terminal noting that it is of no use that the rest of Bornholm has so much to offer American tourists, if they cannot reach since the port is too small (Kaas, 2016a).

But the financing of the expansion is still not secured. We noted earlier that the plea to the national government to be considered at par with other west facing ports did not lead to any support (see section 6.1). This leaves the EU as the only place that might assist financially. On March 19, 2016, Bornholms Tidende wrote: *'Multiquay can be ready in 3 years... if EU funding can be secured'* (Nielsen, H., 2016i). In contrast to the enthusiastic editorial a few weeks earlier, this article described the expansion as a multi-purpose quay both catering to cruise ships, bulk trade, ferries and maritime services. However, the funds were declined in June, 2016, momentarily threatening to postpone the project again. The port is quick to ensure that it will only delay and not derail the project (Nielsen, H., 2016f; Rønne Havn, 2016c) repeating the story line that it has obligations as a port of supply towards the entire community of Bornholm. Nonetheless, it means that private investors are the only way forward, making the story line regarding Rønne Ports as a responsible player even more important.

It is in this light that the publication of the Rønne Port Master Plan 2050 in November 2016 should be seen. As a detailed business case for the expansion to ensure private funding. It begins with a detailed account of the importance of the port for the society of Bornholm and that it is a must to future-proof the port by becoming more efficient, professional and larger (Rønne Havn, 2016d) and continues by touching upon all three storylines regarding job creations, ferries and tourism, bulk trade and offshore wind including the possibility to be an installation port. It notes that to attract new companies, more area is needed that can be rented out near the quay.

But now to what really matters: the idea to do the expansion in phases. So far the estimates of the costs for the expansion have been 650-700 mill. DKK which sounded

impossible to secure with a turnover of 50 mill. DKK. By doing it in phases the port hopes to be able to find investors by being able to repay some of the debts before proceeding with the next phase.

Naturally the publication of the masterplan is propagated through the discourse coalition within a few days of the first publication: Bornholms Tidende on December 2nd and 7th and January 7th, Søfart on December 2nd and GTS-net on December 20th (Liljeroth, 2016b. Nielsen, H., 2016c; Nielsen, H., 2017c and 2017d, Adolfsen, 2016, GTS-net.dk, 2016).

The plan works and Nordea and Danske Bank steps in to lend 500 mill. DKK out of the 600 mill. DKK phase 1 is estimated to cost. The remaining 100 mill. DKK is paid by the port of Rønne. The port emphasises that the fact that the municipality could not provide a bank guarantee meant that the business plan had been scrutinised much more carefully. That financing was secured only proves that the business case is credible and realistic (Klausen, 2018). This cements the development trajectory, and what is left to do is administrative hurdles like environmental permissions and geotechnical investigations.

## 6.4. Tracing the Discourse Coalitions

*Before continuing with Subquestion 2 and the institutionalisation of the project, it is necessary to delve deeper into the different actors and the different arguments to conclude on the discourse structuration.*

We have already been introduced to Offshore Centre Bornholm. It was founded in 2013 as a coalition of every partner on Bornholm that could have an interest in getting offshore to Bornholm. Now it is a powerful umbrella organisation organising 21 different companies spanning ship repairs, mechanics, finance, logistics and transport, accommodation, consultancy, green energy and waste handling (Offshore Centre Bornholm, n.d.). OBC has been participating in conferences and fairs to brand Bornholm as a player in the maritime market. As both the chairman of OBC and the



project manager for MarLog mentioned in their interviews, it was an uphill battle but also the CEO of Rønne Port is quoted in the local newspaper saying:

*‘...when we started the journey, we couldn’t even leave a voice message on the answering machines of the large companies, and today it is them calling us. That is a really, really huge pleasure.’* (My own translation, Nielsen 2018a)

This indicates a high level of structuration in which OCB had to position itself and Bornholm in relation to another external discourse surrounding the offshore windmill market in order to be taken seriously. As already discussed this involved branding Rønne Port as a serious economic partner with a high level of expertise and quality. Also, the location of Bornholm was rebranded under the slogan of ‘7’. 7 standing for the time taken to reach any facility such as hospital, restaurant, hotel, mechanics, etc.

As we have seen, apart from OCB, the mayor of Bornholms Regionskommune, Winnie Grossbøl, and Thomas Bendtsen, the CEO of Rønne Port, also have been very active in the media to support the offshore windmill industry. Winnie Grossbøl is also a board member of Rønne Port and together with Thomas Thors, who alternatingly have been the mayor of Bornholms Regionskommune and the chairman of Rønne Port between 1998–2021, she forms a powerful link between the port, the municipality and Offshore Centre Bornholm, (e.g. Rønne Havn 2016a; Danske Havne, 2016a and 2016b; Guldagger, 2019). See figure 7 for an illustration of the discourse coalition around offshore wind.

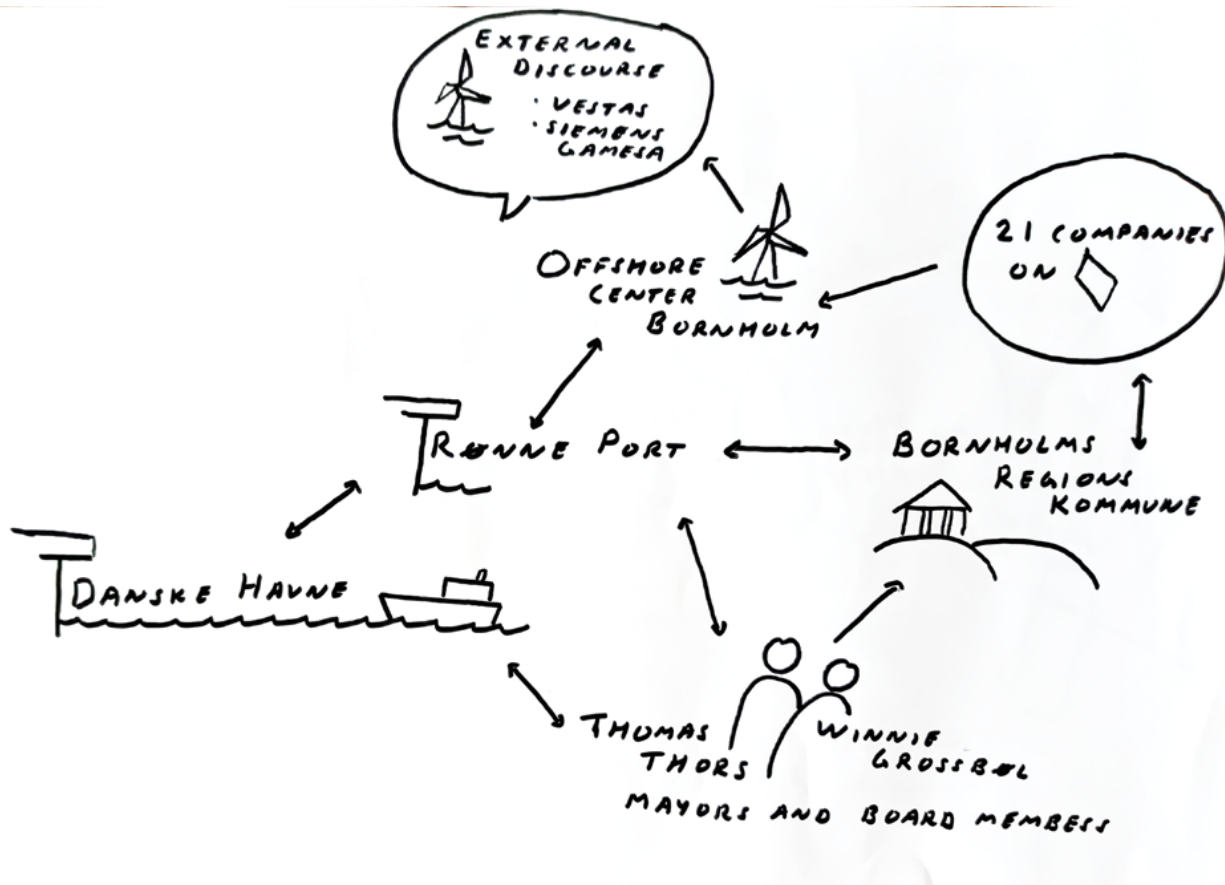


Figure 7. The Discourse Coalition furthering the story line around offshore wind. Rønne Port collaborates with Offshore Centre Bornholm, OCB. Offshore Centre Bornholm is itself a collaboration of 21 companies on Bornholm that has an interest in offshore wind. OCB participates in conferences and trade fairs to engage the external discourse on offshore wind in Europe. The municipality, represented by the mayors and board members, Thomas Thors and Winnie Grossbøl, also give interviews and engage in the discourse in Danske Havne, an interest organisation.

The actors propagating the story line around cruise ships and cruise ship tourism are more diverse than the single entity OBC-Rønne Port-Bornholm Municipality. It was Bornholms Regionskommune that pushed the idea of investing in the port to facilitate the larger ships. As discussed in section 6.1-6.3, initially the focus from Rønne port's side was merely on increasing the strategic collaboration with other partners in the Baltic. This collaboration was mainly through Cruise Bornholm Network, Cruise Baltic, Destination Bornholm and Europe's Maritime Network, see figure 8.

Destination Bornholm is 'the official guide' to Bornholm and is the branding and marketing branch of Bornholm's tourism industry. It is financed by membership fees from around 600 companies that see an interest in branding Bornholm. One of the initiatives of Destination Bornholm is Cruise Bornholm Network which together with the port and other partners collaborates on branding Bornholm as a cruise ship destination (Destination Bornholm, n.d.b). Among other things, they participate in conferences and fairs organised by larger cruise ship organisations like Cruise Baltic and Cruise Copenhagen Network even as far away as Florida (Liljeroth, 2016a).

The competition with other destinations is tough. Copenhagen, Stockholm and Helsinki are capital cities, but Bornholm brands itself as offering something unique with beautiful nature, high quality food, old ruins and romantic fishing villages (Destination Bornholm, n.d.a). Also strategically for the ship owners, the location of Bornholm is highlighted as being important as a destination that will allow the cruise ships to sail slower the following night towards Stockholm saving fuel (Brandt-Jensen, 2015a; Grøn, 2015).

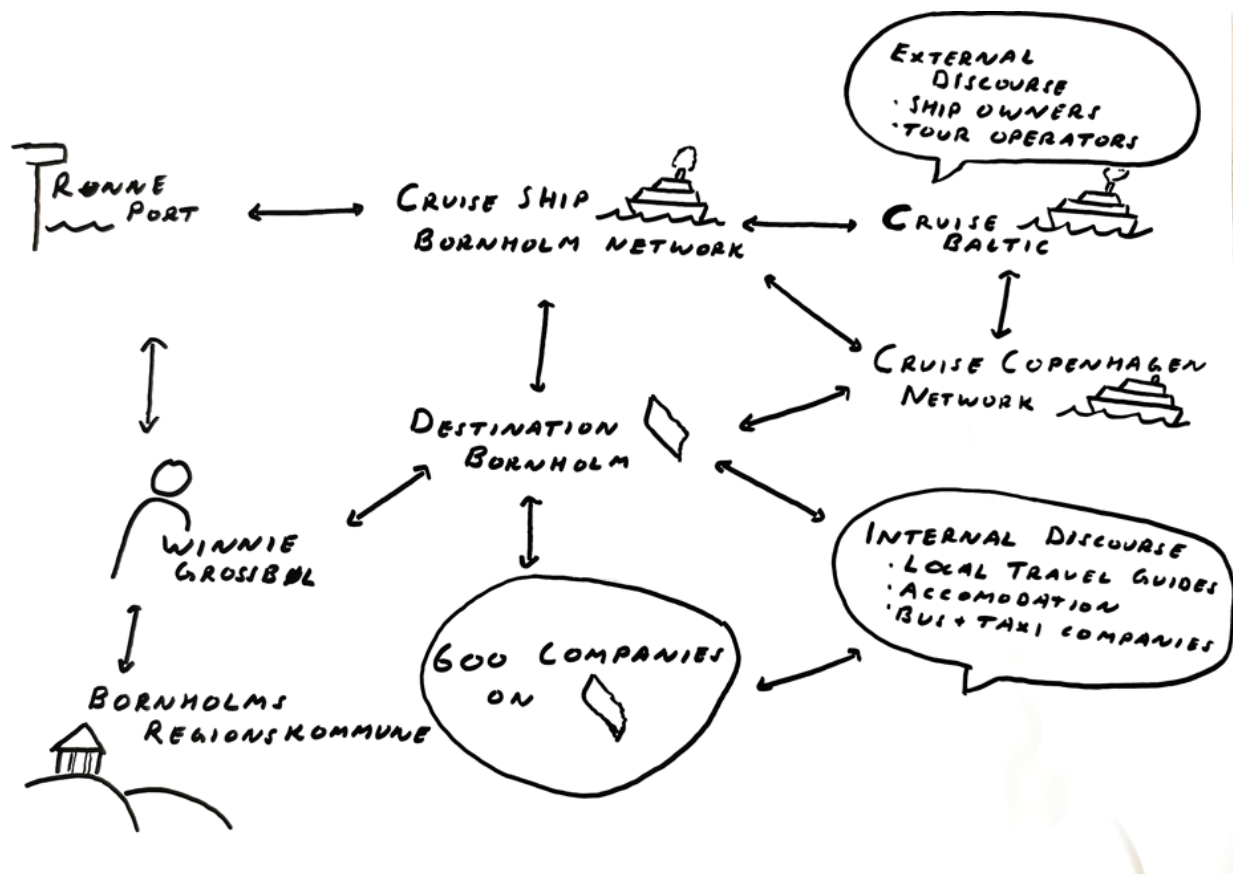


Figure 8. The discourse coalition around cruise ships. Rønne Port works together with Cruise Ship Bornholm Network, which is itself an initiative by Destination Bornholm, to brand it in Cruise Baltic. Since Cruise Ship Bornholm Network is too small, it often goes together with Cruise Ship Copenhagen. Destination Bornholm is an interest organisation with about 600 companies on Bornholm all interested in branding Bornholm as a tourist destination. It does not get funding from Bornholms Regionskommune, but Destination Bornholm runs the Tourist Information kiosks, which is owned by the municipality.

Politically, alliances are sought to the national government via national assembly politicians (Lea Wermelin) and to the EU parliament (Jeppe Kofod), (Hansen, M.H., 2015) playing on the story line of regional development in the process of trying to secure finance. But as discussed in section 6.1, this coalition never really developed.

Further, Rønne Port works with the ferry operators (Molslinjen) and Destination Bornholm to increase the share of normal ferry passengers (Rønne Havn, 2018a).

Finally, Rønne Port also works relentlessly to highlight its efficacy within maritime services like bunker oil and ship repairs via Sydhavnens Maskinværksted (The South Harbours Mechanics) (e.g. Wulff, 2017c). But here the effort seems singularly carried forward by Thomas Bendtsen and the media outlets printing his quotes like Bornholm Tidende.

The discourse structuration has been summarised in table 1. The last column in table 1 on discourse institutionalisation will be further elaborated in chapter 7 and 8.

Storyline	Arguments	Actor coalitions	Institutionalisation
Cruise ships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Brings business to bornholm</li> <li>• Cannot come as ships are too large</li> <li>• The new emission limits on sulphur will forcefully retire older (smaller) ships</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Destination Bornholm</li> <li>• Cruise Baltic</li> <li>• Cruise Bornholm Network</li> <li>• Europas (bornholms) maritime udviklingscenter</li> <li>• Winnie Grossbøl</li> <li>• Thomas Bendtsen</li> <li>• Niels lundberg</li> <li>• Local and National Media</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Branding Bornholm as offering something unique.</li> <li>• The location of Bornholm is strategically interesting for ship owners.</li> <li>• New quay</li> <li>• More cruise ships bookings</li> </ul>
Offshore	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Brings business to bornholm</li> <li>• Cannot come as quay are too small and weak</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Offshore centre bornholm</li> <li>• Winnie Grossbøl</li> <li>• Thomas Bendtsen</li> <li>• Lone Rieppen Thomsen</li> <li>• Local and National Media</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Branding the high standards of Rønne Port and its many services.</li> <li>• The number '7' is used to brand the location of Bornholm</li> <li>• New quay</li> <li>• Offshore contracts</li> </ul>
Traffic node and bulk trade	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Brings business to bornholm</li> <li>• Cannot come as ships are too large</li> <li>• Transport will become cheaper if larger ships are used</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ferry operators</li> <li>• Destination bornholm</li> <li>• Thomas tors</li> <li>• Winnie Grosbøll</li> <li>• Thomas Bendtsen</li> <li>• Local and National Media</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New quay</li> <li>• Bunkering contracts</li> <li>• Deal on profit sharing with Destination Bornholm and Molslinjen</li> </ul>
As a responsible partner	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Certifications</li> <li>• Annual Reports</li> <li>• The professionalisation of the board</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thomas Thors</li> <li>• Thomas Bendtsen</li> <li>• Local and National Media</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Private financing of the expansion</li> <li>• Offshore contracts</li> <li>• Cruise ships bookings</li> </ul>

*Table 1. The discourse structuration and institutionalisation. In order to gain credibility, Rønne Port and collaborators (see text for further details) must align to external discourses surrounding the cruise ship and offshore market. I.e., what Hajer termed 'structuration'. Institutionalisation will be further discussed in chapters 8-9, but we can already now trace how the structuration leads to certain policies regarding branding and ultimately business contracts.*

# Chapter 7: Institutionalisation

This Chapter aims to answer the Subquestion 2:

*How does the process of discourse institutionalisation take place?*

With a focus on the first under question:

- *Which policies and strategies were followed?*

Note that this topic will be further elaborated in chapter 9. The second under question of subquestion 2 will be answered in chapter 8.

## 7.1. Facilitating the Expansion

We have so far followed the story lines and the branding of Rønne Port up to the end of 2016. We have seen how a discourse coalition has been formed and traced the structuration into external discourses. We have also touched upon one dimension of institutionalisation in section 6.4 when discussing how this discourse manifested into trade agreements and a general policy of branding Bornholm in a specific way.

Now it is time to test the master plan politically within the municipal administration. The first steps are the environmental permissions and the passing of an amendment to the local plan in the local council:

Almost simultaneously with the release of the Master Plan 2050, NIRAS published the final EIA report (NIRAS, 2016b). The very opening line reads:

*‘The port of Rønne is Bornholm’s largest port. The port is managed as a limited company (Rønne Havn A/S) and is one of Bornholm’s largest employers with a large impact on the island’s growth and development... the expansion of the port must therefore be seen in the light of the importance of creating reception facilities for the presently existing types of ships as well as to adjust the port to accommodate for future demands.’ (NIRAS, 2016b, p. 1)*

Placing the EIA solidly within the story line around the port as a driver for job creation. The EIA then continued by analysing the potential environmental impacts on

16 different parameters spanning from marine archeology to coast morphology. It is an extensive report which excluding appendices and part analyses prepared by external third parties, comes to 349 pages. The non-technical summary contains 35 pages (NIRAS, 2016a) and has been coded in NVIVO (See figure 9).

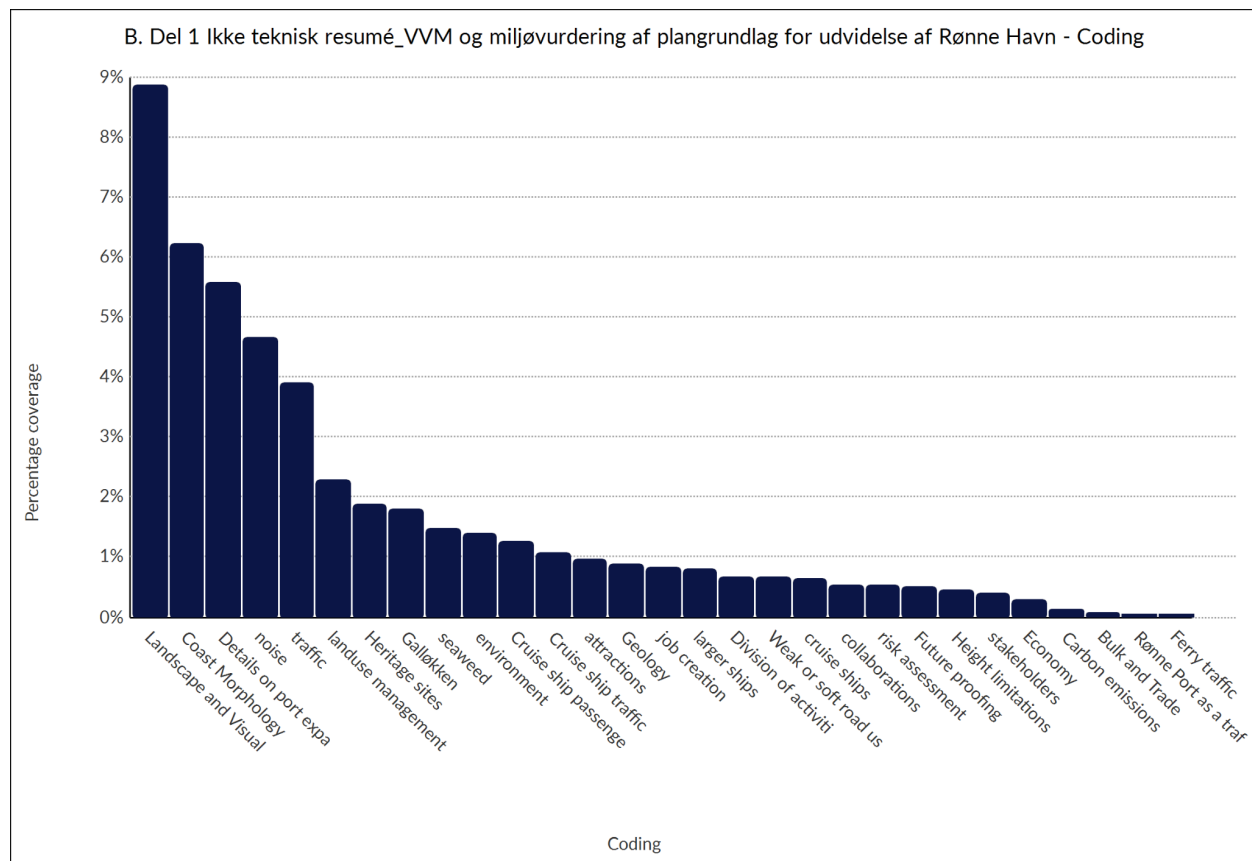


Figure 9. The non-technical summary of the EIA has been coded in NVIVO. Emphasis is given on visual impacts. Parameters like water, biodiversity, Bright Green Island excel by their absence, while 15 out of 29 largest codes shown here are related to economic terms or the four story lines on the port as driver for growth, cruise ships tourism or the ferry traffic. Offshore is funny enough not mentioned at all.

Majority of the resume is spent on explaining the technical aspects of the expansion and its visual impacts. However, despite being given careful coverage in the main report, the summary finishes off any further debate on all the following topics: *land management, soil, water and wastewater, hazardous businesses, marine biological*



*parameters, ship traffic, marine archeology, international environmental protection, air and climate*, by summarily noting that no consequential impacts have been found (NIRAS, 2016a, p. 11).

The only areas of concern are coast morphology – leading to a slightly altered design of the quay – noise and the visual impacts on Galløkken, which then are described further.

Going through the coding in NVIVO (see figure 9), visual impacts, coast morphology, the technical details regarding the expansion, noise and traffic are the most important topics considered by the percentage coverage, but the conclusion is always that with mitigation like beach replenishments or seal pingers the impacts can be mitigated. This downplays the potency of an alternative story line around environmental concerns. On the other hand the adherence to the story lines around cruise ship tourism, and the port as a port of supply for Bornholm helps stabilise the initial story lines further. This point will be further elaborated in chapter 10 on challenging the story lines and in the discussion on the hearing answers to both this EIA and the second EIA on Galløkken.

Just before Christmas in 2016, the local council passed a bill to amend the local plan No. 091 to ‘*facilitate*’ the port expansion (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2016b). The arguments supporting the amendments repeat the story lines about the importance of the port for everyone on Bornholm and that the expansion will ensure that Rønne Port will be able to provide essential services also in the future as the (cruise) ships get larger. Emphasis is placed on the need for increased land area near the coast for bulk trade including offshore activities such as installation and service of windmills. None of the impacts mentioned in the EIA are referred to in this proposal, effectively suppressing any concerns to changing the local plan. Nobody wants to block plans for securing the future of Bornholm. The decision was in public hearing for eight weeks till 19th February, 2017 (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2017a).

Thus political and environmental actors are now aligned into the discourse coalition by using a similar language as the story lines branded by Rønne Port. The demand for

more land is now seen as something obvious that does not need (much) convincing. This and the quote from the opening line of the EIA provides another illustration of *discourse structuration*, in which disparate actors conform to a common discourse in order to get legitimacy. However, this time it is the other way round. Instead of Rønne Port and collaborators aligning to external discourses, this time external actors are aligning themselves to the story lines of Rønne Port in order to gain credibility. The EIA is seen as more credible when aligning to the story lines citing how important the port is, as if the importance of the port will influence the importance of the EIA report. Further examples of institutionalisation will be seen in section 9.1 and figure 11, when further discussing the alignment of actors.

# Chapter 8: Constructing the Port

This chapter seeks to answer the other dimension of *discourse institutionalisation* by answering the other subquestion of subquestion 2:

- Which decisions regarding functionality were finally taken?

This chapter will summarise the technical specifications for phase-1 and phase-2 as they were finally designed by SWECO and Rambøll.

## 8.1. Phase-1

A new 750 m breakwater was constructed south of the existing harbour to create a larger entrance to the port and to create a safe haven for the cruise ships. The location of the expansion was investigated in the EIA and finally a southern expansion was chosen as it was the only location that would generate the desired area. The north harbour was deemed too small and fragmented and would fail to give a large coherent surface area next to a quay with 10 metres water depth as desired (NIRAS, 2016b).

Initially, the concept drawing had a perpendicular corner of the breakwater. However, as part of the EIA, simulations of currents and waves were conducted and they showed the design would lead to accumulation of seaweed in the corner. Thus the final layout of the breakwater was curved slightly and the corner between the port and the original shore line is feeded with sand to construct a new beach and further mitigate the risk of seaweed collection. This is later highlighted as an example where environmental concerns influence the design (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2017b).

Inside the breakwater, 3 new quays are planned: quay 33 and 34 are to be constructed in phase-1 expanding the land area of the port by 150.000 m<sup>2</sup>, while quay 35 will be constructed in phase-2. Further, quay 33 contains a new ro-ro ramp<sup>1</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> A ro-ro stands for 'roll on-roll off' and refers to ramps that enable trucks and cranes to directly roll on the bulk cargo into ferries and other transportation vessels.

It was decided to construct the quays strong enough for windmill foundations to be placed right to the edge of the quay. The actual decision making process for this point is not very clear in the documents, as the Masterplan merely mentions bulk trade, which could be interpreted as meaning granite and wood chips as well as windmill foundations, however Thoas Thors mentioned in the interview that the strategy of the port to become a leader in offshore wind was clear already by 2015. In any case, SWECO designs the quay to be able to handle up to 80 kPa around the ro-ro ramp and minimum 20 kPa along the edge.

Important for the project was to dredge the bottom of the harbour to 11 m depth to allow the larger draft ships to enter the port. In total around a million cubic metres of dredged material was dumped outside the port. As discussed in Bryanne, 2021, the initial plan was to reuse this material for the land expansion, but it was decided against as the materials would have had to be drained to be used, which there neither was time nor space for.

Despite being specified in the EIA and in the environmental permission by Bornholms Regionskommune, no plan for ensuring a safe and attractive pedestrian route from the new quay to Rønne Town has been made. In 2019, Bornholms Regionskommune published a new 'Strategic Development Plan for Rønne' containing plans for how the North Harbour will be developed with a park next to the cruise ship quay. However, in the Port's Master Plan, the construction of this quay will only be done after 2040 in phase 3. Till then, cruise ships will use quay 34 in the Southern part of the harbour, and from there no plans exist as for how the pedestrian tourists will enter Rønne (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2019).

Phase-1 was constructed between 2017 and 2019.

## 8.2. Phase-2

Phase-2 involved expanding the breakwater by another 450 m, and constructing the quay 35 next to quay 34. Fundamentally, the design was the same as in phase-1 consisting of a steel sheet pile wall anchored via large concrete anchors. The area

behind the sheet pile was filled with sand and gravel and covered by another gravel layer. This expansion gave another 50.000 m<sup>2</sup> of surface area to the port (total of 200.000 m<sup>2</sup>) and another 300 m windmill foundation eligible quay for a total of 900 m quay length.

The design of phase-2 was done in 2021, while the work on ground commenced early in 2022.

Despite being specified in the EIA and in the environmental permission by Bornholms Regionskommune, no plan for ensuring a safe and attractive pedestrian route from the new quay to Rønne Town has been made. In 2019, Bornholms Regionskommune published a new 'Strategic Development Plan for Rønne' containing plans for how the North Harbour will be developed with a park next to the cruise ship quay. However, in the Port's Master Plan, the construction of this quay will only be done after 2040 in phase 3. Till then, cruise ships will use quay 34 in the Southern part of the harbour, and from there no plans exist as for how the pedestrian tourists will enter Rønne (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2019).

Thus in the end, the decisions regarding functionality of the port went all in for offshore wind installation, combined with a port which was deep enough (11 m) to cater to the largest cruise ships. Clearly, the two dominant story lines influenced the design of the port, but to a varying degree. Officially, the port was expanded to futureproof the existing business activities including cruise ships. However, in reality it was designed for offshore wind. The cruise ships which are too large to use the old cruise ship pier can use the new quay, but no plans for the movement of the tourists has been made, decreasing its relative importance.

# Chapter 9: Hegemony

This chapter seek to answer subquestion 3:

- *How do the story lines become hegemonic?*

## 9.1. Challenging the Story Lines – Galløkken and Kanondalen

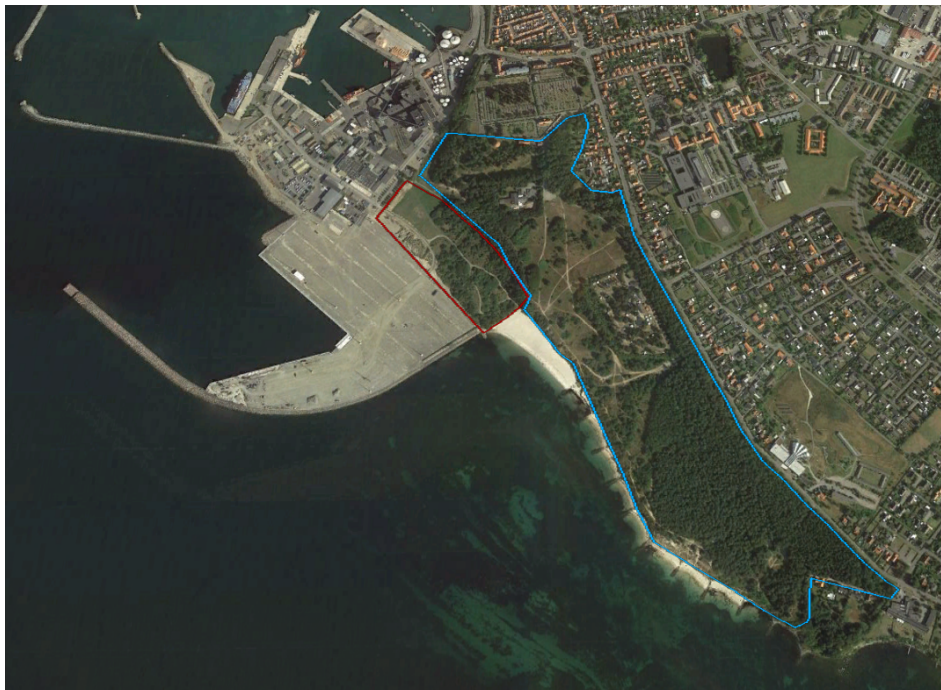
Let us continue by considering Hajer's concepts of *discursive hegemony* as we can now trace the beginning of how the story lines are becoming dominant by being *credible, acceptable and trustworthy*. As we saw in section 6.2, Rønne Port has been accepted as a responsible partner capable of ensuring the continued growth of Bornholm (credibility). Further, we have just seen how the local council accepted the logic of the story lines to overlook any apprehensions they might have had regarding changing the local plan (acceptability). Further, we saw how the authors of both the EIA and the bill for the amendment borrowed credibility by structuring into the discourse of Rønne Port in section 7.1. But we still need one more incident to be able to fully trace the dominance of the story lines.

The local stakeholders are mainly represented through Rønne Byforening (Rønne City Association). Already in 2015, they are invited to a meeting with Rønne Port in which the plans for the expansion are discussed, but mainly as they appear in the Northern (oldest) part of the port, Nørrekås, closest to the city and where many of the ferries come in. Issues are mainly parking, traffic and the location of grocery stores if any at all (Rønne Byforening, 2015).

Events related to the southern part of the port only really unfolds after Bornholms Regionskommune calls for opinions, objections and comments to the plans for the expansion in April 2016 (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2016a). The reasons given for the expansion is again the lack of space and the importance of the port for Bornholm.

From April, 2016 onwards, Bornholms Tidende began covering Rønne Byforening's viewpoints too. However, it is noteworthy that whenever an article is brought covering the concerns and apprehensions regarding the expansion, an equally long article in favour of the expansion was brought. On April 23rd, the leader of Rønne Byforening, Niels-Holger Larsen, is quoted as saying that the expansion will be massive and drastically change the experience of walking around Galløkken. Galløkken is a protected, recreational area lying just inland of the port. The new port expansion is planned right in front of it and will alter the view of the ocean extensively (NIRAS, 2016b). See the map of the area in figure 10. Niels-Holger Larsen also questions the utility of such a large quay for a few cruise ships and asks what the area is going to be used for in winter. That is, the understanding of the project follows the EIA that it is mainly for cruise ships (Stubkjær, 2016a).

The other article brought on the same day repeats the story lines that the port's business activities are growing, that it requires more space and that it is essential to future-proof the port to ensure job creation and businesses on Bornholm (Stubkjær, 2016b).



*Figure 10. The blue area is a protected area called Galløkken. The area marked in red is 'sub-area 7' which will become the bone of contention later in the process. (My own illustration made with inspiration from NIRAS, 2020, p. 45; Google Earth Pro, (2019).*

Throughout the summer of 2016, various concerns regarding the expansion is raised in the local newspaper, Bornholms Tidende, (Nielsen, H., 2016l and 2016g; Have, 2016) mainly regarding the visual impacts and geomorphology of the coast repeating the two major impacts described by the EIA. But there are also concerns to end up like Visby on Gotland in which the town cannot be seen from the sea side due to huge port-related buildings (Nielsen, H., 2016o). But over the summer, it also gets more and more clear that the story line considering the port as essential for everyone on Bornholm, and that its ability to continue servicing everyone on Bornholm in the future is dependent on it being expanded, is being internalised by Rønne Byforening. After a dialogue meeting with the port, Rønne Byforening declares that they do not have any intentions of blocking the port, but hopes to influence the architecture and design to become visually more pleasing (Nielsen, H., 2016o). A few days later, in a letter to the editor, Rønne Byforening argues for the connection and dependency of ports on its city and vice versa similarly to station cities. The town prospers because of the activities on the port, and the port thrives due to the demands from the town. Thus, Rønne Byforening sees the necessity of the expansion, but hopes for a continued good dialogue regarding how to connect the port to the town (Rønne Byforening, 2016). The wish for dialogue and collaboration is repeated several times the next year from different individuals (Schrøder, 2016; Ørberg, 2017, Nielsen, H., 2017b).

Few letters to the editor attempted to challenge the story line around the cruise ships and especially the assumption regarding the larger ships. One counter argument went along the lines that the port is large enough to cater to the ships and that the few larger cruise ships never would be able to pay for the expansion, sending the bill straight to the citizens of Bornholm (Jensen, 2016). Another letter to the editor, problematizes the impacts of having 3000 tourists arriving at the same time and how the tourist organisations will absorb them all. Should Kanondalen be converted to parking? And what about the wastewater from the cruise ships? Will that be transported in trucks? (Schrøder, 2016)

The Danish Society for Nature Conservation, DN, suggested deleting the groynes in front of Galløkken as they would not have gotten permission to be constructed if they



were constructed today. Among other things they prevent erosion of a cliff which has been marked as being of special geological value. Without erosion the cliff appears vegetated and obtains a gentler slope, obscuring the geological layers (Dansk Naturfredningsforening, 2017). But DN has no objections to the main plan of expanding the port. Unfortunately, Bornholms Regionskommune decides that the removal of the groynes are outside the project area and will not be done in this connection but a 10-year monitoring program will be initiated to follow the coast morphology (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2017b).

The Diocese of Copenhagen initially objected that the planned buildings on the new quays will be too tall and become taller than the spire of Sct. Nikolai's Church and thus destroy the historical hierarchy between the church and town. However, a week later, this objection was withdrawn citing the importance of the port for the future development of Bornholm (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2017c). Nevertheless, the apprehension that the expansion will degrade the visibility of the spire for travellers arriving from the sea side was maintained.

The far left party, Enhedslisten, is the only actor which, while accepting the story line of the port as a driver for growth, challenged the planning and the lack of aligning it with the Bright Green Island strategy (Nielsen, H., 2017a). Bright Green Island is an ambitious strategy by Bornholms Regionskommune to become more sustainable and carbon neutral by 2035. It is mentioned in the owner strategy for the port (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2013), and in the press releases presenting the entrepreneurs for the expansion, but is otherwise absent from the discourse. Enhedslisten called for plans regarding reuse, recycle and circularity for the construction of the port. They also asked for investigating the possibilities of getting windmills on Arnager together with local energy companies and to ensure the increased number of ferry passengers will be able to transit smoothly (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2017c, p.122). But they were alone in their stand and the demand was never repeated.

By March, 2017, Bornholms Regionskommune first published a report accounting for how all the environmental and social impacts have been accounted for and vouch that it is responsible to alter the local plan (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2017c), which

then immediately led the local council to pass the amendments of the local plan on March 30th, 2017 (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2017a) and the day after on March 31st, 2017, the final EIA permission to the expansion is given (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2017b). The permission to dump the dredged material was given on 6th July, 2017, and again on December 18th, 2018 by the Danish Environmental Protection Agency. In the permission letter it is noted that the Danish Fisheries Agency does not file any comments, while The Danish Maritime Authority is only concerned that the water depth should remain 26 metres in the area where the dredged material is disposed of. The Viking Ship Museum being the authority regulating heritage sites, has no comments to the permission, but notes that in case heritage remains are discovered the museum should be notified (Miljø og fødevareministeriet, 2018). See figure 11 tracing the different actors in challenging the story lines.

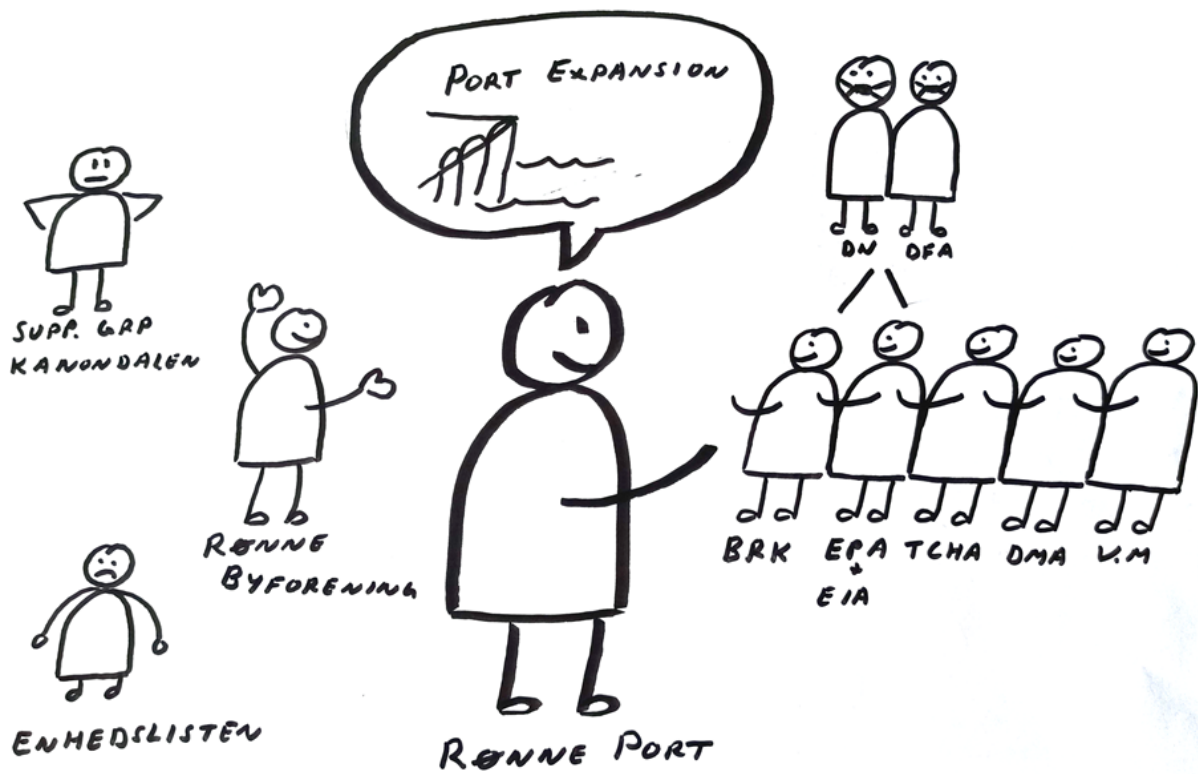


Figure 11. Illustration of how the various actors are either aligned to facilitate the port expansion or ignored. All the authorities are lining up to either give their permissions and dispensations or they are silent like the DN or DFA. On the other side are actors who are ignored like Enhedslisten and the Support Group for Kanondalen. Rønne Byforening tries to get a constructive dialogue going by suggesting a compromise, but is also largely ignored. Abbreviations: BRK = Bornholms Regions Kommune, EPA = Danish Environmental Protection Agency, EIA = Environmental Impact Assessment Report mentioned in section 8.1, TCHA = Danish Transport, Construction and Housing Authority, DMA= Danish Maritime Authority, V.M. = Viking Ship Museum, DN = Danish Society for Nature Conservation, DFA = Danish Fisheries Agency, Supp.Grp. Kanondalen = Support Group for Kanondalen.

Thus we see how important local stakeholders are aligned into the discourse coalition and repeat the major story lines around the expansion, while minor opposition groups not aligning are ignored. Further, the different roles assigned to the actors according to the story line are accepted: the local council make the necessary amendments to the

local plan, the municipality gives its environmental permission, the Danish Transport, Construction and Housing Authority gives its permission to expand into the sea territory (Høm, 2017), the Vikingship Museum has no objections, the local stakeholders decide not to work against the plan but to focus on getting the visually most pleasing solution without changing the size or ambition of the project. Thus the second and third criteria for discourse hegemony according to Hajer has been fulfilled: that the actors accept the roles assigned to them and that they believe the story line sufficiently to suppress any apprehensions they might have had to the project. The port can now dictate the further developments and influence the policies being implemented (see also Chapter 8 for institutionalism and chapter 9 for the actual technical decisions regarding the functionality).

## 9.2. Cementing the Dominance.

On May 31st, 2017, five companies were prequalified to bid on the tenders for phase 1 of the expansion and on October 17th, 2017, Aarsleff was chosen as the final contractor. A news which were again published among the discourse coalition seen earlier: Bornholms Tidende, Maritime Danmark, Søfart, Transport Magasinet and TV2 Bornholm (Rønne Havn, 2017b; Nielsen, H., 2017h, Clausen, 2017b, Andersen, 2017b, Transport Tidende, Gregersen, 2017a) but also a number of new media outlets who had not previously written on the expansion: Børsen, 2017; Ritzau (Therp, 2017), Jyllands Posten, 2017; Business.dk, 2017; Ejendomwatch.dk, 2017; Licitationen - Byggeriets Dagblad (Andersen, 2017a), Estatemedias.dk (Burund, 2017), Lager-transport Logistik Magasinet, 2017; Bygtek.dk, 2017; Shippingwatch (Johansen, 2017), and Mester Tidende (Gregersen, 2017b). Clearly, a project this size is drawing attention. Noteworthy, they are all copies of the same information given on Rønne Port's own homepage and conforms entirely to the discourses so far covered. The only new thing is that Rønne Port now publicly states that they aim to become a port of installation for the offshore windmills and not 'merely' rigging, maintenance and service.

The local newspapers follow the construction work diligently throughout the process (Mortensen, 2017; Nielsen, H., 2017f; Nielsen, H., 2018c and 2018f; Klausen, 2018, Bornholms Tidende, 2018e; Nørmark, 2019a; Hansen, M.H., 2019) and the work is completed without any hassles (Nielsen, H., 2018e). On June 8th, 2019, all of Bornholm is invited to inaugurate the new quay and breakwater at a giant street party at the port (Rønne Havn, 2019b) and on October 24, 2019, Aarsleff officially handed over the keys to the new multi-quay – again widely published (Rønne Havn, 2019c; Nørmark, 2019b; Transport Tidende, 2019; Ritzau, 2019; Adolfsen, 2019a, 2019b, 2019c, 2019d, 2019e, 2019f; Jastram, 2019; Newsbreak and Ritzau, 2019).

All the articles repeat the most important aspects of the expansion: that the area has been expanded with 150.000 m<sup>2</sup>, with a 575 m long quay which can carry 50 tons per m<sup>2</sup> – ideal for offshore projects.

But this declaration that Rønne Port is a big player within offshore was in fact already cemented much earlier. In November 2017, shortly after announcing that Rønne Port intended to construct the quay, VMBS declared they had chosen Rønne Port as the service hub for the laying of the sea cables for the German Arkona wind farm. The news is celebrated as a great success for the entire setup and collaboration between the port and local businesses as well as the infrastructure and service level on Bornholm. This is something that will bring jobs to Bornholm (Rønne Havn, 2017a; Wulff, 2017a, 2017b, and 2017c; Bornholms Tidende, 2017a and 2017b; Vindkraft, 2017; Maritime Danmark, 2017b; Transport Magasinet, 2017b; Energy-supply, 2017; Idag, 2017; Søfart, 2017; Gajhede, 2017).

Suddenly, Rønne Port is in the news for all the right reasons: on May 31st, 2018, 6 months before the completion of the quay, Siemens Gamesa chose Rønne Port as the installation port for the windmill park on Kriegers Flak. This news sends shock waves through the discourse coalition and catapults the status of Bornholm in the energy market (Interviews with the chairman for OCB and the project manager for MarLog; Rønne Havn 2018b; Bornholms Tidende, 2018c, 2018d; Jydske Midtkysten, 2018; Vejle Amts Folkeblad, 2018; Fyens.dk, 2018; Midtjyllands Avis, 2018; Folkebladet Lemvig, 2018; Nordjydske, 2018; Sjællands Nyheder, 2018; Børsen, 2018a and 2018b; Salling

Bank, 2018; Euroinvestor, 2018; Energywatch, 2018; Lou et. al, 2018; BT, 2018; Dagbladet Holstebro Struer, 2018; Horsens Folkeblad, 2018; Kristeligt Dagblad, 2018; Den Korte Avis, 2018, Metroexpress, 2018; Randers Amtsavis, 2018; Information, 2018; Lolland-Falster Folketidende, 2018; Alt om Ikast-Brande, 2018, Fredericia Dagblad, 2018, Dagbladet Ringkøbing-Skjern, 2018, Bornholms Regionskommune, 2018, Bagger, 2018; Århus Stiftstidende, 2018; Skive Folkeblad, 2018, Johansen, 2018, Kommunen, 2018; Viborg Folkeblad, 2018; Pedersen, 2018, Transport Tidende, 2018b, Søfart, 2018, Bornholms Tidende, 2018a and Nielsen, H., 2018d).

The discourse coalition from 2016 has increased manifold and what was previously considered local news are now repeated in local newspapers in Westjutland. Again and again it is repeated that the port has been expanded and now has the infrastructure to cater to the very heaviest of windmill foundations, that the depth is sufficient for the ships to get in, and they have the storage capacity and local maintenance companies to ensure a smooth installation of the huge projects.

Two months later, in October 2018, it is the cruise ship story line which take all the headlines citing an heavy increase in the number of cruise ships visiting Bornholm (Rønne Havn, 2018c; Transport tidende, 2018a; Hartkopf-Mikkelsen, 2018a and 2018b; Christensen, 2018; Maritime Danmark, 2018a and 2018b; Newsbreak and Ritzau, 2018; Newsbreak, 2018; Nielsen, H., 2018b; Transport Nyhederne 2018; Mortensen, 2018; and Møller, 2018).

Also at the national level the winds are blowing in Rønne Ports favour. Ørstad suddenly at the end of 2019 declared its support of Bornholm becoming EnergyIsland (Energiø) instead of creating an artificial island in the North Sea. Citing the already existing infrastructure and experience on Bornholm, Ørstad suggest to develop 3 GW windmill capacity around Bornholm and combine it with a huge Power-to-X plant (Guldagger and Hannestad, 2019) Naturally, Winnie Grosbøll is enthusiastic (Hannested and Guldagger, 2019; Guldagger, 2019).

The sudden positive development combined with the anticipation of more business, enables the port to prepone the second phase of the port expansion by more than 10

years. In December, 2019, proclaims that Rønne Port wants to expand the new breakwater with another 150 m. A major reason is the lack of space as well as the fact that they lost 10.000 cruise ships passengers due to bad weather this year with high waves inside the port.

By November, 2020, the tender material for Phase-2 is released and on May 6, 2021, MT Højgård is chosen as the contractor to elongate the breakwater by another 750 m (not only 150 m) and to create another 55.000 super strong land area behind a new 325 m long quay. The intention is to create more space for windmills and to be able to have two 300 m long cruise ships in port simultaneously (Rønne Port, n.d.).

### 9.3. Soft Values versus Economic Growth

Against this story line of success, both within offshore and cruise ship tourism, the local stakeholders try to fight for their recreational areas. It is again the area around Galløkken that is the issue. The area was originally claimed from the sea by filling the sea with sand and solid waste between 1967 and 1980 and a part of the area was subsequently used as a landfill site (NIRAS, 2020). Later the use as a landfill was stopped, and the area regrew into a green area which connected Rønne and the protected area Galløkken as well as the beach in front of it.

Subarea-7 has been used as a place for circus tents and Sct. Hans bonfires in summer time and for sledging during wintertime. So despite the area being known to be toxic, it had a strong recreational value for the local dog owners and nature lovers. In the local plan No. 091 amended in 2017, the area called 'sub-area 7' was especially put up as a noise and visual barrier between the port and the protected area around Kastellet and Galløkken. See figure 10. Even if the area itself is deemed of less cultural and environmental importance (though it is protected as a § 3 area), due to its proximity to both the shore line and Skansen, it is covered by several land-use restrictions and protections including the shoreline protection (strandbeskyttelseslinjen) and as a buffer to Skansen (NIRAS, 2020).

However, the port is now seeing such a growth in its activities and the demand for more space for storing windmills only increases. The ambition is to be able to handle two offshore installation projects at the same time (Interview with the former chairman of the port).

On May, 8th, 2019, Bornholms Tidende, brings an article in which it is made clear that Rønne Port wants to include this area into the port as a storage space for windmill foundations, which basically are pipes 40 m long and 10 m tall when lying down, weighting few hundred tons. Rønne Byforening is not amused but has a feeling that the port will get its way and they thus only focus on which kind of compensation they could imagine (Nørmark, 2017).

But it is only in 2020, the issue will really develop. On December 17, 2019, the port applied for a dispensation to the local plan No. 091 regarding the nature of the area and asked for permission to use it as a temporary storage for stones to be used in the expansion of the breakwater (phase 2 of the port expansion). Naturally, Rønne Byforening was saddened by the idea, as the public would lose access to a green area. However, they had a few concrete suggestions such as only fencing a part of the area and to keep a passage (Tipvognssporet) open for pedestrians and emergency vehicles (Rønne Byforening, 2020). The public hearing process followed in January 2020, during which local stakeholders noted the importance of the area for birds (nightingales), dog walkers, for midsummer celebrations, circus and sledging in wintertime. Throughout the debates, a semantic line between the ones favouring the annexation and the ones against it arose regarding the naming of the area: the ones opposing the annexation insisted on calling it 'a recreation area', while the ones in favour of the expansion called it 'a landfill area' (Nielsen, H., 2020a, Nielsen, H., 2020c).

The EIA for 'subarea 7' was published in April, 2020. It was again a detailed study of 118 pages divided into 18 chapters (NIRAS, 2020). The first chapter explained the background for the report mentioning the need for a larger area and the economic importance of Rønne Port. Thus similarly to the EIA report discussed in chapter 8, once again, the EIA is repeating and aligning to the story lines emphasising growth.



Visual impacts are deemed to be considerable, while noise and the impacts on the cultural heritage sites 'Skansen' and 'Kanondalen' are considered moderate. Every other aspect such as biodiversity, soil pollution, health, material goods (peace near the camping site), dust and light are all considered minor or negligible even if the nature of the area is completely changed.

During June, 2020, seven hearing answers are filed (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2020). Many of them contain comments challenging the dominant story lines pertaining to the need for this extra space and the impacts in terms of noise and light pollution. The support group for Kanondalen suggested making the storage temporary for a suggested 10 years and with a provision to revert the land use back again to recreational usage once the windmills have been installed. Other locations of the storage area are also suggested.

Initially the headlines in Bornholms Tidende are fiery: *Local residents continue to fight for area near Kanondalen: Green area in front of Galløkken has not been forgotten* (My own translation, Nielsen, H., 2020b) but at the end of the year the air is going out of the balloon: *'Leader does not want to block specific projects: Support organisation contemplates the continuation of the fight for green area'* (My own translation, Nielsen, H., 2020d). Rønne Byforening abandons further negotiations by the end of 2020 with no further updates on the matter on their homepage nor further articles in the newspapers. I called the leader of Rønne Byforening for an interview, but he declined my request citing incompetence. In the interview with the leader of the Support Group for Kanondalen, Michael Trolle suspected the port of using a strategy of wearing down the opposition by repeating the hearing processes till no more objections were filed, to be able to say that the matter has been settled.

In September 2020, the local plan was once again amended to allow the port to use the area for storage. According to the amendment, the area was to be leased to Rønne Port, which were given permission to fence the area, stabilise the pollution by lime concrete and to cover the area with gravel (Bornholms Regionskommune, 2020). The Support Group for Kanondalen chose to appeal the decision, but it was dismissed in January, 2021 (Nørmark, 2021c). By now the Support Group for Kanondalen is the only

major opposition group. The dialogue took a turn for the worse when a week later, on January 18th, 2021, Micheal Trolle, accused the port of bullying methods in an article published in Bornholms Tidende (Nørmark, 2021b). Trolle had lost faith in the democratic process, and felt that a deal had been made between Winnie Grossbøll and Thomas Thors asking rhetorically how come the need for a noise barrier reduces as the need for space increases?

The whole dispute around 'subarea 7' ended by the port suddenly being given permission to purchase the area for 25 DKK per m<sup>2</sup> in February, 2021 (Mazanti-Andersen, 2021; Ankestyrelsen, 2021). Two independent real estate evaluators had estimated the price to be between 25 and 35 DKK per m<sup>2</sup>. This sale permanently cordoning off the area for the public and any hopes of a temporary solution was lost. The sale deed made all the limitations in the local plans, the shoreline protection line, the heritage buffer zone, the § 3 protection of moorlands, vanish and the port are now free to develop the land.

The only parties voting against the sale in the local council were Enhedslisten and SF. They were not against the sale *per se*, but felt the municipality had been 'too nice' when negotiating the price. The sale price was kept low as the ground was known to be polluted, but at the same time a clause was introduced stating that the municipality would pay for cleaning the soil contamination if the cost turned out to be more than five million DKK.

*'I think it is weird that the plot is sold at a low price citing pollution, and that the municipality anyhow must pay for the contamination if it is found. We know it is polluted. It is an old landfill.'* Leif Olsen, SF candidate, is saying. (my own translation, Nørmark, 2021a).

Thus it appears that despite local resistance, the port was able to dominate the discourse completely, aligning the decision makers to once again facilitate first the temporary permission for a storage space and then finally the sale of the plot all the way up to the appellate court. The port was even able to avoid a public bidding process, but was allowed to purchase the plot as the sole purchaser (Ankestyrelsen, 2021). This

point was also highlighted in the interview of Michael Trolle as reducing his trust in the democratic process, since the Support Group for Kanondalen would have bought it for a much higher price to ensure the continued land-use as a recreational area if the land had been officially on sale (Interview with Michael Trolle).

## 9.4. Changing parameters

But the circumstances around 'subarea 7' is not the only time parameters change.

According to the chairman of the port, the Masterplan downplayed the role of offshore wind and even cruise ships, as it was important to base the business case on existing revenues (Interview with the chairman of the port). Subsequently, the EIA as already mentioned mainly saw the expansion in terms of the present activities i.e. bulk trade in wood chips, oil and granite as well as cruise ship tourism. Majority of the potential impacts were deemed to be of minor consequence. The impacts regarding noise were mainly investigated from a perspective of present activities and with the presence of a green belt on 'sub area 7' as a noise barrier (NIRAS, 2016b, illustration 9.13 shows a dampening effect around subarea 7). The impacts during the construction phase are calculated to be above the legal limits, but since it is a temporary problem and assumed to be only during working hours, it is deemed acceptable. No investigations are done regarding low frequency noise.

However, local residents repeatedly noted delivery of materials, ramming of sheet piles and other very noisy activities also outside working hours. (Interview with Michael Trolle; Kanondalens Støtteforening, 2022). According to Michael Trolle it is in particular the windmill installation ship, Vole au vent, which emits a persistent low frequency noise which is so loud that it is impossible to be in the garden when it is in port. The ship has been prevented from entering Esbjerg Port after similar complaints (Bjerre-Christensen and Mathiesen, 2020). But since offshore wind was not officially a business activity, noise from the installation process was not included in the EIA for Rønne.

The problem with the low frequency coming from the installation ships should be solvable by using shore power. But Rønne Port has consistently insisted that the port will not become first-movers when it comes to shore power as it is too expensive and non-standardised (Krogh, 2021; Interview with Michael Trolle). Michael Trolle sees this as an example of the non-compromising attitude of the port. Trolle explains that when solutions exist to minimise a nuisance which has kept many neighbours awake at night, it does not further a dialogue by reading a facebook message that the port has obtained permission for its activities and thus the port is surprised that someone is experiencing noise related inconveniences, and continues by noting that the permissions have been given by Bornholms Regionskommune, which is also the majority stakeholder in Rønne Port. '*It is like regulating yourself*', he says (Interview with Michael Trolle).

As a consequence of the many complaints, Rønne Port paid Eurofins to measure the sound levels in the port, who concludes that the noise levels are not elevated (Møller, 2021). '*Of course not*', says Michael Trolle, '*as the measurements were not conducted on days during which the ship was in port*'. According to Eurofins, the days the ship was in port, it was too windy to conduct the measurements. Nevertheless, the measurements were accredited as being reliable by Eurofins (Interview with Michael Trolle).

This last development can be seen as a failed example of Hajer's *regulation* (see section 2.4.4). The port tried to find a '*discursive closure*' to the problem around noise by getting a third party to measure the noise levels. However, the solution was not socially accepted, and alternative storylines challenging the dates on which the measurements were taken developed. Further, it did not lead to *problem closure* as the problem with the noise has not been solved. Thus the issue remains contested.

## 9.5. Part Conclusion

So the port has gone from being an insignificant player with a minimal turnover to being reckoned as a professional player ready to handle the biggest of offshore projects in the Baltic in the short span of five years.

This is done by aligning to external discourses within the cruise ship and offshore industry markets as well as working on further educating and professionalising both the board and lower staff in Rønne Port to gain hegemonic dominance of the discourse and increase revenues. Nevertheless, the process also reveals deep conflicts with local stakeholders and the development of alternative story lines.

## Chapter 10: Discussion

*The analysis revealed three different storylines all supporting the conclusion that the port is too small. But which consequences does this framing have on the overall planning and execution of the expansion?*

The concept of ideology holds considerable ‘*analytical potential for planning*’ if brought out into the open to be pinpointed and discussed (Shepherd et al., 2020). Above storylines in section 5.1 to 5.4 are steeped with neoliberal logic equating development to growth (Sousa and Pinho, 2015). To ensure growth, neoliberalism argues that politicians and planning authorities should ‘facilitate’ growth by letting the market actors rearrange themselves (Galland, 2012) as the market is seen as the most efficient to provide services (Sager, 2009). Here we saw how the various departments were quick to ‘facilitate’ the expansion by giving environmental permissions and heritage protection dispensations. Zonatto (2020) argues that ideology becomes naturalised (or hegemonic in Hajer’s terminology) when they are taken for granted and gets understood as common sense or even necessary. This is visible in the bill for the amendment of the local plan nr. 091 and when none of the local stakeholders wanted to challenge the port’s basic story line on growth, accepting it as a positivism and a necessity for the survival of Bornholm. This dominance is so strong that even the loss of a recreational area and the introduction of increased industry at the centre of the town are considered reasonable costs to ensure this growth.

This internalisation of the neoliberal world order is not without consequences. The general withdrawal of planning leaves no space for collaboration between various institutions. None of the various authorities, which each are meant to add a dimension to the overall holistic planning, participated. DN did not come with any proactive suggestions to include the Bright Green Island Strategy, to think about circularity, shore power, or other habitat enhancement. The EIA, despite being meticulous in its coverage of impacts, did not suggest any environmental or social enhancements. The Viking Ship Museum, after ensuring there were no heritage sites in the area, never engaged in a wider debate about Kanondalen. Most significantly, even Bornholms

Regionskommune never put any conditions towards shore power or the Bright Green Island Strategy, despite their majority owner status. The private companies are seen as the most competent in doing planning.

But letting private companies choose sites for development favouring their own business interests, as seen with the sale of 'subarea 7', carries the risk of creating grudge and resentment (Rudolph & Kirkegaard, 2019). In their discussion of '*territorial stigmatisation*' they show how a neoliberal ideology leads to an internal colonisation in which the valorisation of the land is transferred to the companies at the expense of the local citizens. The value attached to the area in terms of recreational value is not given any importance, while the benefits to the company occurring from obtaining additional space is not channelised back to the local community, but accumulated in private hands.

Another dimension is discussed by Groves (2015) in which the '*colonisation of attachment*' of a place leads to disempowerment and environmental injustice. Michael Trolle corroborated that he felt disillusioned in democracy and its institutions by the constantly changing parameters. Flyvbjerg (1998) talked about *rationalisation* and noted that the powerful do not need compromises leaving smaller stakeholders like the Support Group for Kanondalen feeling run over and left out of the decision making process. The port appears unwilling to listen to suggestions and alternatives, cutting off all meaningful dialogue. Outwardly it appears that every permission has been obtained, but through discourse institutionalisation, these permissions and amendments lose their ability to put in checks and balances for the development threatening to undermine the same rationality that underpins the democratic process.

## Chapter 11: Conclusion

This thesis began with a wonder about how different framings influence port development. As we have seen the story lines were centred around offshore wind and cruise ships argued from the perspective of job creation. The analysis also traced how these story lines were propagated in discourse coalitions to attain hegemony to the point where the port could expand into valuable recreational areas at the expense of local citizens citing the economic success of attracting offshore wind contracts to Bornholm. That the political climate also shifted to identify Bornholm as an energy island with a plan to install 3 GW windmills only underlines this economic success.

This hegemony was initiated first and foremost by a conscious decision to ‘get something good out of the harbour’ by hiring Lars Karlsson and to develop a long term strategy in 2013 . It was important to build the business case on existing revenues i.e. bulk and rental incomes, thus the Master Plan is surprisingly silent on offshore wind and cruise ships. But behind the scenes a dedicated branding both via OCB and CBN to change the perception of the location of Bornholm from being seen as a drawback to being considered a strategic benefit took place. Thus in 2015–2016 a dichotomy existed with an official framing of the port as being a service harbour, ferry port and important landlord, and an unofficial understanding of the port as a future centre of an offshore wind adventure.

The analysis revealed that OCB and CBN worked in extended networks to create discourse coalitions spreading as far as Miami. The media coalition also increased from an initial limited number of news outlets having a special interest in Bornholm or shipping to include local newspapers on the west coast of Denmark.

Institutionalism is the actual implementation of the story lines via policies, restructuring of institutions or decisions taken. The analysis further showed how the discourse coalition spread far into municipal and national authorities to facilitate the expansion by giving the necessary permissions and dispensations.



The actual design of the expansion is fully geared to handle the heavy windmill foundations and the constant demand for more space comes from the huge dimensions of the windmill wings and a desire to be able to handle two windmill projects simultaneously. The port was dredged to 11 m water depth to facilitate the modern cruise ships, however, the offshore wind was the main story line that influenced the project specifications.

This is noteworthy due to the dichotomy mentioned earlier, since it implies that the EIA and public discourse was focusing on the second story line of Bornholm as a cruise ship destination, while the internal planning was focusing on the offshore industry, leading to relevant parameters not being investigated in the EIA.

The hegemony of the story lines has drastic consequences for the functionality of the port both in terms of sustainability and for the subsequent decision-making process and we can now answer the research question:

*How does the framing of the complex problem of port development influence the decisions regarding functionality and sustainability and which actors are invited into/involved in the decision process?*

By framing the development in purely neoliberal terms, governmental and inter-institutional planning is considered less efficient than the market. Thus important institutions that should have ensured a holistic planning are not empowered to participate in the planning coalition leading to important aspects for sustainability being left unchallenged, and the project is allowed to proceed without incorporating these aspects sufficiently.

Further, the changing parameters resemble Flyvbjergs's *rationalisations*, reducing the foundations of our democratic institutions. By letting private companies free to decide on which land, development and investments are to occur, we risk letting the accrued capital gains accumulate in private hands without channelising the benefits back to the local communities resembling a form of internal colonialism. This combined with the severing of an attachment to place (*colonisation of attachment*) leads to further disempowerment and injustice of the local stakeholders.

These concepts of justice, empowerment and democracy are inherently moral concepts, but if *phronesis* is connected to the aim of '*doing morally good*', the value of this case study is essentially to challenge the neoliberal framing that the market is more efficient at planning. This study showcases that following a neoliberal logic does not lead to the greater good, but to what is best for the market. Here the market is exemplified by offshore wind and economic growth of the port. But this type of port development comes at the expense of local participation, institutional governance and recreational values.

# Reference List

- Adolfsen, L.D. (2016, December 2). *Rønne Havns er langt ud i fremtiden meget langt*. Søfart. Infomedia: e602825c
- Adolfsen, L.D. (2017, March 22). *Rønne Havn leverer det bedste resultat nogensinde - igen*. Søfart. Infomedia: e62cf7ba.
- Adolfsen, L.D. (2019a, October 24). *Aarsleff overdrager 150.000 kvm ny havn til Rønne*. Søfart. Infomedia: e768fef7
- Adolfsen, L.D. (2019b, October 24). *Aarsleff overdrager 150.000 kvm ny havn*. Licitationen. Infomedia: e768f9af
- Adolfsen, L.D. (2019c, October 24). *Rønne Havn er nu klar til Kriegers Flak*. Energy-supply. Infomedia: e768f9fd
- Adolfsen, L.D. (2019d, October 25). *Aarsleff overdrager 150.000 kvm ny havn*. Licitations - Byggeriet Dagblad. Infomedia: e7693457
- Adolfsen, L.D. (2019e, October 25). *150.000 kvm ny havn står klar i Rønne*. Transport Magasinet. Infomedia: e7696676
- Adolfsen, L.D. (2019f, October 25). *Aarsleff overdrager 150.000 kvm ny havn til Rønne*. Søfart. Infomedia: e76a1556
- Akhavan, M. (2020). *Port Geography and Hinterland Development Dynamics*. Springer Nature Singapore Pte Ltd. DOI: 10.1007/978-3-030-52578-1\_2.
- Alt om Ikast-Brande. (2018, May 31). *Ny havmøllepark får Rønne Havn som omdrejningspunkt*. Infomedia: e6c59668
- Andersen, M.M. (2017a, October 19). *Aarsleff vinder udvidelsen af Rønne Havn til 500 mio*. Licitationen - Byggeriets Dagblad. Infomedia: e676f678
- Andersen, M.M. (2017b, October 23). *Aarsleff vinder udvidelsen af Rønne Havn til 500 mio. kroner*. Søfart. Infomedia: e67830ff
- Andrews, T. (2012). What is social constructivism? *Grounded Theory Review*, 11(1).  
<http://groundedtheoryreview.com/2012/06/01/what-is-social-constructionism/>
- Ankestyrelsen. (2021, February 26). *Afgørelse om salg uden offentligt udbud*. J.nr. 21-8352  
<https://www.brk.dk/Nyheder/PublishingImages/R%C3%B8nne%20Havn%20-%20Tilsynets%20samtykke%20til%20salg.pdf>
- Århus Stiftstidende. (2018, May 31). *Ny havmøllepark får Rønne Havn som omdrejningspunkt*. Infomedia: e6c59639
- Aritz, J., & Walker, R. C. (2010). Cognitive Organization and Identity Maintenance in Multicultural Teams: A Discourse Analysis of Decision-Making Meetings. *The Journal of Business Communication*, 47(1), 20–41.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0021943609340669>
- Bagger, H. (2018, May 31). *Ny havmøllepark får Rønne Havn som omdrejningspunkt*. Business.dk. Infomedia: e6c5980d
- Bahers, Tanguy, A., & Pincetl, S. (2020). Metabolic relationships between cities and hinterland: a political-industrial ecology of energy metabolism of Saint-Nazaire metropolitan and port area (France). *Ecological Economics*, 167, 106447–. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecolecon.2019.106447>

- Bhatti, & Hanjra, A. R. (2019). Development prioritization through analytical hierarchy process (AHP) - decision making for port selection on the one belt one road. *Journal of Chinese Economic and Foreign Trade Studies*, 12(3), 121–150. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JCEFTS-04-2019-0020>
- Bird, J.H. (1973). Of Central Places, Cities and Seaports. *Geography*, 58(2), 105-118.
- Bjerre-Christensen, H. and Mathiesen, K. (2020, June 7). *Kommune lukker sag om klager over støj fra Esbjerg Havn*. Jydske Vestkysten. <https://jv.dk/artikel/kommune-lukker-sag-om-klager-over-st%C3%B8j-fra-esbjerg-havn>
- Bonney, J. (2002, April 1-7). International Port Operators, The big get bigger. Several trends are driving the consolidation of stevedores and terminal operators. (*Special report: international port operators*). *JoC Week*, 3(13), 12-14.  
<https://web-p-ebsochost-com.zorac.aub.aau.dk/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=0&sid=3a8df6e8-4367-47de-8854-18ae9d93ec49%40redis>
- Boris, M. (2015). *Bunkerselskab til Rønne*. Danmarks Transport Tidende. Infomedia: E543f86b
- Bornholms Regionskommune. (2012, November). *Bornholms bidrag til udvikling af Danmarks krydstogsturisme*. <https://www.brk.dk/Indflydelse-Politik/Planer/Documents/Krydstog-indhold-tryk.pdf>
- Bornholms Regionskommune. (2013, June, 27). *Ejerstrategi for Rønne Havn A/S*. <https://brk.dk/Indflydelse-Politik/Politikker/Dokumenter%20%20Ejerstrategi/R%C3%B8nne%20Havn%20A-S.pdf>
- Bornholms Regionskommune. (2016a, April 7). *Udvidelse af Rønne Havn*. The link to the original text is not found. But available via infomedia: e5a6668b
- Bornholms Regionskommune. (2016b, December 22). *Forslag til kommuneplantillæg nr. 11 for udvidelse af Rønne Havn*. <https://www.brk.dk/Indflydelse-Politik/Planer/Documents/KP-tillaeg-3287137-2017-1-20-3.pdf>
- Bornholms Regionskommune. (2017a, March 30). *Lokalplan Nr. 091 For udvidelse af Rønne Havn*. [https://dokument.plandata.dk/20\\_3286519\\_1490945706639.pdf](https://dokument.plandata.dk/20_3286519_1490945706639.pdf)
- Bornholms Regionskommune. (2017b, March 31). *VVM-tilladelse til udvidelse af Rønne Havn*. J. nr. 01.16.06P16-0001.  
<https://www.brk.dk/Indflydelse-Politik/Hoeringer/Documents/VVM-tilladelse%20til%20udvidelse%20af%20R%C3%B8nne%20Havn.pdf>
- Bornholms Regionskommune. (2017c, March). *Udvidelse af Rønne Havn sammenfattende redegørelse*. <https://www.brk.dk/Indflydelse-Politik/Hoeringer/Documents/VVM-tilladelse%20til%20udvidelse%20af%20R%C3%B8nne%20Havn.pdf>
- Bornholms Regionskommune. (2018, May 31). *Ny havmøllepark får Rønne Havn som omdrejningspunkt*. Infomedia: e6c595f5
- Bornholms Regionskommune. (2019, June). *Strategisk udviklingsplan for Rønne*. <https://www.brk.dk/stillinger/Documents/UdviklingsplanRoenne.pdf>
- Bornholms Regionskommune. (2020, September 8). *§ 25-tilladelse til etablering af oplagsplads på areal ved Galløkken*.  
[https://planinfo.erhvervsstyrelsen.dk/sites/default/files/media/ss\\_25-tilladelse\\_og\\_miljoekonsekvensrapport\\_for\\_etablering\\_af\\_oplagsplads\\_paa\\_areal\\_ved\\_galloekken.pdf](https://planinfo.erhvervsstyrelsen.dk/sites/default/files/media/ss_25-tilladelse_og_miljoekonsekvensrapport_for_etablering_af_oplagsplads_paa_areal_ved_galloekken.pdf)
- Bornholms Tidende. (2017a, November 29). *Ny aktivitet på Rønne Havn gavner erhvervslivet*. Infomedia: e685e72f
- Bornholms Tidende. (2017b, November 29). *Rønne jubler over ny aftale på Rønne Havn: Det er lige hvad vi har brug for*. Infomedia: e6861e8d
- Bornholms Tidende. (2018a, June 1). *Ny kaj var afgørende for valget*. Infomedia: e6c602ec

Bornholms Tidende. (2018b, May 31). *Havnedirektør: Vi bygger en ekstra kaj til tunge elementer*. Infomedia: e6c5a46d

Bornholms Tidende. (2018c, May 31). *Ny havmøllepark får Rønne Havn som omdrejningspunkt*. Infomedia: e6c59610

Bornholms Tidende. (2018d, May 31). *Winni Grosbøll: Noget af det bedste, der er sket for øen*. Infomedia: e6c59d2f

Bornholms Tidende. (2018e, October 12). *Næsten alle sten er leveret*. Infomedia: e6eef394

Børsen. (2017, October 18). *Aarsleff vinder aftale om havneudvidelse i Rønne frem mod 2050*. Infomedia: e676b10d

Børsen. (2018a, May 31). *Ny havmøllepark får Rønne Havn som omdrejningspunkt*. Infomedia: e6c5963b.

Børsen. (2018b, May 31). *Siemens Gamesa vil udskibe Krigers Flaks møller fra Rønne Havn*. Infomedia: e6c5942b

Brandt-Jensen, E. (2015a, March 2). *Bornholm skal lanceres som service alternative for vindmøllekunder*. Søfart. Infomedia: e4e25954.

Brandt-Jensen, E. (2015b, October 19). *KPI Bridge Oil og Rønne Havn vil sætte bunkerfokus på Bornholm*. Søfart. Infomedia: E5443e2b.

BT. (2018, May 31). *Ny havmøllepark får Rønne Havn som omdrejningspunkt*. Infomedia: e6c5af2a

Burund, M. (2017, October 19). *Aarsleff skal udvide Rønne Havn for 500 mio. kr*. Infomedia: e677118d

Business.dk. (2017, October 18). *Aarsleff vinder aftale om havneudvidelse i Rønne frem mod 2050*. Infomedia: e676b3ee

Bygtek.dk. (2017, October 18). *Rønne Havn klar til udvidelse*. Infomedia: e676b4f2

Cavallo, B., D'Apuzzo, L. & Squillante, M. (2014). A multi-criteria decision making method for sustainable development of Naples port city-area. *Qual Quant* 49, 1647–1659.  
<https://doi-org.zorac.aub.aau.dk/10.1007/s11135-014-0077-9>

Christensen, B. (2018, August 15). *Rønne Havn sætter rekord for krydstogtskibe*. TV2 Bornholm. Infomedia: e6dbff5d

Clausen, N.W. (2017a, March 22). *Endnu et godt år for Rønne Havn*. TV2 Bornholm.  
<https://www.tv2bornholm.dk/?newsID=124488>

Clausen, N.W. (2017b, October 18). *Rønne Havn starter udvidelse sidst på året*. TV2 Bornholm  
<https://www.tv2bornholm.dk/?newsID=130065>

Copenhagen Economics. (2018). *Dansk fiskeri og fiskeindustri økonomiske fodaftryk*. Danmarks Pelagiske Producentorganisation, Danmarks Fiskeriforening, Producent, Organisation Danish Seafood Association, Marine Ingredients Denmark and Danske Havne. <https://www.ft.dk/samling/20171/almdelel/MOE/bilag/294/1860084.pdf>

Dagbladet Ringkøbing-Skjern. (2018, May 31). *Ny havmøllepark får Rønne Havn som omdrejningspunkt*. Infomedia: e6c595f5

Dansk Naturfredningsforening. (2017, January 22). Høringssvar til offentlig høring om lokalplanforslag 091 for udvidelse af Rønne Havn med tilhørende VVM-redegørelse.  
[https://www.brk.dk/Indflydelse-Politik/Hoeringer/Documents/3\\_Sammenfattende%20redeg%C3%B8relse%20til%20Oplangrundlaget%20for%20udvidelse%20af%20R%C3%B8nne%20Havn-samlet-lille.pdf](https://www.brk.dk/Indflydelse-Politik/Hoeringer/Documents/3_Sammenfattende%20redeg%C3%B8relse%20til%20Oplangrundlaget%20for%20udvidelse%20af%20R%C3%B8nne%20Havn-samlet-lille.pdf)

Danske Havne. (2004). *Havnepolitisk redegørelse 2004*.  
<https://www.danskehavne.dk/blog/havnepolitisk-redegørelse-2004/>

- Danske Havne. (2014a). *Her udvider havnene: Danske erhvervshavnes udvidelsesplaner 2014 og planer for de kommende år*. <https://www.danskehavne.dk/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Her-udvider-havnene-2014.pdf>
- Danske Havne. (2014b). Interview med Winnie Grosbøll. <https://www.danskehavne.dk/blog/interview-med-borgmester-winni-grosboell/>
- Danske Havne. (2016a, February, 25). *Professionaliseringen af Rønne Havn A/S bestyrelse*. <https://www.danskehavne.dk/blog/professionaliseringen-af-roenne-havn-as->
- Danske Havne. (2016bden, February 11). *Winni Grosbøll, borgmester i Bornholms Regionskommune, præsenterer Rønne Havn A/S – Ugens Havn*. <https://www.danskehavne.dk/blog/winnie-grosboell-praesenterer-roenne-havn-ugens-havn/>
- Danske Havne. (2018). *Havnepolitisk redegørelse 2018: Port transformation*. <https://www.danskehavne.dk/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Havnepolitisk-Redeg%C3%B8relse-2018.pdf>
- Den Korte Avis. (2018, May 31). *Ny havmøllepark får Rønne Havn som omdrejningspunkt*. Infomedia: e6c5a3d1
- Destination Bornholm. (n.d.a). *Cruise Bornholm - Pearl of the Baltic Sea*. <https://bornholm.info/en/cruise-bornholm/>
- Destination Bornholm. (n.d.b). *Om Destination Bornholm*. <https://bornholm.info/erhverv/om-os/> (accessed May 20, 2022)
- Ejendomswatch.dk and Ritzau. (2017, October 18). *Aarsleff vinder aftale om havneudvidelse i Rønne*. Infomedia: e676b39b
- Elder-Vass, D. (2012). Towards a Realist Social Constructionism. *Sociologia, Problemas E Práticas*, 70, 9-24. DOI:10.7458/SPP2012701208
- Energy-supply. (2017, November 29). *Rønne bliver servicehavn for tysk offshore-park*. Infomedia: e685e96f
- Energywatch and Ritzau. (2018, May 31) *Siemens Gamesa vi udskibe Kriegers Flak møller fra Rønne Havn*. Infomedia: e6c5a734
- Erhvervsstyrelsen. (n.d.). *CVR - Det Centrale Virksomhedsregister*. <https://datacvr.virk.dk/enhed/virksomhed/27932150>
- Euroinvestor. (2018, May 31). *Ny havmøllepark får Rønne Havn som omdrejningspunkt*. Infomedia: e6c5963
- Flyvbjerg, B. (1998). *Rationality and power: Democracy in practice*. University of Chicago Press.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2004). Phronetic planning research: theoretical and methodological reflections. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 5(3), 283-306. DOI: 10.1080/1464935042000250195
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five misunderstandings about case studies. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12 (2), 219-245, DOI: 10.1177/1077800405284363
- Fredericia Dagblad. (2018, May 31). *Ny havmøllepark får Rønne Havn som omdrejningspunkt*. Infomedia: e6c59633
- Fyens.dk. (2018, May 31). *Ny havmøllepark får Rønne Havn som omdrejningspunkt*. Infomedia: e6c596ef
- Gajhede, A.P. (2017, December 11). *Rønne valgt som servicehub på Arkone Wind Farm*. Danmarks Transport Tidende. Infomedia: e68917cc
- Galland, D. (2012). Is Regional Planning Dead or Just Coping? The Transformation of a State Sociospatial Project into Growth-Oriented Strategies. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, 30(3), 536–552. DOI: [10.1068/c11150](https://doi.org/10.1068/c11150)
- Gemba Seafood Consultancy. (2008). *Rønne Havns erhversøkonomiske betydning for lokalsamfundet*

- Gharehgozli, A.H., Mileski, J., Adams, A., & von Zharen, W. (2017). Evaluating a “wicked problem”: A conceptual framework on seaport resiliency in the event of weather disruptions. *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, 121, 65-75, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techfore.2016.11.006>.
- Google Earth Pro. (2019, August 26). Rønne Sydhavn. 55°05'10.28"N, 14°42'19.51"E. Elevation 2,71 km.
- Google Earth Pro. (2020, February, 5). Rønne Havn, 55°05'36.41"N, 14°42'13.51"E. Elevation 5.58 km.
- Greenhaus, J. H., & Callanan, G. A. (2006). Social constructionism. In *Encyclopedia of career development*, 1, pp. 755-756. SAGE Publications, Inc., <https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412952675.n262>
- Gregersen, R. (2017a, October 18). *Rønne Havn indgår kontrakt til en halv milliard*. Transport Magasinet. Infomedia: e676b2ad
- Gregersen, R. (2017b, October 18). *Rønne Havn indgår kontrakt til en halv milliard*. Mester Tidende. [https://www.mestertidende.dk/article/view/561466/ronne\\_havn\\_indgar\\_kontrakt\\_til\\_en\\_halv\\_milliard](https://www.mestertidende.dk/article/view/561466/ronne_havn_indgar_kontrakt_til_en_halv_milliard)
- Gritsenko, D., & Yliskylä-Peuralahti, J. (2013). Governing shipping externalities: Baltic ports in the process of SOx emission reduction. *Maritime Studies*, 12 (10). <https://doi.org/10.1186/2212-9790-12-10>.
- Grøn, V.R. (2015, June, 10). *Det maritime Rønne rejser sig igen*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e51282e8.
- Groves, C. (2015). The bomb in my backyard, the serpent in my house: environmental justice, risk, and the colonisation of attachment. *Environmental Politics*, 24(6), 853-873, DOI: [10.1080/09644016.2015.1067348](https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2015.1067348)
- GTS-net.dk. (2016, December 20). *Fremtidssikring af Rønne Havn*. Infomedia: e609217f
- Guldagger, M., & Hannestad, A. (2019, November 24). *Uden fortilfælde: Gigantisk vindmøllepark ud for Bornholm kan blive et grønt gennembrud for Danmark*. Politiken. Infomedia: e775a67a
- Guldagger, M. (2019, November 25). *Bornholm: Oplagt at gøre os til en energiø*. Politiken. Infomedia: e7775a978
- Haezendonck, E. (Ed.). (2021). *Port Strategy for Sustainable Development*. MDPI publishers. Basel. <https://doi.org/10.3390/books978-3-0365-0091-1>
- Hajer, M. A. (1997). *The Politics of Environmental Discourse: Ecological Modernization and the Policy Process*. Oxford University Press. Published to Oxford Scholarship Online: November 2003. DOI:10.1093/019829333X.001.0001.
- Hannestad, A., & Guldagger, M. (2019, November 25). *Kæmpe møllepark ved Bornholm kan blive et grønt gennembrud*. Politiken. Infomedia: e775a94a
- Hansen, B. (2015, February 27). *Rønne Havn skal udbygges*. Netavisen Bornholm Nu. <https://bornholm.nu/?Id=60850>
- Hansen, M.H. (2015, June 6). *Rønne Havn håber på ny ydermole*. TV2 Bornholm. <https://www.tv2bornholm.dk/?newsID=91209>
- Hansen, M.H. (2019, May 3). *Rønne Havns entreprenørfirma er gået i gang med at sandfodre neden for Galløkken: Sandstrand på vej*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e72f18a8
- Hartkopf-Mikkelsen, J. (2018, August 15). *Rønne Havn A/S forventer ny krydstogtrekord i 2019*. Søfart. Infomedia: e6dc0361
- Hartkopf-Mikkelsen, J. (2018, October 24). *Rønne forventer 50 pct flere krydstogtgæster i 2019*. Søfart. Infomedia: e6f275c4
- Have, I. (2016, May 10). *Rønne Byforening frygter Galløkkens fremtid*. TV2 Bornholm. <https://www.tv2bornholm.dk/?newsID=103975>



- Holland, S. (2016, February 2). *Rønne Havn er ugens havn*. TV2 Bornholm. <https://www.tv2bornholm.dk/?newsID=97183>.
- Høm, H. (2017, April 4). *Forberedelserne til fase 1 er i gang*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e632a3d5
- Horsens Folkeblad. (2018, May 31). *Ny havmøllepark får Rønne Havn som omdrejningspunkt*. Infomedia: e6c59601
- Hviid, S. (2016, August 25). *Bornholmere vil have have ny krydstogthavn*. Søfart. Infomedia: e5da1012
- Idag. (2017, November 29). *Rønne bliver servicehavn for stor vindmøllepark*. Infomedia: e68656dc  
Infomedia: e60eb7e1
- Information. (2018, May 31). *Ny havmøllepark får Rønne Havn som omdrejningspunkt*. Infomedia: e6c59661
- Jastram, T. (2019, October 24). *Aarsleff afleverer havneudvidelse i Rønne*. Maskinteknik. Infomedia: e76923d0
- Jensen, A. (2016, June 14). *Rønne Havns fremtid*. Letter to the editor. In: Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e5c1c10b
- Johansen, E.M. (2018, May 31). Nu er der smil og lagkage på Rønne Havn. TV2 Bornholm. <https://www.tv2bornholm.dk/?newsID=214831>
- Johansen, M.Æ. (2017, October 18). *Rønne Havn melder klar til stor udvidelse*. Shipping Watch. <https://shippingwatch-dk.zorac.aau.dk/secure/Havne/article9959444.ece>
- Johansen, V.R. (2019). *Rønne Havn bliver østvendt spydspids for havvind*. Teknik og Miljø. Infomedia: e781b4de.
- Jørgensen, M. and Phillips, L.J. (2011a). I the Fields of Discourse Analysis. In: *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. SAGE Publications Ltd. London. DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781849208871>
- Jørgensen, M. and Phillips, L.J. (2011b). Critical Social Constructionist Research. In: *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. SAGE Publications Ltd. DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781849208871>.
- Jydske Midtysten and Ritzau. (2018, May 31). *Ny havmøllepark får Rønne Havn som omdrejningspunkt*. Infomedia: e6c59403
- Jyllandsposten. (2017, October 22). *Aarsleff skal udvide Rønne Havn*. Infomedia: e677eb8b
- Kaas, T. (2016a, March 3). *Dyre udfordringer op havnen i Rønne*. Editorial in Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e598ef3a
- Kaas, T. (2016b, October, 21). *Rønne Havn forventer rekordoverskud for fjerde år i træk*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e5f01257
- Kanondalens Støtteforening. (2022). Debat 'Kanondalen, Rønne - Kanondalens Støtteforening' [Facebook]. Retrived 27. May 2022.
- Keulen, S., & Kroeze, R. (2021). The rise of neoliberalism and the termination of Keynesian policies: a multilevel governance analysis of the closure of the Amsterdam shipyards, 1968–1986. *Enterprise & Society*, 22(1), 212-246. doi:10.1017/eso.2019.65
- Klausen, J.S. (2018, April 30). *Rønne er i gang med første etape af stor havneudvikling*. Licitation - Byggeriet Dagblad. Infomedia: e6baf7cb
- Kommunen. (2018, May 31). *Ny havmøllepark får Rønne Havn som omdrejningspunkt*. Infomedia: e6c595ff
- Kristeligt Dagblad. (2018, May 31). *Ny havmøllepark får Rønne Havn som omdrejningspunkt*. Infomedia: e6c59651
- Krogh, P. (2021, August 29). *Ikke udsigt til flere skibe på landstrøm*. TV2 Bornholm. <https://www.tv2bornholm.dk/?newsID=245193>



- Kurian, P., & Wright, J. (2012). Science, governance, and public participation: An analysis of decision making on genetic modification in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Public Understanding of Science*, 21(4), 447–464.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0963662510382362>
- Lager-Transport Logistik Magasinet. (2017, November 28). *Rønne Havn undgår aftale med Per Aarsleff om havneudvidelse*. Infomedia: e685a57a
- Lamore, K., Vioulac, C., Fasse, L., Flahault, C., Quintard, B., & Untas, A. (2020). Couples' Experience of the Decision-Making Process in Breast Reconstruction After Breast Cancer: A Lexical Analysis of Their Discourse. *Cancer Nursing*, 43(5), 384–395. <https://doi.org/10.1097/NCC.0000000000000708>
- Lange, I. S. G., & Ounanian, K. (2020). From fishing port to transport hub? Local voices on the identity of places and flows. *PORTUSplus*, 10(Research Themes). <https://portusplus.org/index.php/pp/article/view/204/196>
- Larsen, M.V. (2015, September 9). *Erhvervs- og vækstminister Troels Lund Poulsen(V) besøger Rønne Havn torsdag: Formålet er at drøfte havnens rolle som forsyningshavn og potentiale*. TV2 Bornholm.  
<https://www.tv2bornholm.dk/?newsID=94223>
- Lee, P. & Yang, Z. (2018). *Multi-Criteria Decision Making in Maritime Studies and Logistics : Applications and Cases* (Elektronisk udgave.). Springer International Publishing.
- Leth, A.L. (2016, March 5). *Krydstogtskibe sejler forbi Bornholm*. Politiken. Infomedia: e5999d23
- Liljeroth, A. (2016a, March 10). *Rønne Havn på vej til Miami*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e59bc54f
- Liljeroth, A. (2016b, December 2). *Se billedet: her er Rønne Havns store plan*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e602679b
- Lolland-Falster Folketidende. (2018, May 31). *Ny havmøllepark får Rønne Havn som omdrejningspunkt*. Infomedia: e6c596a5
- Lou, J, Kure, S and Vollf, M.S. (2018, May 31). *Danmarks største havmøllepark skal opføres via Bornholm*. DR. Infomedia: e6c5aaea
- Maritime Danmark (2015a, October 12). *Bunkerselskab kommer til Rønne Havn*.  
<https://maritimedanmark.dk/?Id=28257>.
- Maritime Danmark. (2015b, April 30). *Rønne Havn bliver snart for lille*. Maritime Danmark. Infomedia: e502c5cd
- Maritime Danmark. (2015c, April 25). *Rønne er første havn med certificeringer*.  
<https://maritimedanmark.dk/?Id=26487>
- Maritime Danmark. (2015d, June 8). *Rønne Havn håber på snarlig udvidelse*.  
<https://maritimedanmark.dk/?Id=26957>
- Maritime Danmark. (2015e, October 31). *Første skib bunkrer i Rønne Havn*. <https://maritimedanmark.dk/?Id=28483>
- Maritime Danmark. (2016, July 29). *Fortsat fremgang i Rønne Havn A/S*. Maritime Danmark.  
<https://maritimedanmark.dk/?Id=30962>
- Maritime Danmark. (2017a, March 22). *Rønne Havn fortsætter fremgang*. Infomedia: e62d0a2b
- Maritime Danmark. (2017b, November 29). *Rønne bliver servicehub for vindmøllepark*. Infomedia: e685f6bb
- Maritime Danmark. (2018a, August 15). *Rønne Havn sætter ny krydstogtrekord*. Infomedia: e6dc0405
- Maritime Danmark. (2018b, October 24). *Stor vækst i krydstogtanløb i Rønne Havn*. Infomedia: e6f26dfd
- Mazanti-Andersen. (2021, February 16). *Betinget købsaftale vedrørende del af Galløkken mellem Bornholms Regionskommune og Rønne havn A/S*. Journal nr. 64418.

<https://www.brk.dk/Nyheder/PublishingImages/R%C3%B8nne%20havn%20AS%20-%20underskrevet%20betinget%20k%C3%B8bsaftale.pdf>

Metroexpress. (2018, May 31). *Ny havmøllepark får Rønne Havn som omdrejningspunkt*. Infomedia: e6c597d0

Midtjyllands Avis and Ritzau. (2018, May 31). *Ny havmøllepark får Rønne Havn som omdrejningspunkt*. Infomedia: e6c5966b

Miljø og fødevareministeriet (2018, December 12). *Rønne Havneudvidelse, Ny klaptilladelse*.  
<https://mst.dk/media/173811/roenne-havneudvidelse-ny-klaptilladelse.pdf>

Møller, S. (2021, June, 28). *Støjmålinger fra Rønne Havn er klar: Forløbet har været utilfredsstillende*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e8558051

Møller, T.Ø. (2018, November 12). *Krydstogtrederierne har for alvor fået øjnene op for Rønne Havn: 46 krydstogtskibe har meldt deres ankomst til næste år*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e6f857a7.

Mortensen, L., Kørnøv, L., Lyhne, I., & Raakjær, J. (2020) Smaller ports' evolution towards catalysing sustainable hinterland development. *Maritime Policy & Management*, 47(3), 402-418.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03088839.2020.1711978>

Mortensen, M.M (2017, October 27). *Udvidelse Rønne Havn: Op til 100 mand skal huses*. TV2 Bornholm.  
<https://www.tv2bornholm.dk/?newsID=130254>

Mortensen, M.M. (2018, October 24). *Krydstogtsæsonen har været god for Rønne Havn*. TV2 Bornholm.  
<https://www.tv2bornholm.dk/?newsID=219752>

Newsbreak and Ritzau. (2018, August 15). *PRM/Rønne Havn A/S slår nye krydstogtrekorder*. Infomedia: e6dbfd5b

Newsbreak and Ritzau. (2019, October 24). *PRM / Aarsleff overdrager nyt havnebyggeri til Rønne Havn A/S*. Newsbreak. Infomedia: e768f18e

Newsbreak. (2018, October 24). *PRM/Markant flere krydstogtskibe besøger Rønne Havn*. Newsbreak. Infomedia: e6f26128

Nielsen, H. (2008, December 29). *Kilden til byens velstand*. Bornholms Tidende. Accessed via infomedia mediearkiv: e15885ba.

Nielsen, H. (2015a, August 4). *Et optimistisk bud lyder på 2045: Udvidelse af havn har lange udsigter*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e5264984.

Nielsen, H. (2015b, April 28). *Rønne Havn bliver bedre til sit arbejde*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e5019012.

Nielsen, H. (2015c, October 21). *Havnens dimensioner afgør krydstogtanløb*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e545e870.

Nielsen, H. (2015d, January 2). *Certificeringer skal styrke havnens konkurrenceevne*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e4be35c0

Nielsen, H. (2015e, October 13). *Stor aktør rykker ind på havnen*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e54282df.

Nielsen, H. (2016a, April 8). *Første havn med fire certificeringer*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e5a6de6e.

Nielsen, H. (2016b, April 8). *Rønne Havn er i bedre økonomisk form end nogensinde*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e5a6de65

Nielsen, H. (2016c, December 7). *Plads til at manøvre er den største udfordring: Rønne Havn kigger mange år frem i tiden*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e60463f0

Nielsen, H. (2016d, February 17). *Rønne Havn er som en motorvej*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e592aa43.

Nielsen, H. (2016e, June 27). *Rønne Havn på vej til rekord*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e5d0e15d

Nielsen, H. (2016f, June 7). *Afslag fra EU forsinker udvidelse af Rønne Havn*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e5caaca0

Nielsen, H. (2016g, June 8). *Spørgsmål skal besvares inden havneudvidelse*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e5bf60b8.

Nielsen, H. (2016h, June 9). *Enighed er måske ikke en mulighed: Positiv dialog om havneudvidelse*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e5bfdca9

Nielsen, H. (2016i, March 19). *Multikaj kan stå klar om tre år*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e59f5afa

Nielsen, H. (2016j, March 19). *Rønne Havn med i netværk af grønne havne*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e59f5afd.

Nielsen, H. (2016k, March, 19). *En slags billige konsulenter*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e59f5b02

Nielsen, H. (2016l, May 10). *Havneudvidelse rejser mange spørgsmål*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e5b3b0b4

Nielsen, H. (2016m, October 12). *Flere anløb og passagerer næste år: krydstogtsæson uden aflysninger*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e5ec79ea.

Nielsen, H. (2016n, October 6). *Havnens lange perspektiv*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e5ea5711.

Nielsen, H. (2016o, May 12). *Havneudvidelse vækker bekymring*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e5b4b782.

Nielsen, H. (2017a, February 27). *Enhedslisten ser mangler i plan for havneudvidelse*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e6221480

Nielsen, H. (2017b, February, 17). *Udvikling og bevaring bør gå hånd i hånd: Rønne Havn vil påvirke havneudvidelse løbende*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e61e8f9f

Nielsen, H. (2017c, January 7). *En langsigtet plan for havnen*. Bornholms Tidende.

Nielsen, H. (2017d, January 7). *Nødvendigt for at løse havnens hovedopgave: Rønne Havn ser udvidelse som fremtidssikring*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e60eb7de

Nielsen, H. (2017e, March 22). *Havnedirektør er stolt af gutterne: Rønne Havn leverer sit bedste resultat nogensinde*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e62d16bf

Nielsen, H. (2017f, November 11). *Per Aarsleff A/ S er på plads: Forarbejde til havneudvidelse er i gang*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e67f7174.

Nielsen, H. (2017g, October 18). *Borgmester ser mange muligheder i havnen*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e676c841

Nielsen, H. (2017h, October 18). *Første spadestik sidst på året: Rønne Havn indgår kontrakt om udvidelse*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: E676c83f

Nielsen, H. (2018a). *Havn bygger ekstra kaj for at kunne håndtere vindmøller: Rønne bliver centrum for havmøllepark ved Stevn*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e6c602d6

Nielsen, H. (2018b, August 19). *2018 har allerede overgået 2017, Rønne Havn øjner ny storhedstid for krydstogter*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e6dc74f9

Nielsen, H. (2018c, February 23). *Havneudvidelse giver travlhed i to svenske havne: Sydsverige leverer tonsvis af sten til ny kaj*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e6a1db13

Nielsen, H. (2018d, June 1). *Virksomheder forventer vækst*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e6c602e5

Nielsen, H. (2018e, November 22). *Havnebyggeriet er lidt foran tidsplan*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e6fbcd7

Nielsen, H. (2018f, September 20). *Rønne havn tager form*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e6e7a670

Nielsen, H. (2020a, February 1). *Første høringsperiode for mulig havneudvidelse er slut: Folk sætter pris på de rekreative muligheder ved Kanondalen*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e78fd933.

Nielsen, H. (2020b, January, 17). *Beboere kæmper videre for areal ved Kanondalen: Grønt område neden for Galløkken er ikke opgivet*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e78b153

Nielsen, H. (2020c, May 20). *Den rekreative værdi er ikke så stor, vurderes det i rapport om mulig havneudvidelse: Galløkken har større værdi end omstridt areal ved Kanondalen*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e7b440d4

Nielsen, H. (2020d, September 8). *Formand ønsker ikke at spænde ben for konkrete projekter: Støtteforening overvejer at kæmpe videre for grønt område*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e7e10e0a

Nielsen, J.B. (2016a, March 18). *Sådan vil Bornholm udnytte Østersøens nye vindfelter*. Transport Magasinet. Infomedia: e59e7bd9

Nielsen, J.B. (2016b, March 18). *Øen med de mange kompetencer*. Transport Magasinet. Infomedia: e59e7bd5

Nielsen, J.B. (2016c, March 18). *Rønne kan blive en god service-hub*. Transport Magasinet. Infomedia: e59e7bdc

Nielsen, J.B. (2016d, March 18). *Rønne Havn har sat ny kurs*. Transport Magasinet. Infomedia: e59e6b81.

Nielsen, J.B. (2016d, March 18). *Rønne Havn har sat ny kurs*. Transport Magasinet. Infomedia: e59e6b81

NIRAS (2016a, November). *Udvidelse af Rønne Havn del 1: ikke-teknisk resumé*.  
[https://www.brk.dk/Indflydelse-Politik/Hoeringer/Documents/B.%20Del%201%20Ikke%20teknisk%20resume%C3%A9\\_VVM%20og%20milj%C3%B8vurdering%20af%20plangrundlag%20for%20udvidelse%20af%20R%C3%B8nne%20Havn.pdf#search=ikke%20teknisk%20resume%20vvm](https://www.brk.dk/Indflydelse-Politik/Hoeringer/Documents/B.%20Del%201%20Ikke%20teknisk%20resume%C3%A9_VVM%20og%20milj%C3%B8vurdering%20af%20plangrundlag%20for%20udvidelse%20af%20R%C3%B8nne%20Havn.pdf#search=ikke%20teknisk%20resume%20vvm)

NIRAS (2016b, November). *Udvidelse Af Rønne Havn del 2 VVM-Redegørelse og miljøvurdering ff plangrundlaget*.  
<https://docplayer.dk/26112750-Udvidelse-af-roenne-havn.html>

NIRAS. (2020, April 23). *Oplagsplads og rekreativt område ved Galløkken: Miljøkonsekvensrapport og miljørapport*.  
<https://www.brk.dk/Indflydelse-Politik/Hoeringer/Documents/Milj%C3%B8konsekvensrapport%20og%20milj%C3%B8rapport%20oplagsplads%20R%C3%B8nne%20havn.pdf>

Nordjyske. (2018, May 31). *Ny havmøllepark får Rønne Havn som omdrejningspunkt*. Infomedia: e6c59722.

Nørgård, J.D. (2015, April 24). *Rønne Havn får fire certificeringer på fem måneder*. TV2 Bornholm.  
<https://www.tv2bornholm.dk/?newsID=90310>.

Nørmark, J. (2017, May 8). *Rønne Byforening offentliggjorde nye planer om havneudvidelse på generalforsamling: Havnen vil overtage naturområde*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e730a7a0

Nørmark, J. (2019a, March 23). *Fundament til fremtiden*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e720d1b9

Nørmark, J. (2019b, October 24). *Rønne Havn har overtaget nøglerne*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e7691da7

Nørmark, J. (2021a, April 17). *Regionskommunen solgte grunden ved Kanondalen til Rønne Havn for billigt og risikerer at tabe penge på handlen, mener SF og Regningen for forurening på gam losseplads kan ende på rådhuset*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e8392625

Nørmark, J. (2021b, January 18). *Støtteforening anklager Rønne Havn for at bruge bøllemetoder*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e8158b92



- Rønne Havn. (2016a). *Årsrapport 2015*. [https://roennehavn.dk/media/1046/aarsrapport\\_2015.pdf](https://roennehavn.dk/media/1046/aarsrapport_2015.pdf)
- Rønne Havn. (2016b). *Vindmølleindustrien mødes i Rønne*. <https://roennehavn.dk/presse/2015/12/15/vindmølleindustrien-modes-i-ronne>
- Rønne Havn. (2016c, June 22). *Afslag på ansøgning om midler fra EU connecting Europe Facility Fund*. <https://roennehavn.dk/presse/2016/6/22/afslag-pa-ansogning-om-midler-fra-eu-connecting-europe-facility-cef>
- Rønne Havn. (2016d, November). *Masterplan 2050*. <https://www.roennehavn.dk/media/1369/publiseret-masterplan-2050-d-11-16-1658-10.pdf>
- Rønne Havn. (2017a, November 29). Rønne Havn valgt som servicehub når VBMS skal arbejde på Arkona Windfarm-projektet. <https://roennehavn.dk/presse/2017/11/29/ronne-havn-valgt-som-servicehub-nar-vbms-skal-arbejde-pa-arkona-windfarm-projektet>
- Rønne Havn. (2017b, October, 18). *Per Aarsleff A/S is chosen as entrepreneur for phase-I*. <https://roennehavn.dk/presse/2017/10/18/ronne-havn-a-s-indgar-aftale-med-per-aarsleff-a-s-om-havneudvidelse>
- Rønne Havn. (2018a, June 4). Rabat skal hente flere passagerer. <https://roennehavn.dk/presse/2018/6/4/rabat-skal-hente-flere-passagerer>
- Rønne Havn. (2018b, May 31). *Kriegers Flak møller skal udskibes fra Rønne havn*. <https://roennehavn.dk/presse/2018/5/31/kriegers-flaks-moller-skal-udskibes-fra-ronne-havn>
- Rønne Havn. (2018c, August 15). *Rønne Havn slår nye krydstogtrekorder*. <https://roennehavn.dk/presse/2018/8/15/ronne-havn-a-s-slar-nye-krydstogtrekorder>
- Rønne Havn. (2019a). *Rønne Havn A/S vandt prisen som årets bestyrelse*. <https://roennehavn.dk/presse/2019/11/7/ronne-havn-a-s-vandt-prisen-som-arets-bestyrelse-2019>
- Rønne Havn. (2019b, June 8). *Rønne Havn A/S indvier ny kaj med live koncert af hoppeborg*. <https://roennehavn.dk/presse/2019/4/11/ronne-havn-a-s-indvier-ny-kaj-med-live-koncert-og-hoppeborg>
- Rønne Havn. (2019c, October 24). *Aarsleff overdrager nyt havnebyggeri til Rønne Havn A/S*. <https://roennehavn.dk/presse/2019/10/24/aarsleff-overdrager-nyt-havnebyggeri-til-ronne-havn-a-s>
- Rønne Havn. (n.d.). *Udvidelse af Rønne Havn*. <https://roennehavn.dk/havnebyggeri/>
- Rønne Havns Bestyrelse. (2010). *Strategi og Visionsplan for Rønne Havn A/S frem mod år 2020*. <https://docplayer.dk/362832-Strategi-og-visionsplan-for-roenne-havn-a-s-frem-mod-aar-2020.html>
- Rudolph, D. P., & Kirkegaard, J. K. (2019). Making space for wind farms: Practices of territorial stigmatisation in rural Denmark. *Antipode* Vol. 51 No. 2 2019 ISSN 0066-4812, pp. 642–663 doi: 10.1111/anti.12428
- Rydin, Y. (2021). *Theory in planning research*. Palgrave Macmillan, Springer Nature. Singapore.
- Sager, T. (2009). Planners' Role: Torn between Dialogical Ideals and Neo-liberal Realities. *European Planning Studies*, 17(1), 65-84. DOI: 10.1080/09654310802513948
- Salling Bank. (2018, May 31). *Ny havmøllepark får Rønne Havn som omdrejningspunkt*. Infomedia: e6c59709
- Schröder, K. (2016, November 2). *Havneudvidelse i Rønne for store krydstogtskibe*. Letter to the editor. In: Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e5f49643
- Shepherd, E., Inch, A. and Marshall, T. (2020). Narratives of power: Bringing ideology to the fore of planning analysis. Editorial In: *Planning Theory*, 19(1), 3-16. DOI: 10.1177/1473095219898865
- Sjællands Nyheder. (2018, May 31). *Ny havmøllepark får Rønne Havn som omdrejningspunkt*. Infomedia: e6c5968c



Skive Folkeblad. (2018, May 31). *Ny havmøllepark får Rønne Havn som omdrejningspunkt*. Infomedia: e6c59451

Søfart. (2016, October 21). *Rønne Havn tror på rekord for fjerde år i træk*. Infomedia: e5f00766

Søfart. (2017, November 29). *Rønne bliver servicehavn for 60 vindmøller stor offshore-park*. Infomedia: e685e99c

Søfart. (2018, June 1). *Kriegers Flak skal udskibes fra Rønne*. Søfart. Infomedia: e6c5c964

Sousa, S., & Pinho, P. (2015) Planning for Shrinkage: Paradox or Paradigm. *European Planning Studies*, 23(1), 12-32. DOI: 10.1080/09654313.2013.820082

Stubkjær, J. (2016a, April 23). *Formand for Rønne Byforening, Nielse-Holger Larsen: Det vil ændre havnens og byens profil*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e5acb63f

Stubkjær, J. (2016b, April 23). *Rønne Havn ønsker at udvide sine arealer og aktiviteter*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e5acb642

Stubkjær, J. (2016c, March 23). *Rønne Havn: Vi holder øje med LNG muligheder*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e5a10673.

Therp, O.S. (2017, October 18). *Aarsleff vinder aftale om havneudvidelse i Rønne frem mod 2050*. Ritzau. Infomedia: e676af40

Transport Magasinet. (2016a, April 15). *Rønne Havn slår rekord*. Infomedia: e5a8d665

Transport Magasinet. (2016b, April 8). *Rønne Havn slår rekord*. Infomedia: e5a6c1d1

Transport Magasinet. (2017a, March 22). *Rønne Havn leverer det bedste resultat nogensinde - igen*. Infomedia: e62cf791

Transport Magasinet. (2017b, November 29). *Rønne bliver servicehub for stor vindmøllepark*. Infomedia: e685e941

Transport Nyhederne. (2017, March 22). *Bornholms største havn leverer igen et rekordresultat*. Infomedia: e62d08ba

Transport Nyhederne. (2018, October 24). *Rønne Havn får besøg af flere krydstogtskibe*. Infomedia: e6f2724d

Transport Tidende. (2018a, August 15). *Rønne Havn slår nye krydstogtrekorder*. Infomedia: e6dc059b

Transport Tidende. (2018b, June 1). *Kriegers Flak-møller udskibes fra Rønne Havn*. Infomedia: e6c5cf5

Transport Tidende. (2019, October 24). *Bornholm er blevet større*. Transport Tidende. Infomedia: e768f3eb

Turnbull, P., & Wass, V. J. (2007). Defending Dock Workers - Globalization and Labor Relations in the World's Ports. *Industrial Relations*, 46(3), 582–612. <https://doi.org/10.1111%2Fj.1468-232X.2007.00481.x>

van Brussel, L., & Carpentier, N. (2012). The discursive construction of the good death and the dying person: A discourse-theoretical analysis of Belgian newspaper articles on medical end-of-life decision making. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 11(4), 479–499. <https://doi.org/10.1075/jlp.11.4.01van>

Vejle Amts Folkeblad. (2018, may 31). *Ny havmøllepark får Rønne Havn som omdrejningspunkt*. Infomedia: e6c59417.

Viborg Folkeblad. (2018, May 31). *Ny havmøllepark får Rønne Havn som omdrejningspunkt*. Infomedia: e6c59603

Vindkraft. (2017, November 29). *Vindmølleindustrien Statoil og E.ON vælger Rønne Havn som servicehub*. Infomedia: e6861e36

Wulff, K.H. (2017a, November 29). *Borgmesteren: Det er rigtig dejligt*. Bornholms Tidende Infomedia: e68614a6

Wulff, K.H. (2017b, November 29). *Handelsstandsforening: Det er jo verdensklasse*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e686149e

Wulff, K.H. (2017c, November 29). *Rønne Havn skal være servicehavn for stort vindmølleprojekt*. Bornholms Tidende. Infomedia: e6861493

Zhuang, W., Luo, M., & Fu, X. (2014). A game theory analysis of port specialization-implications to the Chinese port industry. *Maritime Policy and Management*, 41(3), 268–287. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03088839.2013.839517>

Zonatto, J.M. (2020). The role of discourses in enacting neoliberal urbanism: Understanding the relationship between ideology and discourse in planning. *Planning Theory*, 19(1), 104-126. DOI: 10.1177/1473095219898876