

Long-term and Cross-cutting Issues in European Governments and Parliaments

Denmark

EURES
Institut für regionale
Studien in Europa
Schleicher-Tappeser KG
Basler Straße 19
D-79100 Freiburg
Tel. 0761 70 441-0
Fax 0761 70 441-44

e-mail
Freiburg@eures.de

Internet
www.eures.de

EURES Büro Leipzig
Otto-Schill-Str. 1
D-04109 Leipzig
Tel. 0341 2126450
Fax 0341 2126451

Persönlich haftender
Gesellschafter
R. Schleicher-Tappeser

Handelsregister
Freiburg HRA 4097
Leipzig HRA 12622
Ust-IdNr.: DE 142090546

Bankverbindung
Sparkasse Freiburg
BLZ 680 501 01
Konto 209 90 19

Preface

This country report is one part of a comprehensive report presenting the results of an inquiry concerning the institutions, methods and procedures used by governments and parliaments throughout Europe for dealing with long-term and cross-cutting issues. The study was conducted by the EURES institute on behalf of the Office for Technology Assessment of the German Parliament (TAB).

Especially the concept of `Sustainable Development` requires a long-term and cross-cutting perspective. Therefore governments and parliaments in many countries are looking for new approaches to deal with these issues. In this context the project aimed at collecting a wide range of information about the institutions and the methods used by them for tackling long-term and cross-cutting issues.

Consequently, this report can also be used as a handbook. It should foster an international exchange of information and experiences concerning these questions. We are confident that the provided information is of practical use for organisations and experts involved in long-term and cross-cutting issues. Unfortunately some parts of the report exist only in a German version. A desirable complete English translation would require to find a source for additional funding

This country report contains:

- A brief country profile (Kurzbericht) concerning (a) the general political framework (political system and political culture) and (b) a summary of the way the country basically tackles long-term and cross-cutting issues (German)
- A country study on long-term and cross-cutting issues prepared by a country expert (English)
- A compilation of detailed characterisations of long-term and cross-cutting institutions within the country (English)

More information both concerning the project and the other parts of the report is provided on <http://www.eures.de/r38>.

EURES - Institut für regionale Studien in Europa
Basler Straße 19
D-79100 Freiburg
Tel.: +49 - 761 - 70 44 1-0
Fax +49 - 761 - 70 44 1-44
email: freiburg@eures.de
web: www.eures.de

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2 Dänemark

Fläche:	43.094 km ²
Einwohner:	5.275.000
Bruttosozialprodukt je Einwohner (1997) in US\$:	23.450

2.1 Kurzbericht

2.1.1 Übersicht

Dänemark zeichnet sich durch ein sehr konsensuelles politisches System mit weitreichenden Kontrollmöglichkeiten des Parlamentes gegenüber der Exekutive aus. Folge davon sind eine vergleichsweise große Häufigkeit von schwachen Minderheitsregierungen sowie vorzeitigen Neuwahlen.

Unter diesen Bedingungen ist innerhalb des Kabinetts eher das Denken in kurzfristigen Zeiträumen verbreitet. Auch eine Querschnittsorientierung trifft auf dieser Ebene auf große Hürden.

In Bezug auf Langzeit- und Querschnittsfragen sind somit in zunehmenden Maße die Ministerien und die hier angekoppelten Beratungsorgane die dominanten politischen Akteure.

Im Hinblick auf innovative institutionelle oder methodische Ansätze liefert Dänemark keine sehr große Ausbeute. Bei der Frage nach eher informellen Strukturen zur Bearbeitung von Langzeit- und Querschnittsfragen könnte das Land jedoch interessante Anhaltspunkte bieten.

2.1.2 Der politische, kulturelle und institutionelle Kontext¹

Demokratietypus:	Konsensuell
Staatsoberhaupt/ Regierungssystem:	Monarch / Parlamentarische Demokratie
Partizipation ges. Interessen / Politikstil:	Sektoraler Korporatismus / Konsensuell
Direktdemokratische Elemente:	Obligatorisches (bei Verfassungsänderung) sowie fakultatives Referendum auf nationaler Ebene
Staatsaufbau / Stellung der subnationalen Ebenen:	Unitaristischer Staatsaufbau / weitgehende kommunale Selbstverwaltung
Politische Kultur:	Pragmatische Konsenskultur; Korporatismus; Hegemonie sozialdemokratischer Werte

Politisches System

Das dänische politische System ist dem *konsensuellen* Typus westlicher Demokratien zuzurechnen. Ausschlaggebend für diese Einordnung sind eine starke Fragmentierung des Parteiensystems seit 1973 sowie vergleichsweise weitreichende Mechanismen der parlamentarischen Kontrolle.

Folgen dieser verfassungsrechtlichen Voraussetzungen sind eine Häufung von Minderheitsregierungen (überwiegend ohne gesicherte parlamentarische Basis) sowie ein häufig vorzeitiges Ende von Legislaturperioden durch Rücktritt der Regierungen und anschließenden Neuwahlen. Unter diesen Bedingungen ist eine Verhandlungs- und Kompromissbereitschaft der politische Akteure für einen effektiven Politikprozess unverzichtbar. *Konsensorientierung* sowie

¹ Vgl. im folgenden v.a. Länderstudie Dänemark; (Nannestad 1999); (Ugelvik Larsen / Ugelvik 1997).

institutionelle Verschränkung zwischen Legislative und Exekutive sind somit Wesensmerkmale der dänischen Demokratie.

Die Rolle der dänischen Monarchin innerhalb des politischen Systems ist von der Verfassung begrenzt und bezieht sich vorwiegend auf zeremonielle und repräsentative Anlässe. Somit liegt die politische Souveränität auf Seiten des Parlamentes – des "Folketing". Das dänische Parlament besteht seit 1953 aus einer Kammer.

Ähnlich wie die anderen skandinavischen Länder blickt Dänemark auf eine lange korporatistische Tradition zurück. Der Konflikt zwischen Kapital und Arbeit wurde schon früh auf eine institutionalisierte Basis gestellt und so in "friedlichen" Bahnen gehalten. Gesellschaftliche Interessenvertreter sind an verschiedenen Stellen des politischen Systems in Entscheidungsprozesse eingebunden. So informiert und konsultiert die Ministerialbürokratie bereits in der Gesetzesvorbereitung die relevanten Interessengruppen – z.T. durch deren Einbindung in Kommissionen. Darüber hinaus werden Interessenverbände bei der Gesetzesimplementierung in großem Umfang einbezogen. Nicht selten wird die Umsetzung politischer Maßnahmen sogar komplett von Interessenorganisationen übernommen. Dabei besteht eine sektorale Aufgabenteilung zwischen den verschiedenen gesellschaftlichen Interessenorganisationen, u.a. erklärbar durch die Abwesenheit großer Industrien und ihren Verbänden, die traditionell ein weitreichendes Netz von Verbindungen ins politisch-administrative System unterhalten. Das dänische System ist mithin als *sektoraler Korporatismus* zu beschreiben. Der *Politikstil* ist *konsensorientiert*.

Die Mechanismen der *Politikintegration* sind auf Regierungsebene vergleichsweise *schwach ausgeprägt*. Das Kabinett hat als koordinierendes Element eine geringe Bedeutung, die einzelnen Minister nehmen ihren Aufgabenbereich autonom wahr und versuchen, die Interessen ihres Ministeriums im Kabinett vehement zu vertreten. Hintergrund für dieses Phänomen ist zum einen ein starker Profilierungsdruck, dem die Minister ausgesetzt sind, aufgrund der in Dänemark durchschnittlich sehr kurzen Legislaturperioden - zwischen 1973 und 1995 lag diese bei ca. zwei Jahren. Verstärkt wird dieser Druck noch durch eine intensive Erwartungshaltung von Seiten der jeweiligen Ministerialbürokratie in Richtung einer Interessenwahrung des eigenen Hauses gegenüber dem Kabinett. Darüber hinaus wird eine Politikintegration durch die begrenzten Befugnisse des Regierungschefs ("Statsminister") weiter erschwert. Dieser verfügt über keine formelle Weisungsbefugnis oder Richtlinienkompetenz gegenüber seinen Ministern.

Die dänische Verfassung erlaubt auf nationalstaatlicher Ebene die Abhaltung von *Referenden* in zwei Varianten: (1) Das obligatorische Referendum bei Verfassungsänderung, Änderungen des Wahlrechtsalters sowie bei Souveränitätsübertragung. (2) Das fakultative Referendum, das nach Abschluss des Gesetzgebungsprozesses von der unterlegenen Parlamentsminderheit verlangt werden kann.

Dänemark ist als *unitaristischer Staat* anzusehen. Gleichwohl gewährt die Verfassung den Gemeinden das *Recht auf kommunale Selbstverwaltung* unter Staatsaufsicht. Ein bedeutender Anteil von Verwaltungsaufgaben ist auf kommunaler Ebene angesiedelt. Den Kommunen steht ein gewählter Rat vor.

Politische Kultur

Analog zu den Entwicklungen in anderen skandinavischen Ländern hat sich auch in Dänemark das sogenannte "Nordische Modell" etabliert und bestimmt bis heute die politische Kultur. Gekennzeichnet ist dies v.a. durch die korporatistische Einbindung gesellschaftlicher Interessen in den Politikprozess sowie ein Miteinandergehen der politischen Akteure, das auf Verhandlung und Kompromissbereitschaft beruht. Ihre historische Ursprung findet diese konsensorientierte

politische Kultur in der ökonomischen Krise der Zwischenkriegszeit. Im Gegensatz zu den meisten Ländern Kontinental-Europas führten die tiefgreifenden ökonomischen Krisenerscheinungen zwischen den Weltkriegen in Skandinavien nicht zu den bekannten politischen Friktionen (Verschärfung von Klassenkonflikten, Erstarken des Faschismus). Vielmehr stimulierten und erweiterten sie Kooperation und politische Konsensbildung und legten damit die Grundlage für die ökonomischen Erfolge der skandinavischen Länder nach 1945.

Trotz dieser traditionellen Konsenskultur zeigt sich, dass die seit 1973 in Dänemark zu verzeichnende Aufsplitterung des Parteiensystems gepaart mit der in modernen Industriegesellschaften zu beobachtenden Komplexitätssteigerung gesellschaftlicher Problemlagen die politische Konsensfindung zunehmend erschwert. Unter den Bedingungen der Minderheitsregierung steht die politische Entscheidungsfindung unter einem hohem Kompromissdruck und ist mit hohen Transaktionskosten und Unsicherheiten verbunden. Ein Ausdruck dieses schwindenden Maßes an politischer Effektivität ist ein zunehmendes Misstrauen gesellschaftlicher Interessengruppen gegenüber der institutionalisierten Mitgestaltung, da Regierungsvorhaben im parlamentarischen Prozess vielfach weitreichende Veränderungen erfahren. Damit befindet sich das politische System Dänemarks heute im demokratietheoretischen Spannungsfeld zwischen `Repräsentativität` und `Effektivität`.

2.1.3 Die Behandlung von Langzeit- und Querschnittsfragen

Entwicklung

Dänemarks politisches System - insbesondere das Vorherrschen von Minderheitenregierungen und häufige Regierungswechsel - haben eine ausgeprägte Langfrist- und Querschnittsorientierung nicht entstehen lassen.

Die wichtigsten Akteure langfristiger Planung in Dänemark sind die Ministerien. Ansätze einer grundlegenden, langfristig angelegten Planung (im Bereich der Entwicklung des öffentlichen Sektors) sind hier 1970 mit der `Perspektivplanlægning 1970-1985` I und II (Perspective Planning 1970-1985) erarbeitet worden. Keiner dieser Pläne wurde jedoch von den folgenden Regierungen politisch umgesetzt. Das Finanzministerium entwickelte sich daraufhin zunehmend (bis heute) zum finanzpolitischen Planungszentrum mit weitreichendem politischen Handlungsspielraum.

In den 90er Jahren rückt langfristige politische Planung in Dänemark offenbar wieder in den Vordergrund. Die 1993 das Regierungsamt übernehmende Koalition formuliert mit „Basis for Governing“ einen Katalog politischer Ziele, der sowohl eine kurzfristige als auch eine langfristige Perspektive aufweist. Diese Praxis wird von den nachfolgenden Regierungen fortgesetzt.

Insbesondere der 1997 verabschiedete 9-Jahres-Plan „Denmark 2005“ wurde in diesem Kontext entwickelt. Dieser setzt die Zielperspektive v.a. für die Wirtschafts- und Arbeitsmarktpolitik Dänemarks.

Gesellschaftliche Akteure

Relevanz der gesellschaftlichen Akteure im Hinblick auf Langzeit- und Querschnittsfragen

Nationales Parlament	● ● ●
Nationale Regierung	● ● ● ●
Medien / Öffentliche Debatte	● ● ●
Forscher und Forschungsinstitutionen	● ● ●
NGOs	● ●
Unabhängige Stiftungen / Think Tanks	● ● ● ●
Wirtschaft	● ●
Gewerkschaften	● ●
Regionale Regierungen und Institutionen	● ●
Europäische Union	●
OECD	●
Weltbank	
andere internationale Organisationen	

Bewertung: Morten Jastrup

Ogleich das Parlament in Dänemark eine vergleichsweise starke Stellung hat – v.a. in Bezug auf Kontrollmöglichkeiten der Exekutive gegenüber – hat es doch zunehmend die Rolle des Motors und Forums großer gesellschaftlicher Debatten eingebüsst.

Gerade die Komplexität und Unüberschaubarkeit von Langzeit- und Querschnittsfragen hat die Ministerialbürokratie zu dem dominanten Akteur gemacht. Hier befinden sich die entsprechenden wissenschaftlichen und politischen Kapazitäten.

Das Kabinett ist demgegenüber eher von Kurzfristigkeit und häufigen Wechseln geprägt. Eine Langzeitorientierung findet vergleichsweise wenig statt. Auch eine Überwindung von Ressortgrenzen ist hier schwer zu verwirklichen.

Schwierigkeiten und Hemmnisse

Wichtigstes Hindernis bei der Bearbeitung von Langzeit- und Querschnittsfragen sind die Bedingungen, die das politische System Dänemarks mit sich bringt. Häufig stehen vergleichsweise schwache Regierungskoalitionen einem mit starken Kontrollbefugnissen ausgestatteten Parlament gegenüber. Die Konsequenz – Vorherrschen von Minderheitsregierungen sowie häufiges Auftreten von vorzeitigen Neuwahlen und Regierungswechseln – bietet keine günstigen Voraussetzungen für die effektiven Bearbeitung von Langzeit- und Querschnittsfragen.

Insbesondere eine querschnittsorientierte Behandlung gesellschaftlicher Probleme ist unter diesen Voraussetzungen schwierig. Eine schwache Position des Regierungschefs sowie der große Profilierungsdruck der einzelnen Minister (auch auf Kosten anderer Ressorts) macht die Überwindung sektoraler Hürden vergleichsweise schwer.

2.1.4 Ansätze, Organisationen und Erfahrungen

Ein in Dänemark wichtiges Instrument des politischen Entscheidungsprozesses ist die Arbeit von Kommissionen. Diese werden vom Parlament und der Regierung eingesetzt und sind in der Regel mit Vertretern von Parteien, gesellschaftlichen Interessengruppen und Forschungsinstitutionen besetzt. Sie haben die Funktion, die Entscheidungsfindung im Hinblick auf komplexere (Langzeit-)

Probleme zu unterstützen. Dieses politische Instrument ist jedoch seit den 80er Jahren zunehmend weniger in Anspruch genommen worden, was auf den schleichenden Bedeutungsverlust des dänischen Parlamentes hinweist.

Stärker in den Vordergrund rücken demgegenüber zum einen die Ministerien selbst – hervorzuheben sind dabei das Umweltministerium, insbesondere das `Landsplanafdelingen` (Spatial Planning Department) sowie das Finanzministerium (s.o.). Zum anderen Beratungsorgane, die z.T. direkt an Ministerien angekoppelt sind. Diese bearbeiten häufig Langzeit- und Querschnittsthemen, sind jedoch in den meisten Fällen nicht interministeriell tätig. Hier manifestiert sich der zunehmende Kompetenzverlust des Parlamentes zugunsten der Ministerialbürokratie.

Zu diesen Institutionen gehört insbesondere der `Teknologiradet` (Danish Board of Technology; DBT). Hierbei handelt es sich um ein 1986 gegründetes Beratungsorgan, das insbesondere auf dem Feld der Technikfolgenabschätzung tätig ist und seit 1995 auch dem Parlament als Input-Lieferant zur Verfügung steht. Insbesondere die Entwicklung der sogenannten „Consensus Conference“ als partizipative Methode der Technikfolgenabschätzung kann als in hohem Maße innovativ gelten.

Zu den korporativen Institutionen – zusammengesetzt meist aus gesellschaftlichen Akteuren, Regierungsvertretern und Experten -, die eine gewisse Langzeit- und Querschnittsorientierung aufweisen, zählen die folgenden:

Der `Det Økonomiske Råd` (Danish Economic Council) existiert seit 1962 und hat die Aufgabe, die langfristige ökonomische Entwicklung Dänemarks zu beobachten und die Regierung zu beraten. Er ist sowohl aus Regierungs- als auch gesellschaftlichen Interessenvertretern zusammengesetzt. Dabei werden auch Umweltaspekte thematisiert.

Der `Transportraadet` (Danish Transport Council, DTC) ist eine 1992 ins Leben gerufene unabhängige Institution, die sich im Bereich „Verkehr“ zum einen als Forschungs- und Beratungsorgan sieht, zum anderen die Beeinflussung der öffentlichen Debatte zum Ziel hat.

Auch das `Danish Council of Ethics`, das zentrale Forum für die Diskussion um die Chancen und Folgen der Biotechnologie, ist diesem Zusammenhang zu nennen.

Als wichtiges unabhängiges Forschungsinstitut ist das `Amternes og Kommunernes Forskningsinstitut` (Institute of Local Government Studies, AKF) anzusehen. Dieses ist in zahlreichen v.a. für Regionen und Kommunen relevanten Bereichen tätig und berät diese. Thematisch weist es eine beachtliche Querschnittsorientierung auf.

In einem Schnittbereich zwischen NGO und Forschungs- / Beratungsinstitution arbeitet der `Det Økologiske Råd` (Danish Ecological Council). Dieser ist wissenschaftlich-forschend tätig, versucht aber gleichzeitig, den umweltpolitischen Dialog sowohl zu politischen Akteuren als auch in der Öffentlichkeit zu forcieren. Von Umweltaspekten ausgehend werden (bedingt) auch ökonomische und soziale Aspekte einbezogen.

Vergleichender Überblick über die Institutionen

<i>Organisation</i>	<i>Abkürzung</i>	<i>Abkürzung (englisch)</i>	<i>Bedeutung</i>	<i>Innovationsgrad</i>
Amternes og Kommunernes Forskningsinstitut Institute of Local Government Studies	AKF		X X X X	X X
Det Økologiske Råd Danish Ecological Council			X X	X X X
Det Økonomiske Råd Danish Economic Council			X X X X X	X X
Teknologiradet Danish Board of Technology	TR	DBT	X X X	X X X X X
Transportraadet Danish Transport Council			X X X	X X X

Bewertung: Morten Jastrup

Genannte Institutionen mit detaillierter Beschreibung

AKF, Amternes og Kommunernes Forskningsinstitut (Institute of Local Government Studies) Det Økologiske Råd (Danish Ecological Council) Det Økonomiske Råd (Danish Economic Council) Teknologiradet (Danish Board of Technology) Transportraadet (Danish Transport Council)
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2.1.5 Fazit

Dänemark weist aufgrund der spezifischen politischen Rahmenbedingungen zahlreiche Hemmnisse in Bezug auf die institutionelle Bearbeitung von Langzeit- und Querschnittsfragen auf. Dementsprechend sind vergleichsweise wenig Ansätze und Institutionen im Hinblick auf die Fragestellung dieser Studie zu finden. Eine Ausnahme bilden dabei sicherlich die methodischen Ansätze des `Teknologiradet` (Danish Board of Technology).

Insbesondere eine Querschnittsorientierung stösst, zumindest auf exekutiver Seite, auf große Hindernisse.

Auffallend ist die Tatsache, dass die dänischen Bemühungen in Bezug auf nachhaltige Entwicklung im Gegensatz zu vielen europäischen Ländern offenbar keine nennenswerten institutionellen Auswirkungen nach sich gezogen haben. Daraus jedoch auf die Qualität der dänischen Nachhaltigkeitspolitik und den Umgang mit Langzeit- und Querschnittsfragen allgemein zu schliessen, wäre kaum angemessen. Vielmehr wäre die Frage zu klären, ob nicht jenseits institutioneller Strukturen eher informelle oder auch subnationale Kapazitäten zur Bearbeitung dieser Themen zur Verfügung stehen. Insofern bietet Dänemark durchaus interessante Möglichkeiten der weiteren Untersuchung.

2.2 Morten Jastrup: Country Profile – Denmark

2.2.1 Political culture in Denmark

The Folketing and Government:

The unicameral Danish parliament, the *Folketing*, has 179 members, 175 from Denmark proper and two each from the Faroe Islands and Greenland.

The Danish Constitution states that the members of the *Folketing* shall be elected by universal suffrage, and by direct and secret ballot. Further, the Constitution states that the electoral system shall be based on two main principles:

- the election shall be by proportional representation (PR) to secure equal representation of different opinions in the electorate;
- in determining the number of seats to be allotted to localities attention must be paid to the number of inhabitants, the number of electors, and the population density.

Elections are called by the Prime Minister at any time no later than four years after the last election.

There are currently (January 2001) nine political parties represented in the Folketing one group of independents (counting four members) and three independent members.

After elections the Folketing appoints the government. Denmark has a tradition of coalition minority governments being dominated by either the Social Democrats, by the Liberals ("Venstre") or by the Conservatives ("Det Konservative Folkeparti"). The smaller parties in the centre of the political spectre hereby gains much influence, as they often will hold the balance of power.

From 1982 to 1993 several center-right coalition governments held the power glued together by the collaboration of Liberals and Conservatives with changing partners from the smaller centre parties. In 1993 the last of these centre-right governments resigned after the ruling by the Supreme Court that the former minister of Justice had broken the law when ignoring the rights of asylum seekers from Sri Lanka to be reunited with their families, the so-called Tamil Case.

In 1993 a coalition government of the Social Democrats, the Social Liberals ("Det Radikale Venstre"), the Christian People's Party and the Centre Democrats (a social conservative party) was formed. In the elections in 1994 the Christian People's Party failed to win any seats in the Folketing, and in December 1996 Centre Democrats chose to leave the government. Since then the coalition of the Social Democrats and the Social Liberals has been in government.

Ministries and subcommittees

There are as of January 2001 20 ministries in Denmark. They each deal with their own sector of society and are organized on the traditional political issues: a Ministry of Economic Affairs, a Ministry of Justice, a Ministry of Health etc.

This organisation is reflected in the 28 subcommittees of the Folketing. Each subcommittee deals with a single political territory.

The experience from trying to integrate environmental policy in the other political debates have shown that although some coordination have been achieved in planning (for example city-planning) it is hard to cross the borders between the political territories. One example is in the building and construction sector. For many years it has been quite obvious, that the Danish construction sector lags behind in product development and efficiency. But despite large efforts it is still not clear how

to handle the problem politically, as it is spread between the Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs, the Ministry of Trade and Industry and the Ministry of Environment and Energy. The area of Urban Ecology is a particular clear example of this. Another area is traffic, that is fundamentally cross-sectoral (in regulating traffic considerations about infrastructure, businesses, pollution, natural values, shopping etc. have to be made) but is treated in sectorized bits by many different institutions. Other areas could be mentioned such as allergy or noise reduction.

With coalition minority governments and rather frequent elections (12 elections in the last 30 years) political stability has often been sought by political compromises and settlements "spanning the middle", as the expression goes. "The middle" in this case is the political parties from and including the Social Democrats to the Liberals usually totalling about three quarters of the parliament.

Larger reforms have often been the result of a compromise between the Social Democrats and Liberals or Conservatives or both, as are the yearly negotiations of the national state budget, though the last couple of years the government has relied more on the left wing and the smaller centre parties of the parliament when closing the settlement on the national state budget.

In areas with strong NGOs such as the labour market, the larger NGO's will often be called upon to help in creating a suitable compromise. This also helps getting the approval from the parties of the Folketing, as they will be less susceptible to be put under pressure from the NGO's later in the process.

2.2.2 Treating of long-term and cross-cutting issues

History

The tradition for minority coalition governments have however on many occasions proven to be rather difficult to combine with long term planning.

The Danish governments have almost always been dependent in changing alliances in the parliament to get their policy accepted. Compromises have been the order of the day. This has (especially in the 70'es and 80'es where the Parliament went through 10 elections) made it hard to plan for the future if it was too unpopular in the present.

One example is the decision about building the great bridges across the Great Belt (started in 1988) and The Sound (started in 1993). These decisions had been under way for decades. But expenses in the scale needed to build the bridges had been difficult to accept for minority governments and their political partners, when the fulfilment of more basic needs of the population (like school, day-care or care of the elderly) was criticised. And when the next election - and thereby the risk of loosing the governmental seats - was never far away.

To find a really successful example of a very well prepared reform, one of the contributors to this paper, professor Tim Knudsen, University of Copenhagen, refers to the social reform of 1933. This was however not the result of preparatory work being done by parliament or government. The minister of social affairs K. K. Steincke had prepared the reform for more than a decade, and the so-called Kanslergade-agreement gave him an opportunity to carry out his plans. The Kanslergade-agreement itself was a classic political trade-off, where the social reform was only one part.

In the decades after World War 2 larger political problems was normally addressed by temporary (though often long-lived) commissions put together by the parliament or the government. Probably the most influential was the Labour Market Commission. The 32 reports of the commission are seen by some as the cornerstones of the Danish welfare system. Commissions could be staffed with politicians (where all parties represented in the Folketing would have a seat), interested parties

(as organisation or independent experts), civil servants or a mix of all. Since the end of the 1960'ies commissions where increasingly staffed by civil servants.

The work in the commissions were often combining analysis, negotiations and writing of bills. Often the bills were adopted by the Government and introduced more or less unaltered in the parliament.

These commissions could normally work for a couple of years before delivering their report. It has been said, that the Danish law-commissions were not as thorough in their work as for example the political commissions in Sweden². And many of the most important decisions in concerning the foreign and security policy (as membership of NATO) were in reality taken by a small number of individuals, and were not the result of a large political preliminary work. But the work in the commissions was anyway seen as a way of ensuring that the policy being adopted was fair and carefully prepared.

In the last 30 years the work of the Folketing has changed considerably in several areas. The number of large political commissions has fallen considerably. In the years 1950 to 1985 there were in average about 300 temporary commissions in action. From 1985 to 1998 that number had fallen to 75 temporary commissions in average.³

The number of bills passed has risen from about 150 a year in the 1960'es to 160 a year in the 70'es and 80'es to more than 200 a year in the 90'es.⁴

From the 1950'es to the start of the 1990'es the Folketing became more active in introducing new bills. In the 60'es more than 90 percent of the bills read in the Folketing were introduced by the Government. In the 1980'es the government introduced only about 70 percent on the new bills (this is partly due to the circumstance, that Social Liberals, that normally supported the government were at odds with on the foreign policy - especially security policy - thus putting the government in a situation where it would have the backing of the majority of the Folketing in domestic policy but from time to time would be overruled by the so-called "alternative security policy majority" in the Folketing. Please note that this did not lead to the Governments resignation, the government in most cases chose not to vote against the majority and was thus not forced by the Constitution to resign - though in 1988 the government did call an election - and won it - in one of these situations).

This has changed since the shift in government in 1993. The share of new bills introduced by government has risen again to app. 85 % (counting to 1999). Only few of the bills introduced by other parties than the government have ever been passed.

The number of interpellation debates and questions to the government raised by members of the Folketing has on the other hand gone up dramatically in the last three decades.

The number of inquires has risen steadily from around ten per session (the parliamentary year from October to June) in the start 70'es to 60-70 in the last sessions.

The number of written questions has soared even more. In the start of the 1970'es about 300 such questions were asked each session. In the mid-80'es it had risen to more than 1.700 per session, and after a short period of fewer questions the members of parliament now ask more than 3.000 questions to the government per. session. (more than 30 each day of the session.)

In the 1998-1999 session subcommittees also called on ministers to appear before the committee 805 times.

² "PågIVEN foranledning", Grethe IIsæ (ed.), Karl Peder Pedersen (ed.) and Ditlev Tamm (ed.) Jurist- og Økonomforbundets Forlag, 1995

³ pp. 219-238, "Miljøet, markedet og velfædsstaten", Poul Lübcke (ed.) Fremads Forlag., 1995.

⁴ Folketingstidende 1998-1999, part A. page 13. table 2.

This development has led to the point of opinion that the role of the parliament seems to be changing from being the promoter of and the place of debate on new laws to being the inspector of the government.

The large number of questions has been linked to a changing in the way the political debate is formed in Danish society. The media is seen by some⁵ as gaining a larger influence on the political debate, as the political parties lose their role as the members of parliament's "anchor in reality". The media is infringing on the parties as being the mediator between politicians and populace. This - it is argued - leads to more focus on "single-issue politics". The media demand quick solutions and so do the members of parliament (or at least an explanation - hence the many questions to the government). The long term perspective, and the broad cross-cutting perspective is in indigent circumstances in the parliamentary work, in this point of view.

On the other hand, the ministries and to some extent the government have been increasingly active in taking at least the long term perspective.

To understand this development it is helpful to look back to 1971. That year "Perspektivplanlægning 1970-1985" ("Perspective Planning 1970-1985") was introduced. PP I, as it was named (it was succeeded by PP II in 1973) was an attempt to get a comprehensive view of the development in the public sector. The work was started in 1968 by the Liberal/Conservative/Social-Liberal Government as a reaction to a fast growing public sector.

PP I predicted, that the spending in the public sector would grow from 42 % of the GNP in 1970 to 55 % in 1985, and that the number of public employees would grow with 54 % in the same period. (in 1985 it turned out that the growth in public employees had been 71 % and that the public sector spend what amounted to 58 % of the GNP).

PP II was introduced in 1973. It gave a detailed analysis of the problems connected to controlling public spending. But neither PP I or PP II were adopted by the present governments (when PP I was introduced, the government had changed to a Social Democratic that didn't like its conclusions. PP II was also received by another government than the one, that had started it, and it was introduced in the middle of the first oil-crisis.)

PP I and PP II was followed in 1975 by Report No. 743. It proposed the establishment of four centres for "comprehensive planning" of Trade and Industry, Public Spending, Distribution of Wealth (who pays and who gets) and Physical Planning (infrastructure etc.). These four centres would be subordinate to a central planning centre, that should carry on the work from PP I and II.

The report was not very well received in most ministries to put it mildly. But in the Ministry of Finance it inspired the changes to come in the following years.

In 1977 the Social Democratic government in reality made the Ministry of Finance the planning centre for Public Spending not only on government level (the PP I had already pointed out, that the municipalities and the counties were responsible for a large portion of the growing public sector).

In 1979 the first computerized Statement on State Budget was released from the Ministry of Finance. It was the first time a complete budget for public spending would stretch for more than a year.

In 1983 the first of three budget reforms was effectuated. The reforms have placed the Ministry of Finance even more in the centre of political planning. The main change was the centralised control of the state budget. The Ministry of Finance defines the economical framework for the entire work

⁵ Ove K. Pedersen/ Erik Meier Carlsen et. al.: Politisk Journalistik, Ajour, The Danish School of Journalism.

being done on each of the fields of the other ministries. This control reaches far into the other ministries politics for example when determining the rates of transfer income.

The centralised control from the Ministry of Finance has been followed by a decentralisation of responsibility, use of market mechanisms and disposal of tasks by tender.

Compared to the way the commissions worked, the process of analysis, negotiations and the shaping of a policy has changed quite dramatically one of the people inspiring this paper Professor Ove Kaj Pedersen, University of Copenhagen, points out. In the commissions these steps were all a part of the work in the commission. Today analysis is done in ministries or other research institutions/think tank, public or private and presented in reports, white papers, accounts etc.. The negotiations are done very much through the media. It's only in the end of the process - when the political deals have to be struck - that the parties get together and draft the bills.

In this analysis, the numbers of publications can be seen as an indicator of how active a ministry is in analysing and thereby defining the problems facing society.

In 1980 the Danish ministries published 148 publication, that were adopted into the Royal Danish Library. In 1999 this had risen to 610⁶. Very few organisations and institutions have the manpower to match this. The ministries have become a dominant source of information not only for the Government, but for the Folketing too. The large number of questions from the Folketing to the ministries actually underscores the ministries role as the prime source of information.

The large number of reports and analysis from the ministries is seen by some⁷ as a way of furthering the ministries own goals. Analysis of the future is seen as a powerful way of defining political problems and calling attention to them and thereby the ministries own area. Forecasts of ecological problems and rising expenses to the elderly because of the ageing of the population can be seen as examples of this.

The ministries have thus in many analysts opinion become dominant in the political life in Denmark.⁸

This has to be seen in connection with a new trend in government. With the change of government in 1993 came a new way of planning the political work. The new four-party government put together their "Basis for governing", a catalogue of political goals they wished to achieve. This practice has continued with the later governments.

The basis for governing sets out both long term and short term goals for the government. Most notably of the long term goals is the 9-year plan for the economy and employment adopted in 1997, the "Denmark 2005"-plan. This plan from the Ministry of Finance sets out the goals the government wants to achieve to prepare the welfare-state for the rising number of senior citizens in the coming decades (culminates in 2035). The rise in the elderly population would, according to the plan, be countered by an increase in the workforce by 150.000 people and paying off 40 % of the public debts in the period from 1997 to 2005.⁹ The plan has been slightly altered since, but is still the mainstay of the economical policy. And many of the goals in the plan have been achieved so far. The government plans (in January 2001) to launch the continuation of the plan that will cover the period until 2010.

The goals in the 2005-plan have been determinative for three reforms of the labour market aiming at preventing expulsion from the labour market of poorly skilled or handicapped persons, raising

⁶ Royal Danish Library database

⁷ Professor Niels Åkerstrøm Andersen, Copenhagen Business School in an interview with Information, Dec. 21. 1998.

⁸ "Central Power", a series of interviews, Information. 19. dec. 1998 to 29. December 1998

⁹ "Danmark som foregangsland", Ministry of Finance, 9. april 1997.

the age of retirement and lowering the number of people on welfare. The plan has also had a big influence on social policy - especially the reform of the early retirement pension-scheme and the establishment of the so called "flex-jobs" (flexible jobs) directed at giving disabled or partially disabled person the opportunity to stay on the labour market.

Another initiative from the government to strengthen the long term planning is the "Danmark som foregangsland" (Denmark as a pioneer country) initiative. Launched in April 1997 it was a series of analysis of the Danish welfare-state compared with other countries. With some pauses the "Denmark as a pioneer"-initiative have placed benchmarking analyses and long term planning as a tool for planning in most ministries to meet the demands set by "Denmark as a pioneer": that Denmark should have the best of everything, from education to healthcare.

In January 2001 the government will also launch a new plan for investments for the coming 10 years. The plan will have a scope of about 100 billion Danish kroner (app. 13,5 billion euros). At the time of writing it is not now how well the plan will be received.

The dominance of the Ministry of Finance

Today the most potent political player in Denmark is with little doubt the Ministry of Finance. Through the control of the state budget (and the budgets of the other ministries) the Ministry of Finance has placed itself - or has been placed - in the centre of political decision-making (if not decision-taking) in Denmark. There are several reasons for this:

One is the focus on public expenditure as a way of controlling the economy (as explained above). The ministry is focal in the yearly negotiations about the state budget. These negotiations have in the later years become the time and place to discuss many of the larger political reforms. By drawing the other policy areas into their domain, the Ministers of Finance have strengthened their central role in Danish politics.

The ministry is also central player, when the two other large political compromises which govern public expenditure are made: the planning of the budgets of the Danish municipalities, which is an agreement between the minister of finance and the NALAD (The National Association of Local Authorities in Denmark), and the collective bargaining for the publicly employed, which have a great influence on the collective bargaining in the private sector. The control of these three pivotal negotiations gives the ministry a unique position in which to control the economy.

The Ministry of Finance have through the "Denmark 2005"-plan influenced the labour market regulation and the social policy greatly (see above). But the ministry has also taken upon itself to be the "policeman" of the central administration, keeping the other ministries in line through budget control and the spread of economical tools as benchmarking analyses to most of the ministries.

The head of department, Anders Eldrup, has described the role of the ministry this way:

"In a system like the Danish, a strong coordination force is needed. We have a relatively fragmented administrative system with many ministries with small areas of responsibility. When sometimes things are run in a less desirable way, we propose the other ministry to analyze the problem. Sometimes they ask us to, sometimes we propose it ourselves, and sometimes it might be considered irritating, that we are meddling in the other ministries' business."¹⁰

The ministry have in eyes of most political analysts been helped to achieve this dominance by the position of strong ministers at their head. And the strong planning of the current government coalition has probably been helpful too.

¹⁰ "Slaget på slotsholmen", Information, 23. December 1998.

Long-term is easier than Transversal

What is quite obvious is that even though the Ministry of Finance, and the government with some success has planned ahead, the integration of different areas of politics is harder to achieve. It can be argued, that the dominance of the Ministry of Finance not only has been helpful in keeping the long term goals for the economy, but also has integrated the labour market regulation and some of the social laws. This is seen by some as the subordination of the other ministries to the Ministry of Finance, but it is hard to not recognize the element of concerted practice that lies in it.

This is however only one area of politics. And when it comes to fleshing out the economical goals set by the Ministry of Finance many ministries are still on their own.

An often used expression in Danish politics is "coordination-problems" - the problem of one hand not knowing what the other is doing. To counter that, or just to make sure, that new laws or regulation is in touch with reality, the ministries has a long list of boards, councils and committees to look into specific areas of their field of responsibility.

At present there are more than 400 such boards and councils¹¹, that have their secretariat in a ministry. Some will be staffed only by civil servants from the government offices or ministries, but most will have a strong representation of interest groups such as labour unions, industrial organisations, NGOs etc.

Many of these will deal with very specific areas of interest, but some have a broader angle to their work. To give an idea of the variety of topics these boards and councils cover, we look at the Ministry of Education. There are 24 different boards, councils or committees under the Ministry of Education.

Some, such as Ankenævnet for Uddannelsesstøtten (the Board of Appeal on The State Education Grant) is strictly judicial, and is not (or only marginally) involved in policy making. Others, such as Folkeskolerådet (The Primary Education Board) or Erhvervsuddannelsesrådet (roughly translatable to The Professional Educations Board) give advice to the minister, evaluate considered changes in the school system etc. This type of board will normally have a strong representation of interested parties.

It can be argued how effective this system of boards, council and committees are in ensuring a cross-cutting approach to policymaking, where it is needed. Some boards will have very little enticement to break down the barriers between their own territory and that of others. Other boards will see it as a prime goal. It is probably not possible to make any general rules.

There is some criticism too of these institutions claiming that they internalise and professionalise debates, that ought to be public and for every man. Debate can - in these institutions - become just a "mantra" and not a genuine search for common grounds to base decision on¹².

The impression (and it will unfortunately not be much more than that) of The Danish Board of Technology is, that the barriers between areas of policy are hard to overcome.

The dealing with cross-cutting political problems is often complicated or even hindered by the carving up of the political debate caused by the way ministries, parliamentary subcommittees and organisations work. The sectorised approach to politics and more broadly to issues of societal interest is reflected through the society to research institutions, universities and even the media. This trend creates some problems when wishing to deal with cross-cutting issues:

¹¹ "Statens Informations" database.

¹² Den offentlige debat - må middel eller mantra, Anker Brink Lund & Maja Horst:

Research in different sectors are often not compatible, and the level of understanding between experts from different sectors are not what could be wished. In the work of The Danish Board of Technology it is often difficult to find persons who on a professional level can deal with several sectors' approach to a given problem. Politicians and civil servants in the ministries will often specialize in their own fields (which might be quite necessary considering the rising amount of work). Expert on research institutions will often do the same. And journalist reporting on the political debate will often themselves specialize in one field to be able to "keep up" with the ministries and the experts.

This could be called the inertia of the sectoral division of politics.

Considerable benefits for some groups are also connected with the sector-based approach. They can often pose a hindrance to a cross-cutting approach.

2.2.3 Main actors

It's worth noting, that most of the institutions, advisory bodies etc. mentioned above work for the government. Compared to this analytic and problem-defining power the political parties in the Folketing has very little to offer. Even a reform strengthening the parliament in the mid-90'ies, called the Olsen-plan after the Chairman of the Folketing at the time, have not really levelled the balance of power between the government and the Folketing.

The Folketing in itself cannot establish advisory bodies (as per the Constitution). But it can decide, that the government should establish advisory bodies, with independent boards, that will also service the Folketing.

In the public debate these independent boards and councils play a relatively large role in their fields of interest. They are often seen as less biased than the ministries, and are therefore used (by members of the Folketing and the media) to challenge the governments analysis and proposals. Though it must be said, that the government it self often awaits the council of these advisory bodies before taking decisions.

The ministries are thus not completely without challenges in the public and political debate. Most of the larger organisations (labour organisations, employers ditto, businesses etc.) will have analysis departments too.

A few of the more prominent will advisory boards and private institutions will be mentioned here - as well as one ministry.

One of the parties to counter the dominance of the Ministry of Finance in the planning of the economy is the **Danish Economic Council**. The council was established by law in 1962. The objective of the Council is to monitor the Danish economy and analyse the long-term economic development and the interaction of the economy and the environment. Another objective of the Council is to improve coordination between the different economic interests in the Danish society. Therefore the Council plays an important role in the public debate on economic policy issues in Denmark.

The Economic Council has 29 members representing unions, employers' federations, the Central Bank and the Government. The members are proposed by the individual organizations, and are formally appointed by the Minister of Economic Affairs. The Chairmanship, which is appointed by the Minister as well, consists of 3 independent economic experts, usually university professors. The Chairmanship is usually called the "wise men".

The Chairmanship prepares a semi-annual report, which contains economic analyses and policy statements on economic policy. The reports always contain a forecast of the Danish economy for

the next 2 to 3 years. Special analyses on issues such as labour market policies, the environment, distribution, the welfare state or the EMU are also included in the reports.

The Institute of Local Government Studies (AKF) is a research and analysis institute connected to the NALAD (National Association of Local Authorities in Denmark). AKF investigates problems that are of interest to the public sector and its users; in particular, problems that are relevant for Danish counties and municipalities. Areas of research include: The individual and society, regional development, public organization and quality and the environment and energy.

AKF is financed partly by a basic grant from the Municipal VAT Fund, and partly by contributions to research projects from municipalities, counties, ministries, agencies, research councils, funds, financial and non-profit organizations, the EU, and international organizations. In the course of one year, 50-100 institutions contribute funds to AKF.

One of the few ministries to act more or less independently of the Ministry of Finance is the **The Ministry of Environment and Energy**. This is probably due to a combination of a very fast growing field of politics and a strong minister, that for reasons of internal peace in the Social Democratic Party, has been giving a wide berth. The ministry has in the last decades taken a role as an "Ecological Ministry of Finance", as some call it¹³. A sign of the ministry's success in placing it self in the centre of politics is the fact that all new laws has to be evaluated from an environmental point of view, and the consequences for the environment has to be considered in the lawmaking process. The Ministry of Environment and Energy is also helped by the large amount of material (reports, newspaper articles etc.) putting environmental issues on the agenda.

The abundance of material urging politicians to act on environmental problems, and the severe ness of the consequences (global warming, pollution of the seas etc.) is a strong help for a ministry to gain influence.

A special notice should be taken on the ministry's **Spatial Planning Department**. The department administers the Planning Act (of 1999) in close cooperation with Denmark's 14 counties and 275 municipalities and serves as the national authority for spatial planning. The Spatial Planning Department also advises the Minister in specific cases related to spatial planning. Spatial planning establishes a framework for land use and the construction of buildings, roads and other infrastructure, including how existing urban features and landscapes can best be protected. Tasks related to environmental protection are increasingly integrated in the work of spatial planning. Spatial planning in Denmark is carried out at three levels: local and municipal planning in the municipalities, regional planning in the counties and national planning coordinated by the Ministry of Environment and Energy. The Ministry can influence planning through regulation, national planning directives and the dissemination of information. The location of wind turbines and high-voltage transmission lines in rural landscapes are two examples in which the Spatial Planning Department influences planning. Protecting Denmark's coastal areas and ensuring the planning of environmentally sustainable tourism are other important tasks.

The Spatial Planning Department prepares a national planning report after each national election. These reports describe the visions of the Government of Denmark on national planning policies and are supported by demonstration projects intended to inspire new solutions and untraditional cooperation.

The **Danish Transport Council**, is an independent institution established by law in 1992 to strengthen the foundation of knowledge, that decisions concerning transport is taken upon. The board works with a threefold strategy: 1. Advice to decisiontakers through analysis of traffic-policy issues. 2. Gathering of expertise and knowledge in Danish traffic research, and: 3. Communication

¹³ "Slaget på slotsholmen", Information, 23. December 1998.

of experiences and information through publications, conferences and "appearance in the public debate", as the Board itself puts it. The board itself defines its role thus not only as a research or advisory body, but also as a political player appearing in the public debate. Recently (the fall of year 2000) the head of the Board has been very active in a debate on the taxation on cars and fuels.

The Danish Council of Ethics was established by law in 1987. The Council's task is to provide the Danish Parliament, official authorities and the public with ongoing advice and information about ethical problems raised by developments within the national health service and the field of biomedicine. This is accomplished by submitting reports and statements etc. in specified areas and by mounting debategenerating activities in the form of e.g. public enquiries and debate days, publishing debate books, anthologies, videos and teaching material, and extensive lecturing activities. In addition the Council gives a rundown of its activities every year in an annual report. A special parliamentary committee is set up at the Folketing to ensure a close connection between the council and the parliament. The Danish Council of Ethics is probably the most important institution in the debate on biotechnology. The board largely decides its work program.

The **Economic Council of the Labour Movement (ECLM)** is a research body and think tank of the Danish labour movement. The ECLM secretariat provides analysis and policy proposals to the executive committee of the ECLM, which is put together by representatives of the larger labour unions and cartels. The main areas of interest is in the fiscal, industrial economic and macro economic fields. ECLM is often representing the labour movement in government appointed advisory councils, committees and commissions. Besides the main objectives; advising the Executive Committee and representation for the Labour Movement, the secretariat carries out a number of assignments for the Social Democratic parliamentary group, as well as for the trade unions, confederations and other organisations and institutions in the Labour Movement.

The ECLM also defines itself as an active partaker in public debate. Communicating the results of the research to the public, and participating in the public debate on issues related to ECLM research is an important part of the work. The secretariat is also responsible for arranging conferences and seminars and maintaining contact with high schools and institutions of higher education, in particular social science research milieus.

Since 1973 the ECLM secretariat has held a seat on the EU - Social and Economic Council. The ECLM secretariat has produced a great number of reports about the implications of draft proposals and EU legislation.

The ECLM has drawn up draft proposals for legislation on e.g. the internal market, the structural funds, infra structure, the tax reforms necessitated by the internal market, and the Economic and Monetary Union. The council was founded in 1936. The ECLM secretariat is funded by the Danish LO (The Danish TUC), and by the income from research and analyses carried out on behalf of various clients.

The Ecological Council and Society is an NGO founded in 1991. The main objective is to promote sustainable patterns of development, where environmental concerns, social justice and human well-being are main focal points. The Ecological Council sees it as its role to produce information and documentation on environmental issues and promotes public debates on high-priority environmental issues. The council prepares reviews and recommendations for political and administrative decision-makers and produces material for the media and for public education. The Ecological Council is different from other Danish NGOs in the way that it is an academic organisation dealing with environmental policy on a scientific basis, but at the same time trying to inform and have a dialogue with both politicians and the general public. The Ecological Council is a member of the European Environmental Bureau (EEB) which is a federation of Environmental

Associations. The Ecological Council is supported financially by The Green Foundation that is affiliated to the Danish Ministry of Environment and Energy. But there are no political restrictions linked to this support. The Ecological Council works in a broad field, often crossing sectoral borders in their approach for example in their proposal of an ecological tax reform.

The **Rockwool Foundation Research Unit** is a relative new, private research institute and think tank funded by the Rockwool Foundation (based on the wealth from producing the insulation material Rockwool®). The research unit has delivered a number of reports often fuelling the public debate with new angles to known problems, or taking up problems hitherto untouched.

The **Danish Board of Technology (DBT)** was established as a statutory body in 1986 and made permanent by law in 1995.

The Danish Board of Technology has as a Technology Assessment institution put much focus on the development of new methods in this discipline. The board is seen as a pioneer in developing participatory technology assessment methods¹⁴. This development and introduction of new methods is a new - and so far looks to be a quite successful - way of dealing with cross-cutting issues.

The Consensus Conference should be mentioned first, even though it is a bit older than ten years. This method of Technology Assessment focuses on bringing laymen into the political debate on the stage just prior to the actual forming of policies - bills. Through a process spanning two weekends and a four days conference, the lay people prepare their Final Document, which are their recommendations to the members of the Folketing.

DBT has arranged 19 Consensus Conferences. The Consensus Conference has also been copied in a number of countries from Japan and Korea to Israel and Europe and is also gaining a place in Canada and some states of the USA. So far at least 26 Consensus Conferences have been arranged outside Denmark.¹⁵

Since 1995 however the board has also been charged with the role of being an advisory body for the parliament. This is done partly through the technology assessment projects, and partly through the parliamentary hearings the board arranges. These hearings are modelled on the American congressional hearing modified to suit Danish society. The demand from the Folketing for these hearings is rising.

The hearings are aimed at giving the members of the Folketing an opportunity to discuss the topic of the hearing with the most knowledgeable experts and thus giving them a solid base for future political work and discussions.

DBT has arranged 15 such hearings since 1995.

In year 2000 a new kind of cooperation between the parliament and Danish Board of Technology called The Future Panel, was started. This is a series of hearings (four in this case) held over a period of two years, centered on the same main topic: What are the problems facing the welfare state, when the number of elderly citizens grow and the number of younger decline in the coming four decades? The four hearings will be planned in cooperation with a panel of 20 members of the Folketing. The panel will attend the hearings, follow the debate on the subject and is responsible for the political evaluation and picking up of the debates. The purpose is to provide the parliament with a sound basis for planning ahead.

¹⁴ "Benefits of increased public participation, editorial, Nature, volume 405 Issue no. 6784, May 2000

¹⁵ The Loka Institute, <http://www.loka.org>

2.2.4 Formalising cross-cutting institutions

The large number of boards and councils shows an interest from politicians (both in government and parliament) in formalizing the institutions, that can deal with cross-cutting and long term issues. Public funding have given the basis for these institutions to service the parliament, providing knowledge an insights, that the members often will not gain in their normal sectoralized work.

The great interest in this work seems to indicate, that it fulfils a need on the political level.

It's worth noting, that most of the larger advisory bodies see it as a part of their charge to strengthen or fuel the public debate on their area of interest. "Debate" being the one thing that most Danish politicians will agree on is agreeable this might not be surprising. But it is important to understand the role, that these bodies play in the Danish debate, to know that they actually have a responsibility to be outgoing and offensive in the debate on their area.

The experience is, that the cross-sectored focus is most easily obtained, when discussion start with a specific problem that needs to be handled. One of the examples is the Vandmiljøplan I & II (Environmental Water Plan I & II) that dealt with the problem: how do we keep sustainable ecosystems in our streams, rivers, bays and seas? The focus on a problem instead of current regulation or specific techniques seems to further a cross-sectored approach.

It should also be noted that the current government has been able to plan its course of action on the long term (so far eight year). Most notably in the economical politics. It can be questioned whether the strength of the Danish economy is due to an internationally booming economy or the government's policy. But it's inarguable, that the government has set out its course, and followed it quite well. It could be argued that the focus in the economical goals has helped this government to find solutions and produce results in other areas. Worth noting is - as mentioned earlier - the three labour market reforms.

The governments from 1993 an onwards have been the most active in passing new laws. This could be a sign, that their way of planning the political work gives them more vigour.

Planning the wished-for results of a coalition government, as the present have done, could very well become a more stable element of Danish political culture.

2.2.5 Summary

The past couple of decades have seen a change in the way laws and regulation is conceived, developed and passed. The parliament has lost initiative and is more and more becoming the inspector of the government. The ministries have on the other hand gained initiative, and in combination with a government with strong strategic planning the government/ministries axis have become very influential on the expense of the parliament.

The government and the ministries have successfully developed some degree of long term planning especially for the macro economy. The strong coordinating role of the Ministry of Finance have to some extent proved useful for cross-cutting planning. The coherence between labour market reforms and social reforms on one side and the economic policy on the other shows this.

Another example of cross-cutting planning is the work of the Spatial Planning Department within the Ministry for Energy And Environment.

A large number of advisory bodies are set up by the government or the Folketing to handle cross-cutting or long term issues. The larger of these have gained a relatively strong position in policymaking.

MORTEN JASTRUP (1971) has been working as a journalist since 1990. He is Project Manager and Information Officer with The Danish Board of Technology since 2000. Before that he was working as political journalist and columnist with the daily Danish newspaper Information (1998-2000), and at the foreign desk of the daily newspaper Berlingske Tidende (1998). Before that he worked at the Danish TV 2, and at the magazine Press.

Morten Jastrup has a degree in journalism from The Danish School of Journalism from 1998, and has studied Sociology at the University of Copenhagen.

Contact

Morten Jastrup, Teknologiradet (TR), Antonigade 4, DK-1106 Copenhagen K, mj@tekno.dk

2.3 Survey Results: Organisations and Experiences

Amternes og Kommunernes Forskningsinstitut Institute of Local Government Studies

AKF

9645 2995

Author: Kell Sahlholdt, AKF, Amternes og Kommunernes Forskningsinstitut, Copenhagen V.

1. Contact

Kell Sahlholdt

Amternes og Kommunernes Forskningsinstitut

Nyropsgade 37, 1602 Copenhagen V., Denmark

Tel.direct: +45 (33) 14 59 49 33 ; Tel. org: +45 (33) 11 03 00 ; Fax:+45 (339 15 28 75

e-mail: kells@akf.dk

2. Relation to government / parliament

government <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> primeminister <input type="checkbox"/> ministries <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	head of state <input type="checkbox"/>	parliament <input type="checkbox"/>
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3. organisational structure

permanent <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> temporary <input type="checkbox"/> from to	public <input type="checkbox"/> academic <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> profit <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> nonprofit <input type="checkbox"/>	thinktank <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> committee <input type="checkbox"/> network <input type="checkbox"/> other <input type="checkbox"/>
specification main persons involved	Independent reseach institute. Nils Groes, Executive Director; Anders Larsen, Deputy Executive Director - Environment and Energy; Hans Hummelgaard, Research Director - Social affairs, labour market, education; Rolf Norstrand, Research Director - Public economy and organisation, regional development.	
annual budget	40 Mill. DKK.	
permanent staff	50	
external consultants	>20	

4. Main activities

Research (social sciences: economics, political science, sociology).

5. Issues treated

The Individual and Society:

- Relations between social phenomena, labour market, and education with special emphasis on employment integration and segregation

Environment and Energy:

- Environmental regulation
- Energy consumption and savings
- Landscape use

Public Economy and Organisation and Regional Economy:

- Regional development
- Quality and organisation of public services

6. Working methods

main emphasis		<i>expert knowledge</i>	● ● ● ● ●
		<i>creativity</i>	● ●
		<i>interaction</i>	● ● ●
selection		treatment of issues	output
<i>customer</i>	● ● ●	<i>internal</i>	● ● ● ● ●
<i>own</i>	● ● ●	<i>experts</i>	● ● ● ● ●
<i>public</i>	● ● ●	<i>customer</i>	● ● ●
		<i>public</i>	● ●
		<i>customer</i>	● ● ● ● ●
		<i>expert</i>	● ● ● ● ●
		<i>public</i>	● ● ● ● ●

7. Major Projects

SØM, Society, Economics and Environment - an open research centre

Research network based in AKF focusing on environmental economics financed 1991-2001 by The Danish Environmental Research programme.

The methodology corresponds to the characterisation in '6. working methods'

The Welfare State and its Finance Crisis

Research programme funded by the Danish Research Council.

The methodology corresponds to the characterisation in '6. working methods'

Studygroup on Future Local Government

A group of high level civil servants from state and local government and leading researchers discuss future local government.

The methodology corresponds to the characterisation in '6. working methods'

8. Particularly interesting and innovative aspects

AKF has established close relations to a number of academic and research institutions in Denmark, Europe and USA including a number of formal and informal networks and research centres (without walls). These relations and networks play an important role in developing the research at the institute, training of researchers, scientific quality control and are also an important aspect of many research projects.

Another important feature of AKF is close contact to both academia and the administrative and political world of state, regional and local government.

AKF has specialised in longitudinal studies based on register information provided by Statistics Denmark. Another speciality is regional and local data and economic models.

9. Most interesting reports / publications

Anders Holm, Tina Honoré Olsen og Nils Groes: Arithmetic and Wishful Thinking - about the forecasts for the labour market from the Danish Ministry of Finance. AKF 2000. In Danish with English summary.

Eskil Heinesen, Brian Krogh Graversen, Niels Madsen: School Resources and Effects on Educational Attainment of Pupils. AKF 2000. In Danish with English summary.

Thomas Bue Bjørner and Henrik Holm Jensen: Industrial Energy Demand and the Effect Taxes, Agreements and Subsidies. AKF 2000.

Jesper Munksgaard and Anders Larsen: A Sustainable Energy Policy? AKF 1999. In Danish with English summary.

Lars Gårn Hansen: Regulation of Non-Point Emissions - A Variance Based Mechanism. SØM publication no. 25, AKF 1999.

Anne Kaag Andersen: Commuting Areas in Denmark. AKF 2000.

Torben Pilegaard Jensen, Peter Maskell, Søren Arnberg, Morten Bjørn Hansen og Troels

Ranis: Business Location and growth. AKF 1997. In Danish with English summary.
Poul Erik Mouritzen: Small Municipalities - Not so bad after all? AKF 2000. In Danish with English summary.

10. Cooperation with other institutions

There are no similar institutions in Denmark and very few if any abroad. However, within specific research areas AKF cooperates with a number of institutions.

The Individual and Society: Centre for Research in Social Integration and Marginalization, Aarhus School of Business, Danish National Institute of Social Research, Institute of Sociology, University of Copenhagen, Danish University of Education.

Environment and Energy: Institute of Economics, University of Copenhagen, Vanderbilt Center for Environmental Management Studies.

Public Economy and Organisation and Regional Economy: Refional Science Association, Institute of Geography.

Det Økologiske Råd Danish Ecological Council

DØR

9640 2996

Author: Jeanne Christiansen, DØR, Det Økologiske Råd, Copenhagen K

1. Contact

Jeanne Christiansen
Det Økologiske Råd
Landgreven 7, 1301 Copenhagen K, Denmark
Tel.direct: +45 (33) 18 19 49 ; Tel. org: +45 (33) 15 09 77 ; Fax:+45 (33) 15 09 71
e-mail: jean@ecocouncil.dk

2. Relation to government / parliament

government <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> primeminister <input type="checkbox"/> ministries <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	head of state <input type="checkbox"/>	parliament <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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Lobbyism.

3. organisational structure

permanent <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> temporary <input type="checkbox"/> from to	public <input type="checkbox"/> academic <input type="checkbox"/> profit <input type="checkbox"/> nonprofit <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	thinktank <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> committee <input type="checkbox"/> network <input type="checkbox"/> other <input type="checkbox"/>
main persons involved	(See web Site: www.ecocouncil.dk).	
annual budget	4,3 Mill. DKK	
permanent staff	8	
external consultants	0	

4. Main activities

Main objective is to promote sustainable patterns of development, where environmental concerns, social justice and human well-being are main focal points. The Ecological Council (Det Økologiske Råd) is the executive committee for The Ecological Society. The Ecological Council and Society publishes the magazine "Global Økologi" (in Danish) and promotes public debate by producing information material, analyses, booklets and reports.

5. Issues treated

- Water, agriculture and chemicals
- Traffic
- Economy and sustainability
- Energy savings

6. Working methods

main emphasis		<i>expert knowledge</i>	● ● ● ● ●
		<i>creativity</i>	● ● ● ● ●
		<i>interaction</i>	● ● ●
selection		treatment of issues	output
<i>customer</i>		<i>internal</i>	<i>customer</i>
<i>own</i>	● ● ● ● ●	<i>experts</i>	<i>expert</i>
<i>public</i>	● ● ● ●	<i>customer</i>	<i>public</i>
		<i>public</i>	

7. Major Projects

A European NGO-campaign on chemicals policy

The objectives of the campaign are:

- To strengthen European public knowledge, awareness and debate on the environmental and health-related risks associated to the use of chemicals.
- To strengthen the co-ordination between European NGOs concerning the chemicals policy in the EU.
- To move the chemicals policy in the EU towards better control of harmful chemicals and implementation of the precautionary principle in common rules and regulations of the EU.

The methodology corresponds to the characterisation in '6. working methods'

International Conference on Asthma, Allergy and the Environment - Research and Legislation in Denmark and Europe

The Conference highlighted the role played by the external environment - primarily ambient air pollution and chemical substances and products - in the increasing asthma and allergy problems people have.

The methodology corresponds to the characterisation in '6. working methods'

Book-publishing and presswork

The methodology corresponds to the characterisation in '6. working methods'

8. Particularly interesting and innovative aspects

The Ecological Council is different from other Danish NGOs in the way that it is an academic organisation dealing with environmental policy on a scientific basis, but at the same time trying to inform and have a dialogue with both politicians and the general public.

9. Most interesting reports / publications

The price of the future - magical calculations in the environmental policy.
Chemicals in our daily life - Why EU's legislation is relevant for you.
Chemicals under the spotlight- From Awareness to Action.

10. Cooperation with other institutions

Danish Society for the Conservation of Nature, Danish Consumer Council, Green Information (DK), Green Families.

Det Økonomiske Råd

Danish Economic Council

DØR

9642 2997

Author: Jan V. Hansen, Det Økonomiske Råd, Copenhagen K

1. Contact

Peder Andersen
 Det Økonomiske Råd
 , 1304 Copenhagen K, Denmark
 ; Fax:+45 (33) 32 90 29
 e-mail: pa@dors.dk

2. Relation to government / parliament

government <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> primeminister <input type="checkbox"/> ministries <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	head of state <input type="checkbox"/>	parliament <input type="checkbox"/>
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3. organisational structure

permanent <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> temporary <input type="checkbox"/> from to	public <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> academic <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> profit <input type="checkbox"/> nonprofit <input type="checkbox"/>	thinktank <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> committee <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> network <input type="checkbox"/> other <input type="checkbox"/>
<i>specification</i>	The Economic Council is an economic advisory body established by law in 1962. The Council has 29 members representing unions, employers, the Central Bank and the Danish Government. Independent economic experts are members as well.	
<i>main persons involved</i>	Prof. Niels Kærgård, Head Chairman; Ass. Prof. Jørgen Birk Mortensen; Prof. Søren Bo Nielsen. Secretariat: Peder Andersen, Director; John Smidt, Head of Division; Jan V. Hansen, Head of Division.	
<i>annual budget</i>	10 Bill. DKK.	
<i>permanent staff</i>	22, of this 10-15 economists.	
<i>external consultants</i>	0	

4. Main activities

The objective of the Council is to monitor the Danish economy and analyze the long-term economic development and the interaction of the economy and the environment. Another objective of the Council is to improve coordination between the different economic interests in the Danish society. Therefore the Council plays an important role in the public debate on economic policy issues in Denmark.

5. Issues treated

The primary research areas are:

- Macroeconomic forecasts
- Economic policy
- International economics
- Labour market economics

- Macroeconometric models
- Resource and environmental economics
- Growth theory
- Income distribution
- General equilibrium models

6. Working methods

main emphasis		<i>expert knowledge</i>	● ● ● ● ●
		<i>creativity</i>	● ●
		<i>interaction</i>	● ●
selection		treatment of issues	output
<i>customer</i>		<i>internal</i>	<i>customer</i>
<i>own</i>	● ● ● ● ●	<i>experts</i>	<i>expert</i>
<i>public</i>	● ● ●	<i>customer</i>	<i>public</i>
		<i>public</i>	

The analyses by the Secretariat are often based on model calculations. The models developed and used by the Secretariat include a traditional large-scale macroeconomic model - SMEC. The model is fully empirically based and contains a description of the Danish economy disaggregated into 8 sectors. The SMEC-model, which is used for forecast as well as policy-analysis purposes, contains some 600 equations. The Secretariat also uses general equilibrium models, which are developed or modified in relation to the specific analyses at hand.

7. Major Projects

Danish Economy, Autumn 2000

Semi-annual report submitted to the Economic Council containing analyses of the Danish and international economic outlook, economic policy, and economic aspects of nature management.

The methodology corresponds to the characterisation in '6. working methods'

Danish Economy, Spring 2000

Semi-annual report submitted to the Economic Council containing analyses of the Danish and international economic outlook, economic policy, health care, Danish exchange rate policy and the EMU, and persons on the margin of the labour market.

The methodology corresponds to the characterisation in '6. working methods'

The Nordic Electricity Market

Internal Phd-project financed by the Nordic Energy Research Programme.

The methodology corresponds to the characterisation in '6. working methods'

8. Particularly interesting and innovative aspects

Independence of the chairmen and focus on scientifically validated analyses are the most interesting aspects of this institution.

9. Most interesting reports / publications

Danish Economy, bi-annual report submitted to the Economic Council with an English summary (see web site: www.dors.dk).

Working Papers (see web site: www.dors.dk).

10. Cooperation with other institutions

AIECE: European Network of conjuncture institutes.

Teknologirådet

Danish Board of Technology

TR
DBT

97 3148

Author: Morten Jastrup, TR, Teknologirådet, Copenhagen K

1. Contact

Morten Jastrup
Teknologirådet
Antonigade 4, 1106 Copenhagen K, Denmark
Tel.direct: +45 (33) 45 53 65 ; Tel. org: +45 (33) 32 05 03 ; Fax:+45 (33) 91 05 09
e-mail: mj@tekno.dk

2. Relation to government / parliament

<i>government</i> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <i>primeminister</i> <input type="checkbox"/> <i>ministries</i> <input type="checkbox"/>	<i>head of state</i> <input type="checkbox"/>	<i>parliament</i> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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DBT has equal obligations as an advisory board to the government and the parliament. On the state budget we appear on the account of the Ministry of IT & Research, but we have no special obligation to this ministry.

3. organisational structure

<i>permanent</i> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <i>temporary</i> <input type="checkbox"/> <i>from</i> <i>to</i>	<i>public</i> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> <i>academic</i> <input type="checkbox"/> <i>profit</i> <input type="checkbox"/> <i>nonprofit</i> <input type="checkbox"/>	<i>thinktank</i> <input type="checkbox"/> <i>committee</i> <input type="checkbox"/> <i>network</i> <input type="checkbox"/> <i>other</i> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<i>specification</i>	Technology Assesment Institution.	
<i>main persons involved</i>	Lars Klüver, Director; Henrik Toft Jensen, Head of The Board.	
<i>annual budget</i>	13,5 Mill. DKK	
<i>permanent staff</i>	13	
<i>external consultants</i>	Changing	

4. Main activities

Technology Assesment projects from 6 til 18 months (normally). Advance the public debate on technology. Arrange hearings for Parliament. Publish 1 magazine and 2 newsletters on technology (and website magazine).

5. Issues treated

Technology in a very broad definition.

- Environment
- IT
- Health
- Traffic
- Aging population questions
- etc.

6. Working methods

main emphasis		<i>expert knowledge</i>	● ● ● ●
		<i>creativity</i>	● ● ●
		<i>interaction</i>	● ● ● ● ●
selection		treatment of issues	output
<i>customer</i>	● ● ●	<i>internal</i>	● ●
<i>own</i>	● ● ● ● ●	<i>experts</i>	● ● ● ● ●
<i>public</i>	● ● ●	<i>customer</i>	● ● ●
		<i>public</i>	● ● ● ●
			<i>customer</i>
			● ● ● ●
			<i>expert</i>
			●
			<i>public</i>
			●

The Board works with a large number of external experts, stakeholders, civil servants and laymen.

7. Major Projects

Consensus Conference on Surveillance

Participatory Technology Assessment project with layman panel being serviced by experts.

The methodology corresponds to the characterisation in '6. working methods'

Public IT-projects

Workgroup of external experts and stakeholders.

The methodology corresponds to the characterisation in '6. working methods'

Therapeutic cloning

Hearing for the Danish Parliament with 19 national and international speakers.

The methodology corresponds to the characterisation in '6. working methods'

8. Particularly interesting and innovative aspects

The Danish Board of Technology has developed new methods of technology assessment with focus on involving laymen, that has been copied in many other countries. For this it has earned the reputation as being 'pioneers of public participation' (Nature, Editorial vol 405, 18 May 2000).

The general approach to technology assessment, developed by the Board, is based on a communicative approach: Technology assessment analysis is to be seen as a tool to reach the main goal - a relevant and enlightened technology debate among the relevant actors. To fulfill this aim, the Board makes use of a multitude of different methods and techniques, of which some are standard procedures, some 'imported' from other organisations and some developed by the Board.

9. Most interesting reports / publications

'Fra-Rådet-til-Tinget' (from the Board to the Parliament) a newsletter of 20-30 issues a year, making awareness of issues or project results of relevance to national policy-making. Based upon journalistic working methods. Makes headline in newspapers, sets agenda in Parliament now and then, starts up new policy initiatives.

Different project reports - though it is not the reports, but the interaction process that gives rise to political awareness. Examples: 'Allergy' 2000; 'IT in primary health sector' 2000; 'Stem cell cloning' 2000.

EUOPTA - European Participatory Technology Assessment. Report on participatory methodology. International project. 2000.

10. Cooperation with other institutions

Denmark:

- Transportrådet (the transportation council)

- Ethical Council

International:

- EPTA organisations (see www.epta.org)

Transportraadet

Danish Transport Council

9641 2998

Author: Henrik Duer, Transportraadet, Copenhagen

1. Contact

Henrik Duer
 Transportraadet
 Chr. IX's Gade 7,4, 1111 K Copenhagen, Denmark
 ; Fax:+45 (33) 93 43 63
 e-mail: henrik.duer@transportraadet.dk

2. Relation to government / parliament

government <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> primeminister <input type="checkbox"/> ministries <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	head of state <input type="checkbox"/>	parliament <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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Ministry: Transport Ministry.

3. organisational structure

permanent <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> temporary <input type="checkbox"/> from to	public <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> academic <input type="checkbox"/> profit <input type="checkbox"/> nonprofit <input type="checkbox"/>	thinktank <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> committee <input type="checkbox"/> network <input type="checkbox"/> other <input type="checkbox"/>
specification	Danish Transport Council is an independent advisory body which is financed by state budget. The Council consists of 7 personally appointed members, appointed for 5 year periods.	
annual budget	21 Mill. DKK.	
permanent staff	9	

4. Main activities

Danish transport Council has three main activities:

- Provide financial support to Danish transport research at universities and in research institutes
- Provide advice to Parliament and Government on transport issues
- Conduct independent analysis of transport issues

5. Issues treated

A large number of strategic issue has been investigated by the Council, including:

- Improved decision making processes on transport infrastructure and transport policies
- Innovative financing of infrastructure
- Road pricing and other economic instruments in transport sector
- Commercialisation in public transport sectors

Beside its own analysis the Council has financed a large number of research projects on technical issues, modelling, transport behaviour, transport economics etc..

6. Working methods

main emphasis		<i>expert knowledge</i>	● ● ●	
		<i>creativity</i>	● ● ● ● ●	
		<i>interaction</i>	● ● ● ●	
selection		treatment of issues	output	
<i>customer</i>	● ● ●	<i>internal</i>	● ● ● ● ●	
<i>own</i>	● ● ● ● ●	<i>experts</i>	● ● ● ● ●	
<i>public</i>	● ● ● ●	<i>customer</i>	● ● ●	
		<i>public</i>	● ●	
			<i>customer</i>	● ● ● ● ●
			<i>expert</i>	● ● ● ● ●
			<i>public</i>	● ● ● ● ●

Reports and other products from the Council is typically targeted both towards transport politicians in Parliament, towards relevant ministries, towards the transport sector community and (to a lesser extent) towards media and the general public.

7. Major Projects

Fehmarn Belt, Issues of accountability

Analysis of large scale infrastructure projects and recommendations as to improve the decision project on a fixed link between Germany and Denmark.

The methodology corresponds to the characterisation in '6. working methods'

PETRA

Financing of the development of a computer based passenger transport model.

Car-less people in a private car society

Analysis of the mobility and social characteristics of families without access to private cars.

The methodology corresponds to the characterisation in '6. working methods'

8. Particularly interesting and innovative aspects

The transport policy debate traditionally tended to take place within rather closed circles, be heavily influenced by interest groups and to some extent be based on presumptions rather than facts. The Transport Council was established by government and Parliament to counteract this situation and to promote a more transparent debate and to promote research in transport issues. The new and innovative idea in this particular sector was to establish an independent party which was, and is, able to provide the debate with unbiased information and to promote that new information and knowledge is established through research and development projects. The analysis and financial support from the Transport Council over the last 8 years has helped gradually to improve the debate on transport issues and has helped Danish universities and research institutes to establish more sustainable transport research groups.

9. Most interesting reports / publications

A large number of reports have been published and summaries are available in English on our web site.

10. Cooperation with other institutions

The Danish Board of Technology, the Danish Energy and Environment Council, several universities and research institutes, including the newly established Danish Transport Research Institute.

Finansministeriet
Ministry of Finance*Contact*

9830 3150

Finansministeriet; Christiansborg Slotsplads 1, 1218 Copenhagen, Denmark
; Fax:+45 (33) 32 80 30

Relations government,

Organisational structure permanent, public,

Landsplanafdelingen
Spatial Planning Department, Ministry of Environment and Energy*Contact*

9831 3149

Landsplanafdelingen; Højbro Plads 4, 1200 Copenhagen, Denmark
; Fax:+45 (33) 32 22 27

Relations government,

Organisational structure permanent, public, other
