



The Danish Green Deal Tripartite as a Basis for Central-Decentral Cooperation

The Danish Green Deal Tripartite as a Basis for Central–Decentral Cooperation

*Reflective report commissioned by the State of Public Administration 2026
August 20, 2026*

Executive Summary

Denmark and the Netherlands face a similar challenge: reducing greenhouse gas and nitrogen emissions in the agricultural sector, which is a relatively high-emitting sector. In both countries, a large share of agricultural products is exported, while the sector's contribution to GDP is relatively low.

In Denmark, a joint approach has been established in which stakeholders work together to significantly reduce emissions. Denmark concluded a so-called Green Deal Tripartite, an agreement between the government, agricultural organisations, environmental organisations, trade unions, and municipalities. The agreement includes a phased CO₂ levy for the agricultural sector, nitrogen reduction measures, and a large-scale transformation of land use. A financial package is deployed to support the transition. The cooperation is structured around national objectives that are implemented through local collaborative arrangements.

Although the type of pollution in Denmark differs from that in the Netherlands, the challenge of reducing emissions in close cooperation with stakeholders is comparable. The question is what lessons can be learned from Denmark. This report sets out those lessons.

Based on interviews and document analysis, an overview has been developed of the factors that contribute to successful cooperation in Denmark. Central-decentral cooperation stands out in particular.

The key factors are:

1. In Denmark, a smart combination of interventions has been developed that on the one hand provides clarity and autonomy to farmers, while on the other hand ensures that far-reaching legal measures can be imposed if changes are not implemented.
2. The national government in Denmark sets clear goals and frameworks, after which implementation is left to local actors. The possibility remains for government intervention if no agreement is reached.
3. Negotiation method: Denmark applied a tripartite negotiation model. Government, agricultural organisations, and environmental organisations reached agreement through this approach. Interests and perspectives of the parties involved were incorporated, creating broad ownership of the measures.
4. Implementation was given shape not only nationally through a Tripartite agreement, but also locally through 23 local tripartite groups. Measures are thus tailored to the local context.
5. The digital MARS platform supports implementation of measures. This platform enables real-time monitoring of progress, allowing verification of whether targets are being achieved.

Although many measures still need to be further developed at a local level, the results are promising. 400,000 hectares of agricultural land are being converted to nature, forest, or more extensive land use, and agreements have been made on structural reductions in nitrogen and greenhouse gas emissions from the agricultural sector towards 2030, including a phased CO₂ levy. According to the Danish government, this agreement represents the largest landscape transformation in the last 100 years.

Table of Contents

Introduction	5
Formation of the Green Deal Tripartite	6
Success Factors	7
Combination of interventions	7
Clear goals and frameworks from the national government	8
Negotiation method	8
Focus on implementation	9
The digital MARS system	9
Refinement of success factors based on stakeholder reflection	10
What can the Netherlands learn from the Danish approach?	11
Conclusion	12
Bibliography	14

Introduction

Denmark, like the Netherlands, faces a challenge in reducing CO₂ and nitrogen emissions in the agricultural sector. In Denmark, this sector covers more than half of the land area and is largely focused on meat and dairy production, activities that are relatively emission-intensive. Emissions amount to approximately 4.3 tonnes of CO₂ per capita, while the sector contributes 0.9% to gross domestic product (GDP) and more than 60% of food production is exported.¹ Compared to other sectors, the climate impact of agriculture relative to its economic contribution is therefore high.

In the Netherlands, emissions are also high relative to a relatively low GDP contribution. With three times as many inhabitants on a comparable land area, emissions amount to approximately 6.6 tonnes of CO₂ per capita, with a GDP contribution of 1.7%.

In both countries, nitrogen issues play an important role, although their environmental effects differ. In the Netherlands, nitrogen deposition leads to pressure on natural areas through atmospheric nitrogen compounds; in Denmark, nitrogen emissions end up in coastal waters and fjords, contributing to oxygen depletion in the water.

In the Netherlands, cooperation between stakeholders on emission reduction has in recent years been characterised by administrative fragmentation, legal constraints, and tensions between government and agricultural organisations. At the same time, steps have recently been taken to intensify dialogue between government and sector parties. In 2026, a national agricultural dialogue was launched involving farmers' organisations, supply chain parties, and civil society organisations, creating a structure for discussing different interests.

In Denmark, a comparable challenge led to a breakthrough in 2024. By bringing together various stakeholders, agreement was reached on measures: the Green Deal Tripartite. This agreement includes a CO₂ tax on agriculture, nitrogen reduction, afforestation, and a financial package of approximately 40 billion Danish kroner (around 5 billion euros).

Denmark is the first country in the world to introduce a CO₂ tax for the agricultural sector. The Danish approach is characterised by a combination of central steering and decentral implementation. National objectives and legal frameworks are set centrally, while implementation takes place through area-based cooperation. This objective was made explicit during the negotiation process: parties did not want changes to be imposed unilaterally.

Although the type of pollution in Denmark differs from that in the Netherlands, the challenge of reducing emissions in close cooperation with stakeholders is comparable. This report explores what lessons can be drawn from the Danish case.

The report is based on interviews with directly involved stakeholders and an analysis of academic literature and underlying documentation.

It first discusses the formation of the Green Deal Tripartite and its contextual background. It then outlines the success factors of the agreement, followed by reflections from stakeholders on the process they went through. Finally, it discusses lessons that can be drawn for the Dutch context.

¹ World Bank, *Agriculture, forestry, and fishing, value added (% of GDP)*, World Development Indicators, consulted 15 May 2026, https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NV.AGR.TOTL.ZS?end=2024&locations=DK-NL&name_desc=false&start=1995.

Formation of the Green Deal Tripartite

In Denmark, climate was a major issue during the elections of 2019. In the period that followed, the Danish Climate Act of 2020 was adopted, establishing a target of reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 70% by 2030 compared to 1990. This made Denmark one of the most ambitious countries in the world in terms of emission reduction.² The Climate Act set a national reduction target, involving all sectors in climate policy. In the early years, the focus was on the energy and industrial sectors, including the introduction of a CO₂ tax for industry and a reduction target of 14.3 megatonnes of CO₂ equivalents. After major reduction measures had been established in these sectors, agriculture increasingly came into focus as a sector where further reductions were required.³

At the same time, societal attention to agricultural emissions increased. In 2022 and 2023, media reports showed divers in Danish fjords finding almost no life. In one video, a diver swims for hours and encounters only a single fish.⁴ This condition of the fjords was linked to nitrogen emissions and other nutrients from agriculture, which enter the water through leaching and cause oxygen depletion, reducing marine life.⁵ Environmental organisations, including Greenpeace, organised so-called “fjord funerals” symbolically marking the loss of life in affected ecosystems.⁶

Against this background, on the initiative of Venstre, originally the farmers’ party in Denmark, a tripartite negotiation process was initiated with key stakeholders. A tripartite model is a form of cooperation in which three parties jointly negotiate and make decisions. The model has a long tradition in Denmark within the so-called “Danish model”, in which government, employers’ organisations, and trade unions jointly address socio-economic issues.⁷ Originally used in labour market policy, it has increasingly been applied to broader societal reforms.

The tripartite process was presented as a way to jointly shape climate and nitrogen policies with stakeholders. It allowed the government to build support for politically sensitive measures, while interest organisations gained influence over policy design. Participants also contributed sector-specific knowledge, improving feasibility.⁸

The following parties participated: the government together with the political parties Socialistisk Folkeparti (SF), Radikale Venstre, Liberal Alliance, and Det Konservative Folkeparti; Kommunernes Landsforening (KL); Landbrug & Fødevarer; Danmarks Naturfredningsforening; Fødevarereforbundet NNF; Dansk Metal; and Dansk Industri.

² Climate Policy Radar, The Climate Act (Denmark), Climate Change Laws of the World, consulted 29 June 2026, <https://climate-laws.org/document/the-climate-act-dae7>.

³ Simone Højte, Michael Minter, Torsten Hasforth, Concito, interview by author, Copenhagen, Denmark, 24 February 2026.

⁴ Danmarks Radio (DR), Fiskene forsvinder: Biologer optog 70 timers undervandsvideo – og fandt én fladfisk, consulted 29 June 2026, <https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/indland/fiskene-forsvinder-biologer-optog-70-timers-undervandsvideo-og-fandt-en-fladfisk>.

⁵ Vibe Schourup-Kristensen, Janus Larsen, Marie Maar, “Drivers of hypoxia variability in a shallow and eutrophicated semi-enclosed fjord,” *Marine Pollution Bulletin* 188 (2023),

⁶ LBB Online, Greenpeace Invited Denmark to Bury a Dead Fjord to Save Its Life, consulted 3 June 2026, <https://lbbonline.com/news/greenpeace-invited-denmark-to-bury-a-dead-fjord-to-save-its-life>.

⁷ Københavns Universitet, FAOS, Treparsamarbejde, FAOS – Arbejdsmarkedets begreber, consulted 1 June 2026, <https://faos.ku.dk/arbejdsmarkedets-begreber/treparsamarbejde>.

⁸ Aarhus University, Faculty of Technical Sciences, Green Tripartite Dialogue as a Driver of Europe’s Agricultural Transition, consulted 5 June 2026, <https://tech.au.dk/en/about-the-faculty/news/show/artikel/green-tripartite-dialogue-as-a-driver-of-europes-agricultural-transition>.

Interviews show that the selection of parties was pragmatic. Respondents indicated that representatives were partly chosen based on experience with complex societal issues. At the same time, all parties had a clear stake in the outcome. Farmers represented the survival of their sector; environmental organisations represented biodiversity and water quality restoration; trade unions had their consultative model at stake. Failure here could jeopardise future negotiations in other domains. At the start, five ministers were involved, signalling strong political priority.

During negotiations, parties sought measures that served multiple objectives. “When you start negotiating, you can begin by looking for synergies. What are the easy synergies?”⁹ Rather than treating climate, water quality, and biodiversity separately, interventions were explored in an integrated way. However, respondents noted that this integrated approach came under pressure during implementation due to additional requirements after the agreement.

The negotiation process resulted in two agreements: the June Agreement and the November Agreement of 2024. The June Agreement included concrete targets and instruments such as a phased CO₂ levy on agricultural emissions from 2030, strict nitrogen reduction targets, conversion of approximately 400,000 hectares of agricultural land into nature, forest, or extensive use, and a financial package of 40 billion Danish kroner (5 billion euros).

Following parliamentary review, the agreement was legally anchored in the November Agreement of 2024, which added implementation details. Execution requires coordination between national and local levels. National agreements are translated into concrete measures at regional and local levels, taking into account differences in agricultural structure, environmental conditions, and water quality.

Part of this implementation is the establishment of 23 local tripartite implementation groups. These groups form the regional delivery structure of the national agreement and are responsible for developing area-based plans for land use, nature development, and emission reduction.

Their composition follows the tripartite structure and includes representatives of municipalities (Kommunernes Landsforening), the agricultural sector (Landbrug & Fødevarer), and environmental organisations (including Danmarks Naturfredningsforening). The groups are aligned with regional units to ensure local differences are incorporated in implementation.

Success Factors

Below, the factors are elaborated that made the Green Deal Tripartite a success. Success factors are elements that effectively contributed to the establishment and implementation of the agreement.

Combination of interventions

The Green Deal Tripartite features a combination of voluntary and mandatory interventions aimed at reducing emissions in the agricultural sector. On the one hand, the agreement includes a set of financial incentives that encourage farmers to participate in emission-reducing measures. These include compensation schemes and funding for the conversion of approximately 400,000 hectares of agricultural land into nature, forest, or more extensive land use. Farmers who make their land available for this purpose receive financial compensation within the agreed framework. In practice,

⁹ Emil Drevsfeldt Nielsen, Industrial Policy Director van Dansk Metal, interview by author, Copenhagen, Denmark, 20 February 2026.

this means, for example, that agricultural land with relatively high emissions due to intensive use can be converted into nature or extensive management, with the landowner being bought out or compensated.

Rather than predefining fixed amounts, the negotiation process jointly determined what resources were needed to achieve the agreed objectives. As a result, financial and substantive decisions were developed simultaneously. According to a participant from the farmers' organisation involved in the negotiations, this provided "real influence," as parties had genuine influence on both the objectives and the implementation conditions within the agreed framework.¹⁰ This was accompanied by agreements on targets, timelines, and room for negotiation, which contributed to predictability and long-term certainty for farmers.

On the other hand, the agreement also includes binding elements, such as a phased CO₂ levy on agricultural emissions starting in 2030. In addition, there is the possibility that further mandatory measures may be introduced if agreed emission reductions are not achieved by farmers. This means that the agreement is not solely based on voluntariness. Participation in the transition is both supported and enforced within a legal framework.

Clear goals and frameworks from the national government

The Green Deal Tripartite is characterised by a combination of national steering and decentralised implementation. The national government sets the main objectives and legal frameworks, while detailed implementation is left to local cooperation structures, namely the 23 local tripartite groups.

Within the agreement, representatives of government, agricultural organisations, and environmental organisations jointly participated in the negotiations. Ministers were also involved. Because the Danish coalition consisted of Socialdemokratiet, Venstre, and Moderaterne—a coalition spanning both centre-left and centre-right parties—the agreement ultimately received support from approximately 75% of parliament. This broad political representation also made participation attractive for stakeholders. A respondent from Danmarks Naturfredningsforening stated: "The only reason it was attractive for us to participate is the fact that there was a government saying: whatever you agree on, we will make sure it happens and that it is financed."¹¹

Implementation is largely delegated to local tripartite implementation groups. These groups develop area-based plans, taking into account regional differences in agricultural structure, ecological values, and water quality. If local parties fail to reach agreement or if targets are not met, the national government may intervene through additional measures.

At the local level, individual decisions by landowners and farmers play a role in the redistribution of land use, with some older farmers choosing to retire or transfer land to successors. The Green Deal Tripartite thus creates room for coordination and tailored solutions at the local level.

Negotiation method

Within the tripartite governance structure, parties functioned not only as negotiating partners but also as co-designers of the final agreement. This created a process of joint decision-making in which different interests were explicitly brought forward and balanced against each other.

¹⁰ Mikael Strandbygaard, Danish Agriculture and Food Council, interview door auteur, Copenhagen, Denmark, 24 February 2026.

¹¹ Emma Sander Poulsen, Danmarks Naturfrednings Forening, interview door auteur, Copenhagen, Denmark, 23 February 2026.

According to stakeholders, this approach increased the level of commitment to the process. A commonly used expression was “You have to put your skin in it,” meaning that parties only reach agreement when they actively influence the outcome and thereby commit themselves to its implementation.

The tripartite model thus created a situation in which parties shared responsibility for the formation of the agreement, resulting in intensive interaction and continuous coordination between the sectors involved.

Focus on implementation

Implementation takes place through 23 local tripartite groups, in which representatives of municipalities, agricultural organisations, and environmental organisations are responsible for area-based implementation of national objectives. These groups translate national frameworks into concrete measures at regional level, taking into account differences in agricultural structure, ecological conditions, and water quality. This creates space to tailor measures to local conditions while remaining within national objectives. The local tripartite groups thus function not only as implementation structures but also as deliberation forums in which decisions on land use, nature restoration, and agricultural transition are jointly prepared and developed.

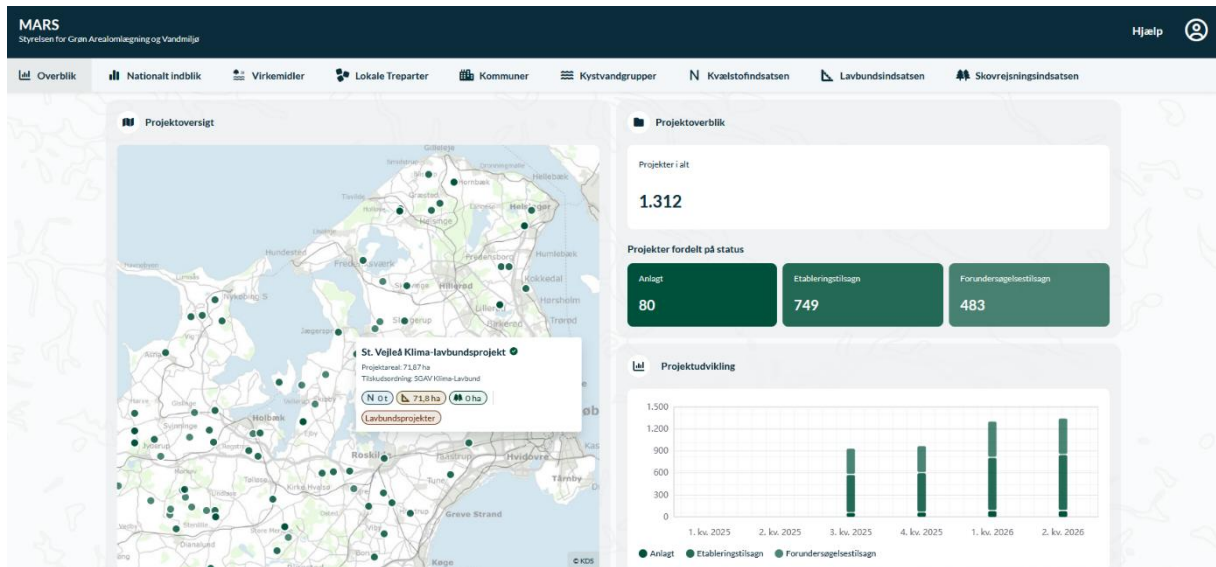
Implementation is coordinated by a new ministry: the Ministry of Nature and Animal Welfare. With the appointment of a dedicated minister, responsibility for coordination, monitoring, and progress of the Green Deal Tripartite is centrally anchored, while implementation is largely carried out by local tripartite groups. This connects central steering with decentral execution. Notably, implementation largely takes place through existing institutional roles of municipalities and sector organisations, without the creation of separate programmes or task forces. The minister also supports implementation by remaining actively involved in regions where area-based processes are progressing with difficulty.

The digital MARS system

A key part of the implementation structure is the digital MARS system (Multifunktionel Araelregistrering), which functions as a shared information and monitoring platform. Within this system, spatial data, policy objectives, and local measures are made transparent. This ensures that municipalities, local tripartite groups, advisors, and landowners work from the same information base when developing and implementing area plans.¹²

The screening component of MARS identifies which parcels of land may be suitable for forest expansion, nature restoration, or the withdrawal of carbon-rich soils from production. In the planning module, local tripartite groups can develop and prioritise area plans, while the status module provides insight into project progress and its contribution to national targets for nitrogen reduction, afforestation, and land-use transition. This allows spatial, policy, and financial considerations to be made in an integrated way. By making the expected effects of measures visible, the system supports joint assessment of alternatives and shows how local decisions relate to national objectives.

¹² Marie-Louise Bretner, Kommunernes Landsforening, interview by author, Copenhagen, Denmark, 23 February 2026.



Overview of the MARS-system

Refinement of success factors based on stakeholder reflection

Respondents indicate that the objectives could have been more clearly defined prior to the negotiations. The process was characterised by uncertainty regarding its precise content. During the negotiations, new topics were added to the agenda. For example, Danmarks Naturfredningsforening introduced the issue of nitrogen, even though it was not part of the original design of the agreement. "It was not what the government originally planned, but it was a requirement from our side... That was confusing for the parties involved, because it was unclear what would happen, who would be involved, and what kind of agreements could be made."¹³

As a result of the inclusion of nitrogen reduction, parties had to adjust their positions and expectations during the process. Although this expansion was unforeseen, it made it possible to consider CO₂, nitrogen, and land use measures in an integrated manner. According to respondents, this illustrates the importance of defining clear and bounded frameworks in advance of negotiations.¹⁴

In addition, interviews indicated that local implementation required municipalities, farmers, and environmental organisations to reach agreements on land use, financing, and execution within a short timeframe. After the November 2024 agreement, the 23 local tripartite groups were immediately tasked with developing area plans, which are to be implemented from 1 January 2026. Stakeholders describe this phase as one in which plans and conditions were developed simultaneously. New topics, such as additional water quality measures, emerged during the process. This led to repeated adjustments of plans while deadlines remained fixed.

¹³ Poulsen, Danmarks Naturfrednings Forening, interview door auteur.

¹⁴ Nielsen, Industrial Policy Director van Dansk Metal, interview door auteur.

The implementation phase is seen by stakeholders as the moment at which the agreement has to prove itself.¹⁵ The necessary structures are in place: financing is available, the MARS system is operational, and local collaborations have been established. At the same time, it remains to be seen whether landowners will change land use, convert parcels, or decide to sell land. As Denmark's Naturfredningsforening put it: "These plans are still only plans. Now comes the difficult part: they must be implemented."

What can the Netherlands learn from the Danish approach?

The Dutch approach to nitrogen and greenhouse gas reduction in the agricultural sector is currently in a phase in which national policy objectives are being further translated into concrete measures. In the coalition agreement 2026–2030 *Aan de slag*, the government has set a target of reducing agricultural ammonia emissions by 43–46% by 2035 compared to 2019. In addition, national climate targets towards 2030 and 2050 remain in force.¹⁶ The coalition agreement provides for the continuation of the nitrogen fund until 2035, with tens of billions of euros allocated to nature restoration, area development, and agricultural transition. The way these objectives are achieved is largely delegated to provinces, local authorities, and the agricultural sector.

In addition to subsidy schemes and voluntary exit programmes, the government is working on a package of legally enforceable measures. These include area-based zones around vulnerable Natura 2000 sites, sectoral emission ceilings, and additional livestock standards. The aim is both to improve ecological conditions and to restart permitting procedures. The exact design of these measures is still under development.

Although Denmark and the Netherlands face similar European and national objectives in terms of greenhouse gas and nitrogen reduction, the way the issue manifests itself and is experienced socially differs.

In the Netherlands, the nitrogen problem is primarily linked to atmospheric emissions that deposit on vulnerable Natura 2000 areas. This makes the impact legally and ecologically site-specific, as relatively small amounts of deposition can already lead to threshold exceedances and restrictions on permitting. In Denmark, environmental pressure is mainly expressed through nutrient runoff into coastal areas and fjords. These effects are more directly visible in the landscape and aquatic system, contributing to societal awareness among environmental organisations and local communities.

In addition, the two countries differ in spatial and demographic context. The Netherlands has a higher population density and more intensive land use, leading to stronger competition between agriculture, nature, housing, and infrastructure. Denmark has lower spatial pressure, but agriculture plays a more dominant role in land use. In both countries, agriculture is economically important and export-oriented, but the scale and spatial embedding differ.

Despite these contextual differences, both cases involve a comparable challenge: achieving emission reductions in a sector with competing interests between agriculture, nature, industry, and government. The Danish approach shows how these interests can be integrated into a single process, offering lessons for Dutch implementation practice.

¹⁵ Michael Waalberg, Municipality of Kerteminde, interview by author, online, 24 February 2026.

¹⁶ NOS, Kabinet komt met ingrijpende stikstofplannen, onder meer zones rond natuurgebieden ('Cabinet unveils sweeping nitrogen plans, including zones around nature reserves'), NOS Nieuws, 16 June 2026, <https://nos.nl/artikel/2618868-kabinet-komt-met-ingrijpende-stikstofplannen-onder-meer-zones-rond-natuurgebieden>.

In the Dutch context, it is particularly evident that such an integrated approach is still underdeveloped. Whereas in Denmark participation in the transition is embedded in a clearly communicated and legally anchored pathway towards structural emission reduction, the Netherlands is characterised by a more phased development of policies and instruments, in which the link between voluntary schemes and future obligations is still evolving. As a result, stakeholders often face uncertainty about how individual decisions relate to the overall reduction pathway. A more explicit linkage between these elements could enhance predictability in Dutch implementation practice.

Furthermore, area-based implementation in the Netherlands is less concentrated within a single uniform governance model. Although provinces, regional programmes, and area processes play an important role, there is no structurally uniform national framework in which all relevant actors jointly assume responsibility for both goal achievement and instrument design at the area level. In Denmark, this link between national target steering and local joint implementation is more explicitly organised, integrating decision-making and implementation more strongly within a single process. A more integrated governance structure could help align decision-making and execution in the Netherlands.

Finally, the Danish approach shows that the availability of an integrated information and monitoring system can play an important role in supporting area-based decision-making. In the MARS system, stakeholders work from a shared information base, which supports coordination and decision-making. In the Netherlands, data sources and monitoring systems are fragmented across multiple organisations and policy domains. As a result, the information base for area-based decision-making is less uniform and not concentrated in a single integrated system. This makes it more complex to reach shared assessments at area level in which the effects of measures are directly visible in combination. Consolidating this information into a more integrated environment could support area-based decision-making in Dutch practice.

Conclusion

The Danish Green Deal Tripartite is a form of layered governance in which central target-setting is combined with decentralised implementation. At national level, frameworks are established in the form of legally anchored climate and reduction targets, supplemented by financial resources and policy instruments. This central steering method provides direction and certainty for stakeholders. At the same time, the concrete implementation of measures is not designed centrally but is delegated to local tripartite collaborations in which government, agricultural organisations, and civil society jointly develop area-based plans and measures.

Although the institutional context differs between Denmark and the Netherlands, the underlying policy challenges are highly comparable. Both countries combine climate and nature objectives with a large agricultural sector, making the Danish approach relevant for Dutch governance and implementation structures.

A defining feature of the Green Deal Tripartite is that decision-making and implementation are not separated but intertwined. Parties involved in designing the agreement also play a role in its local implementation, creating shared responsibility for achieving targets. By combining multiple objectives—such as CO₂ reduction, nitrogen reduction, and land use—within a single process, integrated solutions emerge that can address multiple goals simultaneously. This increases

efficiency but also makes the process more complex, as interests and impact become closely interlinked.

The Green Deal Tripartite operates under specific conditions. It requires clear central frameworks, consistent political support, and a well-organised implementation structure in which responsibilities are explicitly assigned. Crucially, these frameworks should be established on the basis of a broad parliamentary majority, ensuring political legitimacy and stability. For the Dutch context, the Danish Green Deal Tripartite offers a relevant reference model. The combination of central target-setting, decentralised implementation, and structured cooperation aligns with existing Dutch administrative practices but requires further concretisation. In particular, this concerns strengthening the link between objectives and implementation, and more explicitly allocating responsibilities across governance levels.

Bibliography

Aarhus University, Faculty of Technical Sciences. n.d. Green Tripartite Dialogue as a Driver of Europe's Agricultural Transition. Consulted 5 June 2026. <https://tech.au.dk/en/about-the-faculty/news/show/artikel/green-tripartite-dialogue-as-a-driver-of-europes-agricultural-transition>.

Bretner, Marie-Louise. Kommunernes Landsforening. Interview by author. Copenhagen, Denmark. 23 February 2026.

Climate Policy Radar. n.d. The Climate Act (Denmark). Climate Change Laws of the World. Consulted 29 June 2026. https://climate-laws.org/document/the-climate-act_dae7.

Danmarks Radio (DR). n.d. Fiskene forsvinder: Biologer optog 70 timers undervandsvideo – og fandt én fladfisk. Consulted 29 June 2026. <https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/indland/fiskene-forsvinder-biologer-optog-70-timers-undervandsvideo-og-fandt-en-fladfisk>.

Drevsfeldt Nielsen, Emil. Industrial Policy Director van Dansk Metal. Interview by author. Copenhagen, Denmark. 20 February 2026.

Højte, Simone. Minter, Michael. Hasforth, Torsten. Concito.. Interview by author. Copenhagen, Denmark. 24 February 2026.

Københavns Universitet, FAOS. n.d. Trepårtssamarbejde. FAOS – Arbejdsmarkedets begreber. Consulted 1 June 2026. <https://faos.ku.dk/arbejdsmarkedets-begreber/trepartssamarbejde>.

LBB Online. n.d. Greenpeace Invited Denmark to Bury a Dead Fjord to Save Its Life. Consulted 3 June 2026. <https://lbbonline.com/news/greenpeace-invited-denmark-to-bury-a-dead-fjord-to-save-its-life>.

NOS. 2026. Kabinet komt met ingrijpende stikstofplannen, onder meer zones rond natuurgebieden ('Cabinet unveils sweeping nitrogen plans, including zones around nature reserves'). NOS Nieuws, 16 June 2026. <https://nos.nl/artikel/2618868-kabinet-komt-met-ingrijpende-stikstofplannen-onder-meer-zones-rond-natuurgebieden>.

Sander Poulsen, Emma. Danmarks Naturfrednings Forening. Interview by author. Copenhagen, Denmark. 23 February 2026.

Schourup-Kristensen, Vibe. Larsen, Janus. Maar, Marie. "Drivers of hypoxia variability in a shallow and eutrophicated semi-enclosed fjord." Marine Pollution Bulletin 188 (2023). <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.marpolbul.2023.114621>.

Strandbygaard, Mikael. Danish Agriculture and Food Council. Interview by author. Copenhagen, Denmark. 24 February 2026.

Waalberg, Michael. Municipality of Kerteminde. Interview by author. Online. 24 February 2026.

World Bank. Agriculture, forestry, and fishing, value added (% of GDP). World Development Indicators. Consulted 15 May 2026.



https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NV.AGR.TOTL.ZS?end=2024&locations=DK-NL&name_desc=false&start=1995.