

Danish Women in the Trade Union Movement

- equal pay, careers and shop steward training



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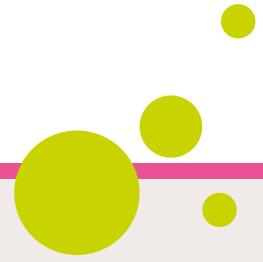
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Preface

FIU-Equality is a partnership between three trade unions: 3F (The United Federation of Danish Workers), HK (The Union of Commercial and Clerical Employees in Denmark) and Dansk Metal (The Danish Metalworkers' Union). Since 2005, on behalf of LO (the Danish Confederation of Trade Unions), FIU-Equality has provided internal interdisciplinary training courses for LO members. FIU-Equality is thereby a centre of excellence for trade union courses and activities relating to gender equality and diversity for elected shop stewards of both sexes. See more about these activities at <http://fiu-ligestilling.dk>

The partnership for FIU-Equality, June 2014



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The Nordic countries, trade unions and gender

In many ways, the position of women in the Nordic countries is comparable, as these countries' economy, politics and culture have always been closely linked – this includes the women's and trade union movements. We have a number of similarities, but also differences that can inspire us to develop the Nordic women's and equality efforts in new directions. In the following section, we will briefly summarise a number of similarities in the societal and labour market structures of the Nordic countries.

Common traits of the Nordic countries

The Nordic countries share a number of historical and current traits in terms of societal development, the labour market, gender and family. For example:

- Almost equal participation of women and men in the labour market.
- Women comprise around half or more of the trade unions' total membership.
- High union membership for both sexes – on average, women have a higher rate of membership than men.
- The collective agreements between employers' associations and unions set the framework for pay and working conditions.
- Generally high rates of coverage by collective agreements and an extensive shop steward system.
- Unemployment insurance systems in these countries administrate state-approved unemployment insurance funds, which function as organisational units in the trade unions (except in Norway, where the municipalities are responsible for unemployment insurance).
- Active labour market policy.



- Building and maintenance of the Nordic welfare states, where the trade unions participate in the preparation of legislation and are represented in public councils, commissions, committees and working groups (we have legislation on equal representation of women and men in this public sector work).
- Extensive legislation on equality between the sexes.
- Welfare states that use various means to ensure that citizens do not completely fall out of society.
- Strong parental leave rules for working mothers – and, to a lesser degree, for working fathers.
- A free education system from primary school to the highest level of the universities.
- Continuing education programmes for adults – including the various systems agreed between the labour market's parties and systems instituted by law – with various forms of funding and different types of user fees.
- Childcare services for young children until they reach school age, with varying levels of fees paid by parents.
- General state pension and old age benefits.
- High tax burden.

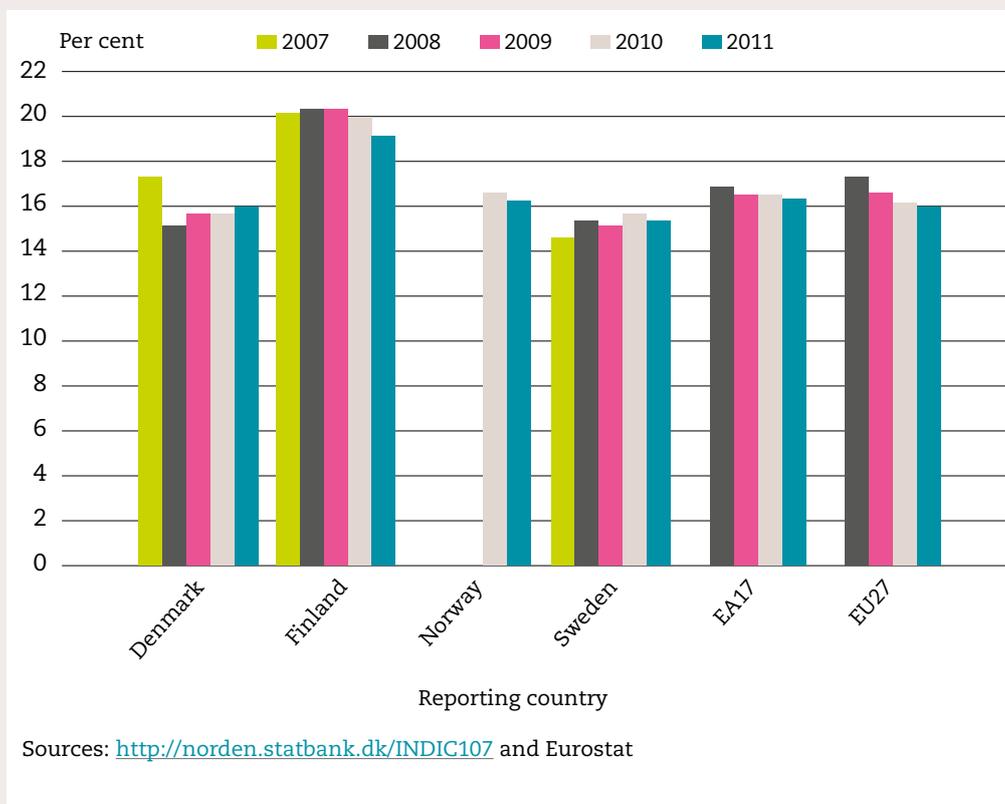
Growing inequality in the Nordic countries

Another similarity between the Nordic countries is inequality between the sexes.

In the Nordic countries, we have unequal pay based on gender differences, i.e. the average pay for women is lower than for men. The pay gap in 2011 in the Nordic countries ranged from 15 to 19 percentage points. In Denmark, Norway and Sweden, the average gross hourly earnings of female employees is 15 to 16 percentage points lower than that of their male counterparts – the same level as in the EU as a whole. In Finland, the difference is 19 percentage points.



Figure 1: The unadjusted Gender Pay Gap represents the difference between average gross hourly earnings of male paid employees and of female paid employees as a percentage of average gross hourly earnings of male paid employees.



(Source: <http://www.norden.org/en/nordic-council-of-ministers/ministers-for-co-operation-mr-sam/sustainable-development/indicators-for-sustainable-development-1/the-nordic-welfare-model/gender-pay-gap>)

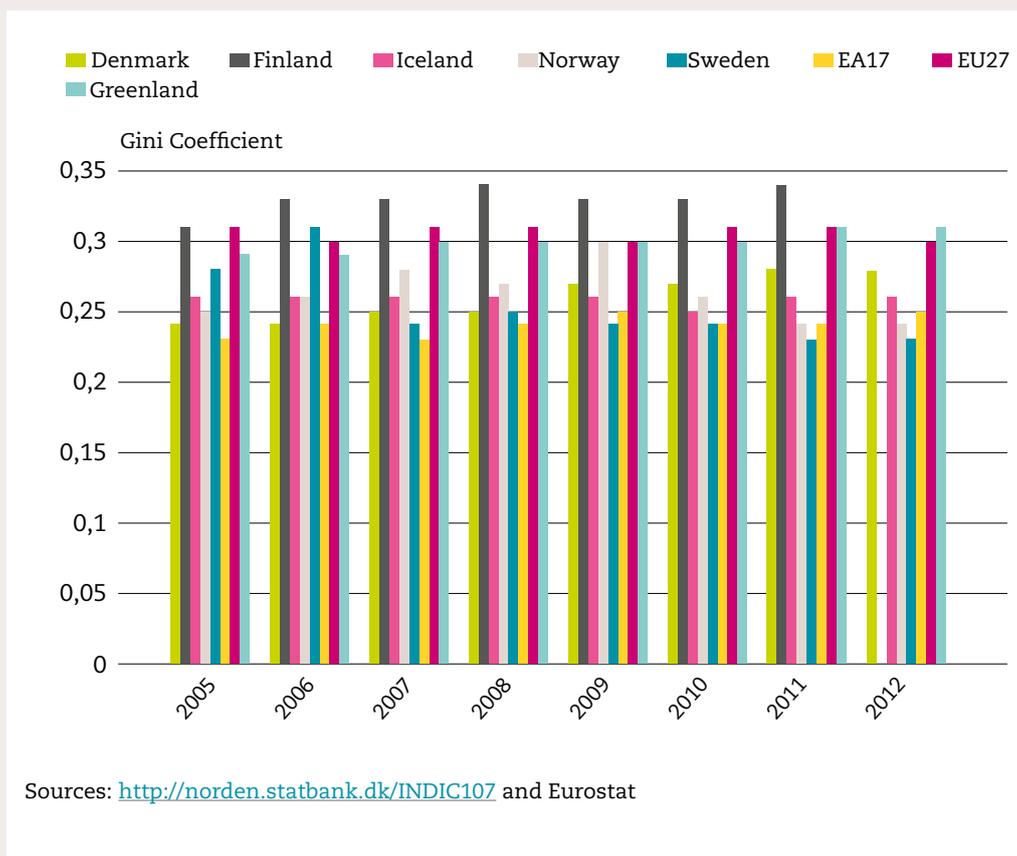
A disappointing statistic shows that the pay gap has grown in Denmark from 2010 to 2011, while shrinking in the other Nordic countries and the EU during the same period. Figure 1 shows the evolution of the pay gap in the Nordic countries from 2007 to 2011.

Using the Gini coefficient, Figure 2 shows that income inequality has grown in Denmark, Sweden and Finland in the period 2005-2012. The



first bar from the left (light green) for every year indicates Denmark's coefficient. The higher the bars, the greater the inequality. (Denmark has gone from 0.24 in 2005 to 0.28 in 2012.)

Figure 2: The Gini-coefficient is the most commonly used measure of inequality. The coefficient varies between 0, which reflects complete equality (when everybody have identical incomes) and 1, which indicates complete inequality (i.e. one person has all the income or consumption, all others have none).



All of the Nordic countries are considered very equal societies. But inequality grew from 2010 to 2011 in Denmark, Finland and Sweden. This trend is also seen in the rest of Europe.

(Source: <http://www.norden.org/en/nordic-council-of-ministers/ministers-for-co-operation-mr-sam/sustainable-development/indicators-for-sustainable-development-1/the-nordic-welfare-model/gini-coefficient>)



Other indicators measure the share of people at risk of economic poverty. Economic poverty is a key issue in connection with social inclusion. People are considered subject to poverty if their equated disposable income is below the official poverty line, which in the EU is defined as 60 percent of the median income in the country, including social benefits (e.g. family cheque, reduced day care fees, housing subsidy, etc.).

In the Nordic countries, single providers (the majority of whom are single mothers) are at greater risk of poverty than couples with children. In Sweden, single providers were at greatest risk of poverty in 2011, compared to the Nordic countries and all 27 EU countries.

Although there is inequality between the sexes in the Nordic countries, they all have a higher GDP (Gross Domestic Product) per capita than the EU average. Norway's GDP per capita is more than twice the average for all 27 EU countries. Norway (which has significant oil revenue) tops the Nordic countries, followed by Sweden and then Denmark. The GDP per capita grew in all countries from 1995 until 2009, when the global economic crisis caused declines in GDP across the board in all countries.

Women in the trade unions

Although trade union membership has generally been on the decline in the Nordic countries over the last decade (from a starting point of very high membership), the trend varies by gender: Male membership has declined by nearly 10 percentage points (but only 6 percentage points in Iceland), while female membership has declined by 3 to 4 percentage points in Denmark and Finland. Women's union membership has increased in Norway, while declining in Sweden.

But looking at the pattern over the last 50 years, women's trade union membership in the Nordic countries has grown, both in numbers and the overall rate of membership, as women spend their entire adult lives



in the official economy as labour market participants. Female members now account for 47 to 60 percent of membership in the Nordic countries' main umbrella organisations for trade unions. In Europe as a whole, women account for 30 to 62 percent of membership, with the highest rates in the Baltic countries. Of course, it should be noted that the crucial factor is the number of members and the rate of membership. We will also examine some figures regarding the latter.

All of the Nordic countries have a tradition of high rates of union membership among wage earners. This is illustrated in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Trade union membership rates in 2011 in the Nordic countries, by sex

Country	Women	Men	Total membership (percent)
Denmark	73.4	68.5	70.9
Sweden	74.0	69.0	71.5
Norway	60.0	55.0	57.5
Finland	77.0	69.0	73.0
Iceland	-	-	85.0
The Nordic countries, total	71.1% (not including Iceland)	65.4% (not including Iceland)	71.6%

(Source: Brief on women's membership in unions, by Anette Wolthers, 28.02.2013. This brief is based on multiple Nordic and international sources.)

Table 1 shows overall union membership in the Nordic countries at 71.6 percent, while women's average membership rate is at 71.1 percent (minus Iceland). In Denmark, Sweden, Finland and Norway, women's overall union membership rate is greater than that of men (Iceland only has statistics for the entire population).



The membership rate is lower in most countries outside of the Nordic countries – from about 8 percent in France to 27 percent in the UK and 54 percent in Belgium (the old industrial countries in Europe). However, the Nordic trend of higher union membership rates for women than for men is also evident in some other countries, including the UK, Ireland and Canada.

Women's higher trade union membership rates in the Nordic countries and some other countries may be due to one of the following factors:

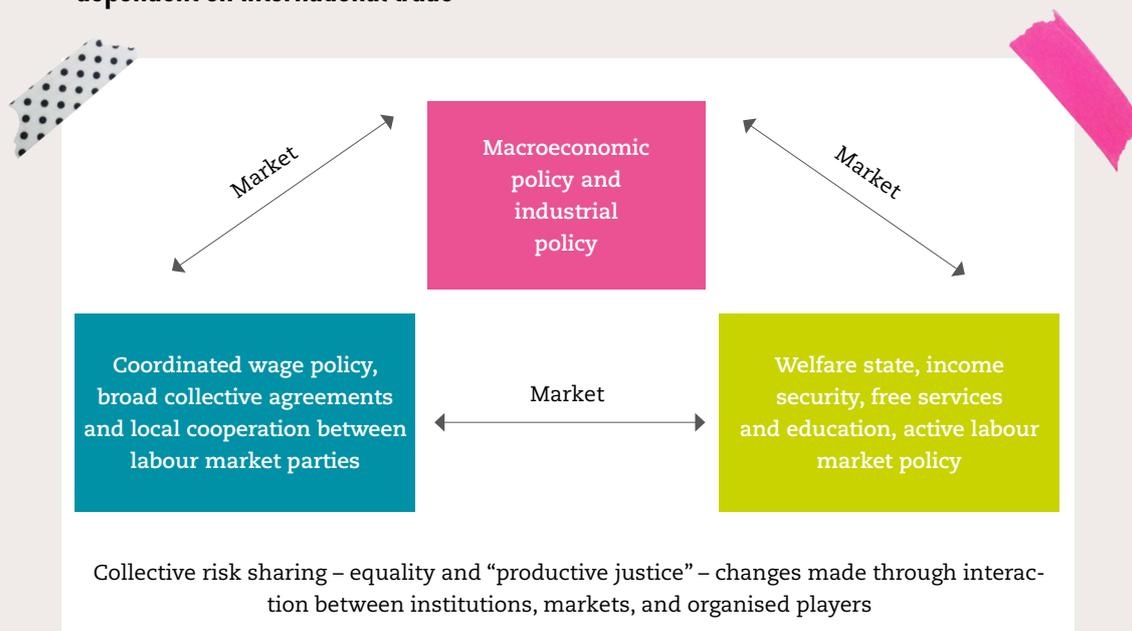
- The number of women in the official economy and thus their share of the workforce is growing.
- Growth in the number of women in the public sector, where unionisation and union activity have increased.
- A decline in unionisation in the industrial sector – production is moving away from the old industrial countries to new industrial countries (e.g. China or other parts of Asia). “Women’s industries” (e.g. textiles and clothing) made this move many years ago, so the relocation of “men’s industries” has made a bigger impact in recent years.

The pillars of the Nordic societies

The pillars of the Nordic tradition for cooperation and creation of balances of power between the state, organisations and market are illustrated in Figure 3. Here, all of the sectors' and market's successes and failures rest/rested on a collective sharing of gains and losses, as well as equality and “productive justice”. The pillars require strong “players” in order to regulate and influence market forces – or to “pick up” after them and compensate for their inexpedient effects.



Figure 3: The pillars of the traditional Nordic models – small, open economies, dependent on international trade



(Source: Figure 1 “Grunnpilarene i de tradisjonelle nordiske modellene”, p. 47, by Jon Erik Dølvik, Nordmod 2030, Fafo 2013 – text translated from Norwegian to Danish to English. Anette Wolthers)

In the Nordic countries, we have traditionally had strong and active states that seek social levelling through full employment, improvement of wage and working conditions for employees and better living conditions for citizens. We have also had a number of programmes in the welfare state to compensate for a partial or full loss of income. And, lastly, we have built regulated labour markets based on cooperation, negotiations and agreements between strong collective organisations – unions, employers’ associations and the state. The labour market’s parties also meet with each other in the process of preparing legislation on social development, in connection with negotiations on creation of value and productivity in the companies, and through organisations in the collegial system (e.g. councils and committees at national



and regional levels) in the efforts to administer an active labour market policy.

The Danish model

In addition to the Danish labour market's parties independently negotiating with each other and reaching collective agreements, they also meet in other forums where labour market policy is shaped, including councils, boards and committees, as well as in the process of preparing legislation. The forums in which the state meets with these parties is also called the "tripartite cooperation". Important elements of the Danish model:

- Collective agreements.
- A system of labour law that can address disputes.
- High degree of membership in the unions and among employers.
- The conclusion of general agreements that lay out long-term rules for the parties' conduct. These general agreements are found in both the public and private sectors. In the private sector, the most important general agreement exists between the Confederation of Danish Employers (DA) and the Danish Confederation of Trade Unions (LO) – this agreement is also referred to as "the labour market's constitution". This agreement was first signed in 1899 – and is rarely revised.

Shop stewards

A well-functioning shop steward system is a central part of the agreement system in the Danish model. The shop steward is elected by colleagues at the workplace. She/he must protect the interests of colleagues at the workplace and serve as the union's authorised local representative at the company. The company management can only interfere with the election of the shop steward if the collective agreement's rules on eligibility are violated. The shop steward's role is to collaborate with the management to ensure that the collective agreement is respected and upheld at the company, and to ensure that disputes



are resolved through the cooperation system. In recent years, the collective agreements have increasingly become framework agreements, giving shop stewards greater responsibility for supplementing these framework agreements with specific local agreements at the individual companies during the agreement period. The dismissal of a shop steward is only possible in the event of a “compelling reason”.



GITTE NORDBO KELLER, GITTE DAUSEL VINTER AND CONNIE BORKHARDT AT FIU-EQUALITY - TRAINING.

In many companies, the shop stewards are very actively involved in strategy development – both in connection with expansion and downsizing. They also collaborate with management to find solutions to everyday problems and challenges. The shop steward is – thanks to an extensive training system in the unions – often very well equipped for this task. In fact, one can say that the Danish shop steward might be the person in a company who is best trained to identify and solve the practical and personal issues that arise in daily work. The shop steward is also frequently the only person in the company (at least in smaller companies) who has complete knowledge of the collective agreements and other agreements, as well as legislation on employees’ rights. The talented and well-trained shop steward, a result of years of focus by the Danish unions, is crucial to the viability of the Danish model; by corraling support for the union at the workplace, the shop steward contributes to ensuring that the union remains a strong player.



The Danish word for shop steward, “*tillidsrepræsentant*” can be directly translated to “trust representative”. The word “*tillid*”/trust is also used as an umbrella word for all elected representatives in the unions who have a “*tillidshverv*” (i.e. “positions of trust”); this includes people elected at congresses and general annual meetings, and people elected by employees at the workplace, and comprises shop stewards, safety representatives, board members, executive committee members, presidents, vice presidents, etc.

Shifts in the Nordic model

In 1886, the Nordic social democracies and trade union confederations formed the cooperative organisation SAMAK (The Nordic Labour Movement’s Cooperation Committee). SAMAK remains active to this day, hosting Nordic labour congresses, developing common policies, etc. The organisation also launched the research project “Normod 2030” to analyse national and international development trends in the Nordic countries and to initiate a policy development to renew the Nordic model; the project will be completed in autumn 2014.

As previously mentioned, the common foundations and mechanisms are still present in the Nordic countries today. However, a more recent common trait is the increased liberalisation of the Nordic models. The increased influence of the market has weakened the bottom two boxes in Figure 3. A greater marketisation of society’s services can weaken collective risk sharing, equality and “productive justice”. Marketisation does not have built-in “justice”, as the guiding principles are: supply and demand, profit maximisation, short-term consumption of natural and human resources, and poor reproduction of the human race. In other words: a lack of social, human and environmental sustainability. Furthermore, marketisation makes an impact in the form of cutbacks, reduced quality and outsourcing in women’s largest labour market, the public sector. The detrimental effects on women are two-fold: their labour market is reduced, while they are assigned primary responsibil-



ity for the family's care tasks – tasks for which they receive diminished support from the public sector's services. In many countries outside the Nordic countries, mothers tend to these tasks with assistance from cheap foreign labourers who provide child/elderly care, clean and cook in homes.

If this analysis holds true – that the Nordic model has been weakened or challenged – we must ask ourselves how and where the active labour market and welfare policy is to be developed and discussed, and where responsibility is to be placed regarding women's situation in the labour market. Will women's needs and requirements fall through the cracks between national legislation, EU directives and EU regulations, and the negotiation system between the labour market's parties? Or will we in the Nordic countries continue fighting for our own welfare and equality models?

In any case, we can tentatively conclude that these shifts in the Nordic models will require even greater efforts by the unions for women and equality in the coming years. The unions are of great importance as a focal point for inspiring women's labour battles, solidarity between women and men, and, not least, the strategies for equality and welfare in the Nordic countries. This is not only true at the negotiating tables, but also in the unions' involvement in the formulation of laws, regulations and labour market policy – what we in Denmark call “tripartite work”.

Equality challenges facing the unions

A major paper entitled “Challenges for the Danish model” was adopted at the Danish Confederation of Trade Unions' 2011 congress. The following quote comes from this paper:

“Equality efforts are characterised by a particularly close cooperation between the cooperation and agreement models, the legislation model and the inter-



nationalisation model, as many legislative initiatives derive from issues that are initially addressed in the collective agreements but subsequently impacted by the EU through directives. The issue of equal pay provides an example of this. (...) Despite these efforts, a pay gap of 20 percent remains between men and women (all employees, all sectors), which can be explained in part by the fact that public sector wages have lagged behind since 1975 compared to the private sector. Half of women in the Danish labour market are employed in the public sector, while the corresponding figure for men is only approximately one-fifth. (...) More decentralised wage setting (...) is presumed to push this trend in the wrong direction, as individual wage setting typically ends in favour of men.” (p. 60)

In the autumn of 2013, two Danish trade union confederation leaders, Harald Børsting, president of the Danish Confederation of Trade Unions, LO, and Bente Sorgenfrey, president of the Confederation of Professionals in Denmark, FTF, published a document sparking a new debate: “Challenges for the trade unions heading towards 2020”. This debate will continue until next year in the respective organisations, the results of which will be summarised at the organisations’ congresses in 2015. In this document, they write:

“The Nordic welfare systems are also known for being focused on more equality than in most other countries. It is essential that this development does not become stagnant, but that new methods continue to be developed (e.g. providing transparency in pay systems), thereby ensuring that the unions continue making a contribution to greater equality.”



HARALD BØRSTING



BENTE SORGENFREY



Equality work in the Danish Confederation of Trade Unions, LO

Over the past 20 years, the Danish Confederation of Trade Unions (LO) has conducted creative and ongoing equality work, including courses, teaching and innovation of perspectives on equality between the sexes and between the diversity of people in society, in educational institutions and in the labour market.

This development accelerated after an LO assembly of representatives meeting in 1992, at which it was decided that FIU should develop a range of activities for elected representatives to support the equality policy goals. FIU developed a number of initiatives on gender and gender equality, while inviting gender scholars and experts to participate in the process for the first time. In 1999 and again in 2003, the congress decided to systematise its efforts through various initiatives. LO's instruments – the Equality Policy Committee and the FIU system (the unions' internal training courses) – became the two frameworks for these efforts (see Appendix).



Today, LO's total FIU system is headed by Vice President Lizette Risgaard, who is also chair of LO's Equality Policy Committee. This committee works to ensure that LO member unions are updated on issues regarding gender in the unions by initiating studies, preparing reports, and conducting conferences on equality.



Since 2005, LO has delegated training activities on equality and diversity to three member unions: 3F (The United Federation of Danish Workers), HK (The Union of Commercial and Clerical Employees in Denmark) and the Dansk Metal (The Danish Metalworkers' Union). These three unions have formed the partnership for FIU-Equality, which is directed by vice president of 3F Jane Korczak, president of Dansk Metal Claus Jensen, and vice president of HK Mette Kindberg. The partnership provides relevant, dynamic development and support for efforts relating to gender and diversity issues; the partnership develops, offers and conducts equality activities in training courses, etc. The partnership has expanded its activities. See more about FIU-Equality's work in the next chapter.



JANE KORCZAK

CLAUS JENSEN

METTE KINDBERG



FIU-Equality

Equality efforts were systematised after a meeting of the LO assembly of representatives in 1992, where the FIU centre was charged with developing activities for elected representatives to promote equal pay and awareness of the cooperation agreement's opportunities for putting equality on the agenda. As it was new to work professionally on equality, a key task was to provide training to the FIU teachers. To break with preconceptions and routine, gender scholars were brought in to conduct the training, which was quite unconventional at the time in FIU. Many teachers and elected representatives participated in the activities, which grew steadily in scope from year to year.

After the LO congress in 1999, a strategy for equality efforts was drawn up, which included a focus on women's representation and training for women as the most prominent element. This work was financed by LO's FIU funds (see Appendix) and confirmed at the 2003 LO congress:

"LO and the unions shall, under the auspices of FIU, continue and further develop the competence boost (regarding gender and gender mainstreaming) and leader training for women." (from section 6 of the adopted Congress statement)

LO was then headed by president Hans Jensen and vice president Tine Aurvig-Huggenberger (former Brøndum) 1996-2007. The FIU effort was headed at the time by Harald Børsting, who in 2003 joined the LO leadership as secretary. To lead equality work within FIU, a FIU committee was appointed under the leadership of then vice president of LO.



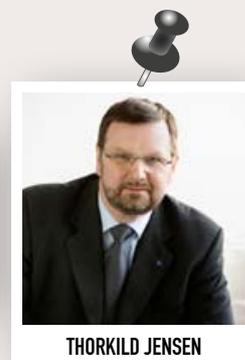


LO consultant Susanne Fast Jensen was appointed coordinator of the FIU activities for women under LO auspices; these activities were subsequently headquartered at the former Esbjerg Folk Highschool (1910-2011). An Equality Secretariat, headed by Susanne, was established at the headquarters.



The partnership

In 2005, LO delegated its cross-disciplinary FIU activities relating to gender to three unions, and restructured this work under a new organisational model called FIU-Equality. In October 2005, an agreement was signed regarding the activities to be developed and carried out by the partnership. The partnership's secretariat was placed in Dansk Metal, based in part on the strong support of then union president Thorkild Jensen, 2003-2012.





FIU-Equality became a partnership between three (and, for a time, four) LO unions: Dansk Metal, HK, the Danish Union of Electricians and 3F. (The Danish Union of Electricians withdrew from the partnership at the end of 2011, bringing the partnership back to its three original members.) Today, the political heads of the FIU-Equality partnership are: Vice President Mette Kindberg, HK, President Claus Jensen, Dansk Metal, and Vice President Jane Korczak, 3F.

The day-to-day management and coordination is carried out by the coordination group, which is responsible for the administrative management, formulation of courses, activities and projects: Susanne Fast Jensen, 3F, Anne-Lise Nyegaard, Dansk Metal, Susan Hedlund, HK and Pia Haandbæk, Dansk Metal. In addition, Kristine Esrom Raunkjær is currently also a member of the project team.



“Naturally”

As training and courses on equality are prioritised as a special component of the FIU activities, a catalogue called “Naturally” was published annually to give LO’s elected representatives an overview of the courses offered. In the preface to the 2005 catalogue, Harald Børsting writes:

“The gender distribution in FIU’s equality courses is skewed. Approximately 15 percent of the participants are men. We are not very happy with this fact. We



would like to see that large parts of FIU's equality efforts can accommodate both sexes. (...) it must be possible for feminists and male chauvinists, young and old, women and men, enthusiasts and the unmotivated, slow and smart, academics and unskilled workers, elected and employed, experts and 'novices' to be challenged and learn more about how gender and equality can be incorporated into the daily work for change."

This reflected a strong desire that FIU's equality activities function in relation to virtually all target groups in LO, at all levels of expertise and commitment.

Following the 2005 founding of the new partnership for FIU-Equality by HK, 3F and Dansk Metal, the tradition of publishing the "Naturally" course and activity catalogue continued as before. These catalogues are found at the website <http://fiu-ligestilling.dk>; the catalogue's scope has grown over the years, particularly after the integration and diversity efforts were added to supplement the gender efforts. (See Attachment 1 with course titles from "Naturally", 2007-2014.) During the year, FIU-Equality often offers additional activities and courses if current issues of interest or needs arise.

The new partnership was tasked with developing equality courses within the FIU framework for all women and men. Equality was thereby positioned as an area of work in the unions with a status equal to other areas of work, rather than merely a forum for gathering like-minded members.

The partnership thus faced the challenge and responsibility of ensuring higher participation by men in the courses. This was not just a desire, but a success criterion that was measured (see the section on training days and participation figures). Later, the target group for



FIU-Equality's activities shifted from all members to shop stewards. Unions and locals, which must pay the course fees for participating members, experienced declining revenues as union membership declined.

Extracts from the prefaces to “Naturally”

The following section presents a few excerpts from prefaces to the annual course catalogue, “Naturally”. The preparation of courses and activities by FIU-Equality takes place in cooperation and dialogue with LO's leadership, society as a whole – including the situation for both union members and workers in general – and the expectations of incumbent governments.

The following comes from the preface to the 2007 edition of “Naturally”:

“‘Naturally’ is a supplement to the ordinary course calendar from FIU. (...) In 2006, FIU's equality activities were placed in a new organisational structure; the developmental and organisational responsibility has been delegated from the FIU working group to a partnership between HK, Dansk Metal and 3F. As a result, the scope of these activities increased significantly in 2006. This has also led to many more men participating in equality courses/conferences – an increase of more than 100 percent. (...) This year, we are intensifying our focus on discrimination based on sexual orientation at the workplace. Two courses will be held exclusively for men, addressing the modern man's role in an equal society. As usual, these activities will provide high quality experiences and learning. The aim is to transform new knowledge, new political possibilities and research into specific courses of action for shop stewards at the workplace, as well as for elected representatives and those employed in the unions.”

“Naturally” 2008:

“(...) and there are naturally both new offerings and old favourites. “Naturally” is a collection of cross-disciplinary courses specially focused on equality. Equality between women and men is an ever-present element of union efforts – in relation to working environment, pay, cooperation, management, organisational work, restructuring, division of labour, integration, representation, personnel



policies, collective agreements, apprentice/trainee work, training programmes ... we could go on. Therefore, the courses offered are also diverse.”

“Naturally” 2009:

“We hope that you will find a course that makes sense for you and your union-related work.”

“Naturally” 2010:

“Last year, more than 1,000 participants attended an FIU-Equality course, proving that many people in the unions care about equality, including more and more men attending these courses. Currently, more than one-third of the participants are men. (...) Modern and younger elected male representatives gladly participate in courses where equality is a fundamental value for the development of quality in union efforts.”

“Naturally” 2011:

*“It appears that men’s equality challenges have grown. We have **naturally** addressed this situation. Unequal pay has not improved, but our options have, hopefully. The ‘Equal Pay Board’ came into the Danish language in connection with the spring 2010 collective agreement negotiations. We must train ourselves to use it. There are also activities dealing with anti-discrimination, including preventing domestic violence through policies and activities to break taboos at the workplace.”*

“Naturally” 2012:

We have previously focused especially on equality between men and women, but this year we are focusing on ethnic equality. We are happy that we can work broadly for equality, as most discrimination mechanisms are the same, whether they are based on gender, ethnicity, religion, disability or sexuality.”

“Naturally” 2013:

“Under the previous Liberal-Conservative governments (2001-2011), many in Denmark had a belief that we had already achieved ‘equality’. By this think-



ing, women and ethnic minorities just needed to get their act together. For more than 100 years, we in the unions have learned that it's not just a matter of 'someone just getting it together and finding better pay and working conditions'. We know that only together can we create new structures, new guidelines, new frameworks and new opportunities for more just working conditions in which people thrive. (...) Fortunately, the current government is more proactive regarding equality and we in the unions intend to be a more active partner."

"Naturally" 2014:

"As you can see, 'Naturally' has shrunk in size. This is due to the leaner resources in the unions and not because we have made great strides towards equality. Unfortunately, we see that many – even in the government (a Social Democratic-led government) – are of the belief that 'equality comes by itself' or that 'equality must wait because something is more important right now'. In the unions' equality efforts, we have known since the 70s that equality efforts could not wait until all the 'important' things are taken care of. Because that day will never come, and if equality had to wait, no progress would ever be made! As with other political focus areas, it is necessary to work with structure, culture and new knowledge. There are plenty of challenges: Unequal pay, representation (few women in leading positions in the unions), inequality in health and parental leave, gender-based violence and harassment, division of labour between the sexes and inappropriate stereotypical views that put men, women and minorities in boxes."

Participant figures and gender in FIU

The FIU-Equality partnership is tasked with offering courses, training and activities relating to gender and diversity for a range of different target groups. FIU-Equality applies for funding for various projects from the cross-disciplinary FIU funds allocated to finance FIU's development activities. In 2012, FIU-Equality was granted 25 percent of the total development funds. (The remaining funds were allocated to the LO school/Cefal, FIU-IT, the Workers' Educational Association (AOF) and



to the production of teaching materials.) FIU-Equality's specific area of responsibility is cross-disciplinary courses and activities relating to gender and diversity.

In 2002, women passed men in the participant figures for FIU courses, accounting for 52 percent of all course participants that year. (In comparison, women accounted for 47 percent of all participants in 1987). In 2012, more than half of all participants at all FIU courses were women. This applies for the union-specific courses as well as those offered for all LO member unions.

FIU-Equality: Training days and participant figures

The partnership for FIU-Equality's activities is measured on a range of parameters each year. These parameters include training weeks and the number of participating women and men, calculated by their CPR (Civil Registration System) numbers. The figures from 2004 provide the benchmark for measuring the work by the partnership for equality between 3F, HK and Dansk Metal.

The total number of training days per year offered by the partnership increased from 2004 until 2011: from 2,210 training days in 2004 to 6,148 training days in 2011. But in 2012, the number of training days declined to 4,529 and in 2013 the figure was 3,847. The main reason was the lack of resources from locals and unions to cover participants' course fees at FIU-Equality courses. (There were also many cutbacks in LO in response to declining membership.)



Table 2: Gender distribution among participants in FIU-Equality courses and activities, 2004–2014, January 2014

	2004 Benchmark	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014 Incom- plete	2006- 2013
Women Total	395	406	597	706	609	644	700	426	421	171	4,509
Women %	89	69	73	70	66	64	60	61	65	57	66%
Men Total	53	186	221	299	319	370	461	275	235	130	2,366
Men %	11	31	27	30	34	36	40	39	35	43	34%
Total	448	592	818	1,005	928	1,014	1,161	701	656	301	6,875

(Notes and source: The participant figures are calculated on the basis of CPR numbers. The count of CPR numbers does not indicate anything about how many courses or training days the given person participated in during that year. The preliminary figures for 2014 are for those registered (not actual participants) as of January 2014. The figures from 2004 provided the benchmark, taken before the FIU-Equality partnership was delegated its tasks in 2006. Source: Statistics for participants (registered and completed) by sex, 30 January 2014, FIU-Equality. Table and calculations based on the source by Anette Wolthers.)

As shown in Table 2, the gender distribution in 2004 was that women accounted for 89 percent and men 11 percent of all participants (measured by CPR number). In 2014, women account for 57 percent and men 43 percent (of the CPR numbers registered as of January 2014). Thus, FIU-Equality has developed its target group from primarily comprising female members 10 years ago to now including a sizable group of male participants – an achievement in line with LO’s stated goals. The gender distribution in courses and training has become more equal, as FIU-Equality has done a lot to offer courses tailored to men. Since the FIU-Equality partnership assumed responsibility for courses and activities, 6,875 CPR numbers have participated from 2006 to the end of 2013. Of these, there were 4,509 female and 2,366 male CPR numbers.



This represents an average of 66 percent female CPR numbers and 34 percent male CPR numbers over the period. (CPR numbers can appear repeatedly over the years, but are only counted once within the same year.)

The role of the FIU-Equality partnership

FIU-Equality's annual course catalogue, "Naturally" represents a long period during which LO's equality work in the form of training and activities has been prioritised. This long period of dynamic activity is unprecedented for Danish equality efforts, and unprecedented for the unions, seen from a historic perspective, in terms of the length and intensity of this commitment and the courses offered to both sexes.

In the past and to the present day, Danish equality work in organisations, institutions and public authorities has typically comprised an equality committee or equality consultant for a few years before being phased out. A range of reasons can explain the phasing out of equality efforts after a period of time. The main reason for stopping equality efforts is a lack of support from management and negative views in the management. Although managements have often been presented with the positive impact of leadership courses or leader training courses reserved for women, e.g. to address a lack of female representation, they may not have found it expedient to give women their own space



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in the organisation. If management support is lacking, members or employees – including women – become uncertain about the legitimacy of the equality activities and begin to vote with their feet to avoid being lumped with an undesirable category: those without influence and power.

The support base (HK, 3F and Dansk Metal), gives FIU-Equality support and resources for its activities and, as mentioned, is allocated funding from LO's FIU funds for the development of new programmes. The partnership has also shown great dedication, imagination and creativity in carrying out its work. This includes equality platforms and their positioning, working methods in training and courses, and clarity in relation to the target groups.

The most important target group for FIU-Equality is shop stewards and working environment representatives. FIU-Equality hereby contributes to strengthening the strategic role of elected union representatives in the Danish model. Many have gained inspiration for their work as shop stewards at their workplace or in their union local.

For almost 10 years, FIU-Equality has not only created a forum, but many forums for equality, where women can meet with women, men can meet with men, and where the sexes meet each other in joint discussions.

In the next chapter, we examine experiences from, and the impact of, FIU-Equality programmes and activities for women and for the unions' overall work in recent years.



FIU-Equality – Experiences and effects for women

Leader training courses for women

Following the 1999 process in LO on better representation of women in the unions and LO, a number of training courses exclusively for women were planned in 2001 under the auspices of FIU. These training courses all had the primary objective of motivating and boosting the competencies of active female union members in order to support the development of their professional careers in the unions. These courses were structured as two-year programmes with 12 to 16 seminars. Most of the seminars were three days long, but there were also two study trips or educational trips during the programme, as well as instruction and cooperation with an educational institution on a formal qualification process, expressed in ECTS points (European Credit Transfer System – an EU-developed merit transfer system for higher education programmes in Denmark and abroad), if participants also passed the course exam. The initial years of work with these programmes were of great importance, as experiences gathered during this time inspired FIU-Equality's future leadership training programmes for women (and subsequently also for men).

These training programmes for women were first organised through an FIU secretariat in LO. In October 2005, these activities were transferred to the partnership between HK, 3F and Dansk Metal, under the name FIU-Equality.

Starlet, Victoria and the “Nynnes”

Starlet, a programme for younger women from 2001 to 2003, was an experimental project with many elements that were incorporated into subsequent leader training courses. This pilot project sought to do it all – there were study trips, mentor programmes, childcare options and



great ambitions – and 19 young women who ventured far and wide afterwards: They enrolled in new training programmes, took positions with greater responsibility at their workplaces, and became union secretaries or consultants. Experiences from this project also showed that overseeing such a long and complicated programme is a major task. In subsequent projects, the roles of coordinators and course managers were professionalised – not just in educational terms, but also in terms of women’s and equality policies.

Two projects followed Starlet: Victoria (Victoria = “Victory”) in 2002-2003 and the “Nynnes” (named after Nynne Koch (1915-2001) who in 1979 founded KVINFO, the Danish Centre for Information on Gender, Equality and Diversity). These two projects were not only for young women, but for active female union members of all ages seeking a career in the union system. As a result, the age distribution was quite broad in these projects, often providing advantages in relation to sharing experiences and the spirit of “folk high school” this gave the courses.

Preferably women-only courses + supplement

Reports from these projects repeatedly showed that the participants were happy to participate in women-only courses. Here are some of the reflections from participants in the Victoria project:

“We wouldn’t recommend making the course gender-mixed (...) so many participants have enjoyed the space provided by being all women. There was no need to constantly start over and defend all of the advances already achieved (...) but gender-mixed courses should supplement the women-only courses, not replace them. For many years, the unions’ women have not gotten their piece of the educational pie in FIU. Now that they have finally received a small gesture, it shouldn’t be immediately shared with the gender that has long received the majority.” (Torp, et al 2004, pp. 42-43). When this text was written, women accounted for 48 percent of LO members, 34 percent of shop stewards, and 17 percent of union local presidents in the member unions.



Victoria also recommended that the individual unions should prioritise the long leader training courses for women by identifying and referring suitable women for these programmes. After completing the programme, the women's competencies should be made visible in the organisation, e.g. with a database of former participants. By identifying competent women and encouraging them to participate, they will be able to play a role in LO's gender mainstreaming of its organisation. Participants in the "Nynnes" made similar suggestions:

"Long courses of high quality should continue to be offered for active women (...) These courses should maintain the option of taking a qualifying module (...) the study trips should be maintained. They provide great opportunities for learning and put the international perspective on the agenda."

(Tanggaard Andersen 2005, p.6-7).

The spaces for development

These reports and accounts from Starlet, Victoria and the "Nynnes" reflect attitudes of courage, high spirits and fearlessness. In their learning processes, the participants were able to consistently take the perspective of women when working with issues and processes in the courses, without having to consider compromises for the sake of men and their potential reactions, feelings and thoughts.

From the beginning, the learning processes were a combination of the individual and the collective, as the courses included presentations by the participants, group reflections, testing of actions outside the classroom and a common desire to develop the world and make it more equal. Furthermore, there was strong incitement to try something new, even though it might seem risky, difficult or unattainable; the feeling after taking such a leap is great and indescribably wonderful for the woman who has taken it.

It also became clear that good and professional course management was necessary to realise the participants' personal potential, while cre-



ating an open and warm atmosphere in the course teams. This course management was also able to maintain extensive personal contact with the participants in the form of guidance and encouragement to take new steps.

These courses have fostered, developed and inspired a power to fight – for the benefit of the unions, their values and key priorities – as expressed in the slogan:

“Better a bitch than a chicken”, which is also the title of the “Nynnes” final report.

Feminist Leadership, FL

Yet another leader training course for women was unveiled in 2001: Feminist Leadership, FL. (Regarding the word “feminism”: it was a positive word at the time in LO, as then confederation president Hans Jensen declared himself to be a feminist and viewed the feminist perspective as essential for the unions.) The FL network was an idea from 2000, when Tine Aurvig-Brøndum (later Huggenberger), Susanne Fast Jensen and Marianne Jessing invited participants on a journey of discovery in gender-conscious leadership. (Other people behind the initiative included: Inga Christensen, NNF, Vibeke Ejlertsen, HK, Hanne Christensen, FOA, Marianne Bruun, KAD, Annelise Rasmussen and Steen Larsen, SID, Winnie Nielsen, TKF, Karin Søjberg Holst, Dansk Metal, Thorkild Yde, TIB and Jens Henning Ravnsmed, STK.)

FL was also an initiative in LO’s strategy to achieve more equal gender representation. The programme exists to this day. Instead of a pre-determined course with compulsory attendance and a set group of students, FL functions more as a network. The programme is tailored to the target group’s ability to gain inspiration and participate, even though they may not be able to attend every time. The target group is women who already have high positions of responsibility in the unions. The programme comprises a number of meetings on various themes



and a study trip. Over the years, a number of retreat courses have been incorporated into the programme. A host is appointed for each course to lead the meetings, make arrangements, find locations, etc.

The invitation to the programme in 2012 read:

“FL is first and foremost a network of women who wish to lead and develop on the basis of knowledge about gender and equality – and who wish to work with a gender perspective in their own leadership or consulting. FL’s target group is women who work in confederations, unions or other institutions/companies, i.e. female leaders, consultants, presidents, vice presidents, union secretaries, etc. The intention is to use the time effectively, i.e. we will meet shortly after work, gain knowledge and still make it home with a little time for an evening off. (The meeting times for FL meetings are from 4pm - 9pm). As a participant in FL, it is necessary to actively participate and gain new knowledge and insight regarding the importance of gender in relation to many different situations where gender and power are in play. With FL, you get a network of women who are interesting, challenging and generous. The network typically comprises women on the way towards new challenges. (...) Once you’ve put on the gender glasses, you can’t get take them off again (former participant) – FL stimulates curiosity about gender, power and equality. Together with other women, we explore the day’s theme, listen to talks, exchange personal experiences, learn about the given theme, hear shocking stories and laugh together.” (From the 2012 FL programme.)

The 2014 programme focuses on “Female formation of public opinion” and this year is a collaboration between FIU-Equality and the think tank CEVEA (which writes the following about itself: “Cevea is an independent centre-left think tank that aims to develop ideas to promote a society based on freedom, equality and community.”). The programme examines “the production of the power to define” in society and how union women can make their voices heard. There is also a study trip to Tunis to exchange experiences with women in the Tunisian unions. (See Attachment 2 on the general topics of the FL courses)



FLUK and FLUKmk

The first leader training courses (version 1.0) for women were further developed and in 2004 they were systematised as a single training programme called **Union leader training for Women (with the Danish acronym FLUK)**.

The FLUK programmes for women (version 2.0) began in 2004.

The programmes were called: FLUK1, FLUK2, FLUK3, etc. In 2007, the programme expanded to include courses for both men and women. These courses were called **Union leader training for Women - m/f (with the Danish acronym FLUKmk)**.

Thus, the following parallel courses were added: FLUKmk1, FLUKmk2, FLUKmk3, etc. These FLUKmk courses were thus version 3.0.

The objectives of the leader training courses version 1.0 and 2.0 were primarily to produce candidates to become talented female leaders in the LO unions, as women were lacking at virtually all levels of leadership.

The objectives of version 3.0 – when men also joined the FLUK courses – were also to train good leaders, debate gender equality and implement equality efforts as an important joint task for women and men.



FLUK COURSE IN THE DANISH METALWORKER'S UNION



FLUK1 AT LO'S HEAD OFFICE



Content of the FLUK and FLUKmk programmes

The content and methods of the FLUK programmes had now been established in a framework: a two-year training programme, 12 seminars, of which one of the first was to Greenland, where participants could explore everything they found of interest in Greenland – history, labour market, relationships in the Danish commonwealth, multiculturalism, indigenous peoples and indigenous civilisation, society, nature, gender and culture, etc. On the trip to Greenland, the groundwork was also laid for personal plans and the leadership themes each person would later work with. The course teams also established the rules and methods that would apply for the work and collaborative processes throughout the programme. In the last half of the programme, participants planned a study trip by examining what was to be found on gender, labour markets and discrimination in places such as Tanzania, Sri Lanka, Madrid, New York, Ghana, etc. – and which international conventions and cooperation forums make a difference for workers around the world. The last intensive seminars were devoted to writing and oral presentations of the self-selected examination assignment on leadership in practice.

In summary, the content of FLUK is illustrated in Figure 4, which compiles the main content into theme categories that were then also combined with each other.



Figure 4: Content of the FLUK and FLUKmk programmes



In the following, we will describe a few of the elements of the FLUK programmes.

Personal development and the others

The FLUK programmes developed a clearer profile as gender-conscious leader training courses. This added a unique twist to personal development work: understanding oneself and one's view of people (the others – irrespective of people's sex and their gender identities). The act of leading, whether as shop steward or another elected position in one's union, requires the ability to achieve results through appropriate processes with other people. To do this, one must understand oneself, one's beliefs, preferences and behaviour – and get help with seeing oneself from the outside.

Regarding the topic of “personal development”, many FLUK participants have said that the use of theory and tools from the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (which a number of FLUK courses worked with) provided a good understanding of one's own and others' preferences in life and



at work. Using this type indicator and personal interviews relating to this tool with their advisors, combined with women's, gender and HR theories from the leadership in practice course, participants not only gained an interest in themselves, but also practiced observing others and engaging in relationships with others. Some courses also worked explicitly with mirroring exercises where the participants worked in pairs to gain a deeper knowledge of each other. The following is an example from FLUK1, written by Lone Skov Hansen and Tina Førsterling:



“Overall, Tina feels that she has made great progress. As her partner throughout the course, I have to agree with her. She has really developed and is fully prepared for a career in the unions!” and “As Lone’s partner over the two-year FLUK course, I believe that even when we started, Lone was very well informed and extremely well-read, sometimes expressing knowledge about the ‘strangest’ things! Lone is extremely articulate and argues incredibly well for her cause.” (Wolthers et al 2007, pp. 7-8).

The personal development activities and tools were also very helpful as the 18-19 course participants were developing their relationships, mutual tolerance and values – not just between the participants, but also between the sexes. Paradoxically, a theory that is not based on gender was a good tool for breaking down gender stereotyping, as women and men could mirror themselves in each other, compare themselves, and find similarities (and, of course, differences) if they were analysed as



belonging to the same type category, for example. Having the same preferences in life and work as a woman and man also gives rise to reflections on how one has formed one's life story and options as a member of a given sex. Lastly, insight into one's own and others' personalities and general understanding of psychological processes gives the participants a personal range of choices in situational behaviour.

Through these angles and reflections, many female and male FLUK participants also laid a foundation for team building methods and coaching methods in union work, which has greatly benefited their colleagues. These approaches were seen as a valuable tool for work at the union local and in work as a shop steward at the workplace.

During the first years of the FLUK programmes, extensive work was done to establish mentor-mentee relationships between a programme participant and a designated mentor. Ideally, these mentors were experienced union leaders who did not already have a relationship with the mentee. There are many examples of successful mentor-mentee relationships in the FLUK programmes. But the idea gradually faded as the participants' network and contacts had already grown. So the idea of one mentor was replaced by the understanding that FLUK participants could seek mentors in many places and thereby gain more types of input on their personal development.

Leadership in practice and the integrated exam(s)

At the first leader training course for women, the participants could take an exam in the college business degree course "Leadership in Practice". Experiences and recommendations from these initial courses showed that it was necessary to provide more time and guidance to qualify participants for this exam. In particular, it takes a long time to be able to write a high quality paper on leadership. It should also be noted that the textbook for the course does not include any considerations on gender and leadership. So those who want to work on this issue have to go out and find their own sources and theories.



As a result of this recommendation to prioritise the exam-oriented teaching, participants in the first FLUK programme for women were offered the option of taking three courses in one: The FLUK1 programme, the college business degree course “Leadership in Practice” and a specially tailored course in gender with its own curriculum. The latter was conducted in collaboration with FREIA (Centre for Women’s and Gender Studies) at Aalborg University. At the college business degree course and Aalborg University course, participants could take an exam to earn a number of ECTS points. Passing the latter exam would also enable participants to enrol in a proposed master’s programme at the university. This very ambitious programme gave participants extensive knowledge and experiences, but it turned out that the participants mostly wanted to meet the exam requirements for leadership in practice, where everyone earned good marks and a good experience.



Here are some reactions from the participating women in FLUK1: The formal jump to the academic level was difficult: “...I think the idea of offering union members a qualifying training is fantastic! But I think that the jump from unskilled workers with minimal schooling from many years ago to the university level is simply too big. I think that this is also reflected by the fact that many more participants had the desire and courage to take the exam at the college business degree course level with great success!” (Stinne Dam Jacobsen in FLUK1’s final report – Wolthers et al 2007, p. 13). Below a number of FLUK-participants with their final FLUK diplomas.



IDA NAWROT



SUSANNE OVY PETERSEN



MARITA GEINITZ



ULLA PUCK



LONE SKOV LARSEN

Since then, it became standard practice to offer the “Leadership in Practice” teaching and exam in cooperation with a business academy. (The last FLUK course – FLUKmk6 – showed off in December 2013 by earning ten grades of 12 (the highest possible grade) and five grades of 10 (the second highest possible grade). All of the women earned a grade of 12!)

Later, the teaching and exam from the FLUK programmes was integrated in several college business degree courses, making it possible to take a complete college business degree through FIU-Equality – many women who had been pioneers in the first leader training courses (including FL) took advantage of this opportunity. Other participants in the FLUK programmes were so eager to qualify that they subsequently enrolled in university courses in their free time, e.g. at the law school.



The educational tools and processes

The educational processes in the FLUK programmes were based on Action Reflection Learning, i.e. participants had to take action and reflect to ensure a learning process capable of providing new competencies while developing knowledge, perspectives and skills. “Action” was represented in the participants’ daily work as elected union representatives at a company or in the union. This daily work was examined at the beginning of every seminar in a “since last time” discussion round, or when somebody presented a problem to the other participants to hear their views and experiences. Field work in connection with the seminars and study trips served a similar function, as participants encountered new realities and new knowledge that led them to “reflect” on their potentially altered knowledge and views. The learning processes consisted of gathering new knowledge (through course materials and online), reflecting on this knowledge, organising and processing it, and then communicating it orally and in writing to the other participants.

Oral communication is a major component of elected representatives’ communication, so the vast majority of participants were excellent oral communicators. However, many experienced significant challenges in producing theoretical material in writing – something that is learned in higher education programmes. Notably, however, written reports on impressions and knowledge gained from field work was not difficult for the participants, as shown in their long and detailed travel reports. Gathering encouragement and guidance to write texts in other genres, e.g. an exam paper, was a major challenge for many participants, as it represented the first foray into such writing. Once participants crossed this first obstacle, it was not as difficult to cross the next (as mentioned, these participants were quite eager to gain further training and qualifications). Therefore, the individual guidance parallel to the class and group processes was crucial.

The FLUK programmes had at least one appointed course manager who ensured a common thread in the courses with regard to topics and



guest teachers, while also creating a positive and productive atmosphere and providing individual assistance and guidance.

FLUKmk and the men

In March 2011, FIU-Equality published a study among 19 men, aged 32-57 years, who had applied to participate or had participated in a FLUKmk course (Volfing 2011). Seventeen men completed a questionnaire. Regarding the most important reasons for participating in the course, 65 percent of respondents pointed to the equality component of the programme, 41 percent to competence development, and 35 percent to leader training. The men in the study had a gender view that equality has not yet been achieved in society and that it is a task the unions must take on – together with employers and legislators. They want action and not just talk. But when asked about equality at their own workplace, the majority believe that there is full equality between men and women, on the following grounds: equal pay for equal work, women have the same influence as men, considerations are taken regarding women's special needs in relation to parental leave or physical limitations, and the existence of respect for both women and men. Paradoxically, however, many note the absence of women among company management – i.e., on the part of employers.

These observations and views among the male respondents in the study on equality at the workplace may be due to the fact that many Danish workplaces are still highly divided by sex because of industry differences or differences in functions performed by the sexes. In other words, they do not see what they might expect to see: a woman and a man performing exactly the same work, but for different pay. Most require a “gender-cultural translation” in order to make the differences and injustices visible.

A preliminary conclusion about the men in the FLUKmk programme indicates that most have gained an ideological overview of gender equality. They also defend gender equality in discussions in equality



committees, etc. Many men have also participated in FIU-Equality's courses exclusively for men, where they are given the label "gender" and see their own gender as part of a pattern, providing a sharper eye for gender-based behaviour, gender-specific interests – and common interests. They have become gender-conscious men with whom equality-conscious women would like to work in the unions.

FIU-Equality continues to work tirelessly to realise the ideal of making equality and women's/men's liberation (and gender mainstreaming) a common agenda on equal footing with other labour issues in LO.

Effect of FIU's leader training courses for women

Effect for women in the women's training courses

No current and updated impact assessment has been conducted for the leader training courses for women in LO. But there is an impact assessment from 2007, commissioned by LO and conducted by Anette Wolthers (Wolthers 2007, paper). The results of this assessment are quoted in this section. At its 35th congress in October 2003, LO decided that: *"LO and the unions shall, under the auspices of FIU, continue and further develop the competence boost (regarding gender and gender mainstreaming) and leader training for women."*

LO wanted to assess the effects for the 132 participants who had completed one of the six leader training courses for women since their launch in 1999 until the assessment in 2007. Of the 132 participants, there were 84 respondents (64 percent) to the study's questionnaire, which was sent out in February 2007. Tables 3 and 4 are taken from this study.



Table 3: The respondents' own indication of the current status of their union position, compared to when starting the training course for women. In absolute figures and percentages. 2007

Status after the training course	Total	Total (percent)
Higher union position	39	46.4
Same union position	17	20.2
Lower union position	09	10.7
No union position currently	05	6.0
No longer active in the union	01	1.2
No reply	13	15.5
Total	84	100.0 percent

As seen in Table 3, **46 percent of the respondents** believe that they have gained a **higher union position** following the leader training course. More than 20 percent believe that they are at the same level. More than 10 percent believe that they are at a lower level. Six percent do not have any union position at present for various reasons (e.g. job change) and 1 is no longer active in the union due to illness. 13 did not answer the question.

The respondents on the development of their union positions

The respondents started in the training courses in different years from 2000 to 2005. They responded regarding the union positions they had when starting the course. They could choose from a number of pre-defined categories of union positions (see Table 3).

Overall, the respondents indicated having held a total of 118 union positions. One was vice president in a union, seven were union local presidents and eight were union local vice presidents. There were also some who did not have any union positions when starting the course.



The participants had held an average of nearly 1.5 positions before starting in one of the six programmes. The most common positions were:

- Member of a union local board: 12 positions
- Other types of board memberships: 11 positions
- Elected union secretary: 10 positions
- External representative for the union: 10 positions

The terms “higher, same and lower position” can be interpreted in several ways; the survey is a reflection of the respondents’ own statements regarding the positions’ status. A higher position is explained as follows:

- Rising to more vertical responsibility in the chain of command.
- Knowledge of leadership, participation and gender has given some the courage to run for board and shop steward positions (from not having previously held a union position).
- Being a leader for more people.
- Job expansion and job boost.
- Better pay.
- Combination of multiple key positions.

The respondents’ explanations regarding “lower union position” are generally that they went from an elected position to a position as employee. The elected position is generally considered a higher position than being employed in the union – even though the position as employee may involve interesting and satisfying job content. One respondent indicated that she lost personnel responsibilities following a merger.

The respondents that added comments to “no current union position or not active in the union” explain that they have changed jobs, want a break from union work due to workload or are ill. Some have shifted their activities into other fields, such as politics, work and studies.



The respondents could choose one or more statements in Table 4 (shown below) as an expression of what they gained from participating in the course. In addition to the pre-defined sentences, they were also able to formulate one or more sentences to describe what they gained.

Table 4: Description* of benefits, development, competencies and actions following participation in the leader training course for women – 278 total answers from 84 respondents. In absolute figures and percentages, 2007.

Description of development	Total answers	Total (percent) of the 278 answers	Total (percent) of the 84 respondents
I know more about gender and leadership today	72	25.9	85.7
I remember the equality perspective in my union work	60	21.6	71.4
I have gained increased self-confidence and self-assurance in union contexts	45	16.2	53.6
I participate in practical gender mainstreaming and equality work	29	10.4	34.5
I am more willing to speak up in large assemblies	26	9.4	31.0
I participate in interviews with my union press (and other press, if applicable)	22	7.9	26.2
I have been on the radio/TV in regard to union and gender issues	20	7.2	23.8
I have <u>not</u> developed my leadership	02	0.7	2.4

Table 4 continues at the next page



Description of development	Total answers	Total (percent)of the 278 answers	Total (percent) of the 84 respondents
I do <u>not</u> work with a gender perspective in my daily work	02	07	2.4
Total	278	100 percent of the 278 responses	

(*Each of the 84 respondents were able to give more than one answer and, as a supplement or alternative, write their own comments, which are summarised in the table with the other comments on the benefits of the course.)

As shown in Table 4, the majority of the respondents say that they know more about gender and leadership today, that they remember the equality perspective in their union work, that they have gained increased self-confidence in union contexts, and that they participate in practical gender mainstreaming and equality work. The training course objectives appear to harmonise well with the benefits for participants. Others have exclusively, or as a supplement, chosen the other categories or chose to write their own statements. Below, the statements are broken down according to the general themes they represent.

Leadership and personal development:

The participants have gained leader training and many of them have also taken an exam at the level of a college business degree course. This means that they have gained leadership theory and tools and have written a project assignment based on issues in their own work. Furthermore, many of the respondents indicate that they have undergone significant personal development, with greater insight into their own strengths and weaknesses, and thereby can make more conscious choices.



In 2009, a group of women from the women's training courses in FIU-Equality started an initiative called **The Women's Blue Book**. This "blue book" which only names women, was published annually for five years (until 2011-2012), after which the organisers chose to dedicate their time to other projects.

The results of this project, which is no longer updated, can be seen at the still active website <http://kvindernesblaabog.dk>. Also located at the website are articles on all of the women listed in the book. The project organisers write the following at the website:

"For more than 100 years, Krak's Blue Book has told the Danish society who can be considered to be 'important people'. Through its selection and exposure of some people and by its exclusion of others, the book has contributed to paving the way for some while serving as an obstacle for others and reproducing power positions and power opportunities (...) 100 years ago, the book almost exclusively listed men. This is still the case. In 2005, when the idea for the Women's Blue Book came about, 89 percent of those listed in Krak's Blue Book were men. (...) in 2010, gender and equality became an academic field in Krak's Blue Book. (...) 'Gender studies' and 'Equality studies' are women-dominated fields that have now been allowed to join this book, as something that can be considered 'important'. This has made a difference in the structural inequality. (...) We have found that many of the women we listed in the Women's Blue Book were later listed in Krak's Blue Book."

The project organisers managed to get Krak's attention and the number of women in the ensuing years increased slightly. In 2012, the share of women listed in the book increased to 18 percent.



Development in the union work:

Some of the participants did not hold union positions prior to taking the course. They gained inspiration and the desire to actively participate in union work, first as elected representatives (safety representatives or shop stewards) and later in board work and in spearheading union development activities, e.g. establishing an equality committee. Others moved on to positions at the next level of influence, based on their experience from union work and previous positions. Additionally, they have gained a broader understanding of the field in which they work, where mastering negotiation is a particularly important skill in a union organisation. The essence of the leader training courses for women has been the acquisition and development of a gender perspective on union work and societal matters in general. The participants gained a very deep and broad knowledge in this field, which can be utilised in their union activities.

Networking and union work

The content and duration of the courses enabled participants to forge ties across union organisations, functions and regions. As a result, familiarity with each other and the shared reflections have given individual participants support and help to understand themselves and navigate in relation to current issues in their work. Subsequently, the participants have been involved in formal and informal networks in the unions' equality work. (The networks were later highly systematised – first with the gender mainstreaming network and later with the network for ethnic minorities under the auspices of FIU-Equality.)

Only for women or for both sexes?

There is great enthusiasm regarding the concept and content of the courses and many would like to keep the courses as purely for women (there were ONLY courses for women at the time of the study). These comments by the respondents were unsolicited, i.e. it was not something they were asked about. Some also acknowledge that men also need such training. The views vary regarding mixed-sex courses, with



some in favour of these courses and others strongly opposed. Beginning in 2007, female participants could choose women-only courses or mixed-sex courses. The first mixed-sex leader training course, FLUK-mk1, commenced in 2007.

Added value to union work from the FLUK training courses

Warmer and more competent community

The last FLUK course concluded in December 2013. Former course teams hold reunion events, maintaining ties to each other, as they have become good “networkers” in the unions. As mentioned previously, we do not have an updated study of where the participants are in their lives. But we can see that the good relationships and the trust they established between each other are important elements in their union work.



FLUKMK2 VISITING KVINFO



ULLA PUCK, THEIR TEACHER, ANETTE WOLTERS,
GITTE BRENDSTRUP AND LILJA LAXBRO

The participants gain a common language on leadership, gender and diversity through the FLUK courses; this makes it easier for them to work together when collaborating on various projects or in the leadership of union locals and the like. When they are elected as leaders, they have a foundation that they didn't previously possess, in the form of an overview and theoretical insight.



Study trips

With these trips, the participants gained a deeper understanding of what globalisation means today – both as a system and in relation to Danish workplaces. For example: trips to foreign divisions of their Danish (or global) companies have provided great insight to the participating shop stewards; visiting Free Trade Zones, where textiles and clothing are produced for western markets under deplorable conditions; and experiencing how free unions can make a positive difference in the midst of misery in developing countries and in the old industrial nations of Western and Eastern Europe; experiencing how hard workers must struggle for the right to organise in a union and negotiate on pay and working conditions with employers – something we have taken for granted in Denmark for generations; and meeting brave women and men in the unions. Participants also gained a greater understanding of



WORKERS FROM THE SHANNON TEA FACTORY, SRI LANKA



DANFOSS HOLIP, CHINA



CHEMINOVA LABORATORY, CHINA



SUBWAY IN NY



AT KADRE SCHOOL IN BEIJING



WOMEN'S CENTRE, SRI LANKA



WELCOME BANNER FROM THE BEIJING UNION



the intertwined nature of the globalised world: For example, the efforts to organise ethnic minorities in the LO unions in Denmark can be tied with trips abroad to learn more about their backgrounds. Creating a connection between these members' countries of origin and union life in Denmark can contribute to organising new colleagues and members in Denmark and abroad.

Equal pay in FIU–Equality's work

Equal pay

Despite long-standing discussions about equal pay for the sexes, the reality remains that wage development for women lags far behind that of men – and it only appears to be getting worse. The pay gap is also growing in the Nordic countries. The demand for equal pay is a very old demand in the unions. Just a few glimpses of recent Danish history provide clear examples.

In 2008, there was a very long wave of strikes among health workers and pedagogues and pedagogue assistants. A total of 75,000 people went on strike. In collective agreement negotiations, the unions demanded 15 percent higher pay. This demand was not fully met, but the striking organisations' members gained 12.8 to 13.3 percent higher pay, with nurses making the greatest gains. In addition to the 15 percent pay raise demand, the nurses demanded the establishment of an equal pay commission. Their main slogan was: "Equal pay – it's a matter of will!" This strike was no ordinary strike; rather, the demands and slogans challenged the traditional (lack of) valuation of work performed by women. For example, the strikes included many comparisons with professions dominated by men, e.g. police officers. The Danish Act on Equal Pay's wording on 'work of the same value' became a pivotal element of the demands. These strikes proved very costly, as they lasted for many weeks.



The results of the strikes – in addition to the partial fulfilment of the pay demands – was the founding of the Equal Pay Commission for the public sector for 2008-2010. Beginning in 2007, companies were required to calculate gender-specific wage statistics. But this has not made any positive impact on wage developments for women in the labour market – yet. Every day, many women are forced to accept the dismissal of their demands and accept the pay offers they are given, which are lower than those presented to men. Generation upon generation of women cannot understand why they are not offered equal pay – and they feel uncomfortable about having to fight so hard to get it. The examples are many.

FIU-Equality's equal pay activities

Over the years, FIU-Equality has conducted courses, published pamphlets, trained shop stewards in negotiating and working for equal pay. FIU-Equality has also supported targeted project work to prove the existence of unequal pay.

Over a period of time, the course “Toolbox for tomorrow’s and today’s shop steward” was offered. As the course title indicates, the participating shop stewards formulated a set of advice on actions and attitudes for the multifaceted work of shop stewards. The first piece of advice, under the heading “Equal pay and gendered pay negotiations”, was: *“Know all of the figures regarding pay and working conditions (...) for the employees by gender at the company (and for other professions than those you are shop steward for). Know the law on equal pay (...) and the overall collective agreement.”* (The toolbox for tomorrow’s and today’s shop steward, 2010, p. 38)

The advice, which was thorough, addressed topics including: club or member meetings, gender-specific wage statistics at the company, discussions with colleagues about equal pay as a fundamental principle and that all stages of the work process create value, etc. The shop stewards are encouraged to gather thorough knowledge of all legisla-



tion and regulation on pay and documentation thereof (e.g. the law on gender-specific statistics, the Danish Act on Equal Pay, EU regulations, etc.). She/he must also explore when the collective agreements allow for negotiations, etc. Lastly, the advice suggests that shop stewards draw up a plan and agreement with the employer regarding the initiation of a pay negotiation process.

Under the auspices of FIU-Equality, local projects were carried out to collect and compare information regarding women's and men's wages. These projects proved that a "reality check" was in order, as the data collected showed the true complexity of the situation, revealing underpaid women and underpaid men in relation to the averages for the given areas of work.

The chances of achieving equal pay at a company are no longer just in the general collective agreements, but require a local fight, when it comes to the private labour market. In the public labour market, the general collective agreements are still the primary means of shifting pay; however, pay systems in the Danish public sector with the so-called "New Pay" system include function and qualification bonuses that have complicated efforts to achieve equal pay, as the system is inherently structured to differentiate.

Marianne Aaris Andersen, a participant in the FLUK3 course and shop steward, attempted to fight a principled equal pay battle at her company, using the tools gained from the course. Subsequently, she wrote about her experiences and reflections:



MARIANNE AARIS ANDERSEN



“We gained ideas and tools to go to our workplaces and demand ‘Equal pay for the same work of the same value’. When I found myself in the midst of local pay negotiations at my workplace, I felt that it was only natural to try out these ideas and tools. So I returned to my workplace with extensive notes, arguments and plenty of enthusiasm. The pay negotiations quickly stagnated and I got lots of help from (my local union) and a consultant from (...) the union. We solved a number of the problems and reached some agreements. But when we got to the issue of equal pay, things stagnated again. And the help from (my union) stopped as well. Even though it could be proved that the same pay was not given for the same work of the same value (...) the union and union local didn’t help with this issue. There were many ‘good’ arguments as to why it was ‘a difficult issue that is hard to win’. The issue is that six men and one woman at my workplace earn more in pay than the rest of the employees. (...) But there was no intention of eventually raising the pay of the other employees. The case could not be pursued, as there was also a woman who earned extra pay. (...) Unfortunately, I also discovered how difficult it is to demand equal pay and how unpopular one can become among the management of a company.” (Wolthers et al. 2007, pp. 12-13)

LO hired Gallup to conduct a survey in the spring of 2009, which showed that 38 percent of the surveyed men and 73 percent of the surveyed women believed that unequal pay was the most significant equality problem. Seventy-seven percent of the men and 63 percent of the women believed that the labour market parties had the greatest responsibility for achieving equal pay between the sexes. On the personal experience of unequal pay, 57 percent of women and 31 percent of men said that there was not equal pay for equal work. On the personal experience of equal pay, 51 percent of men and 27 percent of women said that there is equal pay for equal work. This survey shows the clear differences between men and women in assessing the scope of unequal pay and perhaps also differences in gender-related pay policies at the workplaces. Furthermore, women and men do not necessarily work at the same workplaces to the same degree or hold the same job functions.



Women have called for equal pay, but have apparently lacked the power to achieve more equal pay for women in the past or today. The fact that women do not constantly decry the injustice of unequal pay is not a reflection of their content; however, it also causes a sense of shame, humiliation and embarrassment to be put in a lower pay category than men, as ‘this means that you are worth less’ and that one’s work results must be less valuable. These feelings can range from embarrassment to desperation when one has children and a husband to support, debts to pay and pension schemes that are insufficient to provide for a decent retirement, etc.

Training courses can prepare the ground for struggles with regard to attitudes, knowledge, methods, etc. – and shop stewards can receive training in using negotiation results and legislation relating to equal pay. But ‘the Danish model’ assigns responsibility locally for negotiating initiatives and fulfilment of the general collective agreements, i.e. to the individual workplaces. If the shop steward and the employer cannot see the problems, no solutions will be forthcoming. And it gets even more complicated when it comes to “of equal value”. How should one measure the value of service-related work in the public sector with corresponding work in the private sector, for example? Or the value of being arrested by a police officer compared to the value of receiving care after an operation?

Perspectives

Female and employee life

Sentiments – no collective strategy for equality

Many Danish governments and the historical and contemporary equality work by the Danish Parliament have been characterised by efforts to remove gender discrimination in the law. The fundamental value in Danish equality law is that the sexes are expected to have the same



behaviour: i.e., in principle have the same type of life from cradle to grave and be partners in the family, sharing the task of being providers. This project has made great strides, despite the continued appearance of ‘holes’ in the law – particularly in areas where the sexes do not have the same behaviour, e.g. reproduction and parental care. Here, it is still the mother who gives birth to and nurses the child; mothers have personal rights when pregnant and during parental leave, but the father’s rights regarding parental leave remain limited. Fathers must negotiate with mothers about sharing the portion of parental leave that can be shared between the parents. There are also many examples of unforeseen interpretations, e.g. where labour law and social security law collide, or where the sexes’ different behaviour and opportunities make it difficult to save up for pensions or to gain the same benefits from the labour market pension schemes. Lastly, there are major holes where women and men do not receive equal pay for their hours spent in the labour market. Below are seen the vice president of 3F and the Minister for Gender Equality at a conference.



The official equality work has been marked by campaigns and appeals to the labour market’s parties and the educational system. However, only limited financial and human resources have been allocated to addressing the structural imbalances in the Danish educational system and labour market, with their “women’s professions” and “men’s pro-



fessions”. The minor attempts to get girls to choose “men’s professions” and boys to choose “women’s professions” have not led the sexes to see the benefits of crossing the invisible borders in the gender-segregated labour market. Not many resources – and none at all for information campaigns for children and young people – have been dedicated to the task of inspiring the sexes to explore new labour markets. So generation after generation (especially boys) follow in the footsteps of their predecessors. Girls have not generally entered into the “men’s professions”, but there have been some breakthroughs in vocational training programmes, such as those for painters. However, the major breakthroughs for women have been in higher education programmes, with studies such as mathematics and engineering experiencing significant increases in female students. The demand for men in the care sector has not been sufficiently strong to lead very many men towards choosing these courses of study.

Conservative pundits have introduced the concept of “feminisation” to characterise “women’s success” in education, jobs and society – which is not intended as a sympathetic term for “this phenomenon”, contributing to a derogatory articulation of female norms, female jobs and women’s way of leading and working – particularly in the public sector. Women’s visibility and the visible education advances are the result of 50 years of struggle to get women into qualifying education programmes and thereby self-sufficiency throughout their lives – from a situation in 1965 (when the Women’s Commission was founded), where only approximately 30 percent of all women had an education of any kind and many married women depended on the willingness of a spouse to provide support for a lifetime – or until divorce.

In the wake of women’s success, many pundits on gender issues from both the political left and right have developed a strong sympathy with boys and men who have to “fight hard” to make room for themselves and gain understanding and influence in the face of the so-called “feminisation”.



Messing up rights and universal benefits

The breakdown of barriers between the universal and general services and services we receive because we have purchased insurance or joined pension schemes contribute to confusion about rights and justice. The lowering of unemployment insurance's base support levels, the amount of benefits available, and the short time for which they are available to the unemployed have contributed to deteriorating trust in "the Danish model". The model has promised a safety net capable of catching those who are hit by unemployment. The very foundation of the Danish model is peace of mind and an assurance that one will receive assistance in the event of unemployment or illness. The assurance of access to support in the event of unemployment has been an integral part of the agreement underlying "the Danish model", which has made it easy for employers to fire employees without obligation.

Many gender norms

The arrival of immigrants from other countries has brought new gender norms that differ from those of the Nordic countries. Danes must relate to and consider these norms in schools, institutions and in the labour market. They not only cause confusion for "old Danes", but also for many of the new citizens. They experience a chasm between the traditions of their origins and life in Denmark. Today's basic Danish equality values include the inherent expectation that all adult women and men have full control of their lives, with responsibility for supporting themselves through their own work.

A commonly recurring phenomenon in the Danish debate and Danish employment model, which provides for child care in institutions while the parents work, is that some young mothers (or fathers) do not want to hand over their children to the institutions, choosing instead to care for them themselves. Thus they are not following the pattern from (female) generations after World War II. These young mothers face the challenge that they will later lack a means of supporting themselves



if they choose to stay at home and care for their children. Few men can singlehandedly support a family today. Denmark has not provided any form of support for mothers who choose to stay at home and care for their children (instead, Denmark provides subsidised child care in institutions). Support for mothers has been provided in some other countries, including programmes of state support for up to five years for mothers with young children.

In summary: There are many needs, attitudes and ideas regarding gender and the labour market. And perhaps we lack flexibility in the ways of structuring our lives – as both women and men, or mothers and fathers.

We have created structures for citizens' (the sexes') needs and behaviour in the welfare state, which has been fine as long the population agrees with the legislators on this framework. But if there is a need for greater diversity in the programmes offered because the population is diverse and perhaps no longer agrees with each other on the ideal framework for a life, then should we continue to offer the same framework – and perhaps see it become eroded?

Individualisation, including that of the women's struggle (which is also a reality), has created a fragility, confusion and lack of collective and social engagement – despite the ongoing debates on gender in newspapers and other media.

Perhaps the wage earner life, which the unions are a proponent and defender of, should be the subject of critical discussions and testing. This form of life was developed in the early industrial era on the premise that intervention on the part of the state and the unions was necessary to alleviate the misery of working men, women and children. When we visit industrial centres in developing countries, we see this misery quite clearly and are reminded of our own history in Europe.



As mentioned, we say that equality between the sexes is a special Danish or Nordic value. We can beat other cultures and societies over the head with equality at the same time that a widespread and deliberate gender blindness is evident when we take a good look at the lives lived right in front of us. We are also very modest and prefer not to clearly examine the power relationships behind the lack of equality or equal pay.

Many in Denmark believe that we already HAVE equality. Others believe that women have FAR too much power and, thus, NOTHING should be done for women. Things have gone too far, they say. They don't have it bad anymore! The participants in the equality debate are primarily women, with the exception of a few men. Of these, some are progressive, while others are pronounced anti-feminists. Perhaps the greatest challenge is that many men simply do not understand, have insight into, sympathise with or defend "the feminine". It is perhaps a matter of personal taste whether one thinks that the female debaters should meet men halfway by understanding, sympathising and defending "the masculine".

It would be great with a little more room for differences, more generosity and more empathy among those participating in the gender debates, so that we could progress together. Although there are many different shades of feminism today, as in the past, we all expect that the unions remain an active participant in all aspects of life, as reflected in their policies.

More than ten years ago, LO commissioned a Gallup survey that was published in LO's publication "Ugebrevet A4" in March 2003. The article reports that in 1972, 36 percent of the highly educated population (higher secondary school graduates) supported the feminist movement, while this figure was only 14 percent among those with lower levels of education (primary school graduates). The Gallup survey from 2003 showed that 51 percent of those with lower levels of education felt that



equality is one of the most important issues in Denmark, while only 32 percent of the highly educated population agreed with this statement.

In regard to the survey, Johannes Andersen, a researcher at Aalborg University, said that the highly educated middle class is concerned with the question of equality when negotiating with each other in the “negotiating family”; Andersen saw great potential in the unions for promoting equality, saying that they “*could play a key role if they put family-friendly companies on the agenda. But they must break with their image as very rigid and fixated on regulations. (...) KAD, SID and HK members deal with the issue of equality in their everyday lives and they are ready for substantial measures.*” (Ugebrevet A4, 3 March 2003)

Women have always been a part of the trade unions, and ...

In 1999, LO shifted its strategy, prioritising equality efforts in its training of elected representatives. These efforts have not yet produced visible and convincing breakthroughs for the representation of women in LO and LO’s member unions – but a movement is underway. In many unions, women are moving towards the upper levels of leadership. An article in the British press wrote the following in regard to Unison, the British union for public employees:

Today, the average British unionist is a young, degree-educated, white woman working in the professions. Women outnumber men. In their prime in the 1970s, unions had more than 13 million members. Now, they have 6 million; only 28 percent of the working population is unionised – less than 20 percent in the private sector. Women have become vital to the survival of unions.” (The Observer 5 August 2012)

In 2012, the Trades Union Congress (TUC), comprising 54 member unions and similar to Denmark’s LO, elected its first female secretary general in 144 years. Her name is Frances O’Grady and she is 54 years old. She has worked her entire life, given birth to five children, has been a union activist since the 1980s, founded an academy for young female

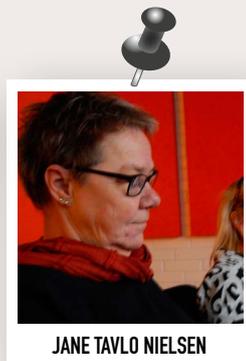


union members in 1998 offering a 12-month course, and is active in a support network.

As in TUC, LO has had an academy in the form of FIU's equality work since 1992, and the partnership for FIU-Equality since October 2005. Below Gitte reading 'Leadership in Practice' during the flight and Jane and Helle ready to be examined.



GITTE DAUSEL VINTER



JANE TAVLO NIELSEN



HELLE SOLVEIG HANSEN

These activities set an important agenda of learning processes and training courses that attract women. A woman may have left school at an early age, but in the unions she can get a basic education as a shop steward, take short courses, attend conferences, take qualifying courses, become a long-term participant in union networks and get training as a leading opinion former. Rather than just taking place at an individual level, these activities offer a collective atmosphere in women's-only or mixed sex environments – but always with a common and collective view of the tasks to be performed in the unions. One of the challenges that should be addressed very soon is to take important steps in the direction of equal pay between women and men. The quote below shows that a step towards equal pay is not just the solution of a pay-related problem, but a step towards increased prosperity in society as well as a moral, anti-discriminatory and social achievement:



“Equal pay legislation has shown that women’s relative pay can be raised without harmful effects on their employment rates. The segregation of the labour market means that traditional policies have not proven to be particularly effective (...) There are also moral, social and political dimensions to equal pay. Not only economic (...) Equal pay policies can effectively reduce wage discrimination, but they are less suited to preventing occupational segregation (...) If society desires less difference between men’s and women’s wages, political intervention, combined with the results of agreement negotiations, is necessary. Equality goals are important – both in the short and long term. A more equal distribution of income can increase welfare in society directly – as well as in the long term through increased motivation and performance.” (Jørgensen, 2010. p. 127)

In a statement from September 2013, The European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) encourages the political decision makers to *“reduce gender inequalities by closing the gender pay gap (...) as equal pay will bring benefits not only to women but also to the whole society – according to the European Added Value Assessment, one percentage point decrease in the gender pay gap increases economic growth by 0.1%.” (soc/486, p. 6)*



Attachment 1.

Range of courses and programmes in FIU–Equality’s catalogue, “Naturally”, 2007–2014

See the course catalogues (in Danish) at <http://fiu-ligestilling.dk>.

Sexual orientation and human rights:

- Can you be yourself at work?
- Pride – parade for homosexuals and bisexuals
- Diversity is normal – get equipped for union cases regarding sexual discrimination
- Your rights – our opportunities

Courses addressed to men:

- Women’s power and men’s opportunities
- Personal development – become a strong sensitive man
- Take better care of yourself, man
- Men’s health
- Only for men! (the benefits of equality for men)
- Equal men and opportunities
- Equality for men
- Equality from a men’s perspective
- MAN version 2.0 and above
- Possible male opinions
- Men in history – many different types of men – men in union work

Courses on health, family, cooperation and relationships between women and men:

- The common thread (family life and working life)
- Cohesiveness between working and family life
- Are we equal at the workplace?
- We are best together
- HE-SHE from stress to well-being through interaction I-II



- HE-SHE – together in change
- Stress counsellor I-IV
- Are we equal at the workplace?
- How gendered is our health?
- Psychological working environment for men and women
- Psychological working environment in skilled and unskilled jobs – from a gender perspective
- Power men and power women
- Calibration of the cooperation between women and men
- Dare to talk about the taboo (about what should be discussed, but...)
- The UN's International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women
- Get started with health activities at your workplace!
- Well-being for all

Courses and leader training courses for women:

- The union leader training course for women, FLUK 4, 5, 6, 7
- FL network meetings, spring-autumn
- Network for former female participants in FLUK, Starlet, Victoria and FL
- Project on the development of a “Women's Blue Book”
- Violence against women
- Women's Blue Book
- Power women (on making an impact)
- Goodbye to Mrs. Nice
- Goodbye to Mrs. Nice – clear, but not annoying
- Goodbye to Mrs. Nice for experts
- Stop dreaming – boost your personal empowerment
- Find your own way and be strong at the podium
- Female opinion formers

Leader training course for both sexes:

- FLUKmk 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6
- Gender, culture and competence – module in the college leadership degree course “culture and philosophy”



- Human resource management
- Project manager training
- Value-generating leadership, community and future
- Organisation – organisational development from a gender perspective (college business degree course)
- Organisational development from a diversity perspective
- Collective agreement in colours – creative dream workshop
- Personnel law from a diversity perspective
- Leadership with an eye for diversity

Courses on gender in union work – national and international:

- City councillors' equality policy challenges and opportunities
- Equality committee course
- Equality committee meeting with collective capacity building
- An active equality committee
- The local political responsibility for equality
- More opportunities and fewer inequalities (on gender mainstreaming)
- Equality challenges in the labour market in a globalised world
- Equality in the EU labour market
- 100,000 new jobs in the energy sector! What about gender distribution?!
- Seminar on the gender implications of “free choice salary schemes” in collective agreements
- Gender and quotas
- Mainstreaming – from theory to practice at your workplace
- Clear, but not annoying (on putting equality on the agenda)
- Initiatives to prevent exploitation of female labour from other countries
- Change processes with a focus on equality
- Gender-based violence
- Opportunities at the workplace for preventing gender-based violence
- Decent work – UN day for decent work
- Opinion formers and ambassadors
- Follow a case in the Labour Court
- The fight against social dumping and ensuring decent work for all



Courses on equal pay.

- Course on equal pay for women and men
- The working class and feminism in Europe
- Administration of performance-enhancing wage systems – while considering equal pay
- Equal pay course with a focus on job assessment
- We must have equal pay between women and men now – a hot union topic

Courses on diversity, integration and union work:

- Diversity is normal
- FIU-rainbow
- The union (Shortcut to better integration)
- Options for the unions' integration efforts
- What is good marketing to young people in the unions?
- Organising mentoring programmes for minority women
- Gender, culture and diversity in the workplace
- Local diversity networks and focus on equality in the workplace
- Workplace culture – well-being and resources in a diverse workplace culture
- The day for you – March 21 (against discrimination)
- Gender from a senior's perspective
- Collective agreement in colours – creative dream workshop
- Diversity agent
- Organisational development from a diversity perspective
- Regional networks for elected representatives with a non-Danish ethnic background
- Meeting for elected representatives with minority backgrounds
- Take action – tools for strengthening integration in the unions and in the labour market
- Coaching – with an eye for diversity
- Integration representative training course
- Leadership with an eye for diversity
- Road map to diversity



- Mindfulness and diversity
- Project management – with special attention to diversity

Methods and tools – courses and programmes

- Coaching in organisations with individual coaching
- Training for coaches
- Communication – communication – communication
- Effective communication for elected representatives
- Communication for coordinators
- Communication, relationships and communities – how to create trust
- Communication and communities
- Communication at eye level
- Do you want space, a Porsche and a fur? (on negotiation)
- Gender-based negotiation
- Shop steward – what now?
- Facilitation – naturally – women/men
- Ambassadors in mainstreaming
- Good and efficient meeting leadership
- Succeed as a meeting chairman
- Toolbox for today's and tomorrow's shop steward
- You're on! (media training)
- Give your speech with self-confidence and charm
- Effective oral communication
- Make an impact while protecting yourself (on public appearances)
- Stand firm in the face of adversity

Conferences, seminars and networks:

- Ambassadors in the Mainstreaming Network – network meeting
- Coach seminars
- Mentor-mentee seminar
- 8 March conference
- Christmas conference
- Conferences and networks for women in male-dominated fields



- Equal pay conference
- Instructor – training day
- Well-being network (for stress counsellors and others)
- Network focusing on well-being, organising and equality at the workplace
- Meeting for elected representatives with minority backgrounds
- Regional networks for union members and elected union representatives with a non-Danish ethnic background
- Network for elected representatives
- Nordic Forum 2014
- Well-being conference

Attachment 2.

Range of subjects in the FL courses, 2006–2014

Headlines of the courses:

- 2006: Minorities and the Danish commonwealth
- 2007: Gender and leadership
- 2008: The future of the unions – with equality and the shop steward in focus
- 2010: Can power change sex?
- 2011: The European Commission's new strategy for gender equality. What does it mean for Danish wage earners and the Danish unions, and what new options does it give us?
- 2012: The Middle East, equality and social media
- 2013: Female Power
- 2014: The power to define, networking and organisation of women



Appendix

Equality activities in Denmark and in the trade unions

Government and public authority initiatives

Important commissions

In 1975 in Denmark, an Equality Council was founded by then Social Democratic Prime Minister Anker Jørgensen. The council was the result of a recommendation stemming from the work of the Women's Commission (appointed by the former Social Democratic Prime Minister J.O. Krag). The Women's Commission worked from 1965 to 1974 with the aim of exploring the position of women and developing proposals for legislation to create equality in all spheres of life. The background for establishing the commission was – in addition to inspiration from former US President Kennedy's Women's Commission from 1961 to 1963 in the US – that women were increasingly participating in the formal economy as supporters and co-supporters in the family, while encountering legal- and tradition-based gender discrimination in the labour market and society maintained a view of the man as the “head” of the family (for example, women had to give their husband's CPR number when making enquiries to the public authorities and women were automatically assigned their husband's last name upon marriage unless they actively protested; unskilled women automatically received one Danish krone less than unskilled men in defined standard wages; masters could fire female apprentices if they became pregnant, etc.). The need for childcare had also grown greatly, as mothers increasingly worked far from the home and for many hours daily.



Later, a Children's Commission was established from 1977 to 1981. This commission focused on young children, their upbringing and their possibilities for receiving care while their parents were at work.

Parental leave in Denmark

The development of parental leave policies in Denmark has a special history. In 1960, union-organised female wage earners, covered by collective agreements, had a right to unemployment benefit for up to 14 weeks as part of a law on public health insurance, but all other mothers did not have any legally stipulated rights; work-at-home mothers and assisting spouses had to settle for two weeks with sickness benefit. All other “types” of women, e.g. the self-employed and students, etc., had no rights at that time – legislation in this area would not come until much later. In the following years, parental leave became a subject of collective agreement negotiations and a legislative issue. More and more groups of mothers were covered by these provisions as the years passed. In 1980, parental leave legislation was revised so that employed mothers were entitled to four weeks of leave before birth and 14 weeks after birth, for a total of 18 weeks. In 1984, the parental leave was extended to 20 weeks and the father was entitled to two weeks of leave. In 1985, the total leave was expanded to 24 weeks after birth, of which the mother and father could share the last 10 weeks between them. In 1998, fathers received an earmarked parental leave of two weeks, which was only for them to use. These earmarked weeks were abolished by the then Liberal-Conservative government in 2002. At the same time, the total parental leave was extended to 52 weeks. Two weeks after the birth of the child can be used by the father, together with the mother, during the first 14 weeks. After this, the mother and father can share the remaining 32 weeks between them.

The unions have had a desire to see fathers given the right to earmarked parental leave, i.e. an individual right. This option was taken off the negotiating table by the current Social Democratic-led government in 2014.



Legislation and equality

Equality legislation on gender picked up in the Danish Parliament from the mid 1970s (e.g. the Equal Pay Act of 1976 and the Act on Equal Treatment of Men and Women in the Labour Market of 1978). This legislative process was further aided by a number of EC (now EU) directives after Denmark became a member state in 1973 (e.g. the Equal Pay Directive in 1975, the Equal Treatment Directive in 1976 and the Directive on Equal Treatment in Social Security in 1978, etc.). Another factor in the establishment of a Women's Commission and the subsequent legislation was discrimination against women; the women who experienced this discrimination spoke out in the education system, in the labour market and in society as a whole. In the view of many women, the societal changes in the 1960s arising from the youth, student and hippie movements, and the legalisation of pornographic literature in 1967 and pornographic photography in 1969, did not deliver freedom from the sexist views and men's automatic expectations of being "god's gift to women". As it was formulated, women who participated as opinion formers and activists in these changes were tired of "serving tea at the revolution". These female experiences manifested themselves in 1970 with what is known in Denmark as "the new women's movement" or "the Red Stocking Movement". This was an activist movement outside of the established political parties' control. Not until later did women's and equality issues gain a place in the political platforms of virtually all parties. From the mid-1970s, most of the parties in the Danish Parliament agreed on legislating on equality, based on a desire to formalise the equal rights of both sexes in a number of areas. As a result, Danish governments – both the Conservative-led governments from 1983 to 1993 and the Social Democrat-led governments from 1993 to 2001 – agreed on legislation and on a number of initiatives that were launched.

The Equal Pay Commission for the public sector, 2008–2010

Although equality legislation escalated in the 1970s, there were continuous calls for a breakthrough in equal pay for women and men in Den-



mark – not just during the long economic downturn from 1974 to 1993, but also during the upswing from 1993 to 2007/08. There were numerous studies, reports and discussions during these periods, in addition to new provisions in equality legislation, but no breakthrough occurred in relation to this important issue.

The decision to appoint a commission on equal pay in the public sector did not materialise out of thin air, but rather was a demand made in connection with the widespread strikes in 2008 by social and health workers in the public sector. The strikes were triggered by the collective agreement negotiations. The commission was appointed that same year and comprised the parties in the public labour market, including LO, FTF and researchers. The commission was chaired by former department and theatre manager Michael Christiansen and tasked primarily with clarifying a range of concepts relating to wages, descriptions of wage levels, wage distribution and comparison of wages (including with the private sector), career patterns, “work of the same value” (as the Danish Act on Equal Pay states), wage formation and influences on it, the framework for management and organisation of work, and the identification of initiatives the public sector could potentially launch. The commission set out to perform a “service inspection” of factors including:

- Wage systems and wage formation, centrally and locally
- Equal pay between men and women for the same work or for work that is attributed the same value
- Working hours
- Organisation of work
- Boundaries between professions
- Competence development
- Working environment
- Management space, collaborating and participation

The wage commission also encouraged all relevant organisations, pub-



lic authorities, institutions, etc. to discuss initiatives to combat a gender-segregated labour market.

Gender-specific wage statistics

Even before the Equal Pay Commission for the public sector began its work, a change was made to the Equality Act, effective from 1 January 2007, requiring all companies with more than 35 employees and at least 10 people of each sex to register and report gender-specific wage statistics (in 2014, a revision to the act has been proposed so that it will also apply to companies with just 10 employees and 3 people of each sex). The gender-specific statistics must be compiled at least once a year. Otherwise, companies must prepare a report on the next three years' initiatives in relation to female and male employees. Employees must be properly informed of these wage statistics and reports. And employees are entitled to express views on wage statistics and reports aimed at reducing the pay gap between women and men at the company. An assessment of the original act was conducted in 2001, showing poor compliance with its provisions, as companies do not make the statistics public – this provided the impetus for the proposed revision of the act in 2014.

Have these initiatives made an impact on the pay gap? In the big picture, the answer is no. The gap between women's and men's wages has grown on average.

Legal sex change

People who define themselves under the term “transgender” are individuals who experience a mismatch between their biological sex and the gender they identify with or want to have. In Denmark, they have been subjected to discriminatory treatment if they wanted to change sex. The legal provisions and thus the guidelines for medical, sexological counselling are and were as that a sex change must also be manifested physically. Legal sex changes are only possible if the persons in question “remove” their biological sex through castration and genital



corrective treatment (hormones, etc.). The Social Democrat-led government appointed a working group that released a report in February 2014. Based on the report, the government proposed legislation that would abolish the requirement for a diagnosis and subsequent treatment, and enable individuals to personally apply to be legally considered a different sex than their biological sex. This change has implications for the civil registration system, health insurance, passports, driving licence, etc. This legislative proposal is inspired by many years of international and national activism and political lobbying work by people who have organised themselves into LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) movements. These movements have worked with visibility – “out of the closet manifestations” – in the form of festive Pride parades in many countries, called for access to homosexual marriage and have created new types of families and “rainbow families” comprising the adults who are a part of raising the children. (In April 2014, the Supreme Court of India recognised transgender as “the third sex”, granting rights in line with men and women. Many transgendered people in India have refused to identify as either man or woman; now, the approximately 3 million transgendered Indians have the same rights as all other citizens, e.g. voting rights, passports, etc. This approach has lacked in the Danish working group, which apparently could only imagine two sexes – and not a third.)

Equality consultants, new legislation and a Minister for Gender Equality

From 1981, the then Social Democrat-led government decided to hire equality consultants in the regional labour market boards to promote equality in the regional labour markets and educational institutions. Later in the 1980s, the question of equality consultants and an equality committee was also prioritised in organisations including Local Government Denmark, the Danish Broadcasting Corporation, DSB (Danish State Railways) and a number of municipalities also established equality committees.

In 1999, the first Danish Social Democratic Minister for Gender Equality



was appointed (after the work of a committee from 1996 to 1999), and in 2000 Denmark implemented a new legislative framework based on the UN gender mainstreaming strategy. The Equality Council was shut down. The three new government institutions for equality work were the Ministry for Gender Equality, a special Knowledge Centre and an Equality Board to which people could submit complaints. However, the Knowledge Centre was shut down in 2001 when the Liberal-led government gained power; the Equality Board and the Ministry for Gender Equality continued their operations. The ministry exists to this day (2014), as part of the current Social Democrat-led government. Most of the other initiatives mentioned have since ceased.

Denmark has had a total of eight ministers for gender equality since 1999: two Social Democrats, one Conservative, four Liberals and one Social Liberal, who was appointed in 2011 and was the first man to hold the job.

In 2011, Denmark elected its first female prime minister, Helle Thorning-Schmidt of the Social Democrats.

Women's/equality work in LO

Post-war economy

The occupation of Denmark from 1940 to 1945 resulted in a suspension of all democratic activity – including that relating to the labour market parties and their agreements. In 1947, the Confederation of Danish Employers (DA), and the Federation of Trade Unions (DsF – renamed LO in 1958) reached a cooperation agreement that included an expansion of the shop steward system and the union clubs at the workplaces. The conditions for these activities were to be decided jointly by the two parties through a “cooperation committee”. The agreement was renewed in 1965 and in the early 1970s, at which time safety work was also included. In 1973, a cooperation agreement was reached in the municipalities and counties, but it did not have the intended impact,



so the Danish Parliament granted these employees the same influence as employees at the state level, which led to a new agreement in 1981. Through the years – most recently in 2013 – new cooperation agreements have been reached in the private and public labour markets.

Women's secretariats – a Nordic initiative in the 1940s

After World War II, the Nordic unions resumed their collaboration, as they could now travel freely between the Nordic countries. This also enabled the unions' women to meet at the Nordic level once again, which they had done since 1935. Twenty women from each country met for study weeks featuring lectures and discussions on women workers' conditions in the Nordic countries. When the war ended, it was proposed that each of the Nordic countries establish a women's secretariat in the union movement to include women in union work and to work for better working and living conditions for women in the Nordic societies.

Norway established its first women's secretariat in 1940, Sweden in 1946 and Finland in 1948. In 1949, DsF/LO established a Union Women's Secretariat (FK), a cross-functional forum to raise issues of interest for unionised women. The secretariat also played an important role in getting women to join the unions – and to ensure they were accepted by unionised men as full and legitimate members.

The Danish Women's Secretariat, FK, 1949–1970

LO did not want FK as a part of the LO organisation with LO funding, but left this decision to the unions that had more than two percent female membership. The secretariat's mission statement asserted that FK should work for Nordic cooperation. FK was funded by membership dues from the member unions, which paid in proportion to the number of female members. In this way, approximately 90 percent of the female LO members were affiliated with FK through their unions. In 1953, 23 unions with a total of 133,000 members were part of and funded the secretariat.



The following is taken from FK's articles of association:

“take up all current issues that may be of particular interest to the union women and, in cooperation with the union organisations' leadership, ensure action and potential solutions to these issues.” (Plum, 1984)

However, LO and FK found it difficult to agree on what action should be taken. LO questioned whether it was necessary at all to work on women's issues separately in a special, cross-functional women's secretariat. A number of unions resigned from the secretariat in the mid-1960s on various grounds; however, the main reason was likely a combination of insufficient resources for FK and a possible ideological opposition to a separate women's forum in the unions. The secretariat was shut down in 1970.

The Women's Commission's figures on gender in DA and LO

The Women's Commission – the Danish commission that worked from 1965 to 1974 – compiled some figures on women's representation among the labour market parties in 1967/68.

In a 1971 report entitled “On women's participation in public life”, the commission writes about “the labour market's main organisations” – the Confederation of Danish Employers, DA, and the Danish Confederation of Trade Unions, LO. According to the report, in the years 1967/68, there was only one woman among the 600 members of DA's assembly of representatives (11 percent of business owners and directors in DA's membership were women), no women among the central board's 54 members and no women among the executive committee's 15 members. Nor were there any women in management positions in the administration of DA.

In 1967, 25.7 percent of LO members were women. Of the delegates at LO's congress in May 1967, 8.5 percent were women. The day-to-day management of LO, which comprised a president, vice president,



treasurer and five secretaries, had one woman – the first in LO’s history. The executive committee had four women out of 24 members, or 16.7 percent. Out of the 238 shop stewards, there were 15 women, or 6.3 percent.

However, many new developments arose in the unions in 1970 (in addition to the closing of FK): It became possible for part-time employees to secure unemployment insurance, causing a great rise in female members of LO. Meanwhile, a radicalisation and mobilisation was underway outside of the unions in the new women’s movement, the Red Stocking Movement. These young women stood up and organised themselves in special women’s forums – an organisational form that spread (in other organisations as well), legitimising this new way of working throughout society: women could meet with women to discuss women’s issues. The movement developed a direct democracy, with organisation into basic groups and joint meetings with decision-making powers.

New women’s activities in LO in the 1970s

Although all of the Danish government-sponsored commissions and committees on women’s status, education, work and family conditions were founded in the 1960s and continued working until the 1980s, there was no official strategic plan, thinking or watershed activities on the part of LO during this period.

This does not mean that unionised women were passive – they were simply referred to other organisations or subcultures in the unions. They worked across organisations and political boundaries, and many workplaces established women’s clubs that spanned across the unions. Female membership in the LO unions grew throughout the 1970s.

The fight for equal pay

The Danish government implemented a law on equal pay for women and men in public office in 1919. But in the 1930s, the municipalities fired many married women, as they did not believe that they “de-



served” a job, since they had a male breadwinner and it was a time of high unemployment. This period was followed by World War II. Virtually all union activity was banned during the occupation, but something happened in 1945 in the Nordic countries, including Denmark:

“At KAD’s congress in 1945, this union asserted a demand for equal pay, which was followed up on by the women in the Nordic unions. This demand garnered modest support from DsF’s later president, Ejler Jensen, who stated that workers should not be paid according to gender, but according to performance. In 1952, this was finally adopted as a general demand in collective agreement negotiations. Not until 1965 was there a preliminary breakthrough on the issue, when the principle of equal pay was implemented into HK’s collective agreement. But eight more years would pass before it was adopted in the main collective agreement between LO and DA.” (Christiansen, 2012, p. 56).

However, this was not synonymous with the implementation of a general equal pay principle in the main collective agreement, but only a common minimum wage for women and men in the area of standard wages.

From 1970 to 1973, unskilled women workers in LO unions mobilised to gain the same hourly wages as men in the area of standard wages. Before 1973, men automatically received one Danish krone more per hour than women in the applicable collective agreements. Many members of the female-dominated unions were very dissatisfied with this practice and in 1971 they established a number of women’s groups to fight for equal pay. A number of women from the Red Stocking Movement also participated in this work, demonstrating with the union women in the winter of 1971 in many cities and in front of The Public Conciliation Service building in Copenhagen – the site of collective agreement negotiations. These mobilisation efforts culminated with the demonstrations pressuring the parties to adopt a protocol with wording that was much grander than the realities that emerged two years later:



“The main organisations agree to seek to solve the problem of equal pay in areas where this has not already been achieved. Equal pay is understood as equal pay for work of the same value, regardless of gender – the pay is determined according to the nature of the work and not according to gender.”

And for the first time in Danish history, the collective agreements for unskilled workers in 1973 implemented a common minimum wage for women and men. The words were ambitious, but it was not actually “equal pay for work of the same value”. Women quickly discovered this to be the case.

After the adoption of the collective agreement, many women went on strike on the grounds that they still received lower pay than men. There were very few workplaces where men and women performed the same work, which complicated the comparison of work of the same value.

In 1979, women accounted for 40 percent of LO members. At the 1979 LO congress, an equality committee was appointed; this committee oversaw a range of initiatives under various chairs in the following years. KAD’s long tenured president, Lillian Knudsen, was active in this work until she resigned in 2005.

Equality work in LO in the 1980s and 1990s

In 1992, LO adopted an action plan for family, social and equality policy, which included demands for parental leave for fathers and the right to paid leave on a child’s first day of illness.

Very few men in the unions were concerned with these efforts or participated in the debate, nor did the issue gain much attention at congresses and in collective agreement negotiations. It is also important to remember that the gender-segregated labour market had, and has, a big influence on where wage earners can organise, as Denmark has profession-specific unions, i.e. all those who work in iron and metal are organised in one union, nurses in another, etc. Denmark does not have



industrial unions where employees at the same workplace organise in the same union.

But in 1996 and 1999, strides were made in the gender and equality struggles. In 1996, the first woman ever was elected as vice president of LO – Tine Brøndum (now Tine Aurvig-Huggenberger) – while Hans Jensen was elected president.

In October 1999, a study on equality was presented at the LO congress as the result of an initiative by the organisation's leadership. The study comprised LO and its 23 member unions at the time. (CASA, 1999) Only three of these 23 unions had an equal number of female and male members. Three were pure women's unions, six were almost purely men's unions and the rest were mixed, with a majority of one of the sexes.

These divisions in union organising reflected, and reflect, the highly gender-segregated labour market in Denmark. In addition to this lack of "mixing" of women and men in the unions, there were also problems with gender distribution in leading positions. At that time, there were only two female union presidents (KAD and the National Federation of Social Educators).

At the October 1999 LO congress, 240 of the 800 delegates were women. This was one-third, even though women comprised nearly half (48 percent) of all members in the 23 unions. A significant feature of representation in the unions was highlighted at the congress: "Women represent women, men represent men, men represent a majority of women, but women never represent men," said LO's vice president. Women are typically carriers of political focal points that are critical for the unions. This applies in relation to the welfare society, educational needs and social policy: "Equal gender representation is necessary for tomorrow's unions, because it is democratic, just and more balanced. And because we must ensure that we in the unions draw on the best competencies when exercising influ-



ence and when asserting and ensuring the quality of future policies.” She also said that it was necessary to introduce “Special care” for female shop stewards and to address the huge shortage of younger women in union policy work; helping them to get more positions to ensure strong development of union democracy.

Women’s union priorities

Another theme in the 1999 study was that women generally tend to prioritise other issues and subjects than men, and that the culture of union work has a major influence on the framework of union activities, i.e. that men have the predominant power of definition of priorities and issues of interest. It should be noted that, due to the gender-segregated labour market, many active union members are unfamiliar with each other’s gendered cultures – even though cooperation between women and men in union efforts is the ideal.

LO pledged to do something about the issue by developing a new strategy for equality as a central part of its union policy work: *“There is no doubt that some of the major battles in terms of equality policy must be fought in the labour market, in future collective agreements, in individual negotiations – at the individual workplaces; wages, pension, parental leave, personal days, and other forms of flexibility that can contribute to a better balance between working life and family life, just to name a few. We can adopt a focus on the problems, but the battles must be fought locally,”* said Tine Aurvig-Huggenberger.

The 2003 LO congress

For the first time ever, equality was a point on the agenda at the 2003 LO congress. Two areas were in focus:

- Gender representation – women must be much better represented in the unions’ competent bodies. Within four years, the number of women must be increased in all areas of the unions. *“At the same time, the general level of knowledge about gender, organisation and leadership must be strengthened. Lastly, the organisation culture itself must be modernised and made more inclusive.”*



- Mainstreaming – *“The goal is to mainstream gender into the unions’ political and organisational efforts (...) In other words, to mainstream is a way of adding resources, status and prestige to equality work.”*

FIU, the trade unions’ internal training courses

FIU, the trade unions’ internal training courses. The Education Fund of 1973 – known today as the DA/LO Development Fund. At each collective agreement negotiation, the parties in DA and LO agree on how much the DA member companies must contribute to the fund per hour worked by each LO member employee. The first time such an agreement was reached, in 1973, the parties agreed on 1 Danish cent/øre (1 “øre” is one percent of a Danish Krone). This amount has since increased and in January 2013 it was 40 Danish cents per hour worked. The money is divided between the DA organisations and the LO organisations. LO and its member unions (often called the LO Fund) distribute their share of the money. Most of the money is allocated to training courses, which the individual LO unions plan themselves, while a smaller portion is dedicated to cross-union training courses under the auspices of LO. In 2012, 93.4 percent of the DKK 333.5 million in FIU went to the individual unions in LO, while the LO partnership accounted for 6.6 percent of the use of these funds. The latter funds go to cross-union courses, projects, and activities under the auspices of LO. LO distributes its 6.6 percent of the money to various objectives and development projects.

Equality efforts under FIU

After the LO assembly of representatives adopted an action plan for equality in 1992, a special FIU equality steering committee was established. This group was tasked with developing projects. This “institution” conducted training courses through FIU, as well as through the individual unions for LO members. (Other initiatives were also launched, including the preparation of an annual overview of equality



at LO. These annual overviews followed from the equality statement adopted at the 2003 LO congress. The overviews provide figures on gender representation in LO's and its member unions' committees, boards, elected posts and membership. These overviews were prepared for the years 2004, 2005, and 2006.)

The Partnership for FIU-Equality

In 2005, responsibility for FIU's equality work was delegated to the Partnership for FIU-Equality, which comprises three unions: HK, 3F and Dansk Metal. This partnership exists to the present day (May 2014), offering interdisciplinary training and courses for all of LO on gender, diversity and equality.



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