



The Danish Trade Union Movement, Equality and Diversity

FOR MORE THAN 100 YEARS





Cover picture: “An agitator” (also called a “popular speaker”) is painted in 1899 by Erik Henningsen (1855-1930). It is an oil painting and it measures 120 x 180 cm. It was first shown in March-April 1899. The huge conflict that arose later that year known as the “September Compromise” made the work very relevant. The speaker in the painting is very similar to Louis Pio (died in Chicago 1894), so he does not really play a role in the labour movement of the 1890’s in Denmark, but is a potent symbol. The School of Metalworkers (Metalskolen) in Jørlunde received the painting as a gift from the Central Society of the Copenhagen Smiths (Centralforeningen for de Københavnske Smede) when the school was founded in 1968. Prior to this, the painting had a colourful history. It was first sold to Germany and later to Italy. Louis Bormholt (several times social democratic minister and author, 1896-1969) bought the painting after a German professor revealed its existence and location. Bormholt sold the painting on to the then union leader of the Danish Smith and Machine Workers Union (Dansk Smede- og Maskinarbejderforbund), Hans Rasmussen (1902-1996). He transferred the picture to the Copenhagen smiths that in turn gave it to the School of Metalworkers (Metalskolen). (Source: Danish Metal Workers’ Union (Dansk Metal). The painting is reproduced with permission from Metalskolen.

(In 2002 LO, The Danish Confederation of Trade Unions, published the book: “Gender and the Trade Union Movement for 100 years” (Køn og fagbevægelse i 100 år) by Anette Wolthers. Some of the chapters from the 2002 book have been reviewed and updated and are integrated in this present publication. You can find the 2002 book here:

[http://fiu-ligestilling.dk/tools_materials_taxonomy/konsligestilling/page/4/ \)](http://fiu-ligestilling.dk/tools_materials_taxonomy/konsligestilling/page/4/)

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Foreword

The background of “The Danish Trade Union Movement, Equality and Diversity for More Than 100 Years” is that the LO Trade Union Movement (The Danish Confederation of Trade Unions – LO) and FIU-Equality (FIU-ligestilling – a partnership of four LO trade unions working with equal opportunities and diversity on behalf of LO) really wanted to present a detailed historic narrative about the long struggle for the rights of female and male wage earners - on the labour market, as citizens in society and as people in their diversity.

“The Danish Trade Union Movement, Equality and Diversity for More Than 100 Years” has the following contents:

- The Danish Model
- The History of The Danish Labour Movement 1870-2015 in 6 chapters
- An Appendix that recounts examples of immigration to Denmark through time

We hope that this book will help to build an understanding of the trade union movement’s long fight, which led to decent living conditions for the Danish workers. An understanding that the trade unions together with the employers developed the “Danish Model”, which for over 100 years, has granted the possibility of free unionisation and equality in negotiations and discussions among the labour market’s parties. The “Danish Model” goes beyond the labour market - it has been the driving force in the development of the Danish welfare state and social safety net.

There has not been room to acknowledge all the women and men that deserve a place in this history, but some of them have received small biographies here and there. We also recommend that you look in other books and sources for information about this long and fascinating story. But here is an introduction.

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Contents

	page
• The Danish Model	07
Institutions and Agreements that Support the Danish Model	15
Preconditions for the Danish Model to be Able to Continue	18
The Nordic Model	21
Challenges to the Danish and Nordic Model	24
Literature	25
Notes	26
• The Early Labour Movement 1871-1900	29
Trade Unions and the First International	30
The Workers Continue to Organise	31
The Women	33
The Weavers	35
The Tobacco Workers	36
The Men's Tailors	37
The Seamstresses	38
The National Union of Women Workers	38
The Trade Union Struggle 1875-1900	39
The Danish Confederation of Trade Unions (LO) is formed	40
Policy on Gender	43
Immigration	47
A Test of Strength Between the Classes in 1899	48
Literature	50
Notes	51
• The Labour Movement 1900-1930	54
Women's Opportunities and Rights	55
Occupation in Town and Countryside	56
Assistance for the Poor and Relief Funds	58
Unions for Maids, Rural Workers and Domestic Servants	59
Skilled, Unskilled and Parliamentary Work	63
The First World War and its Aftermath	67
Women and Men in Industry	69
Organisation	73

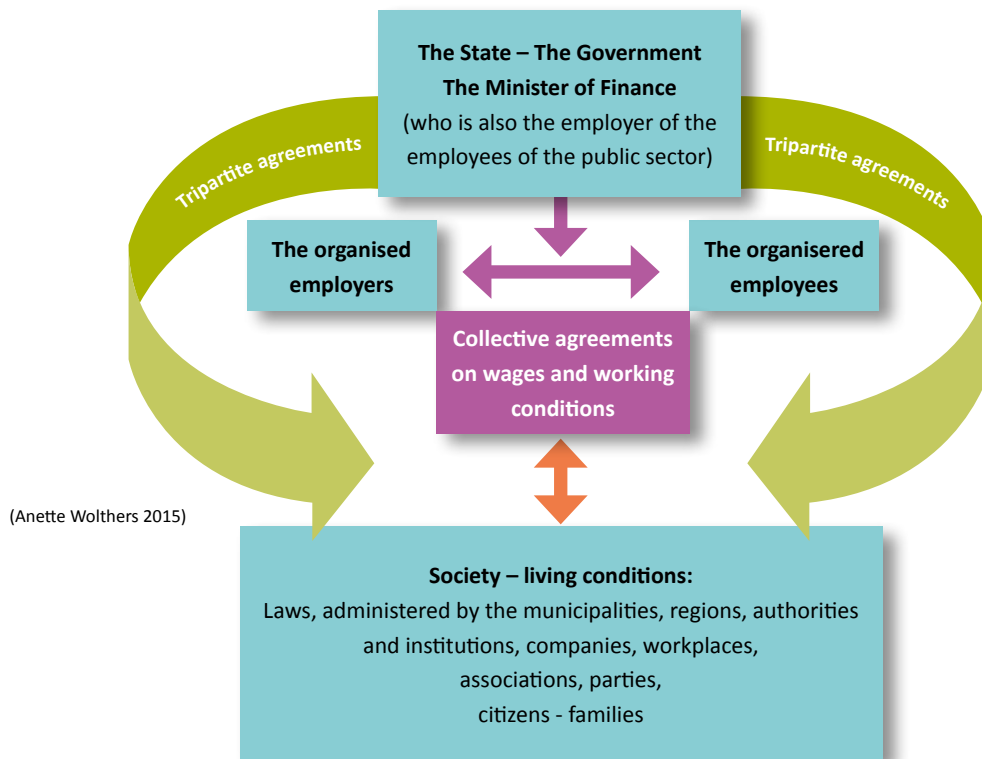
The Fight against Poverty and Unemployment	74
Family and Housing	74
Home and Children	76
Immigration	77
Legislation on Women	78
The Self Image of Working Women	79
Colleagues in the Trade Union Movement	81
Ideas of Liberation	81
Workers' Enlightenment	83
Literature	85
Notes	86
 • The Labour Movement 1930-1950	 87
The 1930's	88
The Women	89
Antifeminism in 1920's and 1930's	91
The Second World War	93
Women during and after the War	96
The Rebuilding of Industry	97
Equality?	98
Literature	99
Notes	100
 • The Labour Movement 1950-1971	 101
The Labour Force	102
Women and Men and their Jobs	105
Education and Work Opportunities for Young Women	106
Paid Work for Housewives	107
The Code of Practice for the Married Women's Paid Work	110
The Political Way Forward	112
The Trade Union Movement	115
Immigration 1950-1970	115
Literature	116
Notes	117

• The Labour Movement 1971-2000	118
Equal Pay	119
The New Women's Movement	120
Contraception and Free Abortion	120
Childcare	127
Maternity Leave and Childcare Leave	127
The Work Force Continues to Grow	127
Immigration	129
The Danish Confederation of Trade Unions, LO	129
Literature	134
Notes	135
 • The Labour Movement 2000-2015	 136
The Financial Crisis	137
Women's Work for a 'Man's Wage'	138
The Public efforts for Equality	139
The Labour Market	140
The Danish Confederation of Trade Unions, LO	141
Education	145
Immigration	146
Diversity and the Labour Movement	148
Literature	155
Notes	156
 • Appendix: A Brief History on Danish Immigration	 158
Invited by the King 1500-1800	159
Invited by the Employers 1800-2000	163
Refugees	166
Literature	171
Notes	171

The Danish Model

The Danish Model is a social model where there is an organised interplay between the different institutions and forces in society. The model has existed for more than 100 years, with the development and changes that have been necessary during this time. Its task has been to create private and social results through agreed processes between participants and decision makers.

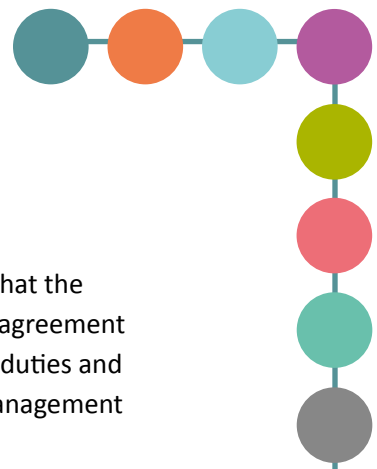
Figure 1:
The Danish Model



Elements of the Danish Model

The Danish Model's key elements are:

- The Danish workers and employees have a right to organise themselves into unions in order to defend and work toward their interests. This is also true for Danish employers.
- The organised parties (DA – Dansk Arbejdsgiverforening/ The Confederation of Danish Employers and LO – Landsorganisationen/The Danish Confederation of Trade Unions) in the private sector have made an overriding agreement, the Main Agreement (Hovedaftalen), which is also called the 'Constitution of the Danish labour market'. This agreement describes all fundamental processes they have chosen to follow and the 'institutions' that they have chosen to use.




- The organised parties have also formulated an agreement to ensure that the daily co-operation in the business and workplaces where a collective agreement is in place runs as smoothly as possible. This agreement specifies the duties and behaviour that lead to the most productive co-operation between management and employees, despite differing interests and positions.
- The organised parties, the workers and the employers can negotiate freely with each other and agree on wages and working conditions, which each has a responsibility to uphold.
- The employers have a right to 'hire and fire'. This means that they employ and dismiss workers as needed and in accordance with the agreed rules.
- The employers have the right to manage their own business, but they have, together with the unionised workers built a far-reaching system of co-operation. In this system, trade union representatives (tillidsrepræsentanter - shop stewards) and working environment representatives (arbejdsmiljørepræsentanter), who are voted in by the workers and accepted by the management, play a big part.
- The trade union representative system is an established part of the Danish Model. The tasks for the trade union representatives have become very extensive during the last 20 years. For example, it has become more common to create framework agreements in the parties' general collective agreements. These framework agreements then need to be applied more specifically in each individual work place, which is the job of the trade union representative and of the company's management.
- The agreement between DA and LO involve rates for wages, pensions (agreements were made about employers' labour market pension contributions at the beginning of the 1990's), work clothes (if relevant) and agreements on compensation for overtime, etc. The employers normally have no duties towards pensioned or dismissed employees.

Flexicurity

The Danish Model has also been called the 'flexicurity model' – a combination of the two words: flexibility and security.

Flexicurity ensures that the labour market is flexible – this means that it is able to change production depending on demand and need, so that, for example, business does not have a massive workforce without anything to do. It is an advantage for the employers that they can dismiss employees in such a situation and in this way save money or prevent bankruptcy. To enable the employers to fire employees without generating poverty and despair among those that were dismissed, the organised workers have arranged an insurance scheme through union membership



and unemployment funds. The income from the unemployment benefits under unemployment periods has developed a social security over generations both for the dismissed workers and for the active employees, whose fear for unemployment is reduced.

Receiving unemployment benefits as part of an insurance scheme has meant that the unemployed unionised workers have not become dependent on the social authorities, which can grant or deny benefits based on need assessments. But the unemployment benefits are a right that only those who have insured themselves according to the applicable rules are entitled to.

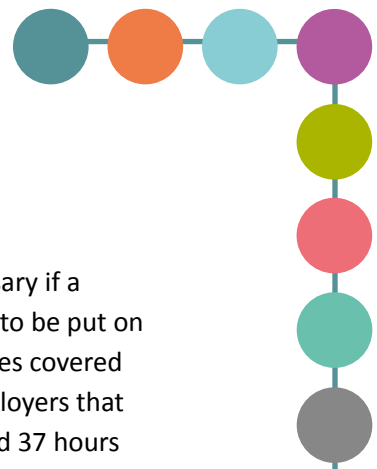
Based on this, it is fair to say that both employers and employees benefit from flexicurity and the Danish Model.

Characteristics of the Danish Labour Market

It is easy for Danish companies to 'hire and fire', and it is also easy for employees to change jobs, when there are plenty of jobs available – except for during periods of crisis or stagnation. 30% of Danish employees change job every year – that is approx.. 700,000 wage earners. Danish employees have the most jobs throughout their working lives – in comparison with other EU countries. This is due to the fact that, as an employee in Denmark, you do not lose your acquired rights when you change jobs, for instance your pension, holiday rights, seniority in your unemployment fund (A-kasse) etc. In some other countries, the employee is tied up to an association for one company, which holds the employee's pension capital.

Finding a permanent job is also easier than in some other countries, where it can take many years of working temporary jobs before it happens (e.g. Spain). However, this system with frequent job changes also means that many people experience the type of unemployment that is being 'in between jobs'. In Denmark there is less long-term unemployment than in the rest of the EU (due to the Danish labour market policies). The Danish Model of flexicurity has three arms:

- Flexicurity provides security – in order to be flexible as an employee, it is necessary to have a social safety net (unemployment benefits are indispensable). A worker's flexibility¹ also means that it is possible to go in and out of a work situation depending on the employer's need. This gives companies security, which encourages them to increase their number of employees when times are good, so the companies can benefit from the increased production that this situation can lead to. Should bad times arise, companies can reduce their number




of employees without facing heavy expenses. Flexibility is also necessary if a company needs its employees to work more than usual (overtime) or to be put on short-time work, if there is less to do than usual. 98% of the employees covered by collective agreement in Denmark have agreements with their employers that their working hours can vary, as long as they remain within the agreed 37 hours per week on average.

- Flexicurity provides the possibility of local pay supplements (lokalløn) - if a workplace has particular assignments and both management and employees agree that those assignments require extra pay, it is possible to make a local agreement. This has become very normal over the last 25 years, where wage formation has developed on a local level rather than via the collective agreements. 66% of the pay was agreed locally in 1989; today it is approximately 90%.
- Flexicurity provides job security – because the Danish labour market is so dynamic, it is possible to find jobs that often match the individual's qualifications. This means that the strengths of the workforce are used optimally, and this is an advantage for the workers, who are generally satisfied with their work and who feel valued. Even though in the last 10-20 years there have been worries about work-related stress in Denmark, results of personality tests show that Danes (compared to other nations) feel that they can 'be themselves at work' to a much larger extent than employees in many other countries and that they can use their experience and professional competencies without having to dissemble or be submissive etc. This acceptance of a person's authenticity can also give job security to the individual.

Security Systems Connected to the Labour Market

Throughout Danish history, security systems have developed that socially secure employers and workers. We are talking about systems that are 'long sighted', in the sense that the workforce need to reproduce and keep up to date with regard to knowledge, education and training.

Apart from what is paid from the state's budget for education and further education of the workforce, the parties have ensured that there is money for further education of the parties by paying a sum into the DA/LO development fund, where DA (The Confederation of Danish Employers) members pay a sum for every worked hour by every employee who is an LO (Confederation of Danish Trade Unions) member. The money from the fund is shared between DA and LO for further education, The biggest part of LO's resources from the fund is given to the individual national LO-unions, who invest it to upgrade the qualifications of their union representatives (shop stewards) and work environment representatives, for instance. The



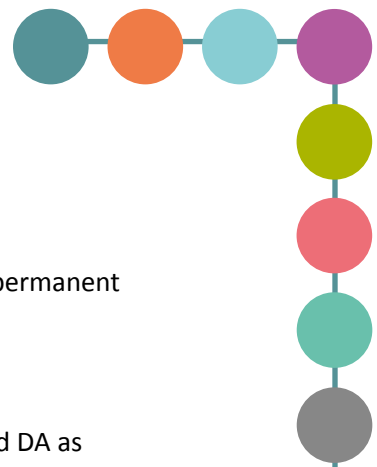
rest of the money is used for interdisciplinary courses and education within the LO framework. LO has delegated the work on diversity and equality to a partnership of HK (The Union of Commercial and Clerical Employees in Denmark), Dansk Metal (Danish Metal Workers' Union), 3F (The United Federation of Danish Workers 3F) and Serviceforbundet (The Services Union). This partnership is called FIU-Equality (FIU-Ligestilling – FIU is the name of the LO part of the DA/LO development fund), which organises interdisciplinary courses on equality and diversity. It is estimated that over one month, more than 25% of LO members take part in some form of further education and training.

Another example of a security system is the Parental Leave Funds (barselsfonde). Since October 2006, all companies must be members of a legal parental leave fund. Already in 1995, during the collective bargaining, the Industry Parental Leave Fund (Industriens Barselsfond) was set up. It is paid into by all employers in the Confederation of Danish Industry (DI, Dansk Industri). DI is a part of DA. The aim of this fund was to level out the differences in parental leave pay among the member companies and industries. They could obtain a refund of part of their salary-related expenses for employees who are on pregnancy leave, maternity leave, paternity leave, parental leave or have a child hospitalised. The system works as follows: A mother or a father on leave receives an allowance from the state, which the employer supplements to maintain the employee's normal wage.

A third element is the unemployment benefits. The criteria for being accepted and becoming a beneficiary member of an unemployment fund (A-kasse) have changed over time. 20 years ago you could get unemployment benefits for 7 years. This was reduced to 4 years and, at this time, it is 2 years.² If, after 2 years receiving benefits from the unemployment fund, the worker has still not found a job and therefore earned new entitlement to unemployment benefits, the worker is referred to the social services. They grant help based on the worker's household wealth and income³. This means that the person is not considered as an individual with individual rights, but as a family. The family as a legal unit is very difficult to define today. Thirty seven different family types have currently been identified in Denmark.

Active Labour Market Politics

The goal that all adults (except pensioners) who are able should be available to the labour market has characterised Danish labour market policies for generations. Bigger and smaller bodies of law come up periodically and change the labour market, and thus also the work policy, reducing the margin of workers who are not available to the labour market. All the screws have been tightened so that this general direc-



tion is followed (e.g. sickness benefit administration) in order to avoid 'permanent parking' of people outside of the labour market.

The Labour Market's Parties as Inventors of the Danish Model

Over 100 years have passed since the labour market parties, with LO and DA as pioneers, developed the Danish Model - at first as a collective bargaining model with each other, with the September Compromise (1899) and later extensions and supplements to this compromise - including spreading this model to other parties in the labour market.

Their invention was so powerful that it has not been necessary to have an underlying political regulation of the labour market.

The state has made room for something called 'collegiate or governing bodies'⁴, where the parties can meet and draft labour market and employment-related policies as the national employment council, eight regional employment councils, and the municipal employment council. Furthermore, the state has opened a number of funds for supporting initiatives in the labour market⁵.


The 'September Compromise' 1899 (Septemberforliget)

The lead-up to the September Compromise in 1899 was a dispute about wages among the joiners and carpenters and their employers, which spread throughout the whole organised labour market. After four months, where mass strikes and mass lockouts were used as weapons in the fight, a compromise was achieved between the employers' organisation (today Dansk Arbejdsgiverforening, DA – The Confederation of Danish Employers) and the workers' organisation (today Landsorganisationen i Danmark, LO – The Confederation of Danish Trade Unions). This compromise is known as the 'September Compromise.'

The agreements in this compromise were so fundamental and so solid that the September Compromise's results lasted until 1960, when they were revised. The main results of the September Compromise were:

- The employers recognised the workers' right to organise themselves into unions
- The employees acknowledged the employers' right to direct and portion out the work, and thus also to 'hire and fire'



- 
- The two parties recognised each other as equals, who entered into voluntary agreements and collective agreements without interference
 - The parties recognised each other's methods of combat: The unions' right to strike (remain away from work) and the employers' right to lockout (disallow the workers' access to work). These methods were only to be used if the parties observed a number of fundamental rules (including warnings) about how such actions must be taken.
 - The main desire was to maintain the 'embargo on striking and locking out' in the collective agreement period, so that there would be no indiscriminate and inconvenient lockouts or strikes, and everybody would strive to maintain the agreement.
 - The parties to the agreement must not support so-called 'unlawful actions' (i.e. defined as 'unlawful' in the agreement because they do not follow the agreed rules of the game - not unlawful in accordance with Danish law).
 - Establishment of an Arbitral Tribunal (Voldgiftsret - replaced by the Conciliation Board - Forligsinstitutionen - in 1910).

The September Compromise was not just a set of rules of the game for the private employers organised in the Confederation of Danish Employers, DA, and employees unionised in the Confederation of Danish Trade Unions, LO. It inspired other groups and organisations in the Danish labour market to undertake similar agreements using the same model.

For the LO-trade union movement, the September Compromise meant that the unions learnt to work together and act with solidarity, as well as the importance of keeping agreements. They also learnt that it was the employers that could and had to hire, fire, direct and delegate the work. It was not up to the workers themselves to divide up the work: Skilled/unskilled - women/men. On the other hand, membership in the unions was recognised, together with the workers' right to control the unions and their right to request the employers to hold negotiations for entering an agreement when they felt that the time was right.



Tripartite negotiations

Part of the Danish Model from the very start since 1899 is the phenomenon called 'tripartite negotiations' (trepartsforhandling). It is a particular negotiation that can take place between the three central parties in the Danish labour market: The Employers' umbrella organisations, the wage earner's main trade unions (LO, FTF, AC and Lederne) - and the State, represented by the Minister of Finance. The State does not take part in the shaping of the common settlements and agreements. It only gets involved in larger fundamental negotiations. For example, a tripartite negotiation took place when changes had to be made to the main agreement and to the unemployment benefit and early retirement system.

The 'Umbrella Trade Unions' in Denmark are:

- LO = Landsorganisationen, The Danish Federation of Trade Unions
- FTF = Funktionærernes og Tjenestemændenes Fællesråd, The Confederation of Salaried Employees and Civil Servants
- AC = Akademikernes Centralorganisation, The Danish Federation of Professional Associations
- Lederne = The Danish Association of Managers and Executives

Institutions and Agreements that Support the Danish Model

In the years after the September Compromise, a number of institutions were created. They were all part of a particular system with the aim of finding quick and final solutions to a series of conflicts between employers and their possible organisations on the one hand and the employees and their organisations on the other.

The Conciliation Board (Forligsinstitutionen)

The Conciliation Board is a governmental body that was founded by law in April 1910 to replace the Court of Arbitration from 1899. The aim was to aid the labour market's parties so that conflicts (lockouts and strikes) could be minimised or avoided. The Conciliation Board consists of one chairperson and three conciliators, one substitute and 21 mediators. The Minister for Employment appoints them following the recommendation of the Labour Court. The Conciliation Board has several powers:

- They can call the parties in to negotiation if a conflict is imminent - and possibly defer the conflicts that would have come about following a notice.
- They can force the parties to restart negotiations on the points where there is disagreement, or force them to testify in the Labour Court if there is a situation that needs to be further examined.

- They can demand information about strike and lockout notices.
- On their own authority, they can propose mediation, which needs to be sent to a vote.

The Labour Court (Arbejdsretten)

In the same way, The Labour Court was founded by law in April 1910. The Labour Court (together with The Civil Servant Court [Tjenestemandssretten], The Municipal and the Regional Civil Servant Court [Den Kommunale og Regionale Tjenestemandssret]) is a state special court outside of the judiciary. This court deals with breaches and interpretation of collective agreements and arrangements in the labour market, the legality of predicted collective conflicts and disagreements about the ability of mediators. The Labour Court consists of a chairmanship of 6 members together with 43 judges who are knowledgeable in the subject. Judges are appointed for 5 years at a time by the employment minister after nomination from a number of employees' and employers' organisations as well as the public authorities. The Labour Court decisions cannot be appealed to a Court of Appeal. They must be complied with. Before a case may be brought before The Labour Court, it will normally be considered at meetings at the workplace between the employees' and the employers' organisations, and possibly with labour arbitration involved.

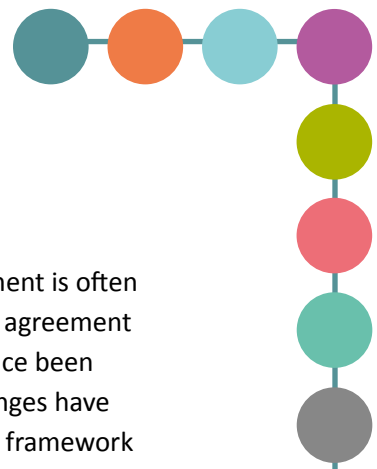
The Industrial Arbitration Courts (De faglige voldgiftsretter)

The industrial arbitration courts are quasi-judicial bodies that are appointed by the parties for handling single issues or more permanent interpretations of agreements. An industrial arbitration court usually consists of a mediator, who is chosen by the Labour Court's chairman, together with 4 other members, of whom 2 are chosen by the employee and 2 are chosen by the employer. The purpose of these courts of arbitration is to interpret collective agreements as well as cases regarding dismissal of union members. Finally there are a number of provisions in collective agreements by which the matter of unfair dismissal of employees is addressed by arbitration instead of taking them to a dismissal board. The process is closed to the public and the decisions are also private. If majority cannot be achieved among the arbitrators for a particular decision, the mediator settles the case alone. The decision can be enforced.

The cases cannot be brought before the ordinary courts. The single employee can however bring before the ordinary courts a case concerning outstanding wage claims.

The Main Agreement (Hovedaftalen)

The results of the September Compromise in 1899 were later written down in the



two labour market's parties' (DA, and LO) main agreement. This agreement is often referred to as 'The Constitution of the Danish Labour Market.' The main agreement from 1899 was first replaced with a new agreement in 1960, and has since been revised several times, the latest revision being in 1993. None of the changes have affected the main principles of the agreement. The main agreement is a framework that has been built on over time with a number of supplementary agreements. It states that the employees have the right to organise themselves in trade unions, and that there is a non-strike agreement during the appointed agreement period, that conflicts must be notified, and that there are some limits to the employers' right to dismiss without reason. The agreement also includes a statement about trade union representatives (shop stewards), the workers' leaders, as well as the ownership of the company and the employers' managerial right.


The Co-operation Agreement (Hovedsamarbejdsaftalen)

In 1986, a co-operation agreement was made between LO and DA (updated in March 2005). It describes how the day-to-day work should be conducted among big and small 'companies of the agreement'. In this agreement the emphasis is on the fact that the employer has a duty to provide information, so that the people in the joint committees (e.g. joint consultative committee) can work and make decisions from an accurate basis. The agreement also states how the employers' side and the employee's side should be distributed in the committee, that a cooperation board is established, which can process disagreements in accordance to the general guidelines of industrial arbitration.

Supplementary Agreement to the Co-operation Agreement - Gender and Ethnic Equality

In June 1986, LO and DA agreed on a supplementary agreement to their cooperation agreement. This agreement was aimed at promoting equal treatment for men and women, as well as equal treatment for Danish employees and employees with a non-Danish ethnic background. It specified equal treatment regarding same employment, education, and promotion opportunities, as well as same conditions of employment. It was furthermore noted that they should work towards a more equal division of the types of jobs and responsibilities (where career choices and recruitment decisions had proved to be gender-based); reconciling having a paid job with having children; working against discriminatory behaviour that degrades women's and men's dignity in the workplace; and opposing the discrimination of people who choose to lodge a complaint or want to be a witness in connection with a complaint.

It is emphasised in the agreement that the employer has a responsibility to obey



the current laws, e.g. by creating programmes for equality and adapting the physical working conditions in such a way that the work can be undertaken by both women and men. The joint consultative committee had to be informed of the work carried out in the company to achieve gender and ethnic equality, as well as any appointed subcommittees⁶.

Preconditions for the Danish Model to be Able to Continue The Level of Organisation of the Parties

The basis for the Danish Model is the organised parties in the labour market. Establishing organisations that represent many participants means that the agreements they enter receive support and hence also carry value and weight.

For the employees/workers, the basis is that they are organised in trade unions with negotiating powers and/or in the collective union of associations and the main organisations such as LO, FTF or AC. The more members are represented by these organisations, the stronger the coalition of unions, i.e. their level of organisation. The proportion of wage-earning workers that are members of a union defines a union's level of organisation.

Unemployment Benefits

The first unemployment fund (A-kasse) was established as early as 1877. The moulders (in the iron industry) came up with a 'package' comprising of the union membership fee, a health insurance fund and an unemployment fund. This was quickly followed by several other industries. By setting up these payments to the unemployment funds, their members gained more security. Besides, it allowed them to be able to collect their unemployment benefit without having to humble themselves before the poor-law authorities.

It was difficult for the unemployment funds to make ends meet in times of crisis, recession, and employee terminations. The unemployment funds soon became a form of an employment office, as they knew their unemployed members and they could recommend them new job opportunities. It was also in the unemployment fund's interest that there were as few unemployed members as possible, so that they did not become a burden on them. In the 1890's the Social Democrats suggested that the State should give a subsidy to the unemployment funds, which had been good at attracting new members and providing jobs for the unemployed. They would not receive a state authorisation until 1907, while J.C. Christensen, from the Left Party (Venstre – centre right, conservative liberal party. The party had up to 1901 been



leading the opposition to Højre – the Right Party.), was prime minister of Denmark. The state's condition was to establish state control, and that the unemployment funds would refrain from supporting possible labour disputes in the form of strikes and lockouts. This was completely in tune with the structure of the labour legislation system, which was developed roughly at the same time.

It was possible to become a member of the unemployment funds without being a member of the trade union, but in practice most workers were members of both.


'The Ghent effect' was named after the Belgian town where these two types of memberships were brought together for the first time, which later on became the norm in Denmark. After 1970, the state intervened and took on the risk of any losses between income and the subsidy payments being made. Unemployment benefits and other benefits are financed by the members through their membership fee (approx. 25%) and through the employees' payments of labour market contributions (arbejdsmarkedsbidrag) (approx. 75%). Apart from this, the members pay for the administration of the unemployment fund (A-kasse). As opposed to insurance companies, the unemployment funds are non-profit organisations controlled by their members. The unemployment funds are organised in The Danish Federation of Unemployment Insurance Funds (A-kassernes Samvirke)⁷.

Danish Employees Support the Danish Model

In 2010, a survey was conducted among 714 LO members⁸. They were asked whether they believed that trade unions are necessary to guard the employees' interest. 80% said absolutely. 77% of the men and 83% of women agreed. A majority (51%) in the study justified their membership as follows: *"To stand together with other employees and secure our common interests, (e.g. wages and working conditions, political influence, etc.)"*

The feeling of standing together with others - the collective argument - is the strongest argument for both men and women with regard to joining a trade union, above other possible arguments such as duty, requirement, self-interest and the option of getting the unemployment fund (A-kasse) included in their 'union package.'

Women are particularly supportive of the collective, and for many years we have seen an increased support from women to the unions. This can be seen in the different membership percentages between genders, where 70.9% of workers were members of a trade union in 2011. 68.5% of male workers were members, while it was 73.4% amongst female workers.



This situation is a consequence of the high level of organisation in Denmark as well as the direct negotiations between the labour market's parties. You would think that employee wages would be to the detriment of the employers and their competitiveness. However, the general perception in Denmark is that the two parties need to work together in order to reach the best results for both of them: High wages is a price worth paying for competent, highly productive and loyal employees.

The Danish Model is Worth It

In the autumn of 2014, a comparison of the minimum payment in different countries was circulating on Facebook. The Danish wage was between one third and twice as high as the wages in Germany, France, Australia, and the USA⁹. Surely this is enough proof that the Danish Model is worth it for the workers?

No Rivalry or Only a Little

In many European countries there is rivalry among trade unions due to religious or political matters. Denmark has not experienced this in the same way. The trade unions in Denmark have accommodated more and more members, even though there is the possibility of choosing alternative ways of organising in the privately owned commercial unemployment funds.

The Welfare State and the Danish Model

The Danish Model became strong by developing in parallel with the Danish welfare state. Society has offered (to a great extent) free education not just for children and youths, but also quality options for further and higher education for adults in the labour market. The labour market education and training programme (AMU) was created in 1969. This type of training is addressed especially to unskilled and skilled workers¹⁰. It is based on both practical and theoretical teaching and it can be done as full or part time. You can apply for VEU allowance¹¹ if you are enrolled in a recognised education or training for adults. It is a compensation for loss of wages while in education.

Other benefits that are available in the welfare state are: Childcare and care of the elderly, housing subsidy (rent subsidy), if one is needy, general old age pension (state retirement pension) for all citizens who have lived in Denmark for a significant part of their lives, etc. There is free medical and hospital care. All citizens can obtain advice and guidance by contacting the council's social services or the citizens' service centre if they need help - including financial help.



The welfare state is built on trust: The Danes are used to paying into the common Treasury and to receiving from it when they need it. '*I gladly pay my taxes*' has been a slogan to support the welfare state with collective solidary support, even though the taxes are rather high. The welfare system has had a smoothing effect and has established equality, as opposed to what has been the case in other countries, where only the richest have been able to afford to educate their children, and where becoming ill and needing to go to hospital can ruin a family if they do not have health insurance or can afford to pay for medical care, etc.

The Nordic Model

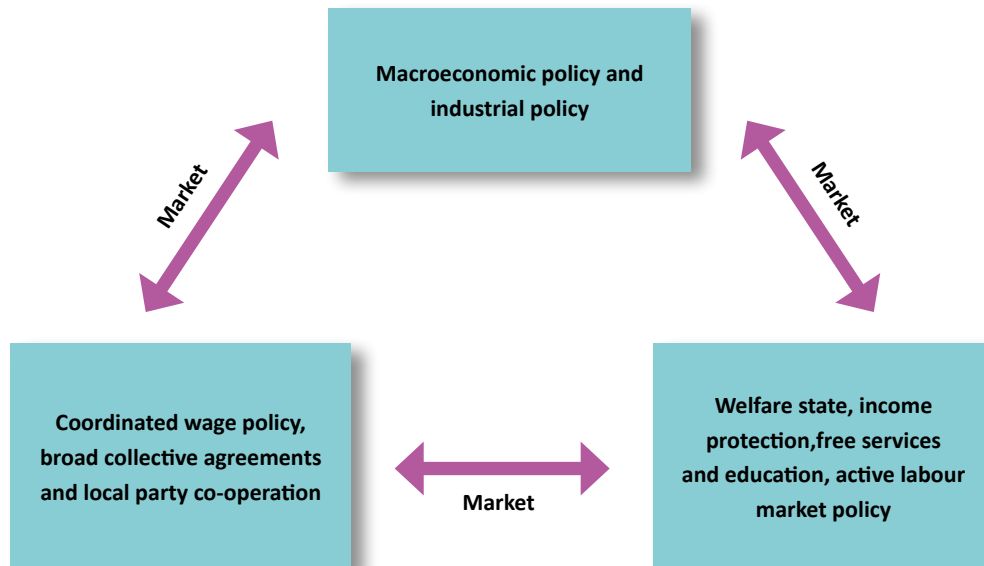
Denmark, Norway and Sweden are among the seven richest countries in the OECD¹². Finland and Iceland are part of the group of the twenty richest countries. Most Nordic adults are part of the labour market and in employment.

The fact that the Nordic countries are economically successful is due to the high labour market participation rate, which is the percentage of the adult population associated with the labour market. This is particularly due to women's paid employment, which is at the same level as men's. Iceland has the highest participation rate in the OECD, as adults often have more than one job. The reason behind so many people being released from their home chores (childcare, looking after the sick and elderly) is that the welfare state's institutions are structured so that they can help carry out some of these tasks.

The North has had strong and active states that have challenged social inequality through labour market policies, including employment policies, social policies and education policies. This particular type of state, with an open economy, has been able to manoeuvre in the different markets because trust was built among the institutions in the society (e.g. the State), the markets and the organised participants (labour market parties). See figure 2.

Figure 2:

The cornerstones of the traditional Nordic models – small, open economies, dependent on international trade



Collective risk sharing - equality and “productive fairness” - changes are made through an interaction among the institutions, the markets and the organised parties.

(Source: Figure 1 “Grunnpilarene i de tradisjonelle nordiske modellene”, page 47, Jon Erik Dølvik, Nordmod 2030, Fafo 2013 - Text translated from Norwegian into Danish. Annette Wolthers)

This means that inconsiderate individual gain and the breach of the collective agreement rules and their in-built propriety only lead to ‘removing yourself from the good company’, whether you are an employee or an employer. Current examples of this are the trade unions’ attempt to get an airline to the negotiation table to make an agreement, or the unions’ call to the employers to not just import workers from abroad, but to use the job centres or contact the trade unions when they need manpower. ‘Inconsiderate individual gain’ might also mean that some employees want a part of the benefits attained through the collective agreements and arrangements, but they do not want to be members of the trade union. Such actions contribute to undermining these institutions and the trust among the parties.



Equality in the North

In the Sørmarka declaration¹³ from December 2014 the Nordic trade unions and social democrats said:

"A surprising amount is left to be done before we have gender equality in the home and in the workplace, and when it comes to access to power in business life and in society.

No one should live their life in fear of violence, sexual abuse or harassment. The media and adverts are filled with stereotypes and repressive images that work directly against equality. Even though the individual woman and man have everyday responsibilities, it is our political task to look at the structural relationships in society. This is particularly true of the rules concerning work and family life."

This quote shows how the concern about social structures is what glues everything together, even though market forces are also addressed. It is from that tradition in the North that the welfare states arose, since the emphasis has been on building frameworks and structures around the common life, however diverse - or unequal - we might be. People are not content with the idea of not being equals - there is a desire for welfare development and a decent life for everyone. This is in contrast to other ideologies that state that people should know their individual 'place' in society and behave accordingly, when it comes to expectations in both the labour market and one's life.

Trust and Equality

In 'Denmark 2030'¹⁴ LO stated:

"Denmark is a country where citizens have strong trust in each other and society. This high level of trust is partly due to a well-functioning public sector with equal access to public services. This guarantees a significant balance and counteracts excessive inequality and poverty. An interdisciplinary analysis shows a strong connection between the population's trust of each other and equality in society. As well as good social cohesion. Denmark is at the top of the list when it comes to trust and equality."

You could even say that 'trust' is the Nordic/Danish Model's DNA. Trust means that people can count on each other and keep agreements, and that there is no need to use power or buy loyalty through corruption in order to achieve what you want or wish. Trust arises and recurs because the parties are used to recognising each other as equal parties, even though they have opposing interests and views, and they can negotiate their way to solutions that they and their counterpart can agree upon and support. This has been the norm in the labour market for many years - that both the organised employers and the trade union members support the Danish Model.



“The Danish Model has Spoken” 1st July 2015

In Denmark, it is not just the employees and the trade unions that support the ‘Danish Model’.

“The Labour Court has decided today that (the airline) cannot dismiss the trade union’s demands regarding Danish collective agreements on the grounds that the employees do not have a connection to Denmark. The Labour Court placed emphasis on the following in order to arrive at its decision:

The employees have a sufficient connection to Denmark for the union to be able to make a claim for Danish collective agreement.

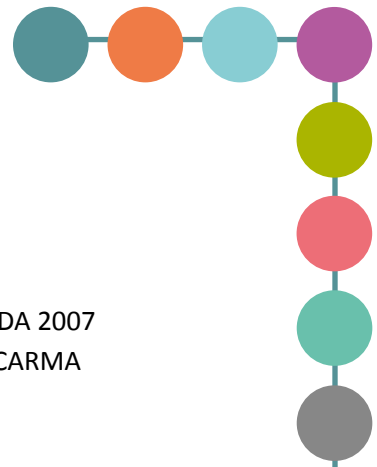
A claim for a Danish collective agreement is in conformity with EU law.”

The quotation above appeared in the Confederation of Danish Employers’ (DA) newsletter: DA Opinion 1 July 2015, 14:21. In that regard, the Director of DA, Pernille Knudsen, said: *“The Labour Court has now settled that it is the Danish rules that apply. This also means that (the airline) faces a claim for Danish collective agreement. This is completely in accordance with the Danish Agreement Model. Should (the airline) and the unions not be able to reach agreement, a conflict and related sympathy conflicts could be set in motion as soon as next week. Those are the rules of the game in the Danish Model and we have managed situations like this before.”* (The case was brought before the Labour Court by the Service Union (Serviceforbundet) and the Air Personnel Union, FPU [Flybranchens Personale Union], both members of the Confederation of Danish Trade Unions, LO).

Challenges to the Danish and the Nordic Model

The Danish Model is strongly challenged from many sides, partly from those companies where the employers do not want to organise and make agreements, and partly from the EU, where the standard way to regulate the labour market is through legislation. The model is also challenged by migrant workers from other EU countries, who have a right to the Danish welfare benefits without having contributed to financing them - other than with the taxes they pay from their wages while they are working in Denmark.

There are also challenges in the form of neo-liberal solutions. These are market-supported solutions in the political life that attack the collective idea in both the labour market and the welfare system in Denmark¹⁵.

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Samarbejdsaftalen af 2005 og Tillægsaftalen af 1986: http://www.da.dk/bilag/10.03.2005-Endelig%20-%20Samarbejdsaftalen%202005_FLD.pdf

Tegnefilm om den danske model (animated cartoon)

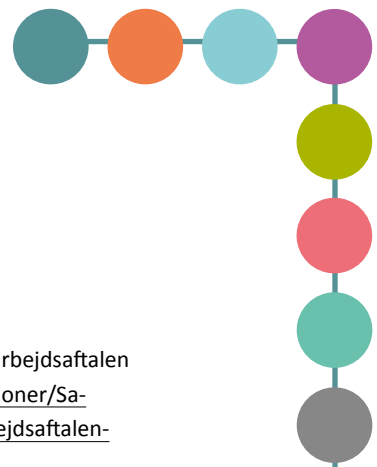
På LO's kongres i juni 2011 blev der vist en lille tegnefilm om den danske model.

Filmen blev offentliggjort i 2012 og ligger på LO's hjemmeside: http://www.lo.dk/Tema/TemaArkiv/2012/DenDanskeModel_2012.aspx




The Danish Model notes


- 1 In the “social contract” between the employers and the employees there is flexibility in the other direction too, for instance if the employee needs to have flexible working hours or have some time off due to family circumstances, etc.
- 2 In June 2014 the Danish government set up a Benefits Commission (Dagpengekommisionen). The commission was to investigate the following: Is an insurance scheme still the best system for unemployed workers? Is it up-to-date in respect to the modern labour market? How can it be made simpler? Are the current unemployment funds and the system strong enough for an integrated EU labour market with its free movement for workers policy? Around the turn of the year 2015/2016, the commission must come up with an initiative (Source: www.bm.dk).
- 3 With the Marriage legislation of 1923 and 1925, spouses obtained mutual responsibility to provide for each other. But today, where Danes live in up to 37 different identified forms of family, it is difficult to state who is responsible for maintaining whom. The old mutual responsibility to support each other from the 1920s was also defined such that if a spouse did not earn any money, he/she could also contribute by doing chores at home - which obviously does not generate revenue. When approaching the social system, you are no longer considered an individual, but as part of a ‘family’. A family is, as mentioned, difficult to define these days, as Danes often live with their partner without getting married, ‘paperless’ or in cohabitation arrangements, without an individual entering into a relationship with anyone that resembles marriage. In the last years, both the legislation and the authorities have been very officious when it comes to judging whether there is a ‘marriage’ or a ‘cohabitation’ for individuals that apply for social security, i.e. the authorities want to put the burden of support on other citizens if possible. For this reason, the trade union movement very much wants it to be easier to be entitled to social security in your unemployment fund (A-kasse) and for the two year period to be extended so that the members avoid becoming ‘social clients’.
- 4 Examples of collegiate or governing bodies are the Employment Council (Beskæftigelsesrådet), which advises the Employment Minister and was founded by the Agency for Labour Market and Recruitment (Styrelsen for Arbejdsmarked og Rekruttering). The council consists of 26 members as well as 25 members who represent the labour market’s parties: DA, LO, FTF, AC, The Danish Disability Organisations (Danske Handicaporganisationer) and the Local Municipalities’ National Association (Kommunernes Landsforening). There are also regional and local employment councils that advise the municipalities with regard to dismissal policies and the work done in the 94 municipal job centres (there are 98 municipalities - so some municipalities work together). The job centres’ task is to get the unemployed into work and education and also to help companies find the manpower that they need to recruit.
- 5 For example: The fund for prevention and maintenance (Fonden for forebyggelse og fastholdelse): <http://www.forebyggelsesfonden.dk/>



- 6 The Cooperation Agreement of 2005 and the Additional Agreement of 1986 (Samarbejdsaftalen af 2005 og Tillægsaftalen af 1986): <http://www.lo.dk/RUNDTOMLO/Bestilpublikationer/Samarbejde/~media/Publikationer/Publikations%20filer/Samarbejde/4012Samarbejdsaftalen-2006pdf.ashx>
- 7 The National Federation of Unemployment Insurance Funds (A-kassernes Samvirke) is a trade association for the 24 state recognised unemployment funds in Denmark that have 2.1 million members altogether: <http://ak-samvirke.dk>
- 8 The Danish Model clarified from the employees experience and opinions 2011 (Den danske model belyst ved lønmodtagernes erfaringer og holdninger 2011), LO documentation no. 2, 2012
- 9 A Gallup poll for LO in 2011 showed that 72% of Danish employees think that there is a legislation-based minimum wage in Denmark. The same opinion is apparently held around the world. These are the minimum wages per hour converted into DKK as per 8th October 2014 as mentioned on Facebook: Denmark: 124.00 DKK; Germany: 64.95 DKK; France: 72.92 DKK; Australia: 92.35 DKK and USA: 42.81 DKK. Even though we do not have an official minimum wage in Denmark, this source found out nonetheless that it is 124 DKK/hour (there is no date to this source). See also: <http://www.raisetheminimumwage.com/> This organisation is based in the USA and thinks that increasing the minimum wage through legislation can bring more prosperity. According to this source, all the myths about low wages creating more jobs should be rejected as this decreases the spending power in society, which in turn brings poverty and a lower welfare. In Denmark, we would probably argue that Danish wages are the highest on the list because we have a very high union membership rate. Membership of LO is roughly 70.9% (women 73.4% and men 68.5% in 2011), but it is 61% for the whole labour market. Germany has 18%, France has 8%. For the whole of the EU and Norway the number is 23%. In the US it is about 7% for the private sector and 11% for the public sector. In Australia the average is 50%.
- 10 AMU consists of short courses that people can take in a way that fits their working schedule. All these courses are recognised as providing skill and some of these give credit towards vocational educations. It is common that the employer pays for these courses, but the employer then receives a compensation for each day that the employee is absent. Some courses are free, especially if they are part of a general upgrading of schooling qualifications for adults or part of an individual competence assessment. (Source: Education guide [Uddannelsesguiden]: www.ug.dk)
- 11 In order to be granted VEU compensation, you must meet a number of requirements, including for instance, being employed with an employer that is subject to Danish law and not having an educational level higher than a vocational education (or similar) or being unskilled. You are also entitled to the compensation, if you live abroad and work in a Danish company. (Sources: www.3F.dk and www.borger.dk)

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- 12 OECD - The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development - is an international organisation that was founded after World War II. Its task is to stimulate economic growth among the member states. The organisation produces statistics and reports - also based on research visits to the member countries.
 - 13 Refer to the literature list - The quotation is translated by Anette Wolthers
 - 14 Refer to the literature list
 - 15 Animated film about The Danish Model. At LO's conference in June 2011, a short animated film called 'Challenges to the Danish Model' (Udfordringerne til den danske model) was shown. The film was released in 2012 and can be seen on LO's website: http://www.lo.dk/Tema/TemaArkiv/2012/DenDanskeModel_2012.aspx One of the themes of the film concerns the challenges that the model is exposed to, both from abroad and within Denmark, where a more individual mind-set has developed, as well as the impairment that has taken place, for example the limitation of security for a means of sustenance, which is the underlying basis of the model. Watch the film!

The Early Labour Movement 1871-1900



The reason why this work, 'The Danish Trade Union Movement, Equality and Diversity for More than 100 Years', travels all the way back to the middle of the 18th century is that this is when the development of some fundamental views and patterns took place in the culture of the labour movement and in the freedom it fights for.

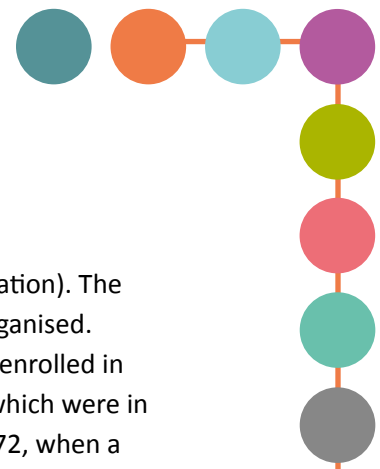
For example, it demanded citizen's rights for everyone (universal suffrage), together with women's right for paid work and their right to participate and become liberated in the union struggle. Within the labour movement, there is a debate about whether we should fight for men to be able to provide for their families just based on their salaries, or whether we should also fight for women to be able to look after themselves and their families through paid employment. The labour migration from neighbouring countries is also something that the labour movement needs to define its position towards.

But it is the balance of power between the employees and the employers that receives the most attention.

Trade Unions and the First International

Between 1848 and 1871 a number of trade unions were formed in Denmark. The enactment of the Danish Trade and Industry Law of 1857 caused a breach in the monopoly that Danish guilds otherwise had in the labour market. This led to free access to the practise of business and free competition, which set a new economic development in motion in Denmark. These unions were inspired by the industrial development and the political upheaval and revolts in Europe. In 1848-49, almost all European countries were in the process of establishing democracies that could secure the citizens' rights and free the people from the Kings' authoritative powers. In Denmark this led to the Constitution of 1849. In the spring of 1871, the Paris Commune started, and it showed that the working population in France could rule Paris on its own. This made workers in Europe feel like they belonged to a 'fifth estate'¹⁶, a rank or a class that could achieve their freedom and at the same time organise a democracy where the people where in charge and did not need to be subject to the privileged leaders. During the Paris Commune, women were particularly active and spurred the development of ideas about freedom and equality between the genders.

In 1871, Louis Pio (1841-1894) established a Danish division of The First International¹⁷, which had been started in 1864 by a group of trade unions, other workers' organisations in Europe, and Karl Marx (1818-1883), among others (The name of




the International Organisation was: International Working Men's Association). The First International in Denmark inspired a wave of workers to become organised. Within a month, 700 people became members in Copenhagen and 400 enrolled in Aarhus. In the winter of 1871-72 there were 9,000 members, 4,000 of which were in the provinces. The movement reached its high point in the spring of 1872, when a big strike took place amongst 2,000 bricklayers from Copenhagen, who were at that time busy in the process of building blocks of flats in Nørrebro and Vesterbro. They held a strike to abolish the 'slave hour', the practice of working between 6:00pm and 7:00pm. The strike was an attempt to shorten the working day from 11 to 10 hours.

Since bricklayers did not have any funds for the strike, Pio called a mass meeting on Sunday, 5 May 1872 on Nørre Fælled (today a part of the Fælledparken – a large common in Copenhagen) to make a collection that would enable them to win the strike. In accordance with the Constitution of 1849 it was allowed for citizens to assemble freely. But the authorities banned the meeting and arrested Pio and others the night before. When the workers met up on the common the next day, they were met by many cavalrymen and mounted police blocking the road. It ended in a fight where many were injured (74 cavalrymen and 23 policemen - number of workers unknown) and much damage was provoked (313 panes of glass on 40 streetlights).

The police commissioner of Copenhagen declared a state of emergency in the city. Pio was sentenced to 6 years in prison and The First International was banned in 1873. The authorities were afraid that a situation similar to the Paris Commune would arise in Copenhagen, seeing as The First International had major support and could mobilise the workers.

The Workers Continue to Organise

The workers did not give up. 20 new trade unions were created between 1873 and 1874 after the ban against The First International. In the period 1876-80, 13 unions were formed. Between 1873 and 1900, 27 women-only unions were established. However, these new unions that were created throughout the whole country always had economic problems and many of them were dissolved. In 1876, Denmark was experiencing the poor financial climate that had suddenly set in 1875 (the global economic downturn had started in 1873, but it hit Denmark hard in 1875). That same year, a proper organisation of the workers' party was founded with a party manifesto based on German social democratic patterns. Thus, the Social Democratic Party (Socialdemokratiet) had been formed in Denmark. The Gimle Programme



(Gimleprogrammet), named after the building in Frederiksberg (a municipality in the Copenhagen area) where the congress was held, remained valid for the party for many years to come.

Excerpts from the Gimle Programme 1876

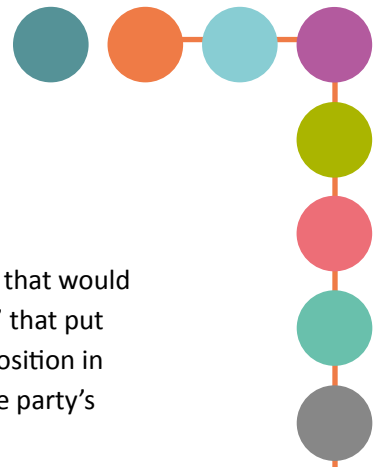
- *Work is the source of all wealth and culture and the benefits should befall all those who work.*
- *The abolishment of all social and political inequality.*
- *Freedom, Equality and Brotherly Love between all Nations.*
- *General, equal and direct right to vote by secret ballot for any member of the state, both men and women from the age of 22 for all state and municipality institutions. Election day must be on a Sunday or Bank Holiday*
- *The abolishment of all press laws, union and assembly laws as well as all other laws that may prevent people from expressing their thoughts, verbally or in writing.*
- *General popular education institutions, organised by the state, ordinary, equal and compulsory school education. Religion is declared a private matter.*

(Source: The Gimle Programme, June 1876 [Gimleprogrammet juni 1876], <http://danmarkshistorien.dk>)

The Party paper

The name of the Socialist/Socialdemocratic paper changed over time: Pio's first party paper was called 'Socialistiske Blade' (Socialist Leaflets) 1871-72. Then 'Socialisten' (the Socialist) 1872-1874. 1874-1959: 'The Social-Democrat'. 1959-1987: 'Aktuelt' (The Courier). 1987-1997: 'Det Fri Aktuelt' (The Free Courier). 1997-2001: 'Aktuelt'. After 2001 the Social Democratic Party and the Danish Trade Unions stopped to public a national and common daily paper.

During Pio's time in prison, which ended in 1875, he became less influential in the movement. Meanwhile, in 1877 the party got a shock when Pio and some others left for Chicago (US) after having received some funds from the employers (Burmeister and Wain and the textile manufacturer I.H. Ruben). Pio worked thereafter as a writer in Chicago until his death in 1894. The Social Democratic Party and the formation of new trade unions gained new strength in the 1880s and they prepared themselves for the big strength test that they were put to with the employers in 1899 - which we will discuss later.



In 1875, J.B.S. Estrup from the Right Party (Højre) formed a government that would last 19 years, and he governed with the help of 'provisional settlements' that put democracy on the side-lines. The Social Democrats would regain their position in the 1880s, in part thanks to winning two seats in parliament in 1884, the party's first members of parliament.

The Women

From 1871, The First International was divided into sections according to professions. The main reason for this was that many journeymen became members and wanted to be organised with their peers like back in the time of the guilds. But section 20, The Women's Section, was interdisciplinary. It gathered women regardless of their profession. The section dissolved together with The First International, when the latter was banned in 1873.

(Louise) Augusta (Henriette) Jørgensen – later married Pio - 1853-1924


Augusta was the daughter of a locksmith from Copenhagen. She and her brother sang and played at meetings of The First International. The working class songs played a big part in the movement. One of the songs written during this time is: "Soon it Shall Dawn Brothers, the Light Shines in the East" (Nu dages det brødre, det lysner i Øst) written in 1871 by U.P. Overby with music by C.J. Rasmussen. This may well have been presented by the siblings.

In 1871 Augusta began to organise the women's section of The First International and wrote 19 of age to Karl Marx to ask for his support in organising the women. She did not get an answer.

On The First International's (referring to the "international" International) conference in 1867 in Lausanne the groups that were opposed to women's rights to paid work were a majority, and the party declared that the women's place was in the home. On the other side as a minority, Karl Marx and his supporters defended the women's right for paid work. In 1871, The First International tried to organise women into socialist organisations, but did not, in principle, support women's liberation.

Augusta's boyfriend, Louis Pio wrote in the Socialist Magazine (Socialistiske Blade) about women and children's work - completely in agreement with the majority of





The First International: *“the agreement on a normal working time, which must not be surpassed under any circumstances, the ban on Sunday working, the limitation of women’s work and the ban on children working in factories or similar places, together with the appointment of factory inspectors that are chosen by the workers and paid by the State to check that the decisions above are adhered to.”*

Augusta was not defeated, her women’s section was active for some years, but she passed on her thoughts on the liberation and organisation of women to her daughter, Sylvia Mispah Pio, who was born in 1876 and died in 1932, whose father was Louis Pio.

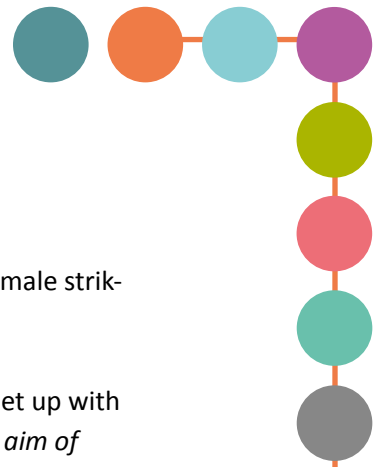
Even though some socialist ideologies were aimed at limiting the work of women, the families in those days faced a different reality than today. The family was completely dependent on the money that women and children could earn in the factories and by doing other work. Even though many male workers supported the ban on work for women and children and saw these policies as an ideal, they did not have the mental, economic and political strength to fight this fight and take on the burden of being the sole breadwinners.

In 1875, Augusta met one of the great minds of the time, Georg Brandes (1842-1927) who wrote in his memoirs of 1907: *“A young worker brought me a dissertation she had written on the socialist movement, whose triumph she viewed as approaching, and wanted to change the world.”*

What was written in Augusta’s dissertation would be very interesting to know. She and Brandes kept in contact - even after Augusta moved to Chicago with Pio, their child Sylvia, and others in 1877.

(Source: Sylvia Pio - A Noble Socialist [Sylvia Pio- en adelig socialist] by Kristian Hvidt 2009)

In 1873 The Free Women’s Society (Den Frie Kvindelige Forening) was formed. Its aim was to collect money for all the imprisoned leaders of the workers from The First International, but also to *“improve the situation of women (...) And women should group up in various professions to work towards their conditions improving this way”*. The idea of unions based on profession started to take form for women. In 1874 a meeting was held for seamstresses, where they were urged to organise



themselves. Then in 1876 a meeting was held with the title: 'How can female strikers organise themselves?'

In 1874 The Women's Social Association (Socialkvindelig Forening) was set up with a program designed to create women's unions. *"An association with the aim of gathering all the different female workers into professional co-operatives like those of male workers, to enable us to push through the idea of emancipation of women more comprehensively."*

In 1875 there was an ongoing discussion about whether women should form their own unions or join the male ones. A short time later, the Women's Progress Association (Kvindelig Fremskridtsforening) was established.


Its goal was to *"maintain the interest in political and social matters among women."* In 1888, a working relationship was established between The Women's Progress Association and a number of professional women's associations: The United Women's Associations (De samlede Kvindeforeninger)¹⁸ that were responsible for publishing the magazine called 'What we want' (Hvad vi vil) until 1893, where after the organisation was dissolved.

Together with the mentioned women's associations, which have both a professional and a socialist viewpoint, the Danish Women's Society (Dansk Kvindesamfund, DK) was founded in 1871 (and still exists) by two members of the Left Party (Venstre – centre right, conservative liberal party. A party then very much in opposition to Højre – the Right Party), Mathilde Bajer (1840-1934) and her husband Frederik Bajer (1837-1922) with the following stated object:

"The aim of DK is to lift women up spiritually, morally and economically, and hence to make of women independent members of their families and their state, namely by giving them access to independent employment." It was initially not the working women they had in mind, but the many women among the middle and lower middle class who wanted professional equality with the men in their class.

The Weavers

In 1873 there was a weavers' strike in Copenhagen. The factory owners moved production to Helsingør (Elsinore), where the local home weavers (wives and daughters of maritime officers) were willing to take work as strike breakers. That is how the male weavers figured out that it was important to organise the women too, and a



female section of the Weavers' Welfare Union was formed. But it worked mostly as a health insurance fund. With yet another strike among the weavers in 1884, history repeated itself, since the maritime officers' wives were not willing to be organised. But two years later, during the first women's strike in Denmark in 1886 among the 150-200 female weavers in I.H. Ruben's textile factory (Ruben was the one who financed Pio's trip to Chicago), the women approached the Weavers' Union (Vævernes Fagforening) for support.

They got it. The Social Democratic Party (Socialdemokratiet) encouraged all the unions to support the strike and put in the same effort as when the men were on strike. The women achieved a small increase in wages. However, there were some battles where the striking women did not receive the agreed support, and therefore they tried to storm the union's cashier office. This once again led to the general opinion that a special women's union for weavers should be established, which became a reality that same year. There were then two unions: The Weavers' Union (Vævernes Fagforening) and the Women's Union for Professional Weaving (Den kvindelige Forening i Væverfaget). This split lasted for 11 years, until 1897, when the women's union was dissolved and became part of the Weavers' Union (Vævernes Fagforening).

The Tobacco Workers

In 1871 the Cigar Makers' Union (Cigarmagerforeningen), called *Enigheden*, was created. Women were not allowed to be members, even though making tobacco products had been women's work from the start. The union's purpose was to counteract the women's entry into this profession: *"Any cigar maker that teaches a woman how to roll a bunch¹⁹ or cigars cannot be a member. Their wives are exempted."*

However their stance changed already in 1875 due to a strike in Copenhagen where 300 cigar makers downed their tools. Thus a number of women became unemployed, since their role was to roll bunches into tobacco leaves, so that the cigar maker could roll the finished cigars. At a meeting about the strike where mostly women were present, the chairman said: *"With a regrettable incorrect approach, female and male workers have been working against each other and have viewed each other as competitors (...) We have through the socialist tenets come to the realisation that all workers are in solidarity against the abuse of capital. From this same doctrine, we have also attained clarity regarding women's equality with men, and, accordingly, female workers must be granted the same payment conditions as male workers."*



Shortly afterwards, the union created a women's section. But during a six month long-strike in 1883, a group of women took action outside the union as strike-breakers. To entice the non-unionised women into the union, the Women Cigar Makers' Sickness and Subsidy Fund of 1883 (De kvindelige Tobaksarbejderes Syge- og Understøttelseskasse) was created. This fund worked as an independent association until 1887, when it was admitted into the Tobacco Workers' Union (Tobaksarbejderforbundet), which stated in its 1st section: *"All men and women workers within the tobacco industry can be members of the union."* However, the Women's Union did not become completely integrated with The Tobacco Worker's Union until 1891.

The Men's Tailors

Even though the textile and clothing industry mainly employed women, the union work to organise women into unions went more slowly here. A significant cause for this seems to be the fact that most of the work took place on the worker's own account or using the worker's home as a sweatshop. In other words, it was home-working, where an assistant or a master agreed to use seamstresses and their children as subcontractors for a lower wage than his own. These female home workers were spread apart geographically and therefore did not have the possibility to meet regularly and talk about their working conditions. In 1883, a union was formed for female workers in the sewing industry. The first chairman, a transitional one, was the same person who was chairman of the male tailors' Union of 1882.

The Union of 1882 for male tailors had been formed the year before. In 1889, the two unions merged to form the Danish Tailors' Union. But among the assistants and in the union's leadership, there was a reluctance towards the women, and this statement from 1891 reflected it: *"The Union has made a mistake in organising the women into the Danish Tailors' Union (Dansk Skrædderforbund)."* In 1893 this led to a split. The women and the men had not received equal support during a lockout. The women tailors voted themselves out of the Tailors' Union with an overwhelming majority. They were out for a year, then they re-joined and stayed. In 1899, the women went on strike again because of low wages. The men supported the strike and the women received a raise of 12%. But under the big lockout later that same year, the unionised tailors (those who the employers wanted to intimidate through the industrial conflict because the parties could not agree through the negotiations) were locked out from work, which led to a number of women leaving the union. The female tailors formed an independent women's group, until the Tailors' Union's conference in 1930 decided to allow both genders into the profession.



The Seamstresses

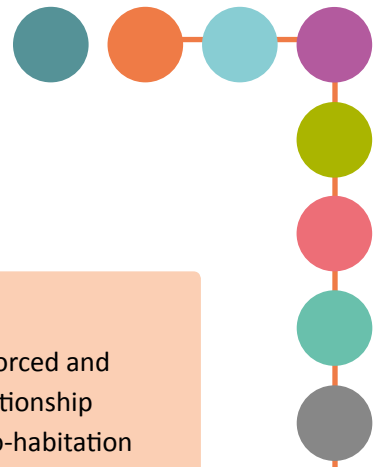
The seamstresses were employed in different branches and, as mentioned before, they worked primarily at home. In 1876 the Seamstresses' Union was formed, though it was dissolved in 1878. In 1889 The Women's Progress Association called all seamstresses to a meeting through the magazine 'What we want' (Hvad vi vil). A union was formed but it was dissolved the very next year. After another couple of attempts with no results, the Seamstresses' Union was founded in 1899. But there was not enough support to fight for better conditions for the seamstresses in an independent union.

The National Union of Women Workers (Kvindeligt Arbejderforbund)

Men and women did not always work in the same fields of activity or types of jobs. This became obvious in 1885 with the creation of the Union of Washing and Cleaning Ladies (Foreningen af Vadske- og Rengøringskoner), which changed name the following year to The Women Workers' Union (Det kvindelige Arbejderforbund), KAF. In 1887 this Union was accepted into The Federation of Unions (De Samvirkende Fagforeninger – later LO), and in 1898 it was accepted into the newly established The Danish Confederation of Trade Unions (LO - De Samvirkende Fagforbund).

The 1st section of the Women Workers' Union said: *"The aim of this Union is to gather all unorganised women in a joint Action against the Capitalists and the Employers' Ruthless Abuse. However, women who work in professions that are organised under The National Federation of Unions can be accepted into the Union"*

The union intended to organise all the unskilled women in its own ranks. Several agitation meetings were held for a number of trades. Not all trades were organised under the Union though, some joined existing confederations. In 1901, the written records history of The National Union of Women Workers (Kvindeligt Arbejderforbund), KAD, states that they became an actual national union after a number of local unions were established between 1885-1899. The mission statement of the founding conference in 1901 declared once again their wish to gather all the women's unions in Denmark to uphold and promote common interests. Through the following statement, The Danish Confederation of Trade Unions attempted to clarify who should be organised under the Women Workers' Union: *"(...) it should be established that the female workers that work in those industries where there are no unions, should be members of The National Union of Women Workers."*²⁰



(Anna) Olivia Nielsen 1875-1910

Olivia Nielsen had 9 children with her first husband. In 1901 she got divorced and obtained custody of the children. After this, she lived in a paperless relationship with a colleague until her death. Divorce, being awarded custody and co-habitation were all controversial at that time.


Even from a young age, she tried to organise female workers in the 1870s. But, this organisation only took off in 1892 when she became the chairperson of the Women Workers' Union in Denmark (Kvindeligt Arbejderforbund) in Copenhagen. In the 1890s, she was behind several strikes and the subsequent agreements for female workers. In 1901, a national union was formed, The national Union of Women Workers (KAD), and she became chairperson of this union.

At the same time as her professional work, she was elected to the city council in Copenhagen in 1909, as one of the first women following the right of women to run and vote in municipal elections in 1908. She died in the middle of her work during a union conference in Aarhus, and on her death bed she expressed a strong desire that KAD should continue her professional work.

(Source: <http://danmarkshistorien.dk>)

The Trade Union Struggle 1875-1900

The first attempts to establish unions in the 1870's were strongly resisted from about 1875, partly due to the sudden economic crisis and partly due to a lack of defined leadership in the worker's movement. The crisis was hard and became really serious in 1877. All companies cut back production. There were about 35,000 female and male workers in Copenhagen, and 9,000 of them were unemployed (1,200 were smiths, 600 were cigar makers, 500 were painters and 2,000 were unskilled). In certain trades, the general unemployment rate was between 40-60%, while it was 35% for the unskilled workers. In the hard winter of 1885-86, 12,000 of Copenhagen's men and women were unemployed. There was great poverty, and private aid organisations cooked food for about 5,000 people every day. Denmark's first Parliament, Rigsdagen, was debating whether or not to help the unemployed, but the Right party (Højre) would not give the workers any help, using the argument that the State contributed to the union's strike funds. Denmark's first Parliament was a bicameral legislature consisting of two houses, the Parliament (Folketing) and



the Upper House (Landsting). Even though the Left party (Venstre – at that time a progressive centre liberal party) had a majority in the Parliament (Folketing), they could not do anything because the Right party (Højre) had a majority in the Upper House (Landsting) and they outvoted such bills. Thus, the biggest help that winter came from the trade union movement's own members who were employed. They collected DKK 100,000 which was used to buy pork and rye bread for the starving people. The poverty also meant that young men emigrated. In the time between 1875 and 1880, about 17,000 people emigrated²¹.

The crisis was coming to an end, and the union activities - both respecting the creation of new unions and the recruitment of members - were at their peak during the period of 1883-85. Now even with independent women's unions, as mentioned before. The Labour Movement was strengthened through the formation of a stronger party and the creation of a number of professional organisations across the country.

In August 1886, the first Scandinavian Workers' Conference was held in Gothenburg (Sweden), where a policy programme was ratified; it included: Support of socialism, influence on of legislation, wage regulation, a set hourly rate instead of piece-rates, unemployment funds, strike funds and health insurance funds, a centralised union, 8-hour days and abolition of homeworking, night work and work on Sundays and bank holidays. It is also stated the wish for the employers to form one organisation so that there can be better regulation, professional arbitration and better negotiations. Several employers' organisations were established too, for example, the Employers' Organisation for Printers (Bogtrykkernes Arbejdsgiverforening) in 1875, the Master Joiners/Carpenters (Snedkermestrene) in the construction field, and in 1885 Employers in the iron field. Many of the old guilds had survived as societies after they lost their monopoly due to the Trade Act of 1857. They were now converted into employers' organisations. In 1886, the Industry Employers' Organisation (Industriens Arbejdsgiverforening) was established, and in 1888 it created a joint body with the Danish Organisation of Employers and Masters (Dansk Arbejdsgiver- og Mesterforening).

The Danish Confederation of Trade Unions (De Samvirkende Fagforbund), LO, is Formed

As a consequence of the conference in Gothenburg, The Federation of Unions (De Samvirkende Fagforeninger) was formed in Copenhagen in 1886. Those unions that joined chose 5 members for an executive committee, which also included 2 addi-




tional members from the Social Democratic Union (Socialdemokratisk Forbund), the Social Democratic Party (Socialdemokratiet). After several conflicts, it was agreed in the autumn of 1897 that there should be a meeting on the 3rd January 1898 in The People's House (Folkets Hus), a working-class community centre on the street Enghavevej in Copenhagen. The Confederation of Trade Unions in Denmark was formed during that meeting. It will be later known as LO, the National Organisation in Denmark (Landorganisation i Danmark). A committee of representatives of 21 members was elected at the meeting, as well as an executive committee of 5 members, including 2 representatives from the Social Democratic Union. Painter Jens Jensen (1859-1928), who was chairperson of the painters of Copenhagen in 1883, who had also been present at the Gothenburg conference in 1886, and was involved in drafting the co-operation in Copenhagen in the same year, said these words in his opening speech: *"The Labour Movement is not an artificial plant, but a natural product of modern society (...) We are here thanks to the Law of Development (...) We have 25 years of fight and experience behind us, and every cog in our wheel has learnt to evaluate their own strengths through autonomy, and with the confederation of unions and local organisations we have developed the feelings of solidarity and dedication, and the spirit of self-sacrifice (...). This army we are creating must be strong and firm, as it shall conquer a world, and it must be democratic, as it shall develop people."*

Jens Jensen 1859-1928 - The Danish Confederation of Trade Union's (De Samvirkende Fagforbund, LO) First President

Jens Jensen, qualified journeyman painter from Funen, came to Copenhagen in 1879 and acted as the chairperson of the Painters' Union during the period 1883-88 in Copenhagen. He was one of the kingpins behind the creation of the Federation of Trade Unions in Copenhagen and Frederiksberg in 1898, and was the first chairperson of the Danish Confederation of Trade Unions (DsF - later LO) in Denmark from 1898-1903.

Before the chairmanship of The Danish Confederation of Trade Unions, he was given the task of creating systems that became important for the labour movement and the trade union movement's future organisation since the Social Democratic Party (Socialdemokratiet) and the trade unions were organisationally separated by the dissolution of the First International's and foundation of the Social Democratic Party in 1876.





He helped set the founding principles in Scandinavian - and thus with the Danish trade union movement. Centralised trades unions, collective agreements and renewal of collective agreements through negotiation, hourly rates (instead of payment per piece)/piecework), an eight-hour day, unemployment benefits through establishing unemployment funds, Courts of Arbitration that could make decisions and, as a last resort, using the strike as a weapon. Moreover, calls for trade union leaders and the system to engage in national, regional and local politics with socialist views.

In 1898, Jensen managed to bring together representatives of almost all trade unions from all over Denmark. There were a total of 900 trade unions with a total of 60,000 members, which was the basis for the formation of The Danish Confederation of Trade Unions in January 1898.

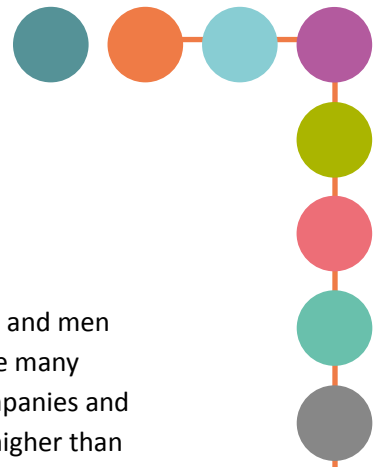
The test of strength for The Danish Confederation of Trade Unions was the workers struggle in 1899, with mass strikes and lockouts, which together involved 40,000 workers and 4,500 employers. The conflict ended with a settlement, the 'September Compromise', later that year. The results of this settlement continued until 1960.

Jensen was one of the first Social Democratic members of the citizen representation and the first Social Democratic mayor of Copenhagen and in all of Denmark. His appointment as financial mayor of the City of Copenhagen lasted between 1903 and 1924, whereupon he became Chief Burgomaster/Chief Mayor in Copenhagen until his death in 1928.

As mayor, he was engaged in the city's long-term planning and let the municipality buy up large areas of land that could be used by the city residents, including Fælledparken (The Commons Park) and Idrætsparken (The Sports Centre) and the construction of public housing.

(Sources: www.lo.dk and [https://da.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jens_Jensen_\(fagforeningsmand\)\)](https://da.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jens_Jensen_(fagforeningsmand)))

The consolidation of unions in The Federation of Unions (De Samvirkende Fagforeninger) in Copenhagen in 1886, and later in The Confederation of Trade Unions in Denmark (LO) from 1898, led to the professional organisations standing stronger against the employers and in Danish politics - they wanted to gain influence in the law making process and they had a socialist perspective.




Women Paid Half Membership Fees

There is some uncertainty about the unionisation percentage of women and men in this period. But the number was highest in those environments where many workers worked together in production, and it was lower in smaller companies and cottage industries. The level of organisation among men was generally higher than among women, as many skilled men had a longer history as members of professional organisations and actual trade unions. The women then - as to day - did not receive equal pay for the same work, and when they did 'different' work, their wages were similar to those of unskilled men (but still lesser than unskilled men's pay). As a consequence, the women were absorbed into The Federation of Unions in Copenhagen as members that paid half fees.

Policy on Gender

The discussion about the relationship between gender and class was a point of contention between the 'Lassalleans' and the 'Proudhonists'²², on the one hand, and the "Marxists" on the other in the First International (i.e. the "international" International Working Men's Association). The first group viewed women's work as something that must be abolished and replaced by the concept of the man as the breadwinner, for which the man had to earn enough money to provide for his family, without his wife and children needing to work. The Marxists felt that there was an element of liberation in having both genders be active in the labour market and that the household chores should be 'socialised' to solve related matters.

The main ideologists within the majority held by The First International were followers of the then dead German workers' leader Ferdinand Lasalle (1825-1864) and the also deceased French P.J. Proudhon (1809-1865). At The First International's conference in 1867, two reports on women's work were published: The majority report was categorically against women's work outside the home because they believed that, rather than improving the position of the working class, women's work had reduced male wages due to the increased competition on the price of labour force. The report concluded that women's emancipation (liberation) could only happen through the emancipation of the male workers. The minority report determined that women's right to work could not be denied to them. Only through productive work outside of the home can women achieve independence and dignity. The minority report concluded that the unfortunate effects of women's work could only be mitigated if women became organised. Therefore it recommended that unions for women were established. At later conferences, it was recommended that sections should be established specifically for female workers. Marx supported the minority report.



As mentioned before, Pio followed the minority's recommendation to open a women's section, section 20. But in 1872, doubt was raised as to whether the women's division of The First International should have the voting rights that had so far been denied to them. Yet the idea was put forward once again the next year: *"Petition for female citizens to be represented at section meetings."* Women were granted representation with the remark that, in time, they would have developed so much, that they would be able to take part in negotiations in parliamentary fashion!

The Debate Swung Backwards and Forwards

In 1873 at a meeting about women's rights in the the Copenhagen workers' society called "Broderbåndet"²³ it was decided that women should not be allowed to vote or to participate in political discussions. The reason given was the following: *"Women's immaturity in that regard and men's disinclination to view women's work as legitimate beyond the strictly female issues."*

In the Social Democratic Union (Social Democracy), formed in 1878 as an indirect result of the "Gimle Conference" in 1876, women gained a seat for one woman²⁴ in the union as well as on its executive committee - after a heated debate.

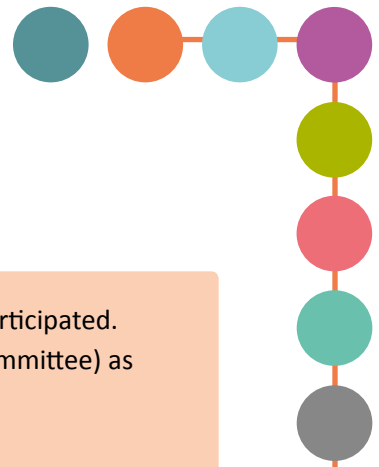
Jaquette (Agnes, Jacobina, Vilhelmina) Liljencrantz 1845-1920

Jaquette - was the second woman in Pio's life. She was rejected by him in favour of Augusta.

As a 24 year old in 1869, she ran away from her largely male Swedish aristocratic family and fled to Copenhagen. She also took a trip to Paris, where she met Louise Michel, later one of the very important female leaders in the Paris Commune. After becoming pregnant, giving birth and then giving the child up for adoption in Germany, she returned to Sweden, as a 30-year-old, in 1875. Here she got her hands on the Danish newspaper The Social Democrat (Socialdemokraten), where there were many articles on feminism, probably written by Pio. She went to Copenhagen and looked Pio up and asked how the social democrats stood on feminism. When he replied that he recognised full equality for women, she enrolled in the party. She began in 1876 to write for the Social Democrat under the pseudonym, Medea - also about the status of the single mother. She was a feminist and socialist, and was soon a well-known figure not only in The Social Democratic Party (Socialdemokrati-et), but also in women's associations across the country.

She participated in the Social Democratic Party's first party congress, The Gimle





Congress in 1876, where she was one of a total of three women who participated. She subsequently was elected to the party leadership (the Executive Committee) as the only woman.


In three volumes, she wrote about her own case as an unmarried and pregnant woman who was betrayed by the child's father, 'The relationship of medical student Anton Gejrding to Baronesses J.L. 1875' (Stud med. Anton Gjerding's Forhold til Baronesse J. L. 1875). Later she wrote a series of articles in The Social Democrat: 'The Unmarried Woman's Legal Status', which was also published as a pamphlet in 1877. The same year she wrote the pamphlet: 'Louis Pio's Conduct towards J.L.' (Louis Pios Færd mod J. L.), in which she describes her frustration over the labour leader and his and the party's deceit towards her. The party dismissed her as a writer when Pio left, although there was an agreement related to a loan from her to Pio and the party for financing a printing press stating that she would write in the Social Democrat in return for the loan.

Liljencrantz belonged to the party's radical wing and was a feminist and socialist. When she was pushed out, the discussions on women's issues ended in the party (for a time).

In 1898, she got her money back from the party, but already in the 1880s she had withdrawn from public life.

(Sources: www.leksikon.org and www.densstoredanske.dk)

The debate about women went back and forth. Louis Pio made himself a spokesperson for the cause of women joining forces against men when the men would not recognise the women's unions or their right to vote in the worker's gatherings. It appears that the shifting editorial staff at the newspaper called "The Social Democrat" (Social-Demokraten) advocated more for women's rights than the trade unions did. A headline in a newspaper in 1875 stated: *"Questions are being asked whether our time - and the woman in particular - is ripe for liberation. The question itself must be considered to be an impudence against women (...) Women's progress cannot be stopped, only possibly delayed. That is the most stupid thing you can do (...) better to work hard with all your efforts so there is no absolute difference between the wages of men and women for the same work."* There was no doubt in the party or in the political program about the matter. The first time the Social Democrats were



represented by female speakers at a public meeting was at the Constitution party in 1890, where three eminent women took the floor.

But the trade union movement was split within itself regarding how the movement should approach the issue of women. Women were set to work in many stations at once: As co-workers, workers who undercut the pay of the others, and serving as strike-breakers. Furthermore, the women had to a great extent established women-only trade unions. As history shows, this was due to their exclusion from the male dominated professional organisations and out of anger over the lack of support and constant questioning of women's right to be professionally and politically active on their own merits. The professional organisations were confused by the fact that women had their own demands and opinions: Should they show solidarity with the women's organisation or should they oppose them? In 1887, a proposal was made in The Federation of Unions' (De Samvirkende Fagforeninger – later LO) executive committee for women-only organisations not to be admitted under the Federation's umbrella. Women were nonetheless admitted. In 1889, the following resolution was passed in the Federation: *"The joined committees recognise the need for women to become organised in all trades. It also agreed that the matter of the women's organisation should be discussed in the different men's trade unions and that it is the responsibility of the members to agitate for female workers to join the women's unions."* In 1891 this proposal was passed: *"All workers are working towards getting their female relatives and acquaintances who make a living by sewing to join the union."*

This reluctance among men to allow the women into their circles - a reluctance that was overcome over the time to come - is described by some as the remains of male pride that had hibernated since the time of the guilds' federations of tradesmen and smiths' unions. This attachment to tradition before the beginning of the industrialisation era is viewed as an expression of the patriarchal tradition dominant in the tradesmen's culture, where society and men themselves saw men as the heads of their families. On the whole, the skilled tradesmen had to protect themselves and their professional qualifications within their trade, and by doing this they obtained privileges and higher wages. They had to protect themselves, not just from the women, but also from the crowd of unskilled male workers that flooded into the labour market. But eventually, industrialism showed its true face and the skilled tradesmen's unions were the first to demand equal pay for both men and women who had the same education and position. Women remained until today a minority in the skilled-trade sector.



The women's trade unions eventually joined the confederations. However, one of the unions remained a woman-only trade union for over 100 years, namely The National Union of Women Workers (Kvindeligt Arbejderforbund, KAD), which was established as a new union in 1901 (from the organisation formed in 1883) and existed until 2005 as a women-only trade union. KAD merged with SID (The General Workers Union in Denmark) and became 3F (Fagligt Fælles Forbund). The Danish Workers' Federation (Dansk Arbejdsmandsforbund), later to become The Danish Workers and Semiskilled Workers Union (Dansk Arbejdsmands- og Specialarbejderforbund) and then The Semiskilled Workers Union in Denmark (Specialarbejderforbundet i Danmark or SID) was established in 1896-97.


Immigration

Throughout time there had been many groups of immigrants, in particular from Denmark's neighbouring countries. They were received differently depending on how rich or poor they were, or depending on the political significance that the King and the leading community gave to their work. There were many German brick makers in the country around the 1840s and many Swedish workers in the 1880s. There are no exact figures prior to 1850, when the first census was taken in Denmark. People were required to indicate their country of birth, and as it turned out, 2% of the population were born abroad.

The Swedes

About 7,000 Swedish seasonal workers came to Denmark in the 1870s, and by the 1880s the figure had risen to about 9,000 per year. Poverty had hit hard in Sweden, so they had to leave to find work. Danish businessmen systematised the import of Swedes. First it was the young men, but later it was also women and skilled men (stonemasons, cobblers, glassblowers, et al.) who came. Over half of those who went to Denmark sooner or later returned to Sweden.

But in 1875, Parliament implemented the Aliens Act, which required the police to issue a residence permit to individual immigrants, and thereby monitor the individual immigrant's interest in seeking work. If they were or became unemployed and had not been working the past six weeks while in Denmark, they could be deported if they did not have enough money for an eight-day stay. This law led to many young, unskilled Swedish men being expelled - it is estimated 20,000 - 25,000 during the period 1875-1915. A new Poor Law was adopted in 1892, which made public assistance dependent on Danish citizenship. For Swedes in Denmark who had been living



in a Danish city for over five years, this meant that they not only could no longer be deported, but they now had the right to Danish poverty relief.

Pelle Erobreren (Pelle the Conqueror) is a novel about a boy who was born to Swedish parents. He spends his childhood on Bornholm under very poor conditions, with his father who is a widower. Pelle is a trained shoemaker and moves to Copenhagen, where he participates in the new labour movement. He becomes unemployed after a stay in prison for his activities, and his wife has to support him. They have a vision of a manufacturing community for workers in cooperatives, which they bring to fruition.

The novel was written by Martin Andersen Nexø (1864-1954) during the period 1906-10, and presents the labour movement's development through his characters. The novel's first part was made into a film in 1987, by director Bille August.

Attitude of the Social Democrats and Trade Unions towards Immigration

There was high unemployment in the 1880s after the onset of the sudden crisis in 1875 - about one third of the workforce was unemployed. The young Labour Movement was deeply concerned with international solidarity, worked and campaigned against the driving down of wages that the Swedes were causing, as they were desperate and hungry. But they did not demand that the Swedes be sent home, although now and then they were also scabs during Danish strikes. There was no hatred against foreigners in the Trade Union Movement, but they insisted that Danish workers and foreigners with permanent residence in the country had priority to work. They were against mass immigration in specific conflict situations on the initiative of the employer, but did not mind that the Swedes themselves took the initiative to come. The Swedes thinned out in the 1890s, when industrialisation was beginning to take off in Sweden.

A Test of Strength between the Classes in 1899

In 1898, there were over 900 trade unions with about 60,000 members out of a total workforce of 180,000. The Trade Union Movement was now ready for the large, nationwide clash with the employers, following the numerous local strikes and lockouts in the decade before that. The employers were now also well organised in a single coalition. The clash came in 1899, when The Confederation of Danish Employers (DA, Dansk Arbejdsgiverforening), in response to a joiner/carpenters' strike, launched a large lockout with prior exclusion of 30,000, then 10,000 and



then again 10,000 of The Federation of Unions' (De Samvirkende Fagforeninger, LO) members. It was one of the world's largest labour struggles, which also lasted a long time, from May until September 1899. Subsequently there occurred the famous September Compromise, which repeated and formalized the right to organize in trade unions, which Danish workers already had got 50 years beforehand with the Constitution of June 1849 (but which had been obstructed) and that employers' and workers' organisations were free to negotiate with each other and on behalf of their members in matters concerning working conditions.

Yellow Fly in the Ointment

During the great lockout there were, however, some who could not "bring themselves to participate in the class struggle", and wanted to create an alternative. There were both employers and workers who belonged to the Christian community. They formed the Christian Danish Joint Alliance with one another and were willing to undercut wages and serve as strike breakers. Their position was that instead of trade unions struggling with strikes and lockouts, disputes should be settled in negotiations or court action by arbitration. It was the first Danish 'yellow' association and exists today as the Christian Trade Union and Christian unemployment fund, (Kristelig Fagforening og Kristelig A-kasse, KRIFA). Today, members of the organisation's executive committee must endorse the Christian life and philosophy of man to achieve this position of trust.

Mixing religion and social struggle was incompatible with the Labour Movement's tradition from the First International and the Social Democratic Party's program of principles from 1876, as religion was considered to be a personal matter that could grow independently of one's union affiliation or political commitment. From this perspective, one could thus well carry out class struggles, strikes and have a personal religious belief at the same time - and find that the one's comrades in the trade union or in the dispute may well have other personal religious beliefs than oneself - or none at all.



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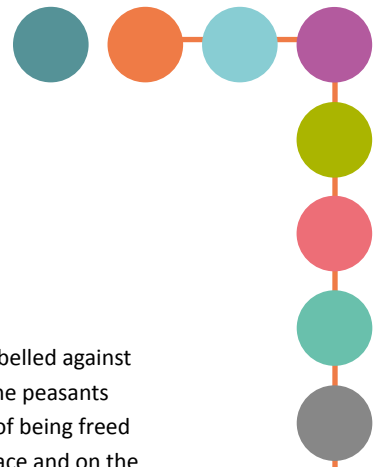
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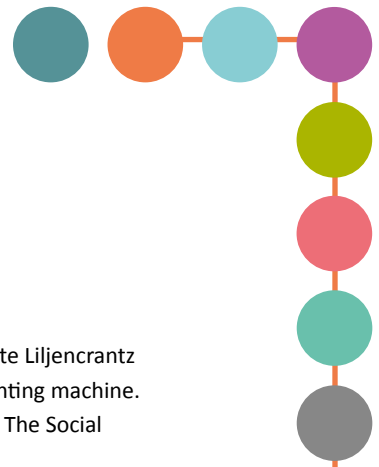
Notes: The Early Labour Movement 1871-1900

- 16 In the French Revolution in 1789, it was the 'Third Estate', the bourgeoisie, who rebelled against the two leading estates of the nobility and the Church. One would later speak of the peasants as the 'Fourth Estate', since their emancipation in Europe and Denmark consisted of being freed from servitude, serfdom and *vornedskab* (the obligation to remain in one's birthplace and on the landowner's property) and receiving permanent freehold to land and property. The 'Fifth Estate' according to this thinking, must be the working class.
- 17 The International - also known as The First International (The International Working Men's Association) - existed 1864-76. In 1889 the Second International was founded. The International became splintered during and after World War I, when the Communists formed their own Third International in 1919, called the Comintern. In 1938 Trotsky formed the Fourth International after his exile from the Soviet Union. And in 1949 Tito formed the Fifth International in Yugoslavia. After the World War I, the Second International was resurrected, but was discontinued in 1946. In 1951 the organisation was resurrected as the Socialist International, an organisation for all social democracies in the world.
- 18 The United Women's Associations (De Samlede Kvindeforeninger) included in 1888: Women's Progress Association (Kvindelig Fremskridtsforening), Women Tailors of Menswear (De Kvindelige Herreskræddere), Lady and Coat Seamstresses (Dame- og Kaabesyersker), Women Weavers (De kvindelige Vævere), Women Tobacco Workers (De kvindelige Tobaksarbejdere), Women Domestic (Kvindelig Husgerning), National Union of Women Workers (Kvindeligt Arbejderforbund), Women's Servant Association (Kvindelig Tyendeforening), The Women's Suffrage Association (Kvindevalgretsforeningen). But not the Danish Women's Society (Dansk Kvindesamfund), which was founded in 1871.
- 19 The portion of the cigar underneath the wrapper.
- 20 Besides the women-only unions above, a large number of trade unions consisting of female workers were also founded in the period 1870-1900. By looking at these names you can see in which industries, jobs and functions the women worked. These trade unions were founded in the following years: 1887: Women Bookbinding Workers (dissolved the same year), Women Silver Polishers (dissolved in 1890). 1890: Women Machine Knitters Trade Union (Maskinstrikkernes Fagforening), absorbed the same year into the Women Workers' Union in Denmark (Kvindeligt Arbejderforbund); the Union of Women Sheet metal Workers (Foreningen for kvindelige Blikvarearbejdere), dissolved the same year; The Women Printing Workers Trade Union (De kvindelige Trykkeriarbejderes Fagforening), dissolved in 1893; the Women's Union of Brush Makers (Kvindelig Forening i Børstenbinderfaget), dissolved in 1894. 1892: The Women Paper Workers Trade Union (De kvindelige Papirarbejderes Fagforening), dissolved in 1893. 1893: Women's Ironer Trade Union (Strygeomfruernes Fagforening), dissolved in 1894. 1894: The Dress and Coat Seamstresses Trade Union (Kjole- og Kaabesyerskernes Fagforening), merged in 1900 with the Seamstresses Union (Syernes Forbund). 1896: The Trade Union of Women Bookbinder Assistants



(De kvindelige Bogbinderarbejderes Fagforening), which in 1898 merged with the Bookbinder Assistants Trade Union of 1873 (Bogbindersvendenes Fagforening). 1897: The Gold and Silver Polishers Trade Union (Guld- og Sølvpolerernes Fagforening), merged into the Gold-Silver and Electroplate Workers Union 1900. 1898: The Cork Sorters Local Trade Union (Korksortererskernes Fagforening), absorbed in 1901 into the Cork Cutters Union (Korkskærernes Forbund); The Women Confectionary and Chocolate Makers Branch (De kvindelige Sukkervare- og Chokoladearbejderes Afdeling); absorbed as a department of the Confectionary, Chocolate and Biscuit Makers Union 1899 (Sukker-, Chokolade- og Biscuitarbejderforbundet); Linen Seamstresses Trade Union (Linnedsyernes Fagforening), absorbed into the Seamstresses Trade Union 1899 (Syernes Fagforbund); Corset Seamstresses Trade Union (Korsetsyverskernes Fagforening); absorbed into the Seamstresses' Union 1899 (Syernes Forbund). 1899: The Glove Seamstresses Union, Forward (Handskesyverske-Foreningen, Frem), absorbed into the Seamstresses Union 1900. 1900: Quilt Seamstresses Trade Union (Vattæppesyverskernes Fagforening), absorbed the same year into the Seamstresses Union. (Source: Women's Trade Unions of Copenhagen www.kvininfo.dk – source 93).

- 21 Summation of recorded data 1875-1880 in the table on page 68 on emigration from Denmark 1869-80 in *Flight to America* by Kristian Hvidt - or the driving forces in the mass exodus from Denmark from 1868 to 1914, University Press (Universitetsforlaget) in Aarhus 1971. Hvidt wrote in his book that in Europe in the late 1800s there was concern about the surplus of woman that would arise with the great migration of men.
- 22 Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, 1809-65, believed that women were supposed to work at home as housewives. In addition, he was an opponent of state interference in private matters. Society should consist of free and independent families working together outside of the state's authority to interfere. Ferdinand Lassalle, 1825-64, acknowledged that women actually worked outside the home, but regarded it as something contrary to nature that should be abolished. Karl Marx, 1818-83, described the labour of women and children work under industrialisation in his principal work, *Das Kapital*, and agreed that the labour of women and children weakened the working family, but that it was necessary for women to be involved in public production. He envisioned that women were to be exempted from working at night and from hazardous work and that child labour be prohibited.
- 23 The Social Democratic Brotherhood (Den socialdemokratiske Forening Broderbåndet) was founded around the end of 1873 and beginning of 1874 as a political association, with the publishing of pamphlets and organisation of lectures and discussion meetings, thereby demonstrating the use of constitutional rights of assembly and speech (but apparently it did not apply to women's rights!). The Brotherhood could not be part of the trade organisations. Its ideas lived on in the Social Democratic Organisation (Socialdemokratisk Samfund), which existed from 1875 to 1882. (An organisation with the same name existed 1966-73) (Source: Counterforce: Labour history literature list 1870-1880).



- 24 The only woman in the Social Democratic Party's executive committee was: Jaquette Liljencrantz (1845-1920). She had lent Pio and the party 2,000 Danish Kroner to rent a new printing machine. But, by the time Pio took off to Chicago in 1877, he had not paid it back as agreed. The Social Democratic Party paid her money back in 1898.

The labour movement 1900-1930




In the year 1900, women and men had accumulated a total of 30 years' experience in the trade union struggle, even though not every generation had been there for the whole journey and the pioneers were now old or dead. But the experience had by now become common practice and part of the culture of the organisations that had been founded. All in all, from a trade union perspective, the workers were better equipped going into the new century, even if the movement also had to accept some defeat resulting from economic stagnation that would occur in the 1920s and up to 1930.

Women's Opportunities and Rights

Civil rights of the underprivileged classes and strata of society were hard to come by, even though it had now been 50 years after the June Constitution of 1849, and society was heading into the 20th century. Women of all classes and strata, even though they constituted fully half of the population, experienced discrimination in the labour market, in educational institutions and at the social level, where laws and regulations restricted women's rights and opportunities. Although in 1857 unmarried women had become legal adults at the age of 25 and were basically on equal footing with men and widows (Freedom to Conduct Trade Act) and had the right to run their own businesses, still not all professions were open to women. In the countryside, for example, unmarried women only won the right to operate a smallholding business in 1909.

Nor in the area of education, was there free access for women. In 1867, they had been allowed to become teachers in public schools, but until 1894 they could not gain access to the colleges that educated and trained teachers. The first Danish female doctor, Nielsine Nielsen, could not secure a hospital position when she graduated in 1888. Women were permitted to study theology in 1904, but they could not become priests in the Danish National Church. This was first possible in 1947 by law and 1948 in practice, when the first women were ordained. In 1907 women gained access to technical schools, and thus access to an official recognised education in the crafts - until then they had to pay for their own training and to become apprentices in many of the craft domains. In 1901 there were 358 women and, in 1921, there were 410 women who were trained in the crafts (carpenters, bricklayers, joiners, glaziers, plumbers, painters and electricians).

Married women in a certain sense experienced even more restrictions than unmarried women. Only in 1880 did married women get the chance to have the same control of their own earnings like unmarried women. Until 1899, the man in the



marriage was in control of the marital property, finances and would have custody of the children in case of divorce. If and when he died, his wife would not have custody of her own children until 1906. In 1922, there came a new Marriage Act²⁵ (effective from 1923), which gave the parents joint custody in the marriage and the mother also gained the right to get custody of the children in case of a divorce. In 1925 the Marriage Act was supplemented with the notion that: Mutual responsibility to provide for each other, which meant that both spouses should contribute to the family livelihood - either through paid work or work at home.

The period is generally characterized by the Danish Parliament endeavouring to practice parliamentarianism and democracy; there was radicalisation in several sectors of society, reforms and legislation on gender equality: In 1908, women got the right to vote for municipal councils and in 1915 for the Danish Parliament. A law was introduced on equal pay in public office in 1919; men and women had equal access to public occupations and public office as of the early 1920s. Working women were to a great extent in the labour market, where their income was necessary for the family's survival. The struggle for social equality from the 1920s now also dealt with questions concerning contraception, childbirth and abortion. (See the chapter on The Labour Movement from 1971 to 2000, where the historical background of the 1920s on the right to contraception and abortion is recounted).

Occupation in Town and Countryside

In 1897 there were 165 businesses in Denmark with more than 100 employees. In 1914 the number was 264, and in 1925 it was 312. There was thus a doubling in the number of large businesses over a period of 28 years.

Most Danish workers today are employed in companies with fewer than 100 employees. 68% percent of the workforce was employed at such companies in 1925. The average number of employees per company throughout the period 1897- 1925 was about 35²⁶. A company's standing in the industry was thus based on being of a considerable size - i.e. with many employees - during the period.

The labour force and the population in Denmark moved back and forth between town and country - depending on where the work was. But increasingly the labour force migrated to the cities. In 1860, 53.3% of the population worked in agriculture, 26.4% worked in trade and industry, 5.9% in construction and 14.4% in other industries. In 1911 those working in agriculture had fallen to 38.3%, trade and industry rose to 28.9%, construction increased to 12.9% and other occupations increased to



19.9%. In the same period the population had risen by over a million people, from 1.6 million to 2.7 million, in the 41 years that had elapsed in the period 1860-1911.

Serving in Agriculture

Throughout this period agriculture is still the most important occupation, although the number of people who lived and worked in the countryside was declining. The occupation underwent many modernisations and developments - for example, farmers organised enterprises such as dairy cooperatives and cooperative slaughter-houses that used the latest technology, while at the same time Danish agriculture became more mechanised during the 1900s. Farmer owners were the driving force in this development, as they had the most land and the largest holdings.


There was also a working class in the country. The first group was the smallholders, who owned only a little land and a small herd; so small that a family could not make a living off it, but had to find work with the farm owners or with the larger estate landowners.

Smallholders did not generally identify themselves with the labour movement, but for nearly a century, worked together with the Social Democratic Party in the Danish Parliament through their own party in 1905, The Radical Left Party (Det Radikale Venstre).

The second group were day labourers without any land ownership and, just like the workers, they owned only their own labour. They had no land and leased housing from others. It was the rural labourers and servants which constituted the farm-hands at a farm or an estate. They were engaged in all kinds of work in the fields, inside the barns and on the farm in the private homes.

Servants were miserably paid and their conditions were dismal, with poor housing, long hours and poor and inadequate food. They were worn out, malnourished and suffered from high infant mortality. They had very few civil rights (for example, not gaining the right to vote until 1915) and could be monitored by their employers and the authorities by using conduct booklets when, upon reaching 18 years of age, they travelled beyond their own parishes to work. Their employers were allowed to punish them - that is, beat them - until 1921, when a new law came into effect, the Labourer's Act, which abolished both the servant's conduct book and corporal punishment.

At the very bottom of the hierarchy were the poor. There were many of them, as the



population in the period more than doubled within 100 years. The good economic times in the 1890s meant that those who owned something beforehand did well, but those who did not own anything had to compete fiercely with others concerning the price of their labour - if they were even able to work or find a job.

Assistance for the Poor and Relief Funds

Family members took care of each other, parents took care of their children and children of the sick and of their parents when they grew old. Such was the tradition. When this system collapsed, what were they to do? Well, as a poor person you might hit the highways and byways and try to beg and eke out a living from day to day on the streets. But already in 1708 the poor's right to beg was abolished - perhaps because they all went to the cities and settled there. They then tried to handle it locally, as poor families 'took turns' in the parish. That is, they would be supported by those in the parish who had something to give. You could also pay off the poor to move out beyond the parish's borders, so they were no longer a burden in their home parish. But then the parish could come into conflict with their neighbouring parishes, and so it all returned to square one. In 1803, a new kind of tax was introduced, a poor tax imposed on citizens with land and property. This ordinance, divided up the population into three categories:

- Those of non-working age - i.e. the old and sick, who needed both housing and food.
- Children who had been removed from the home or were orphans and who were put into private care.
- People who were sick, had many children and were incapable of supporting themselves.

After 1840 workhouses or poor farms were created. In the period 1870- 85, the number grew to 350-375 poor farms with 6,500 people. In 1906 there were 450 poor farms. Most people attended in the winter, when it was hard to find food/work and alms. The idea of poor farms was that it would be profitable to run a farm with labour conscription and as a common household. But the farms seldom turned a profit. Poor farms were closed as a result of the Social Reform of 1933 - but some survived right up to the 1970s as workhouses until the Support Act was implemented in April of 1976.

Poor relief was a loan that was to be repaid if one wanted to once again become a productive member of society. The Constitution stated that recipients of poor relief



who had not paid it back, could not vote/run in elections. Nor could the poor marry anyone they wished - or even be allowed to marry at all ('more mouths to feed'). When the Constitution of 1915 had to be amended, it became clear that many thousands of craftsmen over time had also lost the right to vote, because they had received poor relief during hard times - and could not pay it back and perhaps owed taxes as well.

New Types of Assistance and Relief Funds

In 1891, with the new Poor Law, old age support was introduced for Danish citizens over 60 who were deemed 'deserving' (that is, they had previously avoided poor relief for ten years before they turned 60). Moreover, support was introduced for visits to the doctor, midwife assistance and burial. Anyone could come to the government for help *"in so far as he was no longer able to provide for himself and his family the Necessities of Life or for Treatment and Care in Case of Illness"*. The following year, in 1892, a health insurance fund law was passed, where people could let themselves be insured from the age of 15, but where there was also state aid.


In 1907, the government began to subsidize trade union unemployment funds and so on. As a member of an unemployment fund, you could get unemployment benefits without losing your civil rights, e.g. voting rights, and for many workers, this had a big impact on the exercise of the right to vote until 1915. The poor relief alternative would, much like being behind in their taxes, remove them from the voting rolls.

All social legislation was assembled in 1933 into the Social Reform, presented and supported by the Social Democratic Party, the Left Party, and The Radical Left Party. Here it was stated that the financial assistance for the elderly, the poor and the sick should not impose a punishment on those in need. After the constitutional amendment in 1953 and with the electoral act of 1961, the formal clauses on disfranchisement for receiving poor relief were removed completely.

Unions for Maids, Rural Workers and Domestic Servants

Maids

Many young women from handicraft, peasant and working class families were sent out to serve in a private household in their younger years, until they got married. But some did not get married and stayed with the same job or with that kind of work throughout their entire lives. The rules of employment were that you were under someone's authority for at least one year, after which either party could ter-



minate the contract. The work consisted of cooking for the family and possibly other employees, cleaning and washing and often childcare. According to the Servants Act of 1854, the maid had to be available day and night around the clock. The employer had the right to beat the maid, and she had to have a servant's conduct book until 1921, when a new servants' act was introduced, which put an end to the beatings.

It had been especially artisans and industrial workers who had established trade unions in the period 1870-1900, but as discussed, working in a private home was a work area that involved a very limited degree of freedom, with poor pay, authority and sometimes even corporal punishment (employer had the right to use corporal punishment). It was quite obvious that there was a need for unionisation in these areas. This also occurred.

The first initiative came from Marie Christensen (1871-1945), who in November 1899 invited to a meeting in Copenhagen. This meeting consisted of 30 maids, and they formed Copenhagen Maid's Association (Københavns Tjenestepigeforening) with the following work program:

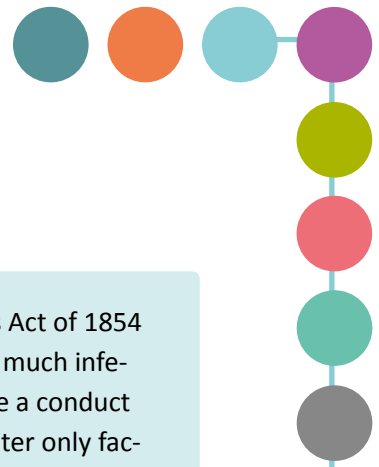
- Fixed working day from 7:00 to 19:00
- Paid overtime
- Time off every other Sunday afternoon
- Own room and decent food
- The right to education and thus higher wages

The association would also work towards establishing a school for maids and ensure the care for maids in their old age. Marie Christensen became chairperson.

Marie Christensen 1871-1945

Marie Christensen was a maid and founded The Copenhagen Maids Association (Københavns Tjenestepigeforening) in 1899, which in 1993 became part of The Union of Public Employees (Forbundet for Offentligt Ansatte), today FOA, Trade and Labour (Fag og Arbejde). Similar associations were set up around the country, which in 1904 joined together in the United Maids Associations in Denmark (De Samvirkende Tjenestepigeforeninger i Danmark). Marie Christensen was president there until 1927. As it was in the workers programme, the United Maids Associations would educate maids, and in 1906, they established a vocational school that operated until 1972 as Home Assistants Vocational School (Husassistenternes Fagskole).





The United Maids Associations in Denmark wanted to have the Servants Act of 1854 abolished. This law characterised housework as a paid occupation to be much inferior to other kinds of work. In addition to other matters, one had to have a conduct booklet into which employers could write anything - at the beginning, later only factual information - and employers could also beat their employees. In 1904, the Left Party (Venstre) government established a Servants Commission, and Marie Christensen got a seat as the first working woman ever in a government commission. As a result of the commission's work, the Danish Parliament adopted the Worker Act of 1921, in which both conduct booklets and beatings were banned.

Marie Christensen was upset that her union comrades were double barred for two reasons from running for office and voting, according to the Constitution of 1849 - the two reasons being that the union members were both maids (that belonged to a household staff) and women. Both of these categories did not have voting rights, as it was so formulated in the Constitution. She launched a protest campaign, founding the Political Women's Association (Politisk Kvindeforening) in 1904, and entered into the national and international battle on suffrage.

She was one of the speakers at the workers' and trade unions' special arrangement for the workers' celebration of the voting rights of women and servants on 5 June 1915, in the afternoon in Søndermarken, a common/park in Copenhagen. This event was held after the women's march where representatives from the women's associations approached King that same day.


Since the suffrage had been won, she was elected to the Copenhagen City Council for the Social Democratic Party (Socialdemokratiet) 1917-22.

The goal that elderly maids should have access to a retirement home, was realized in 1935. Marie moved into one herself, and spent her last years there.

(Sources: www.foa.dk and www.wikipedia.dk)

Agricultural Labourers

In 1907 the Servants and Agricultural Labourers League (Tyende- og Landarbejderforbundet) was set up in Denmark, with Carl Westergaard (1885-1954) as initiator. That it first happened so late in relation to the organisation of workers in companies was due to the agricultural workers having been spread throughout the entire coun-



try, and perhaps there were not enough in the same place to support and inspire each other to unionise. Their employers, the landowners and the farmers were not organized as employers, and therefore did not want any collective agreements. The Servants Act regulated working conditions in the countryside, and it was not favourable for the disadvantaged. In 1934, the association was merged together with the Danish Workers Union (Dansk Arbejdsmands Forbund).

Carl Westergaard 1885-1954

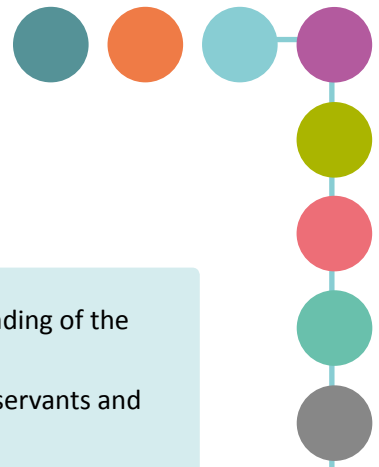
Carl Westergaard started working as an 11-year old. After some years as a farm labourer, herdsman and digger in the peat bogs, he attended a folk high school. Here he met some of the great labour leaders, and was inspired by depictions of the lives of the poor in rural areas, through Johan Skjoldborg's (1861-1936) and Jeppe Aakjær's (1866-1930) poetry.

In 1906, Carl Westergaard approached the Confederation of Danish Trade Unions (De samvirkende Fagforbund, DsF/LO) and asked for help to organise a union for farm workers and servants. He received the 200 kr. he had asked for after a recommendation from the poet and the socially and politically involved Jeppe Aakjær. About 15 people were gathered to found a congress in 1907, which elected Carl Westergaard as chairman.

The Servant and Agricultural Labourer Association, just as the Maids Association (Tjenestepigeforeningen), wanted to abolish the servant's conduct book and the Servants Act, and want for servants to have the right to vote. In addition, they wanted to work for higher wages and better furnishings for the farmhands' quarters on the farms. Westergaard also was granted an audience with the Servants Commission (Tyendekommission), in which Marie Christensen was a member. In addition, the federation wanted to have created a folk high school for the workers. However, at the Congress in 1909, he was removed from his duties as chairman because of a political split in the federation and because of his mess in accounting. With Stauning's intervention in 1915, the federation succeeded in agreeing on a political line, and Carl Westergaard now took on other management posts, but not the chairmanship. In 1934, the association was integrated into the Danish Workers' Federation (Later SID and as of 2005 3F).

The very first workers folk high school²⁷ is set up in Esbjerg in 1910. Esbjerg Højskole existed until 2012 where is closed up due to financial problems. Aakjær and Martin





Andersen Nexø and many others in the cultural elite supported the founding of the folk high school.

Carl Westergaard himself wrote more booklets about the conditions of servants and agricultural workers and wrote for a number of magazines,

(Sources: www.denstoredanske.dk og www.arbejdermuseet.dk)


Skilled, Unskilled and Parliamentary Work

The slow paced, overdue and dispersed industrialisation (even though there was an industrial centre in Copenhagen) meant that the Danish working class did not undergo the great impoverishment as, for example, in the large industrial centres in England. For example, it could be worth it for a girl or farmhand from the country to go into town and work in a factory - here there was more freedom and better pay, especially if the company had a collective agreement. More and more women became employed in industry and crafts, and during that period they came to represent an increasingly larger proportion of employees - about 25% in 1914 and in 1925. But in many industries they accounted for the absolute majority - such as in the textile, paper and the cleaning and grooming industries (laundries, ironing workshops, barbers and hairdressers etc.) by over half.

In the 1920s, there was a fairly extensive reorganising and rationalisation process in industrial production, which increased the individual worker's productivity. Productivity grew by 50 percentage points during the 1920s, while employment in industry increased by only 26 percentage points between 1922-29.

In the population census of 1930, the number of workers in industry and crafts came to 305,000, representing almost 20% of the working population.

The majority of skilled workers could not all look forward to a life where they would become masters, but had to remain journeymen throughout their entire working lives. But for generations, many people's attitudes were influenced by the professional pride of the old guilds and patriarchal attitudes towards the role of women in the labour market. This had an impact on the distinctions that the skilled workers wanted to erect with the trade unions, which they had created as early as the 1870s, where the profession and apprentice certificate (today's training certificate) were the tickets of admission. Such unions were in part directed against unskilled men and in part against women, who also in the vast majority of cases were unskilled.



The workers came from different backgrounds: As already discussed, during the times of the guilds, skilled workers often came from artisan families, journeyman and master families, while unskilled labourers often came from the overpopulated countryside. These unskilled workers had previous experience as 'servants', maids and farmhands, and were accustomed to being dependent and to hard and under-paid work.

In 1876 the Social Democratic Federation (Socialdemokratisk Forbund) was formed - a signal of separation between the Trade Union Movement and the party. And the Social Democratic Party oriented itself more and more towards the parliamentary front and formed their first government 1924-26 with Thorvald Stauning (1873-1942) as Prime Minister and the Radical Left Party as coalition party. Later, in 1929, the two parties created a joint work programme with the support from the Left Party, with a series of reforms that laid the foundation for the next Social Democratic government.

Thorvald Stauning 1873-1942

He was born of poor parents who wanted to help him get an education. He himself wanted to receive training in office work, but his parents could not afford to provide him with the clothes that had to be worn at an office. He then began (after trying the blacksmith profession) an apprenticeship as a cigar sorter in the tobacco industry. When he turned 16, he joined the Social Democratic Party (Socialdemokratiet), while he was still in training.

He became a skilled journeyman in 1892 and found work as a cigar sorter. In 1895 he was elected to the Executive Committee of the Tobacco Workers (Tobaksarbejderne). The following year he became foreman of the Cigar Sorters Support Association (Cigarsorterernes Understøttelsesforening) and editor of its journal. During the period 1896-1924 he was a writing and editing employee in many professional journals, and as of 1920, he was associated with The Social Democrat (Social-Demokraten). In 1916 he was Comptroller Minister* and in 1918-20 Minister for Workers and Social Issues in the radically left party led governments. In 1924-26 Prime Minister in the first Social Democratic government in Denmark, and again Prime Minister 1929-40 in the Social Democratic-Radical governments. After the occupation in 1940, Prime Minister in the coalition government until his death in 1942. Stauning appointed the first female minister in Denmark, Nina Bang, to his





government 1924-26. As Prime Minister for many years, Stauning was at the heart of the welfare legislation complexes that were formed during very severe crises.

Stauning was the prime organiser of the Second International Congress in 1910 in Copenhagen. It was at this congress that the women's congress in the party had introduced International Women's Day. This Congress was attended by 99 women. The Danish Social Democrats had universal suffrage - women and men from the age of 22 - on the programme since 1876, and enshrined the principle of equal pay in its programme in 1888. But at this point up until the constitutional amendment of 1915, there was not a lot of activity from women in the party nor related to the party. It was the women's trade unions that were active - also in building organisations along with other women's rights and suffrage.

The Danish Social Democratic Party agreed with the overall orientation of the Second International in 1907, not to cooperate with the 'bourgeois women's movement' - that is, in the Danish version of the women's movement, which even in the 1870s in Denmark had evolved and culminated in the voting rights battle up until 1915. The Danish Social Democratic Party's Congress in 1908 was of the mind that one should not build special women's organizations - even within the party. They only supported women's unions in such occupations where it was not possible to create a joint trade union together with men.

Therefore the party lost ground in feminism. Women's associations and women's unions outside the party were therefore of vital importance to the labour movement's development of policy on women, and to the possibility for the Danish labour movement's feminists to develop policies on equal opportunities. The lack of 'double organisation' - that is, women building their own Social Democratic women's groups within the party - meant that the Danish Social Democrats were also unable to get representation in the party's leading bodies in this way. After in 1907 having been leader of the Women's Office, in the German Social Democratic Party, Clara Zetkin (1853- 1933) was one of the initiators of the Social Democratic women's movement in the period 1891-1917. The movement published the magazine *Die Gleichheit*, which Stauning wrote articles for (!).

In 1910, Stauning issued an encyclical to party associations, where he referred to women's 'separatist' tendencies.



Only after the new women's movement took off in the 1970s, would come the access to the Danish Social Democratic Party's women's work, where gender equality at the Congress in 1977 was enshrined in the party's manifesto.

(Sources: Kvindekamp og klassekamp i 100 år (Women's Struggle and Class Struggle in 100 Years), by Jytte Larsen, Journal for Working Lives 12. Volume no. 2, 2010. Stauning by Georg Metz) www.altomhistorie.dk

*) A 'Comptroller Minister' is a minister, who is appointed to (some of) the parties that would otherwise be in opposition, having influence on the country's direction in times of war or crisis. There is no well-defined boundary between 'a government with comptroller ministers' and 'a unity government'. Denmark has had comptroller ministers (or unity governments) in connection with the First and Second World Wars.

(Source: Wikipedia)

Clara (Josephine) Zetkin (born Eissner) 1857-1933

Zetkin trained as a teacher and made contact with the workers and the women's movement in Germany in the 1874. In 1878 she joined the German Social Democratic Party. But Chancellor Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898), with votes from conservatives and national liberals in the German Reichstag, introduced the so-called "socialist laws" in 1878, which prohibited social democratic organisations and activities, including the trade unions.

Many socialists chose to go into exile, as did Clara Zetkin, who travelled to Zurich and later to Paris. Other socialists and trade unionists, a total of 797, were expelled from the big cities, 'the socialist strongholds', to the country and small towns. But the Social Democrats' parliamentary activity was not prohibited; the party received more and more votes, and in 1890 it had become the party with the largest voter support, with 1.4 million votes and 35 seats, which grew to 110 seats in 1912, making it the largest in the German Reichstag. Clara Zetkin, as a representative of the socialist women's movement, participated in the founding of the Second International - that is, the Socialist International - in 1889, when she was in exile in Paris. In 1890 the socialist law had to be repealed and Bismarck had to step down.

Zetkin could now be active in the German Social Democratic Party, leader of the women's movement and publisher of the magazine, Die Gleichheit (Equality), from 1891 until 1917. When the Russian revolution came in 1917, she joined the In-





dependent Social Democrats, which later evolved into the Communist Party. As a member of the Communist Party, she took on directorial positions nationally and internationally, and was a member of the German Reichstag from 1920 to 1933, where she again had to flee due to Hitler's rise to power and a ban on the party. This time to the Soviet Union, where she died the same year. Zetkin had great significance for the women's movement of the 1970s, where she was widely read and her writings translated.


(Sources: Wikipedia - Danish, English and German)

As indicated in the preceding section, The Confederation of Danish Trade Unions (De samvirkende Fagforbund i Danmark), later LO, was founded in 1898, and in opposition to this organisation there was The Confederation of Danish Employers of 1898 (DA, Arbejdsgiverforeningen). In the famous September Compromise of 1899, a kind of Constitution concerned with labour legislation was formed, which meant the introduction of a series of regulations for resolving industrial disputes. This also meant that employers had established their management prerogative and thus that the workers had to accept their role as employees without control of the means of production. The results of the September Compromise were strengthened by the establishment of a special tribunal, the Permanent Court of Arbitration (Den Faste Voldgiftsret), later the Labour Court (Arbejdsretten), by the Act of 1910. Lawsuits in labour law are about interpretations of agreements and anything else that may be in dispute between employers and employees.

But the workers did not enjoy much benefit from the economic boom that began around 1890-93 and which lasted almost until 1913-14, ending with the outbreak of the World War I, since the real income of the unskilled workers generally remained unchanged. The skilled workers, however, had been given certain wage increases. However the employers met almost every strike against them with a lockout. However most unions had signed five-year agreements in 1911, so this brought some stabilisation in the labour market.

The First World War and its Aftermath

When the First World War and the crisis came in 1914, the high cost of living meant that many working families found themselves in worse conditions, since cost-of-living adjustment had not been built into the agreements. This resulted in the gov-



ernment having to intervene and give the workers some compensation; there was also rationing of a number of everyday goods. After the end of the war, prices rose in 1919, and this meant that the government now had to intervene and support the poorest people through relief funds. Full coverage for the high cost of living was introduced in 1919.

England withdrew its trade agreement with Denmark in 1917. Denmark's agricultural trade with the Central Powers (including Germany) thus rose, and the 'goulash times' began (the era derived its name from the manufacturers who produced canned meat for the belligerent nations and earned huge fortunes this way). But, at the end of the war, this export market ceased to exist. This led to the closure of banks and businesses and thus resulted in relatively high unemployment during the 1920's.

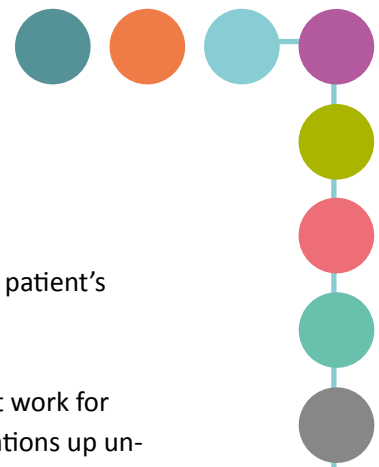
The 8-hour Day

A nine-hour day was established in 1919 (6 days per week). The workers received compensation from the employers for this reduction in the number of work hours. With effect from January 1920, an agreement introduced an 8-hour work day.

The workers had to accept a reduction in the hourly rate, but the stipulated work day now had to be efficient, and the workers had to accept overtime work in the company's best interests. All in all this meant that a real wage increase of up to 40 percentage points was introduced in 1920, compared to 1914, and up to 20 percentage points compared to the level before the war.

Protection of Workers

As of 1873, when there came provisions (prohibitions and restrictions) concerning child and youth labour²⁸ in factories, a number of worker protection provisions were implemented in the following years: 1889 concerning industrial accidents and general protection regarding machines. Accident insurance in 1898, for working with hazardous tasks. The Act of 1913 - a review of 'The Factory Act' of 1901 - with the ban on child labour in factories and workshops. The opportunity for four weeks' maternity leave for female workers after giving birth, unless their doctor could issue a medical certificate showing that they were allowed to return to work earlier. Many women did not take advantage of the four weeks of maternity leave since they were not protected against dismissal. Single women were especially vulnerable because they did not have a joint breadwinner. It was also important to be able to pay the midwife's fee, where the lowest fee was around 10 kr. per birth around the years



1915 to 1925. (In 1952 the smallest fee for a birth was 30 kr., where the patient's payment depended on the family's income²⁹)

Denmark is the only European country to never have had a ban on night work for women. This is because the women's trade unions and women's associations up until the adoption of the Factory Act of 1913, argued strongly for the right of women to work in occupations that had night work as part of the working conditions.

Women and Men in Industry


Table 1:

Occupational and industrial census 1914 and 1925 - number of employees, of these the age and status of women, absolute and percent

Year	Employees in handicrafts and industry	Of these women		Average age of women 1914-1925		Women as couriers and cleaning ladies	Women as home-workers
		number	percent	age	percent		
1914	232,615	56,542	24.3%	under 14	0.6%	635	13,645
1925	269,830	62,294	23.1%	14-18	9.9%	1,028	10,024
				18-22	21.1%		
				22-40	47.8%		
				40-60	18.3%		
				0.60	2.3%		
In total					100%		

(Sources: Danish Trades and Industry According to the Census of 26 May 1914 [Danmarks Haandværk og Industri ifølge Tællingen den 26. May 1914] Statistics Department, Copenhagen, 1917: <http://www.dst.dk/pukora/epub/upload/20375/haandindu1914.pdf> and the Occupational Census of 1925, Statistics Department, Copenhagen, 1929: <http://www.dst.dk/pukora/epub/upload/20381/erhvtaell1925.pdf>)

The largest industrial companies - that is, companies with over 100 employees - had the most women. Here, the number of women in 1914 came to 34.5% and in 1925 to 31.3%.



Besides the work in the actual industrial production at the factory, women were also employed in support services as couriers, maids, etc. These types of employments rose from 4.1% in 1914 to 6.1% in 1925. Note that the number of homeworker women is relatively large.

The women appear in the industrial censuses as factory workers, without additional information. But the work often consisted of:

- Repair and cleaning of containers, bags, bottles
- Packaging and bottling work
- Labelling and sorting
- Washing, ironing and rolling
- Polishing
- Wire threading work (working with wire - bending and welding)
- Bookbinding as assistants

Women's work was characterized by a brief training period. But as of 1925 the concept of 'acquired skills' was also counted. Here women represent 83% of all workers with acquired skills in the crafts and industry. And if one looks at women alone, 58% of them had acquired skills. To have acquired skills means that you received a training in a profession or function at the workplace, but not a formal apprenticeship.

The skilled women workers in crafts and industry are not included in Table 1 above. In 1925 they made up 1.1% of construction craftsmen, but 4.4% of all skilled workers, mainly employed in bookbinding, in the typesetting field, in the tobacco industry and in the tailoring businesses.

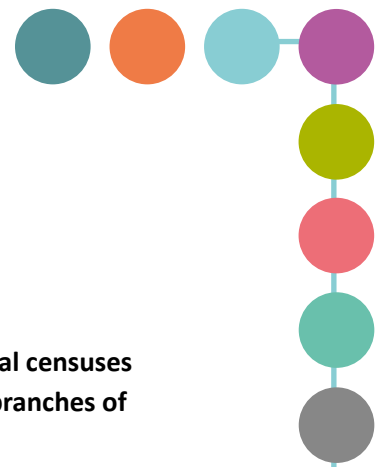


Table 2:

Number of workers in different industries according to the occupational censuses of 1914 and 1925 - including the proportion of women in the various branches of industry - number and percentage

Branches of industry	1914: Actual industrial work	1914: Of these women		1925: Actual industrial work	1925: Of these women	
		number	percent		number	percent
Food and beverage industry	36,463	12,240	34%	46,409	14,838	32%
The textile industry	13,728	9,706	71%	11,146	7,644	69%
The garment industry	24,216	18,364	76%	26,717	20,672	77%
Excavation (digging) and building industry	40,787	122	0.3%	47,441	98	0.2%
Timber and wood products industry	17,838	752	4.2%	18,936	746	4%
Tanning and leather goods industry	7,579	2,112	28%	8,375	2,381	28%
Stone, pottery and glass industry	15,731	1,348	9%	16,820	1,172	7%

Branches of industry	1914: Actual industrial work	1914: Of these women		1925: Actual industrial work	1925: Of these women	
		number	percent		number	percent
Metals industry	48,819	2,084	4%	61,736	3,225	5%
Chemical engineering industry	8,868	2,265	26%	14,036	3,655	26%
Paper industry	2,821	1,644	58%	3,302	1,771	54%
Printing industry	8,547	2,693	32%	9,042	2,492	28%
Grooming industry	5,061	3,212	63%	5,870	3,600	61%
Other	2,157	-	-	-	-	-
In total	232,615	56,542	24.3%	269,830	62,294	23.1%

(Source: Statistics Denmark [Danmarks Statistik] 1917 and 1929 - see under Table 1 - own estimates, Anette Wolthers)

Note that more than half of the employees in the coating, textile, grooming and paper industries were women. One-third was women in the food and beverage industry and the printing industry.

The Work Environment:

"At the sugar factory in Hillerødsgade, we had to stand in a bent position and shake the sugar in the boxes until they had reached the proper weight. After that we had to lift the 80 pound heavy boxes up on a bench, where the joiner assembled them"

"The foreman where I had worked sent word that when the child died, I would return, and 14 days after, I went back to work again. 14 months after that I gave birth to a little girl where I also had a difficult birth because I had been working in a sitting position."

(Source: Raske Fjed - 10 arbejdende Kvinders Livserindringer (Healthy Footsteps - Memoirs of Ten Working Women) 1932)



Organisation

Women's professional organisations grew steadily. In 1920, there was a total of 65,136 unionised women, and of these, the National Union of Women Workers Union (Kvindeligt Arbejderforbund) unionised about 20%. But most women were organised into federations that included both men and women, both skilled and unskilled, for example the Union of Commercial and Clerical Employees in Denmark (Handels- og Kontorfunktionærerne, HK), which in 1900 established a joint federation. The same occurred in the textile, tobacco, paper and ceramics industries.

In several joint federations, women were often gathered in special sections, which was because the women-only unions had now been absorbed as aggregate groups in the joint federations.

The women's occupational union percentages were lower than the men's. For example, in 1914, women constituted only 1/7 of the organised workers in The Danish Confederation of Trade Unions (De Samvirkende Fagforbund), LO. In 1925, they accounted for almost 1/4 of the workforce, but now they are 1/6 of the organised workers in the Danish Confederation of Trade Unions. Here it must be said that the unionisation percentage for both genders fluctuated a great deal in the individual occupations. In some occupations, the unionised percentage was 100, while others had a very small degree of organisation. In 1930, almost 70% of all unionised workers were organised under the Confederation of Trade Unions in Denmark (LO), and half of all workers were organised in trade unions.

Unionisation in the Public Sector

The Provincial Postmen's Union (Provinspostbudenenes Fagforening) and The Tram and Omnibus Employees Organisation (Sporvejs- og Omnibusfunktionærernes Organisation) were established in 1895; in 1899, The Danish Railway Union (Dansk Jernbaneforbund) was founded; in 1900 the Union of Commercial and clerical Employees in Denmark (Handels- og Kontorfunktionærernes Forbund, HK), The Danish Police Union (Dansk Politiforbund), The Customs Service Union (Toldbetjentforeningen) were established; and in 1899 The Danish Nurses' Organization (Dansk Sygeplejeråd) was founded. Organising in a union that organises employees in the public sector was not synonymous with having a right to negotiations and collective agreements. For many years wages were determined by law, with incremental wage increases for those in the public sector. Today the public employees negotiate as well as the private employees.

The Fight against Poverty and Unemployment

Unemployment Increases

During the period 1914-1920, there were large migrations from the countryside to the city: 50,000 men and 70,000 women. Industry could only absorb 70%³⁰ during that period. There was little employment among the remaining 30%. At the end of the First World War there were many demonstrations against unemployment across the country.

In 1920 employers sent a lockout notice to 100,000 workers, but the workers' demands were met though political intervention. Yet it was a precarious time (increase in the prices of imported raw materials and decline in prices of exported consumer goods); plant closures and business collapses began to occur, and unemployment rose to 19.7% in 1921. This led to even greater cuts in real wages up until 1923. The 1920's were also marked by high unemployment rates, until the Great Depression set in with even higher unemployment rates in the early 1930's.

Table 3:

Unemployment percentages among trade union members 1921-1932 - selected years

Year	1921	1924	1925	1927	1929	1930	1931	1932
Unemployment	19.7%	10.7%	14.8%	22.5%	15.5%	13.7%	17.9%	31.7%

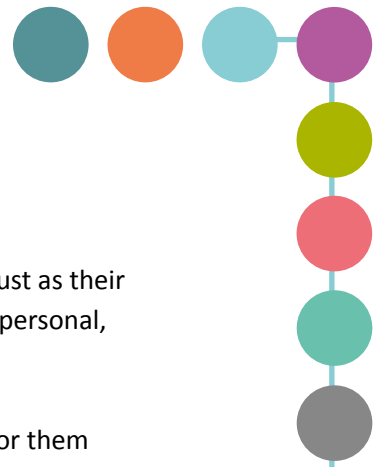
(Source: Unemployment percentage compared to the insured (Arbejdsløshedsprocent i forhold til de forsikrede) 1903-2009, LO:

<https://www.lo.dk/omLO/LOshistorie/FaktaomLOshistorie/Arbejdsløshedsprocentiforholdtildearbejdsløshedsfo.aspx>)

Family and Housing

When the workplace is separated from the home, food and other items that are produced at home, are considered private and irrelevant to the business sector - this production was not remunerated and was mainly run by women.

The general perception of the man as being the breadwinner also influenced wage determination for the two sexes. Women's wages were two-thirds of the unskilled men's wages 1900-1925. The Department of Statistics concluded that women's consumption was nine-tenths of an adult man.



Women's labour was considered a supplemental workforce in industry just as their wages were considered a supplemental income for the family - not as a personal, individual wage for living and reproducing themselves.

Earnings in the majority of working class households were not enough for them to buy their own homes. It therefore became commonplace that people rented a dwelling for a month at a time in an apartment complex. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, many residences were built in the cities to meet this demand. This meant 1- 4 bedroom apartments for rent, which a working-class family could afford. This caused a glut, followed by a construction crash in 1908, whereupon almost all construction was stopped for a period of time until 1914, when the government intervened. But the image of crowded apartments and families in homeless shelters was a common picture until the mid-1920s.

We know that up until the mid-1920s in Copenhagen, an average of 3.9 people lived in a one room apartment. Six people lived in two-room apartments. Eight people dwelt in three-room apartments, and over ten people lived in four-room apartments.

In Copenhagen in 1924, there lived 2,821 families in homeless shelters, schools, poor farms and allotment sheds, consisting of 11,350 persons, and in the province there lived 1,724 families in homeless housing, consisting of 9,288 people.

Apartments built before 1900 were 35-45 square metres (ca. 377-484 sq. ft.). Later they were 40-58 square metres (ca. 430-624 sq. ft.). Backyards were crammed with rear buildings with several floors. Access to entering the apartments was often through other rooms without hallways entrances and vestibules. Toilet conditions were poor. Only after 1889 was it a requirement that there should be one common toilet for every five family apartment units. Lighting and heating was accomplished with kerosene and coal. In the kitchen there was often a so-called 'hotplate', which could be used for cooking and heating.

Many of these dwellings were the setting for working-class families, not only at the beginning of the century, but up until the late 1950s, when major building on the outskirts of big cities was initiated.

These factors encouraged the Labour Movement - as early as mid-1865 - to form the building and housing associations that were able to initiate the construction of the required housing. But only in the period 1900-30 did these become generally widespread.



Home and Children

The goods that the working housewife bought for her family mainly consisted of the following foods:

- Rye bread
- Porridge meal/hulled grain/flour
- Butter/fats/margarine
- Meat/pork
- Eggs
- Potatoes
- Sugar
- Coffee
- Light ale (a special Danish household beer “hvidtøl” both for drinking and cooking)

In the period 1909-1915 there was a marked decline in proteins in the diet, in particular there was little meat, butter or eggs. The unskilled families had to eat a lot of bread and porridge. The lower the income, the greater the percentage spent on food. For families with the lowest income, up to 70% of income was spent on food.

Division of Labour in the Home

The older children hung out in and around the home - i.e. in the courtyard and on the street - when they were not in school or at an institution; often the older ones watched over their younger siblings while the mother had other chores at work or at home: Cooking, cleaning and washing, as well as perhaps caring for the sick and elderly. Many families were ‘extended’, in the sense that they came to one another’s assistance and became involved in each other’s affairs in the crowded tenements.

Pregnant Women and Their Children

Infant mortality was high in these over-populated neighbourhoods. Vesterbro and Nørrebro in Copenhagen thus had a 20% higher child mortality rate than the average for the entire country. Children were born with multiple birth defects, and there was a higher mortality from epidemic diseases - from 50% to 90% higher mortality than in the rest of the country. Women in this part of the working class also had a higher mortality than women as a whole, since the combination of workload, abortions - spontaneous or induced - births without or with very short maternity recuperation periods from paid work and from family chores had a seriously detrimental effect on women’s health. A number of working women became pregnant about 20 times in their lifetimes, but spontaneous or induced abortions limited the number of children.



With so many people in the household - on average of 3-4 children - to care for there was a great deal for women to do all the time, and there generally was no help to be found. They could not afford to take advantage of paid services from outside sources.

A much more recent study among married women working outside the home showed that in 1948, 44.1 hours a week were spent on housework if there was one child; if there were two or three children, 46.2 and 48.3 hours would be spent respectively. Neighbourly assistance was a matter of course in these working-class sectors among the women in these families. Also, for the older children under 14 years - before they got a paid work of their own - the girls in particular had to help their mothers with work - and perhaps in many cases took care of their mother's duties while she was working outside the home.

Day Care Institutions

Day nurseries and kindergartens were limited and also meant an additional cost to working families. It was thus mostly children of single parents or mothers with no other care arrangements that had to use them. In 1927, there were only 26 day nurseries in all of Denmark.

Child Welfare


If the authorities received a tip that some children were neglected, they then had the ability to remove the children from the home. From 1905-1915, figures show that 85% of all children who were removed were from the working class - especially from the homes of the unskilled workers.

Immigration

There were many immigrant women in Copenhagen, who came from Sweden and Germany, and made their living as maids and seamstresses.

Over 37 years, in the period from 1893 to 1930, 91,133 Poles came to Denmark as workers in the turnip fields. Of these, 95% were seasonal workers who returned home. But some stayed, and so it is estimated that approximately 5,000 Poles in this period settled in Denmark. Most began to settle on Lolland-Falster and Møn, but of course spread across Denmark and changed occupations. Many held on to the Catholic faith.

Around and after 1900, about 6,000 Jews from Russia, the Baltic States, Poland, Belarus (White Russia) and Ukraine arrived in groups, as refugees from anti-Semitic



persecution in those areas. About 3,000 stayed in Copenhagen and lived as simple craftsmen, tailors and shoemakers or worked in the textile industry. Several of them were organized in the *Bund*, the Jewish labour party, which was an independent, socialist organisation that emerged from the Russian Social-Democracy in 1897. Many of the Bund members eventually took part in the Danish labour movement³¹.

In 1921, 3.7% of the inhabitants of Copenhagen were not in the Danish National Church, as compared to 2.1% for the whole country. There were 4,889 Catholics, about 5,000 who belonged to the Jewish community, half of whom were Russian and Eastern European Jews, while the rest belonged to the old Jewish community whose ancestors had immigrated previously. Added to this were the Reformed, Anglicans, Methodists and Irvingians (Catholic-Apostolic).

Legislation on Women

Entrance into industrial society occurred through a number of vestiges from long bygone history. Along with the Reformation in the 1530s, the man's role as head of the family was an enshrined legal principle. The Danish Act of 1683 led to married women being regarded as minors and they had to be represented by their husbands in all legal and public affairs. However, the unmarried woman had a number of rights, but these disappeared when she got married.

As of the Constitution of 1849, women derived no change in their legal capacity - they were politically, economically and legally minors. In 1880, married women gained the right of control over what they earned, and in 1899 married women gained the same legal capacity as unmarried women. Men, however, still maintained the right of disposal for joint property.

In 1908, widows won the right to be guardians of their children - beforehand it was a male member of the family or the authorities who had this mission.

In 1922 married parents got the right to joint custody, but the father still determined the child's financial conditions. Only in 1957, did women gain the right to be guardians of their children on equal footing with men. With the new Marriage Act in 1925, it became the duty of both spouses to contribute to family maintenance (mutual responsibility to provide for each other). These maintenance obligations could nonetheless be exercised in different ways - including through the activities at home - or otherwise than as stated. Therefore, the housework of a married woman was interpreted as being part of this joint contribution.



Women were granted the right to vote for municipal councils in 1908, and in 1915 the right to vote for the Parliament (Folketing) and the Upper House (Landsting, the first chamber of the Danish parliament until 1953 when it was dissolved) - but up until 1925, only if their husbands had paid the taxes they owed!

The Equal Wages Act was adopted for all civil servants in 1919, with a cost of living allowance scaled according to the breadwinner's status (which discriminated against married women who were not counted as being breadwinners - and also affected single women with or without children³²). A law was adopted in 1921 granting equal access for men and women to all public positions and occupations - with the exception of access to the priesthood and military posts. In 1948 (as a result of the law of 1947), for the first time, women were granted positions as priests in the Danish National Church. Women gained access to jobs in the military as 'civilian personnel' in 1962. As of 1974 they could be admitted as enlisted personnel and thereby join combat units. Although women by law now also had equal access to positions of service in the public sector and to equal pay, unequal pay still remained, not just in the public sector, but in all professions that women had access to.


The Self-Image of the Working Woman

The first major women's strike took place in 1886 - as a spontaneous strike. Ten years later the National Union of Women Workers (Kvindeligt Arbejderforbund) established the first strike fund, went on strike and won, even though the strike only lasted a few months. Throughout the Labour Movement's history, women have been as willing as men to go on strike. Female workers repeatedly demonstrated their courage and battle-readiness during the strikes.

But there was often a division between the women who saw themselves first and foremost as their men's wives and the women who defined themselves as wage earners and independent breadwinners or fellow providers. There was also a division within the individual woman. As a working wife, they had to look at life through the eyes of their family, and not necessarily base their behaviour on solidarity with their colleagues. In each unique situation they always had to make a choice.

The occupationally active women in the Trade Union Movement and in the Labour Movement experienced society as being separated into two blocks. A distinction was made between 'the posh ones' and 'us'.

Women as 'the other sex' often had an ambiguous relationship with their employers or supervisors who were men, who conducted their management duties in different



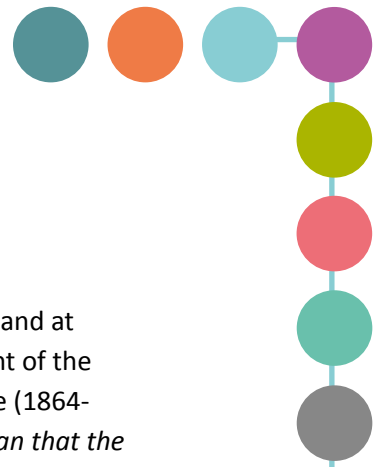
ways - sometimes in a highly repressive manner (including sexual harassment) and other times friendly and welcoming, even protective of the women. The women were able to put up with all the pressure of daily life through small expressions of appreciation from management, but it did not prevent them from seeing the labour leaders and business owners clearly and to distinguish between “them” and “us.”

Society and the dominant ideology generally regarded paid women’s work as something temporary. This attitude also affected some women, who therefore did not want to organise. Their hope was that better times would come, so that they could leave this ‘slave labour’ that they now needed because of hard times in the family. Organising work among the women was a big task, because women wage workers changed jobs many times and moved in and out of the labour market during the year, since much of the work was seasonal. Few women also believed that it was enough that the man paid trade union dues, as he was seen as the principle breadwinner.

The women’s unions, especially the The National Union of Women Workers (Kvinde-ligt Arbejderforbund), not only encouraged women to organise themselves occupationally and politically, but to also vote for (women in) the Social Democratic Party:

“Of course it would be sad if the independent work for the nation’s working women, carried out by the National Union of Women Workers for many years, should result in them now discovering that they were such dependent creatures that they should be subordinate to the leadership of men also in the Organisations, and not as it has now for many years been proven, that they should continue to lead their own organisation and meet with their own elected representatives, in the places and assemblies where the interests of the working class are advocated and resolved (...)”

Working women in this period to a certain extent accepted the relations that existed between the sexes, but trade union conscious women claimed the right to organise themselves and be competitive with the men when their labour was to be sold. In addition, there were a number women who were more radical in their political and social views after the end of the World War in 1918, and at the beginning, they were especially inspired by the Russian Revolution of 1917 and its programme for the liberation of women.



Colleagues in the Trade Union Movement

We still see the dilemma between women's duties in the labour market and at home reflected in the discussion in the trade union movement. President of the Danish Workers Federation (Dansk Arbejdsmandsforbund), M. C. Lyngsie (1864-1931) once commented in the 1920s: *"How infinitely more does not mean that the women who have to work also have time to make their homes comfortable and cosy."*

Sometimes there was solidarity, other times there was bitter competition between men and women at the workplaces. The point of contention could have been that there were different trade union agreements for certain work processes.

Many women have over the years allowed themselves to transfer to the joint federations of Kvindeligt Arbejderforbund, KAD (the National Union of Women Workers), and until our time (until 2005, when KAD and SID merged to become 3F) it has led to disputes between this union and other unions on demarcation agreements and the transfer of members.


On a wider level and in the rhetoric at meetings of the trade union movement, men gradually recognized the right of women to join the labour market, be organised and have an impact on their own conditions - at least in word. While, as discussed, everyday life could be characterized by a shrill tone and clashes between colleagues from different professional organisations.

Representation in the Professional Organisations

In the period 1914-24, there was only one woman on the Executive Committee of The Danish Confederation of Trade Unions, LO (De Samvirkende Fagforbund). There was also a great shortage of board positions in the individual unions. Finally, there were very few women heads in the local branches of the unions in Denmark – except for The National Union of Women Workers which was an all women organisation.

Ideas of Liberation

In 1871, Louis Pio wrote in The Socialist Leaflets (Socialistiske Blade), the newspaper then of the Danish Internationale that it is important to be aware of women's oppression as factory workers and in marriage. In the Social Democratic Party's first programme in 1876, the Gimle Programme, it was required that there should be common, equal and direct right to vote by secret ballot for all top nationally and municipally elected assemblies for both men and women from the age of 22 years.



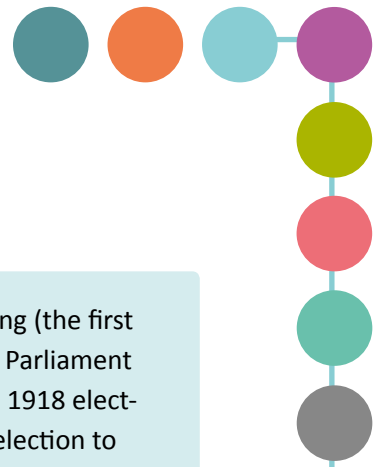
From the turn of the century until the First World War, there was significant theoretical debate in the Social Democratic Party (Socialdemokratiet), where, among others, Gustav Bang (1871-1915) - and Nina Bang's husband (Nina Bang: 1866-1928) - addressed the issue of the working class home: *"The Capitalist disrupts the worker's family life, because it (capitalism) forces his wife and children into the labour market to the greatest extent possible.* Gustav Bang nevertheless believed that the employment of adult women should be regarded as social progress to some extent. But the misfortune is that capitalism does not at the same time lighten her workload at home.

Nina Bang expressed the same ideas in a 1st May article from 1899 in the newspaper The Social Democrat (Socialdemokraten), but perhaps in a bit more down to earth way:

"At the same time there are perhaps 1,000 women in the same city bent over 1,000 pots of yellow peas and pork. What a very different sensible thing it would be if the top floor of the house were equipped with a large kitchen, where the families of the household could order their food and where a lift could bring it down to the apartment. The high cost of kitchen equipment could be saved; the apartment would gain a room that was no longer needed as a kitchen. A relatively small number of people could see to the cooking for a large number of families. But this is not just dreaming. Such joint households are fairly widespread in America, about which you just cannot use the notion of common household, and everywhere in the large cities of Europe there are hostelries where married couples live permanently, forever free from a lot of things that take up the married woman's time and efforts, threatening her with utter ruin, especially when she has a job."

Nina Bang and Gustav Bang

Nina Bang - born Ellinger (1866-1928) - worked as a private tutor while she studied to take her high school diploma (general certificate) in private. Thereafter she studied history at the University of Copenhagen from 1889 to 1894. She met Gustav Bang (1871-1915) during her studies, and together they developed a close working relationship. They joined the Social Democratic Party (Socialdemokratiet) in 1897, and with the party as a framework, both became politicians, agitators and journalists at the paper. Nina Bang became a member of the Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party in 1903 (Gustav was appointed so in 1901), a member of



the Copenhagen City Council 1913-1917, and was elected to the Landsting (the first chamber of the Danish Parliament until it was dissolved in 1953 and the Parliament was reduced to one chamber, the Folketing). She was the first woman in 1918 elected after women were granted the right to vote and became eligible for election to Denmark's first Parliament's (Rigsdagen) two chambers, the Folketing and the Landsting, with the Constitution of 1915. In the first Social Democratic-led government of 1924-26, she became Minister of Education.

Nina Bang was not in favour of women organising themselves in special women's movements, but believed that women should rally behind the Social Democratic Party, whose policy towards women she formulated with a keen eye on the harsh living conditions of female workers.

Gustav Bang's work resembled Nina's in many ways. He worked in history and politics, with a clearly Marxist foundation, and did research. Among other things, he discovered - something which at that time was unknown knowledge - that there had been and currently was a large migrant proletariat in Europe. He was a teacher at the party's worker school and became a member of Parliament in 1910.


(Sources: www.denstoredanske.dk and www.arbejdmuseet.dk)

The Bang couple see an alternative to the hard work at home by developing a societal solution for the chores that have to be done at home. These include the establishment of communal kitchens, laundries and so on. Like other contemporary socialist thinkers, they do not believe that men and women are also able to split up the housework between them. These are concepts that would only arise as late as the 1960s.

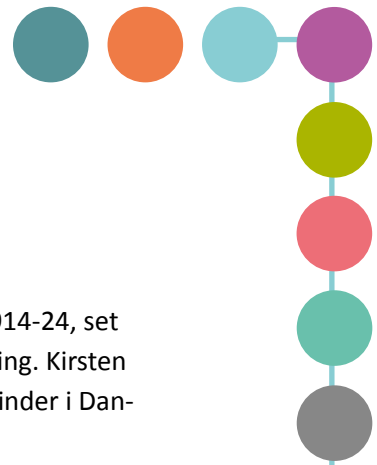
The Bang couple and other socialist thinkers at that time had probably not imagined that public child care would become as massive as it became between 1980-2015, when the need for childcare was almost fully satisfied so that parents could enter the labour market after maternity and paternity leave.

Worker's Enlightenment

In 1910, Esbjerg Folk High School (Esbjerg Højskole) was established as the first folk high school for workers, and at the same time, night schools cropped up in cities with courses on national economics, physics, history and civics, statistics, trade



union history, etc. The Workers' Educational Association (Arbejdernes Oplysningsforbund, AOF) was founded in 1924. In this context we should also talk about equality, and commend women for the stress they bore. At the dedication of Roskilde Folk High School (Roskilde Højskole) in 1932, Rector Hj. Gammelgaard (1886-1956) said in the foreword to the book *Raske Fjed*: *"Modest and expressive women even quite subconsciously sing a song to the nature of women in the book, its ability to endure, to tolerate all suffering, its desire and strength to perform well in the midst of their own distress, its love for their children, its willingness to sacrifice everything until the last crumb."*



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Notes The labour movement 1900-1930

- 25 Until 1851, only church marriages were legally valid. Thereafter it became possible to enter into a civil marriage, if the people did not belong to the Danish National Church. By the 1880s, the number of civil marriages increased, one reason being that an increasing number of the Social Democratic Party's supporters declared themselves to be freethinkers and because (even if they were members of the Danish National Church) they did not wish to participate in the traditional wedding ritual, which said that women should submit to men.
- 26 In the present, company sizes are defined as follows by the EU: 0-9 employees - very small (micro-businesses); 10-45 employees - small; 50-249 employees - medium; more than 250 employees - large. In the 2000s, more than 85% of companies in Denmark had fewer than 10 employees. In Denmark, there had been a decline in employment in large and medium-sized companies, but it was growing in the very small companies between 2008 and 2012. Source: www.erhvervsstyrelsen.dk
- 27 The Workers' Educational Association, AOF (Arbejdernes Oplysnings Forbund) was founded in 1924. The Labour Movement bought the existing Roskilde Folk High School (Roskilde Højskole) in 1929, and operated it as a folk high school for workers until 2001. The LO School opened in Elsinore (Helsingør) in 1969, with a focus on education for representatives /shop stewards - now called CEFAL, the Centre for Working Life and Learning (Center for Arbejdsliv og Læring).
- 28 The Worker Protection Act of 1873 stipulated that children after their 10th birthday were permitted to work six hours a day in factories and large workshops; the 14-18 year-olds were allowed to work for 10 hours. Monitoring was to be done by just two factory inspectors throughout the country.
- 29 Report on Prenatal Health, Ministry of the Interior, 1952.
- 30 Excerpt from the newspaper debate on the unemployed from the 1840s to the 1940s, Vol. II by Bent Jensen, the Rockwool Foundation, 2007.
- 31 In the early 1900s, the new Bund Federation was founded in the United States, Canada, Australia and Palestine, when the Eastern Jews arrived in these countries. The Bund was dissolved in the Soviet Union in 1921, but continued to exist in Poland until 1948 and was active during the Second World War in Poland. See also: Russian Jews in Copenhagen 1882-1943 (Russiske jøder i København 1882-1943) by Morten Thing, 2008.
- 32 The government had established a wage commission in 1917, which would investigate the public system on the occurrence of price increases and shortages during the First World War. One woman (a teacher, Thora Pedersen) managed to participate. The men on the commission were opposed to equal pay, but after a tough fight from the teacher, the majority ended up recommending equal pay, which was also legislated in 1919 for the public sector.

The Labour Movement 1930-1950



The period 1930-50 was a period with disparate attitudes towards gender and the labour market. In the 1930s came a strong polarisation between radical and progressive ideas, which had emerged through the radicalisation of women through the 1920s, in the wake of the Russian Revolution and the work for women's rights, and also the political ideas that came from the south with the Nazi view of women. The notorious slogan that women belong with the children, in the kitchen and in the church ('Kinder, Küche, Kirche'), also affected the Danish perceptions of the woman's place. During the Second World War, many women lost their jobs in industry because of a lack of raw materials for the consumer industry. But already around 1950, the commissions and committees expressed the desire that women should return in greater numbers to the labour market, as they were badly needed.

The 1930s

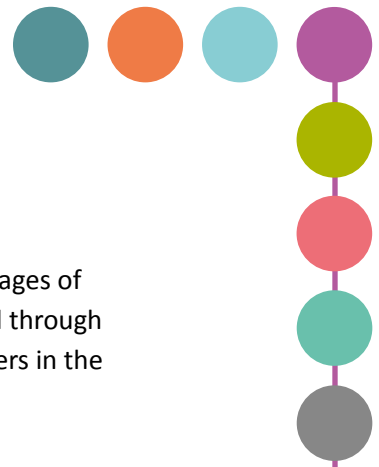
The beginning of the 1930s was hard and there was economic stagnation and rising unemployment. The Social Democratic-Radical Left government under Stauning, with its rise to power in 1929, had designed a work programme to meet the crisis, as discussed in the previous section: The Labour Movement 1900-1930.

It was hard times for the workers, with a sharp decline in real wages of 14 percentage points from 1931 to 1937. This is due to a defensive wage policy from the Danish Federation of Trade Unions (DsF, De Samvirkende Fagorganisationer i Danmark), later LO, and an income policy, as evidenced by the government's intervention in the collective agreements and the devaluation of the Danish currency - Kroner.

Prime Minister Thorvald Stauning said in his May Day speech in 1934:

"We no longer live under liberalism, but rather under the monitored and regulated capitalism in which the State can exercise all its authority."

In order for the trade union movement to be a tool in this policy, it had to be centralised, so it would no longer be the individual trade unions being able to approve or reject the settlement proposal. The so-called linkage rules were therefore introduced as of 1934, on the basis of a number of polling districts, consisting of groups of trade unions whose rejection or adoption was essential. One could thus link the 'blustering' union with the more 'peaceful' union, so as to avoid strikes, lockouts - and, in general, the exhausting conflicts in connection with collective bargaining. Another tool the government took advantage of, was to implement the so-called solidarity wage policy, which reflected a wage and social policy for the equalisation



of the wages of the working class. This meant a relative decline in the wages of skilled workers and a relative increase in that of the unskilled, facilitated through the state's income policy on the redistribution of wages. Unskilled workers in the provinces and farmhands benefited in particular.

But social problems grew; for example in 1932, 60,000 workers were living on social assistance through the support funds of the municipalities. In the high unemployment year of 1932, there was an unemployment rate of 31.7 for the trade unionists. Furthermore, youth camps were created, where young unemployed people were gathered and 'retrained' for the labour market. Lastly, poor farms or work houses were still found around the country, where the people most incapable of working could assemble.

The crisis resulted in the unionising of the unemployed, unemployment demonstrations and similar actions.

Although unemployment declined somewhat among the organized workers through the 1930s, from 31.7% in 1932 to 21.7% in 1937, the crisis lasted until the late 1930s when there was a slight recovery, which quickly gave way to the Second World War which began in 1939.

The Women


Women continued to spread out in industry in the 1930s beyond the labour market, the service sector and in domestic occupations.

The Service occupations

Employment of women increased, especially in shops. Major businesses expanded and the number of small businesses increased. As retailers were able to grow this way, it was because more and more consumer goods were produced industrially. There were long workdays since stores closed at seven o'clock, and on Fridays they even closed late in the evening, with partial opening hours on Saturdays.

During the 1930s a degree of rationalisation of office work occurred, for example by collecting office clerks into large typing pools.

In 1881, the first telephone exchange was set up in Copenhagen - and the phone became a familiar success. Both women and men worked within the telephone service. The latter were technicians, managers and administrators. But the women



became telephone operators, who had to answer/transfer calls to and from subscribers. This was a job with long hours, since the phone lines were open from early morning to late evening, distributed throughout different shifts. Here the women sat in long rows and were supervised by a superintendent. Although they were employed as civil servants with pensions, the pay was still low; in Korsør it was 118 Danish Kroner per month in 1927 - and to rent a room cost at least 25 Danish Kroner. By comparison, an unskilled female worker in the provinces four years later earned about 160 Danish Kroner per month.

In industry.

The Workers' Educational Association (Arbejdernes Oplysningsforbund), AOF, enumerated in 1934 that there was a majority of women in these unions:

- The National Union of Women Workers (Kvindeligt Arbejderforbund)
- The Bookbinder Union (Bogbinderforbundet)
- The Hat and Furrier Union (Hatte- og Bundtmagerforbundet)
- The Tailors Union (Skrædderforbundet)
- The Chewing Tobacco Workers' Union (Skraatobaksarbejderforbundet)
- Confectionery Workers (Sukkervarearbejderne)
- The Tobacco Workers' Union (Tobaksarbejderforbundet)

Other occupations where there are a significant number of women included:

- Brush industry workers
- Hairdressers
- Gold and silver workers
- Business and office assistants
- Potters
- Paper workers
- Rope makers
- Footwear workers
- Slaughterhouse workers
- Telephone workers
- Typographers

With regard to wages, The Workers' Educational Association (AOF) said that it was managed to increase the wages of female workers the most, so that the pay gap between men and women had become smaller (A result of the government's incomes policy?). AOF claimed that there was complete 'Equal Pay' (AOF's quotation marks)



in the tobacco industry, where male and female workers are paid the same piece-work schedule and had similar working conditions

AOF's data on wages for 1931 are as follows:

Table 4:

Weekly earnings in Danish Kroner for skilled and unskilled workers in the capital and the provinces in 1931

Skilled workers in the capital	Skilled workers in the provinces	General labourers in the capital	General labourers in the provinces	Female workers in the capital	Female workers in the provinces
83.52	67.20	66.24	57.60	42.72	37.44


(Source: Trade union information - history and problems, a textbook for the students [Fagforeningskundskab – historie og problemer, en grundbog for studiekredsen] Workers' Educational Association (AOF), "Forward" 1934 (Fremad)

The pay gap between unskilled men and women both in the capital and the provinces, sticks out a mile; women's wages constitute 64.5% of the unskilled men's wages in the capital and 65% of the unskilled men's wages in the provinces. These wage differences are about the same as just before the equal pay struggle of 1971-73 – about 40 years later.

Antifeminism in the 1920's and 1930's

In late 1920 the question of women's right to work shot forward in the public debate. Inspired by the fascist and Nazi ideas from Italy and Germany, attacks on the women's right to work began coming from many different circles. In particular in relation to married women. This inspired many Danish municipalities to dismiss married female teachers, so that the male breadwinner (or potential breadwinners), consisting of male teachers, could step in. There eventually also evolved a common practice in government to dismiss women when they got married. A case was taken to court in 1943, which rendered this practice illegal.

Within many parts of the government, a closed class of clerical workers was established for women, with no opportunity for advancement, without pension rights and with lower wages, a phenomenon that lasted right up to the 1990s. We have for



example seen this phenomenon in the financial institutions, which for many years up until the 1990s had these sorts of dead-end jobs intended for women.

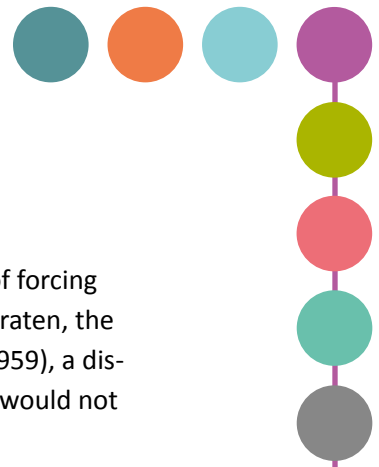
In the publication “Forward” (Frem³³), of 1927, Knud Korst, graduate in political science³⁴ (1894-1962) wrote an article: “The Female Majority”. In this article he deals with the men’s bitterness towards women and explains it as a condition of the competition that exists in sectors where both genders work, and of women selling their labour more cheaply in the industry. Also in the public sector, he says, the married male teachers were annoyed about the unmarried female teachers’ ‘carefree’ life, as they did not have a family to support: Why should married female teachers get a teaching job, when they already have a breadwinner? Asked the male teachers. But he defended the right of women to enter the labour market because *“in reality, a revolution occurred the likes of which history has never seen.”*

“Frem” (Forward) 1927, Knud Korst wrote:

“And in our times, it is almost a matter of course - also in the more affluent groups of the population - that when daughters become adults, they must have some sort of livelihood; there are in our time very few young girls who go home and wait for a man to marry them. On the whole, it is thus the economic development that has forced women out on the labour market. When many men speak with bitterness of the competition from women for their livelihood, it is therefore quite unfair. The women have to seek their livelihood (...) The change has been manifested in the boldness with which women now emerge in all spheres of human life, their participation in sports, politics, their lack of constraint and naturalness in their habits and how they dress. In short, a revolution has taken place here in the real world, the likes of which has never been seen in history.”

The Salaried Employee Act was adopted in the second half of the 1930s, even while some married women were laid off in the private sector. In a lawsuit in 1936, led by a female salaried employee who had been dismissed because she got married, her adversary, the company’s attorney said:

“When a female salaried employee gets married, a centre of interest outside of the service is created for her, which we believe she is subordinate to, and which does not apply to the male salaried employee to nearly the same degree... and that the job satisfaction and desire to work cannot be maintained at the same level as before because there is so much outside of the service drawing her attention”



There were repudiations in the labour movement concerning this idea of forcing women out of the labour market. In the Social-Democrat (Social-Demokraten, the newspaper of the Social Democratic party – this name was used 1874-1959), a discussion on the topic was held in 1934, where the conclusion was that it would not be appropriate or reasonable to banish women from the workplace.

AOF (The Workers education Association) wrote in 1934:

“The hard pressure of the extensive unemployment in the recent years has inspired some voices to speak of reducing men’s unemployment by sending women back home. In some places the following rule is practised when a publicly employed woman marries, she has to resign from her job. Looking at Nazi-Germany it is a part of the programme of the reaction to refer women to the Church, the Kitchen and the Children, and it must cause scruples when one sees the measures taken to create disagreements between the two sexes and discrimination of women.”

A discussion of women’s rights to be in the labour market would probably not be possible today. Yet we saw a hint of it in the context of the high unemployment that developed in the 1970s and the early 1980s. But today anyone can see that the exclusion of women from the labour market is an absurdity, due to the entire socio-economic infrastructure. They were probably also able to see this in the 1930s. But at this point in time there was also an ideological, Nazi-inspired blindness that meant that people did not want to look at the question clearly. There was no desire from reactionary circles for women to be there, while at the same time women worked hard in both German and Danish industry as well as the labour market in general. The hypocrisy thus became a well-worn platform for many.

The Second World War

With the occupation of Denmark on 9 April 1940, cooperation began, on a political and economic level, with the occupying forces – known as the policy of cooperation. Already in May 1940, a delegation travelled to Berlin to be provided with business and trade agreements. The delegation consisted of representatives from government ministries, business associations and individual industries. The results of the negotiations was that Denmark was allowed to produce what the Wehrmacht (German Army) needed. It created deep divisions between the professions for and against the occupying forces, since some of them experienced a huge recovery, while others had to cut back or close down. Companies such as large agricultural

complexes and cement factories could produce for export. The contractors who were tasked to build fortifications, for example along the west coast, also earned good profits in these years.

The occupying forces wanted to inspect production, and periodically, German or Danish Nazi technicians would show up in all kinds of businesses.

In the textile industry, after the war, there was a backlash against such personnel, which the companies had retained as a means of control. Such technicians were presumably still inspired by work organisation methods from the south, so one can understand the anger of the Danish workers.

In the agreements entered into between the cooperative government and the occupying forces, the Danish workers had to work in Germany's industry, in return for the supply of fuel and coal to Denmark. The usual import of English coal for industry and for heating was now cut off. In total, there were 127,000 Danish workers who had to work for short or long periods in Germany, with a workweek of 60 hours, low pay and miserable food. It was mostly young, unskilled men who had to leave, but 10% of workers sent to Germany were women.

Table 5:

Unemployment in selected years 1931-1950

Year	1931	1932	1934	1937	1940	1943	1949	1950
	17.9%	31.7%	22.1%	21.7%	23.9%	10.7%	9.6%	8.7%

(Source: Unemployment percentage compared to the employed (Arbejdsløshedsprocent i forhold til de forsikrede) 1903-2009,

LO: <https://www.lo.dk/omLO/LOshistorie/FaktaomLOshistorie/Arbejdsløshedsprocentiforholdtildearbejdsløshedsfo.aspx>)

Unemployment fell in Denmark during the occupation, but this was achieved mostly by division of labour, wage levelling in relation to a fixed price index, emergency relief work, fortification works and also the mentioned labour in Germany.

There was commotion in the trade union movement in 1942 against the conditions mentioned above. High wage demands were established for collective agreements in 1943, as the Confederation of Trade Unions in Denmark (De Samvirkende Fagforbund), LO, led to a settlement of about 2.5-6 øre (an "øre" is 1/100 of one Danish Kroner) more per hour.




But this ignited a strike wave that intensified in 1943, where dockworkers, shipyard workers and so on played a central role and where the labour market erupted in the August Strike of 1943, which was the Danish working class's first great mass action against the Nazi occupiers. After the August Strike, the Danish population increasingly experienced open terror from the occupying forces and the Danish Nazis, which ended with the People's Strike in 1944. A curfew was introduced, which prevented people from going out after dark. But this was first broken by B&W workers (Burmeister & Wain Shipyard), who claimed that they had to take care of their garden allotments, which they did not have time to do on the days when they were at work. It came to a pitched battle on 30 June 1944, when the workers marched in demonstrations and destroyed pro-Nazi shops, etc. But the occupiers made a countermove, occupying the municipal works and turning off the lights, gas and water. An assembly of representatives from the 'official' Denmark, incl. the Confederation of Trade Unions (LO) called for the cessation of the strikes.

After the liberation of 5 May 1945, the entire Danish production facilities had to be rebuilt. Social Democrats devised a program, the "Denmark of the Future," focusing, among other matters, on a renewed and rationalised industry and improved conditions for the working class. This program, however, would only begin to be realised in the 1950s. It was an expression of a Keynesian³⁵ development à la the New Deal³⁶ in the United States of the 1930s, building on the State's mitigating crisis intervention in the economy and reduction of conflicts between workers and employers.

The programme, "Denmark of the Future" was developed in cooperation between the Social Democratic Party (Socialdemokratiet), the Danish Confederation of Trade Unions (LO) and The Cooperative Federation (Det Kooperative Landsforbund) - consisting of collectively-owned companies that were attached to the Danish labour movement - and had four points:

1. Equal distribution of income.
2. Planned and efficient production, aiming at higher standards of living and social security.
3. Full utilisation of all production possibilities - the elimination of unemployment.
4. No cyclical fluctuations, but rather permanent upswings should be sought.



Women During and After the War

Because of the 'division of labour' with the occupying forces, which Denmark had to incorporate, many women's industries disappeared or were restricted, including the textile industry and several food industries. Most consumer goods industries lacked raw materials for their production and had to find replacements if they were to avoid being completely shut down. More workers started to become independent and produce substitute products - and resourcefulness in a country that was now cut off from the great world market and was subject to extensive import restrictions.

Coffee and tea were sold out at the turn of 1941-42, and coffee additives were also rationed thereafter, so people roasted barley, for example, and milled it. Some created a small industry in washing playing cards so they could be reused. Some tried tobacco cultivation in the back yard, and nurseries announced that they had tobacco plants for planting, and so on.

The period of occupation had thus 'bombed' the productions of consumer goods back to previous production methods where women were employed in small businesses and shops where they processed the available raw materials from scratch. Many inventions and housewife ploys also meant that families could survive, even though there were hardly any goods to get (just read wartime cooking and idea books!) Allotment plots, villa gardens and, well, anywhere possible were used for growing vegetables and tobacco, keeping chickens, pigs etc. - even in the large cities - in order to have food. You could see old virtues such as spinning and weaving wool and churning butter being revived in the provinces and in the countryside. All these activities, together with queuing up for goods, became the day-long occupation of the housewives. Those who worked full-time had to ally themselves with their fellow sisters and family to be there when goods were available.

These conditions meant that there was no talk of rights, such as gender equality, but it was rather about day-to-day survival.

The Economic Secretariat said in its Economic Annual Review 1947:

"The transition of the workforce to smaller companies is probably indicative of the return to a more primitive, artisanal technology that took place during the Occupation, and which has not yet been dismantled."



The shortage of goods was so serious that women's demonstrations took place demanding access to more items. But the government held back and allowed rationing to continue a few more years - gradually affecting fewer and fewer categories of goods.

This restriction in the women's industries continued for a long while, and it was not until the 1950s when the rationing of most consumer goods was lifted, so that a return could be made to the consumer goods industry.

The Rebuilding of Industry

Recovery of the Danish industry could only take place with cooperation between workers and employers, but it required that the trade union movement could gain ground in their own ranks. People avoided demanding raises with increases in productivity in the first year, and a piecework system was developed with fixed working cycles to keep wages in check. For example, the starting point for the determination of a piecework system was that a worker on an hourly wage worked at a pace of 80 - and only through a piecework determination could the work pace be estimated at 100 or higher. Also time studies according to Tayloresque³⁷ principles were adopted in almost all industries. Since the machinery and work organisation at the beginning was virtually the same as during the war, this resulted in an increased workload and intensity of work for the workers.

As early as 1945 in the Danish Cotton Spinning Mills in Vejle, women stopped working in protest to the humiliating supervision whenever they got a glass of water, went to the toilet and so on. This activity provoked sympathy actions in several cotton mills across the country. Also in slaughterhouses, there were conflicts due to rationalisation studies. The management of several slaughterhouses came up with the ploy to dismiss all the workers on Friday, only to take back on Monday all those who were not trade unionists.

In the early 1960s new techniques and new technologies were introduced, so that down the road there could be an increase in productivity.

Collaborative work councils were created in 1947 - an institution that has had an impact on the dialogue between employer and employee up until today.

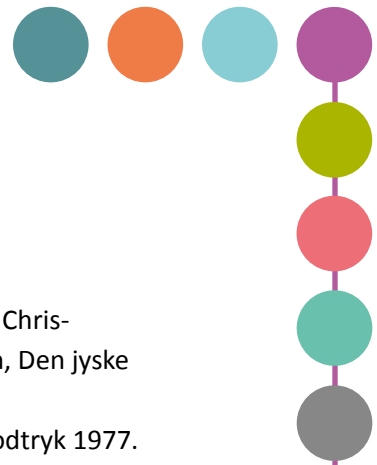


Equality?

This period was a difficult time for women. There was not much help to be found for a public action on gender equality. Gender equality was not on the daily agenda. The ideological debate was generally hostile to women's liberation, but still with arguments about maintaining women's right to work, as we saw from the Social Democratic Party. People saw women more as mothers and housewives, with the problems that arise from this role. The creation of the state organisation Mothers' Aid (Mødrehjælpen) in 1939³⁸ was symptomatic, which was to take care of the problems that occurred from being poor and being a mother. Only after World War II did Mothers' Aid begin to help single mothers get an education so that they could better cope on the labour market. In "The Woman's Who, What, Where - the housewife's Yearbook 1952" (Kvindens Hvem, Hvad, Hvor - husmoderens Årbog 1952)³⁹, the first bulletin showed a preface and then the article: *"Year by year, the Danish woman's equality with the man has been reinforced."* The yearbook contains a number of annual statistics of important events in the history of women's equality with men. The following can be quoted from the preface of the book:

"The defenders of the women's cause can proudly point to the fact that the world is no longer a single, enormous men's club, where the so-called weaker sex is only relegated to bearing his children, preparing his food and looking after his house. The satisfaction of having achieved equality in no way excludes a woman's desire to preserve her gender distinctiveness, and to dominate not just in those areas where the man for natural reasons is excluded, but also where her special skills are especially relevant."

The notion that women have achieved equality with men was therefore prevalent in 1951 when this work was written by a number of Denmark's leading experts and writers.

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Køn og fagbevægelse i 100 år, LO 2002

Moderskab og Mødrehjælp – otte portrætter og 100 års historie, af Pia Fris Laneth, 2014

Kvindernes Hvem, Hvad, Hvor 1952, Politiken 1952



Notes: The Labour Movement 1930-1950

- 33 Frem (Forward) is a Danish General Educational Journal, first published in the period 1897-1918 and again 1925-1928. Virtually all subjects were treated in the journal and the period's leading people in business, administration and culture wrote the articles.
- 34 Knud (Erik Poul) Korst 1894-1962. Academic degree in economics (Cand. polit.) Employed in the Department of Statistics. Wrote about economic issues and, in 1924, was associated with the newspaper "The Social Democrat" (Socialdemokraten). Later became secretary for Prime Minister Th. Stauning, and finally Director General of the Department of Taxes and Customs 1938.
- 35 After the English economist John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946). He recommended a state policy of low interest rates on loans in order to increase investments, increasing public spending and tax cuts in order to emerge from the crisis, with the intention of ensure a demand for goods and services.
- 36 The New Deal was an economic and social reform programme, which U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt launched in 1933 in order to lead the US out of the crisis that had been triggered by the Stock Market Crash on Wall Street in 1929. These included implementing public works to increase employment when the unemployment rate was over 25%. Unemployment then fell to 16.9% as early as 1935 - after two years of the New Deal.
- 37 Taylorisme - by Frederick Winslow Taylor 1856-1915. Methods for production planning in industrial companies, based on time and motion studies, with the goal of cutting everything unnecessary away from the concrete work processes.
- 38 In 1924, the first Mothers' Aid was founded. It was a merger of two private associations: The Association for Mothers in Need (Foreningen for ulykkeligt stillede Mødre), established 1905, and The Association for Single Needy Women with Children (Foreningen for enligtstillede nødlidende Kvinder med Børn), created in 1906. As of 1939, Mothers' Aid became a state organisation via its own legislation. The state run Mothers Aid (Mødrehjælpen) was closed in 1976 when the Social Assistance Act came into force and a lot of other special laws on social assistance were abolished. In 1983, social worker, author and politician Hanne Reintoft (1934-) took the initiative to create the private Mothers' Aid of 1983. This organisation still exists and celebrated its 100-year history with the publication of: Motherhood and Mothers' Aid (Moderskab og Mødrehjælp) - eight portraits and 100 years of history by Pia Fris Laneth, 2014.
- 39 "The Woman's Who, What, Where" (Kvindens Hvem, Hvad, Hvor) was published by Politikens Forlag, starting in 1952 - the yearbook ceased to be published around the end of the 1990s.

The Labour Movement 1950-1971

The period is characterised by the fact that there was an urgent need for women's participation in the labour market. An extensive outreach was made to housewives to enter the growing industry. Many places in the country employed professional managers, who with the pledge of the presence of a female workforce, were able to entice investors to establish themselves in the local area. But the beginning of the period was still characterised by the fact that women were housewives who had to balance between their paid work with their responsibilities at home. More focus was put on girls also taking an education in order to perform well on the labour market.

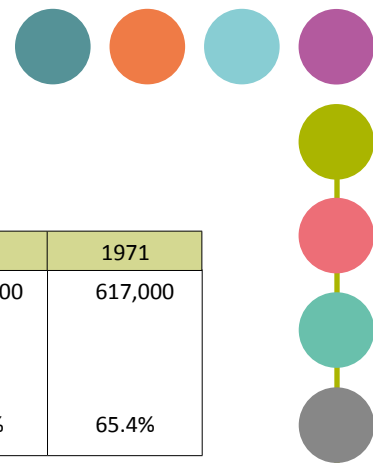
The Labour Force

Table 6:

The total labour force (14-64 years) in Denmark, the proportion of women; inventory of married women, their share of the women and their proportion of the women in the workforce. 1950-1971 - selected years

	1950	1960	1965	1970	1971
Total labour force	2,063,401	2,093,631	2,251,786	2,380,200	2,409,100
Of these women	694,426	646,123	764,213	918,100	942,900
- percent	33.7%	30.9%	33.9%	38.6%	39.1%
Total number of married women, regardless of their labour market affiliation the workforce	998,200	1,096,914	1,145,227	1,200,719	1,203,777
Share of married women in the workforce, out of all married women, regardless of labour market affiliation - percent	26.9%	22.3%	31.9%	49.0%	51.3%





	1950	1960	1965	1970	1971
Married women in the workforce of all women	267,461	244,807	365,634	588,500	617,000
In the workforce percent	38.5%	37.9%	47.8%	64.1%	65.4%

(Sources: Statistical Yearbook (Statistik Årbog) 1951, 1966, 1970 and 1972 and Statistical 10-year Overview 1972, own calculations (Statistisk 10-års Oversigt 1972, egne beregninger), Anette Wolthers. Notes: The statistics prior to and including 1965 used the groups: Assisting housewives, housekeepers, maids, cleaning ladies, private seamstresses, ironers, etc. who are not in the workforce. The table introduced in Women and Class Struggle [Kvinder og klassekamp] by Anette Wolthers, 1972).

As is apparent from table 6 above, the number of women in the workforce between 1950 and 1971 increased by 5.4 percentage points. The number of married women increased in particular during the same period because the large generation born in the 1940s started to marry in the 1960s. Share of married women in the workforce as a percentage of all women, regardless of whether they are part of the workforce, increased by 24.4 percentage points. Finally, the share of married women of all women in the workforce increased by 26.9 percentage points.

In 1970, the Perspective Plan (The Plan was made by the Ministry of Finance and was to be followed up by a new plan in 1973. The plans were thus called PP-I and PP-II) indicated that, as of looking back to 1966, it was no longer possible for the average income family to live off of one full-time paycheck. Approximately 1.5 paycheques would be required.

The women typically entered the labour market in two stages: At 19 years of age and at 35 years of age, once they had given birth and taken care of the small children, as indicated by a study by Social Research Institute (Socialforskningsinstituttet) in 1965. Having children between the ages of 0-6 seemed to prevent working outside the home, since there were an inadequate number of child care institutions. In 1970, the coverage percentage was 7 for day nurseries and 17 for kindergartens, according to the Perspective Plan 1970. As previously indicated, only once the children had reached school age did one see an increase in the employment of housewives. However, only once the children had left home permanently, did housewives begin getting full-time work. In 1965, 25% of housewives in this situation were employed full time.

Another factor that promoted the full-time employment of women was their level of education, with 40% of women with a longer period theoretical education being employed in 1965.

Many people have the impression that women historically only entered the labour market with the growth in the economy in the 1960s. But as we can see from table 6, women in the period from 1950-1971 constitute 33-40% of the entire workforce. Yet women had represented at least one third of the workforce from 1900-1950, so Danish women had until then always constituted a large part of the labour market during the entire century - and in the time that followed.

In Table 7, we can see a calculation of the workforce participation rates in Denmark from 1950 -1975. The workforce participation rate indicates the share of the population that is of working age, and is currently working or would like to work - i.e. is part of the workforce. The workforce consists of adults. Statistics Denmark uses the age distribution from 15 to 64. It previously began at 14.

Table 7:

Workforce participation rates for men and women 1950-1975

Year	Women	Married women	Unmarried women	Men
1950	40.2	26.9	61.5	87.8
1960	33.9	22.7	51.5	83.6
1970	50.8	49.2	53.7	83.2
1975	55.4	57.6	51.8	80.3

(Source: Neither equality nor recognition. Women, Men and Legislation in Denmark [Kvinder, mænd og skattelovgivning i Danmark] by Anna Birte Ravn, in Women, Gender & Research, no. 4, 2005 - page 54, where she refers to Anette Borchorst as the source of the percentages.)

Table 7 shows that the workforce participation rate of women increased by 15.2 percentage points in the period: That of men drops by 7.5. For married women the growth of their workforce participation rate is greatest, with a full 30.7% percentage points. For unmarried women, there is a drop of 9.7.

To a large degree, the drop in workforce participation rates for men and unmarried women can be attributed to undertaking courses of education during that period, in which case they were not regarded as being part of the workforce. And it was an education boom, because from around 1960, the large generation born during the war, to a large extent to undertake periods of education at a young age, instead of being part of the workforce.

The increase in the workforce participation rate of married women was deter-



mined by many factors in the period 1950-1975: The extent of the education, the possibility of childcare (with) the responsibilities of being a provider. More of the women who were married to an unskilled or skilled worker held full-time positions year round than, for example, women who were married to employed white-collar workers and only needed a part-time position or did not need to work at all. The assisting housewives who were married to small business owners engaged in paid work almost as much as women married to workers. The married women who had the lowest workforce participation rate and low employment rate, particularly early in the period, were the wives of self-employed men with large companies and high-ranking and top-level white collar workers. Even the women with high education were to a certain degree just housewives - something which has almost entirely disappeared since then.

Women and Men and their Jobs


In Table 8, we can see the gender distribution by work position in 1971. Here we can see that the two largest groups among women, are white collar workers (i.e. mostly public sector employees) and unskilled workers (both in the public and private sector). Men have almost the same distribution, but the third and fourth largest groups among men are the self-employed and the skilled workers, where there are very few women.

Table 8:

The workforce for ages 14-64, organised by work position and divided according to men and women, 1971. Percent

Gender	Self-employed	White-collar workers	Skilled workers	Unskilled workers	Maids, house-keepers	Assisting housewives	In total
Men	311,200	445,000	293,300	416,700	-	-	1,466,200
Women	37,400	448,800	13,800	294,600	23,800	124,500	942,900
Percent	10.7%	50.2%	4.5%	41.4%	100%	100%	39.1%
In total	348,600	893,800	307,100	711,300	23,800	124,500	2,409,100

(Source: Statistical Yearbook [Statistik Årbog] 1972, Anette Wolthers)



In 1971, 33.3% of all women held part-time work, compared to 5.1% of all men. Most married women in the workforce were engaged in part-time work, with a percentage of 45.9. Of the unmarried women in the workforce, 15.2% were engaged in part-time work. Of the female skilled workers, 47.1% were married, compared to 67.8% of the unskilled female workers.

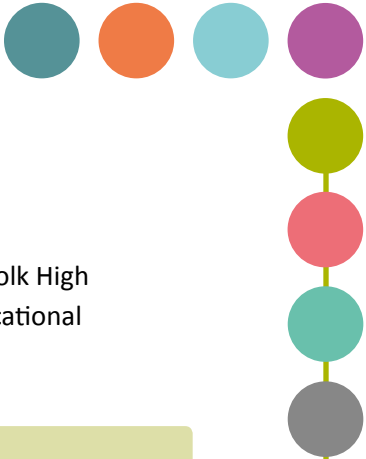
In 1970, women made up 28.4% of the members of the trade unions that were then part of the LO, The Danish Confederation of Trade Unions.

Education and Work Opportunities for Young Women

In 1953, the publication “Politiken’s Housewife Yearbook, Who, What, Where” (Politikens Husmoder-Årbog. Hvem, Hvad, Hvor) published an article entitled “The Young Woman’s Opportunities” (Den unge piges chancer): The young woman has many opportunities to become something! They mention the following disciplines:

- Dispensing chemist’s assistant
- Architect
- Librarian
- Bookseller
- Factory worker
- Pharmacist
- Foot therapist
- Photographer
- Teacher at an after-school centre
- Gardener
- Graduate in horticulture
- Ceramicist
- Lab assistant
- Milliner/modiste
- Postal assistant
- Waitress
- Health visitor nurse
- Seamstresses
- Dental technician

In 1950, 50% of all young women who left school (as 14-15 year olds) became maids – mostly in private homes. Not necessarily as the beginning of a lifelong career, but it could have played a part in gaining qualifications for entry to an education-



al programme for women, e.g. nursing - which had such requirements. Folk High school experience could also improve chances of entry into such an educational programme.

Factory Worker

"The typical female industrial worker is the factory worker. She is regarded as unskilled since she only deals with work that requires a few days' training or she works with something more specialised and somewhat more complex.

Employment terms: From the young age of 14, a girl can apply for a job at a factory after finishing her schooling. She is regarded and paid as a trainee until she turned 16, i.e. during this time she will preferably be paid by the hour. Afterwards, she will normally work under a contract but at a lower wage than women who had turned 18.


Education and training: As mentioned, there is often no education to speak of, just training for incredibly basic work. The more uncomplicated types of work the factory worker learns, the easier it will be for her to succeed - also when her colleagues of similar age, who have only learned one skill, would begin to feel the competition from the very young girls, already around the age of 30.

Options: The work areas are the food, beverages and tobacco industry (canned goods and biscuit, tobacco, brewing and chocolate factory workers, packers, etc.), the textile industry, the clothing, leather and shoe industry, the iron and metal industry (accumulators, filament lamps, electric material, radio goods), the chemical industry (colouring, lacquer, rubber, soap, matches), the paper industry (book binding worker, box and cardboard worker, layer-on, printing worker), the brush industry and the ceramics industry. Pay: Varies greatly from industry to industry. The average hourly rate is about DKK 2.75 in Copenhagen and about DKK 0.3 less in the provinces."

(Source: Politikens Husmoder-Årbog: Hvem, Hvad, Hvor 1953)

Paid Work for Housewives

In the 1950s and 60s, the discussion began to focus on paid work for housewives, and time and again, part-time work was highlighted as an advantage to the labour market and society - though not by the trade unions as such nor by industry employers. Even in the early 1950s, work commenced in public commissions regarding the possibility of part-time work for housewives, since it was seen convenient to



make them a part of the labour force. But for the time being, this was only as a back-up, since reserve labour can be sent back home to the family at no expense:

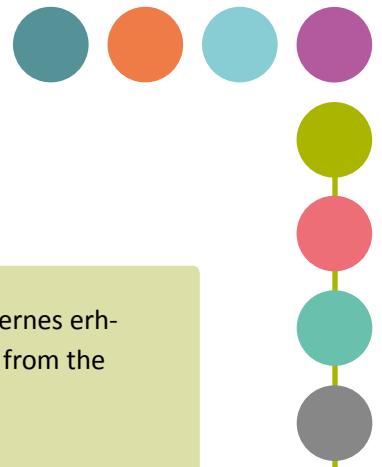
“From the employer’s perspective, part-time labour would thus be regarded as the last reserve of unskilled labour, and this reserve could be exploited during economic booms, only to be removed again when the boom ends” (Deliberations on Part-time Work [Betænkning om deltidsarbejde], 3 June 1950).

From the employer’s perspective on office work, there are opportunities within part-time work since it can be used to attain greater effectiveness of the female workforce:

“One advantage of part-time work is that extending the labour market to include office assistants, who only want to work part-time, will most likely also result in a more effective female workforce” (The Committee on Part-time Work [Udvalget vedrørende Deltidsarbejde]), Ministry of Social Affairs, 6 October, 1952. A survey of employers is referenced here.)

In these reports, women are only regarded as labour force. No questions are raised about their rights in this context. The women must be present in two places: In the labour market and in the family - and it would actually be convenient if they could freely switch between the two places, depending on whether their working capacity is needed. The man is only considered to be in one place, i.e. in the labour market, where he has his role. The market orientation is dominated by this view of the two genders.

A study carried out by the Social Research Institute in 1967 showed that only 27% of married women were employed for the entire year when the study was carried out, while 59% were employed during the year - this points to a rather large group that held part-time employment or seasonal work. When asked whether the housewives in the study who were not in the labour market wanted employment, 8% of them said categorically yes, while 23% said that they would want work under certain circumstances.




In 1961, the following book was published: *The Girls' Career Choice* (Pigernes erhvervsvalg) by Carry Hedemann, Munksgaard. Here is one of the passage from the book:

“Housewives and paid employment

Any young girl is familiar with housewives who only take care of their home and family as well as housewives who carry out both housework and have paid employment. Therefore, they are also aware that first type of housewife often has to count her pennies and is jealous of the employed housewife, who can afford so many of the things that she cannot and who meets so many more people that she does... However, what leads a married woman to take on paid employment or to abstain from it? There are many things that factor in here. Often, it is different from home to home. But, let us point out some of the most important aspects: The man's occupation naturally plays an important role. For example, if he is a farmer, retailer, master craftsman, village doctor, priest or diplomat, the housewife will usually have so many duties that it would be difficult for her to find the time to carry these out alongside paid employment. Many of these housewives are called assisting wives.

The man's income depends somewhat on his occupation but also on whether he has regular work, is healthy, etc. If the man's income falters or threatens to falter, the housewife will often try to find paid employment. One should not forget that if the man is so ill that his wife has to take care of him and the home, she may not have the option to seek employment.

The number of children and their ages is perhaps the most important factor in a housewife's considerations regarding paid employment. Small children in particular require many hours of care every day and they make it more difficult for a mother to leave home. For infants, just breastfeeding alone will be of such importance for both mother and child that it would make working outside the home difficult. If there are many children in one home, or if one of the children is particularly difficult or sickly, it would be increasingly difficult for the mother to be away from home; however, on the other hand, the more children there are, the more money is needed, and this unfortunately often forces mothers to leave the home nonetheless. If the youngest child has been attending school for a while, the family's financial needs for the children's continuing education, trips, TV and 'a bit extra' will at times be even greater than its need for the mother to stay home all day... However, in recent years there



has been a very important new development that will be discussed at the end. This is a case of the housewife working for a specific consumption want. This is something we can now find in a growing number of families, both among the needy and the well-off, since everyone has "something they need".

It might be the acquisition of a TV, washing machine, video camera, radiogram/record player, car, land, summerhouse, villa, fur coat, larger car, better house, trips, longer trips and much more... It is nice that these things are attainable by so many people, and it is funny to see how some families agree to save up for them. However, it is even sadder to see examples when the greed of the parents can destroy the atmosphere, structure and security of a home, which hurts the children... However, at the same time, as women have begun to take work for specific consumer wants, they distance themselves from their work, which may prove to be dangerous. Because maybe it is only when you take your work seriously that it becomes satisfying beyond the pay you receive. In this way, some women may end up further trivialising their sense of responsibility to their place of work and to their duties - both in and outside the home. If you have no work that you take very seriously, it is very easy for something inside to break."

The Codes of Practice⁴⁰ for the Married Women's Paid Work

As can be seen in the text on the employment of housewives from 1961, there are many simultaneous discourses arguing for and against paid work for housewives.

- *The family's finances: in certain families, the housewife must look twice at every penny:* In those families that only have one provider, the housewife might cast a jealous eye towards those who are employed, who can afford so much when the unemployed housewife has to do without, e.g. like buying new clothes.
- *Employed individuals meet more people than the unemployed:* Housewives become isolated from society - they do not have the same level of social contact. Is this something the housewife herself feels, or is this a lack that others see in her? How does social influence affect the situation?
- *The man's occupation:* Would the man's job result in obligations that he or his employer would expect the housewife to carry out? Is this a nicer way of saying that the employer gets two people for one salary, or is she the man's assistant, without whom he cannot perform his job?




- *The man's income:* If his earning ability falters, the housewife must then step in. It may be argued here that the situation of a housewife in the lower social classes, where the man has a low wage, is such that she should seek paid employment. The same applies if the man becomes unemployed or goes bankrupt.
- *If the man takes ill:* Then the housewife must seek paid employment; this is a case of using the reserve workforce when the main provider is incapacitated.
- *The number of small children and the sick:* This makes it impossible or difficult for the housewife to seek paid employment - here one must ask what she should then live off of. It is apparently her primary duty to take care of the children and the sick, rather than to earn money.
- *Extra consumer goods for the family:* These include education for the children, appliances that make housekeeping easier or simply for entertainment for the family. Here the housewife's paid employment can contribute towards a higher social class for the family. This increase is most valuable if the consumer goods are only purchased once money has been saved up for this purpose.
- *The greed of the parents:* The downside to an improvement in social class - the family will want to get at any cost the prestigious consumer goods, for which the housewife must then earn money.
- *A dangerous gap between the housewife and her responsibilities towards her paid employment:* The discussion revolves around whether the housewife is good or poor workforce in the labour market, in that her life perspective may be focused on being there for her family; in this way, she 'cheats' her employer of her full work potential, attention and responsibility at work.

In these norms or discourses, it may be difficult to find the housewife's own voice in the discussion of what is best.

Common to all the positions above is that they say that paid employment is actually a bad thing for housewives. However, in some families, there may be a sort of team spirit in regard to saving up for a vacation, a TV or similar, such that the housewife's income is part of a common family endeavour. This is to say that the 'bad' can be outweighed by the 'good' of being on the labour market. Furthermore, the man may have such an important job that he needs his wife to act as an assistant.

Nothing is mentioned regarding whether the housewife has an educational background that she would like to use, special talents that she would like to develop in the labour market, a special gift or mission that she wants to realise, or a desire to achieve something independently through her own earnings and financial situation.



There is also no perspective regarding whether the man and woman can be partners and equally share between them the tasks in the labour market and at home.

Being able to share the work between the husband and wife is an idea that only appeared later with the women's movement of the 1970s. Future generations often used the simpler explanation that married women entered the labour market because *"they were determined to achieve equality and thus wanted to get out of the house" - and that "they wanted to earn money for luxury items."*

There is no real concept that there might be no man, that is, that the housewife is the sole provider. But this single mother might not even fall under the category of housewife, but rather have a category of her own. One of the ways the 'women's libbers' of the 1970s defined it was: "What is a woman without a man? Like a fish without a bicycle!" The single provider as a family category was added in the 1960s by the Social Research Institute. Such a family was defined as a vulnerable family, on the fringe of society, which produced problematic children!

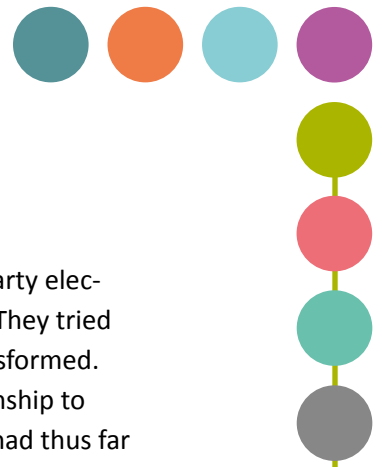
The Political Way Forward

In 1961, the Social Democratic Party came up with a new party programme called 'The Way Forward'. Here they introduced a new concept, namely democratic socialism:

"The capitalistic system leads to an economic inequality that far exceeds what an individual's performance mandates. This inequality means freedom for the few at the expense of the many. Democratic socialism must therefore work towards democratisation of all aspects of the social life of the community, so that the preconditions are in place for individuals to have free choice, both from a business and cultural perspective."

In this programme, economic policy is a prerequisite for the other policy (which is rendered subordinate to the first). Three types of reforms are suggested:

- Reforms in the business world for intensifying industrialisation.
- Restructuring the state's control options in relation to the economy, and restructuring the state apparatus.
- Qualifying and adapting the workforce through educational, social and cultural policy.




Even though family situations were prominent illustrations on several party election posters in 1960, this did not play a central role as a party ideology. They tried instead to present the modern wage-earning family that was being transformed. This was done through two trends: One stressed the individual's relationship to the state, where the state undertakes more and more of the tasks that had thus far been carried out by the family, e.g. childcare, securing family members through a national pension scheme and unemployment and healthcare insurance. The other trend was that the family should be a safe haven for family members; a single unit in regard to consumption and personal development.

The children were also regarded as a private matter, but it was emphasised that childcare institutions and school educations should involve proper upbringing. And yet it was the mother's primary duty to handle the children's upbringing. The father's role in connection with this was not mentioned.

A woman's double workload had not yet become a visible subject, but this debate began slowly in the 1960s. The Social Democrat Women's Committee (De socialdemokratiske kvindeudvalg) had a magazine called 'Free Women' (Frie Kvinder). This magazine regularly contained debates on the status of women. In 1962, a debate began whereby one of the parties, the female chairperson of The Tobacco Workers Union (Tobaksarbejderforbundet), Ella Jensen (1907-2002) thought that women had to undergo a mentality change to be able to adapt to modern society, learn to let go of the traditional housewife role and start to make use of modern service arrangements and the industry's pre-prepared meals. She expected that the work distribution in young families would be more equal, so that both adults could hold full-time jobs. Others in the debate were of the opinion that part-time work had to be the solution for women. No one else thought that the development in welfare (i.e. an increase in the men's wages and the ability to support a family) would mean that the mother could remain home and take care of the children until they became adults.

Ella (Dagney) Jensen 1907-2002

Ella Jensen started at the tobacco factory in 1929 as a 'stripper' - i.e. she had to remove the stalks from the tobacco leaves so that the cigar makers could roll the leaves into cigars - something she had already learnt as a child assisting her brothers with such work. She wanted to be a teacher, but they could not afford it. After being



a union representative (shop steward) for a few years, she was elected to the board from her branch of The Tobacco Workers' Union (Tobaksarbejderforbundet), later she was appointed to the central board, while being politically active in Copenhagen's municipal council. She was involved in The Trade Union Movement's Women's Secretariat (Fagbevægelsens Kvindesekretariat) (1949-70*) and supported all the measures that could improve the housework and create equality between women and men: Home help, childcare. She felt that the man should help with housework and childcare and that part-time work could be the solution during difficult times, both for the man and woman. Supporting part-time work was controversial at the time, since the trade union movement was not happy with the large growth in part-time work. She became the union president of The Tobacco Workers' Union i 1963. In 1973, as member of LO's negotiation committee, she took part in negotiating equal pay for standard wages. She was also part of LO's executive committee.

She was not happy about the Red Stocking Movement (Rødstrømpebevægelsen) in 1970 - like many other women from the trade union movement: *"If you look at the way the press represents the red stockings and similar groups, you would think that the demand for equal pay is something new and sensational. You would almost believe that they are the ones who came up with the idea of paying men and women equally when they perform the same work,"* she said in 1970 in an interview with Birthe Weiss in the newspaper Ekstrabladet.

In 1975, she stepped down as union president due to her age.

*) Danish women in the trade union movement's work (Danske kvinder i fagbevægelsens arbejde) by Anette Wolthers, FIU-Equality (FIU-Ligestilling) 2014, page 81-82

(Source: Source 542 in Kvindekilder at www.kvinfo.dk og Dansk Kvindebiografisk Leksikon: <http://www.kvinfo.dk/side/170/bio/848/>)

In 1965, the Prime Minister, Jens Otto Krag, appointed The Women's Commission (Kvindekommisionen⁴¹), which operated until 1974. However in 1966, there was a new leap in the development of expectations of equality when the Social Democratic Party's secretary for the women's committees, Karen Dahlerup⁴² (1920 -), spoke at their annual meeting: We offer men partnership. She suggested here that a break-away from the traditional gender roles should occur through collaboration between the two parties, not through conflict. A division of work was presented as the solution to the double workload. This position on partnership would later be rekindled in the work she carried out in the governmental equality system, where she acted



as consultant for women in the Directorate of Labour (Arbejdsdirektoratet) and, in the equality legislation in the 1970s, as the first chairperson for the Equality Council 1975.

The Trade Union Movement

No clear policies existed or currently exist regarding what one's position should be in one's party and the trade union movement, regarding any of the questions associated with women and family. The time was characterised by a belief in technology and progress, and on the individual's ability to use the educational system for skill development.


In the trade union movement, there was a dispute regarding part-time work. In industry, the normal work period was full-time, for both genders. But in HK (The Union of Commercial and Clerical Employees in Denmark) there were many women who worked part-time, and they therefore had to defend this situation, which was also stipulated in the Danish Salaried Employees Act.

At that time, neither LO nor the unions focused on the overall situation of women, nor looked at the total conditions for reproduction for salary-earning families as such. They saw women more as a fringe group (a marginal group) in the labour market, which was having trouble competing because they were women. The way out of the fringe group was better education and taking on full-time work. But then, what about family?

Reproduction was regarded either as a private matter or public matter, but it was not subject to union considerations and strategies. To a large extent, the trade union movement accepted these different viewpoints and options that their members had, but increasingly left the overall politics of the reproduction of the working class to the state.

Immigration 1950-1970

Since the growth in Denmark could no longer be achieved or increased with the female workforce, employers began to look abroad - and they began looking further away than the neighbouring countries. These immigrant workers who came to Denmark were primarily men from Turkey, Yugoslavia and Pakistan. They came here after being invited by Danish employers who needed manpower in industry. These workers travelled to Denmark to earn money and had no desire to remain there. In



1962 there were 8,497 foreigners who received a Danish work permit. In 1971 there were 24,852. The number of Turks and Yugoslavs in the same period increased from a few hundred to 8,073 and 4,591 respectively. This flow of immigrant workers stopped in 1973, when the government under Anker Jørgensen ended the influx, but later allowed family reunification.

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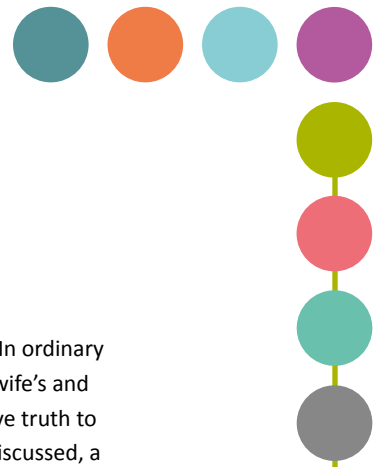
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Om Karen Dahlerup: https://da.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karen_Dahlerup



Notes The Labour Movement 1950-1971

- 40 Norm - you can also call it the current discourse (Latin *discurrere* - to run around). In ordinary language: A discourse is the way you talk about reality. In this case, it is the housewife's and woman's place in the home and the labour market. There is no simple and objective truth to matters - and neither is there any to this one. But through the way the subject is discussed, a power struggle or negotiation plays out between different points of view or people about defining reality - based on what they each represent. One can therefore say that a discourse has three struggles - or areas of power, where the conflict concerns:
- The right to define the themes - what do we think is relevant to discuss, what do we see, and what are we preoccupied with?
 - The right to define the relation between the participants in the discourse - who should relate to whom, how - who has the power in the relation?
 - The right to define a position for the person speaking (the subject) - who should play what roles, how and how should their identity be represented?
- 41 The Women's Commission (Kvindekommissionen) was supposed to investigate the position of women in society, and to offer proposals for legislation that could create actual equality in all areas in society. Eight interim reports and five special studies were carried out before the final report in 1974. The following year, Prime Minister Anker Jørgensen established The Equal Opportunities Commission (Ligestillingsrådet), which existed until 1999.
- 42 Karen Dahlerup Andersen née Christensen, born in 1920, educated as a dispensing chemist's assistant. Served as Social Democratic Party secretary for women's issues from 1963-1970, performed the preparatory work for Prime Minister Jens Otto Krag (1914-1978 - prime minister twice: 1962-68 and 1971-72), before he established the Women's Commission 1965-1974. In the period from 1975-82, she was chairperson of The Equal Opportunities Commission (Ligestillingsrådet). Member of the Danish Parliament and the European Parliament from the mid-1970s until the beginning of the 1980s.

The Labour movement 1971-2000



The dawn of the 1970s began with several important events for women:

- The struggle for equal pay among unskilled workers
- The new women's movement grew
- Law on abortion 1973

Equal Pay


As can be seen in many chapters in this publication, unequal pay became a reality in work and life for almost all women in the labour market. This was unacceptable for the international political bodies, which time and again tackled the subject more and more forcefully in the labour movement and in the UN-member states. Thus the International Labour Organisation, ILO, passed a convention on equal pay in 1951: Equal pay for men and women without gender-based discrimination. The adoption of this convention started the debate back home, but nothing came from it except a disagreement as to what equal pay should refer to. Denmark did not ratify the convention until 1961. This meant that in the areas of agreement within the slaughterhouse industry in 1961, commercial and clerical in 1963, and in the tobacco industry in 1969, the principle of equal pay was implemented. But not always in practice - in fact, rarely in practice. For example, the wage differences at minimum wage⁴³ in slaughterhouses showed that women were paid 95%, in commercial and clerical roles 90% and in the tobacco industry 94% of the men's wages.

Only with the renewed agreement in 1971 was a protocol approved that stipulated that the question of equal pay would be considered on the LO's part with the agreement in 1973. The story was spectacular, since a women's demonstration was organised and stood outside the Conciliation Board and shouted at the LO's chairman at that time, Thomas Nielsen: Thomas Nielsen, wimp!

This helped, and for the first time in 1973, a common minimum wage was introduced for men and women within the standard wage area. Prior to 1971, men were automatically paid one Danish krone more per hour than women in this area.

As a result of this wage struggle, pay for unskilled female workers rose considerably, relative to the men's pay. But the new increases continued and then plateaued, only to reach the same level - about 85% - as before the ground-breaking agreement.

In 1976, an act concerning equal pay was introduced, and the newly established Equal Opportunities Commission (Ligestillingsråd) as of 1975, which in 1978



achieved its own law, and had to process many complaints about equal pay each year. Cases that from 2000 have been transferred for processing to the complaints board, which was established following the last equality law of May 2000. (In 2009, an Equal Opportunities Board [Ligestillingsnævn] was established to handle all complaints regarding discrimination in the areas of gender, wages, childbirth, pensions, ethnicity, age and handicap - both within and outside the labour market).

The New Women's Movement

A movement began in 1970, primarily consisting of younger women, who put everything on the agenda. It was called The Red Stocking Movement (Rødstrømpebevægelsen) or women's groups, etc. - calling itself by various names in different towns. It organised itself nation-wide, consisting of somewhat structured women's groups. It was a movement that came about outside the established business world and civil society associations and in protest to its rigid structures, with chairpersons, boards, etc. In several places, the movement began at work together with women from the trade union movement, and supported strikes and demonstrations related to the demands of women - beyond the more quaint actions it undertook at the beginning. The movement also resulted in comprehensive research, both in the present and future, regarding the life situation of men and women. Several of the activists later became researchers, and have contributed considerably through shedding light on the history of equality in the labour movement.

Contraception and Free Abortion

Even though abortion was legalised in Denmark in 1973, there is a long previous history that is almost lost in the murky annals of history, but which we will recount here, starting with the 20th century.

Marriage was not a life-long support for women, and not all of them married - about 10% never married. During the period 1870-1901, 38-52% of all women over 20 years of age were single. When working women married and had children, they also needed the work to help support the family – about 35% of the working family's total financial income in the 1870's came from women and children. Many women got pregnant about 20 times in their lives. But abortions - spontaneous or otherwise - and the high rate of child mortality limited the number of children.

Since birth control was illegal or difficult to get, women were unable to control their own reproduction, whether married or otherwise, until the legalisation of the birth control pill in 1966 and of abortion in 1973. With childbirth, married women would



be tied down to the tasks at home, including reproduction - of their husband's earning power - apart from their paid work, consisting of both regular employment and moonlighting. The unmarried mothers had to find solutions for childcare. If there was room at day care nurseries outside the home, this was regarded as a safer option than private solutions.

In the 1920s, the debate on contraception and abortion really took off. For many years, women had this discussion in the underground, and for a long time there were 'phoney midwives' who helped women get abortions. Thus induced abortions were something that you only could get outside of the healthcare system, but with large health-related costs and occasionally with fatalities. The debate was now brought into the light; for generations, author Thit Jensen would become an advocate of this debate from 1923 with her concept: Voluntary Motherhood.

Four women and one man who worked to promote birth control in the 1920s and 30s:

Thit Jensen 1876-1957


Grew up in a large group of 12 siblings, with a mother who was handicapped due to the number of times she had given birth. Author of a large number of literary books and articles. Her political work pertaining to women started in 1923 when she met a Dutch women's rights activist, who had been opening clinics since the 1880s where poor women could get free diaphragms. In 1924, The Association for Sexual Information (Foreningen for Seksuel Oplysning) was founded, with participation from doctor J.H. Leunbach and others. In the same year, she translated the book "Voluntary Motherhood" by the American nurse Margaret Sanger, and she began to hold presentations around the country with the same title.

She met Sanger (1879-1966) in 1925 on a trip to the US. Sanger became a very important figure internationally for the widespread use of the diaphragm. The collaboration with Leunbach stopped in 1928 since he wanted to extend the matter to cover the right to induced abortions and also gay rights.

Inger Gamburg 1892-1979

Grew up in a family where the mother was widowed early in life. In her childhood, Gamburg worked at several factories and became active in the trade union move-





ment, particularly The Nationale Union of Women Workers, KAD, (Kvindeligt Arbejderforbund), where together with Marie Nielsen, she founded The Working Class Woman's Information Association (Arbejderkvindernes Oplysningsforening, AO) in 1925 in KAD's department 5 - the one that organised women within the iron and metal industries. Apart from the professional questions that working women might have, the working conditions and equal pay, The Working Women's Information Association (Arbejderkvindernes Oplysningsforening) was the first (working class) women's organisation in Denmark to support abortion - and of course prevention. Together with Marie Nielsen, she took part in a delegation of working class women on a trip to the Soviet Union in 1930. They were both members of the Danish communist party. After a strike at KAD's, department 5, where following opposition of the central board, they did not receive backing for the demands and the closing of the strike fund, Gamburg was let go from the union management after having insulted the chairperson. Only eight years later, in 1938, did she once again become part of the union management, where she remained uninterrupted until 1965. During the German occupation of Denmark 1940-1945, she was caught and put in a concentration camp where she became ill. During her captivity and illness, she was elected by her members again and again.

Marie Nielsen 1875-1951

She came from a poor background, became a maid, but studied in her spare time to become a teacher in 1908, and became a member of the Social Democratic Party (Socialdemokratiet). She dropped out again in 1918 after she discovered that she could not influence the party's politics. So, together with a small group, she created a new party, the Socialist Workers' Party (Socialistisk Arbejderparti), with the newspaper the Class Struggle (Klassekampen). After a protest action at the Danish Stock-Exchange in 1918, she was convicted and sentenced to one and a half years in jail and was released in 1920. She was fired from her job as a teacher, but without pension. The rest of her life, she worked as an office worker in a health insurance fund.

Her party dissolved in 1919 and became part of The Danish Communist Party (Danmarks Kommunistiske Parti) in 1923. Together with Inger Gamburg, she founded The Working Class Woman's Information Association (Arbejderkvindernes Oplysningsforening, AO) in 1925. When Stalin came to power in the party in the Soviet Union, and thus in all countries' communist parties, she defended the political





ideas that his opponent, Leon Trotsky, had developed, including on the liberation of women. This resulted in her exclusion from the Communist Party three times - the last time in 1936.

Minna (Thommine) Rasmussen 1890-1977


Minna Rasmussen, who worked as an egg packer, was elected to the board of the National Union of Women Workers (Kvindeligt Arbejderforbund) in Esbjerg in 1924. In 1930, she participated in the delegation to the Soviet Union, and in the same year, she was part of founding The Working Women's Information Association (Arbejderkvindernes Oplysningsforening), AO, in Esbjerg. When AO, together with Leunbach, founded a sexual information and guidance clinic in 1932 in Copenhagen, Minna wanted one established in Esbjerg as well. Since the doctors in Esbjerg were not interested, she went to Copenhagen to Leunbach, who taught her how to insert diaphragms ("motherhood protectors"). She established the clinic in Esbjerg as an unpaid manager, but the women had to pay a small amount for the consultation. She tried to get the local health insurance fund to pay for the treatment, and this motion was passed in the fund but it was not implemented. The clinic was closed in 1934 - after the police had stormed it and accused them of illegal sale and information in relation to contraception, which was illegal until 1937. Minna Rasmussen remained KAD's chairperson in Esbjerg until 1956.

Jonathan Leunbach 1884-1955

Leunbach took his medical exam in 1912 and became a general practitioner in Brønderslev from 1915-1917. Then he worked as a doctor in a hospital for a few years and then returned to Brønderslev in 1922. Leunbach was an enthusiastic speaker on the subject of sexual guidance, access to safe and cheap contraception and access to induced abortion, particularly for poor women with many children. However, he met tremendous opposition from his medical colleagues, the church, the Danish Women's Society (Dansk Kvindesamfund) and the 'public' opinion. Together with Thit Jensen, he co-founded Foreningen for Seksuel Oplysning (The Association for Sexual Information) in 1924. He was a supporter of free abortion, which he also practiced as a doctor. For this, he was imprisoned for three months, forbidden to practice in the medical profession for five years, and lost his civil rights in 1936.

In the 1920s and 1930s, he worked together with The Working Class Woman's Infor-

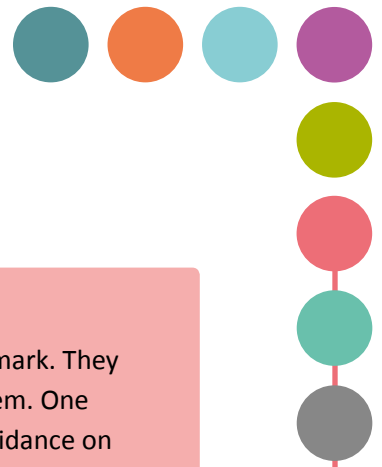




mation Association (Arbejderkvindernes Oplysningsforening), AO, which he agreed with. He also taught and trained medical students in contraception - something that was not part of the study back then. What Leunbach was fighting for in terms of contraception was realised in the 1960s, when both the diaphragm and the birth control pill came into widespread use. Induced abortion became legal in 1973. Later, in the 1980s, gays could form registered partnerships, and in 2012 they could get married like everyone else in Denmark. Results that would have pleased Leunbach.

(Sources: Wikipedia, den store danske og kvindebiografisk leksikon, etc.)

In 1923 Thit Jensen began to hold lectures around the country on contraception - i.e. diaphragms. In 1924 she published the book "Voluntary Motherhood" (Frivilligt Moderskab), and in the same year established a contraception clinic for the needy in Copenhagen, together with physician H.J. Leunbach. He worked with The Working Women's Information Association (AO, Arbejderkvindernes Oplysningsforening) to establish more clinics, including in Esbjerg. But all of these efforts were without governmental approval and, as late as the 1960s, it was forbidden in contemporary criminal law to advertise contraception or to display - in an offensive way - such items in pharmacist facilities and chemists' shops. Induced abortions were punishable for both the woman and the provider. In 1935 a commission on population was established, in which the politicians were concerned about the low birth rate in Denmark (the country was in a terrible crisis and people could not afford to have children or to have more children). In 1936, The Pregnancy Commission (Svangerskabskommissionen) determined that there were about 7,000 illegal abortions performed each year. During the process of creating a new criminal law, the AO collected 15,000 signatures in support of the abolition of punishment for abortions. However, 173,000 signatures were submitted from Christian sources, who wanted to maintain a harsh punishment. The result in the penal code was that a pregnant woman could get two years imprisonment and her provider could get eight years for the offence. In 1939, the state organisation Mothers' Aid (Mødrehjælpen) was founded, which could provide guidance on contraception and allow for abortions within the strict rules of the 1937 abortion legislation: Due to medical, eugenic (racial purity!) and ethical reasons. In 1956, certain liberalisation measures were implemented, but there were still many illegal induced abortions.



Sexual information and guidance


Between 1920-1940, a number of sex guidance clinics appeared in Denmark. They were often founded by organisations outside the public healthcare system. One reason for this was that a number of doctors did not want to provide guidance on contraception - and certainly not to unmarried individuals.

In 1932, J.H. Leunbach established a free consultation for the needy in cooperation with The Working Class Woman's Information Association (Arbejderkvindernes Oplysningsforening, AO) in Copenhagen. The association also opened a clinic in Esbjerg in 1932 with Minna Rasmussen, chairperson of The National Union of Women Workers Union, KAD's branch in Esbjerg, as manager.

Induced abortion - free abortion was legalised in 1973, following an initial proposal by the Socialist People's Party (Socialistisk Folkeparti) in 1967. The law meant that any woman residing in Denmark could decide to terminate her pregnancy within 12 weeks of pregnancy. Since the law came into effect, there have been about 15-20,000 procedures per year. The same number is thought to have been performed illegally by doctors, abortionists, or by the woman herself prior to this new law - with severe consequences to the woman's health. Before this, the government organisation Mothers' Aid (Mødrehjælpen) (1939-1976) could allow or reject an abortion application. The implementation of the law was likely due to significant changes in the way sexuality was perceived, the new activities of the women's movement and because women were being employed for their whole lives - which could not be combined with many pregnancies and births.

Until recently, Danish law had severe punishments for induced abortion - up until 1866, it was a capital offence and then it was punishable by penal labour for eight years, until the penal code of 1930 reduced the punishment to no more than two years in prison. An emergency law was also introduced where a woman whose health or life was threatened could be granted an abortion following an application. In 1937, a Pregnancy Commission (Svangerskabskomission) was established, which led to a law that allowed abortion if there were medical, ethical or eugenic (e.g. danger of hereditary diseases) reasons for terminating the pregnancy. Until this law was passed in 1937, it was illegal to provide information on or to sell contraception measures. After this, it became legal. However, until 1966, it was illegal according to the penal code to sell or display contraception in an 'offensive way' - i.e. disrupting the public space. In 1956, abortion could be granted if there were 'physical or





psychological defects' with the pregnant woman. In 1966, the birth control pill was legalised. In 1967, a Pregnancy Commission was established once again, which led to a social dimension in the abortion legislation of 1970. I.e. the woman's social and financial situation. This meant that women under 18 and over 38 could be granted abortion. In 1949, the government organisation Mothers' Aid (Mødrehjælpen) was permitted to inform pregnant women about birth control. In 1961, it was allowed to inform anyone about birth control.

In skoleloven (the School Act) of 1970, sex education was introduced as part of the curriculum for the two oldest grades.

Over the years, there have been discussions in Denmark regarding who is responsible for prescribing and providing guidance on contraception to the population. Most people found it most natural to go to their own doctor, who could prescribe birth control pills, insert contraceptive coils and take measurements for diaphragms. In some regions, there were birth control clinics that could provide contraception for free and could also test for sexually transmitted diseases. (See www.sst.dk and this leaflet from 2006: 'Women and the health science of prevention and reproduction' (Kvinder og sundhedsviden om prævention og forplantning). Like a kind of modern response to the neglect of the numerous pregnancies for the last 100 years, this leaflet states: *"Pregnancy and birth are hard on a woman's health..."*)

Only in 1966 was a law passed, stating that doctors should provide guidance on pregnancy prevention to any woman that had given birth. In the 1960s, the youth department of Danish Women's Society (Dansk Kvindesamfund) started the abortion debate and arranged abortion trips to countries, where the procedure could be performed by doctors, such as in England and Poland. This resulted in an abortion law in 1970 in Denmark, but there was great dissatisfaction with the limitations of this law, so it was replaced with another one in 1973, where the procedure had to be carried out within the first 12 weeks and could only be performed at hospitals. This law is still in effect.

On the other hand, information on contraception has been made mandatory for practicing doctors, and today there are only a few clinics that specifically deal with this.



Childcare

Through the 1970s, day care centres for children became more and more common. Nurseries, kindergartens, day care providers and after-school centres as well as a few age-integrated institutions. Yet there are numerous accounts stating that it was impossible to get into these institutions when maternity leave was over, and therefore the first child care experienced by many children was 'under the table'.

Children with parents who worked odd hours, i.e. before 6:00 a.m. and after 6:00 p.m., still had to try to make things work. In the 1990s, the first evening kindergartens were established in different places in the country, after great effort from Project Childcare (Projekt Børnepasning), initiated by Anette Wolthers at the DSB 1989. And later, PostDanmark spearheaded an initiative to find childcare for 'the forgotten children', which were becoming more numerous, because there was a tendency for both parents to have workhours that extended over the entire day. The project is now with The Day Care Institutions' National Organisation (Daginstitutionernes Landsorganisation), DLO, which each year carries out a study on the opening times of the institutions.

Maternity Leave and Childcare Leave

In 1960, maternity leave was introduced, with 14 weeks for those insured and 2 weeks for the self-employed. In 1980, four weeks' pregnancy leave and 14 weeks' maternity leave were introduced.

A bit later in 1994, much better provisions were introduced regarding pregnancy, maternity leave and childcare leave, where men were also able to receive paternity leave and childcare leave. And yet a discussion was ongoing during this period - in particular regarding the willingness of men to take paternity leave - and as the next phase in the discussion of their right to paternity leave.

The Workforce Continues to Grow

During the period from 1970-2002, there was a steady entry of women into the labour market. Thus the reserve that they wanted to bring to the labour market in the 1950s had now been tapped. 'The reservists' were now found among the numerous unemployed, whose numbers grew with economic stagnation and crisis from the beginning of the 1970s, and the industrial employers' continued hope for immigration.

Table 9:

Women and Men in the Workforce in 1981 and 2000. The share of women, also expressed as a percentage of the total workforce

Year	Women	Men	In total
1981	1,177,630 (44.7%)	1,456,605	2,634,235
2000	1,307,711 (46.9%)	1,477,913	2,785,624
Growth 1981-2000	130,081	21,308	151,389

(Source: Denmark's Statistics Bank (Danmarks Statistikbank), October 2001)

As can be seen from Table 9, the workforce continues to grow from 1981 to 2000, and women constitute an increasingly larger part of the total workforce. But the labour market is still heavily gender-segregated - not just horizontally in industries, subjects and functions, but also in regard to management functions. Women constitute about 70% of the public sector, and men constitute about 70% of the private sector.

In Table 10 it can be seen that the women's workforce participation rate also increases during that period, but then stagnates in the 1990s. The workforce participation rate of men drops during the entire period.

Table 10:

The workforce participation rates for 15-69 year olds in the population, organised by gender, 1980-2000

Year	1980	1990	2000
Women	68.1	73.1	70.7
Men	86.0	83.9	79.0
In total	77.1	78.5	74.8

(Source: Sixty Years in Numbers (60 år i tal), Statistics Denmark, December 2008, editors Birgitte Brøndum, Marianne Mackie and Kamilla Elkjær Nielsen, page 10)



Immigration

Since 1960, immigration has surpassed emigration and has changed in nature, from primarily consisting of exchanges with Denmark's neighbouring countries and other western countries. This is particularly due to the fact that industrial employers needed unskilled labour, and brought in men from Turkey, Yugoslavia and Pakistan. In 1971, there were a total of 24,852 immigrant workers in the country with work permits - i.e. a number that corresponded to about one third of the 1957 birth cohort (75,264 livebirth children). But during the entire period, this influx of men could not prevent the continued drop in the workforce participation rate of men, and an increase in that of women, particularly as of the mid-1960s. A halt to the immigration was implemented in 1973, yet family reunifications kept immigration continuing nonetheless.

The Danish Confederation of Trade Unions, LO

In 1999, the LO consisted of 48% women and 52% men in its 23 unions, so now one could truly speak of equal representation of both genders. Yet as we know, women and men are not equally represented in the individual unions, since the labour market is still largely segregated by gender.

Table 11:

Membership numbers of the LO unions, 1967-1999, organised by gender, number and percent

	1967		1977		1987		1999		Increase i percentage points
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent	
women	217,000	26%	431,000	38%	657,000	46%	710,400	48%	227%
men	627,000	74%	710,000	62%	772,000	54%	769,600	52%	23%
Total	844,000	100%	1,141,000	100%	1,429,000	100%	1,480,000	100%	75.4%

(Sources: Own calculations based on Anette Wolthers: Køn og fagbevægelse i 100 år [Gender and the Trade Unions for 100 Years], LO, 2002 page 76 - as well as KVINFO: http://www.kvinfo.dk/files/kilde_pdf/Kilde421.pdf)

From Table 11, it can be seen that the women's share of the LO members in the period from 1967-1999 grew by 227 percentage points, while the men's grew by 23. The share of women LO members grew by about 500,000 members during this period, while the growth for men was about 140,000.

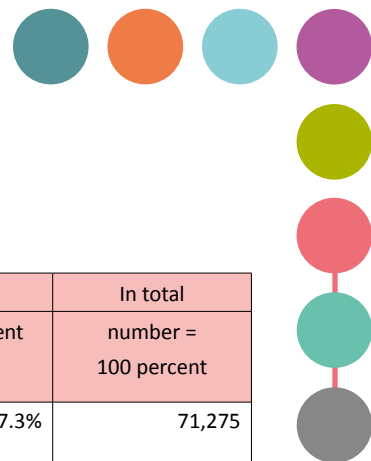
Women and Men in the LO-member unions

Table 12:

The LO's 22 member unions, each organised by women and men, number and percent, January 2000


Union	Women		Men		In total
	number	percent	number	percent	number = 100 percent
The Plumber, Sanitary, and Pipe Workers' Union (Blikkenslager-, Sanitets og Rørarbejderforbundet i Danmark)	26	0.3%	9,249	99.7%	9,275
The Brewery Workers' Union (Bryggearbejderforbundet)	1,014	22.0%	3,594	78.0%	4,608
The Danish Artists' Union (Dansk Artistforbund)	697	45.9%	823	54.1%	1,520
Danish Hairdresser and Cosmeticians' Union (Dansk Frisør- og Kosmetikforbund)	5,251	93.9%	340	6.1%	5,591
Danish Salaried Employees' Union (Dansk Funktionærforbund)	4,306	19.6%	17,689	80.4%	21,995
Danish Railway Union (Dansk Jernbaneforbund)	513	8.3%	5,702	91.7%	6,215
Danish Metal Workers' Union (Dansk Metal)	2,171	1.6%	136,503	98.4%	138,674
Danish Postal Union (Dansk Postforbund)	2,928	26.0%	8,353	74.0%	11,281
The Electricians' Union (El-Forbundet)	272	0.9%	29,997	99.1%	30,269
The Union of Public Employees (Forbundet af Offentligt Ansatte, FOA later: Trade and Labour - Fag og Arbejde)	175,140	88.1%	23,555	11.9%	198,695





Union	Women		Men		In total
	number	percent	number	percent	number = 100 percent
The Timber Industry and Construction Workers' Union (Forbundet, Træ-Industri Byg, TIB)	9,027	12.7%	62,248	87.3%	71,275
The National Union of Commercial and Clerical Employees (Handels- og Kontorfunktionærernes Forbund i Danmark, HK)	271,464	72.6%	102,656	27.4%	374,120
The Union of The Army's Enlisted Privates (Hærens Konstabel- og Korporalforening, HKKF)	297	6.9%	4,031	93.1%	4,328
The National Union of Women Workers (Kvindeligt Arbejderforbund, KAD)	84,637	100%	0	0%	84,637
The Painters' Union in Denmark (Malerforbundet i Danmark)	2,735	19.4%	11,333	80.6%	14,068
The Food Workers' Union (Nærings- og Nydelsesmiddelarbejderforbundet, NNF)	13,934	34.5%	26,458	65.5%	40,392
The National Union of Nursery and Childcare Assistants (Pædagogisk MedhjælperForbund, PMF)	25,451	87.2%	3,742	12.8%	29,193
Restaurant and Brewery Workers' Union (Restaurations- og Bryggeri-arbejderforbundet, RBF)	13,633	57.5%	10,077	42.5%	23,710
The National Federation of Social Educators (Socialpædagogisk Lands-forbund, SL)	19,925	73.6%	7,148	26.4%	27,073
Danish General Workers' Union (Specialarbejderforbundet i Danmark, SID)	54,619	17.3%	260,760	82.7%	315,379
The Danish Association of Professional Technicians (Teknisk Landsforbund, TL)	12,908	39.7%	19,569	60.3%	32,477
The Telecommunications' Union (Telekommunikations-forbundet)	6,007	43.0%	7,960	57.0%	13,967
In total	706,955	48.5%	751,787	51.5%	1,458.742

(Source: Landsorganisation (LO) www.leksikon.org/art.php?n=1597 - own percentage calculations, Anette Wolthers)



At the end of the period in 2000, there were a total of 1,458,742 members in the LO, of these 706,955 women - i.e. 48.5 % - and 751,787 men, i.e. 51.5%. The two genders each constituted half of the LO. However, as can be seen in Table 12, there is a significant difference between the women's and men's share in regard to the different unions. We can clearly see the gender-segregated labour market reflected in the LO's union membership numbers. We can organise the unions into three categories:

- Unions with almost as many women as men, approx. 40/60% of each:
 - The Danish Artists' Union (Dansk Artistforbund), Restaurant and Brewery Workers Union (Restaurations- og Bryggeriarbejderforbundet), Telecommunications Union (Telekommunikationsforbundet).
- Unions with mostly women, with over 60% women:
 - Danish Hairdresser and Cosmetologists Union (Dansk Frisør- og kosmetikforbund), FOA, HK, KAD, PMF, SL.
- Unions with most men, with over 60% men:
 - Plumber, Sanitary Worker, and Pipe Worker Union (Blik, Sanitet og Rør), Brewery Workers Union (Bryggeriarbejderforbundet), Danish Clerical Workers Union (Dansk Funktionærforbund), Danish Railway Union (Dansk Jernbaneforbund), Danish Metal Organisation (Dansk Metal), Danish Postal Union (Dansk Postforbund), Electricians' Union (El-Forbundet), TIB, The Union of Enlisted Privates and Corporals in the Danish Army (Hærens Konstabel- og Korporalforening. HKKF), the Painters Union, NNF, SID, TL.

From the LO's membership in 2000, we see that only 39,197 - corresponding to about 2% of the LO's members - are unionised in unions that are comprised of about half men and half women. The majority, 719,409 - corresponding to about 49% - are unionised in unions where the women make up 60% of the members. The rest of the unions, where men constitute over 60% of the members, have 700,126 members, corresponding to almost 49%. The LO strongly exemplifies the significant gender segregation in the Danish labour market.

The women's general proportion of unionisation (both in terms of memberships in trade unions and unemployment funds) rose sharply in relation to men between 1970 and 2000. When we look at the year 1994, the degree of unionisation of all salaried women was 71%, compared to 68% for men. The women's degree of unionisation continued to grow in the subsequent years, while the men's declined.

Salaried workers with an immigrant background and descendants of immigrants had



a general unionisation degree of 66% in 1994 (for both unions and unemployment funds). But the unionisation percentage does drop significantly for these two groups in the following years.

In 1994, 1.5 million salaried workers were unionised in the LO - a level that remained unchanged until 1997. Then the membership number dropped between 2000 and 2013 to 1.1 million.

Women Leading the Trade Unions?

During this period, the representation of women in leading and elected positions does not even slightly correspond to their membership number, neither in the unions with equal gender distribution, the female dominated unions, nor in the male dominated unions. For men, the situation is exactly reversed - they are generally well-represented in all categories of unions.


Since the beginning of the 1980s, the LO has been working towards equality, both through its equal opportunities consultant, by producing research on the gender balances pertaining to equality starting in 2004, and through the FIU meetings and courses (FIU=Fagbevægelsens Interne Uddannelse). Over the years, there have been a number of meetings on the theory of equality, where different subjects were covered, different methods tested and different texts were published in various publications. Similarly, using numerous studies, they have looked at education from the perspective of equality, gender and mainstreaming⁴⁴. This debate and these activities have been ongoing over the years.

In its 1999 congress, the LO chose to focus on equality and to shift the subject to the strategic agenda. Tine Aurvig Brøndum (later Huggenberger), the LO's vice chairperson:

"Because we want to breathe new life into the debate, because we want to be part of shifting the equality discussion beyond its current state of a politically correct accessory... It is a large process we must start (with the new gender mainstreaming strategy) and we must all become better at identifying those problems within the politics of equality that new initiatives may cause."

At the same time that the LO was challenging and supporting the government's equality initiatives, Tine Aurvig Brøndum (Huggenberger) said in 1999:

"There is no doubt that some of the major battles within the politics of equality must be fought in the labour market in future agreements, in each individual nego-



tiation - at each workplace; wages, pension, maternity leave, care days and other kind of flexibility that can contribute to a better relation between working life and family life, to name a few. We (the LO) can shift the focus to the problems, but locally the battles must be fought."

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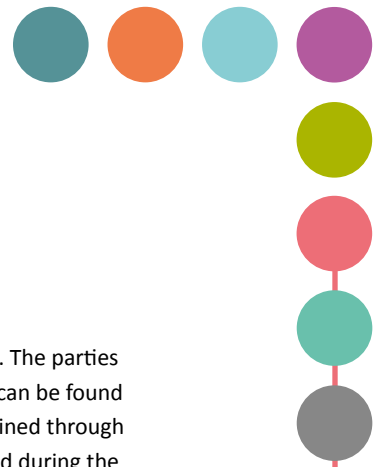
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Notes The Labour Movement 1971-2000

43 There are no mandatory wage rates in Denmark - neither is there a minimum wage. The parties in the private Danish labour market have agreed on four wage systems, and below can be found these systems as they were in 2015: Normal wages, where the entire pay is determined through collective wage agreement negotiations and which generally cannot be renegotiated during the agreement period. This system was previously very common within industry with many women, but today it covers about 16% of the employees within the LO/DA area. It is also used in the public sector to a large degree. Minimum wage, where the collective wage agreement only sets the basic pay as minimum. The actual wage is negotiated locally and is increased by a number of supplemental payments. During the collective wage agreement period, it is also possible to negotiate the wage several times - though without the right to strike. This system is most common among skilled workers. There are two more systems: The minimum pay system, where as an individual, one has a minimum wage through the collective wage agreement negotiations, which is followed by local wage negotiations during the agreement period. Together with the minimum wage system, the minimum pay system covers 62% of the employees within the LO/DA area. Finally, there are the collective wage agreements without wage rates, where the entire wage is negotiated at the individual workplace, and this covers 22% of the LO/DA area. (Source: <https://da.wikipedia.org/wiki/Minimall%C3%B8n>)

44 Mainstreaming. In the 1990s, the efforts towards gender equality were seen as something that had to be brought out from the undercurrents or the side-lines and into the mainstream. In other words, the issue had to be part of gender mainstreaming politics and in the frameworks of the organisations. For example, it was a revolt against only working with gender equality for and with women in limited areas. Equality therefore had to be worked into society in general, in the governmental initiatives, and so on.

The Labour Movement 2000-2015



This period faced harsh conditions, consisting of a major crisis, the worst since the 1930s. Many markets collapsed and numerous Danish workplaces were affected. Apart from the effect of the crisis, there were still structural inequalities between men and women. In 2003, for example, men's pension savings were 30% larger than women's. Women employed in the public sector got paid eight percent less than men employed in the public sector in 2005. This general difference between the salaries of men and women fell between 12 and 19% in 2000, in favour of men. In 1999, the LO trade union movement began gender equality efforts aimed at getting more women into leading and elected positions in the unions. This work continued and was extended to many access points to union work, and the men were involved. During that period, the work was extended to also include diversity and equality. The LO's educational work on gender, diversity and equality was transferred to the FIU-Equality (FIU-Ligestilling) from 2005.

The Financial Crisis

At the beginning of the 2000s, there was a boom driven by an increase in real estate prices in the U.S., Europe - and also Denmark, where people took out loans in their home equity⁴⁵. With a drop in real estate prices, it was difficult for the borrowers to pay their interest and repayments to the banks and financial institutions. Consumption decreased and unemployment rose. During the autumn of 2007 and the summer of 2008, the American financial market collapsed. World trade decreased by 20 percentage points during the crisis.

The Danish banks had a growing deficit on their loans, which they financed by taking out loans on the international capital market. In order to save the banks, the government gave them tax-financed bank packages worth billions. Danish companies were also heavily in debt, which is thought to have caused 20% of the total decrease in investments during the crisis. Particularly during construction, manufacturing, trade and transport - and especially agriculture. In Denmark, the worst backlash of the crisis occurred in 2008-2009. The crisis only receded at the end of 2012. The crisis had created:

- A negative growth in GDP.
- A treasury deficit
- Increase in unemployment from 52,000 to 148,000 (2008-2011)
- A drop in employment of 100,000 people (2009)

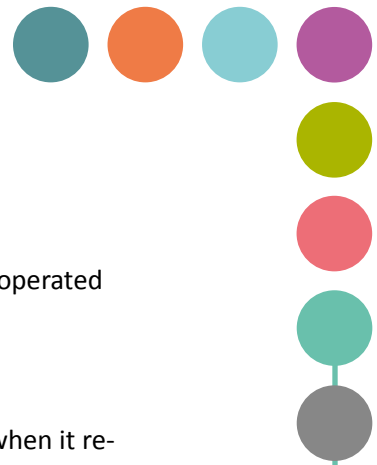


The Financial Crisis and Gender

In conjunction with the crisis, the European Parliament Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality issued a proposal to parliament referring to the effect of the financial crisis on vulnerable sectors and the gender-related consequences. They were of the opinion that the financial crisis was caused by men and that a majority of men were going to respond to the crisis, since for example, there are only 5% women in EU's financial institutions. They also believed that in the response to the crisis, no considerations would be made for the gender-related aspects of occupations. The first wave of the crisis hit the male-dominated construction sector, but the second wave hit the female-dominated occupations within the retail, service and tourism sectors: The first wave got more attention in the rescue plans. They also pointed out that the women's public labour market was hit hard, since it was subject to cut-backs. It was concluded that the inequality between the wages of men and women grew as a consequence of the crisis, and that women performed more unpaid work in the family, using three times as much time as men to take care of children, the old and the sick and for housekeeping. Overall, the committee criticised the 'architecture' in the financial and political structures, where the gender aspect is not even considered. To this one can add that the main strategy within gender equality in the EU since 2000 has been the gender mainstreaming strategy, which emphasises the integration of genders and the concept of equality in all strategic and political plans. But it failed here.

Women's Work for a 'Man's Wage'

The policies on liberalisation and contracting out public sector jobs have increased since the 2000s in Denmark. It particularly affected women, who make up 70% of public employees. In the collective wage agreement negotiations in 2008, women within healthcare believed that it was now time to realise equal pay between men and women. In 16 April 2008, The Health Cartel (Sundhedskartellet)⁴⁶ and The Union of Public Employees (now Trade and Labour), FOA, went on a (legal) strike, and subsequently joined the BUPL (Danish Union of Early Childhood and Youth Educators) in the strike that was to become the most comprehensive ever in the public sector in Denmark, with 75,000 people on strike. The demand to the public sector employers was 15% more in wages, and the foundation of an equal pay commission that would present proposals on the realisation of equal pay between public and private employees, and between men and women - including on the basis of comparable levels of education. The strike ended in June 2008, when a wage increase of 13.3% was accepted for nurses, and 12.8% for the rest of the public sector. Their



demand for the establishment of a pay commission was granted, and it operated between 2008 and 2010.

The Pay Commission (Lønkommissionen) 2008-10

The Pay Commission was established in 2008 and operated until 2010, when it released the following report: Wages, gender, education and flexibility?⁴⁷

In 2010, the Commission delivered its report *“to the public collective wage agreement parties, so that it could be included in the common background materials at the coming collective wage agreement negotiations for the public sector - and thus the ongoing discussion that characterises the Danish Model with extensive cooperation between employers and hourly workers”*. The Commission also said that the parties themselves would be unable to handle everything concerning unequal pay, since we have a gender-segregated labour market in Denmark - and if equal pay is to be achieved, there are also requirements for *“administrative regulation, control and documentation. On this basis, The Pay Commission encouraged relevant organisations, authorities, institutions, etc. at all levels, to carry out a service check on these areas as well.”*

The Public Efforts for Equality

One would now think that, after the work of the Pay Commission and the report from the minister for gender equality, some initiatives would be set in motion.

All departments and government agencies, institutions, companies etc., with more than 50 employees, as well as all municipalities and regions, pursuant to the Gender Equality Act's (Ligestillingslovens) §5 and §5a, had to submit gender equality reports every other year. This period, which ran from November 2011 to October 2013⁴⁸ – in other words, the first report after the Pay Commission completed its work - does not mention one word about the wage problem or *‘administrative regulation and documentation’* in connection with this. Neither the Ministry's questions to the public institutions nor the public institutions themselves arrived at the idea that this is something that needs to be developed further.

The Nyrup governments, 1993-2001, (Socialdemocratic Prime minister Poul Nyrup), implemented extensive reforms within the area of gender equality with new legislation and, in 1999, a new minister position⁴⁹ on equality was established. Subsequent governments have continued to appoint ministers for gender equality.

As part of our EU membership, Denmark has been required since 1973 to have legislation on, and to work with gender equality. In 1989, the law on equal treatment was changed so that public authorities were required to work towards gender equality. Since then, the efforts have continued with legislation and complaint handling mechanisms and have been institutionalised - both in the private and public sector. However, it seems as though the governments then believed that gender equality had been implemented in Denmark, and that now the work could be carried out at the institutional level.

The Labour Market

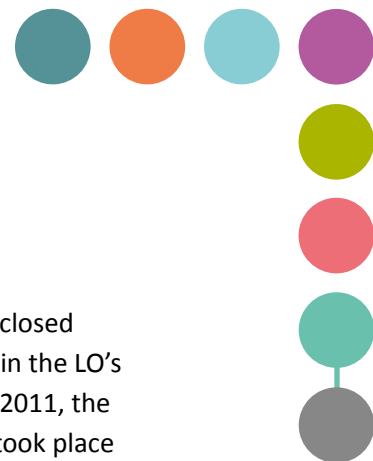
The financial crisis influenced the development of the labour market, as we saw a drop of 78,000 people in workforce employment in the period 2007-2015, and an increase in the unemployed by 52,000. The men's share of the decrease in the workforce and their share of the increase of the unemployed is the largest. This is shown in Table 13 below.

Table 13:

Development in Employment and Unemployment as of 1 January 2007, as Compared to 1. May 2015, among Women and Men in the 15-74 Age Group in the Population, Number and Percent

	women		men		In total	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
2007 employed	1,311,000	46.4	1,515,000	53.6	2,826,000	100
2015 employed	1,290,000	46.9	1,458,000	53.1	2,748,000	100
Difference in percentage points	-21,000	-26.9	-57,000	-73.1	-78,000	
2007 unem- ployed	68,000	56.2	53,000	43.8	121,000	100
2015 unem- ployed	89,000	48.6	94,000	51.4	183,000	100
Difference in percentage points	+21,000	+40.4	+41,000	+78.8	+52,000	

(Source: The Statistics Bank (Statistikbanken) 2015. Own calculations, Anette Wolthers)



The Danish Confederation of Trade Unions, LO

The fact that the productive businesses, the manufacturing businesses, closed down, cut back or moved abroad, can also be seen in the memberships in the LO's unions. In 2000, there were a total of 1.4 million members of the LO. In 2011, the number dropped to 1.1 million. During that period, many mergers also took place among the LO's unions.

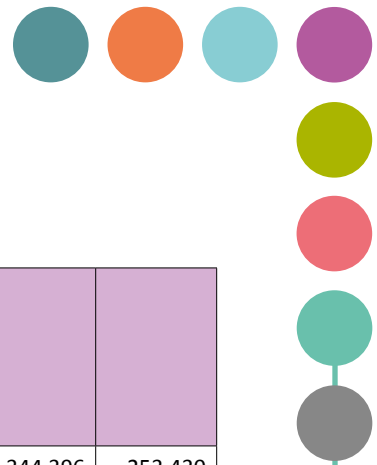
Table 14:

The LO's 18 Constituent Unions, each Organised by Women and Men, Number and Percent, 31/12/2011, as well as the Union Members who were Part of the Labour Market as of 31/12/2014

Union	Women		Men		In total = 100 percent	
	number	percent	number	percent	2011	(2014)
The Plumber, Sanitary, an Pipe Workers' Union (Blikkenslager-, Sanitets og Rørarbejderforbundet i Danmark)	27	0.3%	9,986	99.7%	10,013	7,863
The Danish Artists' Union (Dansk Artistforbund)	549	42.6%	741	57.4%	1,290	1,119
Danish Hairdresser and Cosmetics' Union (Dansk Frisør- og Kosmetikforbund)	4,146	96.0%	173	4.0%	4,319	
Danish Salaried Employees' Union (Dansk Funktionærforbund – now a part of the Service Union)						
Danish Railway Union (Dansk Jernbaneforbund)	802	14.3%	4,790	85.7%	5,592	4,969
Danish Metal Workers' Union (Dansk Metal)	5,109	4.3%	113,486	95.7%	118,595	81, 130
Danish Postal Union (Dansk Postforbund – now 3F)						
The Electricians' Union (El-Forbundet)	303	1.0%	29,028	99.0%	29,331	22,672
The Union of Public Employees (Forbundet af Offentligt Ansatte, FOA (later Trade and Labour, Fag og Arbejde)	171,718	87.6%	24,237	12.4%	195,955	164,615




The Timber Industry and Construction Workers' Union (Forbundet, Træ-Industri Byg, TIB – now 3F)						
The National Union of Commercial and Clerical Employees (Handels- og Kontorfunktionærernes Forbund i Danmark, HK)	217,483	74.9%	72,823	25.1%	290,306	193,547
The Union of the Army's Enlisted Privates (Hærens Konstabel- og Korporalforening, HKKF)	215	4.9%	4,157	95.1%	4,372	4,964
The National Union of Women Workers (Kvindeligt Arbejderforbund, KAD – now 3F)						
The Painters' Union in Denmark) Malerforbundet i Danmark	3,217	28.5%	8,079	71.5%	11,296	7,617
The Food Workers' Union (Fødevareforbundet, NNF)	6,386	29.7%	15,131	70.3%	21,517	18,912
The National Union of Nursery and Childcare Assistants (Pædagogisk Medhjælper Forbund, PMF – now FOA)						
Restaurant and Brewery Workers' Union (Restaurations- og Bryggeri-arbejderforbundet, RBF – now 3F)						
The National Federation of Social Educators (Socialpædagogisk Landsforbund, SL)	28,734	75.0%	9,578	25.0%	36,312	36,663
The General Workers' Union (Specialarbejderforbundet i Danmark, SID – now 3F)						
The Danish Association of Professional Technicians (Teknisk Landsforbund, TL)	11,735	44.0%	14,962	56.0%	26,697	23,631



The Telecommunications' Union (Telekommunikations-forbundet – now Danish Metal Workers' Union -Dansk Metal)						
The United Federation of Danish Workers (Fagligt Fællesforbund 3F)	96,896	28.1%	247,500	71.9%	344,396	253,430
The Service Union (Serviceforbundet – former Danish Salaried Employees - Fnkktionærforbundet)	3,935	24.5%	12,128	75.5%	16,063	18,982
The Danish Prison Officers' Union (Fængselsforbundet i Danmark)	1,078	32.2%	2,267	67.8	3,345	3,166
The Handball Players' Union (Håndbold - Spiller Foreningen)	189	48.1%	204	51.9%	393	373
The Danish Footballers' Association (Spillerforeningen)	114	11.4%	889	88.6%	1,003	892
I alt	552,636	49.2%	570,159	50.8%	1,122,795	843,645

(Source: LO: https://www.lo.dk/omLO/faktaogtal/~media/LO/Rundt_om_LO/medlemstal/Medlemstal_111231.ashx - own compilation and percentage calculations, Anette Wolthers. The Danish Hairdresser [Dansk Frisør] and Cosmeticians Union (Kosmetikarbejderforbund) became part of The Service Union [Serviceforbundet] in 2013.

The unions indicated in purple merged with other unions after 2000. The percentages for gender are 2011 figures. The figures in italics from 2014 show labour market association of LO members, which consists of: Employed and unemployed fulltime and part-time members, flex workers and other members who receive a combination of pay and social services, persons receiving early retirement benefits, youth workers and spare time workers, adult apprentices, apprentices, students, students with internships as well as prisoners. In total, they constitute 80.4% of the total membership figure of 1,049,684 as of 31/12/2014).



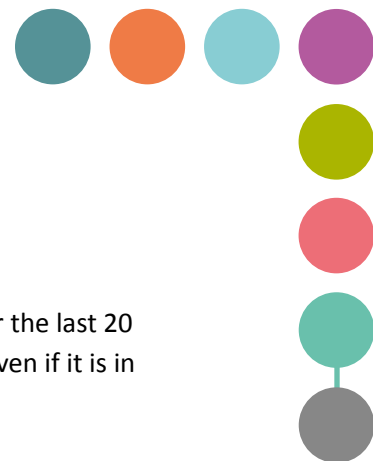
Since 2011, the LO (Danish Confederation of Trade Unions) has not had statistics organised by gender on its website. In 11 years, between 2000 and 2011, the LO's membership numbers have decreased by 335,947 people, of these 154,319 women and 181,628 men.

In 2011, the share of women in the LO (Danish Confederation of Trade Unions) grew to 49.2%. It had never been this large in the LO's history. The share of men, of course, dropped to 50.8%. We can organise the unions into three categories:

- Unions with almost as many women as men, approx. 40/60% of each:
 - The Danish Artists' Union (Dansk Artistforbund), the Danish Association of Professional Technicians (Teknisk Landsforbund) and the Handball Players' Union (Håndboldspillerforeningen).
- Unions with over 60% women:
 - Danish Hairdresser and Cosmeticians Union (Dansk Frisør- og Kosmetikforbund), The Union of Public Employees (FOA – now Trade and Labour), HK, KAD, PMF, SL.
- Unions with over 60% men:
 - The Plumber, Sanitary Worker, and Pipe Worker Union (Blik, Sanitet og Rør), the Danish Railway Union (Dansk Jernbaneforbund), Danish Metal Organisation (Dansk Metal), The Electricians' Union (El-forbundet), HKKF, the Painters' Union (Malerforbundet), the Food Workers' Union (Fødevareforbundet, NNF), 3F, The Service Union (Serviceforbundet), the Danish Prison Officers' Union (Fængselsforbundet), and the Danish Footballers' Association (Spillerforeningen).

From the LO's membership in 2011, we see that only 28,380 - corresponding to about 2.5% of the LO's members - are unionised in unions that have about 50% of each gender. There are 526,892 members who are unionised in unions with over 60% are women. These unions make up almost 47%. The rest of the unions, where the men constitute over 60% of members, have 565,523 members, corresponding to almost 50%. The LO still embodies the strong gender segregation in the Danish labour market. The degree of unionisation among women is now beginning to surpass that of men. In 2011, it was 73.4%, compared to 68.5% for men.

In 2011, the LO formulated a version of its values: Pride, equality and community - Both genders support the trade union movement equally.



Education

Educating the population has been greatly emphasised in Denmark over the last 20 years. Both men and women are attending educational programmes - even if it is in different subjects and for different lengths of time.

Table 15:


The highest level of education that provides qualification for the labour market among the 15-69 age group with women and men in the population, number and percent 1 January 2015

	Women		Men		In total	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
Vocational training	544,863	44.6%	676,895	55.4%	1,221,758	100
Short-term further education (KVU)	74,204	45.8%	87,949	54.2%	162,153	100
Medium length further education (MVU)	350,598	65.5%	184,515	34.5%	535,113	100
Long-term further education (LVU)	146,945	48.8%	154,135	51.2%	301,080	100
In total	1,116,610	50.3%	1,103,494	49.7%	2,220,104	100%

(Source: The Statistics Bank [Statistikbanken] 2015. Own calculations, Anette Wolthers)

Even though, during the last 30 years, women have taken part in further education more than ever before - also the long ones - most women took up medium length further education, MVU. Men still constitute the majority for long-term further education (LVU) in the population, even if the youngest generation of women has caught up with them. For the first time in history, in 1999, there were just as many women as men enrolled at Copenhagen University. In 2007, 63.3% of newly enrolled students were women. In 2015, for people between the ages of 30-34, there are: 25,726 women and 20,814 men with long-term further education (LVU). However, when we look at the oldest generation in 2015, there are 6,905 women between the ages of 65-69 with long-term further education as opposed to 13,719 men.

The participation and completion of educational programmes by women, to a large extent is something that characterises our time - starting about 30-50 years ago - and it is different from the past, when few women took entered educational programmes that provided qualifications for the labour market.



When we look at the educational programmes, it is also important to remember the numerous good educational options available to adults, since they can receive adult student grants if they are studying fulltime, and VEU allowance if they are working. So the period is also characterised by the possibility to be in a 'lifelong course of education'

Immigration

The Danish population consisted of 5.6 million people of all ages in 2015. There are about 36,000 more women in the population than men. Of the entire population, there are about 2.8 million people in the workforce between the ages of 15-74.

Apart from Danes who were born in Denmark to Danish parents, there are 11.1% immigrants and their descendants. Of these, 58% come from the so-called non-western countries, and now constitute 276,230 people. This number is five times higher than 30 years ago. The rest of the immigrants and their descendants usually come from our neighbouring countries and Europe. This number has also increased. From 1985 to 2015, the number of immigrants and their descendants has been on the rise, also for western immigrants. In total, immigrants from over 200 different countries have come to Denmark.

The Danish Immigrants and Education

Many immigrants have taken a programme of education in their home country before coming to Denmark, and hence they are not very well covered by Danish education statistics. However, around 9% of the male and 12% of the female immigrants from non-western countries have taken a vocational educational course as their highest level of education. Two percent of both genders have had short-term further education (KVU). 3% of the men and 5% of the women had medium length further education (MVU), and 4% of both genders have had long-term further education (LVU) as their highest educational level.

Young men of Danish origin take an educational programme more often than young men with an immigrant background - e.g. 40% of the 20-29 year old men of Danish origin as compared to 25% of the immigrants. But for women, the pattern is almost identical until they reach 25 years of age, when women with a Danish background are more frequently still studying, than women with an immigrant background. Yet for women with a non-western background between the ages of 20-21, the percentage undertaking a course of education is slightly higher than for women of the same age with a Danish background.



Migrant workers

8.1 million EU citizens live in a different EU country than their own, 1.1 million travel between EU countries and 1.2 million are stationed workers who are temporarily in a different country.


Apart from immigrants who came to Denmark to live here permanently, there are also migrant workers, many of which come from EU countries and can work and reside in a different EU country. Some work here for some time and then return home, while others settle here permanently after a few years. The number of workers from Eastern Europe increased by 10% from 2013-2014, up to about 90,000 people working in Denmark. The expansion of the EU to 28 countries between 2004-2007, as well as the financial crisis of 2008, sparked migration towards the west and north, including Denmark, with workers from Poland, Romania, Lithuania and Bulgaria constituting the largest groups. Between 2011 and 2012, 829 Danish companies chose to hire Eastern European labour force, often consisting of young people. The Danish unions worked hard to inform and organise these workers about wages and working conditions, according to collective agreements, as well as on their rights. For example, 3F and FIU-Equality (FIU-Ligestilling), prepared leaflets in Polish, Russian, Romanian, German and English, aimed at this target group.

(Sources: www.thinkeuropa.dk – Severe labour exploitations: workers moving within or into the European Union, FRA European Agency for Fundamental Rights – the leaflet: Vandrende arbejdstagere (Migrant workers) at www.3f.dk)

Au pairs

Another method of getting to Denmark from all over the world is to become an au pair, where you get to stay with a Danish host family with children under 18 in order to develop linguistic, professional and cultural competencies and knowledge of Denmark. As an au pair, you must work no more than 5 hours a day for 6 days. The au pair must receive at least DKK 4,000 (July 2015) as well as free room and board. The number of au pairs peaked in 2008, when almost 3,000 were approved, 80% of which were from the Philippines. However, Ukrainians, Kenyans and Brazilians also worked as au pairs. You may not be over the age of 30, be married or in a co-habitation relationship, have kids in your home country or be pregnant when you apply to be an au pair in Denmark! The Union of Public Employees, FOA, (Trade and labour) offers au pairs membership for DKK 25 per month, for which they will receive the newsletter 'FOA, Au Pair', free help and guidance, insurance as well as access to a hotline.

(Source: www.sameksistens.dk and www.nyidanmark.dk - www.foa.dk/au pair)



Diversity and the Labour Movement

Ethnic Diversity

In 2012, the LO for the first time formulated a series of basic position papers against diversity discrimination in the workplace, where one of the focal points was discrimination due to ethnicity. The paper was titled: 'From Differential Treatment to Thriving Together' (Fra forskelsbehandling til fælles trivsel). The publication of this paper was based on the recognition that Denmark was now a multi-cultural society - also represented by the 80,000 members of the LO with a non-Danish ethnic background.

The LO strongly encouraged employers to include diversity policies in the workplace, and anti-discrimination policies in the company's personnel policy. The LO believed that the employers were primarily responsible for developing such policies, and ensuring a personnel policy that was non-discriminatory. Actually, the employers were quick to produce tools for diversity management, and this was also published as part of the management literature on the subject⁵⁰.

In the paper, the LO emphasises that Denmark has an obligation to international conventions to eliminate all kinds of racial discrimination, and for every person to have the same human rights. The ILO Convention 111 on Opposing Differential Treatment in Regard to Occupation and Business⁵¹ and the EU directives that deal with opposing differential treatment, have been ratified and transferred to Danish legislation. The LO points to the tools in the Danish Model when discrimination has to be opposed: E.g. The cooperation agreement and the trade union representative system.

Experiencing "Ethnicity"

One item is policy and legislation, another is the sub-cultural daily life in the workplace. Discrimination can occur from different sides - managers, customers or other people in the workplace who discriminate against workers with a different ethnic background - or colleagues - also those who have a different ethnic background than Danish. In the trade union movement, there are many stories about how immigrants are not included: The boss does not giving Christmas gifts to temporary workers; colleagues not inviting a co-worker to be part of the birthday gift giving or birthday coffee break in the workplace; female co-workers being harassed in the canteen by their male colleagues with the same ethnic background, because they do not think that men and women should eat together, etc. The trade unions do something about this kind of behaviour - or even better, they support the parties being discriminated against, so that they can



oppose it themselves. When such instances occur, they are part of infecting the working environment and the working conditions.


In 2000, 10% of non-ethnic Danes experienced discrimination from their colleagues. In 2012, this number had grown to 17%. Researcher Christian Horst (Aarhus University) spoke in connection with these numbers: *If we want to get rid of these problems, we will have to admit that there may exist a more general hostility in society, founded in racism, which we do not want to admit. It is still difficult for us to understand that we are a multi-cultural society, and that the people we regard as foreign, live here and are citizens with equal rights.*"

(Source: http://www.ugebreveta4.dk/diskriminationen-bider-sig-fast-paa-arbejdspladsen_14366.aspx)

Are Danes racists, and have we constructed racist institutions that are hostile to foreigners? And why will we not understand that Denmark is also a multi-cultural society, as Christian Horst says? And what about those co-workers from a different ethnic background who do not tolerate certain behaviour, e.g. female co-workers' behaviour?

Most would simply dismiss Christian Horst's questions with a 'no'. But is there still something worth looking into? We do not wish not say that Danes are 'racist' - no, rather 'ethnocentric' - i.e. in love with our own perception that 'we are the best in the world' - and can overlook the contributions and values that others bring to the table. Of course we have not built institutions in Denmark that are 'consciously racist', but our institutions often work, or end up working, in a culturally one-sided way with specific behavioural norms. Most Danes would probably - upon closer deliberation - admit that we are developing into a 'multi-cultural society', but how should one approach this? This is the question of the hour.

In the end, this is also about who has the right to define the narrative, or who has acquired this right in regard to what goes on in the world - also attitudes. This is where the political battle is fought, and the trade union movement finds itself in the centre of this struggle when it comes to ethnic minorities in the labour market. Historically, the role of the trade union movement has been to fight for the weak in society. Therefore the trade unions turn things around and commandeer a different right to define the narrative, which regards oppression and discrimination among co-workers as a very serious matter. And it does not matter who is doing the discrimination. It just needs to stop. The powerful may acquire the right to define the narrative - but from the trade union movement's per-



spective, the weak always have this right, since the trade union movement takes them seriously, and regards it as its job to fight for those who feel oppressed and discriminated against.

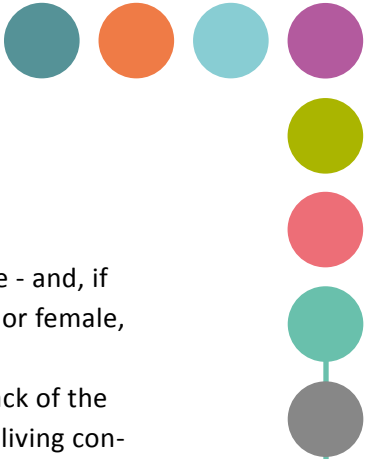
The increasingly numerous multi-cultural workplaces in Denmark show that this is something we need to work on. One example is a bus depot facility in Copenhagen, where 800 drivers from 64 different ethnic backgrounds head out each day to drive busses in the Copenhagen area. It would never have worked if the company had not grappled with diversity. The reactions from the passengers - in particular towards female bus drivers with headscarves - consist of both admiring/encouraging comments and angry looks and criticism. In the service businesses, there generally exists great diversity in ethnic backgrounds, represented by the employees in the workplace. A very clear personnel policy is needed to avoid having a certain clique take control in such an environment, and this policy must begin by setting the norms for how to relate to your co-workers, cooperation, presentation, etc.

The Trade Union Movement - a Good Place to be

In 2014-2015, FIU-Equality (FIU-Ligestilling) established a course called 'Female Opinion Makers', which was a course for female trade union and working environment representatives from the LO, with an ethnic minority background. Özlem Cekic from the Socialist People's Party (SF) was a guest at the course and spoke about her own journey to become a politician. She had boosted her own development substantially when she had been educated in the trade union movement to become a trade union representative (shop steward) for her co-workers at her workplace. And how important the trade union community is in being included in an area of employment and development of collegiality. She told the participants, *"You should be happy to be part of the trade union movement, it is the best place for you to be!"*


The trade union movement has historically shown that it is a good place to be, even if the tidal waves can be high. The trade union movement has a number of values and qualities that have been ingrained over nearly 150 years of conflict, discussion and practice. The trade union movement is characterised by:

- Having democratically elected leadership, so that all policies are thus discussed back and forth - sometimes peacefully, other times in sharp verbal duels.

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- The trade union movement supports the weak - takes up their cause - and, if necessary, takes it to the courts so that the rights of a worker, male or female, can be upheld.
 - The trade union movement is a place in society where they keep track of the living and work conditions of ordinary people - based on applicable living conditions. It is not just an opinion machine without contact to reality.
 - The trade unions are a great place for education, where the representatives (and members) learn everything they need to be able to carry out this task, with the complexity and empathy necessary to fight for their co-workers' rights, and establish effective cooperation with management in the workplace.
 - The trade union movement reacts quickly - and has done so over all of its 150 years. It does not matter where in the world you come from, we will fight for you when you join us.
 - So, is there anything the trade union movement could do better? Well of course, and this is discussed every single day - and if injustices and discrimination take place internally, it is brought into the daylight. In such a large movement, there are many different viewpoints and priorities, which are often presented bluntly. To live up to the tasks and ideals, it is specifically important to ask the difficult questions and to be aware of all the hidden mechanisms that may exist within oppression, discrimination and exploitation - put them into words and make them part of the daily tasks and struggles in the work of the trade union movement.

Gender-Based Sexual Diversity

It is part of the modern experience that “men” and “women” are no longer clear-cut concepts for characterising people when dealing with a person’s lifestyle and sexual orientation. The significance of gender has changed, not only in our culture, but all over the world. And yet, the Danish labour market and educational system continue to be quite conservative: Women gravitate towards or are sought after in certain professions and educational programmes, and men in others. And so therefore we have a labour market and an educational system that are strongly gender segregated. In other words, when work is to be carried out in a workplace, women and men do not share the same experience from the same industries, professions, working conditions and types of professional problems. The trade union movement must therefore be more precise regarding what might be going on - and cannot always generalise about the experiences, policies or tools that should be used in individual cases.



All in all, one could say that the division by men and women is a robust category - so much so that there is always a danger of being stereotypical. It can lead to discrimination when some people do not adhere to the norms and expectations. About 1% of the population is transgender⁵² and does not have a gender identity that necessarily corresponds to their biological gender. Gay men and Lesbians make up about 10% of the population. Some of them choose to register as couples or get married. Some want children and a family, which is possible today.

In 2005, the LO's Weekly Newsletter A4 carried out a study of anti-gay discrimination in the labour market. It turned out that one in ten experienced discrimination due to their sexual orientation. A later study showed that some gay men and Lesbians who had 'come out' regretted it due to the reactions they received. Another study in 2009 showed that 83% of gay men and 88% of Lesbians stated that they were open about their sexuality at work, but that it was certainly not easy.

Salmon and Compensation

In 2005, the former organisation LBL, The National Association for Gays and Lesbians (Landsforeningen for Bøsser og Lesbiske⁵³) awarded 3F the "annual salmon" (an award given to a person/organisation that goes against the flow) because the vice chairperson, Jane Korczak, announced that the trade union movement had overlooked and underestimated the problem, and now had to take up the fight, in particular against the harsh tone in the workplaces. 3F followed up the study in its departments nation-wide, which reported that the subject was taboo, but that many were familiar with discrimination against gay men and Lesbians at work. The Danish Food Workers' Union (Nærings- og Nydelsesmiddelforbunde), NNF, initiated the first court case against a baker who had bullied a young employee after he had come out of the closet. The young baker was awarded DKK 100,000 in compensation. The NNF was awarded a "salmon" in 2007 for its work in the case. After this, the trade union movement took part in Gay Pride events and supported this case more openly.

In 2007, the LO published the following leaflet in collaboration with the LBL: Can you be yourself at work? On this occasion, the chairperson of the LBL said:

"It is clear that a leaflet will not be enough on its own. But you have to start somewhere. I hope that the next step is that the trade union movement will include sexual orientation every time we speak of equality and diversity policy"



Subsequently, the trade union movement did just that! See the most recent leaflet: LGBT - equality at the workplace.


FIU-Equality (FIU-Ligestilling)

The LO put the issue of gender equality and gender mainstreaming on its strategic agenda in 1999. At first, the focus was on the lack of representation of women in leading and elected positions of both the LO and the LO's member unions. Therefore a number of management courses were held just for women in 1999; from 2004, these were called The Trade Union Movement's Management Courses for Women (Fagbevægelsens Lederkurser for kvinder, FLUK). From 2008, some of these courses were directed at both genders, and thus got an m/f added to the name.

From 2005, this activity was moved from the LO to a partner organisation consisting of three unions: 3F, HK and Metal – in 2015 it was extended to include The Service Union (Serviceforbundet). This partnership was allocated some of the LO's funds for the Trade Union Movement's internal educational programmes and was thus named: FIU-Equality (FIU-Ligestilling). During the 10 years that this work has been taking place, FIU Equality has not only worked with courses and educational programmes related to gender and the trade union movement, but also with ethnic equality and the trade union movement - and it has developed many activities in this area that fall under the diversity umbrella. Each year, an educational catalogue is prepared called 'Of Course' (Naturligvis), which announces the educational programmes that have been established. Furthermore, each year FIU-Equality (FIU-Ligestilling) holds a number of conferences with current subjects within the areas of gender and diversity. FIU-Equality also prepares books, leaflets and folders on diversity in Danish and English, as well as many of the languages that the members of the LO trade union movement speak.

Several thousand elected union representatives from the LO trade union movement participated in these activities from FIU Equality, which not only offers courses and educational programmes as one-off events, but also has permanent networks around the country on equality and diversity⁵⁴.

FIU Equality (FIU-Ligestilling), which has been around now for 10 years, has shown relentless involvement in bringing important issues from the union's struggles to the agenda, has introduced initiatives and solutions when the elected union representatives at the workplaces have to live up to the responsibility,



which increasingly rests on their shoulders when they have to fight alongside members for proper working conditions and justice for the individual. Today one can see that the trade union movement takes far more individual cases to the tribunals, courts and so on for the purpose of defending the rights of their members and getting compensation for the injustices committed in the workplace.



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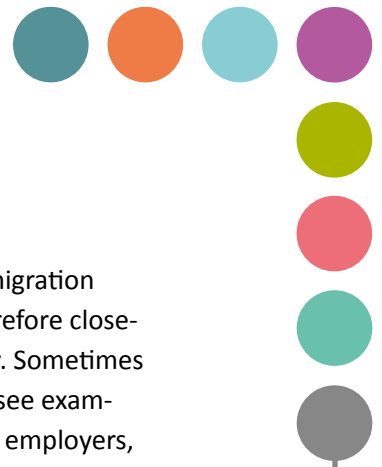
Notes The Labour Movement 2000-2015

- 45 Home equity is the difference between the mortgages you already have on your property and what it is worth.(In Danish called “friværði” - “free value”)
- 46 The Health Cartel (Sundhedskartellet) was founded in 1997 by 11 unions within the social and health sector, and it represents about 120,000 members who are nurses, dental hygienists, therapists, physiotherapists, bioanalysts, ergotherapists, pharmaconomists, radiographers, midwives, and diet and nutrition experts. Source: www.sundhedskartellet.dk
In 2011, The Union of Public Employees, Now Trade and Labour, FOA, had 195,955 members, most of whom worked in municipalities and regions, with only a smaller part employed in the private sector. They take care of children and patients, they clean, drive buses, extinguish fires and maintain buildings. For example, they have job titles such as social and health assistant - and assistants, caregivers, nursing home assistants, etc. See www.foa.dk
BUPL, the Danish Federation of Early Childhood Teachers and Youth Educators (Børne- og ungdomspædagogernes Landsforbund - Forbundet for Pædagoger og Klubfolk) has 65,000 members www.BUPL.dk
- 47 Wages, gender, education and flexibility - summary and conclusion, 28 [Løn, køn, uddannelse og fleksibilitet – sammenfatning og konklusion] May 2010 - <http://www.lonkommissionen.dk/>
- 48 The Result of the Equality Reviews 2013 (Resultat af ligestillingsredegørelser 2013), Main Report, Ministry for Children, Equality, Integration and Social Conditions, October 2014.
- 49 Ministers of Equality in chronological order: Jytte Andersen and Lotte Bundsgaard (S); Henriette Kjær (C), Eva Kjer Hansen, Karen Jespersen, Inger Støjberg, Lykke Friis (V); Manu Sareen (R) and Ellen Trane Nørby (V).
- 50 Management literature and the American companies in Denmark have long since found inspiration from the U.S., where companies had developed Diversity Management, due to requirements for companies to hire and develop employees from all ethnic groups, since the Civil Rights Act of 1964.
- 51 The ILO, the International Labour Organisation, is the U.N. agency that handles the labour market issue. The ILO has passed a number of conventions concerning working conditions, e.g. freedom of association and the protection of the right to unionise, the right for collective bargaining, equal pay - and no. 111: Ban on discrimination in hiring and occupational contexts (Source: The Ministry of Employment, <http://bm.dk>)



- 52 In July 2015, 3F won a case on discrimination against a transgender individual, for that particular person and the LGBT community. The case spanned three years, and showed that a municipality had created an internal memorandum stating that this person should not be hired, due to their transgender sexuality. The court ruled that the company should pay DKK 30,000 in compensation and referred to the equal treatment and discrimination law.
- 53 The association was originally formed in 1948, and was called The Association of 1948 (Forbundet af 1948) until 1985, when it changed name to The National Association for Gays and Lesbians (Landsforeningen for Bøsser og Lesbiske), LBL. In 2009, the association changed its name to: LGBT Denmark, the National Association for Gays, Lesbians, Bisexuals and Transgender Persons (LGBT Danmark, Landsforeningen for bøsser, lesbiske, biseksuelle og transpersoner). LGBT is the international designation for these groups. In some countries, these groups are called: LGBTQ. The “Q” stands for queer. It is a word that originally meant weird and, at the beginning, referred to gays in a derogatory way. About 15-20 years ago, the word became an umbrella term for anyone who was not within the heterosexual norm. Today, the word is used a lot in disciplines that research gender roles and identities with LGBTQ persons. ‘Queer theory’ and ‘queer studies’ are now disciplines within gender and identity research.
- 54 See FIU-Equality’s website: <http://fiu-ligestilling.dk> – and the publication: Danish Women in the Trade Union Movement’s Work, Equal Pay, Career and Education for Trade Union Representative (Danske kvinder i fagbevægelsens arbejde, ligeløn, karriere og tillidsrepræsentantuddannelse), June 2014. The publication is a product of the LO trade union movement’s and thus FIU Equality’s work for and with women in the trade union movement.

Appendix:
A Brief History
on Danish
Immigration



What we understand as 'Danes' today, is in reality a result of all the immigration that took place to this country over time. The history of Denmark is therefore closely tied to the global migrations that have taken place throughout history. Sometimes people came here on their own, other times they were invited. We can see examples of green card schemes, first at the request of the King and later the employers, and we can see examples of people that - either randomly or by design - came in and left again, while moved here and integrated with the locals.


War, hunger, crop failure, overpopulation, religious disputes and unemployment, and thus the inability to survive, but also perhaps the desire to experience new lands, have driven people to migrate for thousands of years. Denmark, as well as the areas and territories that are and have been part of the country over time, has its own extensive history of emigration and immigration.

Sometimes, when there is war and unrest in the world, refugees come here as well. During the first half of 2015, 133,000 refugees sailed across the Mediterranean to Europe. During the five-year civil war in Syria, a total of four million people have left the country. A total of 7.6 million Syrians have been displaced internally in the country, according to the U.N. Over the last years, this conflict has been killing and displacing entire populations, which are now wandering around in Europe. Some of them are coming to Denmark.

Archeologic finds and genetic and language research shows where people have migrated in the world - also the Danish area - both before and after written history. We cannot share this entire history, but it is extremely interesting and can lead to an understanding of the big picture in our development. We will only look at some specific historic examples of what has characterised Danish economy, politics and culture in relation to immigration.

Invited by the King 1500-1800

Over a period of 300 years, Danish kings have repeatedly invited ethnic groups from other countries to move to Denmark. First and foremost, this was motivated by the desire to generate innovation, growth and more modern living in the farming country of Denmark. To entice them to this country, these groups received gifts such as land and money, privileges such as tax exemption, sole rights to conduct certain kinds of business, to be a supplier to the royal Danish court for various goods, and to maintain their own language, religion, culture, judicial system, etc. All these ethnic groups have more or less been assimilated into Danish society today - only the



names of their descendants - and an investigation into their lineage - would point to their origin. The local Danes have had two different positions in regard to this immigration: In part, they felt jealous of the privileges of the foreigners, and in part they learned to adopt new ways of thinking and new forms of production and goods brought by the newcomers. By introducing such privileged population groups, the King not only generated growth but also dissatisfaction in the trades and industries - at first. In the long-run a new paradigm.

The Dutch

Christian II (1481-1559), who reigned from 1513-1523, was married to Elisabeth from Holland, and had the Dutch Sigbrit Villoms (Mother Sigbrit – she was the mother of the king's mistress, Dyveke) as political adviser. Both brought ideas from a far more modern Holland, with expertise in dairy cattle and dairy operation, farming and horticulture. In 1515, they got the King to invite 184 families, consisting of 750 people, to settle on Amager, where they received free land, tax exemption and permission to fish and hunt birds. The idea was to make a purely Dutch colony with its own rules of law and judicial system, but these were abandoned in 1615 and 1683 respectively, when the rules of law were converted to Jutlandic and Danish law. From the beginning, the Dutch colony on Amager introduced the tradition that the Dutch should only marry each other. However this tradition was broken in 1759, when the Dutch bailiff married a Danish girl.

In the Dutch institutions on Amager, churches and schools the languages were Dutch and Low German, since the Dutch priests often came from Southern Jutland. Unlike Danish peasants, the Dutch were freeholders, at a time when most of the land in Denmark was owned by landowners or the Catholic Church. Peasants on Amager, as on all the other Danish islands, were subject to serfdom (*vornedskab*). This meant that the peasants had to remain on the land on which they were born, and had to work for the landowner for the rest of their lives. The King was very much against this arrangement, which he called “evil” and “un-Christian”, but did not have the power to abolish the scheme, which was upheld by the powerful nobility. In this case, the King's motives to give the Dutch land and privileges were related to power and innovation. The Dutch were skilled and quickly became prosperous, but the Danish peasants were unhappy with the privileges the Dutch received, while they had to live in some kind of slavery. Nonetheless, the Dutch peasants became a kind of ‘model’ for how a new farming class could live and work. The foundation of ‘The Dutch Town’ (*Hollænderbyen*) on Amager became a role model for how trade and crafts could be strengthened in the towns. The Dutch colony kept to itself for several hundred years, until the end of the 1700s when, on their own initiative,



the Dutch began to seek work outside of Amager and to integrate. The differences between the Danish peasants and the Dutch diminished with the progression of farming reforms of the conditions of the Danish peasants.

The French Members of the Reformed Church - Huguenots


Later, on several occasions, Danish kings invited persecuted members of the Reformed Church - i.e. members of the Protestant denomination that John Calvin had founded in 1550 - to Denmark. This happened twice, in 1685 and in 1720. King Christian V (1646-99) reigned from 1670-99 and had a German queen, Sophie Amalie, who was a member of the Reformed faith. She invited other members of her religion to Denmark, as she felt they were hard working and skilled. But hardly anyone showed up the first time. In France, these members of the Reformed Church - called Huguenots ("sworn fellows") by their Catholic enemies, and the name stuck - were being violently persecuted. In 1685, the French king forbade people to be Protestants - everyone had to be Catholic. For this reason, 500,000 Protestants fled the country. Only in 1720 did King Frederik IV (1671-1730), king from 1699-1730, succeed in bringing the Huguenots to Denmark.

The Huguenots arrived in Fredericia. At the beginning there were about 80 families, which grew from 250 to 500 people around 1800. They settled in a special neighbourhood where they spoke French. However, the younger generations abandoned the French language and instead began speaking a strange mixture of French, "Fredericia Jutlandic" and German (they retained German since one of their privileges was the task of housing soldiers, who often spoke German). They taught the Danes to eat potatoes - and they were good at growing tobacco on the fields that they had been given within Fredericia's fortifications. Here they were called farmers (avlsbrugere) and had stables and cattle.

The Potato Germans

Denmark was ravaged by war at the beginning of the 1700s. Therefore, how they were to improve the country's economy was a subject of speculation. In Jutland, there were large, unused stretches of moorland that presented an opportunity.

King Frederik V (1723-1766), who reigned from 1746-66, invited some peasants from Mecklenburg, who had fled serfdom, to cultivate the moorland. But it was difficult to keep the Germans working, since it was very hard to break up the hardened top layer of the moorland, before the ground could be used for potatoes and other crops. So many of them fled once again.



A Danish national account was prepared, which showed that 10,000 German peasants were needed for a period of 10 years to save the Danish economy. Finally, nine German families arrived in Viborg in 1759, and later 327 families followed in the period 1759-62. They were called the Potato Germans (kartoffeltyskere), since they (also) brought the potato with them. Only 59 of the German families settled there permanently and became Jutlandic farmers. Their example influenced Danish peasants, who now also started cultivating the moorland. The Germans taught them to cultivate new crops, potatoes, radishes, beetroots, beans, cucumbers, peas, cabbage, onions - and to keep bees. The goals of the national economic accounts were indeed fulfilled. However, it happened with 10,000 Danish (and German peasants who had become Danish) - and not over 10 years, but 100 years.

The Jews

Many Jews were experienced businessmen, and King Christian IV (1577-1648), who reigned from 1588-1648, invited Portuguese Jews (the Jews that had been living in Spain and Portugal were called Sephardic Jews) to Denmark in 1634. The King had noticed that these Jews had a very positive effect on the economy where they lived. The King promised them tax advantages and the right to dress as they wanted. The Sephardic Jews got preferential treatment, since they got special permission to enter the country in 1670, even though immigration to Denmark had previously been forbidden for all Jews. This special permission for the Sephardic Jews was renewed in 1684 and 1750. The German Jews and Jews from the East (Ashkenazic) had to apply individually for permission to travel and settle in the country.

At first, the Jews settled in Fredericia in the 1600s, which had obtained a special status as an immigrant town. In 1788, the Jews were given access to the craft guilds. In 1800, there were 1,500 Jews settled in Denmark. In 1809, King Frederik VI (1768-1839), who reigned from 1808-1839, allowed Jews who had been born in Denmark to settle anywhere in the country. In 1814, the now 2,400 Jews obtained the same legal status as the country's other citizens. Until then, they had founded 34 factories, 25 wholesale companies and 140 worked as self-employed craftsmen. In the Constitution of 1849, the Jews obtained the same civil rights as Danes.

The Herrnhuters

In Sachsen in Germany, a count by the name of Zinzendorf (1700-1760) built a town that he named 'Herrnhut' – 'under the master's hat or protection' - which was a gathering place for people who were fighting against the officially accepted creeds. The town became the focal point of a new belief, where people had to learn to love each other as sisters and brothers despite differences and disagreements.



These Herrnhuters had a reputation of being skilled, hard workers. And Christian VII (1749-1808), who reigned from 1766-1808, passed a law in 1771 allowing them to establish a colony of 800 people in Denmark. In 1773, they began to build an entire town based on their belief and governing principles. They named it Christiansfeld after the King, who gave them full freedom within schooling and religion, exemption from military duty, exemption from taxes for two years as well as a contribution to help construct the town.

Christiansfeld became a town that was known for its great craftsmanship and its quality goods - and gingerbread (honeycakes) - as well as its good boarding schools. Many Danes sent their children there, even though the classroom lessons and sermons were in German, and the parents of the children did not share the beliefs of the Herrnhuters in all areas. The collective life and governing style of the Herrnhuters strongly resembled that of the old Danish peasant culture. During the 1900s, there were fewer people who wanted to join the way of life of the Herrnhuters. Today, there are 100-200 members of the community. However, in July 2015, the town was included on the UNESCO cultural heritage list (together with The Deer Park [Dyrehaven] north of Copenhagen).

Invited by the Employers 1800-2000


The need for labour force to carry out specific tasks meant that employers - also in agriculture - developers, universities and other organisations and associations looked abroad. This has always taken place, and most often this workforce came to Denmark from its neighbouring countries.

Denmark has played host to specialists when the Danish elite, consisting of kings, business leaders, scientists and artists got ideas from their trips abroad. The first Danish census in 1850 showed that some 2 percent of the Danish population had been born abroad.

The events and conditions abroad also influenced whether their inhabitants would seek work in different countries. In Copenhagen at the beginning of the 1800s, the Germans were the largest immigrant group, followed by the Swedes.

The Germans

There were close connections to German culture, since many German speaking persons from Germany, Austria and Bohemia (part of today's Czech Republic) came to Denmark, most often via the duchies of Southern Jutland (which were also German



speaking - or which spoke Lower German). It had almost become a habit for Danish kings since the time of Christian I (king from 1448-1481) to find their queens from German speaking areas (in total 16 Danish queens throughout history have been of German origin). Architects and developers were brought in from Germany, Holland and France to Denmark - as well as shopkeepers and craftsmen - in order to boost the economy and to improve the healthcare system's pharmacists and surgeons. German was therefore a dominant language, and administration was carried out in both Danish and German.

The Swedes

There were 1,700 Swedes working in Copenhagen in 1780. When Denmark lost Scania, Halland and Blekinge in the Dano-Swedish wars, which ended in peace treaties in 1658 and 1660, Denmark permanently lost its holdings in Sweden. This meant that some of the people from these areas continued to work in the Øresund region and on Bornholm in agriculture, fishing and trade, which is what they had a tradition of doing. But in the period from 1840-60, due to poverty and population growth, large groups of Swedes came to Denmark. The census of 1880 shows that at the time there were 24,000 Swedes in Denmark. Many were seasonal workers, both in agriculture and for large construction works that were taking place in Denmark at that time - such as laying the railway.

The Poles

On Lolland-Falster and Møn, sugar beet cultivation took off in the 1880s. New factories were also established in the area, which could extract the sugar from the beets. A similar development was taking place in Sweden, so it was not possible to bring workers from there. Instead, the employers looked to Poland, which is also a neighbouring country. The Danish workforce on Lolland-Falster had greatly diminished, because large parts of the population had emigrated to the United States.

In 1893, the first 400 women arrived from Poland, all between 15-20 years of age. The German registry offices (today one would probably call them temporary employment agencies) were responsible for finding manpower. They also designed their service packages so that a manager/supervisor could accompany a group of women. However, this often meant that the women were treated poorly, so the sugar factories assumed the task of importing and managing the workforce themselves.

In total, 3.5 million Poles left Poland in the period from 1870-1914 - and in addition to this, there were seasonal workers. In Denmark alone there were 14,000 seasonal workers. However, World War I (1914-1918) put a stop to the immigration. It was both



difficult to travel to Denmark and difficult to return, since men could be forced to take part in the war. Therefore, 8,000 Poles stayed during the war - they had now become immigrants. When the war ended in 1918, it was expected that seasonal workers would return to the sugar beets. They did, but this time they were Danish, since there was a large workforce in Denmark and an unemployment rate of 20%. The Poles did return later, and in 1930, 3,500 Poles settled permanently in Denmark. The Polish language and the Catholic faith would characterise Lolland-Falster for generations.

Unemployment, Occupation and War 1930-45

Throughout the 1930s, there was no need for foreign labour in Denmark, since there was great unemployment due to the enormous crisis that followed the Wall Street crash of 1929. On the other hand, many Danes found work in Germany or emigrated. The next significant crisis came when the Germans occupied Denmark in 1940. At this time, many Danes became unemployed because trade with countries like England could not continue. In 1942, unemployment fell when companies refitted their production and trade to match the German market. Unemployment was also alleviated by the fact that the German occupiers began building extensive fortifications in Denmark, which employed many construction workers. During the whole occupation until 1945, it is estimated that 127,000 Danes worked in Germany. Most went voluntarily, but in some cases the unemployment funds or the municipal administration threatened to cut off support to the unemployed Danes if they did not go. A few Danes stayed due to a refusal to work, or protests against the working conditions in forced labour or concentration camps.

The Period 1945-60 - Migration from the Countryside to Towns

Denmark had escaped more or less unscathed from the occupation and World War II compared to other European countries, but the production industry was run down and imports of new machines, raw materials and animal feed were badly needed - just as in every other country on earth. Agriculture was still the most important export sector. Yet even though the workforce from the countryside was now starting its great migration to the towns, a rapid mechanisation of agriculture was still taking place and was responsible for growth in production.

There was a need for manpower to rebuild production. This time, they did not look to the outside world, but rather towards women. As early as five years after the start of the war, women began to be seen as an important 'labour force reserve' - and particularly married women who either did not work, only worked seasonally or worked in the grey and black economy. Women found jobs in factories, service businesses and the public sector.



Immigrant Workers in 1960-1973

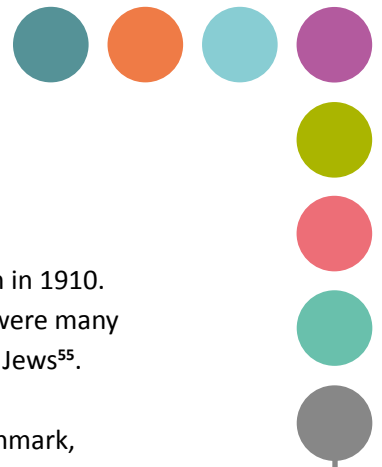
Since the growth in Denmark could no longer be achieved or increased with the female labour force, employers began to look abroad - and they began looking farther away than the neighbouring countries. These immigrant workers who came to Denmark were primarily men from Turkey, Yugoslavia and Pakistan. They came here after being invited by the Danish employers who needed industrial labour force. These workers travelled to Denmark to earn money and had no desire to remain here. In 1962 there were 8,497 foreigners who received a Danish work permit. In 1971 there were 24,852. The number of Turks and Yugoslavs in the same period increased from a few hundred to 8,073 and 4,591 respectively. This flow of immigrant workers stopped in 1973, when the government under the Socialdemocratic prime minister Anker Jørgensen implemented a halt to immigration. But the possibility for family reunification meant that the numbers continued to increase nonetheless.

Refugees

Over time, refugee groups have also come to Denmark. Even though these needed work to survive, it was primarily war and persecution that made them run, travel and emigrate to Denmark. Below can be found some examples of refugee groups that came to Denmark after 1900, some passing through and others staying permanently. Not all groups have been mentioned, but the examples can give you an idea of how many nationalities and cultures came to the country within a few generations.

Jews from Eastern Europe and Germany

More groups of Jews came to Denmark around 1900. When they broke off, it was due to a number of pogroms (persecution of Jews) consisting of assaults, robberies and murders in Russia, starting in 1881. Six million Jews were living in Russia, primarily in the towns. The Jews also lived in the following areas that were occupied by Russia at that time: Latvia to the Crimean Peninsula, parts of Poland, Belarus (White Russia) and Ukraine. They could not buy land nor could they become government officials. The Russian government wanted to get rid of the Jews and had a plan that a third should emigrate, a third should disappear (where and how is not known) and a third should be converted to Christianity. One in three Jews left Eastern Europe and Russia by 1914. Some Jews were politically active, some had formed Jewish trade unions and others had founded a Jewish division of the Russian Social Democratic Party, the Bund. When the Jews arrived in Copenhagen, supporters of the Bund founded a division in the city, around the time of the 1905 revolution in Russia. The Bund, which was a member of the Social Democratic Party, participated



as a delegate in the congress of the Second International in Copenhagen in 1910. Morten Thing writes about that time in Copenhagen, saying that there were many exchanges between the Danish Social Democratic Party and the Eastern Jews⁵⁵.

The majority and the most well-off of the eastern Jews that came to Denmark, moved on to Great Britain and the United States, but about 3,000 stayed in Denmark and settled in the poor neighbourhoods in Copenhagen. Here they lived as simple craftsmen, tailors and shoemakers or worked in the textile industry as seamstresses and weavers. In 1921, The Jewish population in Denmark consisted of 5,875 people, 2,775 of which were descendants of the Jews that had arrived during the period 1600-1850. The remaining 3,100 were the most recent arrivals from Russia and Eastern Europe. A committee was established, the Russian Committee (Russerkomiteen), by the Jewish community in Copenhagen. The most important task was to collect money so that the eastern Jews could leave Denmark once again, since the old and well-integrated Danish Jews were nervous that problems would arise with the new arrivals. In the 1930s, pogroms occurred as part of Hitler's programme for eradicating the Jews, both in Germany and in the territories that the Germans waged war against or had occupied.

This meant that political refugees arrived in Denmark, but the entry permits were now so restrictive that very few were allowed to enter the country legally.

In 1968-69, pogroms took place in Poland, forcing 30,000 Polish Jews to leave the country. Three thousands of them came to Denmark - many of them just passing through. Today it is estimated that there are around 7,000 people with a Polish-Jewish background in Denmark, and about half of them are members of the Jewish Religious Community called *Mosaisk Trossamfund*. Over time, many Jews have been assimilated into Danish society and have given up their cultural and religious distinctiveness.

Refugees after World War I, 1914-18

During World War I, there was illegal traffic to Denmark consisting of Eastern European refugees, however neutral Denmark accepted prisoners of war from both sides of the war: Four thousand six hundred Russians, Austrians and German prisoners of war. Virtually all were sent back to their home countries after the war. Yet some of the Russian refugees could not be sent back, since they had been on the losing side in the Russian revolution of 1917. Actually, this number was increased by 1,200 people in 1919, most of whom continued to other countries in Europe or to the United States.



The Kurds

The Kurds were promised an independent state during the peace treaty of 1920 after World War I. They did not get it. Quite the opposite, their area was divided, such that today are Kurds in Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Syria, Armenia and Azerbaijan. In 1915 about one million Kurds were living in Europe, with about 15,000 in Denmark.

The Inter-War Period and World War II

There were 18-20 million refugees in Europe after World War II. In 1926, there were still about nine million - most in Eastern Europe. But then Hitler came to power in Germany in 1933, which led to the persecution of different peoples. The Nazi dream was of one great German empire, from which all other ethnic groups had been driven out. This triggered streams of refugees numbering 60,000 people, who wanted to get out of Germany and later Austria, which had been annexed in the German Reich in 1938. Half a million people - of these, 280,000 Jews - fled Germany from 1933-1938.

As a refugee in Denmark in the inter-war period, you could get a residence permit for 3-6 months, and then you had to leave the country. Refugees received help from private aid organisations, but no public help. In 1940 there were 1,800 refugees in Denmark. Half of them were Jews, most of whom managed to leave again before Denmark was occupied by the Germans in April 1940. The Jews were not considered to be political refugees by the Danish state. In the inter-war period, about 20,000 refugees used Denmark as a transit country.

Before 2 October 1943, 6,000 Danish Jews had been shipped over Øresund to Sweden and were thus not caught in a planned raid by the German occupation forces. Four hundred sixty-four Jews did not manage to flee, and were sent to the concentration camp Theresienstadt, now in the Czech Republic. About 5,000 Danes were sent to the concentration camp Neuengamme, south of Hamburg. About 600 Danes died in concentration camps - and many more subsequently suffered severe trauma.

After World War II, Germans and Balts Arrived

After the World War II, 238,000 German civilians as well as 20,000 civilians from the USSR and the Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) came to Denmark. They had fled from the Russian troops that had moved from East to West during the course of the war. The refugees were housed in barracks and were very undernourished and sick. In total, 13,000 adults and 7,000 children died among the refugees in Denmark during the first year after the end of the occupation. In 1949, the last refugee left, while some of the Balts settled permanently in Denmark. The numer-



ous refugees that stayed in Denmark for many years cost the country billions (about DKK 10-12 billion in today's currency), money that was difficult to appropriate from the belligerent states. Only West Germany paid DKK 160 million to Denmark in the 1950s.

Hungarians, Czechs and other Europeans

In 1956, there was turmoil and criticism in the Soviet-supported states in Eastern Europe. In Hungary, it resulted in an actual uprising, and the government planned to pull out of the Warsaw Pact with the Soviet Union. This triggered an invasion from the Soviet Union, which moved in with 200,000 soldiers and defeated the opposition. Two hundred thousand Hungarians fled the country. One thousand four hundred people came to Denmark. Of these, 800 decided to settle permanently. A similar turn of events was seen in Czechoslovakia, where a peaceful uprising also provoked a Soviet invasion in 1968. A number of Czechs fled, and 500 came to Denmark. In the former Yugoslavia, after Marshal Tito's death in 1980, there was fragmentation and unrest that eventually resulted in civil war, which from 1991-1993 sent 20,000 Bosnians and then in 1999 2,800 Kosovo Albanians to Denmark. Previously, until 1975, a number of Portuguese refugees had also arrived and some from Spain, both escaping the dictatorships in their respective countries.

Latin Americans

In the 1970s, 800 Chileans arrived in Denmark. They were fleeing from General Pinochet's coup and subsequent mass murders. Refugees from the dictatorships in Argentina and Brazil also arrived, but in smaller numbers.

The Middle East

In 1979, there was unrest and persecution in Iran after Khomeini came to power in a revolution against the Shah, and this resulted in 11,000 Iranian refugees escaping to Denmark between then and 2001. The conflict between Israel and Palestine brought 5,600 refugees to Denmark during the period 1985-89. From Iraq, 17,000 refugees arrived during the period 1980-2001. From Afghanistan, 7,000 people came to Denmark since 1979.

The Vietnamese

After the war between North and South Vietnam, a lot of people - particularly the South Vietnamese - left the country. Four thousands of them came to Denmark during the period 1975-84.

Tamils

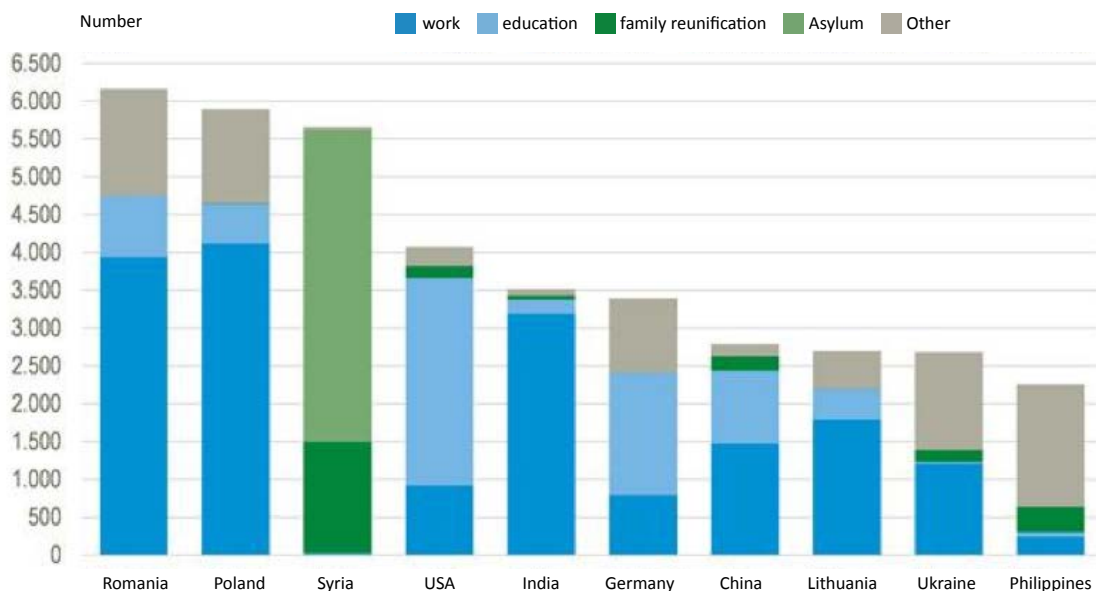
About two million Tamils escaped Sri Lanka (previously Ceylon) to the western world after a bloody civil war. Eleven thousand Tamils came to Denmark during the period 1985-89. The government had refused them family reunification by not processing their cases or by dragging them out. The Minister of Justice was impeached and was sentenced to four months in prison, but did not serve this sentence. The government stepped down in 1993.

Africans

In 1972, 158 refugees from Uganda arrived, and between 1990 and 2006, there came 12,000 refugees from Somalia.

Figure 3:

EU/EES Residence Permits Issued for Denmark, 2014.



(Source: Statistics Denmark [Danmarks Statistik]: <http://www.dst.dk/da/Statistik/NytHtml.aspx?cid=18861>
Dark blue = work, light blue = education, dark green = family reunification, light green = asylum, grey = other)

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Opholdstilladelser i Danmark 2014:

Danmarks Statistik: : <http://www.dst.dk/da/Statistik/NytHtml.aspx?cid=18861>

Notes Appendix:

55 The Russian Jews in Copenhagen 1882-1943 (De russiske jøder i København 1882-1943), by Morten Thing, Gyldendal 2008

