The right to strike in the public services

Denmark
The right to strike in the public services: Denmark

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This factsheet reflects the situation in March 2021. It was elaborated by Andrea Iossa (independent expert), updated by Stefan Clauwaert (ETUC) and Diana Balanescu (independent expert) and reviewed by EPSU/ETUI; it was also sent for comments to the Danish EPSU affiliates and comments from HK Kommunal were incorporated.
1. **Legal basis**

**International level**

Denmark has ratified:

**UN instruments**¹

- *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (ICCPR, Article 22)
- *International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights* (ICESCR, Article 8)

**ILO instruments**²

- *Convention No. 87 concerning Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise* ratified on 13 June 1951;
- *Convention No. 98 concerning the Right to Organise and to Bargain Collectively* ratified on 15 August 1955;
- *Convention No. 151 concerning Labour Relations (Public Service)* ratified on 5 June 1981.

Denmark did not ratify *Convention No. 154, Collective Bargaining Convention, 1981*.

**European level**

Denmark has ratified:

- Denmark has ratified the *1961 European Social Charter*, including Article 6(4) the right to collective action (on 3 March 1965), and signed but not ratified the 1996 (Revised) European Social Charter (on 3 May 1996)³;

- Denmark has not accepted the Protocol on Collective Complaints Procedure;

- Denmark ratified the *European Convention on Human Rights on 3 September 1953*, including Article 11 (the right to freedom of assembly and association); the ECHR has been formally incorporated into Danish law with a special Act adopted on 29 April 1992.
National level

The Constitution of Denmark
There are no specific constitutional provisions protecting the right to strike.  

Applicable law(s)

- In Danish collective labour law, the only statutory acts concern the settlement of labour disputes. They are the Labour Court and Industrial Arbitration Act (Lov om Arbejdsretten og faglige voldgiftsretter, No. 106 of 2008) and the Public Conciliation Service Act (Bekendtgørelse af lov om mægling i arbejdstridigheder, No. 192 of 1997);

- Public employees (offentligt ansatte) are considered to have a contractual relationship. Therefore, they fall within the scope of private law rules with regard to employment and labour matters. However, civil servants (tjenestemænd) employed by the State fall within the scope of the (Consolidated) Act on Civil Servants (Tjenestemandsloven, No. 488 of 2010).

- The case law of the Labour Court plays a fundamental role in establishing a body of rules in collective labour law, owing to the sporadic presence of statutory regulations, by interpreting, in the event of disputes, the industry-wide collective agreements in force. The Labour Court also has competence to interpret the Basic Agreements signed by the trade union confederations and employers’ associations at national (cross-sectoral) level. Furthermore, the Labour Court has jurisdiction over the assessment of the lawfulness of collective actions.

- As a general rule, the entry into force of a collective agreement gives rise to a peace obligation for the parties and their members. Collective agreements are of primary relevance in laying down formal rules on strikes, lockouts and other forms of collective action as well as on the peace obligation. This is usually done by the major organisations at national level through cross-sectoral collective agreements known as Basic Agreements. The Basic Agreement between the major trade union confederation FH and the Confederation of Danish Employers DA attributes to collective action the prerogative to terminate an industry-wide agreement which otherwise would continue to be valid even after its expiry.

- A specific feature of the Danish system concerns the presence of a document laying down the ‘Standard Rules for Handling Industrial Disputes’, which is a bilateral text concerning negotiations and mediation procedures in the event of industrial disputes. The text was negotiated and issued in 1907 within a joint Commission consisting of representatives of the Government and of the major labour market parties, the LO (now FH) and the DA. It was last updated in 2006, albeit with only minor amendments to the original version. As a general rule, the provisions of this text apply where there are no specific provisions on negotiations and mediation in the event of a dispute contained in the collective agreement concerned.
2. Who has the right to call a strike?

As a general principle, the right to call a strike or initiate collective action is the preserve of the collective organisations, owing to the industrial origin of collective labour law in Denmark (as in the other Scandinavian countries) and its strict linkage with the right to bargain collectively. The right to strike is deemed as a collective right rather than an individual one, and its exercise is related to the conclusion or renewal of a collective agreement.
3. Definition of a strike

A statutory definition of what is a strike or a collective action is lacking in Danish labour law. However, strikes, lockouts and blockades by employees and employers are generically referred to as ‘stoppages of work’ (arbejdsstandsning). Although not institutionalised in industrial relations practices, other forms of collective action may be undertaken by employees, such as ‘work-to-rule’ and ‘go-slow’ action or an ‘overtime ban’. However, these types of action are generally considered unlawful given that they imply a potential breach of the peace obligation (the assumption being that they are undertaken when a collective agreement is already in force), although the burden of proof is on the employer.

One condition that must be fulfilled in the event of a strike is that participating workers share a common purpose – what kind of purpose is irrelevant as long as it is ‘fair and legal’. The aim of the strike action must, however, be deemed by the Labour Court to be of relevance to the organisation, which accordingly must have a genuine interest in the dispute in order to call for collective action. As for lockouts, which entail the collective dismissal of employees, their purpose must be found in the will to fight the other party. Any other collective dismissal by the employer, especially if not followed by reinstatement after the strike action has ended, cannot be considered a lockout.

**Blockades** constitute a common form of collective action in Denmark. From the trade union’s perspective, a blockade is often used in support of a lawful strike as well as a form of secondary or sympathy action. From the employer’s point of view, a blockade entails the blacklisting of employees, but it may be deemed as a lawful action if undertaken in connection with a lawful lockout.

**Picketing** as part of a blockade is permitted in so far as it does not involve any physical violence. Exerting moral pressure on employees, encouraging them not to enter the workplace, is, however, unlawful.

**Sympathy action** is always lawful if undertaken in support of lawful primary action. Such action is recognised as a legitimate tool by the Basic Agreement between the FH and the DA.9 The Agreement refers to the provisions of the 1899 September Compromise (Septemberforliget, the founding agreement of Danish collective labour law and industrial relations), which allowed the parties to breach peace obligation clauses in order to initiate collective action in support of lawful primary actions. Trade unions may call for sympathy action by their members who are employed by other employers and covered by the same collective agreement as the workers undertaking the primary action. If the sympathy action is to be extended to workers not covered by the same collective agreement, certain procedural requirements must be fulfilled with regard to giving notice, and the FH confederation must give its approval to extending the action. The same applies to the employer(s) and the employers’ association DA.

A **political strike** is, in principle, deemed as a breach of the peace obligation if the party engaged in the strike is bound by a collective agreement. However, in practice, a political strike of short duration falls within the scope of the exemption set by the Labour Court and Industrial Arbitration Act, which prohibits fines for brief stoppages of work.10
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4. **Who may participate in a strike?**

- **Participation in a strike** is dependent on union membership. Non-union member employees are not entitled to strike, as the right to strike derives from a collective agreement. Accordingly, workers who fall outside the scope of a collective agreement do not enjoy the right to strike. Non-union member workers must join the trade union that called the strike in order to participate.\(^{11}\)

- **Public sector**
  - Employees known as ‘crown servants’ (*tjenestemænd*) – a group of civil servants who are considered to be bound by a special relationship of trust – do not enjoy the right to strike. Denmark has gradually reduced the number of categories and the number of workers employed as ‘civil servants’, so as to comply with international labour law standards on the entitlement of the right to strike. As of 2012, deputy police prosecutors, public prosecutors and state prosecutors are also no longer considered to be ‘civil servants’ as such, and they enjoy the right to strike. As of 2021 there are around 33,000 ‘crown servants’ at state level and 6,000 at municipal and regional level.

  - These categories of civil servants are not entitled to enter into any disputes over interests with their employer, which means that they are not entitled to strike. Their working and employment conditions are defined by a collective agreement concluded with the competent ministry, but in the event of failure of negotiations over such an agreement, its terms are set by the Ministry of Public Sector Innovation (that deals with issues of public administration) after consulting a special council of the Ministry of Finance (the Salary Council, *Lønningsrådet*).

  - There is no statutory definition of ‘essential services/sectors’. However, the Folketing, or Danish Parliament, can step in during a collective labour dispute if the interest of the national economy is put at risk and enact a special act to end the dispute (and the related strike or collective action) by compulsory arbitration. This act can enforce a collective agreement or extend an expired collective agreement. This practice has been in force since 1933.

  - ‘Essential services’ in the strict sense of the term have been defined by the ILO as those services ‘the interruption of which would endanger the life, personal safety or health of the whole or part of the population’.\(^{12}\)
5. Procedural requirements

The settlement of industrial disputes is based on a distinction between *disputes of interest* and *disputes of rights*:\(^{13}\)

- A ‘conflict of interests’ occurs in periods and areas when and where there is no collective agreement in force – in these instances, industrial action, such as strikes, lockouts or blockades can be taken provided that there is a reasonable degree of proportionality between the goal to be obtained and the means used to obtain it. This freedom applies both to the workers and the employers. Conflicts of interests may occur in connection with the renewal of a collective agreement. In this case, an attempt at mediation is made by the public conciliator (*Forligsmanden*) in order to avoid further conflict, such as a general strike.\(^{14}\)

- In addition, conflicts of interests may arise between trade unions and employers not covered by a collective agreement. During the period when a collective agreement is in force, conflicts of interests could also arise if, for instance, new technology at the workplace creates new work not covered by the existing collective agreement. On both occasions, the trade unions can take industrial action against the employer in order to obtain a collective agreement.\(^{14}\)

- A ‘conflict of rights’ arises where the matter in dispute is already covered by a collective agreement. In the event of a conflict of rights, there is generally no right to resort to industrial action or a lockout. Once enacted, Danish labour law prescribes a peace obligation while the collective agreement is in force. If the case concerns a breach of the collective agreement, it must be referred to the Labour Court (*Arbejdsretten*). On the other hand, if there is disagreement concerning the interpretation of the agreement, the dispute must be settled by the industrial arbitration tribunal (*Faglige voldgiftsretter*). The legal basis for conflict resolution is the Standard Rules for Handling Industrial Disputes (the Danish abbreviation is *Normen*).\(^{15}\)

The ‘*Standard Rules for Handling Industrial Disputes*’ lay down an obligation for the parties to a dispute (also in the case of renewal of a collective agreement) to attempt to settle the dispute through negotiations, to be held in the first instance at local level and then by the national-level trade union and employers’ organisations.\(^{16}\) If the negotiations fail, each party is entitled to undertake collective action. Section 9(2) of the Labour Court and Industrial Arbitration Act lays down an obligation for the organisations to meet in the event of a strike or collective action, as well as in the event of an illegal strike.

The *Public Conciliation Service Act* establishes the Public Conciliation Service as the body responsible for assisting the parties in reaching a settlement to a dispute, as well as with regard to the renewal of collective agreements. Its remit covers all sectors of the labour market, including the public sector. The parties are obliged to forward a copy of the strike notice to the Public Conciliation Office, which provides assistance at the request of one of
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the parties or can decide to step in on its own accord in cases where the strike or collective action involves a sensitive societal issue.  

The parties to a dispute can voluntarily agree to refer the matter to an Arbitration Tribunal.

The Basic Agreement provides that a strike or collective action can be legally initiated only if it has been approved by the body of the organisation responsible for calling such action (usually the governing body or the general assembly).

The party that intends to initiate a strike or collective action must give two notices. An initial notice must be given to the main organisation of which the other party to the dispute is a member at least two weeks before the possibility of taking strike action will be discussed by the organisation’s competent body. In the private sector this means a trade union must give notice to the DA employers’ association and an employer or employers’ association to the FH while in the public sector the trade unions must give notice to Local Government Denmark, Danish Regions or the Ministry of Taxation (The Danish Employee and Competence Agency) and the employers’ associations must give notice to the Forhandlingsfællesskabet bargaining group or the Central Federation of State Employees’ Organisations. The second notice relates to the actual commencement of the strike action and must be submitted at least seven days before the action is due to commence. The terms of the second notice must not differ from those laid down in the first notice, for instance with regard to the employees covered by the action – failure to comply with this requirement renders the notice null and void, and the whole procedure must start again.

If conciliation has no prospect of success, the Public Conciliator declares the conciliation proceedings terminated, as a result of which the strike or collective action may commence. However, if the Public Conciliator considers that the strike action would be of far-reaching social significance, he/she may postpone the action for an additional period of 14 days, during which time further attempts to settle the dispute peacefully are made. If no agreement between the parties is reached, then the conciliation proceedings are declared terminated and the Public Conciliator may not postpone the action any longer.

As a general rule of Danish labour law and industrial relations, a peace obligation is an unwritten clause of any collective agreement. The entry into force of a collective agreement gives rise to a peace obligation for the parties.
6. Legal consequences of participating in a strike

Participation in a lawful strike

- It is a general principle of law that participation in a strike entails termination of the individual employment relationship. This means that the employment contract is not suspended but is legally terminated. Therefore, the strike notice includes a notice of termination of the employment contracts of all employees participating in the strike action. Termination of the employment contract takes effect as soon as the strike or collective action commences. The agreement that terminates a strike generally includes a clause which provides that those employees who took part in the strike are reinstated in the company (known as the ‘no detriment clause’, which is considered as a general prerequisite for calling a strike). This is formally considered to be a new employment relationship. However, the agreement usually states that the employment relationship is considered to be a continuation of the one terminated when the strike began.

- Workers on strike are not entitled to salary or any other benefits, such as pension contributions, paid leave and unemployment or sickness benefit.21

- Economic losses caused by a strike or collective action are usually compensated for through funds set up by labour market organisations.

- Employers are entitled to declare a lockout (see above). They may not replace workers on strike with workers recruited through public-sector recruitment agencies. Non-striking workers can refuse to perform the work of employees participating in the strike.

Participation in an unlawful strike

- Participation in an illegal strike is considered a serious breach of the employment contract that entitles the employer to dismiss the worker concerned without notice. However, in practice, this rule is rarely applied, and employers abstain from using it. Furthermore, if the employer is covered by a collective agreement, there can be no claim of liability for individual workers.22

- A trade union that is bound by a peace obligation (i.e. bound by a collective agreement) has the responsibility to prevent an illegal strike by its members from taking place.23

- Illegal lockouts entitle workers to receive pay and any other benefits associated with the employment relationship as agreed in the employment contract. If an illegal lockout is of long duration, employees are entitled to terminate the employment relationship (i.e. to resign) without notice.

- Section 12(4) of the Labour Court and Industrial Arbitration Act states that an organisation is liable for breaches of the collective agreement (thus also of the peace
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obligation). In the event of unlawful collective action, the trade union is required to pay what is known as ‘bot’, which is a hybrid sanction incorporating both damages and fines.

• Lack of consideration for the actual economic losses caused to the opposing party is taken as a basis for determining the amount of the financial sanction to be imposed. The Labour Court decides on the amount of the financial sanction, taking into account the circumstances of the case, including the reasons for the strike action, its excludability and any participation in conciliation procedures.

• It is customary to include clauses that provide for the reinstatement of striking workers in the company workforce after the strike has ended, thus preventing dismissal.

• A non-unionised employee on strike is in breach of the individual employment contract, enabling the employer to dismiss the employee summarily. The non-unionised worker is on the other hand not obligated to participate in industrial action, whether it be a worker-initiated strike or an employer initiated lockout. The non-unionised worker must continue to perform work regardless of industrial actions. Hence, the non-unionised worker retains his right to salaries if he is available to perform work but is hindered in performing his work by reasons on the employers’ side, and cannot be imposed fines by the Labour Court for any unlawful work-stoppages of the workers at the plant.
7. Case law of international/European bodies

International Labour Organisation

Decisions of the Committee on Freedom of Association (CFA)

*Case No 3039, Danish Union of Teachers (DLF) supported by the Salaried Employees and Civil Servants Confederation (FTF)*

In 2013, the Danish Union of Teachers (*Danmarks Lærerforening*, DLF) filed a complaint with the ILO’s CFA, supported by the Salaried Employees and Civil Servants Confederation (*Funktionærernes og Tjenestemændenes Fællesråd*, FTF), alleging the violation by the Danish Government of Conventions No. 87 and 98 during the negotiations concerning renewal of the collective agreement for teachers in 2012-2013.

The complaint pointed out that, in the initial phase of the negotiations, the role of the State as employer in collective bargaining, represented by the employers’ organisation Local Government Denmark (LGDK) and by a department within the Ministry of Finance, was not entirely separate from the role of the State as legislator. In fact, after the failure of the negotiations and of conciliation, the employer called for a lockout which affected 55,000 teachers.

The lockout was ended by the adoption by the Government of an act amending and extending the collective agreements for certain groups of employees in the public sector, including the teachers’ collective agreement. In requesting to be kept informed of developments during subsequent rounds of collective bargaining, the CFA also recalled the importance of promoting free and voluntary negotiations in the education sector, and the need for the State as employer to conduct collective bargaining in good faith and as legislator to consult with the social partners in drafting any legislation relevant to collective agreements.\(^{27}\)

In its *Report No. 391*, in October 2019, the CFA welcomed the signing of the collective agreement for teachers in June 2018 and the stated renewed cooperation between the parties. It was indicated by the Government that the negotiations in 2018 resulted in new collective agreements for all areas of the public sector. The new collective agreements were concluded without the parties resorting to industrial action and without any legislative involvement from the Parliament.

The Committee further welcomed the agreement between the parties to initiate an analysis on a basis of which recommendations and proposals for solutions will be prepared to form part of the subsequent binding negotiations on working hours of teachers, currently regulated by Act No. 409. In these circumstances, the Committee decided not to pursue with the examination of this case.\(^{28}\)
Observations of the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations (CEACR)

Direct Request (CEACR) - adopted 2019, published 109th ILC session (2021)

In its previous comments, and its 2015 comments under the Maritime Labour Convention, 2006, the Committee had requested the Government to clarify whether seafarers not resident in Denmark working on board ships registered in the Danish International Ships Register (DIS), whether employed under a collective agreement according to section 10(3) of the Act on Danish International Register of Shipping (DIS Act) or individually employed, have the right to become members of a Danish trade union that is not party to the Danish International Ships Register Main Agreement (DIS Main Agreement).

The Committee noted that the Government reiterated that: (i) the DIS Main Agreement comprises the majority of social partners in the shipping industry (Danish Shipowners’ Association, Shipowners’ Association of 2010, Danish Maritime Officers, Danish Engineers’ Association and Danish Metalworkers’ Union – Maritime Section); (ii) under section 7(1), last indent of the DIS Main Agreement, seafarers employed under a collective agreement according to section 10(3) of the DIS Act may choose to be members of a Danish trade union; and (iii) section 10 only regulates which persons may be covered by collective agreements which have been concluded by a Danish or a foreign trade union.

The Committee welcomed the Government’s indication that there is nothing in Danish law preventing a seafarer not resident in Denmark and working on board a ship registered in the DIS to choose to be a member of any Danish trade union provided that the membership is in accordance with the individual trade union’s own rules.

On the other hand, the Committee noted that the FH reiterates the observation made by the Danish Confederations of Trade Unions (LO) in 2016 that under section 7 of the DIS Main Agreement only the trade unions which are signatories to the DIS Main Agreement may assist seafarers in matters that originate from Danish legislation. According to the FH: (i) the Government’s indication that a seafarer may, in accordance with the DIS Main Agreement but as an employee under section 10(3) of the DIS Act, choose to be a member of a Danish trade union, is insufficient; and (ii) it is urgent that the Danish Government initiates a dialogue on section 10 of the DIS Act with workers’ organizations with a view to bringing it into conformity with the Convention.

Taking due note of the indications provided by the Government and in light of the continuing discrepancies with the comments of workers’ organizations, the Committee invited the Government, in consultation with the social partners concerned, to consider any additional measures to clarify that seafarers not resident in Denmark but working on board DIS ships may fully exercise their right to organize, including the right to become members of a Danish trade union that can represent them on matters originating from Danish legislation even if not party to the DIS Main Agreement.
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European Social Charter

Collective complaints under article 6(4)

Denmark did not accept the Collective Complaints Procedure Protocol.

ECSR Conclusions

Conclusions XXI-3 (2018)

In its Conclusions XXI-3 (2018), the European Committee of Social Rights (ECSR) found that the situation in Denmark was not in conformity with Article 6(4) of the 1961 Charter on the grounds that:

- civil servants employed under the Civil Service Act are denied the right to strike and
- the workers who are not members of a trade union that has called a strike are prevented from participating in the strike unless they join the relevant trade union, and they do not enjoy the same protection as the trade union members if they participate in a strike.

The Committee recalled that the situation in Denmark had been in violation of the 1961 Charter since Conclusions XX-3 (2014) on the grounds that civil servants employed under the Civil Service Act are denied the right to strike and that the workers who are not members of a trade union having called a strike are prevented from participating in the strike unless they join the relevant trade union, and they do not enjoy the same protection as the trade union members if they participate in a strike.

It noted from the report submitted by Denmark that there had been no changes to the situation. The Committee also referred to its general question on the right of members of the police force to strike.

Conclusions XX-3 (2014)

In its Conclusions XX-3 (2014), the ECSR recalled that, although limitations and restrictions on certain categories of public employees are permitted within the scope of the Charter, a total ban for civil servants is not in conformity with the provisions of Article 6(4) ESC. As regards the right to strike for non-unionised workers, the ECSR recalled that the fact that only trade unions have the right to call a strike is not a violation of the Charter provided that forming a trade union is not subject to excessive formalities.

However, it also recalled that, once a strike has been called, any worker must be entitled to participate, regardless of trade union membership. In the opinion of the ECSR, the position of non-unionised workers also differs from that of unionised workers in relation to the ‘no detriment clause’ contained in a collective agreement that ensures that striking workers are reinstated in the company after the strike action has ended. Non-unionised workers appear to enjoy a different level of protection with regard to dismissal in the event of a strike.
8. Bibliography

- Kristiansen, J. (2015), The growing conflict between European uniformity and national flexibility. The case of Danish flexicurity and European harmonisation of working conditions, Copenhagen: DJØF Publishing.
Notes

4 Sections 78 and 79 of the Danish Constitution refer only to the right to association and to peaceful assembly respectively, see Constitution of Denmark with explanations available on the website of Danish Parliament at: https://www.thedanishparliament.dk/en/democracy/the-constitutional-act-of-denmark.
5 Disputes over any other type of collective agreement are dealt with by Industrial Tribunals; see Section 21 of the Labour Court and Industrial Arbitration Act (No. 106 of 2008).
6 Section 9 of the Labour Court and Industrial Arbitration Act (No. 106 of 2008).
7 Section 7(2) of the Hovedaftale mellem LO og DA.
8 Regler for behandling af faglig strid, full text available (in Danish) at: https://www.da.dk/globalassets/overenskomst-og-arbejdsret/normen.pdf.
9 Section 2 of the Hovedaftale mellem LO og DA.
10 Section 12(2) of the Labour Court and Industrial Arbitration Act (No. 106 of 2008).
12 Disputes over any other type of collective agreement are dealt with by Industrial Tribunals; see Section 21 of the Labour Court and Industrial Arbitration Act (No. 106 of 2008).
15 Ibid
16 Sections 1 and 2 of the Standard Rules for Handling Industrial Disputes.
17 Section 3 of the Public Conciliation Service Act.
18 Section 21 of the Labour Court and Industrial Arbitration Act (No. 106 of 2008).
19 Section 2 of the Hovedaftale mellem LO og DA.
20 Section 4(5) of the Public Conciliation Service Act.
21 This is statutorily set by the respective Act on Sickness Benefits and Act on Unemployment Insurance.
22 Section 12(1) of the Labour Court and Industrial Arbitration Act states that fines can be issued only to the ‘participants’ in an action in breach of a collective agreement; however, as a general rule, individual workers are not considered legally to be parties to the agreement – only the trade unions.
23 Section 2 of the Hovedaftale mellem LO og DA.
24 Section 12(5) of the Labour Court and Industrial Arbitration Act.
25 Section 12(7) of the Labour Court and Industrial Arbitration Act.
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