

Temporary agency work: national reports

Denmark

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Summary

The role of temporary agency work (TAW) in Denmark is changing. The turnover of temporary work agencies (TWAs) increased more than five fold from 1992 till 1999 and by the end of 1998, the TWAs employ 18,639 persons, equivalent to 5,166 full timers. This is approximately 0.2% of the total employment in Denmark.

Several factors contribute to the recent growth. One factor is the present favourable situation of the Danish economy with low unemployment leading to bottlenecks on the labour market. This has increased the demand for temporary staffs in for instance IT-companies and in particular the health care sector. Furthermore, there is a general increased interest in a temporary workforce from the side of user companies. Increased competition force companies to focus on core activities, and some choose to outsource their personnel administration and recruitment to specialised temporary and/or recruitment agencies.

A strategic challenge to the TWAs is the recruitment of temporary workers in times of low unemployment. Furthermore, workers often regard TAW as less paid, prestigious and interesting in comparison to a more permanent position. However, there are signs of this attitude changing for some part of the workforce.

Another future challenge but also an opportunity for TWAs is to form strategic alliances with the public employment service. Today, 40% of all "ordinary" job placements from the public employment services result in temporary employment contracts. Recently, the government has supported the involvement of private companies in the job provision, establishment of job banks, registration of the competencies of unemployed etc.

In spite of impressive growth rates, TAW, as well as the use of temporary employment in general, is still relatively limited in Denmark as compared to other European nations. One reason for this is the liberal rules of recruitment and terms of termination making it possible for companies to make quick adjustments in the staff and reducing the demand for temporary employment forms. Furthermore, there may be a lack of incentive on the part of the worker due to the relatively high level of social security coverage and a lack of tradition of acceptance of temporary work among companies and workers.

Regulation of TWAs was rather comprehensive until 1990 when the legislation on establishment and operation of TWAs was liberalised. Following the liberalisation, an analysis by the Ministry of Labour in 1992 did not find unethical behaviour among TWAs a problem. However, working conditions and coverage by collective agreement was not analysed.

In the triangular relationship of the temporary worker, the user company and the TWA, the temporary worker is regarded as an employee and thus covered by general legislation on labour market issues, which, however, is limited in Denmark. Besides, temporary agency workers are at times affected by exception clauses with reference to for instance a low number of weekly hours of work.

A relatively high level of organisation and coverage of collective agreements in Denmark place a high degree of responsibility concerning labour market issues with the social partners. However, membership of a trade union is not sufficient to guarantee employee coverage by a collective agreement. Only when the employer is a member of employers' association, the employer is obliged to comply with the collective agreement.

TWAs are typically organised in the Danish Commerce and Services which represents close to 120 agencies and around 80-90% of the total turnover of the Danish TWAs. This is a higher than average coverage on the employer side. However, there is no account of the degree of organisation among temporary agency workers themselves.

Few collective agreements take the issues of TAW into account. The exception to this is the special case of TAW in the health care area. In other areas, typically a protocol is added to the general collective agreement, or TWAs make their own collective agreements on the corporate level with trade unions. The issues at stake are typically working hours, payment to pension schemes, paid holidays, extra holidays, term of notice and paid leave on child's first sickness day. The special focus on temporary agency workers is necessary because the "normal" collective agreements often link the rights of employees to the seniority of employees in the employment.

Introduction

During the 1990s Denmark has experienced high economic growth resulting in an unemployment rate presently at approximately $5,3\%^1$ and an employment rate of nearly 80% which is among the highest in the EU.

This is leading to emerging bottle necks on the labour market as regards to highly educated labour and knowledge intensive sectors, and forecasts on future demographic developments show that there will also be a shortage of labour with mid level education. In the public sector, the low labour market supply is already visible in the health care sector and in the educational sector. In the private sector, it is in particular the new industries such as telecommunications where the demand for labour is high.

Labour market initiatives earlier aimed at reducing personal and societal costs of unemployment and exclusion. Today, as the unemployment rate has been declining, the objective is more and more shifting towards meeting demands for qualified labour in order to maintain productivity and competitiveness and to secure the delivery of services not least from the public sector.

Furthermore, studies and surveys show that the reasons why people are working and their wishes for the organisation of their work are changing. In recent years demands from the employee organisations like length of holidays, influence on working hours, family friendly working places, job security, working environment etc. have gained more and more importance on behalf of the traditional demands.

The strategies both at the work place level and the national level have to adapt to these conditions of the labour force. At the company level because the enterprises will be in increasing competition for qualified labour. At the national level because government strategies aim at ensuring a flexible and mobile supply of labour that meets the demands of specific sectors and industries in the labour market.

It is in this context that the most recent development in temporary agency work (TAW) in Denmark should be seen. The favourable employment situation with one of Europe's highest employment rates form the overall perspective for explaining differences in the TAW labour market as compared to other European countries.

Additionally, the traditions of for instance collective bargaining and of relatively liberal rules for dismissal of ordinary employees combined with a well-developed system of unemployment benefits may also form structural differences that influence the TAW labour market.

The TAW labour market in Denmark covers the employment situations where a company hires external manpower through an agency for a task of fixed duration which would otherwise have been carried out by one of a company's own employees. A temporary agency worker is in most cases employed by the agency on a fixed-term contract, typically on an hourly basis equivalent to the length of specific assignments at different workplaces. In a few cases, the temp is hired on a full-time basis by the temporary work agencies (TWAs). In these cases, it is up to the agency to find sufficient work for the temp in order to cover the expenses of a full time employment.

Statistics Denmark.

See http://europa.eu.int/comm/dg05/index_en.htm

Temporary Agency Work: Denmark

Below, the development of TAW in Denmark is described and examined in relation to three variables: labour market organisation, collective bargaining and working conditions. In section 2, the development of the Danish TAW labour market is described. In section 3, the characteristics of collective bargaining in the relatively new form of employment is described and finally, in section 4, we take a closer look at the available data on TAW and working conditions.

The study was conducted for the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions by Oxford Research A/S as a background document for the compilation of a European consolidated report. The study is based on data from a comprehensive desk-research and personal interviews with representatives of the Ministry of Labour, Labour Unions and Employee's organisations. Senior analyst Charlotte Blumensaadt, senior analyst Finn Tidemann and researcher Gerd Kruse in Oxford Research A/S carried out the study in August to November 2000.

Until recently, temporary work agencies (TWAs) and recruitment agencies³ were playing a marginal role when companies needed temporary or permanent staff. TWAs were typically involved in brief peak periods and in case of absence due to sickness among the permanent staff. Also, many potential clients and labour found temporary agency work (TAW) less prestigious. The lack of job security, pension and the constant change in working conditions meant that neither companies nor potential labour force were very interested in using the industry.

Today, many of these factors change, resulting in a growth of TAW. However, in spite of impressive growth rate in recent years, the use of TAW is still relatively limited in Denmark as compared to other European nations.

Increase in turnover and employment

From 1992 till 1999 the turnover of the industry (TWAs and recruitment agencies) has increased more than five-fold. With these growth rates, the industry of TAW and recruitment is the fastest growing industry in the field of knowledge service in Denmark.

According to Statistics Denmark, the turnover figures for all TWAs (recruitment agencies are not included in these figures) has increased from DKK 325,000,000 in 1992 to DKK 2,147,000,000 in 1999. See table 1.

Year	Turnover in DKK	Index (increase in percent)
1992	325,000,000	100
1993	322,000,000	92
1994	447,000,000	138
1995	634,000,000	195
1996	868,000,000	267
1997	1,338,000,000	412
1998	1,891,000,000	582
1999*	2,147,000,000	661

Table 1: Turnover of temporary work agencies 1995-1999

* preliminary figure

Source: Statistics Denmark, 2000

The total turnover is relatively small as compared to the employment of the industry, which was 13,780 persons in 1997⁴. The high rate of employment is due to the many part-timers among temporary agency workers. And if the employees are converted into full-timers, the industry has 4,265 employees by the end of 1997⁵. In November 1998, these figures had increased to 18,639 persons employed by TWAs equivalent to 5.166 full timers.

5 Ibid.

The temporary agency companies and recruitment agencies are often treated as one industry in Danish statistics.

Source: Department of Trade and Industry based on special draw from 'Firmastatistikken' of Statistics Denmark (1999) in "Vidensservice i vækst" ("Knowledge Service in growth"), Department of Trade and Industry (Erhvervsministeriet, June 2000

Statistics Denmark, Firmastatistikken, 2000 (the conversion is based on tax-information from the agencies)

According to the Danish Association of TWAs['], approximately 0,2% (around 6.000 persons) of the labour force are employed in TAW. Recent data from the Association shows an increase in the number of temporary agency workers of 25% in 1998 compared to 1997.

However, the number of employees attached to the TWAs is very difficult to estimate. The relation to the agency may be very brief and could imply very few work hours. Other numbers, again based on information from the agencies, confirm that several agencies have experienced a marked increase in the number of employees and in gross profit from 1997 to 1998. These figures show that one agency increased the number of employees by 158 (from 592 to 750 employees). Another agency increased the number of employees with 140 in the same period. Moreover, 14 agencies showed growth of 10-72 employees, whereas only 7 agencies have had a cutback of employees between 10 to 52.

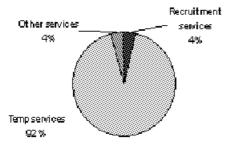
The demand side - distribution of turnover

Although the provision of temporary agency work and the services connected to recruitment are two very different services, often one agency will offer both services. Consequently, the development of TAW is often statistically regarded as being part of the industry where also recruitment agencies are present.

Looking at the industry of TWAs and recruitment agencies, the service of provision of temporary work is by far the largest business area and represents 70% of the total turnover of the industry. Recruitment of leaders and specialists, white-collar workers and hourly workers total to 22% and the remaining 8% are consulting services, outplacement and other services.

When looking strictly at TWAs with provision of TAW as the primary business area, the turnover as regards to services is distributed by: 92% temporary employment service, 4% recruitment services and 4% other services. See figure 1.





When splitting the turnover of TWAs into different sectors, the turnover is made up by 27% based on arrangements of temporary agency workers for the healthcare sector and 27% based on arrangements for clerical jobs. Provision of temporary workers for production, storage work, and chauffeurs also constitutes an important part of the TWAs' turnover, namely 21%. See table 2.

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Interview with the president of the Danish Association of Temporary Agency Companies, Mr. Steen Keller, October 2000

Based on data from Købmandsstandens oplysningsdatabase, 2000

Staff group	Percentage share of turnover
Administration	27
Healthcare including nurses	27
Production/storage/chauffeurs	21
Canteen etc.	5
Specialists including IT	5
Draughtsmen/CAD	2
Sales/demonstration	2
Managers and mid-level managers	1
Other	10

Table 2: Turnover of TWAs by staff group, 1999

Source: Statistics Denmark, 2000

The TWAs and the structure of the industry

Large players dominate the industry of TWAs and recruitment agencies and the trend of concentration within the industry is continuing.

During the 90's, there has been a marked growth in the number TWAs. From 1992-1998 the number increased from 78 to 314 according to Statistics Denmark, see table 3.

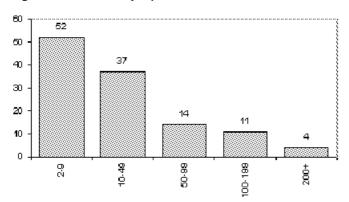
Table 3: Number of TWAs 1992-1998

Year	Number of agencies
1992	78
1993	149
1994	178
1995	232
1996	263
1997	303
1998	314

Source: Statistics Denmark, 2000

According to Købmandsstandens Oplysningsbureau, in May 2000 there was 361 TWAs with TAW as their primary service. The distribution of company size is shown in figure 2.

Figure 2: TWAs - Company size, 2000



In May 2000⁹, a few large companies operate next to a large group of very small TWAs with less than 10 people employed and of these 243 companies have only 0-1 employee \cdot .

The trend of concentration in the industry is evident when comparing company size to shares of the total turnover. In 1992, the companies with 50 or more employees accounted for almost 60% of the total turnover, whereas in 1997, the companies with 50 or more employees accounted for almost 80% of the industry's total turnover $\frac{11}{1000}$.

According to the Association of TWAs¹² the total number of agencies is very likely to become smaller. The trend of concentration within the industry is caused by larger agencies buying up smaller agencies. Besides, more and more companies improve competitiveness by providing total solutions within the field of personnel solutions to companies - a strategy which can be difficult to pursue for the very small companies.

The role of the Public Employment Services

Temporary staff is typically hired from private TWAs. However, in the Danish context, the public employment services also place a large proportion of temporary employees.

40% of all "ordinary" job placements from the public employment services result in temporary employment contracts and almost 20% of the job turnover in Denmark is provided through the public employment system. For white-collar workers, academics and large companies, however, the market share is much smaller. The public employment services more typically find jobs for the less qualified labour.

In recent years the decrease in unemployment has made it difficult to find labour for vacant temporary positions. A new labour market arrangement named the job-rotation scheme supports the placement of unemployed as temporary workers when permanent staff participates in supplementary training. In 1999, surprisingly few - only 2.7% of all unemployed - used this scheme.

As many temporary jobs result in permanent employment, the TWAs are a strong alternative to the Public Employment Services. However, according to the Danish Association of TWAs, there is no actual competition between the two because they offer different services. The private agencies claim to have a much more extended communication with the companies and a much closer relationship to the employees.

Recently, the government has supported the future involvement of private companies in the job provision, establishment of job banks, registration of the competencies of unemployed etc. The aim is to secure the most efficient job provision and the involvement should include the performance of well-defined tasks as well as the role of strategic partners in the solution of large assignments.

⁹ Source: Købmandsstandens Oplysningsbureau - CD Direct, August 2000

¹⁰ Please note that employees in this case can be both the persons employed at the agency and the temps send out by the agency on different assignments. The number is an estimation of the full time positions involved in these activities.

Ministry of Industry and Trade (Erhvervsministeriet) based on special draw from Statistics Denmark (Firmastatistikken), 1999 in Videnservice i vækst (Knowledge service in growth), Ministry of Industry and Trade, 2000

Interview with the president of the Danish Association of Temporary Agency Companies, Mr. Steen Keller, October 2000

Hours arranged through TWAs

According to the Association of TWAs, the total number of work hours arranged through temporary agency companies has increased 1997-1998 by 27%. The largest increase was in the nursing/healthcare sector. From 1997 to 1998 the number of work hours in this sector increased by 83%. In the IT sector the development was opposite and the number of work hours of people from TWAs decreased by 39%¹³. However, some reservations should be made regarding these numbers, since it has not been possible to obtain the actual numbers of hours worked.

Duration of contracts

There are no accounts of the duration of contracts, but according to the Association of TWAs in Denmark¹⁴ the length of the contracts varies from 1-2 days till $1\frac{1}{2}$ -2 years or even longer. The trend seems to be that the duration of the contracts becomes longer and longer because still more companies are interested in using temporary agency workers as flexible manpower instead of simply covering for temporary absence due to for instance sickness of the permanently employed.

The special case of TAW in the health care sector

Whereas the use of TAW is relatively limited in Denmark, the health care sector has experienced a special development during recent years, especially among nurses. In this sector, the use of TAW, as mentioned earlier, the number of hours arranged though TWAs has grown by 83% from 1997 to 1998.

Also, an increasing share of turnover of the TWAs and recruitment agencies stems from provision of temporary agency workers to the healthcare sector - from 15% in 1996 to 22% in 1999¹⁶.

The reasons for this particular development are the emerging bottlenecks at the Danish labour market combined with the cuts in spending in the public health care sector.

Firstly, the demand for nurses has increased in the nineties and has created a market for the private companies able to supply the labour. The deficit of nurses has created problems related to the staffing at the hospitals leading to overtime work and work at inconvenient hours, which in turn has provided nurses in the public sector with an incentive to look for other employment options.

Working through a TWA, the nurses gain influence on their working time and they often gain an improvement in their wages. Often the wages are 25-30% (or more) higher than the wages of the permanently employed in the public sector.

The temporary agency nurses are normally hired on a paid-by-the-hour basis from day to day, which means that they are not entitled to pension, payment when absent due to sickness (however is to some extent covered by public benefits), maternity leave etc. The agencies often prefer hiring the nurses on a temporary basis, in order to avoid these expenses.

These figures include the members of the Danish Association of TWAs, only. The Association organises approximately 80% of the market. Source: Økonomisk Ugebrev 15. March 1999.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ This section is mainly based on an interview with the Danish Nurses Organisation, October 2000

¹⁶ According to Statistics Denmark, Produktstatistik for vikarbureauer mv. 1999, no. 410, 1999

It is a widespread tendency that the nurses have a part-time employment at a public employer and combines this with TAW on an hourly basis.

The benefit to the public sector is access to a more flexible pool of staff and avoiding the expenses for pension, wages during sickness and maternity leave. However, due to higher wages and fees to the private temporary agency companies, the costs of the use of temporary nurses are currently discussed in the public sector. Also, the Danish trade union for nurses point to the possible negative effects on the working conditions of the permanent staff and on improving the service at the hospitals. Thus many changes in staff and the use of short-term staff may affect the working environment since the short-term staff may disclaim the collective responsibility for the development of quality and the education of students, leaving this responsibility to the permanently employed.

Not only the private sector has reacted to the labour market situation with the establishment of temp agencies. Also public TWAs for health sector staff have developed. Particular in one county it has proven a successful model. In these agencies the temporary employed nurses gain a bonus of 15% as compared to the wage of permanently employed nurses in the public sector.

The main economic actors' strategies towards TAW

As compared to other European countries, despite the marked growth, the extent of TAW is still limited and the recent growth has arrived relatively late in Denmark.

Only 0.2% of the employment in Danish companies' is covered by temporary agency workers in 1999, whereas in Sweden the share of temporary agency workers in the total employment is 0.8%. German companies use 0.7% and at the most developed markets such as Holland and the United Kingdom the share of temporary agency workers is about 4.6% and 4% of employment¹⁷.

The growth in TAW in recent years can be explained by a change in the strategies of the main economic actors toward temporary agency work. Below, we shall have a closer look at these strategies of:

- Companies using the service of temporary work agencies,
- Temporary work agencies and
- Temporary workers

Strategies of user companies

In general, companies demand still more flexibility in the labour force. In many cases, this is to the benefit of the TAW industry. Also, the decreasing unemployment rates and the decreasing number of young entrants in the labour market makes the competition of attracting the best-qualified employees still more intense.

Consequently, more and more companies outsource their personnel administration, recruitment and monitoring of manning to specialised temporary and/or recruitment agencies. And the TWAs and/or recruitment agencies change their status and become strategic partners of companies.

According to the International Confederation of Temporary Work (CIETT)

Every year about 15% of the total number of jobs/positions in Denmark are new and 15% are closed down. This relatively high job turnover as compared to other European countries makes it very important for the companies to have access to an efficient labour market covering and distributing manpower to new job openings not only in full-time positions, but also in part-time or temporary positions. The limits between the different occupations are becoming still unclear, however, resulting in new tasks for TWAs.

According to the Association of TWAs¹⁸, almost one in four temporary positions lead to a permanent position. In these cases, the TWAs carries the risk of both the company and the temporary agency worker before they decide on a more permanent position. This can for instance happen though the concept of Try and Hire. Under this form, a company can try an employee for a limited period of time, with no obligation to hire unless both the company and the temporary worker are satisfied with the working relationship.

Strategies of the TWAs

A part of the growth in TAW in Denmark is due to the widening of business concepts among the agencies covering both provision of temporary workers but also recruitment services. Also, new products caused by the growth in need for temporary agency workers in the healthcare sector and in IT-industries have improved the market for TWAs.

A lot of the agencies - especially the larger ones - cover a wide range of services/functions/sectors. They arrange manpower solutions for companies within areas such as economics, IT, technology, office/administration, transportation, canteen, commerce, health care, and more.

Some agencies also offer outsourcing; i.e. they deliver manpower to whole departments in companies and attempt to become a strategic partner of the company by planning a company's future staff situation. Also, some agencies offer to be a booking office for freelancers and self-employed working in for instance the IT-sector.

Accordingly, there is a tendency that TWAs develop from being intermediaries of manpower to being service firms or consultant firms offering wide personnel solutions to companies.

For agencies providing temporary workers to the health care sector, however, most of the agencies are specialised, although the larger agencies also cover a great part of this market.

The general development at the market is that large agencies are buying up smaller agencies, and that most agencies, besides the traditional concept of arranging manpower, also offer recruitment services. Thus, the market is dominated by a few very large and often international agencies, some middle-sized Danish agencies covering a wide range of services and a lot of small, Danish agencies providing a very limited range and often geographically limited services.

Also, the industry is characterised by growing internationalisation. The largest Danish companies expand to other European countries and international companies had more than 40% of the total turnover of the industry in 1998 as compared to around 30% in 1997.

Source: Børsen, february 9th, 1999

Whereas the internationalisation and concentration in the industry is likely to continue, a recent study by the Ministry of Industry and Trade¹⁹ points to three major strategic challenges of the industry that is likely to further enforce the concentration in the industry:

IT

- Recruitment of staff and marketing
- Public/private collaboration

The development of **information technologies** affects the industry in several ways. Firstly, IT-specialists as temporary workers makes a large and growing business area. Secondly, the Internet fundamentally changes the way that companies and employees can be matched. Many new companies have already been established making use of these opportunities. Currently, also the traditional TWAs are investing massively in creating databases in order to match electronically the curriculum vitae of employees and of companies seeking employment. A challenge to the traditional TWAs, however, will be to collaborate with the emerging new companies matching supply and demand of the labour force over the Internet. In this relation, the TWAs can play a role in the actual selection of employees for companies.

Another challenge for the TWAs is the **recruitment of staff and the marketing** of services. A high turnover of jobs as well as available labour is crucial to the TWAs. The recent economic up-turn in Denmark has meant a growth in the turnover of jobs, but at the same time, the available and motivated labour force has decreased. This has made it very difficult to recruit temporary workers.

Presently, a lot of the TWAs in Denmark lack temporary workers with the right qualifications. This can be explained by the low unemployment rate in Denmark, but also by an image problem and lack of tradition of using TAW in Denmark.

Since the largest barrier to growth of the industry today is the lack of labour supply, the agencies must respond by continuing the development towards providing improved working conditions (offering permanent positions, training etc., see below) and by aiming at more professional services and improvement of the image of TAW.

Some agencies have already responded by advertising more or by employing people on a full time basis in order to ensure qualified manpower. This tendency is most prevalent within areas such as IT, technology, and economics - areas where bottlenecks at the labour market often occur.

In order to attract manpower, the TWAs also emphasise the liberty and flexibility of being able to choose when, where and with what you would like to work after having tried different companies. Moreover, it is often emphasised that temporary work often leads to permanent employment. Some agencies offer social security benefits such as pension, sickness benefits and holiday allowance, and some also offer in-service training. A few agencies also offer arrangements of a social character for their temporary workers. Some agencies in the healthcare industry and in IT also emphasise their higher wages.

¹⁹ "Videnservice i vækst" (Knowledge service in growth), Ministry of Industry and Trade (Erhvervsministeriet), 2000

Finally, a challenge to the industry will be to **collaborate with the public sector employment services**. More and more public employment service departments have gained positive experiences collaborating with private temporary and recruitment agency companies both within training and provision of jobs. In the future this will be an important business area for the private agencies and the challenge will be to deliver an improved and more efficient job offer and service within the public budget and complying with the regulation.

The strategies of temporary agency workers

As already mentioned, the recruitment of temporary agency workers is difficult in times of low unemployment. The lack of motivated labour may reflect a general attitude towards TAW as less paid, prestigious and interesting in comparison to a permanent position.

According to the Danish Association of TWAs, this attitude seems to be changing. The motives differ; for instance interest in the shorter temporary positions can be found among students in between studies, whereas an interest in longer temporary positions is more prevalent among persons for some reason wishing a loose connection to the labour market. They may wish temporary position in order to get new challenges, learning and personal development, and for some, it has become a lifestyle to work for shorter periods in different companies, for instance with projects.

Often job security and the value of loyalty to one company is no longer predominant for the people in temporary employment. This tendency has also been observed among academics in a survey conducted by the Danish Technological Institute²⁰. Some of the academics find that a flexible and loose connection to the labour market with several different employers improve their professional position.

The same survey also showed, however, that among the academics who were in non-standard employment, there was a large group who was in their current position by force and not as a result of a free choice. The analysis finds that for a rather large group the non-standard employment is a dead-end career. They never manage to escape the disadvantages of this kind of employment. They are of the opinion that they currently are eroding their qualifications and they predict that they will loose value on the labour market in the future.

The links with other labour markets

This section takes a closer look at the labour market of TAW and the links to other forms of temporary work.

Denmark is among countries with a very liberal access to the employment on fixed-term contracts²¹. However, the extension of this kind of employment is not relatively large.

Previous studies have shown²² that temporary jobs are primarily prominent in the tertiary sector and that just below 10% of the total male employees and just over 10% of the total female employees in 1998 were employed in temporary jobs. These figures are, roughly speaking; "in the middle" as compared to other Member States.

²⁰ "Akademikere i atypisk beskæftigeslesrealtioner", Teknologisk Institut, 2000

²¹ Fixed-term contracts of employment can be made both directly between a company and an employee (freelancer, project-employee, temp. Etc.) or can be made through an agency (temporary agency work).

²² E.g. Employment in Europe 1999, Commission, Employment & social affairs

Temporary Agency Work: Denmark

A part of the explanation could be the relatively liberal Danish rules of recruiting and terms of termination making it possible for companies to make quick adjustments in the staff, which in turn reduces the need of using temporary employment forms. Also, there is a lack of incentive on the part of the temporary worker due to the system of social benefits and a lack of tradition of acceptance of temporary work among companies and workers.

Further explanations may be found in the development of the use of temporary employment in general. The following paragraphs provide a short description of the development in this area.

The source of the statistics is the Danish Employers Confederation 1999, and the figures are from 1997. The statistics is on fixed-term contract employment, which include:

- employment for a fixed period of time
- employment for a fixed assignment
- seasonal employment
- freelance
- temp jobs²³, and
- other similar employment.

Statistics specifically on TAW are not available; however, the figures on temporary employment in general provide information relevant to the situation at the TAW labour market.

Number and characteristics of employees with fixed-term contracts

The use of temporary employment in general is relatively limited. In the private sector approximately 4% of the employees are in above mentioned fixed term contract employment 24 . Furthermore, there has been a slight fall in the percentage of privately employed persons on fixed term contracts from 1995-97, from 5.0% to 4.6%.

At the Danish labour market in general, approximately 11% of the total number of employment contracts are on a fixed-term basis²⁵. Thus fixed-term employment contracts are much more frequently used in the public than in the private sector.

The two most predominant kinds of fixed-term contract employment are employment for a fixed period of time and temp positions. 40% of fixed-term contracts in the private sector are employment for a fixed period of time and 18% are temp jobs.

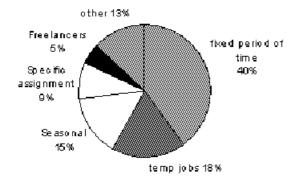
Please note that this term is not necessarily temporary agency work in its narrow sense - it could be a temp job where a temp is directly employed by the company without the agency as intermediary

²⁴ DA 1999 pp. 188

²⁵ Note that persons who are permanently employed at temporary agency companies are not included in these figures based on Eurostat 1997 and DA 1999, pp. 190.

Some 15% are seasonal employed, 9% are employed for a specific assignment, 5% work as freelancers and 13% are employed in other forms of fixed-term employment, i.e. subsidised employment. See figure 3.

Figure 3: The distribution of forms of fixed-term contract employment in the private sector, 1997



Fixed-term contract employment is most prevalent in unskilled groups and within the agricultural sector, and is also widespread in work at a high level of qualifications and in the field of sales and services. The use of fixed-term contracts is relatively small in craftsmanship typically performed by skilled workers. This is most likely due to the collective agreements covering this sector with very flexible rules on notice of termination making the use of fixed-term contracts less in demand.

With respect to the different industries, the use of fixed-term contacts is most widespread within transportation, financing, business services, and in trading, hotel and restaurant. The persons employed in fixed-term contracts within industry, trading, transportation, service and building are predominately employed in temporary agency companies (71,6 %).

In particular young people of age 18-29 are in fixed-term contract employment in the private sector. In general the extent of this kind of employment is largest among women; 8,8% women and 5,2% men of the age 18-29 are employed in fixed-term contracts.

In 1997, one third of the new employees in fixed-term contracts at the private labour market were students or in compulsory military service the year before. Thus, fixed-term contract employment seems to be one way to integrate persons at the labour market.

The duration of fixed-term employment contracts is normally less than a year (71%), 44% last less than six months and 11% last less than two months. 16% last between 12-23 months and only 13% last two years or more.

The weekly working time is shorter for fixed-term contract employees than for permanently employed. More than 20% of the former work part-time, meaning less than 30 hours per week. More than half of the fixed-term contract employees work 37 hours a week and 18% work more than 37 hours a week.

Part-time

The use of part-time can - like fixed-term contract employment - also be a flexible way of hiring manpower for companies. It can be flexible to hire part-timers if the alternative would be to hire full-timers in a situation where full-time manpower is not needed. The development in this area at the labour market as a whole has been that part-time work has slightly decreased from 1989 to 1999²⁶. In 1998 the percentage of the labour force working part-time was 22,3%²⁷.

²⁶ Statistics Denmark, overview of ten years, 2000

²⁷ Statistics Denmark, Survey of the Labour Force, 1998

TAW and collective bargaining

General legislation on labour market issues is very limited in Denmark, and this also applies to legislation on TAW. Legislation on TAW and TWAs is very limited in Denmark and there are only few collective agreements that take the issue into account.

Legislation regulating temporary agency work

The legislation on TWAs is very limited and almost absent in Denmark. From 1 July 1990 all regulation of TWAs was abandoned. Danish law now provides free entitlement to establishing and operating TWAs²⁸.

Until that date regulation was rather comprehensive; the agencies had to get a permission to run the agency, it was compulsory to use a standard contract when employing temporary workers, it was compulsory to report on their activities and the authorities monitor the agencies.

The purpose of the liberalisation was to improve match supply and demand on the labour market. The aim was to increase the number of recruiting channels for the employers and to increase the number of agencies in order to improve employees' possibilities of finding the right job.

In connection with the 1990 deregulation the Ministry of Labour was appointed to monitor the development in the market, and after two years they were to conduct a comprehensive analysis in order to identify any unacceptable or unethical behaviour among the temporary work agencies.

This analysis only focused on to what extent the deregulation had problematic consequences for the employees with respect to unethical behaviour from the agencies. In this connection the analysis did not find this a problem. The analysis did, however, not go into detail with the working conditions, and it was not analysed e.g. whether the temporary agency workers were covered by a collective agreement.

In connection with the discussion of unethical behaviour from the agencies, it is worth mentioning that the Danish Association for TWAs has formulated a code of ethics committing the agencies:

- to comply with the current minimum pay rate
- not to have temporary workers conducting work affected by industrial conflict
- not to use competitive clauses on the temporary workers
- not to receive payment from applicants for registration or for assigned work.

Even though a code of ethics is quite a noncommittal declaration, the general judgement from the employers' association Danish Commerce and Services (Dansk Handel og Service) is that the members do comply with the code of ethics.

²⁸ There are minor exceptions from this general rule; e.g. the right to establish agencies in the health sector requires staff with a medical education at the agency, and the right to establish agencies in the transport sector requires that staff educated in the transport sector are employed.

It is difficult to estimate to what extent the deregulation has caused an increase in the number of TWAs in Denmark, but prior to the deregulation there were less than 100 TWAs, and the number now exceeds 300 (see section 2).

Legislation on temporary agency workers

There is no specific legislation on temporary agency workers in Denmark. However, the temporary agency workers hold a special position, as they are in a "divided employer" situation.

This means that there in fact is a triangular relationship between the three parties, the temporary agency worker, the User Company and the TWA.

On the one hand the TWA is considered to be the employer of the temporary worker with regard to issues such as wage, and terms of employment (the employment contract is between the TWA and the temporary worker). On the other hand, the enterprise in which the temporary agency worker is working (the User Company) has the right to give instructions to the temporary worker.

There is, however, no doubt that the temporary agency worker is an employee, which is a central issue in the legislation on the labour market (e.g. concerning the protection of the temporary worker, in tax matters and matters connected to unemployment insurance).

As employees the temporary agency workers are covered by the general legislation regulating the Danish labour market, even though this legislation is rather scarce.

The general legislation covers a number of different areas²⁹. Below some of the most important legislation regulation the labour market is listed:

- The Danish Working Environment Act. This act focuses on the working environment and resting time, days of rest and the 11-hour rule .
- The Danish Employees' Guarantee Fund. This fund covers the unpaid wages to employees in case of company closure.
- The Danish Act on the Legal Position of Employees in Company Transfers: The new owner assumes the rights and obligations in relation to the employees of the company at the time of the transfer.
- The Danish Act on Employers' Obligation to Take Out Industrial Injury Insurance.
- The Danish Equal Remuneration Act.
- The Danish Equal Treatment Act.

[&]quot;Arbejdsmarkedspolitik" by Thomas Mølsted Jørgensen og Claus Damtoft Petersen, 2000.

³⁰ The act states that employees must have a weekly day of rest in a period of seven days, preferably on a Sunday.

³¹ The act states that working time must be organised so those employees have a period of rest of at least 11 continuous hours in a 24-hour period.

- The Danish Act on Holidays: regulating gaining holiday eligibility, length of holidays, holiday allowances and taking the holiday (often a confirmation of the collective agreements).
- The Act on the Employees' Right to a Letter of Employment (implementation of Directive 91/533).
- The Danish Salaried Employees Act

However, there are some exceptions that general legislation does not cover. The exemption clause is connected to employment that has a very limited extent, e.g. when the job involves less than 8 hours work a week, or when it is of duration of less than one month.

This is the case with the Act on the Employees' Right to a Letter of Employment. The act only covers employment, which has duration of more than one month and when the average weekly hours of work exceed 8 hours.

This is also the case with the Danish Salaried Employees Act. The act only covers employment when the average weekly hours of work exceed 15 hours.

The Danish Salaried Employees Act is in this context a special case. The act could be of relevance to many temporary agency workers as it provides (in the Danish context) a high degree of protection for the employee, e.g. the right to pay during sickness and the right to a notice of termination of at least one month.

However, the temporary agency workers are not included in the scope of this Act and are thus not able to uphold the same rights as other workers. The main reason for this is that the temporary agency workers do not have an "obligation to work" as the right of the worker to refuse work is characteristic of a typical agreement between the worker and the TWA.

Collective bargaining

Due to the high level of organisation and coverage of collective agreements, legislation on the labour market is limited. This is often referred to as the "Danish model" which places a high degree of responsibility concerning labour market issues with the social partners.

In later years, this model has often been seriously debated in Denmark, e.g. in the debate on how and to which extent the EU should enter the field of labour market regulation and protection of employees. As part of this discussion, one of the prerequisites for the Danish model has been subject to discussion: the high level of coverage of collective agreements.

There is no obligation for either employers or employees to register the results of the collective agreements and the number of employees covered by them. It is therefore very difficult to provide a broad and valid picture on the level of coverage of the collective agreements on the labour market.

² Those who conduct traditional white-collar work.

A study³⁵ from 1996 points to the fact that only 52 per cent of the employees in the private sector are covered by collective agreements, and this level is far below the traditional opinion, which often estimates a level of approx. 80 per cent.

This study has been the issue of an intensive debate, and it points to two issues of interest in the debate on temporary agency work and collective bargaining.

The first point is that the general level of coverage of collective agreements is not as high in Denmark as often believed. This should be kept in mind when the level of coverage by collective agreements among temporary workers is discussed.

The second point is that membership of a trade union is not sufficient to guarantee employee coverage by a collective agreement. Only when the employer is a member of employers' association, the employer is obliged to comply with the collective agreement $\frac{34}{34}$.

The TWAs and the employers' organisations

There are several employers' organisations, which organise TWAs and hence make agreements that in different ways regulate the relationship between the enterprises and the employees.

The employers' association **Danish Commerce and Services** (Dansk Handel og Service) is the major employers' organisation for TWAs in Denmark. They have close to 120 TWAs among their members, which are approximately 35 per cent of all the agencies in Denmark³⁵. Their market share measured in turnover is much higher, and is estimated to be approximately 80-90%⁶.

The Association of TWAs in Denmark (Foreningen af vikarbureauer i Danmark) has close links to the employers' association Danish Commerce and Services. The secretariat for the trade association is located at Danish Commerce and Services head offices and Danish Commerce and Services also provide legal and other kinds of services for the members of the trade association.

The TWAs organised in Danish Commerce and Services cover a wide range of economic sectors. Three sectors are dominant, and constitute the majority of the agencies. These three dominant sectors are clerical work, storage work, and welfare and health-care work. 80% of the agencies in Danish Commerce and Services operate within these three main sectors.

Scheuer, Steen: Fælles aftale eller egen kontrakt i arbejdslivet, Nyt fra samfundsvidenskaberne, 1996.

³⁴ There are exceptions, based on the so-called "50 per cent rule", which states that the collective agreement only becomes effective for some groups of employees if at least 50 per cent of them are members of the trade union. This is the case with the collective agreement between the Union of Commercial and Clerical Employees in Denmark and employers in the Danish Employers' Confederation.

Danish Commerce and Services has in total approximately 6.000 member enterprises. The TWAs are thus not a dominating group within the association.

This is a rough estimate, based on an interview with Danish Commerce and Services.

There are several other - also large - employers' associations that organise TWAs, e.g. the Confederation of Danish Industries (Dansk Industri - DI) and the Federation of Employers for Trade, Transportation and Services (AHTS). However, these associations do not appear to play the same important role as Danish Commerce and Services when it comes to the number of TWAs. DI and AHTS do not provide information on the number of member enterprises, which may be characterised as TWAs.

It is difficult on this background to give a precise estimate of the total share of TWAs that are members of an employers' association. However, presumably it is close to 50 per cent of the agencies, and according to Danish Commerce and Services, all the major agencies are members of an employers' association.

As it is possible for individual enterprises to make collective agreement with a trade union, the extent of collective agreements could be higher. However, there is no central registration of the collective agreements made between individual enterprises and trade unions.

When measured in turnover, the degree of organisation among the TWAs is though high, and presumably above 80-90%.

An overall conclusion on the degree of coverage of collective agreements for the temporary workers is very difficult to provide, however. This is primarily due to the lack of accurate information on the number of TWAs (and the number of temporary workers they employ) organised in the employers' associations. Furthermore, there is lack of information on the consequences of the so called "50 per cent rule" (mentioned in note 32), which can imply that the collective agreements do not become effective in an enterprise organised in the employers' associations.

The extent of collective agreements

Even though new forms of work organisation is a highly debated issue among both employers' association and trade unions, there is only limited focus on the collective bargaining between unions and TWAs. The sector is still quite small in Denmark, and neither the trade unions nor the employers' organisations have experienced serious problems in the field.

TAW is not discussed in detail on a general level by the two central organisations: the Danish Employers' Confederation and the Danish Federation of Trade Unions.

Collective bargaining in the field of TAW is mainly an issue between employers' associations and trade unions, even though collective agreements can also be made between enterprises and trade unions.

Danish Commerce and Services appears to be the main player in this field in Denmark. This employers' association has made collective agreements covering TWAs with three different trade unions: the General Workers' Union in Denmark (SiD), the Danish Trade Union of Public Employees (FOA) and the Danish Nurses Organisation (DSR).

These collective agreements cover extremely different sectors of the labour market: the agreement with the General Workers' Union in Denmark (SiD) covers warehouse functions, the agreement with Danish Trade Union of Public Employees (FOA) covers welfare work and the agreement with the Danish Nurses Organisation (DSR) covers nurses.

Danish Commerce and Services has also made traditional collective agreements with a number of trade unions. These are typically collective agreements between Danish Commerce and Services and a trade union covering the work within a special sector (e.g. office and warehouse functions) or work carried out by employees who are members of the trade union. The TWAs can use these general agreements, but they are often not applicable in the specific situations.

To some of these general collective agreements, protocols are added with specific focus on TAW. Protocols have been added to the agreements with e.g. the National Union of Commercial and Clerical Employees in Denmark (HK), the Danish Association of Professional Technicians (TL) and Danish Food and Allied Workers' Union (NNF).

Danish Commerce and Services are currently negotiating collective agreements covering TAW in three to four other areas.

In addition to these national collective agreements, some TWAs, which are members of Danish Commerce and Services, have made their own collective agreements on the corporate level with trade unions, e.g. Danish Food and Allied Workers' Union (NNF) and the General Workers' Union in Denmark (SiD).

The employers' association the Confederation of Danish Industries (Dansk Industri) has dealt with the collective agreements on TWAs somewhat differently. They have not made a special collective agreement focusing on TAW, but have added a protocol on TAW to the general collective agreement between the Confederation of Danish Industries (Dansk Industri) and the Central Organization of Industrial Employees in Denmark

This approach is also used by the Federation of Employers for Trade, Transportation and Services (AHTS), as they have added a protocol on TAW to the general collective agreement between them and the General Workers' Union in Denmark (SiD).

The Issues at Stake in the Collective Agreements on TAW

In general, the normal collective agreements between employers' organisations and trade unions cover the same fields of work as the collective agreements with special focus on temporary agency workers.

The "necessity" for collective agreements with a special focus on temporary agency workers is to some extent due to the drawing up of the "normal" collective agreements. These agreements often link the rights that employees achieve through the collective agreements and the employees' seniority in the employment.

This is the case for issues such as the right to: employer payment to pension schemes, extra holidays, paid leave on child's first sickness day, term of notice and paid vocational training. These rights are achieved after 3 to 9 months of service at the enterprise $\frac{1}{37}$.

In the general collective agreement between Danish Commerce and Service and the National Union of Commercial and Clerical Employees (Landsoverenskomst for kontor og lager 2000, mellem Dansk Handel og Service og HK/Handel, HK/Service).

In some collective agreements the wage is in some way linked to the seniority in the employment. There are, however, very different traditions in this area. In some collective agreements the minimum wage is explicitly mentioned in exact figures linked to exact seniority measured in time. In other collective agreements, the mention of wages is in more qualitative terms, as 'the wage should reflect the employee's performance, qualification, skills, flexibility, special working hours, the task performed and the responsibility and the education''.

The collective agreement between Danish Commerce and Services and the General Workers' Union in Denmark (SiD) covering the employees at the TWAs has a special focus on some of the issues mentioned above. In this collective agreement some of the issues dealt with are: payment, working hours, payment to pension schemes, extra holidays, term of notice and paid leave on child's first sickness day.

However, these rights are not achieved from the beginning of the employment, but after 1443 - 1924 hours of work $_{40}^{40}$ (varying according to the different types of rights) at the agency (the employment could be at different agencies). The seniority must be achieved within a limited period (also varying according to the different types of rights), and the seniority lapses after a period of 12 months without employment at the agency.

This collective agreement tries to deal with the special situation facing the temporary workers. The temporary workers have great difficulties in achieving the seniority that in the ordinary collective agreements is a precondition to obtaining the rights mentioned. In the collective agreement focusing on the TWAs the seniority is measured in hours thus improving their possibilities of obtaining the necessary seniority.

However, the seniority needed to obtain these rights is not significantly shorter in the collective agreement covering the TWAs; it is just measured in hours and there are more favourable conditions concerning the period in which the seniority is earned. It is a general attempt to give equal status to the temporary workers.

In the protocol added to the general agreement between the Union of Commercial and Clerical Employees in Denmark (HK) and Danish Commerce and Services the issues of payment, working hours, payment to pension schemes, extra holidays, term of notice and paid leave on child's first sickness day are not covered. These issues are all included in the ordinary collective agreement (and are here linked to the seniority of the employed measured in months of employment), and no special agreements for the temporary workers have been drawn up in relation to these issues. The main issue in this protocol is the right to wages on any holiday falling on a weekday and non-Sunday holiday if this occurs within the period of employment.

In the protocol on TAW added to the general collective agreement between the Confederation of Danish Industries (Dansk Industri) and the Central Organization of Industrial Employees in Denmark, employment in a TWA is given the equivalent status of employment in an ordinary enterprise.

E.g. in the collective agreement on TWAs between Danish Commerce and Service and the General Workers' of Workers in Denmark.

³⁹ Own translation from the general collective agreement between Danish Commerce and Service and the National Union of Commercial and Clerical Employees.

¹⁹²⁴ hours of work equals one year of full employment.

This means that employees in TWA, carrying out work for an enterprise that is a member of the Confederation of Danish Industries (Dansk Industri), are covered by the general collective agreement between the Confederation of Danish Industries (Dansk Industri) and the Central Organization of Industrial Employees in Denmark. This means that there are no special agreements for the temporary workers dealing with rights relating to the seniority of the employees.

The special case of the health care sector

Collective bargaining plays a very dominant role in relation to TAW in the health care sector covered almost 100%. As mentioned earlier the health care sector has experienced a marked growth in the use of TAW during the nineties. At the same time the Danish Trade Union for Nurses has been very aware of entering into collective agreements with the different TWAs. This means that almost all TWAs have collective agreements with the trade union.

The trade union has a co-operation with the National Health Service, which automatically informs the trade union when it has approved a new agency⁴¹. On the basis of this information the trade union contacts the agency, and it starts collective bargaining either with the agency itself or with the employers' association that the agency is a member of.

The trade union has used the threat of blacklisting agencies not covered by collective agreement by advising the nurses not to be employed in these agencies. This has a relatively large impact since the trade union can exclude members, who take up work in the agencies with no collective agreement.

As mentioned, the nurses are normally hired on an hourly basis; it is not very common for them to be hired on a monthly basis. The collective agreement for nurses hired on an hourly basis regulate issue such as wage, working time, special payment for working overtime, nights, weekends etc. However, the agencies have no obligation to pay to pension schemes, sickness benefits, or payment during maternity leave.

The Access to Participation at the Workplace

The temporary agency workers' access to participation in the traditional democratic system in the user enterprise is in practice limited by their peculiar status including their "divided employer" situation.

The traditional system of shop stewards and representatives in the co-operation committees is based on the number of employees of the enterprise. This means that the temporary agency workers are not included in the calculation of the number of workers in the User Company (it takes five employees to elect a shop steward among the employees). Furthermore, it means that the temporary agency workers are not able to participate in the elections for representatives for these two systems in the user enterprise.

For the agencies to be approved by the National Health Service it is decided by law that there has to be a nurse connected to the agency as health professional responsible.

TAW and working conditions⁴²

Until now no collective agreement with specific coverage of the working environment for TWAs have been concluded. But the Working Environment Act applies in the same way regardless of employment status or any distinction between different types of employees.

However, one problem in connection to the working environment is the possible lack of proper instruction about working environment of for instance temporarily employed. This means that temporary agency workers may be exposed to a greater risk. Besides, there may be some problems in connection to the psychological working conditions for the temporary agency workers as a consequence of changing workplaces, a certain insecurity in one's employment situation, and the lack of a social environment because of the lack of permanent colleagues.

The 1996 European Survey on Working Conditions pointed out a statistical link between temporary employment and poor working conditions. However, it has been difficult to state this link in Denmark because of a lack of data.

No data has been found on the working conditions for temporarily employed. We have been in contact with The Directorate of the Working Environment Service (Arbejdstilsynet), The National Institute of Occupational Health (Arbejdsmiljøinstituttet), The Council of Working Environment (Arbejdsmiljørådet), National Board of Industrial Injuries (Arbejdsskadestyrelsen), different lines of businesses' Councils of Working Environment (Branchearbejdsmiljøråd). None of these have been able to give us any information/statistics on working conditions specifically for temporary workers. The general problem is that the figures on working conditions are including employment status (temporary workers), but lines of businesses.

Furthermore, neither the Ministry of Labour, the Danish Association of TWAs, the trade union for nurses (DSR), the Union of Commercial and Clerical Employees, or any of the other unions that we have contacted during the research, have any documentation of the working conditions for temporary agency workers.

However, the industry variable seems to be very important in the Danish case. Thus, in the health care sector, there seems to be evidence to suggest that the above mentioned link may not hold true as some nurses choose employment in a private TWA in order to improve their working conditions in the sense of gaining influence on their own working time.

The term working conditions is here understood as physical and psychosocial working environment, job contents, and health complaints.

Annex

Definition of TAW and other atypical forms of employment (including part-time and fixed-term contracts)

In Denmark TAW is defined as the employment situations where a company hires external manpower through an agency for a task of fixed duration, which would otherwise have been carried out by one of the company's own employees.

A temporary agency worker can either be employed by the agency or associated with the agency as a selfemployed. In most cases, the temporary agency worker is employed on a fixed-term contract (typically of the length of specific assignments at different workplaces). In a few other cases, the temporary agency worker is hired on a full-time basis by the TWA.

Other forms of temporary employment in Denmark consist of employment for a fixed duration, a fixed assignment, seasonal employment, freelance work, and temp jobs that are not arranged through temporary agencies.

Furthermore, part-time can also be considered an atypical form of employment. In Denmark part-time is defined as employment involving less than 30 working hours a week.

In fixed-term contract employment (fixed duration and fixed assignment) it is arranged at the beginning of the job when the work is to be concluded. This can be either after a certain period of time or when a certain task is completed.

For the kind of employment where staff is hired for seasonal work or as substitutes it is arranged at the beginning of the appointment that the contact can end without notice, and that it under all circumstances will last no longer than a fixed period - typically 3 months.

Freelance workers are also called contract hired self-employed, and are defined as persons, who carry out work for a company without being employed in the company.

Temporary workers that are not hired through an agency can be employed directly in the company or institution. In these cases the employers find the temporary worker on their own - by advertising in newspapers or through the Internet - or through the Public Employment Services.

A specific feature of the arrangement of temporary jobs in the Danish context is that the Public Employment Services also place a large proportion of temporary employees.

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