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Social partnership in unlikely places

The commercial cleaning sector in Austria

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Introduction

The commercial cleaning sector in Austria fits most expectations. 65.3% of its employees are women and 46.9% are non-Austrians, with the large majority of immigrants coming from countries outside the EU, especially former Yugoslavia and Turkey. In addition to the employees discussed mostly in this report, in the less regulated segments of the sector non-EU and NMS immigrants concentrate in self-employment, offering caretaking services in more or less elaborate subcontracting arrangements with larger service providers or with house owners directly. Experts agree that commercial cleaning is a low-skill sector with no evidence of migrants' over-qualification, but with increasing demand for skills and expertise. The sector is comprehensively covered by a collective agreement which has achieved a steady improvement of wages over the years. The sector has been steadily expanding since 2000, with the exception of men who lost some 500 jobs since 2008.

From 2004 – 2010, the share of part-time work in commercial cleaning increased from 42.7% to 48.8%. These jobs are mostly held down by women, but the proportion of full-time work has also decreased for men. Newcomers to the sector generally receive part-time contracts with increases in working hours only after a period of successful employment. Short working hours with the resulting low incomes and divided shifts fragment jobs well below what workers and employers deem favourable. This compression of work into narrow time-slots partly results from customer requirements of cleaning outside opening or operation hours, and also partly from fairly extensive periods where supplements on night work apply. Indeed, overtime and night work supplements on part-time work are key issues of contestation between social partners who, for different reasons, also aim to promote more daytime cleaning work.

The sector's regulation along the lines of the Austrian social model (Hermann/Flecker 2009) contrasts with a comprehensive lack of regulation in cleaning for private households in Austria. Experts agree that in this segment, more than 90% of paid work is located in the informal sector, and formal employment in households is stagnating. Attempts at regularisation have been limited to the establishment of a 'service check' that basically offers low-cost accident insurance and subsidised health insurance to short-hours part-time workers in private households but provides no additional access to the labour market.

1 Section 1: Economic and employment development in the sector

In general, the sector, like all commercial activity in Austria, is strongly regulated. In order to ply any trade independently (except for the professions), regularly and for-profit, one needs a trade concession ("Gewerbeberechtigung"). This requires an age of more than 18, nationality of Austria, an EU member state or Iceland, Norway, Liechtenstein or Switzerland, or a right of residence permitting that trade, and a lack of obstacles such as a previous bankruptcy etc. There is also a distinction of regulated and free crafts and trades that is relevant in the cleaning sector. In the regulated trades a trade concession requires an appropriate and recognised qualification such as being a master craftsman, a

degree or certificate of a recognised school, or recognised previous experience. The criteria for each trade are defined by the Federal Ministry of Economy, Family and Youth. Free trades do not need a qualification.

Commercial cleaning in the narrow sense is regulated and thus requires a qualified proprietor or business manager with appropriate vocational training. However, residential caretaking services and cleaning of private apartments 'housewife style' are unregulated¹, hence, open to any adult with the necessary rights of residence. That means that especially citizens of the new EU-member states, for whom the free movement of labour has been suspended until May 1, 2011, have been forced to enter self-employment in the non-regulated parts of the sector for lack of available work permits.

In addition to the regulation of qualifications and market access, commercial cleaning is one of the sectors in which prices are also still regulated. The Paritätische Kommission für Preis- und Lohnfragen ('Paritätische Kommission für Preis- und Lohnfragen'), established in 1957 with representation of employers, employees and government, coordinated both the development of wages and prices. For most sectors, this has been deregulated but in cleaning it still retains authority over prices and also over performance, limiting a cleaner's workload at 195 square meters per hour.

2 Section 2: General background on the organisations and the interviewees

For this report, we interviewed six stakeholder representatives. Social partners in this sector are the service sector union Vida and the Guild of commercial cleaning which is incorporated into the Austrian Economic Chamber, hence an employers' association with compulsory membership. We interviewed one representative of the union Vida and two of the Guild.

Upon suggestions of the social partner interviewees, we also interviewed the head of a Viennese district Labour Market Service office, who is also in charge of LM services for cleaning companies. In Vienna, different from the rest of Austria, the LMS has a sector-specific structure in addition to the local one. While jobseekers are attended to according to their district of residence, companies are served by sector, and the responsibility for particular sectors is distributed across districts. In the cleaning sector, the LMS is involved in some 60% of all job openings – which the interviewee rates as a fairly high number. It also funds training initiatives for the unemployed. The LMS also collaborates with the social partners on work permits for foreign and NMS nationals, which are issued according to perceived labour market needs and the number of registered unemployed versus job openings.

¹ Distinctions between the regulated and free activities of the trade are very finely drawn, see <http://www.bmwfj.gv.at/Unternehmen/Gewerbe/Documents/Liste%20freie%20Unternehmenst%C3%A4tigkeiten.pdf>

In order to gather information on the service check, a measure introduced in Austria in 2006 to shift some domestic labour into the formal sector, we interviewed the two senior civil servants at the Ministry of Federal Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Consumer Protection who are in charge of the Austrian 'service check' programme (see chapter 10). The service check is a fairly small-scale initiative in Austria with no actual ambitions towards job creation, providing low-cost access to health and pension insurance for very marginal work in the household sector.

3 Section 3: The representation – looking back

3.1 The union

The union, Vida, is the service and transport union which was established following the merger of the railway, hospitality and personal services, and retail and transport unions in 2006. It has some 155.000 members. It has three sections: transport, health, social and personal services, and private services in which the respective industries are further divided up in 'Bundesfachgruppen', and the Fachgruppen in 'committees' which roughly correspond to NACE 2-figure codes. Commercial cleaning is part of the Fachgruppe 'Cleaning and Maintenance', together with domestic caretaking services. The union represents an impressive ca. 12,000 out of 40,000 employees in the sector. The sector and also its representation have been expanding as such since the 1970s when cleaning services were massively outsourced. Previously, office etc. cleaners generally were located in-house and covered by the lowest wage group in the collective agreements of the respective industries. The sector itself then mainly consisted of outdoor cleaners of windows, house fronts and monuments, all of which were skilled male occupations.

3.2 The Guild and Economic Chamber

The Guild of commercial cleaning comprises cleaning companies and also the commercially self-employed in both the regulated and non-regulated parts of the sector. In Vienna, it is a separate organisation in the Economic Chamber ('Wirtschaftskammer Österreich', WKÖ), whereas in the other federal states it is organised jointly with the chemical trades, that is, manufacturers of chemical products, for cleaning, cosmetics, pharmaceuticals, the chemical laboratories, and pest control. It represents 7,293 businesses in Austria. In Vienna, the Guild represents 3,564 companies and is indeed the largest in Austria. The representative emphasises the considerable growth of its membership base since 1999. Then he represented some 450 cleaning companies in Vienna. However, only some 10% of the memberships, 400 in Vienna and 1,000 in all Austria, are 'real commercial cleaning companies'. The rest cover caretaking services, small businesses and the self-employed. Some of the (larger) cleaning companies have evolved towards more comprehensive facility management or offer pest control and similar services, or security or catering. They may also hold concessions for temporary agency work.

3.3 Representation of vulnerable groups

Caretaking services thus are a segment in which the representation of vulnerable groups on the employer side plays a part. This part of the sector constituted a distinct employment relationship (with housing companies and landlords) regulated by a 'caretaker law' ('Hausbesorgergesetz') until 2000. When the then government deregulated the sector, caretaking services were taken over by the small-business segment of the cleaning sectors, often in structures of subcontracting down to one-person-companies. This was made easier by the immigration laws and the work permit regime which excludes NMS nationals and other foreigners from free access to the labour market but permits self-employment. In effect, these immigrants often form one-person companies that are compulsory members of the Economic Chamber and the Guild and do subcontracting work – which, in the view of the Guild, has clearly had an impact on prices in the less regulated segment of cleaning. However, the Guild clearly focuses on the representation of 'proper' companies and employers. Its representatives regard the self-employed subcontractors as more of an anomaly who would be better off as employees. In line with general patterns of Austrian social partnership, the self-employed and one-person companies thus fall between the constituencies of the Chamber of the Economy nor the union and are not well represented by either.

In the union, the membership is in proportion to genders and nationalities, and also full-time and part-time employees. It is slightly lower in the better-paid sectors of outside cleaners, since union membership fees are a proportion of the wage. Inequalities in representation emerge with regard to works councils rather than collective agreements. Both migrants and particularly women are somewhat, but not critically under-represented in works councils compared to their actual proportion in the workforce. Commitment by works councils to ensure a certain share of female works councillors is low, the unionist says. The union's influence here is limited by the fact that works councillors are autonomous organs and not obliged to cooperate with the union.

Until 2004, only Austrians could be elected as works councillors (and as representatives in the Chamber of Labour), a rule that was rejected by the European Court of Law in 2004 and then abolished. Before, it did not just exclude non-nationals from taking an active role in interest representation, but also gave employers additional opportunities to hinder works council elections:

'That was nonsense because in some companies, especially in cleaning, with that rule there were only very few candidates available. Or you could have manipulated that – as far as I know one company did that, intentionally hired in such a way that no works councils could be elected. And I don't give an employer that tool, do I?'
(Union representative)

Nevertheless, the issue was controversial in the unions. Unions in Austria have been traditionally oriented towards more exclusive labour markets, only becoming more universalist in recent years. Since works council elections are conducted by lists, fears were that elections could be complicated by national differences in addition to the political

ones among Austrians. On the other hand, some works councillors put migrants on their lists in disregard of the franchise – which our interviewee did not regard as a good idea:

‘It’s a good signal but in a conflict situation, you have an instrument that isn’t valid’.

With a few exceptions, all the big companies have works councils.

‘These works councils often stem from the Kreisky era, the 1970s, when the economy boomed and the sector grew explosively. And they were all small firms that were growing. And grew to a certain point, and had a works council, [...] and if you have a works council you aren’t getting rid of it again.’ (Union representative)

Still, as in other new and expanding service occupations, newly establishing works councils can be a challenge. Employers generally are not too keen. Works councillors, in labour intensive industries specifically, are a cost factor. They fulfil their function during working time and in companies with more than 150 employees, one works councillor (with 400+ two, 3000+ three) can choose to be released full-time. Beyond this, especially employers with political ties to the conservative side can be quite committed to hindering elections for the symbolic value. Hence, *‘in SMEs, in fact they’re inexistent, with the exception of Vienna, Vienna’s always the exception’*, says the unionist. The reason for this exceptional character is the city’s traditional social-democratic council (now in coalition with the Green party) and the large proportion of public-sector clients of the sector. Hence, since the 1970s, the city has tended to favour unionised service providers. Consequently, also medium-sized cleaning companies who serve the City of Vienna tend to have works councils. In other regions, this is more infrequent:

‘In the Salzburg area, the economic climate is influenced more by the proximity of Germany, and there companies prevent the issue quite openly, saying we don’t need that, it just costs a lot of money, don’t do that.’ (Union representative)

The possibilities of company-level activism in a sector with high fluctuation then are limited and it is easy to dismiss potential activists.

Labour law also has one crucial constraint for the sector: establishing a works council requires a general assembly of employees with 50% participation, which in a sector working on customers’ sites is hardly possible without cooperation by the company:

A big company

‘has some 230 sites in Vienna, working all at the same time, from 6 to 10 a.m.: How do I run an assembly there? It’s impossible! I can do it at the central office, there’s nobody coming. Outside working time? Certainly not. There’s nobody coming, these guys have other concerns and they don’t know that then there will be no election.’ (Union representative)

4 Section 4: Current developments and estimates

4.1 Employment trends and restructuring processes

Employment in the cleaning sector

Data on employment in the cleaning sector have been gathered from national labour market statistics and the Austrian LFS which due to the distinct data sources are not compatible. Due to the implementation of the NACE 2008 classification, data are only available since 2004. <http://www.dnet.at/bali/> offers the employment data generated by the Austrian Central Association of social security agencies (= 'Hauptverband der Sozialversicherungsträger') for employees covered by social security. In order to address the development of employment and changes in the composition of the workforce we look at men and women separately.

Indeed, overall employment in the sector has grown by a third from 2000 to 2009, with a peak in 2008. Women represent slightly less than two thirds of the workforce, and non-Austrians in between 44 and 47%. The majority of non-Austrians have non-EU nationality, EU nationals in the cleaning sector account for only 5.4 % of the workforce. Employment growth has been proportionately higher among men than among women: jobs held by men expanded by nearly half while women added 29.1 percentage points, which led to a slight reduction in the proportion of women in the sector. The share of non-Austrian workers has increased by 2.9 percentage points, more among women than among men.

Looking at the NACE-4 figure-classification (see Appendix) 'general cleaning of buildings', where 71.8% of the sector's jobs were located in 2009, has grown slightly less than 'caretaking services' and 'other building and industrial cleaning activities'. 'Landscape services' have stagnated. 'General cleaning' decreased its proportion of women very slightly, to still 75%, with some increases in the share of non-Austrians. In caretaking services, men took the majority of new jobs, increasing their number by 141 percentage points, whereas jobs held by women increased by 64 percentage points, and the proportion of non-Austrians increased to ca. 20%. 'Other building and industrial cleaning' grew by half, with more new jobs held down by women than men – and a considerably higher proportion of migrants among women than among men. 'Other cleaning' which includes snow removal and employs mostly men, has grown above average with women increasing their share by 3 percentage points up to 26.7%. In landscape services, men have increased their share considerably while women who are non-EU nationals faced job losses.

Table 4.1 Employees in the cleaning sector, number of employees by gender, nationality and year

Sex/Nationality	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Men										
Austrian	6834	7188	7512	7982	8335	8755	9519	10268	10196	9863
EU15 without AUT	111	125	139	159	196	257	288	352	370	382
EU12	303	304	326	373	412	455	512	554	612	684
Other	4679	4823	5005	5198	5478	5828	6579	6828	6943	6667
All	11927	12440	12982	13712	14421	15295	16898	18002	18121	17596
% EU nationals	3.5%	3.4%	3.6%	3.9%	4.2%	4.7%	4.7%	5.0%	5.4%	6.1%
% non-EU nationals	39.2%	38.8%	38.6%	37.9%	38.0%	38.1%	38.9%	37.9%	38.3%	37.9%
<i>Index 2000=100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>104</i>	<i>109</i>	<i>115</i>	<i>121</i>	<i>128</i>	<i>142</i>	<i>151</i>	<i>152</i>	<i>148</i>
Women										
Austrian	14257	14617	15144	15358	15784	16236	16582	17082	17307	17099
EU15 without AUT	118	127	144	164	199	222	281	332	357	396
EU12	556	605	665	726	811	897	988	1059	1168	1269
Other	10772	11200	11278	11446	11778	11990	12635	13393	14050	14410
All	25703	26549	27231	27694	28572	29345	30486	31866	32882	33174
% EU nationals	2.6%	2.8%	3.0%	3.2%	3.5%	3.8%	4.2%	4.4%	4.6%	5.0%
% non-EU nationals	41.9%	42.2%	41.4%	41.3%	41.2%	40.9%	41.4%	42.0%	42.7%	43.4%
<i>Index 2000=100</i>	<i>100.0</i>	<i>103.3</i>	<i>105.9</i>	<i>107.7</i>	<i>111.2</i>	<i>114.2</i>	<i>118.6</i>	<i>124.0</i>	<i>127.9</i>	<i>129.1</i>
Men + women	37630	38989	40213	41406	42993	44640	47384	49868	51003	50770
% women	68.3%	68.1%	67.7%	66.9%	66.5%	65.7%	64.3%	63.9%	64.5%	65.3%
% non-Austrians	44.0%	44.1%	43.7%	43.6%	43.9%	44.0%	44.9%	45.2%	46.1%	46.9%

Source: Social security agencies, <http://www.dnet.at/bali>

Note: Employees in the cleaning sector = ÖNACE N81, services to buildings and landscape activities

Full-time and part-time work

However, the data available from the social security agencies tell us little about employment types and only cover workers who pay social security contributions. For some insight into working times, we received an extract of the data from the Austrian Labour Force Survey ('Arbeitskräfteerhebung').² Due to high sampling errors in the smaller segments, we shall focus on the development of part-time work among women and full-time work among men. As a proxy for short-hours part-time work we used working hours below 12 hours/week.

² Cornelia Moser of Statistik Austria provided an extract of the LFS data for the cleaning sector.

Table 4.2 Men's full-time work in the cleaning sector, by nationality, 1000 employees

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
AUT	13.6	11.9	13.5	13.0	12.5	14.0	15.8
% of AUT nationals	91.2%	91.9%	89.1%	89.5%	86.9%	85.0%	83.7%
Non-AUT	6.4	6.0	5.8	6.4	8.0	7.3	6.8
% of non-AUT nationals	95.0%	81.1%	81.1%	95.0%	84.4%	75.4%	83.3%
All men (full-time and part-time)	21.6	20.3	22.3	21.2	23.8	26.2	27.1
All AUT (full-time and part-time)	14.9	12.9	15.1	14.5	14.4	16.5	18.9
All non-AUT (full-time and part-time)	6.7	7.4	7.2	6.7	9.4	9.7	8.2

Source: Statistik Austria, LFS

Note: Men's full-time work in the cleaning sector = ÖNACE N81, services to buildings and landscape activities.

In cleaning, just more than half of employees have full-time jobs. From 2004 – 2010, the share of part-time work increased from 42.7% to 48.8%. Unsurprisingly, the majority of full-time jobs are held down by men, whereas among women, full-time work has reached a low in 2010 at 34%, down from a high point at 40% in the year before. Men also have shifted to part-time jobs, from 92.4% of full-time workers in 2004 to 83.6%, with a marked, but non-representative increase also in short-hours part-time work. With regard to nationality, Austrian men's full-time employment has faced a constant decline whereas the share of full-time employment fluctuates among migrant men.

For women, the proportion of full-time jobs has been somewhat volatile. The number of part-time jobs with more than 12 hours has increased by a quarter since 2004, with some fluctuations in between. Short-hours part-time work has almost doubled since 2007, so that in 2010 one in five women in the cleaning sector works for fewer than 12 hours. It is interesting to look at the ethnic composition of the labour force: Migrant women have increased their number of full-time jobs steadily from 2005 to 2009 with a marked loss in 2010, whereas Austrian women have been fluctuating around ca. 10,000 full-time jobs until 2010. On the other hand, the increase in short-hours part-time is higher among Austrian women where in 2010 25.8% of workers had so-called 'mini jobs'³. Migrant women are more concentrated in 12hr+-part-time work, and the gap between migrants and Austrians here appears to be increasing. Hence, so far, migrant women tend to work longer hours in cleaning, and Austrian women appear to disproportionately move or be

³ In Austria, marginal employment ('geringfügige Beschäftigung' 'mini job') means regular employment at no more than EUR 374/month (2011) or on average EUR 28.74/day. It is covered by accident insurance and includes paid sick leave and holidays, and holiday bonuses in line with the respective collective agreements. Employees need to pay social security if they hold down more than one marginal job or a marginal job on top of regular employment. Otherwise, they can buy pension and health insurance at a subsidised rate of ca. EUR 52/month. However, the marginally employed are exempt from unemployment insurance. Employers of marginally employed pay contributions to the accident insurance at 1.4% of the wage sum generally, and to pension and health insurance at 16.4 % only if they employ more than one mini jobber and the wage sum paid out for their marginal employees is higher than 1.5 x 12 x EUR 374.02 excluding bonuses (http://portal.wko.at/wk/format_detail.wk?AngID=1&StID=422452&DstID=0).

moved into shorter-hours part-time work. It is also possible but should not be overstated that from 2009 to 2010, migrant women have had their working hours cut down from a higher level, moving from full-time into longer-hours part-time work.

Table 4.3 Women's full-time, part-time and short-hours part-time work in the cleaning sector, by nationality, 1000 employees

		2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Part-time <12h	AUT	4.3	3.8	4.5	3.9	5.0	5.4	8.1
	% of AUT nationals	16.1%	16.0%	16.4%	14.6%	16.8%	20.5%	25.8%
	Non-AUT	not rep.	not rep.	not rep.	not rep.	not rep.	not rep.	not rep.
	% of non-AUT nationals	not rep.	not rep.	not rep.	not rep.	not rep.	not rep.	not rep.
Part-time 12h+	AUT	12.8	10.4	12.1	13.0	13.8	11.3	12.5
	% of AUT nationals	48.1%	43.6%	44.3%	48.8%	45.9%	42.8%	39.7%
	Non-AUT	6.2	8.2	9.4	10.9	9.0	9.6	11.5
	% of non-AUT nationals	52.7%	63.7%	54.4%	57.8%	48.5%	46.3%	58.5%
Full-time	AUT	9.5	9.7	10.7	9.8	11.2	9.7	10.9
	% of AUT nationals	35.7%	40.4%	39.2%	36.6%	37.3%	36.6%	34.5%
	Non-AUT	4.9	3.5	6.0	6.8	7.7	9.2	6.6
	% of non-AUT nationals	41.9%	27.1%	34.7%	36.4%	41.6%	44.4%	33.4%
All women		38.4	36.9	44.6	45.5	48.6	47.1	51.2

Source: Statistik Austria, LFS

Note: Cleaning sector = ÖNACE N81, services to buildings and landscape activities.

The market

While the sector faced considerable growth already between 1950 and 1990, interviewees agree that this growth has slowed and the market now is saturated up to 80%, with an even higher share in Vienna. As a consequence, companies need to accept contracts they would have rejected in earlier times because of low profit margins. Due to the limits on work intensification and the development of wages, companies have developed a stronger focus on control, cost efficiency, cost accuracy and saving. The market of residential facility management in the private sector (as opposed to cleaning within private households – see 4.4.2) was quickly allocated between few large companies in the last few years. Interviewees report that some companies would be able to grow further but have difficulties recruiting staff due to the prevalent working times and conditions. In the light of the high market saturation, competition is strong, even if companies in general have good collegial relationships, as the Guild representatives note. Careful pricing policy is particularly relevant in the context of large contracts that last for several years. Sometimes, competition is extended to skills if companies extend their offers to general facility management, including gardening, electrical installations and maintenance work, or security and catering services. Yet this is not a general trend. Other companies tend to withdraw from these sidelines and focus on the core of cleaning services.

Another current trend is an increase of international corporate groups. Similar to other sectors, some large service multinationals perceive Austria as a point of departure for expanding activities to Central and Eastern Europe. This refers particularly to German companies, but also to Austrian and North European ones. However, some experts see this development as limited to a few pioneers at the moment, and there may be further potential to move into this direction. As in other sectors, multi-national companies tend to adapt their human resource and industrial relations strategies to the circumstances in the respective country rather than carrying home-country practices into different institutional environments (Morgan 2005). Hence, multinationals which in Austria cooperate with trade unions, may nevertheless hamper trade unions in Eastern Europe.

Outsourcing

The issue of outsourcing cleaning from in-house arrangements in either the public or private sector, which often is assumed to affect working conditions negatively, is of little current importance in Austria. Stakeholders agree that the key outsourcing developments have taken place since the 1970s already (cf. Eichmann et al. 2008), and that this offers some chances at professionalization of cleaning rather than disadvantages. Cleaning companies in Austria receive an estimated 50% of their financial turnover from contracts with public sector clients. Here, outsourcing was not only motivated by cost-efficiency concerns, but also by the fact that administrating well-organized cleaning is difficult. In office cleaning, the market saturation is estimated at about 80%; in hospitals, it is about 50%. Hospitals are expected to want to outsource cleaning and other functions further. Interview partners see some evidence of contrary developments with companies wishing for more control and trying to insource services again in order to gain independence from suppliers. Some in-house cleaning still exists in some areas supported by outsourced services.

With the high proportion of public sector contracts in the sector, the regulation of public procurement has an impact on employment stability. There is a threshold of EUR 100.000, 00; i.e. contracts below this sum do not have to be accompanied by a call for tender. Since contracts are tendered anew in regulated intervals this adds to fluctuation on the labour market:

'And that means, well, you are ... as a public client you are forced to invite tenders at certain points of time or in certain intervals. And that makes of course ... the sector very unsettled.' (Chamber representative)

Since often TUPE regulations do not apply or are avoided by employers, employees having done the job previously may lose their jobs when the contractor changes. Then, exchanging the staff is linked to a loss of know-how, as the Austrian Economic Chamber (WKÖ) argues. As a consequence, calls for tender are sometimes implicitly tailored to a particular company that the client has been satisfied with, thus biasing the competition. The WKÖ, therefore, would prefer a system of evaluation, quality control and internal revision after a certain time instead of a mandatory new call for tenders in regulated intervals. This dynamic is also noted by the public employment service (AMS). A case in point is the general hospital in Vienna (AKH), which in 2010 contracted a new cleaning

company, though it was not the highest bidder. Apart from becoming a political issue, this case also resulted in 320 dismissals of workers from the former contractor (APA 2010).

Personnel leasing

Agency work in the cleaning sector does not appear to be much of an issue. Indeed, agency work has higher wages and better working conditions than permanent staff in the cleaning sector with the effect of limiting staff outsourcing. Nevertheless, works councils try to prevent permanent staff being moved to personnel leasing, mainly on the level of company agreements. According to the Guild, cleaning companies in Austria both use and offer personnel leasing as a business sideline. However, the options are limited, due to the legal prerequisites for personnel leasing and other legal obstacles. For instance, companies cannot request a work permit for migrant workers in personnel leasing, if those have not been working in Austria for several years already. Thus, from the employers' perspective, regulations are stricter for personnel leasing than for the cleaning trade as such.

Technology

With regard to technological progress and the development of productivity, trade unions, employers and labour market experts express different points of views. The trade union perceives the sector as a genuine service sector, whose 80% share of personnel cost is hardly influenced by technological progress. Labour market service and Guild representatives do see productivity gains that limit financial growth if services become cheaper with progressing mechanical support. This concerns cleaning agents, equipment and new machinery, all of which are likely to increase skill demands. However, far-reaching consequences for the labour-market are neither expected nor excluded.

4.2 Quality of work and job characteristics

Generally, the interview partners perceive work in cleaning as physically hard, mostly unskilled low-wage work that is additionally worsened by the prevalence of anti-social working hours. As the trade union says, motivation in cleaning is at the lower end and workers are mostly 'in it for the money'. Hence, employers are confronted with a lack of commitment and problems of staff retention. Turnover is high in both directions: Employers can easily dismiss people they are not satisfied with, and workers can and do rather easily change to another company where, however, they will mostly find similar working conditions. Atypical working times (mornings and evenings), divided shifts and involuntary part-time work are major concerns for both social partners. Interestingly, with regard to working time solutions, stakeholders' aims overlap in the dimension of quality of work whereas they are predictably antagonistic in terms of pay supplements for night work and overtime.

Shifts and working times

Working-time arrangements with part-time work, work in the early morning, in the evening and with disruptions of shifts, are the major characteristic and problem of the sector. They

are mirrored in the expansion of part-time and short-hours part-time work in the sector described in chapter 4.1.2. Working times are centrally shaped by the interplay of client requirements of after- or before-hours cleaning and by the incentives set by the generous definition of night-time hours when supplements need to be paid, with impacts on personnel recruitment, work-life balance and workers' movement within the sector. Normal working time in cleaning is between 6 a.m. and 8 p.m. For work between these times, there is a night supplement of 50% which both employers and their clients seek to avoid. Hence, peaks of cleaning work occur between 6 a.m. and the start of clients' office or working hours, and the end of clients' operation times and 8 p.m. This has the effect of a fragmentation of jobs with more people working shorter hours simultaneously and needing to accept divided shifts and longer commuting times if they have contracts with longer part-time or full-time hours.

'Take for example a public building in Vienna, 30 cleaners from 6 – 8 a.m. Theoretically I could manage this with 10 people from 6 – 12. So people would have 6 hours apiece, a real job, she can earn a bit more and doesn't need to travel across Vienna.' (Chamber representative)

The social partners have a common interest in changing this situation, though for different reasons. While the trade union wants to improve working conditions and work-life-balance, the employers' association wants to improve recruitment and avoid paying the additional labour costs linked to night shifts. The WKÖ especially regards clients' preferences for cleaning work being done outside the office-hours as the main reason for the prevailing, problematic working times.

Divided shifts are a particular problem, i.e. people having to work for few hours at site 1, then have a long break and go somewhere else and work again for a few hours at site 2, often leading to long working days while still having a part-time job. Divided shifts are also often the reason for extended periods of unemployment of potential workers who are unable or refuse to work under these conditions. Newcomers to the labour market, however, tend to accept these conditions, being glad about having a job at all. Their continuous influx then triggers a dynamic: In order to get started, they will accept these working conditions, which makes it easy for employers and their clients to retain them as a sub-optimal standard in the sector.

Short-hours' work early in the morning especially tends to be a problem for people with care obligations. The Guild representatives think for them evening work, e.g. from 6 to 10 p.m., would be easier to arrange. During that time, other carers may be available more easily, and mothers would have the option to work four hours in line. Due to the supplement, however, these kinds of shifts are currently not popular for employers and clients.

The Guild is currently planning to promote daytime cleaning, particularly for negotiations with public authority clients. Indeed, it sees the highest potential for change in a transformation of clients' preferences. The aim is to gain understanding for the difficulties and disadvantages of the current situation and eventually have clients' calls for tenders changed. As the employers argue, there could also be advantages for clients in having

direct contact with the cleaners during the office hours, as they could directly give instructions and feedback.

Interview partners note that cleaning work being done outside the office-hours has not always been as usual as today. In public offices especially, prior to outsourcing, cleaners' jobs would also comprise other tasks during the workday, such as running errands, making coffee or providing office support. With outsourcing, the job profile changed to include cleaning only, so that people's other tasks shifted back onto office staff. Moreover, day-time-cleaning is not seen as a problem in other areas, e.g. hospitals, elderly care institutions, or hotels. The current preference for non-office-hours-cleaning is thus best understood as a matter of historic development and habit, not an inherent characteristic of cleaning work at work places. Interviewees mention interesting experiences with day-time cleaning in Great Britain. Working times are also an issue with regard to the integration of migrants (see 4.3.2). If people have no customer contact and work completely on their own, they will neither be able to learn nor use German.

'Good job' perceptions

Stakeholders widely agree on what constitutes a good job in the sector. With little variation in pay and performance standards in the formal part of the sector, working time and mobility requirements are central. A good job in the cleaning sector is characterized by social and family-friendly working-times, which refers above all to non-divided shifts and work starting not too early in the morning. It is also characterized by a good job induction, i.e. by receiving on-the-job training by more experienced workers. Newcomers need to be shown the most important skills, including skills to make work easier, so that work can be done both more efficiently and in a healthier way. Therefore, a good job will be preferably situated in a team, where this kind of training can take place.

Obtaining one of the better jobs often takes time. It is an advantage to be experienced in the sector and know one's way. This is also a background for the high fluctuation: While workers may accept long travel distances to work in the beginning, they then are likely to look for jobs that are closer to their homes, do not start very early in the morning, do not have divided working times and are better paid. For workers who are flexible, a good job may be one where supplement payments on weekends and evenings can be earned. Cleaning jobs at retirement homes or hospitals often offer favourable conditions. There, people have shift work but no divided shifts, higher income, and the possibility of longer-hours part-time or even full-time employment (which, in the sector in general, is scarce for newcomers).

Wages

As several interview partners note, wages in the sector are higher than the job's image would suggest. Compared to other jobs, e.g. retail or hairdressing, full-time wages in cleaning are not too bad at EUR 1,300 per month for the main groups of wages. In the last ten years, wages have been consistently increased to the point where there is no longer a gap between cleaning and other low-wage jobs. However, obtaining a living wage is

contingent on the availability of full-time work, and the proportion of involuntary part-time work is considerable.

By and large, wages in the cleaning sector correspond to the collective agreements (Wirtschaftskammer Wien 2011) and there is rarely any wage competition between companies paying higher wages. This implies that wages are of vital importance in collective bargaining, and workers in the sector are highly dependent of bargaining outcomes – which may explain the high union density in the sector.

Wages are not highly differentiated. About 80% of cleaners are placed in the same wage bracket, so that there is little leeway for disputes or mistakes over classification. Wage groups (0-5) are fairly simple: From January 2011, fully vocationally qualified cleaners earn EUR 9.26/hr. Outside cleaners without the full qualification earn EUR 8.34/hr. Janitors receive EUR 7.87/hr. Cleaners in hospitals or residential care buildings or doing cleaning of construction sites or clean up after other tradespeople, earn EUR 7.57 and a disinfection supplement if the client's in-house employees receive one. All other maintenance cleaners (also workers doing comparable work such as catering, running errands etc.) earn EUR 7.52. For work on ladders, scaffolds or with breathing protection, a bonus of 50% is paid. Leaders of teams with more than 12 members receive 10% extra pay. For a sector with considerable proportions of work at antisocial hours, the night times are fairly favourable ('the best in Europe', says the unionist): For regular work in between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m. a supplement of 50% is paid. Overtime during these hours is paid with 100% extra, during the day at 50%. Sunday work also has a bonus of 100%.

Maximum workloads, as negotiated in the price commission, are part of the collective agreement. On average, with manual cleaning, this standard allows up to 195 square meters/hr, with machines up to 350 sq m – unless contracts have been agreed before 2005. For bathrooms and toilets, up to 60 sq m/hr are permissible, for cleaning of construction sites etc. up to 40 sq m.

An exception with regard to wages is window cleaning. Window cleaners, a skilled, exclusively male occupation, are not paid according to working hours, but according to a more profitable piece-rate model. Thus, if they are experienced and work quickly, they can earn their wage in a shorter time. However, even if window cleaning is comparatively well paid within the sector, in the unionist's view earnings are not high enough to compensate for the health and safety risks of the job. Also, the regulated performance standards do not apply. Hence, customer pressure on prices has been increasing during the economic crisis which in turn has affected wages.

Another kind of supplement payment is the payment of travel expenses in some defined cases, and unless the company provides transport. It applies to workers who work up to 25 hours only and is interpreted as positive discrimination of part-time workers by the trade union. A similar compensation applies to people working divided shifts. If they start working several times a day, be it at the same or different locations, they are entitled to a compensation of travel expenses. From the point of view of the trade union, Austria has one of the best regulations in Europe for night work, and one of the worst for divided shifts – which however may be regarded as an interrelated problem since it renders shorter-

hour part-time more lucrative. Although divided shifts thus are more expensive for the employer, they are still rather common.

In spite of supplement payment regulations, workers sometimes work overtime they do not get paid for, according to the trade union and previous studies (Eichmann et al. 2008). In these cases, employers seem to make use of workers' lacks of knowledge about their rights and the content of their contracts.

4.3 Vulnerable groups and vulnerability

The two main vulnerable groups in the sector are migrants and mothers of small children (if they are able to find employment in the sector at all). Additionally, women in general, migrant women in particular, people with disabilities, and newcomers in the sector can be identified as vulnerable groups.

Mothers with child care obligations

For mothers with care obligations for children, particularly small children, the usual working times in the sector are a major problem. Peak working times before and also after clients' operations hours collide with the opening hours of childcare facilities.

Even in Vienna, the Austrian province with the most generous opening hours of public childcare services (Mairhuber et al. 2010), childcare facilities generally open at 6 a.m. at the earliest. Work shifts for cleaners, however, often start at 6 a.m. as well. Hence, parents either need to organise childcare individually, or turn down otherwise suitable job offers because they are not able to be at the workplace on time. Again, the issues of night-time supplements and working times are interrelated:

'Then, employers wanted to end the night-time supplement with 5 a.m., now it is until 6 which offers a relative protection against work beginning too early. And one or another customer says you could start work at 5 but not with the supplement. So I said, no, impossible, it is already admirable how people manage being at work at 6. Women with children especially, they are managing miracles anyway. So, we wanted to start a nursery initiative, talked with the City of Vienna [...]. But first we evaluated the situation: How are opening hours in Vienna right now? And they are comparatively generous. [...] And then we got psychologists involved, and they really warned us. They said that's nonsense, that's just madness. Not for the people, but for the children, they are woken up at all hours and go somewhere, so they said, forget it, 6 a.m. is too early for children anyway, but okay, that's the reality we have to accept that. But we should start work later.' (Union representative)

Hence, at the point of extreme working hours, the general policy recommendation of expanding childcare facilities has its limitations: Neither children's quality of life is improved by being taken to the nursery at all hours, nor the work-life-balance of nursery staff, or indeed, the cleaners of nurseries.

This pattern is not only a problem for the individual workers, but also for the companies and the public employment service (AMS). For companies, it limits the pool of potential

workers, and the employment service has difficulties to place mothers with care obligations seeking work, although both supply and demand exist.

Stakeholders agree that workplace nurseries would not be an appropriate solution for this problem since in cleaning the actual workplace is at the client's site. Hence, childcare services close to home are most useful. However, employee-friendlier working times in the sector emerge as the most multi-dimensional improvement in the quality of work and life for both workers and their families.

Migrants

The share of migrants in the sector, according to the interview partners, is as high as 80% percent in Vienna and other large cities and substantially lower in the rest of the country. 40% of workers in the sector were born in Austria, 40% in former Yugoslavia, and 10% in Turkey. However, many of the workers of non-Austrian origin hold the Austrian citizenship: 55% of all employees in the sector are Austrian citizens (Eichmann et al. 2008: 64). Migrant workers in the sector, like their Austrian colleagues, are typically low-skilled or not skilled, and sector experts do not see any evidence of over-qualification. Stakeholders see major issues with regard to migrants in the sector in integration, which is closely connected to language skills, the composition of work teams, and the relationship between different groups of migrants. Furthermore, there seems to be a fundamental problem with stereotypes and discrimination, as can be referred from implicit information by the interview partners.

In Austria, a country with a high share of migrants from former Yugoslavia, cultural and ethnical conflicts between populations of different states of former Yugoslavia have been an issue since the Yugoslavia war. As the unionist describes, companies tend to group work teams according to countries of origin and ethnicity groups to avoid these conflicts (e.g. people from Turkey and Bosnia together, but not from Bosnia and Serbia). During the war in Yugoslavia some companies even re-established disciplinary codes that had been abolished previously and declared politics bans.

The composition of mono-ethnic work teams is an easy solution for companies, also to work around language problems, but it is not seen to serve integration into the wider society. Often enough, people who have been living and working in Austria for many years may have poor German language skills and little contact to native Austrians. Experts perceive this pattern as a major social disadvantage for migrants working in the sector. It is particularly problematic for women coming from traditional rural areas where girls have no or low school education. In these cases, mother tongue skills and literacy may be poor as well, which further hinders German language acquisition. At the same time, the potential solution of mixing teams to learn from each other does not seem feasible: education levels in the sector are generally low without a lot of variation, and in the cities there are few people with German as a mother tongue present in the sector.

Women and gender equality

Overall, the sector has traditionally high gender segmentation. The skilled, better-paid segment of outside cleaning is dominated by men whose health and safety risks are somewhat compensated by higher wages and more favourable piece-rate arrangements (see 4.2.3). In the unskilled segment, the simplicity and homogeneity of the collective agreement leaves less space for gender inequalities than in other sectors, particularly in terms of the wage gap. Classifications of jobs are also rather straightforward. However, women are disproportionately affected by part-time employment, and short working hours at antisocial times.

People with disabilities

People with disabilities are a vulnerable group characterised by its absence in the sector. There are legally set quotas for the employment of people with disabilities across the economy in Austria, but as a rule companies prefer to pay the fee that applies if the quota is not met ('Behindertenausgleichstaxe') rather than employing the stipulated number of workers with disabilities. This also applies to the cleaning sector for several reasons mentioned by stakeholders.

First, companies do not wish to confront the clients with allegedly less capable or efficient workers, even if this stereotype does not apply. Second, the employment of disabled people is legally linked to extended job protection regulations, which companies rather avoid. Third, work in the cleaning sector is perceived as being too hard for people with physical disabilities. Previous attempts by the public employment service (AMS) to train, integrate and support people with disabilities in the cleaning labour market did not turn out as success. The ability to work at high speed was regarded as an important prerequisite for working in the sector and as a difficult requirement for workers with disabilities.

Meanwhile, the employers' association is preparing a complaint of unconstitutionality. They consider the fee that companies have to pay for not employing the stipulated number of workers with disabilities as inappropriate and doubt that the numbers are calculated correctly.

Newcomers in the sector

Newcomers in the sector are particularly vulnerable in the sense that for them, problematic working conditions tend to accumulate. They are prepared to accept worse conditions than more experienced workers, especially with regard to working times. As long as a continuous influx into the sector is maintained, this has not only consequences for their individual situation, but also for the standards in the sector as a whole. Furthermore, initial job training is particularly important, but not always available for newcomers.

Moreover, companies hardly ever offer full-time-jobs for newcomers. According to a labour market expert, initial job offers are mostly part-time since companies want to check first whether the new employee turns out to be a good and reliable worker. After a while, an

extension of working hours will be offered. This limits the attractiveness of work in the cleaning sector for unemployed people who need to earn a living wage, particularly men.

4.4 Labour market and unemployment

Formal labour market

In April 2011, there were 9,954 unemployed people in the sector in Austria (<http://www.dnet.at/bali/User2008.aspx>). Experts see a major reason for unemployment in the fact that eligible people do not want to or cannot work under the given circumstances, particularly because of the problematic working hours.

The labour market is characterized by a very high turnover. Generally in Austria, blue-collar employment especially, i.e. the status that applies to most cleaning work, is not highly protected. In the first year of employment, the employment contract can be ended by either side without any period of notice. From the second working year on, there is a period of notice of one week for either side (Wirtschaftskammer Wien 2011). Major changes of severance pay regulations⁴ in Austria in 2003 meant that one of the few incentives for companies to keep staff became obsolete. Both workers and companies thus frequently terminate contracts. Sick leave especially, but also activities to establish works councils or pursue a dispute easily lead to dismissals, and workers look for more suitable working hours or locations of work. Turnover is lowest in hospitals, where people are more satisfied because wages are higher and conditions are better.

Generally, it is easier for employers to find staff in the cities than in the countryside, the labour market expert explains. Furthermore, there are seasonal fluctuations, particularly with regard to outdoors work like window cleaning. In the cold season, therefore, unemployment rises. In the context of contracting and public procurement, the employment service uses an early warning system: Possible dismissals are announced to the AMS if large contracts run out.

The (semi-)informal labour market

In Austria, experts estimate that about 90% or more of external cleaning work in private households organized informally (see chapter 10). Yet this segment of services is not regarded as a potential market for companies in the sector or an area of possible regularisation of employment. Arguments proposed by stakeholders address both cost and culture.

⁴ In the 'old' severance pay model, employees were entitled to severance payment if they had been employed at the company for at least 3 years. The payment was graduated in accordance with the period of employment at the company (e.g., 2 monthly wages after 3 years, 12 monthly wages after 25 years). The payment was inter alia due in case of dismissal on part of the company, but not if the employee resigned of her own accord. The 'new' severance pay regulation works in a different way: From the second month of employment on, the employer pays 1.53% of the employee's monthly gross wage to a severance fund. The money is paid to the employee upon termination or retirement, regardless of the reason for the termination (Arbeiterkammer Wien 2011).

In Vienna, a cleaner in the informal sector will be paid some 9-10 EUR per hour in cash. Assuming 40 hour fulltime employment, including normal holidays and two months' bonus pay as provided in Austrian collective agreements, taxes and social security, at an hourly wage of net EUR 9.95 she would cost an employer a gross EUR 17.55⁵ Assuming a 20 hour working week, the gross amount would be EUR 15.21, since then her income would be below the income tax threshold. Hence, cleaning work would become considerably more expensive for private clients if employment was regularised at the current net wages. If, however, cleaners were hired at the wages provided by the current collective agreement (of a gross EUR 7.52/hr), they would cost an employer EUR 10.77/hr. Regularising cleaning in private households thus would require considerable cost to some party in the arrangement: either clients paying more or cleaners accepting a cut in net wages, possibly in exchange for longer working hours and the benefits provided, with the possibility of an employer, a firm rather than a household, realising some productivity gains, for instance, cleaning groups of flats by sending teams to larger residences. However, this would also mean a break with culturally embedded notions of household cleaning consisting in individual arrangements within the private sphere. Currently, companies do not see private households as promising clients because they are often unsatisfied and wish to have the same cleaning worker on a constant basis.

Informal employment in commercial cleaning in Austria can mean different things: Mostly, it refers to working without work permit, which does not necessarily mean that the worker is not declared at the social insurance. It can also refer to parts of wages being paid in cash or illicit sub-contracting. However, experts agree that this practice is limited to small businesses at the periphery of the commercial market since others, especially with public sector clients, do not have the undeclared money available. Nevertheless, according to the labour market expert, there are areas in which collective agreements are not adhered to.

For the stakeholders interviewed, the service check (see chapter 10) is clearly of little relevance since this arrangement explicitly excludes services provided by companies. The Guild thus is in no way involved with it. The labour market expert had expected additional work for the labour market service with the implementation of the check, but did not notice any relevant changes. For the AMS' practical work, private households are a concern only in the context of the legalisation of care and assistance for the disabled. The trade union, finally, has never supported the Austrian service check model.

4.5 Skills and training

Apprenticeship and vocational training

In contrast to widespread assumptions, the general pattern in the (formal) Austrian cleaning sector is not one of de-qualification, but rather one of very low education levels. Furthering formal education and training and improving the image of the sector are among

⁵ Calculation of estimates based on the calculator of taxes and social security contributions at <http://www.karriere.at/seite/karriere-center-gehalt>.

the main and common aims of the stakeholders. Monument, building and facade cleaner is in fact a skilled trade, with apprenticeships being offered at companies and two specialized business colleges in Austria. However, few young people choose this profession, as the image is bad and the working conditions are not seen as attractive. In Vienna, there are currently only 35 apprentices. In the last decade, there were about 80 to 90 new master craftsmen in the sector per year, according to recent investigations of the Guild. In sum, there will be fewer than 1,000 skilled master craftsmen in monument, building and facade cleaning in Austria, and about as many people with an apprenticeship leave certificate.

In this sector, apprentices are not used as cheap labour but tend to cause cost. They are usually allocated to work teams covering the range of the main job descriptions, above all sanitary, hospitals, homes for the elderly, and offices. In window cleaning, access for apprentices is difficult. As they are paid according to piece rates, teams lose time if they have apprentices with them. Only about half of the companies that are allowed to train apprentices actually do so. Mainly bigger companies offer trainings, not least because they can receive public funding for that.

Vocational training rather takes place in second-chance education, particularly if employees plan to take over a leading position or start their own business, paid for by either companies or workers themselves. This focus on formal training of cleaners has developed in the last few years. Access became easier in 2002, when it became possible to pass the master craftsperson's exam without holding the apprenticeship leave certificate.

Currently, the WKÖ is working on harmonizing the training material and instructing the auditors. It is also keen on implementing quality monitoring, because in theory, anyone can offer trainings. Furthermore, the WKÖ currently establishes a new building cleaning academy which specialises in simulations of real-life cleaning contexts (e.g. subway wagons for training purposes).

Trainings organized by private companies exist as well, but according to experts, they often do not cover the whole range of cleaning tasks that should be practiced. However, they prepare people in second-chance education for the exam. One training centre, for example, which an interview partner mentions is mainly attended by women and men between 28 and 50 years of age. As a rule, these people are already working in the field and find that they need more (technical) knowledge to move into team leader positions, in addition to company-specific skills.

Yet overall, currently the sector appears somewhat stuck in a low-skills/high-turnover equilibrium, although social partners do expect and want to promote increasing skill requirements and some professionalization. According to the labour market expert, companies have some interest in higher qualification, but are not prepared to offer a high amount of financial resources for that. On the one hand, they prefer qualified workers instead of newcomers, but on the other hand, newcomers are prepared to work under worse conditions. In addition, there is some concern by labour market services themselves that enhanced skills may price workers out of the market, since wage brackets

are based on skills rather than job descriptions. Recently, the WKÖ also notices growing interest on part of the clients to contract companies employing skilled staff.

In the past, the employment service conducted a qualification initiative, which was very popular in the sector. However, in recent years the AMS increasingly aims to have training organized in foundations, with employers contributing to the funding. The foundation solution is not popular with employers, who tend to prefer investing in their own middle management. The labour market expert sees a major reason for companies' reluctance to invest in new employees in the high turnover. For the future, qualification networks are envisaged. There are plans for training and re-training programmes that could be jointly funded by the Austrian state, the company, and the European Social Fund (ESF), each party paying one third of the costs.

Language skills

As mentioned in chapter 4.3.2, the lack of German language skills of migrant workers is a concern for different stakeholders. The trade union offered free German classes for members and their families quite early. Municipalities offer classes, too. However, many workers do not or cannot attend courses if those are offered outside working hours. Hence, to make these attempts more efficient, classes would have to take place within the working time which is unlikely with the exception of some initiatives.

The situation is tightened for people who are illiterate and need basic literacy skills before they can learn the language. Especially in these cases, the effort is seen as too high for the companies. The trade unionist says:

'And they know that, the companies, and they say: 'Well, here we don't need to invest anything, because it's not profitable anyway. They should only clean properly and not get sick.' That's the cynical angle.'

On the other hand, the combination of workable German and another first language may be an asset for leading teams who speak that language and interacting with clients.

5 Section 5: Collective bargaining and social dialogue

5.1 The configuration

Overall, social partnership in this sector appears to be working well on the basis of mutual acknowledgement of interests and limitations, and clear-cut agreements with little space for interpretation. Of course, this is supported by the Austrian specialty of compulsory membership in the Chamber of Economy and the sector-specific legacies of regulation. The Commission for Prices and Wages keeps competition limited and customer pressure at bay, involves trade unions into the creation of performance measures and narrows down the spaces for negotiation. Other instances of social partnership such as the representation of the employer and union side in the sectoral organisation of Labour Market Services in Vienna also ensure ongoing contacts and the development of a shared

perception of the sector's issues and situation. Both social partners thus agree on the perspectives and desirable strategies along the lines of skill upgrading, professionalization, improving working times and improving the image of the sector.

5.2 The collective agreement

As is common in Austria, the collective agreement is negotiated by the union Vida and the Economic Chamber/Guild and covers all blue-collar employees of the sector. Wages are negotiated annually, and employees generally receive the collectively agreed wages with no company-specific extras. This fits in with the regulated market and limits the space for individual wage negotiations or negotiations on the company level. It may also be one explanation for the comparatively high union density in the sector.

The simplicity of wage brackets and the homogeneity of wages are seen as advantages of the collective agreement wages by the trade union. The downside is of course that sectors with some wage competition tend to have higher wages. Apparently, the Guild is currently trying to implement more wage differentiation (drawing on the Swiss model). The unions, however, reject this idea. From the union's point of view, more differentiation leaves more room for mistakes and disputes over classification, be it deliberate or not.

5.3 Contested issues

Since in cleaning, the proportion of personnel cost to overall cost is estimated at 80% with limited increases in productivity, both sides agree that the space in wage negotiations is limited:

'That means, the headspace, from where the employer can take his profit, is really a lot narrower, and pressure on wages is a lot higher since any pay increase eats into these 20%, directly into the profit. [...] And yet we've achieved a stable development of wages.' (Union representative)

However, wage increases generally are accepted by the bi-partite pricing commission as good reasons to increase prices. On the other hand:

'Employers are still better off if there is no wage agreement – the negotiation on prices gets somewhat unpleasant, for the contractor there is a danger that that negotiation triggers a change in contractors. Right, you [the client] are satisfied with me [the contractor] up to the point when I've negotiated a new price, and then suddenly you don't like me anymore.' (Union representative)

A key struggle at the moment in both social partners' view concerns pay supplements on overtime, night and weekend work. The generous definition of night work is obviously not popular with employers who would like a more restrictive definition, saving the supplements for work between for example 8 and 10 p.m. The union is opposed, assuming that would lead to even more anti-social working hours:

'If I yield on that, tomorrow people who are there from 4 – 8 p.m. then work from 6 – 10 p.m.'

With regard to work on Saturdays and Sundays, the competition between sectors also plays a part since for example hospitality does not need to pay these supplements. Since 2009, the law requires employers to also pay at least 25% overtime supplement for work beyond the agreed hours to part-time workers – unless there is a regulation of compensatory time-off over a period of three months or another provision in the collective agreement. Previously, for part-timers extra working hours up to the full-time hours were remunerated at the normal rates – and this was still regarded as advantageous in sectors with involuntary and short-hours part-time work like cleaning where workers are happy with some extra work and income. While the union on principle is opposed to compensatory time-off, employers say they are unable to fit overtime supplements into the prices customers are willing to pay, since it is quite easy to simply increase contracted working hours at no extra cost. Employers thus aim to package an agreement on part-timers' overtime that may limit overtime pay to a 5% supplement with the wage agreement – which is unlikely to be accepted by the union. In the union's view the law with its privilege of regulation by collective agreement encourages blackmail by employers:

'Since this law exists, any wage agreement is under this pressure, give us the overtime supplement, otherwise there won't be a wage increase. And that's been consciously built into the law.'

A possible compromise could involve cuts in the supplements on the condition of longer shifts:

'Then you need to find models where nobody feels they're taken for a ride, say, okay, they may work until 9 p.m. without a supplement if they're working for four hours or more. So, there are enough ideas.' (Chamber representative)

In company practice, to avoid overtime supplements, contracted working times are changed at short notice, then returning back to the original contract. On that, the union considers going to court:

'We think if someone does that more than three times, the contract is changed for good. Then I have no claim on overtime supplements but I don't care, I have the better contract with 30 instead of 25 hours.'

Temporal flexibility and its cost thus is a key bargaining issue with supplements possibly being exchanged for more working hours or less fragmented workdays. Generally, the union appears to be more invested in the clarity and simplicity of the framework of the current collective agreement than the employer side, also claiming the collective good of the industry. In this, occasionally the union representative finds himself at odds with works councillors who would rather exchange some framework provisions for higher wage agreements. He argues that treating the overall architecture as a collection of bargaining chips will be less beneficial in the long run.

5.4 Areas of collaboration

In spite of this contestation of established exchanges of flexibility for pay, the issue of longer working times is also addressed collaboratively. This would increase incomes and make work more attractive or realistic for particular groups of unemployed, especially people with children.

Here, as in the issues of qualification and training, social partners are in agreement with the Labour Market Services. However, it is also a matter of educating customers who have grown accustomed to work at night or in the mornings and still are unwilling to pay supplements. The Guild representatives thus argue both ways: Hoping for more contracts with cheaper night work, taking client's extended working and opening hours into account, and also aiming to shift work to the daytime in the interest of better working conditions. The public sector is expected to be more amenable to such arrangements and might also be addressed politically.

Another issue of collaboration is qualification. The Guild sees some possibilities to overcome companies' reluctance to invest into training by getting involved in training networks and mobilising some mixed funding.

6 Section 6: Networks/Initiatives – Relationships with other actors and institutions

6.1 Stakeholders' influence and cooperation

Compared to other European countries, particularly Eastern European states, the sector representation by the trade union and Guild in Austria appear to be particularly well organised. The comprehensiveness of Austrian collective agreements here provides ample institutional resources to regulate a sector characterised by precarious employment, and social partners have developed a basis for collaboration and common interests, such as shifting cleaning work to the daytime or improving the image and training in the sector. Clients, too, have an influential role, as has been illustrated in the context of day time cleaning and demanding skilled staff.

There is also a strong cooperation between the union Vida and the metalworkers' trade union, because the latter bargains the collective agreement for personnel leasing. Hence, the representation of these workers within cleaning happens in close coordination with other unions. In this relationship, the union representative claims a certain vanguard role of his constituency among unions due to the specific features of the sector:

'My group is the most aggressive group of employers because personnel cost plays the largest part even if wages are low. [...] That means all that's happening here will happen in your [manufacturing union's] sectors sooner or later. And they said, no, won't happen. And last year there they were negotiating overtime supplements all through the wage negotiations. They didn't let themselves be blackmailed, but didn't think it possible before that employers would – so I tell them, just you wait.'

In Vienna, sector representatives of the social partners are strongly involved in labour market measures due to the specific structure of the public employment service in the capital. Here, the AMS provides its services to employers according to sectors and professions, while in the other provinces, this system was abolished and a regional structure was introduced. In Vienna, the trade union successfully opposed that restructuring, thereby ensuring its influence on the sectoral level. The AMS has an expert's forum ('Fachforum'), composed of an employers' representative, an employees' representative and a representative of the employment service department in charge. In this setting, stakeholders jointly design training programmes and other measures for the sector and make decisions on work permits for migrants from the NMS and non-EU countries. Companies can turn to the AMS in order to apply for work permits for people they want to hire. Indeed, this influence on the labour supply was one of the main reasons for the trade unions refusing the region-based structure for Vienna. As the AMS delegate tells us, chances for getting a work permit are high if people have been living in Austria for a certain time, or if they are needed as workers in areas with high demand (such as care and nursing), particularly if they have an education or vocational training that is comparable to the Austrian one. For a newcomer to Austria, chances of obtaining a work permit in the cleaning sector however are limited.

As to the common aim of shifting working times to daytime work, the social partners cooperate strongly in their attempts to change the Federal Procurement Agency's attitude. There are talks in teams of three (companies, clients and social partners) in which improvements in this regard are being discussed.

6.2 Image campaigns

A major concern for all stakeholders is the perceived bad image of the sector. With regard to society, social partners identify a lack of knowledge about the skills that are necessary to do the job professionally and deplore the invisibility of the work. In late 2010, the WKÖ launched a media campaign in Vienna aiming to make the job more visible and improve its image in the context of the Viennese municipal elections in which the right-wing populist party conducted its notorious anti-migration campaign. Posters depicted real migrant workers and the kind of work they did under the motto 'Vienna says thank you'. The trade union supported the initiative. The WKÖ noticed differing reactions, ranging from positive feedback to complaints about the focus on migrants.

In spring 2011, another campaign will follow, including radio spots and 816 large posters in Vienna. The focus will be put on showing the spectrum of activities of commercial cleaning, workers' contribution to others' wellbeing, security (e.g. hospital, spa) and the conservation of buildings' value, and the skills they need for their job. While the radio spots will be broadcasted nationwide, the posters will be limited to Vienna due to financial reasons.

Another focus in campaigning is to make the vocational training better known and more attractive. The WKÖ wants to promote people who successfully took the apprenticeship or master craftsperson exam and now have their own business or are in leading positions in

order to show that attractive careers are possible within cleaning. They will also shoot a 10-minutes film for TV, which they then want to use for presenting possible careers in schools. Furthermore, the Guild will be present at 'EuroClean', a European cleaning fair. There will also be an apprentice contest whose winner will be sent to 'Euro Skills', a European professional contest, in 2012.

6.3 European level

Both social partners are active in the European Sectoral Social Dialogue and frequently refer to international examples of good practices. They feel that they benefit from the European structure, particularly in terms of information, exchange and comparisons. The focus on daytime cleaning thus has been inspired by the EU exchange.

6.4 National policies

Sector-specific concerns in national policies are labour market regulation, labour law, and the regulation of caretaking services. Specifically the union representative has outspoken views on these subjects. He would like a homogenisation of the treatment of all different forms of employment and types of freelance work in social security – but sees the problem that many freelancers themselves would not be interested in paying more social security contributions.

Changes in the practices of the sector have resulted from a change in the management of statutory sick pay for blue-collar workers. Until 2001, there was a sectoral fund from which companies could reclaim that cost at a rate of 80% for large and 130% for small companies. Hence the risk was taken from individual employers. Since the abolition of that fund (by the right-wing populist government, in line with an adaptation of the regulation to that for white-collar employees), the pressure on the sick to return to work has increased overall. In cleaning specifically, any illness is likely to lead to a termination of employment, contributing to the turnover in the sector.

An Austrian specialty was the legal regulation of caretaking services in the so-called 'caretakers' law' that defined employment as an on-site caretaker as a distinct and protected employment relationship in which tasks and rights related to housing provided by the employer were regulated in striking detail. Part of the background was the high share of municipal public housing in Vienna which is closely associated with the Viennese Labour party tradition and just as traditional suspicions of clientelism. This law was also abolished as part of the right-wing populist government's efforts at deregulation, resulting in considerable outsourcing of caretaking services into the less regulated part of the cleaning sector. Here, with the limitations on migrants' access to regular employment, the massive expansion of subcontracting down to individual service providers took place that is increasing the Guild's membership base but not that group's representation.

'But with regard to the labour market, that isn't relevant at all. That means he has destroyed some 20,000 jobs and then created 5,000, the game resulted in minus 15,000 jobs. I'm saying that because the EU is always interested in employment growth.' (Union representative)

A referendum in Vienna in 2010, shortly before the municipal election, resulted in a majority of citizens voting for the re-introduction of employed caretakers for residential buildings. However, the municipality currently does not appear to take any visible initiatives beyond continuously reorganising caretaking services in its own residential buildings, demanding a national general regulation which is supported by the union and opposed by the Conservative party and Chamber of the Economy. Both social partners expect a normalisation of employment in this segment of the sector with the extension of free labour market mobility to NMS nationals except Bulgarians and Romanians from May 2011.

7 Section 7: Perspectives

7.1 Knowledge-intensity of cleaning

Overall, social partners expect a limited amount of further growth in the sector since most outsourcing has taken place already with the exception of some work for hospitals. They put considerable emphasis on the aim of a professionalization and normalisation of work in the sector, promoting daytime cleaning and longer contractual working hours. The image of the sector, its importance for maintaining buildings' value and overall quality of life is emphasised. Social partners also agree that skill requirements in the sector are likely to increase and that cleaning already is or should be seen as a knowledge-intensive occupation. This includes knowledge about the different materials to be cleaned, about hygiene, about active agents, and, in case of disinfection, also about legal regulations with regard to environment protection and health and safety. In order to do their jobs efficiently, people also need to learn to find practical working strategies, optimise effort and outcome, in order to save time resources, but also physical resources. According to the WKÖ, there is also some demand for skilled workers by clients, particularly in the public sector. Tenders by the Federal Procurement Agency for example require declaration of the qualifications of workers in leadership positions (e.g. department head, service manager, foreman, application engineer etc.) and provide certain scores for qualifications provided in addition to cost.

Nevertheless, there appears to be room for improvement in training. Current enrolment in vocational training is fairly limited, and second-chance education focuses on team leaders and middle management. Wage brackets distinguish between skilled workers and unskilled cleaning staff, but training outside the system of apprenticeships and master craftsperson status is not recognised in wages. From the union's point of view, a more differentiated recognition of skills would be balanced against the advantages of the simplicity of the current collective agreement.

7.2 Labour Mobility

With regard to a further internationalisation of the labour market, changes can be expected starting from May 1st 2011 when Germany and Austria will extend EU labour

market mobility to citizens of the NMS except Romania and Bulgaria. Previously, migrants from these countries were directed into self-employment in Austria and thus in the cleaning sector chose to obtain a trade licence in order to be able to work legally. As a consequence, many one-person-companies were started up, which work as sub-contractors for other companies, especially in the segment of caretaking services. The number of possible commuters from the neighbouring countries to Austrian regions close to the border is particularly difficult to estimate for the experts. With regard to people who already live in Austria, a substantial increase in labour market participation in cleaning is not expected. However, both social partners expect and welcome a shift of self-employed NMS nationals in facility management and caretaking services to regular employment.

To prevent wage dumping and evasion of social security contributions, a new law has been passed in April 2011 to adapt various labour laws that implement the EU posted workers directive ('Lohn- und Sozialdumping-Bekämpfungsgesetz') – at rather short notice to inform their members, say WKÖ representatives. As before, posted workers in Austria must be paid at least the minimum wage stipulated in the respective collective agreement according to that collective agreement's wage brackets. Now, this rule also applies to Austrian companies. Failures to pay that wage can be punished with in between 1,000 and 10,000 EUR per worker and double that if there are more than three workers underpaid. In repeat cases up to 50,000 EUR can be charged and a foreign company can be barred from providing services in Austria. In addition, the new law mostly facilitates controls. Foreign companies must keep documents on wages in German at the work site. Controls by the Police for Finance ('Finanzpolizei', until recently called KIAB – 'Kontrolle illegaler Arbeitnehmerbeschäftigung', control of illegal employment) will be intensified and a new competence centre to fight wage dumping is established which can start legal proceedings.

According to the WKÖ, there is some concern by member companies that from May 1st on, foreign competition will rush to the Austrian market. However, social partners agree that the impact in the sector will be limited. The WKÖ representatives point out that migration (into self-employment and the informal sector) has already taken place before the liberalization. Second, due to the prevalence of part-time work and divided shifts (see section 4.2.), it does not seem likely that workers from neighbouring countries will commute to Austria only to work a couple of hours in the morning or evening.

The trade union, on the other hand, is not as confident about the efficacy of control. They regard it as possible that a company from, e.g., Bratislava, provides its services in Austria and illegally pays wages below the Austrian and above the Slovak level, which is substantially lower than the Austrian one. However, the employer side believes in the efficacy of the market, since workers could move to Austria or find better-paying employers. Indeed, a larger recruitment pool of migrants and commuters from the border regions could even be an advantage for employers.

While in other sectors, the legal provisions for the minimum collectively agreed wage may still put some pressure on real wages, in the cleaning sector the simplicity and homogeneity of the wage structure and the absence of seniority arrangements may

indeed provide little space for evasion. It will depend on migrants' alternative options in other low-wage sectors whether the expected regularisation of employment will occur, whether pressure on wages will concentrate in the informal sector, or whether formal-sector services for private households will expand.

8 Conclusions

In sum, these findings allow us to conclude that commercial cleaning in Austria is one of the sectors in which the Austrian social partnership with its comprehensive coverage of collective agreements operates successfully in a highly flexible, low-wage and low-skill environment. This is supported by a fairly simple design of the collective agreement with little space for interpretation and dispute, a palpably cooperative negotiation climate, and a wide area of consensus among social partners over the sector's situation, challenges and possible steps forward. The generic problems of the sector such as low wages, low commitment, high labour turnover and health issues are clearly seen but to some extent regarded as inevitable. A key issue for both collaboration and contestation is the working time. Social partners and workers would prefer arrangements with longer-hours part-time or full-time and avoidance of split shifts. However, the current system of pay supplements together with clients' preferences supports a compression of work into short morning and evening periods that fragments jobs well beyond what workers and employers deem desirable. Hence, an expansion of daytime cleaning would improve the quality of work considerably (at the expense of some stagnation in the number of jobs). Indeed, due to the involvement of clients in work organisation, it is possible that to overcome obstacles the sector could use some policy support, especially since the public sector represents a large share of the customer base.

9 Listless regulation: The service check in Austria. A digression

9.1 Basic characteristics and conditions

The Austrian service check ('Dienstleistungsscheck') constitutes a very short-hours, fixed-term employment relationship between a private household as employer and an individual employee. It is a check bought at tobacconists' or post offices for its face value and a supplement of 2% and given to an employee in payment for household work. 1.4% of the face value are a contribution to an accident insurance for the employee, 0.6% are a contribution to the administrative cost. Employment is fixed-term up to a month, but repeated contracts are possible without limitations (!). Only simple household services by individuals can be paid for by service checks, and mixed employment in both a small business and the household is excluded. Furthermore, only workers legally allowed to be employed in Austria can be hired through service checks, that means, citizens of the NMS need a work permit that they are unlikely to get.

Wages are supposed to be in line with the legally set wages in private households. The minimum wage for simple household work, cleaning without cooking, is in between EUR 9.27 in Vienna and 11.08 in Vorarlberg. These minimum wages are negotiated in special boards of the social partners since there is no collective agreement for the sector. Employment by means of the service check is covered by accident insurance. Health and pension insurance is optional and can be bought for a comparatively low monthly flat rate of EUR 52.78 (2011). Currently, the maximum wage to be earned by service check payments under these conditions is 512.36 per month. Above that amount, employees need to pay social security contributions at the regular rates. This amount is composed by the limit for marginal employment ('Geringfügigkeitsgrenze') of EUR 374.02 plus proportional holiday compensation (9,6%) and aliquot bonuses (a 13th and 14th monthly wage) as stipulated in most collective agreements in Austria (25%), both of which are included in the service check payment.

9.2 Formation and implementation

The service check law⁶ came into effect in January 2006, during the government of the right-wing ('black-blue') coalition between ÖVP (conservative people's party) and FPÖ (liberal/populist party). The minister in charge was Martin Bartenstein (ÖVP), at the time minister for economy and labour. According to some interview partners, the minister favoured a system that would allow employers to personally choose their employees, thus rejecting alternative ideas such as a solution including intermediaries, companies or social entrepreneurs. In the interviewees' point of view, such an approach would have had labour market policy advantages, e.g. in terms of an active targeting of unemployed people. However, in the context of the implementation of the service check, labour market policy motives were not prioritized. Rather, the emphasis was (and still is) on ease of use for employers and employees. In the political constellation at the time, social partners were not as involved in the legislation as they usually are in Austria. The service check was meant to be a limited incentive to legalize work in private households and solve problems concerning accidents during illicit work. However, actual job creation or (marginal) inclusion of potential workers (such as NMS citizens restricted to self-employment) was not an aim of the programme.

9.3 Funding

The administrative costs, which are not covered by the 0.6% contribution included in the price of the service check, are being financed from the unemployment insurance contributions. In sum, the administrative costs amount to about EUR 400,000 to 500,000 per year (EUR 2.5 Mio. in total for the first five years). The operational handling of the service check was taken over by a small public social insurance institution (the railway health insurance), the only public insurance willing to be involved, who now runs a specific competence centre. The optional social insurance fee of EUR 52.78 is not at all cost-

⁶ Dienstleistungsscheckgesetz (DLSG)

covering for the insurances, but in line with the regulations applying to mini-jobs. However, compared with the Belgian or French examples, the labour cost is not subsidised any further.

In the Ministry, motivation to campaign for the service check appears to be limited. While a certain increase in the use of the check would be welcome to the responsible political actors, an oversized use would actually pose serious funding problems and is thus neither promoted nor expected.

9.4 Labour law and working conditions

The fixed-term employment up to a month has a number of implications which allow for special regulations: As opposed to other forms of employment, company pension fund contributions and holiday entitlement do not apply. In general, the service check is constructed and treated as a very specific niche regulation. However, the regulations applying to the service check are embedded in general Austrian labour law, and some of them are similar to the regulations for mini-jobs, with the accompanying advantages and disadvantages, such as the voluntary social insurance fee or the income limit.

9.5 Utilization and limits, advantages and disadvantages

The revenue of sold service checks since the introduction amounts to EUR 9.8 Mio (average monthly revenue: between EUR 180,000 and EUR 250,000). The service check is used by 2,500 to 2,700 employers and 2,200 to 2,350 employees per month. According to calculations of the ministry responsible, one million working hours⁷ have been legalized by means of the check since its implementation in 2006. However, political opponents have criticized that the legalization effect achieved by the service check is negligible, and pointed out that the check is mainly used as a way to buy cheap pension insurance times (DiePresse.com 2007). Media reception, too, has been predominantly negative.

According to an evaluation study done in 2007 – the only evaluation carried out so far – the service check is mainly used for cleaning and ironing, followed by minor maintenance tasks. It appears to be restricted to very small-scale household services since in the first 15 months, 55% of the 4,473 service check employees cashed service checks to an amount of less than EUR 100,-- (Korunka et al. 2007, p. 24, own calculations). 80% of employees predictably were women and 88% Austrians. Most service check employees were otherwise out of the labour market or marginally employed. Hence, apparently the service check is used for the small ‘neighbourhood help’ type of domestic labour performed by housewives, students etc. for ‘pocket money’ rather than making any inroads into the ‘professional’ field of domestic cleaning which in Austria stays firmly in the informal sector. More evaluations are not planned for the near future, due to financial

⁷ The calculation is based on the simplifying assumption that the average working hour costs EUR 10.- (which is actually too low, EUR 12-15.- would be more realistic). If the yearly revenue is about EUR 20 million, then the yearly amount of working hours is 200,000. In five years, this amounts to about one million working hours.

considerations and low prioritization. Both legally and in practice, the utilization of the service check is clearly restricted to unskilled work for private households, e.g. cleaning, shopping, non-skilled gardening or non-skilled baby-sitting. It is not permitted to use the check if a qualification is needed for the job (e.g. care for the elderly and ill) (<http://www.arbeiterkammer.com/online/dienstleistungsscheck-26424.html>). However, control mechanisms with regard to the minimum wages or the unskilled character of the work are scarce and are not deemed desirable either, as work in private households is clearly being constructed as a field that the state should not interfere with. Social insurances do have some instruments and duty to exert control in the informal sector, but the household does not seem to be a major concern. Theoretically, employers risk to be sued by the employee in case of conflict, which is interpreted as an instrument of self-control.

From expert's point of view, the check thus cannot contribute too much of a formalisation of household employment and can hardly be optimized within the current system. To render the instrument more powerful, the system would have to be changed substantially (IWAK Frankfurt 2011). Another problem that would be linked with extending the check's use is seen in the potential competition with the cleaning sector, which the political actors are keen to avoid.

The evaluation stresses that Austrians have a lack of understanding that hiring people illicitly in private households is unlawful or morally wrong (Korunka et al. 2007; cf. Schneider 2007). This attitude is not only reflected in the employers' points of views, but also in employees' interpretations and actions. Focus group discussions revealed that service workers carefully consider which employment they should declare and which not. If the income increases beyond a certain level, they are concerned that pensions or unemployment benefits might be at stake. Nor do employers express any interest in declaring the employment themselves (Korunka et al. 2007: 44f.). The interview partners see this lack of understanding as one of the reasons for the fact that the service check is not very popular, and that alternative systems would not be either, as long as there is no motivation for change in the population. Therefore, in political and media discourse, politicians rather underline the aspect of accident insurance as major advantage of the check.

Like the expansion of commercial cleaners into private households, the service check is thus limited by the comprehensively informal character of work in private households in Austria. Here, the regimes of limiting access to the formal labour market for NMS and other foreign nationals, limited investment of the public sector into household services (for example for the elderly), and a gender regime keeping a large part of household activities in the private sphere as women's work interact to keep a large part of paid household work at arm's length from the formal labour market.

As the interview partners concede, the group of employees for whom the service check might be an attractive option is limited. First, the model is not attractive to employees who have other employment, as they would have to pay social insurance contributions on an additional service-check-based income. Second, it excludes people who can be assumed

to actually work in Austria but who are not eligible for the check, i.e. migrants who are not allowed to work legally. In this context, the interview partners expect some, but only minor changes after labour mobility is extended to the NMS except Romania and Bulgaria from May 2011. They agree with social partners in the cleaning sector that workers will rather opt for more stable and longer-hours employment settings than those enabled by the service check or other marginal employment.

Additionally, the ministry plans to introduce an electronically usable version of the service check in spring 2011, in the context of the labour mobility changes. The implementation of the electronic version will be accompanied by a new website and a (not very large-scale, supposedly poorly financed) campaign.

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Annex: Development of employment, by NACE 4-figure subsectors

Table A1 Facility support activities, ÖNACE 2008 8.11, no. of employees

Sex/Nationality	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Men										
Austrian	758	894	1061	1254	1364	1497	1692	1746	1731	1690
EU15 without AUT	10	12	15	19	27	36	37	36	43	57
EU12	5	8	7	12	16	22	26	30	34	36
Other	103	120	151	186	199	232	275	318	307	332
All	876	1034	1234	1471	1606	1787	2030	2130	2115	2115
% EU nationals	1.7%	1.9%	1.8%	2.1%	2.7%	3.2%	3.1%	3.1%	3.6%	4.4%
% non-EU nationals	11.8%	11.6%	12.2%	12.6%	12.4%	13.0%	13.5%	14.9%	14.5%	15.7%
<i>Index (2000=100)</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>118</i>	<i>141</i>	<i>168</i>	<i>183</i>	<i>204</i>	<i>232</i>	<i>243</i>	<i>241</i>	<i>241</i>
Women										
Austrian	989	1103	1271	1302	1299	1336	1384	1405	1414	1401
EU15 without AUT	10	10	13	13	15	17	22	30	29	32
EU12	5	10	13	14	18	16	21	29	25	32
Other	105	135	172	194	211	241	264	291	314	355
All	1109	1258	1469	1523	1543	1610	1691	1755	1782	1820
% EU nationals	1.4%	1.6%	1.8%	1.8%	2.1%	2.0%	2.5%	3.4%	3.0%	3.5%
% non-EU nationals	9.5%	10.7%	11.7%	12.7%	13.7%	15.0%	15.6%	16.6%	17.6%	19.5%
<i>Index 2000=100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>113</i>	<i>132</i>	<i>137</i>	<i>139</i>	<i>145</i>	<i>152</i>	<i>158</i>	<i>161</i>	<i>164</i>
<i>% women</i>	<i>55.9%</i>	<i>54.9%</i>	<i>54.3%</i>	<i>50.9%</i>	<i>49.0%</i>	<i>47.4%</i>	<i>45.4%</i>	<i>45.2%</i>	<i>45.7%</i>	<i>46.3%</i>

Sources: Social security agencies, <http://www.dnet.at/bali>

Table A2 General cleaning of buildings, ÖNACE 2008 8.121

Sex/Nationality	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Men										
Austrian	3068	3128	3148	3264	3330	3442	3772	4087	4007	3665
EU15 without AUT	56	70	76	82	95	124	130	173	172	160
EU12	122	109	132	156	165	173	196	218	254	282
Other	3621	3700	3880	4038	4230	4508	5141	5162	5287	4886
All	6867	7007	7236	7540	7820	8247	9239	9640	9720	8993
% EU nationals	2.6%	2.6%	2.9%	3.2%	3.3%	3.6%	3.5%	4.1%	4.4%	4.9%
% non-EU nationals	52.7%	52.8%	53.6%	53.6%	54.1%	54.7%	55.6%	53.5%	54.4%	54.3%
<i>Index (2000=100)</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>102</i>	<i>105</i>	<i>110</i>	<i>114</i>	<i>120</i>	<i>135</i>	<i>140</i>	<i>142</i>	<i>131</i>
Women										
Austrian	11164	11413	11710	11827	12175	12511	12694	12984	13206	13027
EU15 without AUT	87	95	106	123	148	161	201	236	261	298
EU12	480	511	564	609	684	754	824	911	1009	1087
Other	9987	10366	10425	10541	10809	11031	11567	12206	12785	13038
All	21718	22385	22805	23100	23816	24457	25286	26337	27261	27450
% EU nationals	2.6%	2.7%	2.9%	3.2%	3.5%	3.7%	4.1%	4.4%	4.7%	5.0%
% non-EU nationals	46.0%	46.3%	45.7%	45.6%	45.4%	45.1%	45.7%	46.3%	46.9%	47.5%
<i>Index 2000=100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>103</i>	<i>105</i>	<i>106</i>	<i>110</i>	<i>113</i>	<i>116</i>	<i>121</i>	<i>126</i>	<i>126</i>
<i>% women</i>	<i>76.0%</i>	<i>76.2%</i>	<i>75.9%</i>	<i>75.4%</i>	<i>75.3%</i>	<i>74.8%</i>	<i>73.2%</i>	<i>73.2%</i>	<i>73.7%</i>	<i>75.3%</i>

Table A3 Other building and industrial cleaning activities,
ÖNACE 2008 8.122

Sex/Nationality	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Men										
Austrian	1492	1562	1659	1732	1825	1900	1953	2007	1970	1971
EU15 without AUT	14	14	17	24	24	20	25	31	34	54
EU12	43	39	39	36	37	46	54	55	61	75
Other	219	238	236	221	237	264	286	324	320	420
All	1768	1853	1951	2013	2123	2230	2318	2417	2385	2520
% EU nationals	3.2%	2.9%	2.9%	3.0%	2.9%	3.0%	3.4%	3.6%	4.0%	5.1%
% non-EU nationals	12.4%	12.8%	12.1%	11.0%	11.2%	11.8%	12.3%	13.4%	13.4%	16.7%
<i>Index (2000=100)</i>	100	105	110	114	120	126	131	137	135	143
Women										
Austrian	989	1065	1156	1195	1237	1301	1307	1352	1380	1368
EU15 without AUT	7	10	12	12	14	17	21	28	26	29
EU12	20	24	29	43	50	64	64	62	77	78
Other	521	560	560	595	650	619	695	778	807	839
All	1537	1659	1757	1845	1951	2001	2087	2220	2290	2314
% EU nationals	1.8%	2.0%	2.3%	3.0%	3.3%	4.0%	4.1%	4.1%	4.5%	4.6%
% non-EU nationals	33.9%	33.8%	31.9%	32.2%	33.3%	30.9%	33.3%	35.0%	35.2%	36.3%
<i>Index 2000=100</i>	100	108	114	120	127	130	136	144	149	151
% women	46.5%	47.2%	47.4%	47.8%	47.9%	47.3%	47.4%	47.9%	49.0%	47.9%

Table A4 Other cleaning activities (also snow & ice removal)
ÖNACE 2008 8.129

Sex/Nationality	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Men										
Austrian	690	782	825	867	907	924	973	1153	1131	1118
EU15 without AUT	12	14	12	12	18	30	35	41	43	35
EU12	30	35	34	39	47	43	41	42	46	56
Other	250	276	257	253	287	273	277	390	387	380
All	982	1107	1128	1171	1259	1270	1326	1626	1607	1589
% EU nationals	4.3%	4.4%	4.1%	4.4%	5.2%	5.7%	5.7%	5.1%	5.5%	5.7%
% non-EU nationals	25.5%	24.9%	22.8%	21.6%	22.8%	21.5%	20.9%	24.0%	24.1%	23.9%
<i>Index (2000=100)</i>	100	113	115	119	128	129	135	166	164	162
Women										
Austrian	227	244	251	264	299	318	378	452	432	411
EU15 without AUT	3	3	4	5	7	8	11	14	18	17
EU12	6	4	4	8	10	11	18	19	18	26
Other	62	57	54	53	44	48	65	66	98	124
All	298	308	313	330	360	385	472	551	566	578
% EU nationals	3.0%	2.3%	2.6%	3.9%	4.7%	4.9%	6.1%	6.0%	6.4%	7.4%
% non-EU nationals	20.8%	18.5%	17.3%	16.1%	12.2%	12.5%	13.8%	12.0%	17.3%	21.5%
<i>Index 2000=100</i>	100	103	105	111	121	129	158	185	190	194
% women	23.3%	21.8%	21.7%	22.0%	22.2%	23.3%	26.3%	25.3%	26.0%	26.7%

Table A5 Landscape service activities, ÖNACE 2008 8.13

Sex/Nationality	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Men										
Austrian	826	822	819	865	909	992	1129	1275	1357	1419
EU15 without AUT	19	15	19	22	32	47	61	71	78	76
EU12	103	113	114	130	147	171	195	209	217	235
Other	486	489	481	500	525	551	600	634	642	649
All	1434	1439	1433	1517	1613	1761	1985	2189	2294	2379
% EU nationals	8.5%	8.9%	9.3%	10.0%	11.1%	12.4%	12.9%	12.8%	12.9%	13.1%
% non-EU nationals	33.9%	34.0%	33.6%	33.0%	32.5%	31.3%	30.2%	29.0%	28.0%	27.3%
<i>Index (2000=100)</i>	100	100	100	106	112	123	138	153	160	166
Women										
Austrian	888	792	756	770	774	770	819	889	875	892
EU15 without AUT	11	9	9	11	15	19	26	24	23	20
EU12	45	56	55	52	49	52	61	38	39	46
Other	97	82	67	63	64	51	44	52	46	54
All	1041	939	887	896	902	892	950	1003	983	1012
% EU nationals	5.4%	6.9%	7.2%	7.0%	7.1%	8.0%	9.2%	6.2%	6.3%	6.5%
% non-EU nationals	9.3%	8.7%	7.6%	7.0%	7.1%	5.7%	4.6%	5.2%	4.7%	5.3%
<i>Index 2000=100</i>	100	90	85	86	87	86	91	96	94	97
% women	42.1%	39.5%	38.2%	37.1%	35.9%	33.6%	32.4%	31.4%	30.0%	29.8%