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The regulatory trajectory and organisational framework of *social services* in Austria

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Bettina Leibetseder

Johannes Kepler University

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COST Action IS1102 SO.S. COHESION - Social services, Welfare State and Places

The restructuring of social services in Europe and its impact on social and territorial cohesion and governance

In the last 20 years social services have experienced significant restructuring throughout Europe, involving cuts in public funding, devolution (from central to local governments), and externalisation (from public to private providers). Among the reasons for such changes have been stressed the fiscal crisis of the State (on the supply side) and the need to ensure greater efficiency, wider consumer choice and more democratic governance (on the demand side). Although relevant research is available on such processes, the recent global financial crisis and the awareness that, among services of general interest, social services are a major vehicle of social and territorial cohesion have brought social services back on the EU agenda.

The Cost Action IS1102 – operational from 2012 to 2015 – has brought together institutions carrying out research on these themes in different nations, from different disciplinary points of view, and with different emphases, with a view to jointly assess the effects of the restructuring processes, from 5 perspectives: a) efficiency and quality; b) democratic governance; c) social and territorial cohesion; d) training and contractual conditions in social work; e) gender and equal opportunities. The Action has provided a structured comparative context to share and valorise existing knowledge with the purpose of disseminating findings at the local and international scale and identifying inputs for a European social policy platform.

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The regulatory trajectory and organisational framework of social services in Austria

Bettina Leibetseder

Abstract

The working paper describes the recent trajectories of the national framework of social services in Austria, areas covered education, childcare, elder care and social services in general. For a long time, social services were rendered to families or local communities, as Austria is a corporatist-familialist welfare state. Recently, a certain trajectory from family to the state, voluntary organisations or market has evolved and more attention has been given by the nation state and the provinces.

In general, social services are a matter of the provinces; thus, distinctions between provinces occur. Since the mid 1990s, territorial cohesion is a main issue in all debates on social services, the agreements between the federal state and the provinces ought to restructure social services and allow for a minimum provision in all provinces. The introduction of agreements between federal state and provinces want to establish a minimum of social services concerning quality and quantity within and between provinces. Due to the long period of solely regional responsibility still distinct differences exists between the provinces.

The federal state and the provinces have to agree on the costs as well, it seems that only if the federal state absorbs a substantial share of the additional costs, any progress will be achieved. The extension for childcare and elderly care services has just started and the effects cannot be measured yet. However, a mixture of cash transfer to support informal care and social services as formal care still exist, as there is a strong time lag between the introduction of cash transfers (earlier) and social services (later). Therefor, there is an enduring familization in case of childcare and elderly care.

1. Introduction and first classification, terminology and definition of social services

In general, Austria as a conservative-corporatist welfare state relies mainly on social insurance in the social security system and fosters a principle of equivalence and status security. Thus, benefits reflect the duration and level of contributions and occupational categorisation (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Arts and Gelissen, 2002; Tálos, 2006; Obinger and Tálos, 2010). The level of protection depends on market performance (long labour market participation) and the employment situation (occupational group and work contract). But it only aims to a lesser extent, on the reduction of social inequality. It is linked to employment and marriage, in that the full co-insurance for dependents (children and husband/wife or partner) demands a stable family structure and employment of one household member. Subsidiarity of state help constitutes another principle, which is related to the Catholic teaching and encompassing an ideological and religious basis for social policy, which demands that the smallest entity capable of fulfilling a task should do so. The state should only intervene, when no other form of help is possible either via family members or other organisations or groups. Thus, those principles determine the corporatist and conservative ideal (Tálos, 2006).

In that sense, for a long time, social services were rendered to families or local communities. Recently, more attention has been given to social services by the nation state and the provinces and a certain trajectory from family to the state, voluntary organisations or market has evolved. In this paper, we give an introduction on what has been on the agenda in the field of social services. We first provide a brief introduction to main Austrian legislation, the Austrian terminology and a definition and English equivalent is given. Areas covered are education, childcare, elder care and social services in general.

In the next part, we describe the legislative milestones over the last two centuries, whereby the development after WW II has been given more attention. Then, the current organisational framework is discussed and the concluding section focuses on the recent restructuring of social services.

2. The regulatory trajectory of the Austrian welfare state in social services

Social and care services have been part of the communal agendas for a long time, local parishes had to cover the needs for the less affluent population without family ties. Without attachment to the labour market, a Bismarckian social insurance system does not provide support and the local communities had to step in. In the 1970s, the provinces modernized their social assistance regulation and provided for a minimum. Currently, the federal state and the provinces agreed on a minimum provision in the field of childcare and elder care.

Up to the early industrialisation period, everyone entitled to the ‘Domicilium’ was eligible to support by the local community. The right to abode was either attained by birth or by a minimum stay of ten years in the community. The group of poor were divided into deserving poor and

undeserving vagabonds and beggars. Institutionalised services were provided by so called hospitals, which took care of poor elderly, frail, orphans and persons with disabilities. Larger communities ran those hospitals, or church charities or private charities funded by endowments from citizens. In the mid 1800s, more specialised institutions were established. In addition, parishes got the right to collect and redistribute alms towards deserving poor, who could not work anymore in that period in the Monarchy. It introduced the still existing competence of local governments for social services and public relief. In contrast, vagabonds and beggars were persecuted by the authorities. By end of 1800s, the first workhouses were put in place to socialize poor who were able to work. The poor were supposed to become ‘useful’ and ‘valuable’ human beings by working (Veits-Falk, 2010).

Table 1. Chronology of the building and restructuring of the Austrian welfare state in the domain of social and care services

Year	State level concerned	Legislation/Acts	Content (synthetic)
Pre-1863	Charities and local parishes, restriction to access to services due to the right to abode		
1862	National	Reichsgemeindegesezt	Local communities were entitled to extradite ‘non-citizenship-entitled’ (without the right to abode) in their community. Poor relief as part of the responsibilities of the local communities.
1863	National	Reichsheimatgesetz	Local communities were entitled to bestow the right to abode by themselves. Consequently, poor in need had to move back to their place of birth.
	Local Government	Armengesetzgebung	Each local government introduced its own poor relief law in the following years (i.e. Vienna 1873). All of them integrated the principles of subsidiarity and individuality. Only when existing institutions (charities), kinship and former employees could not support the person, did the local community have to step in. Support in case of illness and need of care as well.
1885	Law – national, execution provinces	Zwangsarbeitergesetze	Work houses and reformatory for vagabonds and beggars.
After 1885	Provincial – local communities	Naturalpflagestation	Institutions supporting beggars and vagabonds in kind, who had to work beforehand, were introduced in Styria, Upper Austria and Lower Austria. Responsibility of local communities, costs shared between province and local communities.
1887/88	National	Kranken- und Unfallversicherung	‘Arbeiterfrage’ – Labour problems. Introduction of the social insurance for Health and Accidents for workers. Further protections in the area of labour law: Restriction of the maximum working hours per day to 11, regulation of youth and child employment, basic regulation of work contract and working conditions
1891	National	Heimatgesetznovelle	From 1901, migrants were entitled to the right to abode after ten years of stay in a local community.
Turn of 20 th Cent.			
1907	National	pension insurance	Introduction of social insurance for Old Age for employees in commerce.

(Pensionsversicherung)			
First Republic		Restriction of maximum working hours per day to eight, vacation for workers, basic legislation for workers council and collective agreements – extension of social insurance to employees and agricultural workers	
1920	National	Unemployment insurance Arbeitslosenversicherung	Unemployment insurance
1933-38		Austrofascismus – restriction of worker's and social rights in the period of Austro fascism between 1933-1938	
1938-1945		Annex to Nazi-Germany – introduction of the Reich's welfare regulation (i.e. introduction of pension insurance for workers, introduction of German welfare law (Fürsorgerecht), partial transfer of charitable welfare organisations to National socialist People's welfare organisation (NSV))	
The Austrian constitution does not contain any clear regulation of social rights and their aims. It does not clearly divide the competences between federal state, provinces and local government.			
post-second WW	National	short period of German welfare law's extension (Fürsorgerecht)	The liberation enforced an adaptation of the Nazi regulation abolishing the racial provision of help extending the Reich welfare regulations by three years in Austria. Prior to the expiry of the statutory period, the minister of interior asked the provincial governments to take over the regulation into provincial legislation.
1950		Constitution Art. 10	Gives all competences (legislation and implementation) to the Federal State in (11) labour law, social insurance (12) health services (except for emergency services, smaller categories of municipal medical services, and convalescent and nursing homes
		Constitution Art. 12	Divides competences between federal state and provinces - general legislation (framework, basic act) to the Federal State and implementation of legislation and execution to the provinces (2) poor relief, maternity, infant and youth relief, convalescent and nursing homes as Länder- and municipal responsibilities (institutional care)
		Constitution Art. 15 (1)	all competences not explicitly defined as the federal state's responsibility, are given to the provinces
1949	National	Unemployment Insurance Act Arbeitslosenversicherungsgesetz	Improved unemployment insurance legislation with longer benefit receipt
1954	National	Basic youth relief act (Jugendfürsorge)	Basic legislation by the federal state, provinces just had minor issues to decide in the implementation of legislation
1969	National	Labour market support act (Arbeitsmarktförderungsgesetz)	Introduction of individualised support and counselling, fostering of qualification for unemployed
up to 1970	National	From 1948 onwards, three attempts from the ministry for internal affairs failed to introduce a national basic welfare act (Fürsorgegrundsatzgesetz) and in 1967, the federal state waived its right to introduce basic welfare act at all.	
1970s	Provincial	Sozialhilfegesetze (social assistance acts)	Introduction of provincial legislation, Extramural social assistance (offene, allgemeine Sozialhilfe) provides (financial) support for persons living outside of institutions and residences (e.g. in private flats, houses or homeless persons). Intramural social assistance (geschlossene, stationäre Sozialhilfe) refers to benefits provided to persons in institutions and residences (e.g. for severely disabled and elderly). In addition, the regulations provide for social and care services. Burgenland 1975 Carinthia 1974 Lower Austria 1974

			Upper Austria 1973 Salzburg 1975 Styria 1977 Tyrol 1973 Vorarlberg 1971 Vienna 1973
1970s-1980s		Expansion and professionalization of care and social services: building of modern nursing homes, professionalization of social work with youth, persons with addictions, introduction of counselling services for over-indebtedness, marriage, upbringing of children and health, childcare services, disability services and mobile services, services were provided by local communities with/without co-operations with non-profit organisations, provincial legislation, finances divided between province and local government	
1980s	National	Aktion 8000 – experimentelle Arbeitsmarktpolitik (Action 8000 – experimental labour market policy)	Introduction of two special programmes to assist long-term unemployed. Action 8,000 was targeted to create 8,000 jobs in the non-profit sector and help start-ups in this sector. Furthermore, retraining for long-term unemployed and young people were introduced.
1989	National	Basic youth welfare act (Jugendwohlfahrtsgesetz)	Federal state changed the old youth relief act.
1993	Framework Agreement between federal state and provinces	Elderly and frail care – (Vereinbarung zwischen dem Bund und den Ländern gemäß Art. 15a B-VG über gemeinsame Maßnahmen des Bundes und der Länder für pflegebedürftige Personen)	Provinces and federal state agree to provide for cash benefits (see below) and social services in case of care and frame national minimum standards. It is up to the provinces to provide for enough social services up to 2010. Some provinces issued a provincial law or decree concerning nursery homes; others never followed the requirements of the agreement.
1993	National and Provincial	- Long-term care allowance - universal cash benefit for cared person (Pflegegeld)	Bundespflegegesetz – long term care allowance for the person eligible for care – regulated for social insurance recipients by the federal state, otherwise provinces have to take care with provincial legislation (social assistance recipients, former employees of the provinces).
1994	National	AMS-Gesetz	The employment service was outsourced from the Federal ministry from employment, health and social services. It was constructed as a social enterprise under public law. In addition to the federal administration, the provincial administration was strengthened to coordinate with other provincial organisations. In addition, active labour market policy was introduced on a wider scale.
1998-2000		Change in social assistance legislation shifting the focus on social services and care and tighter attachment to the labour market in all provinces	
2000	National	Parental Leave Allowance (Kinderbetreuungsgeld)	Nearly universal flat rate parental leave allowance for parents until their child turns three years old, with a high income threshold.
2005	Art. 15a Agreement between federal state and provinces	Minimum educational requirements for professions in social care (Ausbildung und Tätigkeitsbereiche der Sozialbetreuungsberufe)	An agreement between provinces and the federal state defines three levels of education for professions in social care for elderly, persons with disabilities and families
2008	Art. 15a Agreement between federal state and provinces	Child Care	Regulated by the provinces: in 2008 two Art. 15a agreements between provinces and the federal state defined minimum requirements concerning an extension of childcare services, a language training for children with speech and language difficulties, a pre-school education plan and a compulsory year of kindergarten before school
2008	National	Home Care Act –24-hours-care at home (Hausbetreuungsgesetz – “24-Stunden-Pflege”)	Home Care Act (Hausbetreuungsgesetz 2008) creates the legal basis for an official care at home up to 24 hours, which can be either organised as self-employed carers (550 Euros cash support) or employed carer at an organisation (1,100 Euro cash

			support).
2010	<i>Art. 15a Agreement between federal state and provinces</i>	Means-tested Guaranteed Minimum Income (Bundesweite Bedarfsorientierte Mindestsicherung)	The provinces and the federal state agree to introduce a Means-Tested Guaranteed Minimum Income, which covers the cash benefit for social assistance recipients. In addition, it entitles those recipients to access the services of the jobcentres. The social assistance act, which covers social services, is still in force.
2010-2011	Introduction of Means-Tested Guaranteed Minimum Income in all provinces, albeit different levels of benefit still exist.		
2012	<i>National</i>	Long-term care allowance (Bundespflegegeldgesetz)	In 2012, the provincial long-term care allowance for specific groups like provincial employees and social assistance recipients was abolished and all recipients are now covered by the federal long-term care allowance - now 6 levels of benefits depending on the need of care and support between 154.20 Euros and 1,655.80 Euros (universal).
2012	<i>National</i>	Fund for Care Service (Pflegefondsgesetz)	Securing and expansion of social care services – distributes finances for provinces and local governments

Source: Author's own compilation

2.1. *Poor relief (1863-1918)*

In the mid 19th century, the first phase started with the introduction of a home act (Reichsheimatgesetz 1863) and implementation of welfare in the public administration on the community level (Reichsgemeindengesetz 1862). Local communities were entitled to extradite 'non-citizenship-entitled' (without the right to abode) in their community and, later on, they were even entitled to bestow the right to abode by themselves. Consequently, poor in need had to move back to their place of birth during the first phase of industrialisation. In addition, the local communities were permitted to introduce their own welfare regulations including social services. Thus, each local government introduced their own poor relief law in the following years (i.e. Vienna 1873). All integrated the principles of subsidiarity and individuality. As a sub-principle of subsidiarity, the claimant has to make use voluntarily of his or her means and abilities (Einsatz der eigenen Mittel und Kräfte) as a prerequisite for eligibility. Only when existing institutions (charities), kinship and former employees could not support the person, did the local community have to step in. During a period of social unrest, workhouses were put in place by more punitive local governments, whereas liberal provinces preferred a system of work for benefits in kind (Melinz, 1996).

2.2. *The First Republic (1918-1933)*

Social insurance was expanded and improved up to 1920 (Tálos, 2005). In contrast, the legislation of the poor law was slightly altered, but still in effect in the interwar period, where able-bodied people in need could be forced to conduct communal work, and 'vagabonds' could be sentenced to stay in a workhouse. In the course of the Great Depression, public employment programmes provided jobs in construction for the masses that were out-of-work in industrialised areas (Melinz, 1996).

2.3. *Austrian-Fascist Period (1933-1938)*

After the civil war between Social Democratic Party and Christian Social Party, the 'austrofascist' authoritarian government under Dollfuss reduced spending on all social issues, inter alia long-

term unemployed lost their entitlement to the unemployment insurance after 20 weeks and had to rely on lower benefits, where stricter conditions were applied. Work programmes were only introduced on a small scale, as the government has not been keen on increasing spending and tried to consolidate the budget (Tálos, 2005).

In the 'austrofascism' period, tighter regulations for beggars and vagabonds were passed and the two workhouses and asylums were established. All people in need had to show their relief card, when they applied for a benefit. (Alleged) fraud led to a confiscation of this document and the person's inability to apply for a benefit at any local community. Regularly, a benefit was not paid according to the reference rate for the household, but below it. Long-time unemployed often had to obtain support in kind by the local communities, as communities financed their poor relief by a tax on each employed person, which steadily reduced in times of high unemployment.

Due to the financial crisis, communities were not able to improve their services at all. Rural communities still had the system of *'Einlege'*, whereby poor and frail were moved from one farmhouse to another after a few days. Those farmers were obliged to care for that person for that time, which varied according to the farm's economic situation. Mostly women took care of poor families and the frail in the community. Some provinces put in place poor houses for the elderly. Only in Lower Austria and Vienna, most of the frail elderly were supported in poor houses. In some provinces, social issues were organised on district level, whereas others still had the local government in charge. Services were provided either by charity organisations, mostly church related, or by the local governments. In general, financial support for frail people was cut, institutions were closed and relief workers dismissed. 'Red Vienna' had substantial services, kindergartens, care and nursing homes, communal health services and youth services, other bigger cities run by socialist parties before the fascist regime also had social services introduced. Some provinces had a system of 'relief workers' in place. (Melinz, 1996, 2005, 2010).

2.4. Nazi-Germany and Reich's regulation (1938-1945)

In 1938, the 'annexation' to Nazi Germany introduced the Reich welfare regulation, which had come into force in Germany in 1924, but were extensively modified and differed between persons entitled to general benefits and improved benefits based on the grading of the population into 'valuable' and 'degraded'. The NS-regime put in place a modernised administration of the relief – so-called *'Fürsorgeverbände'* on the district and provincial level. The costs for cash support rose, as a benefit based on a minimum rate depending on the size of the household was introduced, such a system was not in place beforehand, as the local communities could grant any amount of benefit at or below the reference rate (Melinz, 1996; Tálos, 2000).

'Preventive' social services were taken over by the Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt (NSV), youth relief, family relief, and health prevention. Church related charity organisations had to hand over kindergartens, services for homeless, alcoholics, babies, domiciliary care services, communal health services, reproductive health, etc. Institutionalised services for permanent ill or disabled persons remained in the hand of the charity organisations, as this was labelled as 'supporting' aid and did have any use for the *'Volkskörper'* (German people's body). Persons labelled as 'asocial' or 'unworthy to live' were put in institutionalised care and treated badly. Some facilities killed admitted persons during the Nazi Germany's 'Euthanasia' (eugenic) programme up to 1941 and in 'wild euthanasia' up to 1945 (Melinz, 1989).

During the NS regime, alcohol addicts, 'work-shy', 'anti-socials', 'vagabonds' and 'beggars' could be admitted to 'work education camps' (*Arbeitserziehungslager*) living under severe and

sometimes deadly conditions as well. After the Second World War, work camps were abolished; nevertheless, social ‘outsiders’ could be still legally forced into ‘work houses’, which slowly ceased to exist. In the early 1950s, forced labour was abolished in the relief system and a system of benefit sanctions and cuts was introduced (Melinz, 1989).

2.5. Post-Second-World-War Period (1945-1970)

The liberation enforced the adjustment of the German regulation, abolishing the racial provision of help and extending the Reich welfare regulations by three years in Austria. Prior to the expiry of the statutory period, the minister of interior asked the provincial governments to take over the regulation into provincial legislation. Still, two levels of benefit were in place in some provinces: The lower one was paid to foreign citizens, stateless, ‘work shy’ and other ‘unthrifty’ or ‘dis-obedient’ persons and the higher one for all other Austrian citizens, Germans and ‘ethnic Germans’ (Volksdeutsche) (Melinz, 1989).

From 1948 onwards, three attempts from the ministry for internal affairs failed to introduce a basic welfare act (Fürsorgegrundsatzgesetz); thus, the social services remained unchanged during this period (Pfeil, 1989). Just the worst forms of racist and eugenic treatment and inequality were abolished.

2.6. Introduction of Modern Social and Care Services 1970-1980s

In 1967, the federal ministry waived all attempts to install a basic welfare act and, subsequently, between 1967 and 1971, the heads of the provincial social departments drafted their own proposals for social assistance acts on the provincial level. As a result, social assistance laws came into force with slight alterations in all provinces between 1971 and 1975 (Melinz 1989, 29). Nevertheless, these regulations were based on the old principles of the communal poor relief. The principal task of social assistance is ‘to provide for the most basic needs of people in different life situations when all other social safety nets do not offer appropriate benefits or services’. In general, the task of social assistance is to enable those in need of help to live in keeping with human dignity. The ideal aim is considered the attainment or re-attainment of the needy person's ability for self-help. Social assistance wants to reduce and eradicate situations of social distress for people without support from other institutions and/or people reverting to the principle of subsidiarity stemming from the social teachings of the Catholic Church. Only in cases when a person is not capable of working, when he or she has no claims on third parties and cannot be assisted through family ties, then there is a genuine need and thus a call for support. Another characteristic is the principle of individuality. Individual social assistance implicates that aid benefits are adjusted to meet the needs of the particular distress situation and the needs of the individual beneficiary. The principle of family supportive aid derives from the principle of individuality: social assistance measures should support the family, including not only the direct beneficiary but also enabling his or her dependents to live in keeping with human dignity (Bacher *et al.*, 1993; Stelzer-Orthofer, 1997; Pfeil, 2001).

Social assistance itself can be divided into two parts: Extramural social assistance (offene, allgemeine Sozialhilfe) provides support (both financial and services) for persons living outside of institutions and residences (e.g. in private flats, houses or homeless persons). Intramural social assistance (geschlossene, stationäre Sozialhilfe) refers to benefits provided to persons in institutions and residences (e.g. for severely disabled and elderly). Extramural social assistance has to fully or partially substitute income; therefore, it is either a supplement to other incomes and

benefits or a minimum level of social security. In contrast, intramural assistance meets the costs not covered by the client for social services and is obligated to build and maintain the institutions.

Table 2. Benefit forms of social assistance

	Assistance for securing life's requirements	Assistance in particular circumstances	(Personal) social services
Extramural social assistance	E.g. basic needs, care, assistance to self-support (cash or kind)	E.g. debt clearance, reconciliation of extreme emergency situations, etc.	Home help services and homecare for frail and elderly, counselling services, shelters, etc.
Intramural social assistance	Residential and nursing homes (institutional care)		Equipment of residential homes for the elderly

Source: Dimmel 2000

In the 1970s and 1980s, most modern services were established in many regions. Social work for adults, children and families, services for persons with disabilities were introduced in most of the provinces. Mobile services for the frail and elderly were introduced in remote areas in the 1990s (Badelt and Österle, 2001). Services are either provided by the local community or welfare organisations. An increase of childcare service was not on the political agenda at all except for Vienna, as the conservative People's Party headed most of the provinces for long periods, and some of those even opposed any kind of public childcare for children under the age of 3 (Kreisky, 2010). Intramural services, residential and nursing homes for the elderly were expanded; nevertheless, the costs for those exceeded the budget of the communities in many instances. Not only the resident had to cover the costs out of his/her income and assets; close relatives had to cover the costs for residential care in some provinces (and still have to). However, the local communities have to pay the uncovered part of the care, reflecting the principle of subsidiarity in elderly care. Thus, during the 1970s and 1980s a minimum of social services was guaranteed; nevertheless, those services were not rendered as a matter of right, but were discretionary elements of the local governments. Most of the provinces did not introduce a provincial social plan for social services and, therefore, did not distribute social services regionally.

2.7. Minimum Standards in Social and Care Services (1993 up to date)

Long-term care

The rising costs in care led to two changes. On the one hand, a universal long-term care allowance was introduced in 1993, which gives a flat rate amount to every person in need of care. Previously responsibility for long-term care had been divided between the federal state and the provinces; most persons had received their benefit from the pension insurance, some from a provincial scheme. The decision about the level of care and, thus, the amount somebody was entitled to, had been up to the local governments. On the other hand, an agreement between the federal state and the nine provinces had put in place a framework for a minimum of social care services. Nevertheless, not all provinces had introduced provincial legislation concerning the quality and quantity of social services for frail and elderly.

Due to the introduction of the federal long-term care allowance, the burden for the provinces was reduced. However, social assistance still covers accommodation and the cost of long-term

care for persons in need as a subsidiary benefit, as the long-term care allowance is not sufficient to cover the cost of institutional care. In 2012, all legislative power and administrative responsibility for the long-term care allowance was transferred to the federal government. Thus, larger social security institutions now administrate the cash benefit. In addition, a federal fund was put in place to accelerate the expansion of social care services in the following years and introduce a minimum provision in all provinces and regions. In addition to financial support of the start-up costs of setting up mobile and institutional services, funding is also provided to cover the operating costs. The federal fund also requires the provinces to establish a minimum quantity and achieve certain quality standards for mobile services, semi-inpatient, inpatient and short-term inpatient care services, as well as case- and care management and alternative housing developments (BMSK, 2008; PFG, 2011).

However, especially institutional care is expensive and in many instances, the long-term care allowance and the pension do not cover all costs. In many cases, either social assistance (local governments) have to cover the rest or any financial savings or assets (like a house or flat) of the cared person. The cash benefit gives some freedom of choice to the cared person and also supports informal care by relatives and other groups. For a long time, undocumented carers worked to lower costs and provided home care as well. In 2008, '24-hours-care' put an end to the undocumented work of care workers from the Czech Republic, Slovakia or other Eastern European countries. It creates the legal basis for an official care at home up to 24 hours, which can be either organised as self-employed carers (550 Euros cash support) or employed carer at an organisation (1,100 Euro cash support) in addition to the wage paid by the cared person. The wage is comparatively low to other collective bargain agreements and the labour law is not valid for those carers in general, but specific regulations apply. Thus, a specific form of care has been established as legal system, separating migrant workers in the care sector from all other workers and treating them as secondary workers (Kretschmann and Pilgram, 2012)

Childcare

Similar to social services for the elderly, the federal government now engages in an acceleration of the expansion of childcare services. The provinces receive financial support to increase childcare places. In addition, parents can deduct childcare costs from taxes and obtain parental leave benefits too. Informal and formal care is fostered via the mix of cash benefits and service expansion (see working paper on childcare for details).

Services for social assistance recipients

Furthermore, a 2010 agreement between the federal and the nine provincial governments has introduced a framework for a Means-tested Guaranteed Minimum Income, replacing the social assistance benefits. However, this neither alters the principles of subsidiarity and individuality nor the responsibility of provincial social assistance legislation concerning social services. Welfare recipients who are declared fit for work can now access the services of the local employment services. Previously this had been up to the discretion of the local employment services, how to support this group. The downside is that recipients have to register as unemployed at the local employment service and have to follow the conditionality of the local employment service as well.

The local employment services also provide social services for long-term unemployed and, nowadays, social assistance recipients. The provincial employment services decide about the resources and projects on a yearly basis in co-operation with the provincial governments. Since

1994, the labour market support law (*Arbeitsmarktförderungsgesetz*) regulates all forms of active labour market support. In addition to counselling and support, unemployed people can and actually have to participate in further training; they receive support for courses and additional qualifications. Long-term unemployment and case of mass-lay offs engender additional services, such as long-term training for up to two years (*Arbeitsstiftungen*) and temporary employment in social-economic projects (*Sozialökonomische Betriebe*) or sheltered workshops (job-creation programs in charitable occupations – *Gemeinnützige Beschäftigungsprogramme*). Previously, some district offices and local governments had introduced social services and temporary employment for social assistance recipients, but these were unevenly implemented. In conclusion, the recent transformation indicates that federal and provincial governments agree on a unified framework and emphasize evenly distributed services in the regions. The provinces have to plan and co-ordinate the social services within and among the districts and local governments.

3. The current organisational framework in the provision of social and care services in Austria

3.1. *The division of labour within the state (national, regional, local)*

Childcare services

As stated above, the current division of labour gives more power to the federal government, which demands a minimum of access to care, such as a minimum provision of childcare facilities in all provinces. In addition to the quantitative aspects, a treaty between federal government and the provinces covers qualitative aspects and shifts some costs for childcare from the local communities or provinces to the federal state since 2008. Production and delivery of services are done by local municipalities and welfare organisations (some of them church related). In addition, companies provide care facilities as well. All providers have to attain a certain minimum educational minimum standard for their staff, which is broadly regulated at the national level and more specifically dealt with in specific legislations at the provincial level. Nevertheless, some professions are stricter regulated on the national level than others.

Table 3. The division of labour among jurisdictions in child care services

Phases	Central/ Federal	Regional/ County	Municipal/ Local	Sub-municipal
Legislation/regulation	15a Agreements between Provinces and Federal Government about quantity and quality of childcare services and free year of kindergarten			
Funding	Split funding for new places of above 3 year olds, and full funding by the federal state for under 3 year olds (initial funding)			
	Funding for innovative parent's associations, company daycare and child-minders (education)			
		Split of costs of daycare between provinces, local governments and parents, specific regulation for the final year, which does not cost anything for the parents, each province varies		

Programming/planning		Province and local governments, local governments can jointly organise childcare, welfare organisations (i.e. child-minders)	
Production/delivery			Local governments welfare organisations, for-profit organisations, companies, child-minders
Monitoring/evaluation	statistics on federal level	monitoring and evaluation on provincial level	

Sources: Richtlinie zur Förderung der Vereinbarkeit von Familie und Beruf durch Ausweitung der Kinderbetreuung, GZ: 42 1100/0053-II/2/2009, provincial legislation and Baierl and Kaindl (2011), Art. 15a Vereinbarung Bund - Länder Einführung der halbtägig kostenlosen Kindergartenbetreuungseinrichtungen, Art. 15a Vereinbarung Bund-Länder Ausbau des institutionellen Kinderbetreuungsangebots

Parents obtain certain tax credits and are entitled to a childcare allowances, which helps to pay for any fees. In addition, provinces and local communities pay for a larger share for the costs, so parents have to cover only part of the costs.

Long-term care for the elderly

Recent policy changes altered the provision and financing of care services for frail and elderly. In 1993, the federal state tried to influence and increase the provision of services with a treaty between federal state and provinces according to Art. 15 B-VG. However, the provinces did not fulfil their responsibilities to increase the care facilities by a substantial amount. Thus, new negotiations led to a further redistribution of power and costs to the federal level in 2011/12. The federal level is now the sole actor in financing the long-term care allowance, and the state introduced a fund to increase the quality and quantity of care facilities in all provinces from 2011 to 2014, which pays part of the provincial costs for expansion. The funds aims at the provision of mobile and outpatient care services, (semi-)inpatient centres and short term care in inpatient centres, case and caremanagement and alternative forms of living arrangements (shared serviced flats for elderly).

Table 4. The division of labour among jurisdictions in care services for the elderly and frail

Phases	Central/ Federal	Regional/ County	Municipal/ Local	Sub-municipal
Legislation/regulation	Bundespflegegeldgesetz Pflegefondsgesetz	Provincial Legislation concerning Elderly Care and Social Services, Social Assistance Act		
Funding	2/3 federal state and 1/3 provinces of fixed amount for all provinces, financing of initial development and on-going provision		Financing of uncovered costs of fixed amount of provinces and federal state and recipients	Long-term care allowance and income of recipients and (in some provinces) assets of recipients and income of close relatives
Programming/planning	Statistics and minimum requirements on federal level	Responsibility of provincial government	In some provinces, local governments organise planning on district level	
Production/delivery			Some municipalities	Welfare organisations, '24-hours-carer', for-profit

				organisations
Monitoring/evaluation	Statistics on federal level and progress of provinces	Provinces monitor and evaluate local governments		

Sources: Social assistance acts, Pflegefondsgesetz, Pflegegeldgesetz, Alten- und Pflegegesetze der Bundesländer

The federal state obtains the right to control and evaluate the provincial steps towards an improved service provision. Still, cared persons and his/her relatives bear substantial parts of the costs of care, which are not covered by the long-term care allowance, as the social assistance acts enforces subsidiarity before the local government steps in. The local governments have to cover the costs that are not paid for by the long-term care allowance, the provinces, or recipients and their relatives.

Services for the social assistance recipients

In the case of activation services for social assistance claimants, the introduction of the Means-Tested Guaranteed Minimum Income (MGMI) lead to a responsibility of the local employment services to provide for adequate services by end of 2010. In addition, recipients can and have to access all services of the jobcentres. As the local governments previously had to provide activation policies, the accessibility and supply of services varied within and among the provinces. Now the responsibility of the employment services introduced more evenly distributed services in the provinces and the federal government can influence the provision via guidelines for the employment services. Nevertheless, provinces and provincial employment services negotiate about financing and programmes of services, which are provided by the local employment services and other private organisations. In addition, local governments still maintain the services that had been put in place before the new MGMI in most of the provinces (Leibetseder and Woltran, 2011). Each province and (in certain provinces each) municipality can decide which social services to offer towards social assistance recipients and other residents. In contrast to activation services of the local job centres, those services are up to the municipality or province. An explanation to the agreement of the federal state and the provinces just recommended that the provinces introduce social services and case management for all recipients, but does not allow for any funding(2010).

Table 5. The division of labour among jurisdictions in activation services of MGMI recipients

Phases	Central/ Federal	Regional/ County	Municipal/ Local	Sub-municipal
Legislation/regulation	15a Agreements between Provinces and Federal State about Means-Tested Guaranteed Minimum Income			
Funding	Split funding between provinces and provincial Employment Services (federal budget)		Some municipalities	
Programming/planning	Provincial governments and provincial employment services		Some municipalities	
Production/delivery		Province	Local governments, district associations local employment service	Welfare organisations, for-profit organisations

Monitoring/evaluation	Statistics on federal level	Monitoring and evaluation on provincial level		
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Sources: Art. 15a Vereinbarung Bund-Länder Bedarfsorientierte Mindestsicherung, Länder-Gesetze zur Mindestsicherung, Vereinbarungen zwischen AMS und Länder

3.2. *The division of labour among actors*

Childcare services

As stated above, the current division of labour gives more power to the federal government, which demands a minimum of access to childcare, such as a minimum provision of childcare facilities in all provinces. The agreement also involves a financial obligation of the federal state, which supports the provinces to fulfil the minimum requirement. All form of financial support for parents, parental leave, child benefit, etc. is collected from taxes or social insurance contributions and paid to parents by federal tax system.

The provinces together with the local level are responsible for the bulk of costs and the programming and planning. Nevertheless, it is the provincial decision, how much parents have to co-pay for the services offered and what additional support is delivered. The production and delivery is based on services located at the municipal level, local communities and non-profit organisations, many of them church related, provide services. The market does not play an important role in all provinces. The monitoring and evaluation is at the provincial level, but also the national government and the local municipalities have responsibilities.

Table 6. The division of labour among actors in child care services

Phases	State (at which scale)	Market		Non-profit			Family/users
		For profit organisations	Hired help	Organisations/associations	Voluntary workers	Municipalities	
Legislation/regulation	National, provincial						
Funding: • cash transfers • services • in-kind benefits • user's contribution	National Prov/Local					XX	XX XX
Programming/planning	Federal/ province						
Production/delivery	Local	(X)	X	XX		XX	XX
Monitoring/evaluation	Federal/ province						

Sources: Richtlinie zur Förderung der Vereinbarkeit von Familie und Beruf durch Ausweitung der Kinderbetreuung, GZ: 42 1100/0053-II/2/2009, provincial legislation and Baierl and Kaindl (2011), Art. 15a Vereinbarung Bund - Länder Einführung der halbtägig kostenlosen Kindergartenbetreuungseinrichtungen, Art. 15a Vereinbarung Bund-Länder Ausbau des institutionellen Kinderbetreuungsangebots

Long-term care for the elderly

Cash transfers are now located solely on the federal level, the provinces do not provide any benefit. In addition, the federal state occupies a major role in improving the accessibility and provision of services at the provincial and local level up to 2014. Local communities organise the facilities, but the provinces can develop provision of services for regions as well. Most of the services are delivered by the municipalities and non-profit organisations and to a lesser degree by for profit organisations.

Table 7. The division of labour among actors (who does what) in elder-care

Phases	State (at which scale)	Market		Non-profit			Family/users
		For profit organisations	Hired help	Organisations/ associations	Voluntary workers	Municipalities	
Legislation/regulation	See above						
Funding: • cash transfers • services • in-kind benefits • user's contribution	Federal fed/pro/local					X	X
Programming/planning	Federal/ province						
Production/delivery	Local (prov.)	X	XX	XX		XX	XX
Monitoring/evaluation	Federal / province						

Sources: Social assistance acts, Pflegefondsgesetz, Pflegegeldgesetz, Alten- und Pflegegesetze der Bundesländer

Social Assistance Services

The MGMI urges the provinces to introduce case management and social services to foster social integration. However, that is only stated in the annotations and is not part of the agreement and the federal state does not provide any additional funding for the provinces. Thus, social services are rendered to the solely responsibility of the province and/or the local municipalities.

Table 8. The division of labour among actors in Social Services for MGMI Recipients

Phases	State (at which scale)	Market		Non-profit			Family/users
		For profit organisations	Hired help	Organisations/ associations	Voluntary workers	Municipalities	
Legislation/regulation	See above						

Funding:							
• cash transfers	Province						
• services	Prov/local			X			
• in-kind benefits	Fed/pro/local					X	
• user's contribution							
Programming/planning	Federal/ province/loc						
Production/delivery	Local/prov	X		XX		XX	
Monitoring/evaluation	Federal / province						

Sources: Art. 15a Vereinbarung Bund-Länder Bedarfsorientierte Mindestsicherung, Länder-Gesetze zur Mindestsicherung, Vereinbarungen zwischen AMS und Länder

4. The impact of the restructuring of social and care services

In general, social services are a matter of the provinces; thus, distinctions between provinces occur. Since the mid 1990s, territorial cohesion is a main issue in all debates on social services, the agreements between the federal state and the provinces ought to restructure social services and allow for a minimum provision in all provinces. The federal state and the provinces have to agree on the costs as well, it seems that only if the federal state absorbs a substantial share of the additional costs, any progress will be achieved. The extension for childcare and elderly care services has just started and the effects cannot be measured yet.

Table 9. In Kind Benefits of All Benefits (percentage)

	1990	2002	2011
Old Age	4	4	4
Surviving Dependents	n.a.	-	-
Invalidity	15	17	24
Children/Families	10	17	25
Unemployment	26	26	26
Health	n.a.	84	85
Other Expenditure	n.a.	n.a.	64
In Kind of Total Expenditure	n.a.	29	30

Source: Author's own compilation, data from BMSGK 2004; BMASK, 2011, own calculations

The Austrian system mainly relies on cash benefits and to a lesser degree on social services. As table 4 summarises, the shift only has occurred in childcare policy, within 20 years, the share

spent on childcare services almost doubled. In old age, the introduction of the long-term care allowance, a strict income and means test taking into account the assets and pension of the cared person and in some provinces close relatives, and the legalisation of former undocumented migrant care workers – on a low wage – lead to a curtailing of public spending on elder care services at 4 per cent in relation to the costs on old age. The effects of the expansion between 2011 and 2014 cannot be measured yet.

The introduction of agreements between federal state and provinces want to establish a minimum of social services concerning quality and quantity within and between provinces. The federal budgetary support accelerates the development of services in the field of childcare and elderly care. In the latter case, the extension covers mobile services, semi-institutionalised or domiciliary services preliminary.

However, a mixture of cash transfer to support informal care and social services as formal care still exist, as there is a strong time lag between the introduction of cash transfers (earlier) and social services (later). Therefore, there is an enduring familisation in case of childcare and elderly care.

Due to the long period of solely regional responsibility still distinct differences exists between the provinces. Especially Vienna has a well-established provision of social care services compared to the other provinces. The effects of recent reforms are not *yet* visible.

The workforce itself is segregated in different ways. Minimum wage regulations and collective bargaining agreements are divers. Some cover a certain province, a certain segment (like public or private organisations), or certain professions. Thus, the wages and working conditions differ between employees of provinces and local communities and not-for-profit or for-profit organisations, between people working in elder care, social work or childcare. In addition, Au pairs and '24-hours-carers' ('secondary workers') are categorized as outside of the regular employee legislation with huge impact on their working conditions, employment security and wages.

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Appendix

Table 10. Austrian terminology and definition of social services included in the domains of Education, Social and care services, and Health services

Domains	Services in German language	English terminology used	National (<i>legal</i>) definitions
Education	Volksschule	Primary	Constitution Art 14 and 14a B-VG, federal state basic federal act, implementation act and execution provinces, some exceptions, Schulorganisationsgesetz (federal law of school organisation) Primary schooling lasts for four years and provides all pupils with the same education. Special needs school provide education for children disadvantaged children (up to eight years. Special needs centres integrate disadvantaged children in the regular school system.
	Sonderschule (special needs school or centres)		
	- Hauptschule, Neue Mittelschule, AHS-Unterstufe	Secondary	see above, Schulorganisationsgesetz (federal law of school organisation).
	- Polytechnischer Lehrgang		Then, schooling is divided for pupils at an early age. Hauptschule (Lower Secondary School) is designed to provide pupils with the necessary skills for vocational training and employment. This school form has been replaced by Neue Mittelschule (New Secondary School), which provides the necessary skills for vocational training and upper secondary education (Both four years). In contrast, AHS (Allgemeine Höhere Schule, Secondary Academic Schooling) gives pupils the necessary general knowledge to enter tertiary education (up to A-levels).
- BMS (Fachschule, Handelsschule)	Ploytechnischer Lehrgang (Pre-vocational schooling) gives pupils the final compulsory year in schools before their vocational training. Berufsbildende Mittlere Schule (BMS, Middle vocational schooling) provides three years of schooling and some training in a vocation in schools without A-levels.		
- AHS-Oberstufe, BHS (HAK, HIWHTL)		Secondary Technical and Vocational schooling (Berufsbildende Höhere Schule) gives pupils general education and vocational training. It lasts five years and pupils attain A-levels.	
	Kolleg, Universität, Fachhochschule, Pädagogische Hochschule	Higher /tertiary education	All federal: Universitätsgesetz 2002 (UG – university law) Fachhochschul-Studiengesetz (university of applied science studying law) Hochschulgesetz (higher education law)
	Berufsschule	Vocational training	Schulorganisationsgesetz (federal law of school organisation) – the training of apprentices takes places in the companies and part-time vocational school of apprentices (dual system of vocational training)
	Erwachsenenbildung	Continuing education	Federal law to support Continuing education (Förderung der Erwachsenenbildung und des Volksbüchereiwesens aus Bundesmitteln), but other competences are part of the provincial legislation and some forms of adult education are regulated by federal law, other actors are the employment service (Arbeitsmarktservice), professional organisations and the social partners, local governments, religious associations, parties, not-for profit organisations and for-profit organisations

Social and care services	Child Care		Regulated by the provinces: in 2008 two framework agreements between provinces and the federal state defined minimum requirements concerning an extension of childcare services, a language training for children, a pre-school education plan and a compulsory year of kindergarten Zero up to 14 years old depending on province Bgl: Jungedwohlfahrtsgesetz Carinthia: Kinderbetreuungsgesetz Lower Austria: Kinderbetreuungsgesetz und Verordnung für Tagesmütter/-väter Upper Austria: Kinderbetreuungsgesetz Salzburg: Kinderbetreuungsgesetz und Tagesbetreuungsverordnung Styria: Kinderbildungs- und Kinderbetreuungsgesetz Tyrol: Kinderbildungs- und Kinderbetreuungsgesetz und Verordnung über die Voraussetzung zur Tagesbetreuung von Kindern Vorarlberg: Kindergartengesetz Vienna: Tagesbetreuungsgesetz und -verordnung
	Tagesmütter/-väter (Tageseltern)	Childminders	Zero up to 3 years – depending on province Bgl: Kinderbildungs- und Kinderbetreuungsgesetz Carinthia: Kinderbetreuungsgesetz Lower Austria: Tagesbetreuungsverordnung Upper Austria: Kinderbetreuungsgesetz Salzburg: Tagesbetreuungsverordnung Styria: Kinderbildungs- und Kinderbetreuungsgesetz Tyrol: Kinderbildungs- und Kinderbetreuungsgesetz Vorarlberg: Richtlinien f. Kinder-, Kleinkindbetreuung und Spielgruppen Vienna: Kindertagesheimgesetz und -verordnung
	Krippen, Krabbelstuben	Day care	from 3 to school entry (in some 2.5 years) Bgl: Kinderbildungs- und Kinderbetreuungsgesetz Carinthia: Kinderbetreuungsgesetz Lower Austria: Kindergartengesetz Upper Austria: Kinderbetreuungsgesetz Salzburg: Kinderbetreuungsgesetz Styria: Kinderbildungs- und Kinderbetreuungsgesetz Tyrol: Kinderbildungs- und Kinderbetreuungsgesetz Vorarlberg: Kindergartengesetz
	Kindergarten	Kindergarten/ nursery school	Children in compulsory schooling Bgl: Kinderbildungs- und Kinderbetreuungsgesetz Carinthia: Kinderbetreuungsgesetz Lower Austria: Kindergartengesetz Upper Austria: Kinderbetreuungsgesetz Salzburg: Kinderbetreuungsgesetz Styria: Kinderbildungs- und Kinderbetreuungsgesetz Tyrol: Kinderbildungs- und Kinderbetreuungsgesetz Vorarlberg: Kindergartengesetz
	Horte	After-school care club	Vienna: Kindertagesheimgesetz und -verordnung Children from 1.5 up to 15 years old) Bgl: Kinderbildungs- und Kinderbetreuungsgesetz Carinthia: Kinderbetreuungsgesetz Lower Austria: Kindergartengesetz Upper Austria: Kinderbetreuungsgesetz Salzburg: Kinderbetreuungsgesetz Styria: Kinderbildungs- und Kinderbetreuungsgesetz Tyrol: Kinderbildungs- und Kinderbetreuungsgesetz Vorarlberg: Richtlinien f. Kinder-, Kleinkindbetreuung und Spielgruppen
	Alterserweiterte Gruppen	Groups without age restrictions	Vienna: Kindertagesheimgesetz und -verordnung

Kindergruppen, freie Kinderbetreuungseinrichtungen	Free children's groups	child care organised by parents or an association Bgl: - Carinthia: Jugendwohlfahrtsgesetz Lower Austria: - Upper Austria: - Salzburg: - Styria: - Tyrol: - Vorarlberg: - Vienna: Tagesbetreuungsverordnung
Au pairs	Au pair	An Au pair is between 18 and 28 years old, 20 hours of work in a family and simple household chores regulated by the federal state (Ausländerbeschäftigungsverordnung, ASVG, Festsetzung des Mindestlohntarifs für Au-Pair-Kräfte)
Other social services		
Neustart	Ex convicts	Bewährungshilfe und Haftentlassenenhilfe – The Ministry of Justice has assigned all tasks to one private not for profit organisation (Neustart) (Bewährungshilfegesetz 1974).
Jugendwohlfahrt	Minors with social problems	Provincial legislation – Jugendwohlfahrtsgesetz – basic regulation federal state, implementation and execution provinces
Frauenhäuser	Women's shelter, safe houses	Provincial legislation – social assistance regulation of provinces (Sozialhilfegesetze)
Wohnungslosenhilfe	Services for Homeless	Provincial legislation – social assistance regulation of provinces (Sozialhilfegesetze)
Integrationshilfe	Immigrants and other groups experiencing social disadvantages	Provincial legislation – except for one organisation called Austrian Integration Fund founded by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Federal Ministry of the Interior (BM.I) taking care of refugees after WW II
Elderly and Frail Care		
Betreuung zu Hause '24-Stunden –Pflege'	24-hour home care	Home Care Act (Hausbetreuungsgesetz since 2008) creates the legal basis for an official care at home up to 24 hours, which can be either organised as self-employed carers (550 Euros cash support) or employed carer at an organisation (1,100 Euro cash support). provided by not for profit organisations (freie Wohlfahrtsverbände), local authorities and provinces, Art. 15a agreement between provinces and federal state to provide for sufficient services in 1993. Some provincial acts and decrees afterwards, some still social assistance act in place. From 2012 onwards, federal law (Pflegefondsgesetz)
mobile und ambulante Dienste	Mobile and outpatient services (domestic care, home-help service and family help service, meals on wheels, visitor service or accompanying service	Provided by not for profit organisations (freie Wohlfahrtsverbände), local authorities and provinces. Art. 15a agreement between provinces and federal state to provide for sufficient services in 1993. Some provincial acts and decrees afterwards, some still social assistance act in place. From 2012 onwards, federal law (Pflegefondsgesetz)
teilstationäre Dienste	Semi-inpatient centres - geriatric day centres or day care centres	provided by not for profit organisations (freie Wohlfahrtsverbände), local authorities and provinces Art. 15a agreement between provinces and federal state to provide for sufficient services in 1993. Some provincial acts and decrees afterwards, some still social assistance act in place. From 2012 onwards, federal law (Pflegefondsgesetz)
stationäre Dienste	Inpatient centres - residential and nursing homes for the elderly, short-term care, transitional care and care during holidays provinces	provided by not for profit organisations (freie Wohlfahrtsverbände), local authorities and provinces Art. 15a agreement between provinces and federal state to provide for sufficient services in 1993. Some provincial acts and decrees afterwards, some still social assistance act in place. From 2012 onwards, federal law (Pflegefondsgesetz)

Health	Niedergelassene Ärzte, Hausärzte	Family doctors/General Practitioner (GP)	Federal legislation in co-operation with the social insurance institutions. Social insurance organizations are self-governed institutions, in which governing boards are staffed by representatives of employees, and employers. In Austria, these self government boards have strong ties to the political parties.
	Spitäler, Krankenhäuser	Hospital/clinic system	Federal law framework, provinces implementation act and execution. Hospitals are owned by the <i>Bundesländer</i> , the municipalities, social insurance organizations, or the church Major payers of in-patient care are health insurance associations and
	Hospiz- und Palliativbetreuung	Hospices (for the terminally ill)	Provinces
	Sucht- und Präventionseinrichtungen	substance abuse , health prevention	Provinces
	Kur- und Therapieeinrichtungen	rehabilitation centres	Provinces and different social insurance institutions: Pension insurance funds, health insurance funds and accident insurance funds are involved in rehab-services

Source: Author's own compilation

The working paper describes the recent trajectories of the Austrian childcare system – it covers both services and cash benefits. The Austrian childcare system relies heavily on benefits in cash, we also define the diverse forms of cash support, one could even call them a 'jungle' of benefits and tax deductions, most of which are regulated on the national level. In contrast, the childcare services are subject to provincial legislation as defined in the constitution; however, in 2008 the provincial governments and national government agreed to harmonize and provide a minimum level of services. The territorial cohesion is still not given, and it depends very much on the effort of each province and city to build up certain childcare services. Due to the reliance on cash, distinctive disadvantages cannot be adjusted by services. The stratified up-take of different models of Parental Leave Benefit and the reduction for single parents and low income increase social inequalities further. The high amount of parental leave benefits result in a low percentage of mothers entering employment early and exacerbate part-time employment. The impact of the crisis has not altered the effect of the recent childcare expansion programme; nevertheless, as the service development has not finished, the outcome cannot be fully evaluated yet.

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