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Abbreviations

ArbVG	Arbeitsverfassungsgesetz
AK	Arbeiterkammer
AÜG	Arbeitskräfteüberlassungsgesetz
BgBl	Bundesgesetzblatt
BMASK	Bundesministerium für Arbeit, Soziales, Gesundheit und Konsumentenschutz
GMTN	Gewerkschaft Metall-Textil-Nahrung
GPA-djp	Gewerkschaft der Privatangestellten, Druck, Journalismus, Papier
ILO	International Labour Organization
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
ÖGB	Österreichische Gewerkschaftsbund
Pro-Ge	Produktionsgewerkschaft
PSA	Personal Service Agency
WKO	Wirtschaftskammer Österreich

Preface

A crime will not be bearable through regulation. Temporary work -and this has always been our firm position – ought to be fought and prohibited and each law and each collective bargaining agreement of temporary work, does not mean anything else than the approval and the legalization of the crime of temporary work (Kupfer, 2017, p. 33)

Gerhard Kupfer, German workers' council, Daimler Werke

1. Introduction

The preceding quotation of a German workers' council and self-declared communist Gerhard Kupfer suggests that no matter how many laws will be passed to regulate temporary work, it will not minimize loss. The quotation is extracted from a reflection of him on a wildcat strike taking place in 2013 in the Daimler Werke in Bremen. In short, it was a grassroots action, with no official union support for the abolition of temporary work (Kupfer, 2017, pp. 29 - 38). Potential loss and threat are perceived, especially from the insiders' perspective, as the quotation of a Kupfer suggests.

The staffing industry is worldwide on the rise. Also, Austria follows this trend, so that especially within the last two decades, it became a relevant economic field (Schönbauer, 2014, p.7). It, therefore, is not at all surprising that the area of temporary work ran through plenty of regulations so that on a formal level, temporary workers' rights equal core workers' (Specht, 2016, pp. 176-180).

It is a common assumption that there is a growing gap in labor market insider and outsiders' interest. The entrance of outsiders into the labor market destabilizes the insiders' positions. The terms refer to the differences between those that are in standard versus non-standard

employment relationships. So that the research questions, which the present thesis aims to answer are as follows:

How do representatives of works councils in Austria perceive temporary work, especially considering the relationship between core- and temporary workers, and what are the mechanisms that drive the relationship?

Thus, the thesis aims to elaborate a concept of solidarity. The framework is a crucial element in the present argument. The assumption of how solidarity behaves is based on Bourdieu (1998). He drew heavily on a negative connection of casualization and solidarization. This assumption is compared with relevant data output.

However, it needs to be clarified whether the relationship between core and temporary workers is relevant to the field of political science. At first glance, it seems to be mainly a sociological concern. The research interest doubtless is legitimate through two arguments that predominantly speak for its relevance.

Firstly, there is plenty of evidence that both groups on the macro level show different political preferences, assuming that we are talking in terms of insiders and outsiders (see Marx, 2014; Emmenegger et al. 2012; Manov, 2018). The main idea is that when results on macro-level are visible about conflicting interests, they can also be suspected on a micro-level. Thus, the cleavage is also perceivable on an organizational level and conflicting insiders' institutions such as the works' council.

Moreover, political scientific interest results from the inclusion of the institution of the workers' council. To shift the focus on how codetermination and the workforce's representing institutions are affected by a blended workforce appears to be fruitful. The relevance of shifting the focus onto the workers' council's perspective is even more understandable by considering workers' councils' specific position within diverse interests that they need to consider and balance. The institution of workers' council is very commonly defined as *Grenzinstitution*, which originated in Fürstenbachs' structural analysis (1958, cited as Ittermann & Abel, 2015, p. 100). His conflicting position between the workforce, the trade union, and the management might give a fruitful insight into how insiders and outsiders interact and possible implications.

This research interest is the result of completing a seminar issuing the labor market. During this course, the first steps for this thesis have been made, so that a previous paper with a

similar research design exists, and seemingly relevant aspects also became part of the present thesis.¹

To apply the method of qualitative semi-structured interviews with representatives of works councils to answer the research question seems to be self-evident, as they are central within the research interest and considered to be experts in their position as *Grenzinstitution*. The motivation to build theory explains a qualitative approach, which is common to inductive research.

In the next chapter, relevant literature is reviewed. Then, relevant concepts and definitions are provided, such as insiders and outsiders, temporary work, solidarity, and workers' council. Changes in the labor market are issued next, while later trying to open up a discussion on the effect of labor market segregation on the category of class. The rise of temporary work in Austria is discussed in more detail afterward. After providing the research question and the design of the thesis by further giving insight into the method, the results are discussed subsequently.

¹ The outcome of the seminar was a paper entitled: Reisinger, V., n.d. *Dualization: The End Of Solidarity? How The Inauguration Of Temporary Work Affects Solidarity Among The Workforce*. University of Vienna. The paper was submitted in summer 2019.

2. Reviewing literature

Temporary work has been subjected to scientific research, and it has been shown that temporary work is affecting the individual lives of temporary workers and the working collective as well. Nevertheless, temporary work and other forms of precarious working conditions have been conflicting union strategies and attitudes. The subsequent section provides the most relevant studies. While starting at a micro-level, where temporary work affects the lives of the individuals, on the meso-level temporary work impacts the organizational environment. However, also, unions' strategies are challenged by non-standard employment relationships.

Temporary work has been accused of affecting temporary workers' health negatively. One significant finding suggests that temporary workers are structurally disadvantaged when it comes to health issues: Virtanen et al. (2005) showed that temporary workers are more likely to suffer from psychological morbidity than permanent employees are. Moreover, they could show a higher probability of temporary workers for occupational injuries. At the same time, they could show that temporary workers yet tend to have less sick leave. They explain the latter by the preference of temporary workers of working sick because of their fear of losing their jobs. They link mental issues with job insecurity. Additionally, they show a positive relationship between being a temporary worker and the likelihood to suffer from an occupational accident as a sequel of temporary workers' lacking training and unfortunate introductions as well as their lacking experiences.

Quesnel-Vallée et al. (2010) deliver further evidence for adverse health impacts through agency work. They found a statistically significant positive correlation between depressive symptoms and temporary work. The authors similarly link the higher probability of temporary workers showing depressive symptoms to the chronic job insecurity, which they face. Moreover, this additionally hinders the productivity of temporary workers.

Similarly, a more local study by Lexmüller (2013), in which she focuses on Austria, could show the positive correlation between psychosociological health issues and temporary work. Notably, the method applied here was by using qualitative interviews with temporary workers. However, temporary workers do not perceive their unstable working relation as the source of negative health issues. However, they tend to identify single burdensome

aspects of temporary work. Just like Virtanen et al. (2005), Lexmüller also identifies sick absence as a very problematic arena that temporary workers try to avoid due to fear of job loss.

Furthermore, temporary work also affects the environment they work in. Von Hippel (1999), drawing on literature that mainly suggests a negative impact on core workers when temporary workers are introduced, in her doctoral thesis, tried to look for conditions that lead to unfavorable outcomes when a workforce is blended. She revealed three main conditions affecting a blended workforce negatively: Firstly, the core workers perceive motives for using temporary work as inappropriate. Secondly, the core workers' lay-off policy is unfavorable. Lastly, the core workers perceive the rank of temporary workers as equal or higher. Those conditions are very likely for the core workers to perceive temporary work as a threat, which leads to a negative attitude towards temporary workers and influences the core workers' behavior towards temporary workers. However, the result is twofold, as it also suggests that the outcome is heavily dependent on these conditions, and a blended workforce does not necessarily result in a division.

Nachtwey and Brinkmann (2014) analyzed the situation of temporary workers and contract workers with both Marshall's theory of extending citizenship and Crouch's post-democracy. They concluded that partially certain groups are excluded from industrial citizenship within organizations. While standard workers can be classified as full citizens yet, temporary workers' vote right, passive and active depends on the duration of being dispatched, so that they are according to their results "second class citizens." In contrast, contract workers do not owe any civil rights at all. Similarly, Nachtwey et al. (2013) found evidence on the eruption of codetermination through temporary work and other forms of external contracting, while formally, the democratic institutions stay intact. More recently, Nachtwey (2018) included these findings in a monography, which incorporates these developments into a bigger picture of social decline.

Temporary workers voting preferences tend to differ from workers that hold a standard contract. Marx (2014) analyzed the voting behavior of temporary workers compared to core-workers. He could show that temporary workers are more likely to vote for new left and tend to have a high demand for redistributive policies

For Austria, two names are worth mentioning when talking about research on temporary work. These are firstly Ulrich Schönbauer but even more Specht-Probanda. Schönbauer

(2014) compares the situation of temporary workers to core workers in Austria. He does so before and after new regulations for equality and anti-discrimination of temporary work (AÜG) were set in 2012 and contested that although highly regulated, three domains seemed to entail problems: Firstly, temporary workers still seem to be highly disadvantaged concerning training and education. Secondly, the pay seems often to be an arena with open space to failure. Lastly, social benefits are still not available in the same way for temporary workers than for core workers.

Specht-Prebanda regularly publishes on temporary work in Austria. His articles draw on surveys among temporary workers and works councils' chairwomen and chairmen, focusing on the perception of temporary workers' conditions (Specht, 2010; 2013) and effectiveness of the AÜG equality amendment of 2012 (Specht and Stummer, 2014; Specht, 2016).

The following authors provide a historical account. Van Arsdale (2018) is giving firstly an insight perspective of temporary laborers by not only interviewing them. He slipped himself in the role of a "temp" in the process of his research. He is describing temporary workers' common perception of what it is like to be a "temp," the vicious circle of being caught in temporary agency work, and the hope of the temporary workers that gradually shrinks to a frustrated acceptance. Secondly, van Arsdale tells the history of temporary work aside from the common narrative of the advent of temporary work in the 20th century, placing it back to the rise of capitalism. His historical account uncovers the narrative of temporary work as slave labor. He argues for agency work being inherent in capitalism. Furthermore, he elaborates on the growth of temporary work and its interweaving with an increasing automatization.

Another historical account of the rise of temporary work, the gig economy, and a growing instability through the rise of non-standard contracts were recently published by Louis Hyman (2019). He dates the birth of temporary work much later than Van Arsdale. While the latter is claiming that the capitalist system and labor trade come together, Hyman sees temporary work as a result of conscious decisions that have been taken to increase the profits of corporations.

A recent edited volume by Doellgast et al. (2018) draws attention to union strategies considering an increasing amount of precarity within the workforce in 14 different European countries in different sectors. Arguing that unions do not as often accused exclusively act

in favor of the insider workforce but under certain conditions, depending on the structures and strategies, act according to inclusive solidarity. One of the case studies of Bevegnú et al. (2018) gives relevant insight into union strategies towards the growth of precarious employment conditions. They are focusing on the logistics sector, which is highly segmented due to subcontracting. Their significant findings, when comparing Austrian and Italian, concluded several structural differences between both union organizations. While Austrian unions tend to hang on to traditional union strategies, meant to encourage a segmentation between mostly civic insiders and migrant outsiders, Italian unions could, thanks to their less hierarchical and less bureaucratic grassroots structure, manage inclusive resistant movement against employers. Their mayor finding suggests that unions not necessarily strengthen insider/outsider divisions.

Meyer (2013) and Schmalstieg (2015) provide further research on union strategy and precarious working conditions. Meyer (2013) analyzes the strategies used by German union organizations on the example of the IG Metall towards temporary work. She concludes that also, union organizations can act dynamically and innovatively. Schmalstieg (2015), however, shifts her focus on subjective actionability within collective union organizations, which Schmalstieg exemplifies in the low-wage sector in the United States. She suggests unions are a way of organizing collective actionability by connecting individual's lifeworlds with a collective perspective, offering hereby actionability. Therefore, she concludes that unions can act against casualization.

To sum up, many pieces of research elaborated plenty of different aspects of temporary work and precarious work and relevant fields such as union strategy.

3. Concepts and Definitions

3.1 The Concepts: Insiders and Outsiders

Two major concepts are central in the course of this thesis, which shall be clearly defined here. Originally coming from economic science to explain involuntary unemployment, Lindbeck & Snower (1988) suggested the division of the agents on the labor market into two major groups: Insiders and Outsiders.

According to them, insiders are experienced incumbent employees with protected positions and the possibility to participate in wage negotiations, and they are mostly unionized. Moreover, they influence the productivity and work morals of their collages. Opposed to the insiders are outsiders (ibid. pp.1-2).

Rueda (2005; 2006; 2008; 2014) emphasis the vulnerability to unemployment to be crucial for the insider/outsider perspective: while full-contracted insiders are less threatened by unemployment, outsiders are either unemployed or are in jobs which do not offer sufficient protection against unemployment. The positions that outsiders hold usually pay less. The conditions of those jobs are characterized to be opposed to insiders' jobs typically bad. In total, outsiders' job situations can be summarized as being precarious. Marginally employment, part-time employment, or temporary work are an example of outsider positions. The table below summarizes characteristics considered with each group, based on Lindbeck and Snower (ibid., pp. 1-8).

Insider	Outsiders
• Permanent full-time employment • (usually) well-paid • low probability of unemployment • Position to negotiate • (mostly) unionize • Labor market power	• Non-standard contracts • (usually) poorly paid • Highly vulnerable to unemployment • No position to negotiate • (usually) not unionized • Unemployed, temporary work, part-time • No labor-market power

What makes an insider-outsider perspective useful is the focus on strategic power games between the two groups, which allow observing the strategies that usually insiders use to maintain and expand their labor market power (Lindbeck & Snower, 1988, p. 8).

It is worth mentioning that the concepts are idealized and, for sure, are presented in an abbreviated form. Of course, insiderness, as well as outsidersness, can take different shapes that vary within their category (Lindbeck & Snower, 1988, p. 5). However, findings on outsidersness suggest that especially women and young people are prone to be in this position. While in Northern and Continental Europe, more women tend to be outsiders in the South, the young are more endangered (Häusermann & Schwander, 2012, p. 34).

Accordingly, those two groups have different political preferences. Dependent on their status, they are either believed to be more or less supportive of welfare benefits (Rueda, 2006; 2009). While insiders prefer less welfare support, outsiders often tend to vote for welfare support. These conflicting interests of insiders and outsiders result in a turmoil of the Social Democracy.

The distinction of insiders/ outsiders is used in the present thesis. The columns above highlight the relevant characteristics of each group. Temporary work, a form of outsidersness as it is regarded here, is defined more closely in the next section. The emergence of the division, the process of Dualization (Emmenegger et al., 2012, pp. 9-22) is discussed later.

3.2 Defining: Temporary (agency) work

Temporary agency work is one form of ‘outsiderness’, as argued above. Often it is referred to as temporary work or agency work. The synonymous use of these expressions results from the structure of the working relationship, which is elaborated later in this section in more detail.² What is understood when talking about temporary work, agency work, temping, or, more broadly speaking, the staffing industry, is discussed here. While shifting

² Also, for stylistic reasons both termini, temporary work and agency work are used in the following to guarantee variety of language use.

first some light on the debate of the origin of temporary or agency work, defining characteristics are provided subsequently.

The origin of temporary work, however, is not entirely clarified. Whether one sees temporary work as a phenomenon of the neoliberal capitalism as Hyman (2019) argues or as old as capitalism itself as Van Arsdale (2018) claims, who traces the birth of modern employment agencies during the transition from feudalism to investment capitalism, is quite controversial. Hyman (2019, pp. 3-14) sees temporary work as an a-new phenomenon that emerged in the aftermath of Fordist mode of production as the result of the transition from capitalism that served to provide a majority with secure and stable working conditions to capitalism that just benefits a minority with maximizing profits.

Van Arsdale, on the other hand, outlines a very different development. He traces the beginning of professional labor trading in the early seventeenth century in England and sees a continuity in the ‘intelligent offices’ which operated under state-authority. Two decades later, in 1630, a similar institution can also be found in France, and in the year 1636, the Viennese ‘Öffentliche Fragstube’ similarly helped to exchange labor. In the middle of the seventeenth century, most of these offices went private due to new demands because of the expansion of new markets and segments through colonialism. British colonialism exported the employment agencies to the colonies, therefore also to British North America (ibid., pp. 55-84). To trace the origin of temporary work in slavery is, whether the argument is convincing or not, a compelling narrative that is existing in peoples’ minds, and often comes up when thinking of temporary work. Also, temporary workers themselves refer to temporary work as ‘modern slavery’ (Specht, 2013, p. 191).

The continuity of ‘Intelligent Offices’ to personal service agencies is due to the inauguration of a third player in the working relationship. Usually, a working relationship consists of just two parties, which are usually the employer and the employed. Therefore, a key element of temporary work is its special triangulated relationship, meaning next to employer and employee, there is a third party that influences the relationship, which is commonly represented as in the representation below. The third party is the agency, which mediates the worker for a limited period and therefore gets provision. The third player explains why temporary work is often also referred to as agency work.

The complex system works like this: The temporary worker is an employee of the dispatcher, the personal service agencies, which is abbreviated with PSA in the following.

However, the worker is not directly employed in the organization where he/she is dispatched, which is the company he/she is actually working for. The (client) company is the place where the employee is working. However, the agency worker does not receive the payment from the (client) organization. Instead, the temporary workers get the wage from his/her dispatcher, who is the actual employer (Schönbauer, 2014, p. 10).

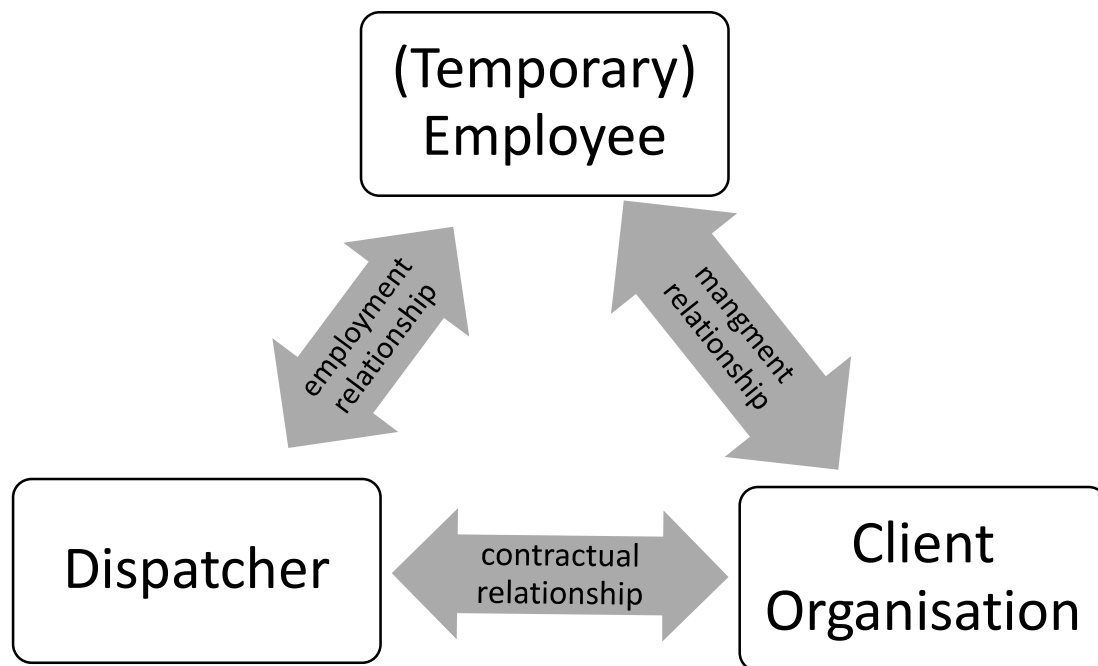


Illustration 1: own representation based on Schönbauer (2014, p. 10) and Håkansson, Isidorsson and Kantelius (2012, p. 154).

In the course of the thesis, when talking about the company, firm, or organization, the client company is meant. Håkansson, Isidorsson, and Kantelius (2012, p. 154) refer to it as a 'user firm'. Moreover, PSA, short for personal service agency or also referred to as staff agency, employment agency, or just agency refers to the dispatcher, just to avoid any unclarity in the subsequent. Therefore, agency work is used interchangeable with temporary work – as more concretely, this form of contracting is called private temporary agency work, i.g. by the International Labor Organization (ILO, n.d.).

Next to the particular three-cornered system, there is another element, which is characteristic for temporary work, namely the fact that location and the precise tasks are unknown until the worker is dispatched (Rauch, 2017, p. 123).

Empirically, temporary workers are very likely to be young, female, of minority origins, the elderly or disabled, shortly groups also very prone to unemployment (CIETT, 2015, cited as in Van Arsdale, 2018, p. 23). Van Arsdale, (ibid.) points at the segregation of traditional women and men's work caused by agencies by dispatching women to traditional female domains, such as housekeeping and by dispatching man to industrial sectors.

Temporary workers are not exclusively among the low-skilled. However, they might, in a significant amount of cases, have a college degree. High skilled engineers and the like, often find themselves in a temporary employment or service contract. Often they enjoy quite good monetary compensation but are partly excluded from participation rights (Nachtwey, 2018, p. 158)

What are the possible motivations for agency work? Firstly, the interest in employing temporary workers from the entrepreneur side is mainly to easily have access to flexible labor in order to react quickly to cyclical fluctuations. Three main reasons seem to attract entrepreneurs considering temporary work, which are to balance fluctuations of demand, to eliminate employment risk, and to smaller shortages in staff (Schwaab, 2017, pp. 55-58). A side-effect is the reduction of risks and simultaneously the reduction of costs of personal recruitment and personal administration. The client firms pass these areas onto the agencies.

Moreover, temporary employment is used by companies as a practical test – temporary workers that pass this test might become part of the core workforce. Another cost-reducing factor is that temporary workers are fired much easier and quicker and can be replaced easily by another temporary worker, sent by the agency. The probability of becoming unemployed is six times higher among temporary workers, which makes them a very vulnerable group (Rauch, 2017, p. 125). In short, temporary work is cost and risk reduction for entrepreneurs. Rauch (ibid., p. 123) ascertains a shift in the motivation of enterprises making use of temporary work: In the beginning, temporary work was mainly a means to cover output peaks, today it is seen as a more cost-reducing way of recruitment.

Secondly, one might ask what the workers' motivations for temporary employment are if it mostly means a worse income, fewer rights, and also often a bad reputation, which this

form of employment brings along. Wrongfully, temporary employment is often seen as a working relationship that is consciously chosen by temporary workers. However, Moser et al. (2017, p. 68) correct this wrong belief, claiming that temporary employment results from a lack of opportunities and the hope of the unemployed to acquire regular working employment through temporary employment. However, a small minority enjoys high fluctuation and the ‘flexibility’ of temping. As Van Arsdale (2018, p. 42) determines, workers that perceive ‘flexibility’ as positive usually are in a position to negotiate and decide when and where to work. However, the more significant part is flexible to the needs of their dispatcher and agency.

PSAs claim their motivation is to operate as a tool to stimulate the labor market; therefore, to bridge the labour market outsider inside the labour market. They claim that temporary work offers a combination of training at an organizational level while being integrated into the labor market at the same time. Nevertheless, the vulnerability of being unemployed is six times higher among temporary workers (Rauch, 2017, p. 123-127). Besides their claim of beneficially stimulating the labor market and helping to cut down unemployment Van Arsdale describes the PSAs’ motivation:

The unemployed have become a valuable commodity to corporate employment agencies that make billions of dollars selling them to host-companies for their flexible employment needs. (Van Arsdale, 2018, p. 44)

However, not only the motivations of the three involved parties might differ. Also, an imbalance of power is the result. The three-cornered relation for sure results in an asymmetry in power, which is reflected already in the language itself: The power hierarchy is already clear through terms such as “the dispatcher” or “to dispatch” (Van Arsdale, 2018, p. 5)

Although the triangle comprises dispatcher, the client company, and temporary laborer, another group is affected by the inauguration of temporary work. These are permanent workers. While their attitude differs from acceptance to rejection, Nachtwey (2018, pp. 144-146) highlights the functioning of the three-cornered system as social disciplining. Social discipline results from confronting the core- workforce with the temporary workers and thus permanently remember them of their weak position. The fragility of the core workforce becomes apparent by observing the agency workers that must leave whenever the client company does not need him anymore and probably ends in unemployment.

Similarly, Cingolani (2013, pp. 26-27) argues that the temporary character of the working relation, however, is responsible for worse conditions, which core workers enjoy: Due to the temporal limitation of the working relation temporary workers are more likely to be asked to do the “donkey work,” which they are more likely to accept without any discussion. However, more interestingly, Cingolani (ibid.) claims that the temporality status of temporary co-workers is also leading to a casualization of the relationship of the working collective. Firstly, the temporary presence of the temporary workers is excluding them from the working collective, and consequently, the temporary workers’ interests differ from the remaining collective. Moreover, the temporary workers affect the core-worker in a twofold way: On the one hand, he symbolizes a threat, who might take away the core-workers position. On the other hand, however, he symbolizes the protection of his standard position.

It is essential when talking about temporary work to mention that temporary work is much more than discussed here. By arguing that temporary work is a great chance to get back inside the primary labor market, we must not forget all the evidence that shows negative health influences (see, e.g., Virtanen et al., 2005; Quesnel-Vallée et al., 2010; Lexmüller, 2013). Therefore, it is crucial to introduce which domains are affected by this labor relationship shortly: The employment is affecting the work-life balance, affecting their private lives, their romances, their families, their leisure time. At the same time, they usually find themselves in jobs that are not experiencing any esteem at all among society. Followingly they do not experience appreciation for all the sacrifices they make. All too often, temporary work is the beginning of a vicious circle, which is hard to escape – and often results in poverty (Van Arsdale, 2018, pp. 42-45).

Another critical point that needs to be discussed when defining temporary work is the reputation of temporary work, which has been slightly broached above. Somehow temporary work seems to have a bad connotation, which is not that easy revealed. The most straightforward and most apparent explanations are the working condition and inadequate income that often lead to poverty and poverty, as is generally known, marginalizes. However, temporary work not necessarily leads to poverty. Another explanation of additional factors relevant to the bad reputation of temping might be the assumption of temporary work being a continuation of slavery, which makes disapproval of service agencies plausible but not a marginalization of temporary workers. One explanation might be that temporary workers are the norm (which are still –in Western European countries –

standard contract workers). The demographic constitution of temporary workers, which tend to be migrants and women, might be an essential factor that plays a significant role in the marginalization. Van Arsdale (2018, p. 44) mentions the shift of a society valuing physical labor towards a society valuing high-skilled and knowledge-based work that, according to him, is a reason for the bad reputation of temporary workers that are often found in the industrial sector. Although the reasons for the bad reputation of temporary workers are not entirely clear, one is sure: Temporary work is not attractive to either perspective. Temporary workers themselves want to be part of the core workforce instead of being temporary workers (Moser et al., 2017, p. 68).

In short, temporary work is typically defined by the three-cornered structure of the employment relationship, consisting of the temporary worker, the dispatcher, and the client organization. Moreover, temporary work is usually understood to be precarious work, which becomes transparent due to the fragility of the employment relationship, that can be easily and quickly ended plus often earns a pitiful wage. Groups such as women, young people, and other groups vulnerable to unemployment are overrepresented among temporary workers—moreover, the stigmatization of temporary work matters. Although agencies argue to be a bridge for unemployed back inside the labor market, the contrary seems to be far more probable. Temporary workers are, therefore, comprehended to have an outsider position within the labour market.

3.3 The concept: Solidarity

Solidarity is a concept, which might be used inflationary, especially in the political domain. However, it seems to be a very fuzzy term that has been defined in many ways and emphasized different factettes of its meaning. Often, however, solidarity is used by arguing from a moral perspective. In the following, solidarity is defined by working out the core elements of the concept and also is acquired to be well distinguishable from other concepts.

The origins of the term can be found in the late 17th century in the French language. Solidarity, back then, was used to refer to a legal relationship, meaning “joint and several liability”. Later, it gained great popularity after the European Revolutions of the 19th century. However, its inflationary use can be dated after world war II (Zoll, 2000, pp. 13-

18). While the concept's origin is clear, the meaning of solidarity is not clarified yet. When exactly can we talk in terms of solidarity? How can we differentiate solidarity from other similar concepts such as friendship or charity, and altruism? In order to work with the term, it needs to be clearly defined, whether friendly gestures such as drinking coffee together, sharing lunch or similar actions are considered to be actions of solidarity.

Many concepts are quite similar to "solidarity" and are often used exchangeable, which are charity, altruism, and feelings such as compassion, friendship, and love (Prainsack & Buyx, 2013, pp. 590-591).

Charity at first glance seems to be a synonym of solidarity, yet it is easy to differentiate these two concepts by closer analysis. The structure of a relationship defines the difference between charity and solidarity, whether the relationship is asymmetric or symmetric. Therefore, if someone donates money for the poor, it is considered to be an act of charity rather than solidarity. Charity presupposes an imbalance of power, while a critical element of solidarity is equality (ibid., p. 581). Another factor, which helps to differentiate the two concepts is that charity is exclusively helping to overcome a particular problem while solidarity always also criticizes the normative order. Thus, giving a homeless a few euros helps him to overcome a concrete problem, therefore appease the homeless' hunger. However, this practice does not utter dissatisfaction with existing social realities (Heindl & Stüber, 2019, pp. 360-361). Internal criticism is another facet of solidarity: it aims to open discourse as Arendt (1994, cited in ibid.) proposes. So that solidaristic behavior exceeds individual private life and addresses political claims.

Also, the concept of altruism often is used interchangeably with solidarity. Similarly, altruism is defined by an asymmetric relation. Prainsack and Buyx (2013, p. 581) highlight that while solidarity is a relational concept, therefore always needs an individual or a group to relate to, altruism often is understood to be a person's characteristic. Habermas (2012, cited in Heindl & Stüber, 2019, p. 361) suggests that solidarity differs from altruism as it implicates reciprocity, in the form of an expected future benefit when someone enacts solidarity.

Compassion heavily relies on an inner feeling. As Prainsack and Buyx (2013, p. 590) state is a result of this solidarity is visible, while compassion, as a mere feeling, is not compulsory recognizable. Both claim that while compassion can be part of solidarity, this is not necessarily the case, as often solidarity can be motivated rationally.

Friendship is distinguishable by quantitative and qualitative factors, according to Prainsack and Buyx (ibid) – meaning that firstly, far more costs between friends would be accepted and also more similarities among friends exist and can be much more in-depth (ibid., p. 591). A straightforward way to easily differentiate these concepts can be the obligatory presence of personal ties and affection that is inherent of friendship but not necessarily essential to engage solidarity.

Having clarified which concepts are often mistaken with solidarity, it is time to move on with the definition of solidarity itself. Firstly, solidarity, although often associated with Judaeo-Christian ethic, is not understood to be a virtue or the like. However, relying on the definition of Prainsack and Buyx, which states: solidarity is

enacted commitments to accept costs to assist others with whom a person or persons recognize similarity in a relevant respect. [...] First, we consider solidarity not merely a value [...], but a personal and social practice. Secondly, solidarity is anchored in a relational concept of personhood [which] implies that people's subjective and also their interests are influenced by their relations to others. [...] The key about solidarity [...] is that people enact solidarity with others with whom they consider themselves connected in some sense (Prainsack & Buyx, 2018, p. 588).

Honneth (2003, cited in Zandonella et al., 2019, p. 403) is emphasizing the role of mutual appreciation as a base for solidarity within a society. According to him, mutual appreciation is the base for a diversified society in order to enact solidarity. Therefore, to enact solidarity, on the one hand, one needs to experience appreciation from the society, and on the other hand, due to the appreciation experienced, one is also inherently proud of his/her work. Appreciation as a ground of solidarity especially offers an interesting starting point, when thinking of a growing devaluing of physical work in today's society.

A very classic division of solidarity comes from Durkheim, who differentiated between two different forms of solidarity. As so often, when concepts of solidarity are discussed, also Durkheim's notion (1992, cited in Schnabel & Tranow, 2019, p. 22) is criticized to lack analytic clearness. However, he assumes that solidarity is to divide into the mechanic and organic solidarity. The first one means that mechanic solidarity is based on the collective consciousness. The latter, however, relies on individual interdependence (ibid).

Lastly, the characteristics of a definition of solidarity, which are considered to be fruitful for a working definition, are revised. The existing definition of solidarity heavily relies on

the key elements provided, by Buyx and Prainsack (2018, p. 588), Habermas (2012, cited in Heindl & Stüber, 2019, p. 361), Honneth (2003, cited in Zandonella et al., 2019, p. 403) and Arendt (1994, cited in Heindl & Stüber, 2019, p. 361). Solidarity's key elements are

- based on a group-feeling ("connectedness") due to being aware of at least one similarity.
- the acceptance of cost to help, which route in rationality and trust in reciprocity.
- to be a practice rather than a value.
- based on the perception of appreciation as a base.
- the implication of criticism on existing conditions.

3.4 Definition: Workers' council

The main characteristic of the institution of the works council is its intersection of three different interest groups, which are the workforce, the management, and the unions. Thus, Fürstenberg (1958, cited in Ittermann & Abel, 2015, p. 100) came up with the term *Grenzinstitution* to indicate the collision of interests. Ittermann & Abel (ibid.) also refer to the new requirements of workers' councils³ since the 1990ies, so that the representatives of the works council are frequently considered to be co-managers, a term derived by Müller-Jentsch (1999, cited in ibid.).

The works council is an institution, which is essential for the dual system of industrial relations. On the intercorporate level, the social partners, which consist of umbrella organizations of employers and employees, the government, and the functional departments negotiate. Here, both umbrella institutions have a considerable influence on processes such as policy-making and implementation, mostly in fields such as economic policies, social policies, and labor policies (Tálos, 2008, pp. 9-11). On the base of the dual system, the works council is responsible for the articulation of the workers' interests. Although formally separated from the social partnership, the umbrella institution of the Austrian trade unions – the Österreichische Gewerkschaftsbund ÖGB – are deeply interwoven. Therefore, their role is often described to be the 'long-arm' of the trade unions. Especially, as the

³ In the subsequent, when talking about workers' council or works council the representatives of the works council are meant frequently.

works councils often must implement and mediate the decisions of the social partners and are an instrument for creating consensus among the union-members (ibid., pp. 44-45).

The workers' council is not just delegated to represent the workers' interest, yet also has legal rights to participate in decision making and actively shaping working relations (Wien, 2009, p. 139). In Austria, these rights are defined in the Labour Constitution Act of 1974 ⁴, which defines the rights and duties of the institution. It further regulates collective bargaining and works council agreements. However, the works council legally broadly oversees four main areas, which are the rights of supervising and controlling, rights of information, rights to intervene, and finally, the right to consult (WKO, 2020). A contribution of the employees finances the works council (Arbeiterkammer, n.d.) The works council's size depends on the number of employees within a place of business. The number of voters, however, decides whether and how many representatives of the works council can be exempted (Wien, 2009, pp. 140-141).

A recent survey among Upper Austrian chairwomen and chairmen of works councils showed that their main activities focus on fields such as remuneration, changing working organization, increasing workload, questions to working time, and, most importantly, working climate. The last field was, according to this survey, the most crucial field for works councils lately. Therefore, they can be considered exhaustively familiar with the working atmosphere. (Specht-Prebanda & Stöger, 2019, pp. 57-58).

Additionally, Specht-Prebanda and Stöger (ibid., pp. 67-69) show that the number of organizations, which vote for a works council, shrinks. The recent number for Upper Austria, the industrial focal point of the country, shows that less than half of the companies have a works council to represent the employees. Reasons for this development are, first and foremost, a heightened workload that does not allow for proper worker participation and, therefore, the increasing displacement of works council's activities into the private sphere.

In short, the works council is an institution in which the interest of management, workforce, and unions overlap. It is financed by the workers, whose interest the works council ought to represent. However, it increasingly got into a co-managing position within the last decades. There is a trend away from establishing a work council within organizations. The

⁴ see: Arbeitsverfassungsgesetz (ArbVG), BgbBl 22/1974 as ammended 23/2020

growth of non-standard employment relationships has accompanied this trend away from voting for workers' representation. The next section issues the connection between these trends. A historical account on the road to a dual labor market and its implications, such as the structural weakening of workers' institutions, is elaborated.

4. Transformation of the labor market

As mayor concepts have been shortly discussed, this section focusses on making sense of them together by taking a historical perspective on the emergence of non-standard work and the death of standard working relationships as a general trend in industrialized countries. While the after-world war II period exhibits domination of standard full-time working contracts, nowadays, so-called precarious working conditions are on the rise. Along with this development comes an increase in poverty, a more significant gap between the rich and the poor and all in all a more divided society. Instead of standard employment contract came a growth in part-time, marginally or temporary employment and many contract workers in the ‘gig economy’ (Emmenegger et al., 2012, pp. 3-7). This section aims to reflect this development more closely.

4.1 From the standard-employment to precarious employment

It was only in the mid-20th century, after world war II that in most European countries the so-called “standard employment” emerged: This was the consequence of a favorable economic situation, a high demand of workforce and hence a strong position to negotiate for the unions (Nachtwey, 2018, pp. 21-23).

, the concept of a standard-employment relationship needs to be clarified. It is not entirely agreed upon on what is meant by standard-employment. Although often argued, that the term standard employment relationship is misleading, as it suggests being the ultimate norm, although the period in which the standard employment relationship was dominant was quite short. Still, also when it was the predominant model, atypical employment relations existed at the same time. Usually, women found themselves working atypically (Nachtwey, 2018, pp. 22-23).

Standard employment usually refers to an unlimited employment relationship, which is subject to social security contribution and subject to dismissal protection and on a full-time base. Furthermore, collective participation within the arrangement of the working

conditions is a core element in the standard employment relation. These include workers' participation, free collective bargaining, and the establishment of the institution of the works council (ibid.). A term that refers to these rights is "industrial citizenship" of Marshall (1992, cited in ibid., p. 25), meaning collective rights of the workforce, additionally to their gained civil, political, and social citizenship. The industrial rights guaranteed them health protection and job security, regulated holiday entitlement, and sick leave (ibid. pp. 25-26). This betterment led to increased life conditions. Society experienced increased wealth, which does not mean, the overthrowing of the gap between rich and poor. However, it meant a step towards the wealth of a big part of society, so that borders within classes became more invisible. The collective upraising was accompanied by a mental "de-proletarianization," meaning that increased material wealth affected workers' attitudes (ibid. 28-29). The change of mentality was a crucial moment for the category of class as although the category was and is still existent, inequalities did not matter anymore. Notably, yet still existed. As Beck (1986, cited in ibid. p. 31) suggests, everyone experienced increased living conditions. He referred to this process metaphorically as an elevator that takes the whole society upwards (ibid.).

It was the crisis of the 1970ies that finally led to an incremental eruption of the standard-employment relationship. The exodus of the manufacturing sector to the Global South through reductions in cost and rationalization brought along technological innovation was a significant influence. Consequently, the flexibilization of working conditions and the event of new forms of labor division emerged (Komlosy, 2015, p. 175). Just to make this process a bit more approachable: According to a statistic provided by the Arbeiterkammer Oberösterreich (n.d., n. p.), relying on BMASK data (2016), within only ten years between 2006 and 2016 there was a growth of 35 percent in freelancing, 46,8 percent in marginally employment and 41, 1 percent in part-time employment. In comparison, there was just growth of only 1,8 percent of standard employment in the whole of Austria.

Labor market transition and the rise of precarity comprise the popularity of the growing phenomenon of the "gig-economy." Gig-economy is often simultaneously mentioned with other precarious working conditions such as temporary and part-time work. "Gig-economy" refers to two types of independent contracting. Firstly, to crowd work, which means either the division of a task into multiple little tasks, which are done by different users of a platform or the completion of a single task such as creating a design and the like by different users, whereas just one user gets remuneration. Secondly, the gig economy

refers to “work on-demand via apps,” such as Uber, Lyft, and Foodora and the like (De Stefano, 2016, pp. 1-2).

Although this new form of the economy of job-platforms sounds romantic caused by shifting the focus on the liberty and the independence that the gig-jobber enjoys, the legal situation of these workers is especially unclear, and workers’ rights in this domain are often entirely unprotected (Crouch, 2019, p. 13). Here, the suggested liberty of the gig-concept relates similarly to the inflationary courted concept of flexibility, which also presents a wrong idea about autonomy. De Stefano (2016, p. 5) sees the contradiction in the classification of gig-workers as “independent workers”: This suggests independence, freedom, and autonomy that the worker *de facto* does not possess. This unclarity about who the actual employer is, leads to a variety of difficulties concerning questions such as health and social security, collective bargaining, and the like. However, this is a general characteristic of any non-standard work, which is part of outsourcing, such as temporary work and the like. Crouch (2019, p. 15) says that independent contracting led to a transformation of the employer-employee relationship, insofar that the employer can expect total loyalty of the employee without taking any responsibility for their workers.

To sum up, the standard employment relationship was predominant in the last century, for the white men mostly, however. Today’s trends show a tremendous growth of precarious work, such as marginally, temporary, part-time employment, or “gig” economy. These precarious working conditions have striking similarities to the workshop system. Wording such as “flexible work” and mental pictures of gig-alike jobs make them appealing and forget about potential cutbacks. The next section shifts the focus on what structural drivers encouraged this transformation.

4.2 Structural Changes: Towards Casualization

How did it come to a labor market, with insiders in standard employment relationships on the one hand and outsiders with non-standard employment relationships, on the other hand? According to Emmenegger et al. (2012, pp. 7-17), the process of dualization got driven by two structural factors, namely deindustrialization, and globalization. While in Post-Fordism, the manufacturing sector was the primary labor source for the working class, this

sector shrunk tremendously, accompanied by the expansion of the service sector. The latter is prone to be less regulated, and unions tend to be far weaker in this sector. While the manufacturing sector guaranteed due to his high productivity an income, which was such a descent to nourish a whole family just by one income, the service sector is highly restricted in terms of productivity.

Moreover, another effect of this development is a return to skill investment. Skill investment puts pressure on the low-skilled and, after all, led to a skill bifurcation between high and low-skills. Deindustrialization, however, is associated with another development, namely the femininization of the labor market. After the decline of the male bread-earner model women steadily entered the labor market, so that numbers of female employees are like male employees (Emmenegger, et al., 2012, p. 9). However, it is essential to mention that women are over presented in precarious working conditions. She finds herself much more often in non-standard labor relations in part-time than he does.

As Emmenegger et al. (2012, pp. 9-11) state, the second major structural driver who is associated with dualization is globalization. Globalization led to, on the one hand, increased mobility of cheap migrant work. On the other hand, globalization undermined the authority of the nation-state, which results in governments growing inability to tax internationalized capital. Despite the two structural drivers discussed above, Emmenegger et al. (ibid.) emphasize the importance of governments considering the process of dualization: The government needs to react to the structural drivers. Governments shape dualization's effect. If governments act liberally in the sense of increased privatization and fewer regulations, the insider-outsider-cleavage, or in the authors' words, the institutionalized dualism might be more profound. Other governments that regulate and provide access to welfare transfer easily, however, might soften potential divides. The reaction of governments – their willingness to either be redistributive and inclusive or not – is shaping whether someone is or is not an insider (ibid.).

Returning to the labor market transitions and shifting attention to the future, the OECD is not optimistic. The labor market will also be challenged by increasing automation and digitalization, which will create an even more competitive climate. The OECD (2019, p. 3) estimates that in total, 14 percent of all jobs might disappear, and 32 percent might be increasingly automatized. At the same time, the OECD (ibid.) predicts a rise in low quality and precarious work accompanying the technological revolution. Similarly, also Autor and

Dorn (2013, p. 1590) and Autor et al. (2003, p. 1322) see an increased bifurcation of some high-skilled and many low-skilled, while the total number of jobs decreases computers can substitute as many.

To close this section with a short recap: By drawing heavily on Emmenegger et al. (2012, pp. 9-11), deindustrialization and globalization are significant drivers of a changing labor market. Policies, however, play a tremendous role in the outcome of dualization, so that heavily deregulating might result in good looking labor market statistics, yet in the casualization of people that work under those conditions. In the next section addresses the decrease of trade union's degree of organization, which accompanies the labor market transition.

4.3 The decline in the union's degree of organization

The development of an increase in precarious working situations is accompanied by a decrease in union memberships among nearly all OECD countries. The table on the next page shows, which relies on OECD.Stat data (2019), the changes in union density among nineteen different OECD countries in the last two decades, with an average decrease of - 8,28 percent per country within twenty years. The statistic just provided numbers for nineteen countries for all the three years in interest. The availability explains the choice for those countries as data was accessible. Just one country, Iceland, shows an opposite trend with a growth of 3,7 percent.

Table 1: Trade union density in OECD countries from 1998 to 2018. Data by OECD.Stat (2019) own table and own calculations.

Country Year	1998	2008	2018	Difference
Austria	38,4	29,6	26,3	-12,1
Belgium	55,1	54,5	50,3	-4,8
Czech Republic	32,1	16,9	11,5	-20,6
Denmark	76,3	67,6	66,5	-9,8
Estonia	17,1	7,0	4,3	-12,8
Finland	78,4	69,9	60,3	-18,1
France	9,4	8,5	8,8	-0,6
Germany	25,9	19,0	16,5	-9,4
Hungary	27,2	14,4	7,9	-19,3
Iceland	88,1	86,4	91,8	+3,7
Italy	35,3	33,4	34,4	-0,9
Japan	22,4	18,0	17,0	-5,4
Luxembourg	43,2	36,5	31,8	-11,4
Netherlands	23,9	20,0	16,4	-7,5
Norway	53,6	49,4	49,2	-4,4
Spain	17,9	17,5	13,6	-4,3
Turkey	18,9	10,7	9,2	-9,7
United Kingdom	30,1	27,0	23,4	-6,7
United States	13,4	11,9	10,1	-3,3

The trend of a shrinking union density and a rise in precarious work are interrelated. According to the OECD (2019, p. 20), non-standard workers are, on average, 50 percent less likely to have a union membership than standard workers. The low percentage of unionism among them, on the other hand, is contributing to their outsider-position as it weakens their power to negotiate and, therefore, their market power. Standard workers, however, are more likely to be unionized, and they are in a better position to negotiate and consequently have more market power (Lindbeck & Snower, 1988, p. 1). However, this development also contributes to the growth of power inequality between employers and employees (Crouch, 2019, pp. 57-58).

Rueda (2006) is talking about a dilemma of the social democracy balancing their program between the interests of insider and outsiders. However, it is not only social democracy as a traditional insider party that is torn apart but also trade unions as an insider institution. Unions face challenges due to a growing number of outsiders. Crouch (2019, p. 86) sees a similar conflict considering unions: on the one hand, unions might scare off outsiders by articulating insider interests exclusively. Nevertheless, unions depend on insiders as the base of the institution. Therefore, unions need to according to insider interest in order to hold their support.

Empirically, Van Hippiel (1999, p. 108) detected that core workers are more likely to organize in unions when they work alongside temporary workers. When they consider motives to hire agency workers as inappropriate, they tend to unionize against this perceived threat. Also, she found a lacking collective identity among temporary workers, which is tremendously essential in order to articulate common interest together within a union (ibid. p. 106).

However, for sure, there have been other impacts on the negative growth of union density. As unions often claim themselves, reasons for the incapacity of recruiting potential members are based on the changing of the composition of the working class. As already discussed above, more women entered the labor market. Women are more prone to be in the weak organized service sector, hold less full-time positions, and frequently are part-time or marginally employment. However, besides, unions often declare a change in the mind of younger workers as a reason for the decline in union density. As Fürstenberg (2013, p. 309) summarizes, unions often complain about the decay of working-class culture and a growing alienation of traditional ideological closeness to unionism.

Indeed, a trend towards a decline of trade union density is observable among the OECD, while at the same time that casualization rises. Austria also got affected by a shrinking number of union members (see above). While the BAWAG scandal might be a relevant factor, Austria was neither immune to casualization (Tálos, 2017, pp. 168-169). The strategy of the ÖGB towards temporary work is a topic of the next chapter. The next section, however, tried to make sense of these developments considering the category of class.

4.4 A new class?

The next section is discussing theoretical reflections of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu on casualization and recent discussions on how casualization and labor market changes impact society, especially those that got left behind. As the research question already suggests, the dynamics which govern the relationship between insider and outsider are central in this thesis. What does the emergence of a new precarious class implicate?

Pierre Bourdieu (1998, pp. 1-5) in a lecture in 1997 already observed these developments. He considered precarity as a new form of governing. This new form rests on increased instabilities and a collective mentality, which is ever-present. Standard-workers are well-aware of the reserve army of labor of non-standard workers. This awareness confronts them consistently with the feeling of being replaceable. The standard workers are well-aware of the fragility of their position. A fragility, which is a privilege though and can be taken away anytime. As opposed to non-standard workers, who do not have any future vision of their lives at all. The incapacity of believing in a draft of a possible better future is due to the unstable conditions, which they live in. So, while primarily focusing on surviving at the very moment, there is no option to build a political resistance. Similarly, Crouch (2019, p. 18) is referring in his recently published book on the gig-economy to William Beveridge (1942, cited in Crouch, 2019, p. 18). He firmly believed that people only could be expected to welcome social change and actively participate if they are guaranteed, at least to some degree, a base of security.

Bourdieu (1998, p. 2-3) claims that for building a revolutionary project, a minimum of influence of the current situation is necessary – and this is precisely where the standard and the non-standard worker differentiate. The standard worker has, according to Bourdieu, a minimum of influence, power, and security. Everything that the non-standard-worker lacks. However, Bourdieu's conclusion of the consequences of this development is a focal point. The atmosphere of concurrence between the blended workforce is leading to a desolidarization. Desolidarization results due to the permanent threat of the core workers of losing their positions and their basis of existence.

Nevertheless, also, recent literature points to new class cleavages that have aroused because of the labor market transitions. Although often declared as outdated, the category of “class” in recent debates is finding back into scientific discourse. While the working class of the

industrial revolution undebatable disappeared, new class constitutions arose. Bohrn Mena (2018, pp. 18-32), for example, claims that the precariat is the new working class, due to their adverse working conditions and constant threats they are facing. The rise of new class constellations is accompanied by a tendency of separation and isolation at the workplace. So that different constructions of contracts and levels of remuneration lead to the loss of a collective feeling (ibid. p. 21).

Justin Guest (2016) examines the shrinking traditional white working class in the manufacturing sector in the UK and the US and concludes that these people are suffering from their marginalized position and the loss of prestige and status, which this group once enjoyed when physical work was rewarded from society. Therefore, he shifts his focus on the perception of the loss of insider status, claiming that perceived disempowerment is often transferred to antisystem behavior such as withdrawal of the political sphere or active participation of anti-establishment organizations (ibid., p. 32). Often these feelings of loss and displacement of what Guest calls “new minority” are canalized by the rejection of groups that are minorities in the traditional sense of the term, instead of solidarization with people that are economically the same (ibid., p. 20-25). Again, the research refers to a link between the ability to solidarize and getting social recognition, respectively, be awarded by society and the feeling to be a valid part of the public life.

A tendency of individualism carries this division. Nachtwey (2018, p. 108-109) reminds that while threats such as unemployment, casualization, and stigmatization used to be a collective fate of a whole class, nowadays, these are a single stroke of the fate of the ‘market-individual’. The increased autonomy and liberalization, which creates significant insecurities among society, undermines collective solidarity (ibid.).

The labour market division resulted in a shrinking amount of labour market insiders and a growth of labour market outsiders that find themselves unemployed or in another form of precarious employment. At the same time, this development created new political preferences, aversions, and exclusions, feelings of loss, and marginality—a division of class rather than solidarization, which is a product of increasing insecurity. There is a tendency of a growing class of precarity on the one hand, which is statistically overrepresented by migrants and women and, on the other hand, a shrinking group of labour market insider that fight with complexes due to a growth of social displacement and disempowerment within society. A trend towards individualism leaves people to hang

within individual biographies of loss. Cross-class coalitions of solidarity seem to be an impossibility.

In the next section, the case study of the field of temporary work in Austria elaborates on these developments on a national level.

5. Temporary work in Austria

Temporary work in many aspects differs from the agency sector of the global average. This section wants to briefly show the history of agency work in Austria and its specificities in demographics. Nonetheless, the way temporary work is regulated so far and how insider institutions, such as the ÖGB, behaved regarding temporary work, shall be shortly elaborated.

5.1.1 Development and demographics

A boom at the beginning of the 2000^{nds} characterizes temporary work in Austria. Before, temporary work was a rather marginal phenomenon as compared to other (former) European Union members, such as the United Kingdom. However, within one decade, the field expanded so that Austria soon was average in the use of temporary workers in the European Union (Riesenfelder & Wetzels, 2010, p. 7).

The representation on the next page illustrates a slight decrease in temporary work during the financial crisis in 2008. This decrease is easily explicable through the cut back of staff that mostly was executed by cutbacks on the temporary staff, that quickly can be sent home (Specht & Stummer, 2014, p. 189). However, in 2010 the number of temporary workers grew again so that the growth of agency workers soon could lead to a shrinking unemployment rate. The year 2010 marks another boom for the temporary staff industry (Specht, 2010, p. 96)

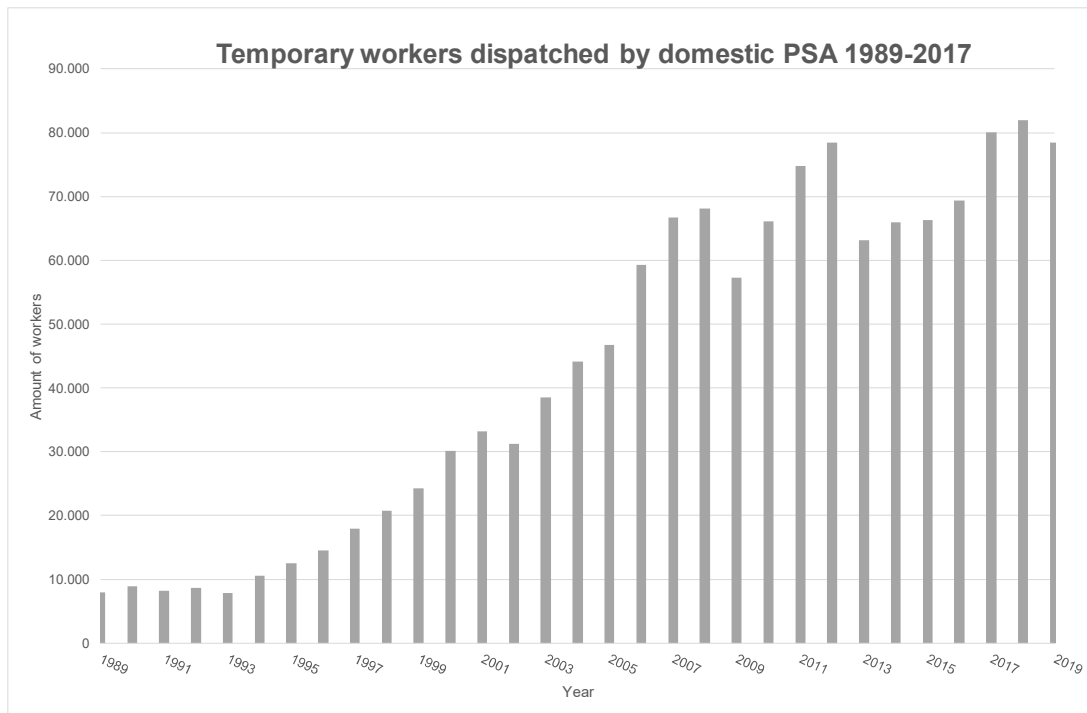


Figure 1: own representation, data by BMASK (2019a)

The next representation shows temporary work according to branches. The industry most exhaustedly takes use of temporary work, followed by the craft industry. Therefore, it is safe to say that temporary work shows the tendency to be blue-collar work. Temporary work in Austria also tends to be male, which differs from the general trend of temporary work being young and female. While in 2019, the average of the dispatched man of domestic PSAs was 61.584, just 16.847 females were dispatched on average (BMASK, 2019b). The difference means that more than three fourth of the workers dispatched are men, while less than a fourth of the workers dispatched are female. Specht (2010, p. 97) therefore, calls temporary workers ‘untypical atypical employees’ as men dominate the field of temporary work.

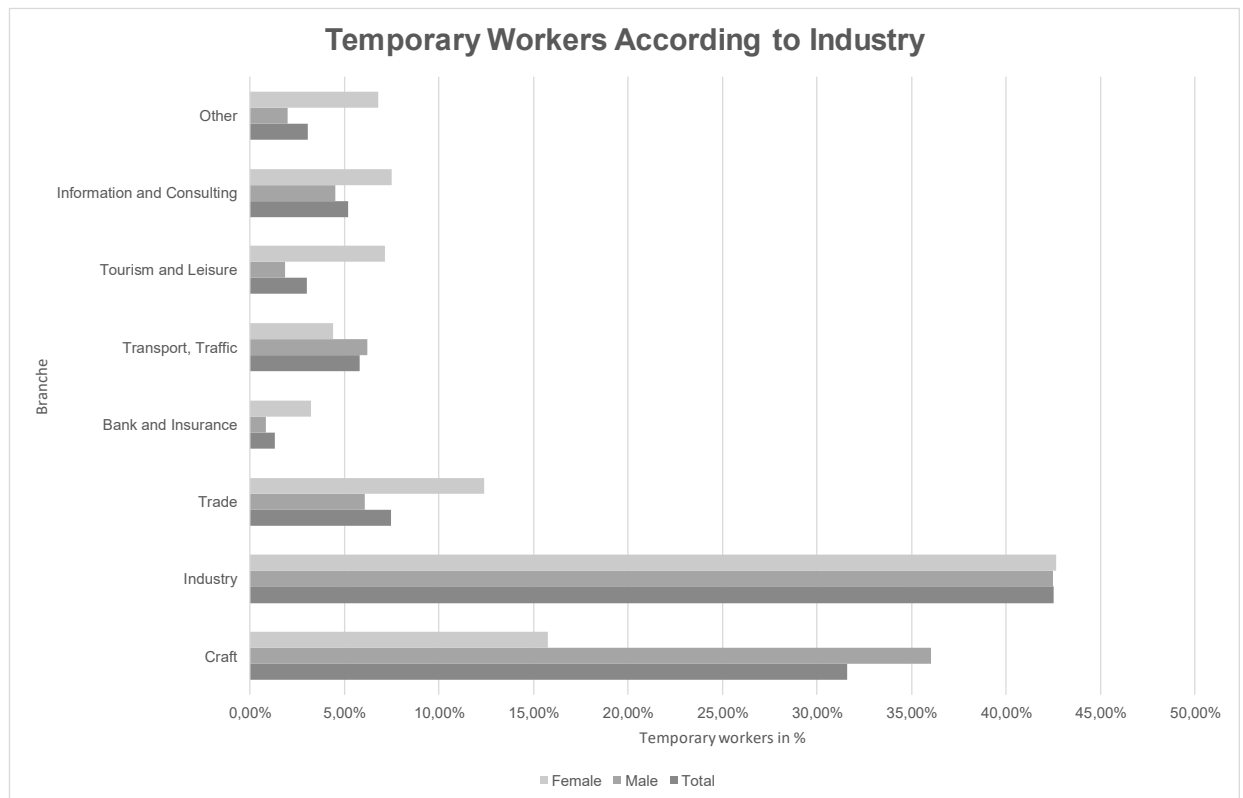


Figure 2: own representation based on BMASK (2018)

According to a survey by Specht (*ibid.*, p. 98), which he held in Upper Austria, the primary reasons for temporary workers to work in this industry were not by choice, however, because there was no alternative to them to find any other job. Interestingly about one-third of the respondents answered that temporary work is attractive for them because of the higher salary – this is the case whenever a temporary worker changed from a low wage sector to a high wage sector (*ibid.*). About two-thirds aspire a permanent position, which for the majority results in high pressure (*ibid.* p 107). Consequently, about half of the respondents consider this form of employment as onerous (*ibid.* p. 108).

From discussing the demographics of agency work, also the legal situation and the unions' strategy towards temporary work are worth looking at.

5.1.2 From rejection to acceptance: The ÖGB and its attitude towards temporary workers

The unions' attitude towards temporary work can be roughly split into two periods: At first, total rejection, which was characterized by the endeavors to forbid temporary work generally. An insider protecting strategy dominated this period. Followed by a period that was characterized by consensus with interests of the economy: The new mantra then was: Temporary work yes, but regulated. The first period lasted until the late 1980ies.

The shift of the approach of the ÖGB can be seen in 1986 when the ÖGB and the working chamber agreed with the social ministry to pass the Temporary Work Act. The latter was finally passed in 1988.⁵ In the 1990ies, the social partners negotiated a collective agreement. Nevertheless, they failed several times, until finally in 2002 they could agree—so that temporary work, thanks to PROGE (which was the GMT⁶ at this time) had its collective agreement, which was in favor of the temporary worker: This collective agreement is just adequate when the collective agreement of the dispatched company is worse. If the agreement of the client organization offers better conditions, the very same agreement is valid. (Specht, 2010, p. 102). The main content was to clarify pay, claims on demands and protection of dismissal after being dispatched (Mendel et al., 2017, p. 62)

Further regulation of temporary work was the consequence of an EU directive, namely the EU temporary agency work directive of 2008. On the one hand, the directive functioned to preserve temporary work and to guarantee the existence of temporary work in the EU member countries without any restrictions. However, the directive aimed to harmonize the members' different regulations so that each temporary worker enjoys the same conditions as the workers in the dispatched firm. The directive was implemented into the Temporary Employment Act in 2012 (Specht & Stummer, 2014, pp. 189-200).

Specht (2016, p. 185) sees the quantum leap in this amendment that, from 2012 onwards temporary workers, assumed that they had already been dispatched three months permanently, need to get informed two weeks in advance, in case they get fired. The notice period is supposed to make their employment relationship more stable. Just to

⁵ See: 'Bundesgesetz vom 23. März 1988, mit dem die Überlassung von Arbeitskräften geregelt wird (Arbeitskräfteüberlassungsgesetz – AÜG)

StF: BGBl. Nr. 196/1988 (NR: GP XVII RV 450 AB 511 S. 56. BR: AB 3456 S. 499.)

⁶ Gewerkschaft Metall Textil

compare: Notice periods are usually in collective agreements of the specific unions (Arbeiterkammer, n.d). As plenty of interviews conducted for the present thesis took place in the chemical industry: The notice period for the employer to dismiss a worker within his/her first year is six weeks, according to the Chamber of Economy (WKO, 2019.). For a temporary worker, however, the two weeks count everywhere. Besides, Specht (2016, p. 186) showed that in just a minority of 38 percent of client organizations comply with the notice period of two weeks. Twenty-seven percent have been sent home, according to him, on the same day of the announcement. It is worth mentioning that violations of employers are not punished (ibid.).

Apart from a notice period of two weeks, there is the necessity of equal treatment. However, Specht's analysis (ibid. p. 175-177) showed a mayor gap also here: While client forms need to include agency workers in organizational welfare institutions such as lunchroom and equal treatment needs to be applied considering working hours, temporary workers can be excluded from remuneration, components, and further training.

To sum up, Austria experienced a growth in the field of the stuffing industry. Austria was a comparingly late-comer within the field of temporary work. Compared to other countries, demographic characteristics differ as it seems to be male work primarily. Temporary work has been regulated since the late 1980ies, and since 2012 temporary workers are de jure equal to core workers, de facto there is still a gap between core and temporary workers (i.g. Specht, 2016). The next chapter elaborates on the research question more concretely.

6. Research Question

Having introduced now a new conflict line at the labor market that implicates mayor changes within other domains, this section aims to clarify the research question.

It is central, although there are seemingly different conditions for both groups of insiders and outsiders resulting, especially on the macro-level, how are they concretely acting on a more intimate level. Therefore, a distinct setting, where insiders and outsiders collide with each other, namely in the form of a blended workforce is the focus. The actual leading research question accompanying this thesis is:

How do representatives of the works councils in Austria perceive temporary work, especially considering the relationship between core workers and temporary workers, and what are the mechanisms that shape this relationship?

The focus lies on the blended workforce and its implications on how the relationship among them is shaped. Besides, the inclusion of the works' council within the research interest is another possible fruitful starting point, as agency work is suspected to be a conflicting point for workers' councils (Specht, 2010, p. 111)

The decision to shift the focus on workers' councils is due to get a better inside in institutional processes. Notably, the function of the institution of the workers' council, within the shaping of the relationship between insiders and outsiders, is crucial.

The primary assumption about the result of bringing insiders and outsiders together results from Bourdieu's theoretical reflections (Bourdieu, 1998, p.1-5), that is arguing about resulting in a desolidarization behavior between the two groups.

Therefore, the relationship between core and temporary workers is suspected to lack of solidarity. Here, as already elaborated solidarity is considered to have critical elements of the definition of Prainsack and Buyx (2018, p. 588), Honneth (2003, Zandonella et al., 2019, p. 403), Arendt (1994, cited in Heindl & Stüber, 2019, p. 360) and Habermas (2012, cited in ibid. 361). Solidarity is defined by being:

- within a group formed by being aware of at least one similarity ("group feeling")
- an action (not just a value or virtue)

- acceptance of cost with the aim of helping
- acceptance of costs results from the existence of rationality (“reciprocity”)
- based on appreciation

The enactment of solidarity is not expected. The reason for this is the assumption is the permanent threatening and instability that standard workers face in a growing individualized labor market, which is characterized by shrinking workers’ organization, especially among precarious employed.

The framework below is a representation of the assumption of the functioning of a blended workforce. As mentioned in the entrance, I have been working on building a framework already in a prior course. The representation has existed already since the participation of in a research practice in the last year. It is provided to compare it later with the results and discuss possible implications.



Figure 3: Assumption on the dynamic of a blended workforce, own representation from 2019

The next section focuses on how to approach the research question, introducing methods, tools, data, and data analysis. Also, ethical implications are thematized.

7. Methods and sources

7.1 Why qualitative interviews?

As Weiss suggests: “Interviewing gives us access to the observation of others” (Weiss, 1995, p. 1). The observations of workers’ councils are in interest, which made the decision to conduct interviews with workers’ councils obvious. Thus, a qualitative approach was applied since the goal of this paper is to integrate multiple perspectives, a common reason for choosing qualitative interviews (ibid., p. 9). The second advantage of using qualitative interviews is the depth of the information plus the great flexibility this method offers in collecting the data. One of the main aims of this research is to unravel variables influencing the social fabric of a blended workforce. Hence, a qualitative design seems to be useful as it allows us to identify variables and frame assumptions for further research (ibid., pp. 10-11).

However, there are certain drawbacks in the method, besides its inability to claim statistical representation and to show correlations, which are strengths of quantitative research. One significant risk that the method entails is that data might be erroneous because of social desirability. A survey might smaller this risk. Nevertheless, it would also mean to decrease the depth and quantity of information (Bryman, 1984, pp. 78-79) Hence, the choice for conducting qualitative interviews is justified as the advantages prevail over the disadvantages of the method.

The method for collecting the relevant data is due to the conduction of qualitative semi-structured interviews. The interviewees, which are workers’ councils, are experts concerning the research interests and act as panels: Workers’ councils observe the interaction between temporary workers and core workers daily. They also have profound knowledge of the legal situation and have a deep insight into uncovered domains and act as mediating instance. Nonetheless, their position as *Grenzinstitution* and yet, also as they are supposed to fungate as works council for core and temporary workers likewise makes their perspective of particular interest.

Therefore, semi-structured interviews were conducted with seven males and one female representative of works councils. The panel is discussed in more detail below, as are the

steps of recruiting them for the interview. They have previously been contacted on the phone; after confirming their participation, further information was provided for them before the actual interview took place. There was no need to repeat the interview at different points in time. The research interest does not aim to observe a process. So each of the interviews was only taken once. Each interview was recorded on a digital audio recorder and transcribed before analyzing the data with ATLAS.ti8-Software. These steps of the research process, which are the design of the questionnaire, the analysis of the transcript, the ethical concerns, and the close description of the panel will be illuminated point by point, as will the limitations.

7.2 The design of the questionnaire

The following section gives an overview of the structure of the questionnaire, its main topics that are covered, plus introduces the merits of using a semi-structured questionnaire as an interview guideline. Moreover, it addressed possible weaknesses and problematic domains within the questionnaire.

Five blocks divide the questionnaire thematically. Each of the thematic sections did not contain more than a maximum of five questions. In total, nineteen questions build the base of each interview. The length was restricted to this number in order to guarantee that none of the interviews will exceed a maximum duration of one hour. The latter was relevant to firstly, not scare off potential interviewees and to keep the attention of the interviewees during the data collection.

Before starting with the first block, vital information about the size of the organizations, and the union density, the number of temporary workers etcetera were illuminated. This strategy was used to have a loose small talk before getting started by not stressing the participants with too intimate or too complex questions.

Then the first block was a mere loose thematic block of warm-up questions that aimed to lead into the topic, while the second block already more accurately focuses on attitudes towards temporary workers and the perception of the relationship between core- and temporary workers. The third block draws attention to the equal treatment of temporary and core workers. The fourth block focuses on solidarity and the concept of solidarity as a

reference point to describe the relations of the workforce. Lastly, the fifth block questioned whether and what workers' councils would want to change about temporary work on the organizational and the national level. Lastly, there was time to let workers' councils freely add their concerns and topics, if wanted.

Especially block two, and four offered much space for inaccurate results due to the potential danger of social desirability because they focus on more intimidating questions. Especially the questions that focused on acting solidary leaves space for errors.

The semi-structured interview, as the name already suggests, leaves space for some adjustment and a certain degree of flexibility in order to individually get involved with the different interview partners. So, on the one hand, the predetermined structure of the questionnaire guarantees comparability, but its openness also offers individual deviations exceeding the fixed questions (Weiss, 1995, pp. 12-14). The questionnaire is provided in full length in Appendix I in the original language.

7.3 The analysis of the data

The analysis of the data was carried out by relying on the ATLAS.ti 8-Software. ATLAS.ti 8 was chosen due to being familiar with the system due to visiting different seminars, where the basics of the software were studied. The software helps to create a clear and comprehensible analysis and providing a good overview of the material.

The system was fed with the transcripts, which then were systematically coded. In the end, 300 codes have been extracted. The codes derived inductively so that no prefabricated code-system was used. The codes, as suggested by Bogner et al. (2014, p. 78-79), summarize in theory generating research the core-message. Usually, in-vivo codes have been derived, while just a small amount of the codes, referred to relevant themes that came out in other studies and the underlying literature. When this was the case, it was mentioned, of course. Also, each code was defined clearly in order to be able to differentiate between similar thematic sections. After all, codes were attached, they have been sorted by content, as proposed by Bogner et al. (ibid.). Related codes were systematically summarized in relevant categories. Some text parts were assigned to more than one code, and more than

one category, respectively. Many codes and categories could have been excluded from further analysis.

The next step after the process of coding and categorizing was to create sense and relations between codes and categories with the help of memos, written during the analysis-process and notes, which have been taken while interviewing and literature research. The aim here was to move on from different categories that seem to be central to analytical concepts to create theory (ibid. pp. 79-83).

7.4 Ethical Concerns

Every study needs to be reflected concerning ethical issues. An ethical reflection especially is relevant for qualitative designs when people are directly involved in a study. The following guidelines provided by Hopf (2016, pp. 197-201) were considered when planning the research design in order to guarantee to safeguard the necessary integrity of scientific research. Most importantly, informed consent must be guaranteed, plus the principle of non-maleficence needs to ensure in order to protect the interviewees' personalities. To follow these guidelines and to secure the adherence of the two principles, the subsequent measurements have been adopted.

A key element for safeguarding the principle of informed consent due to the absolute transparency concerning research question and interest was permitted by sending a handout containing information about research interest, method, and further information. Moreover, a data privacy declaration has been signed. The protection of the persona of the interviewee through anonymization of their names and any critical reference point, which could possibly lead back to them, is one essential element—besides, the guarantee to drawback the interview at any time before finalization. The latter measurement aims to make the principle of non-maleficence sure.

While converting the data from audio to paper, personal data plus any references to the interviewee's identity, such as the company name or the like, were replaced by freely invented names or blackened. Neither should the interviewees carry away any harm, nor their employers and co-workers. The paper avoids names of locations, to avoid the possibility to conclude a workers' council. Not being accurately here is justified for ethical

reasons. Besides, the small number of interviews does not allow for any kind of generalization. Additionally, all interviewees allowed the use of direct quotations.⁷

Finally, it should be mentioned that I experienced temporary work for years. On the one hand, this matter of fact is essential to explain the research interest; however, it also should be part of a necessary reflection in order to keep the study transparent. Of course, working as a temporary worker leaves marks, and one has created a particular perspective on the topic. The critical element of any qualitative researches is the constant reflection of our role as a researcher. The consultation of relevant literature and empirical evidence is considered to be necessary for a mindful reflection.

7.5 Limitations

In the following, the limitations of the study are briefly summarized. Both are considered, limitations of the result, as already partly discussed. Also, the geographical and temporal limitations of the study are debated.

The thesis is designed to be a qualitative study that aims to get a better inside into temporary work from the perspective of representatives of the works council. Qualitative studies help to give insight into a seemingly relevant phenomenon and help us making claims and assumptions on how things relate. The goal is to formulate a framework alongside the data which shifts focus on relevant variables in describing a relationship between core-workers and temporary workers plus collecting and identifying institutional implications of workers' councils when representing a blended workforce. However, what it does not aim for is any aspiration of being statistically representative, which is easily explained by the small numbers of qualitative interviews that were conducted. These interviewees were found through snowball sampling, which was found to be the best method considering the restricted resources. Whether there is a correlation between two phenomena, quantitative methods need to be applied. Nevertheless, here a deeper inside on how a relationship works is the primary goal, and therefore qualitative methods are the right research method.

⁷ All quotations used in the following have been translated from German.

Understanding of behavior, gathering of rich data, and *Verstehen* (Bryman, 1984, p. 77-80) are the aims, not the testing of hypothesis.

Thus, the structure and design of the study prevent generalizability, replication, and causality. However, this is also not the thesis' aspirations. There are, moreover, some other limitations, which are because of the research question plus the necessary geographical restrictions.

One restriction, as the representatives of the works council, are the experts in the focus of the study. It is naturally restricted to companies that vote for a works' council, respectively. This is an implicated limitation due to the research question, which lays its eye on the institutional consequences

Furthermore, there are some essential geographic restrictions and limitations. The study exclusively focuses on the situation of works councils in Austria. Another essential restriction should be named, which is due to sectors. The interviewees all came from the industrial sector: While a significant majority because of the snowball sampling came from the chemical industrial sector; also interviews in branches such as the construction and metal industry were taken. The next section introduces each of the interviewees shortly.

7.6 Introducing the interviewees

In total, seven interviews with eight interviewees were conducted guided by a semi-structured questionnaire, which is discussed in detail above. The interviewees were chosen through convenience sampling, using a snowball system. All interviewees are from blue-collar industries; however, they are in different branches. While the majority were workers' councils from the chemical industry, one was from the metal industry and one from construction and woodwork. However, all of them are in blue-collar domains. As clearly some domains are not considered, the chemical industry is overrepresented compared to the other two fields, for sure will at the end not deliver a whole picture. The impressions of workers' councils from other domains such as service, the craft, and the like, reporting from their experience with external stuff, cannot be considered. However, as seen already, the industrial sector quite exhaustively takes use of agency workers. Another reason for the

concentration in one sector is the expectation of having more robust conclusions when exclusively focusing on one type.

The first interview took place on the 10th of December in 2019 in the office of Patrick Meyer.⁸ Meyer is the workers' council in a place of business of industry primarily producing paint and varnish. He is unionized in the fraction of Christian unionist of the Pro-Ge. Comparingly with the other interviewees, Meyers' company is with just 195 core-workers and 27 temporary workers, who make up around twelve percent of the workforce, the smallest company investigated. He is the chairman of the works council. However, voluntarily, he is just partly exempt. Most of the workforce is low-skilled, without any special qualification. Comparingly to the other companies, here, trade union density seems to be quite low, with just 70 percent of the core-workers.

The second interview took place on the 17th of December, interviewing works council chairman Kevin Neulinger. Neulinger is a more experienced workers' council with his 57 years. Additionally, he holds many other positions in institutions such as the Arbeiterkammer and the Arbeitsmarkt Service. Moreover, he tells about his private engagement in politics as a communal politician for the Social Democratic Party. He is unionized in the Social Democratic Fraction of the Union of Construction and Woodworkers. The trade union already gives a hint at the business he works for, which is the construction industry. Neulinger is an exempt workers' council, solely advising and caring for his co-workers. According to Neulinger, the place of business employs around 1080 workers plus an additional ten percent of temporary workers. Both low and high skilled workers can work there. Neulinger claims that 99 percent of workers employed are trade union members.

The third interview was held one day later in a completely different industry. Jörg Schörgenhuber could give some insight into the metal industry. However, there is another marker that makes him different from the majority of works councils' representatives talked to. Jörg primarily is workers' councils for employees, not for workers. However, he was working himself in the very same company first as a blue-collar-worker and later became to be an employee in the office. Jörg outlines some differences in the use and the behavior with temporary workers in both areas: the white-collar and the blue-collar sector. The

⁸ All names are changed. The names are purely fictional. The fictional names aim to improve the readability of the text.

headquarters, where also Jörg is operating, is employing over 11.000 people and an additional five to ten percent temporary workers, depending on the economic situation. In his area of competence, he estimated a trade union density between 97 – 98 percent. Another particularity that Jörg's company brings along is that they run a wholly owned subsidiary personal service agency while also fall back on other service agencies. Jörg belongs within the Pro-Ge to the Social Democratic Fraction.

On the same day, the interview with Mario Felzmann took place. Felzmann is in his forties and is a workers' council, who is not exempt. Therefore, also is directly involved in the daily working processes in his firm, where he shifts. His firm is a business place of an international corporation in the chemical industry, producing chemicals with around 1.200 employees at the location – the majority of which are highly skilled chemical technicians, with just a few low-skilled workers. Around these 1.200 employees, 65 are agency workers, which means around five percent. Felzmann and his fellow workers are unionized with a density of 100 percent, including temporary workers. He is also in the Social Democratic Fraction of the Pro-Ge.

On the 9th of January, Franz Freyenschlag gave insight into his experience as an exempt workers' council chairman in a place of business of an international operating in industrial service providing. He is comparably younger than the other interviewees with more or less 30 years, also in the Social Democratic Fraction in the Pro-Ge. In Freyenschlags company, the trade union density is around 98 percent. Their percentage of agency workers is around 10 percent.

On the 17th of January, Robert Auer, a 30-year-old works council chairman, was interviewed together with the former chairman Phillip Steiner, an elderly former works council chairman. Both are unionized in the Social Democratic Fraction of the Pro-Ge. Their company also operates in the chemical industry as part of an international corporation. Again, most of the workers who are represented by Steiner and Auer are high-skilled chemical technicians. Their place of business employs around 800 people plus 33 temporary workers, of which 95 percent and 80 percent are unionized, respectively.

Finally, Maria Riegler, a works council chairwoman of an international pharmaceutical industry, was interviewed on the 20th of January. She is unionized in the Social Democratic Fraction of the Pro-Ge, just like the other workers' councils from the industrial industry interviewed. Both high and low-skilled workers are among the 650 workers that work at

the place of business. Of these 650 workers around, twenty percent are temporary employed Riegler suggests that 85-90 percent of her fellow workers are unionized.

Appendix II provides a table with an overview of the interviews conducted. The next section, however, provides the findings of the analysis of the interviews.

8. Findings

How do workers' councils perceive temporary work, especially considering the relationship between the core- and temporary workers, and what are the leading mechanisms behind that? So far, the guiding research question. Simple assumptions have been made in advance, expecting temporary workers to be a threat for core workers and consequently leading to a spiral of de-solidarization. The findings, however, suggest a more complex picture of given realities. Thereupon, the old assumptions that relied too much on simplicity needed to be revised and more potential influences considered.

8.1 Perception of temporary work - critical but consensual

The first part of the research question focuses on the works councils' representatives' perception of temporary work. The following reflects dominant modes of thoughts, images, and narratives that frequently came up when talking about the experiences of temporary work in the companies and the feeling towards temporary work generally, before moving on to the perception of the relationship of temporary workers and core workers.

8.1.1 Images of temporary work

Two predominant images of temporary workers have been identified while analyzing the interviews. Most frequently, these pictures can be found in the low-skilled branches. While on the one hand temporary workers are either described as 'good man' or on the other hand as 'unreliable temporary worker'. The first one is especially wanted in a period which is characterized by a shortage of (skilled) workers. Therefore, companies are eager to hire him permanently as Kevin, for example, explained when asked if temporary workers have access to further education

[...] so if he [the temporary worker] is a good man, he will be taken on permanently, and then he can participate anyway in further training. (Neulinger, 2019)

The quotation is also extraordinary to underline yet another problematic domain, which is discussed in more detail below: The misuse of temporary workers in order to extend the probation period, which is not allowed to extend one month.

So while temporary workers represent ‘the good man’ and can move up to the insiders easily, another image of temporary workers can be found. Patrick figuratively explains in the next quotation, what has been summed up as ‘the unreliable temporary worker’.

I mean, there are temps that start to work at seven o’clock, and at nine o’clock, they are already gone! Or one day later or two! Then they are away...’cause they say they don’t care.! (Meyer, 2019)

Patrick’s utterance not only shows a certain skepticism towards the working moral, which is not according to his ideas; however, it implicates another significant institutional problem of temping. Also consistent with prior empirical research (Connelly et al., 2007), temporary workers do often show less identification with the client company. Patrick very likely perceives non-identification as ignorance. The problem of a perceived shrinking working morale became perceivable in branches, which heavily rely on physical work, such as construction and production. Nevertheless, it seems as there is a possible generational gap that might also push this perception. As Fürstenberg (2013, p. 309) pointed at trade unions’ sorrow of a youngster generation that is not connected with traditional insider institutions, the suspicion is raised that a younger generation, which has changed work-life-balance compared to older generations might result in misinterpretation of unwillingness and low-identification. Frequently the topic came up in connection with temporary workers. A possible explanation might be that statistics of temporary workers show a tendency of temporary work being a domain frequently associated with younger people.

8.1.2 Types of service agencies

Not only are two extreme images of temporary workers observable, but also two types of service agencies that the workers’ councils shared. While there is a majority of ‘proper PSAs’ a few ‘black sheep’ can be found. The last code has been developed following Specht (2013, p. 193-195), whose findings of occasional perception of PSAs as ‘black sheep’ are consistent concerning images of PSAs, among temporary workers according to his survey. Black sheep, self-explanatory, refuse to comply with the labor law, trick their workers, and

imply dirty tricks– while a more significant part, which is the proper service agency, act accordingly. Most of the workers’ councils experienced both types of PSAs, like Kevin’s’ company, who got mayor troubles by hiring one of the black sheep PSA:

In this matter [controlling the temporary workers’ pay], I have to praise our company, who meticulously checks whether the service agency is proper or not. That is for sure – also because it [working with a black sheep] could destroy the company’s reputation. We have preferred PSAs that provide us with temps, and till now, we have had quite positive experiences. This summer, however, which was not our fault for sure, a problem occurred. (Neulinger 2019)

The problem that occurred was the sudden intervention of the financial police as agency workers were only marginally employed while, in fact, worked full-time.⁹ While the example shows the methods that some PSAs use to keep their profit margin high, it indicates that they are an exception of the rule, which are proper service agencies. He also stresses the fact that usually their company just contracts, preferably with proper service agencies.

Returning to Kevin’s’ quotation from above, yet it points at another issue: Workers’ councils tend to perceive the non-transparency that outsourcing results in negatively. This non-transparency is notable from many perspectives concerning working conditions, wages, and additional remuneration. Non-transparency affects the quality of representation negatively. The problem of non-transparency due to outsourcing is discussed in more detail as an institutional problem for workers’ councils in representing and caring for temporary workers.

8.1.1 Controversies resulting from the conflicting interests within institution of the works council

Not only are we confronted with extreme images of temporary workers and agencies, but vivid narratives of temporary work as modern slavery or two-class system are told frequently, why at the same time agreement, satisfaction and consensus with the use of temporary work is expressed.

⁹ Kevin told about this incidence when we talked on phone in order to fix an appointment for the interview. In the interview he referred to this incidence as nothing more than “a problem”.

Firstly, the narrative of temporary work as “legal slavery” is a way to express disapproval with agency work. Interestingly, this narrative is existing despite very positive perceptions of temporary work in their places of business. To give an illustration, Kevin told of some adverse incidences but summarized his view on temporary work as positive. Agency work, according to him, is part of the modern labor market, which needs to be accepted. He is also very well-aware that in a business that suffers as much from aggregate unemployment as the construction branch, temporary workers are an ideal way to protect their core workers. Therefore, he considers temporary workers as a welcome alternative. Still, he repeatedly draws on the slavery narrative:

Well. Yes...I always say that it [temporary work] is modern slavery and nothing else! We have to call a spade a spade. It [temporary work] also doesn't need to be whitewashed. (Kevin, 2019)

Another framework concept is the two-class system, which is powerful, and existing next to a primarily positive opinion on temporary workers as well. Jörg illustrated as in the following excerpt:

Well, a benefit for sure is not to need to release our own people on the paper, but it is clear that the disadvantage of it [temporary work] is a two-class system. Even though, especially our own owned PSA tries to equalize the benefits of core- and temporary workers as much as possible. (Schörgenhuber, 2020)

It was striking that many workers' councils use either those images or demonstrate inequalities among the workforce by frequently referring to other firms. They do so in order to compare the situation and conclude that these other firms are the embodiment of inequality and disadvantaged conditions for temporary workers. Robert, for instance, told about other firms, where temporary workers privately buying workwear to look more alike the core workforce not to attract attention:

[..] I know that in other firms, it simply works like that so that temps are treated like the scum of the earth. There, you are just there, to do the bad work! And if it [due to the same workwear] is not apparent, then your colleges [from the core workforce], who have not realized, treat you differently. I often heard from friends in different firms, where the temporary worker has no significance at all; it works just like this. They treat you different if they [core workforce] know you are an agency worker! (Robert, 2020)

As the quotation suggests, Robert is talking comparatively, highlighting that his company is the exception. The reference to other companies was a common finding. Commonly, these examples came up when stating broad consensus and satisfaction with temporary work at the own place of business, which has been to some degree, perceivable in every interviewee's answers. Even if varying everyone showed a fundamental consensus, like Patrick:

For sure, it is important to me that the number of core-workers overweighs. The more core workers, the less temporary workers – and the better for me! This is clear. But times change, and agency workers will be more and more. Not just here. But generally. I prefer the core workforce. But agency work – it fits like this! (Meyer, 2019)

Although reading through Patrick's utterance, one can sense inner strife; it points at a widespread phenomenon, which is showing to some extent agreement while carrying along with a sense of disagreement. This strife is getting brighter by keeping in mind that workers' council need to be seen as *Grenzinstitution*, defined by Fürstenberg (1958, cited in Ittermann & Abel, 2015, p. 100) as the institution, in which interests of workforce, unions, yet also the management simultaneously are negotiated.

To sum up, workers' councils show especially in low-skilled domains a predominance of images concerning temporary workers themselves (the good man and the unreliable). The same can be identified when talking about service agencies, which are often painted either as reputable or spivvy. Next to these specific perceptions, there is broad acceptance and agreement considering temporary work, although many domains as considered to be problematic. Simultaneously, while showing immense satisfaction two narratives, firstly the one of "the legal slavery" and "the two-class system" are vividly told. The early conclusion fits inside a suspected dilemma for workers' council of being caught in the middle of representing the workforce while being confronted with outsider interests, which they are not sure about how to handle them. At the same time, they are also partners of the management. This conflict can easily be observed in a conversation about agency work. We go on with shifting our focus on the blended workforce.

8.2 Relationship between core and temporary workers

The main finding here is that the amendment of the AÜG in 2012 shows effects partly: Temporary workers are included in most and different dimensions. In most of the branches there is no difference in activities carried out by temporary workers and also mostly it is not visible externally: Generally, a tendency can be seen that branches that use temporary workers for labor-intense periods differences are more likely than in those that plan to integrate temporary workers long-term seen. The inclusion seems to contribute to a blended workforce positively. The table below gives an overview of different domains and summarizes whether entrepreneurs include agency workers or not. The first three also include low-skilled workers, while the rest consists of a majority of high-skilled workers.

Interviewee	Workwear	Tasks	Pay	Bonus	Levy
Meyer	different	same	Same or higher	possible	No
Neulinger	different	different	No information	no	No
Schörgenhuber	same	same	No information	no	No
Felzmann	same	same	same	no	Yes
Freyenschlag	same	same	Same or higher	no	No
Auer/ Steiner	same	same	same	no	Yes
Riegler	same	same	Same	no	No

Table 2: Inclusion of temporary workers according to fields, own illustration based on the interview data

We can conclude from the table, that there is a tendency to include temporary workers in safety-relevant fields, such as providing for their work-clothes, especially in high-skilled domains this seems to be a mere rule. All interviewees asked, except one, reported that agency workers are doing the same work mostly. Only Neulinger from the construction industry said that they hire temporary workers exclusively to carry out different tasks, such as low-skilled activities. Concerning remuneration, all of them said that as a rule, temporary worker are supposed to have the same at least. Some, however, cannot confirm that this is how it works in practice (therefore denoted as “no information”). Some also say that most temporary workers usually earn a higher net, but at the same time complain about agencies that regularly pay wrong. These variations among the agencies were hard to represent in the table above. The issue of wrong wages paid by agencies is elaborated in more detail below. However, to just solve the apparent inconsistency, the reason is because of contracting with several different agencies, which remunerate differently. The co-workforce receives extra-remuneration exclusively. Many workers’ councils actively fight to include also temporary laborers in this field. Meyer claims that it is possible also to include temporary workers at their place of business; he was, however, not entirely sure. Just in two cases, agency workers are levying contributions. To not levy contributions, however, implies not to benefit from it in different ways such as funding or presents such as vouchers. Aside from this, the workers’ council asserts that agency workers are included in the activities and events of the company, like works outing, Christmas events, and the like.

The focus on including and equalizing most of the domains among the core and temporary workers seem to influence their relationship positively. Overall, it seems that workers’ councils are very positive about the atmosphere in a blended workforce, not sensing grave problems between the two groups. The overall impression states that there is a good, respectful togetherness that they observe. So that a typical utterance of a workers’ council on this topic is as the following example

Good [the relationship between core- and temporary workers]. Not different then... I mean, there are always interpersonal conflicts, but that’s not different than among the core-workforce. So...I do not feel anything concrete so that there would be a competitive behavior or the like. (Riegler, 2020)

The quotation above also allows insight into another frequently received answer, issuing interpersonal conflicts, which is examined in more detail below, as some of the workers' councils often thematize it.

It might be useful to differentiate between low- and high-skilled: The table above gives a good sense of the more intense effort to tie temporary workers closer to the company in order to integrate them long-term. Often, the temporary workers are inaugurated into small working groups, shifting together and working interdependently so that temporary workers are frequently perceived more “inside” than in heavily fluctuating branches, where a date of firing is already visible. Robert explained:

Especially within the shift groups, it is [relationship between core and temporary workers] usually quite positive because you are working together as a team or at least you should work together as a team! (Auer, 2020)

One thing that contributes to the better conditions within the higher-skilled domains is the factor ‘future’. Companies and other relevant agents, like the workforce and the temporary workers, are aware of the long-term goal to employ temporary workers in the future permanently and to, therefore, form a relationship for the future. The goal of inauguration might be the reason why the management is more likely to invest more into external staff, for the core-workforce to treat an agency worker alike, and for a temporary employee to engage in the team and at work.

All in all, the workers' councils' perception of the relationship between temporary- and core workforce is in total quite positive. Nonetheless, these overall impressions do not mean that there are no issues at all. Single factors that contribute to the relationship are discussed in the next chapter, which focuses on the mechanisms that shape the relationship. However, a significant result is that in companies, which aim to integrate the temporary workers long-term, they are broadly accepted as part of the workforce.

8.3 Mechanisms shaping the relationship of a blended workforce

8.3.1 A question of wage?

The evidence from this study suggests that one crucial constituent factor of shaping the core-workers' attitude towards their temporary colleagues is dependent on their remuneration. Notably, this finding is consistent in every interview conducted. All workers' councils told about the experiences of core-workers complaining about too high wages of some temporary colleagues compared to their own. Therefore, temporary workers that earn more tend to arouse suspicion. Nearly all the workers' councils talked to, attested that core-workers regularly complain about the high wages of the temporary workers and therefore seek for information at the workers' councils' offices in order to get an explanation for this perceived inequality.

A possible explanation can be provided by referring to Von Hippel (1999, p. 124), who found a connection between the rank of temporary workers and perceived threat of core-workers as the origin of negative feelings towards the tempers. As higher salary often indicates a higher position within the workforce. Thus, it might be devastating to see that temporary workers are rewarded like they are in a higher position than the core-workers, which often have a more intense commitment and stronger ties towards the organization (Connelly et al., 2007). It might provoke a feeling of being disregarded. Plus, these temporary workers have a higher salary, although they have just entered the firm in many cases and therefore are mostly in a schooling process, which increases the perceived inequality. Patrick explained in the following quote about his experiences clearing up the situation:

Core workers regularly consult one of our works councils and say: How is this possible? Then, you [the workers' council] have to explain them [core-workers]: The temporary worker does not get holiday pay, does not get Christmas gratification, as all of that is already included [in their monthly salary], and you [core-workers] have a claim on holiday pay, Christmas gratification, compensation....which he [temporary workers] has not more or less...and then you [as a workers' council] have to explain that to the fellow workers....then he

[core-worker] accepts that, although I am not sure if he [core worker] immediately understands, what you [as a works council representative] just explained to him [core-worker]. (Meyer, 2019)

It is essential to mention in order to avoid false impressions that the higher salary of temporary workers relates to a high degree of social insecurity. A higher wage by no means is the rule. The pay is depending highly on the way an agency operates.

Besides, it is just the net wage, which is high. This information regularly needs to be shared with core workers complaining about unequal salaries. So, Franz explained why it is just the net wage, which at first seems to be higher so that finally, the core-worker is better off. Being asked about the higher net wage, he stated:

Relatively [higher wage]. Relatively for sure! Because it depends on the activities. Thus, what have I [the worker] done else? While core-workers have classifications in their collective bargaining agreement, plus bonus, plus overpay, the rest of the wage depends on activities like did I [the worker] go on a business trip? Do I [the worker] get expense allowance, which is 55 Euros each day! Am I [the worker] away on a construction job? Do I [the worker] go outside? Then, I [the worker] get expense allowance, I get grants, weighting! I get SEG-points [hazard bonus]. The core-worker receives all this extra, while in the temporary workers' contract, all these are paid as a flat rate. Therefore, their [temporary workers '] net wage is constantly pretty high, independent of their activities. But if the core-worker often works on attendance, goes on business trips, etcetera, then for sure at the end of the day, their salary is higher. (Freyenschlag, 2020)

Freyenschlag points at a problem, which is barely intelligible to many core workers, however also temporary workers. There is the tendency to only go for bare numbers, rather than realizing the devil in detail, which is insecurity, in addition to a poorer salary comparatively. As shown above, as Patrick explains, Christmas gratification plus and holiday pay are calculated flat inside the monthly salary. Hence, the "higher" wage is tricky, and by taking a closer look also a wrong impression.

In order to make the differences more vivid, the differences in the net income are as Freyenschlag explained around 300 Euros, temporary workers net more.¹⁰ For some

¹⁰ Unfortunately not every workers' council could give concrete numbers. Freyenschlag was ready to share this information with me.

tempers, this difference is a good reason for not gripping the possibility to become part of the core workforce. Schönbauer (2014, p. 14) suggests that one-third of Austrian temporary workers are agency workers by choice, while the remaining two thirds would prefer to be in standard employment. It needs to be considered that the third, which usually voluntarily chooses temporary work, is simultaneously experiencing a disqualification. They move through agency work from former training-relevant jobs to low-skilled domains. The workers' councils respect these decisions not to get permanently employed, but they estimate this action as short-sighted, which easily could lead to significant problems in economically unstable periods or a miserable pension.

It is essential to mention that although each of the eight workers' councils can relate to the situation of core workers asking for information on the high net salary of temporary workers, this surely does not mean that temporary workers in total earn more than their colleagues with a fixed-term contract. In some cases, as mentioned above, the pay for temporary workers is expected to be lower than the core workers' salary. Besides, this again shows the non-transparency, which results from outsourcing and a high degree of variation among different PSAs, especially as workers' councils are confronted with several different contracts with service agencies. While some pay as provided in the collective bargaining agreement, which explains the higher net salary that some temporary workers obtain, others pay in a very arbitrary way. Just to prove the point, Freyenschlag was quoted when referring to the high net wage of temporary workers. However, also he was confronted with very different situations, where agencies paid not only less than they were supposed to but also seemingly whatever appealed them:

Just yesterday, I was confronted with the case of an [temporary] employee. He came because he gets each month different amounts of money transferred [by the PSA]. He brought over all his pay slips and his working contract and...yes [Freyenschlag grabs a folder and skims it, pauses for a moment]. Here, for example! He received 1.900 Euros on his account and then another time just 200 Euros while in the next month no money at all was transferred. Yes, he [temporary worker] brought over all his payslips from the last two years, and there are massive differences among them! (Freyenschlag, 2020)

In order to give an end to this story: Freyenschlag said that he and the temporary worker decided to engage the working chamber to find a solution.

To sum up, money matters in shaping attitudes towards temporary workers in core-workers by often creating a feeling of unfairness and inequality against them, which they urge to clarify with the workers' council. However, a higher net salary is not exclusively the rule, depending on the PSA.

8.3.2 A question of one's position in the labor market?

Several issues were identified related to a changing labor market, that shifted from valuing physical work to mental work. A decrease in workers' experienced value might be crucial in how they interact with their fellow temporary workers. Here, again a distinction between low-skilled and high-skilled branches seems to be relevant: Especially in high skilled fields, workers are rare at the Austrian labor market, as workers' councils claim. The lack of high-skilled labor also implies that positions of skilled workers are securer and theoretically should be paid well. In media and public discourse, the lack of skilled labor is regularly debated. According to Mitterman (2019, n.p.), the issue is not a lack of high-skilled workers, however a lack of positions plus a lack of training. Howsoever, the discussion of a lack of skilled workers is powerful: It seems like there is a tendency among skilled workers to feel safe in one's position. Therefore, no threat is experienced when temporary workers are inaugurated.

Additionally, they often undergo training, and with a high probability, they might within a specific frame of time get incorporated. Likewise, Von Hippel could find a nexus between how permanent workers estimate their positions and perceiving agency workers as a threat. She concludes:

The presence of temporary workers can be damaging to permanent employees' self-esteem if they worry that their position can or will be replaced by a temporary co-worker. (Von Hippel, 1999, p. 103).

Being easily replaced is a matter of skills, absolved training, and know-how. Thus, the lower the necessary skills and the quicker the schooling process to hold a position, the more likely temporary workers are experienced as a threat.

Talking about the value of work and appreciation that workers in their jobs experience, it is essential to outline an observation of a general tendency of not being appropriately

esteemed. Even though high-skilled, compared to low-skilled, feel less diminished, they still tend to sense a change in their status. Robert puts it as follows. To remind, he is part of a transnational corporation, expressing in the following lines his anger, when he looks at the situation of fellow workers in the US in the very same business:

Primarily, we feel it [growing disregard of workers] here in this incorporation. As a consequence... as the management seemingly has no appreciation for the worker in America or in other countries as compared to here or as it would be appropriate. [...] In a way [the management gives to understand that] every idiot, that is at least a bit literate can do this work, and they claim that if a monkey could read and write, he could do the work as well. (Auer, 2020).

The perception of a loss of their status is, according to him a factor, which is encouraging kicking down to temporary workers, as they have less labor market power. Phillip Steiner, who was also present at the same interview, commented, while disregard of workers and casualization has been topic of the conversation:

It's generally known that the worker is a nobody.... And suddenly there is a temporary worker, who even has less value. Then suddenly, he [the core workers] has a say! (Steiner, 2020)

Indeed, appreciation matters in the outcome of a relationship. It seems that domains, where core-workers suffer from displacement, temporary workers are likely to be the target to their frustration. Therefore the perception of ones' labor market position needs to be accepted as a strong predictor of how core workers handle temporary workers. The broached topic of increasing pressure, especially in transnational corporations and its effect on the perceived appreciation of workers, is a field that needs closer research, especially its political implications.

8.3.3 A question of group organization?

As suggested prior, whether workers act individually or within a group is affecting the relationship between the workforce. I differentiated the way work is organized broadly as segregated or interdependent. Segregated work, which separates temporary workers from the core workforce, is likely to be found in low-skilled domains and branches with a mixed

staff, as compared to interdependent work. Interdependent work relies on a group, and the core-workforce and temporary workers need to work actively together.

The segregation can be twofold, either task-related or non-task related but independently. When temporary workers work independently, often temporary workers are more likely to be hired specially to do the “bad work”. Bad work primarily refers to physical work, dirty work, and not esteemed tasks. Bad work done by temporary workers is the case in the construction industry, where companies try to have a primary workforce of skilled workers and employ temporary workers for low-skilled work. This form of temporary work is segregated from the core-workforce, as Kevin examines:

Well. They [core workers] are not afraid of losing their job. Because they [temporary workers] anyway do things, that they [core-worker] anyway do not do, because the core workforce is skilled. They [core workforce] are well-educated. I do not see any dispute. (Neulinger, 2019)

The previous quote was an extreme example. As already implicated before the construction sector shows a tendency of exclusively employing temporary workers for the low-skilled work. By claiming that agency workers are not perceived as threats, he simultaneously also highlights that there is also a great divide among them so that there is no blending of the workforce at all.

Also, in low-skilled domains, temporary workers might do the same work as core workers do. However, their work is not dependent on each other, as the workers’ councils explained. I consider that as “independent”. The workforce copes with the same activities but does not depend on each other to fulfill a task. The main finding here concentrates on the segregation, which can take different shapes; either by having different tasks or by working alone, independently. Consequently, this segregation of work is also taking the base for interactions and collective activity. It is not clear if the outcome is resentment, but the surrounding might be a good breeding ground for indifference amongst the two groups.

Besides, interdependency among high skilled workers seems to be much tighter. The dependence seems to affect the group cohesiveness positively, encouraging, and stimulating the relations within a blended workforce in the right way. A pleasant atmosphere within a workgroup is also promising to raise each other’s productivity, which is, in many cases, also beneficial for the individual workers’ finances. As at the end of the day, high productivity is rewarded by gratifications. Primarily the core-workers receive

extra pay so that raising the productivity of the temporary workers is in their interest. Moreover, there seems to be a consensus that if temporary workers are inaugurated within a highly skilled workforce, temporary work is not perceived as a threat. Core-workers might experience temporary workers much more as a relief than a burden.

These factors, which are a (perceived) lack of skilled fellow-workers and a strong interdependency in the workplace, lead to a necessity of a well-working group and a pleasant atmosphere between them. The temporary workers are likely to be welcomed as a full member in hopes that they can be long-term inaugurated into the core-workforce.

The next extraction gives Felzmann a voice, who explained about his experience. Just to remember, Mario is not a works' council chairman. He is a council member and shifting inside a fixed group. His status as a skilled chemical worker is stable.

Well, here, the core worker does not perceive the temporary worker as a threat [...]. This might be different in other firms, that are not high-skilled, because their workers might be easily replaceable. This problem is not an issue for our people. Ours are very confident so that they say: The firm needs me" [...] The self-esteem is pretty high among the people and he [the worker] does not perceive the temporary workers as a threat, because he [the worker] says: "What can he do to me? He can help me in the best case, but that's it. We do not have any discussions about that (Felzmann, 2019).

To conclude that different ways of organizing work have a tremendous influence on how the relationship among the workforce is shaped. First and foremost, the way the organization organizes work heavily draws on skills, which decide about the labor market position. Secondly, a structure of interdependence in high skilled is making a well-functioning integration into a group more likely. Here, even rational reasons to create a pleasant atmosphere are conceivable, as good outcomes lead to financial rewards for core-workers.

8.3.4 A question of the economic situation?

A recurrent theme in the interviews was that temporary workers are, in any case, "the first ones to go home," meaning if there is the need to reduce staff, then it is the temporary

workers that need to leave. The option to easily cutback flexible labor, of course, is one of the significant advantages for labor-market insiders, as core-workers have a kind of assurance that in economically hard times, there is a different group that can be dismissed quickly and thus strengthens their position.

Workers' councils are bifid about that. While satisfied to know that in economic hardships, their core-workers are protected, they also accept the fact that sending the temporary workers back to the agency can be devastating to them. They are well-aware of agencies' standard practice to force their workers illegally into a mutually agreed contract termination to avoid downtimes, which by law have to be paid. In the same vein, Specht (2016, p.184) states that by the illegal use of pressuring agency workers are forced to sign mutually agreed contract terminations to avoid financially excessive downtimes: According to his survey, just three percent received a wage during downtimes (ibid.).

If we now turn to the triggers that constitute the relations between the core- and temporary workers, then considering the economic situation might be fruitful as well. The reason for having an impact is the heightened pressure among the workforce, a more intense competition to keep one's position. The effects of harsh competition are not a one-way road. As Jan elaborated, temporary workers then also tend to denounce core-workers to cut them out and take over the safer position. He is talking about a recent situation that they are going through due to economic hardships:

We are currently in the middle of an austerity program but for sure not a small one. Just at this place of business, here, we are reducing 600 jobs, not all of them directly by dismissal, but by not replacing and the like... This, no doubt, creates pressure! ... and with temporary workers, I [the company] can play: Hey, there [meant is from the agency] I get someone quickly...and if you [do not act accordingly] then bye-bye! Thus, the pressure is built through competition. We can observe that, partly, while looking at the [low-skilled] workers, already now. There, the temporary workers start to pressure our staff, even with intrigues, like: You [company] know that your own worker does not work properly. Take me because I am much better! (Schörgenhuber, 2019)

Schörgenhuber implies an economic ingenuity by creating groups with different market power within the workforce, which at the end clearly makes them fight against each other but not with each other and thus reduces their power equally effective.

To sum up, a blended workforce might work flawlessly within good economic periods, while as soon as it becomes clear that there will be a reduction in staff, this might change entirely by increased competition. Plus, the successful building of a coalition to protect jobs seems due to strategic grouping through different contracts impossible. Notably, this is an observation of the low-skilled physical working sector.

8.3.5 A question of personal taste?

A standard view amongst interviewees was that often it is not about being a temporary worker or not, but rather about fitting into the group. This impression needs to be shared because it was not a single appearance within one interview but also needs to be problematized.

Firstly, because analytically, it is not helpful for any further research, and secondly, it also needs to be questioned whether it is more about resentments. Personal taste is something that is not just relevant when talking about temporary workers. However, personal preferences are always relevant to the formation of any personal relationship. The question is why the interviewees regularly highlighted that if there is a conflict between temporary and core-workers, it is about personal taste.

Personal aversions can appear everywhere— meaning the reasonable definition of a job implies working with people that, unlike you are the boss, cannot choose: So that there will always be people that are not according to the others' tastes. Therefore, the question is, instead, why is it so important to highlight the significance of “personal taste”? As colleagues are as a rule not there to satisfy a “personal taste.” The analysis, however, helped to look at it in a new light. Maria alluded to the notion of experience by saying:

I strongly believe that they [core workers' attitudes towards temporary workers] are completely neutral, right? Just this topic... that we already shortly talked about – that some of them [core-workers] sometimes already have prejudices when his [the core- worker's] previous experiences, that were bad as you could not rely on them [temporary workers] as within one week they [temporary workers] throw in the towel or the like... Then I don't know if he [the worker] is so happy and thinks

there is gonna be plenty of work coming towards me [by training a new temporary worker]. (Riegler, 2020)

It makes far more sense talking about previous experiences that shape in the broader context a perception of unfitting character within the working group. As Maria showed with her explanation is that some core-workers tend to have frustration against the system of temporary work, specifically the high fluctuation, which they project onto the temporary worker. The frequent fluctuation forces them to go through exhausting schooling processes regularly. Sende and Vitera (2013, p. 297-298) also point at a negative consequence on core-workers' job satisfaction, resulting through the exhausting repetition of schooling temporary workers again and again.

Another evidence for making previous experiences a more relevant factor is due to reports of interviewees, whose companies use agency work as a recruitment strategy. Some works' councils brought up this theme when reflecting potential influencing factors. Some companies have been practicing recruitment through agencies already throughout an extended period. Thus, a majority of the core workforce experienced temporary work themselves. Consequently, most of today's' core workers have been temporary workers of yesterday. In this way, they have a profound understanding of what it is like to be in the others' shoes and act accordingly. When Robert was asked how he thinks this influenced the core-workers behavior towards their temporary colleagues, he stated:

Yes! This [own experience of being a temporary worker] is for sure [affecting] because many of them have been in the situation before. Then you just can better relate to them [temporary workers] if you have been temping yourself! (Robert, 2020)

He continued by specifying that this experience also helps to be sensitive about inconsistencies and mistakes from the PSA. With this knowledge, the core-workers exchange relevant issues with temporary workers and point at potential illegal practices of PSAs and send temporary workers to the workers' council's office in order to get a consultation.

In the end, it might be a false simplification to talk about "personal taste." On the one hand, of course, personal preferences always play to a certain degree a role when humans interact. However, to exclusively reduce it to personal taste is just too much simplification and prevents to derive a useful framework for analysis. In contrast, asking for previous

experiences with the system of temporary work might lead to more in-depth insight and could be more useful.

To some extent as agency work, without any doubt also is a field which produces a marginalized group (Moser et al., 2017, p. 71) the question might be raised if at the end the day it is not at all about personal taste, not about previous experiences, but about profound prejudices that are played down to personal affectivities. As at the entrance of the chapter, the predominant image of the unreliable temporary worker indicated. However, this must be answered elsewhere and can be an issue of another study.

8.3.6 A question of ethnicity?

The assumptions before the execution of the interviews and the analysis suspected ethnicity to be a factor of significant value, especially as statistically agency work, is a sector tremendously relying on migrant work.

Notably, talking about temporary work and a high number of migrants in this field made a big part of the interviewees talked to, feel discomfort. The discomfort might result from discussions about political correctness and fear of disregarding leading guidelines on how to talk about migrants. Some definitely disregarded guidelines by the use of merely racist terms, like Kevin. When asking him if it is visible whether one is temporary or core-worker:

Yes, clearly because he [temporary worker] is wearing different workwear [...].
If it is a nigger, excuse the expression [laughing]... a black! For me, every human is equal, no matter which skin colour. But yes, then you would assume, that he [black person] is a temporary worker. (Neulinger, 2019)

After using a profoundly racist expression, he, at the same time, tried to revise that in the next statement. While Neulinger confirms an ethnic compound of temporary work to be crucial, there was still a general avoidance of talking of temporary work as a field of a high proportion of migrants. Besides, two significant assumptions could be gained, again dependent on whether temporary workers are in high- or low-skilled fields.

Firstly, organizations in low-skilled sectors tend to employ temporary workers with a migrant background frequently—the quotation beneath shows the impression of a workers’

council on temporary workers with migrants backgrounds. The utterance included resentments against temporary workers with a migration background, includes racist tendencies, and suggests that many migrant workers do not desire integration. He also admits openly that these are not welcome to become part of the core workforce:

Temporary workers with a foreign background? Yes, we got plenty of them! We also got plenty of which we send back... they [foreign temporary workers] did not, how shall I put it? Culture! [laughs] Accept our....adopt our [culture]..... But, we have also some let's say "Ohavin" to just take any name...there is a part that gets integrated, and there is a part that does not want to! We do not want to employ them. They simply do not want to get employed. (Meyer, 2019)

Workers in Meyer's company lift buckets onto wooden stillages or fill in wall paint into buckets with a machine. The tasks do not require perfect German language skills. The question is, what is meant by integration, and if integration or "good integration" is not a flexible concept to act out prejudices. The question he was asked was whether he could relate to the statistic particularity of a high amount of foreign temporary workers and what thoughts come to his mind, which was his perceived problem with integration of them. The statement again suggests the widespread wrongful perception of integration as a one-way road rather than a dual process (Ther, 2017, p. 27). Additionally, the term that Meyer meant instead is assimilation rather than integration, concepts which are often confused (ibid. p. 26).

In the high skilled domains, workers council members explained that the number of temporary workers with another cultural background is not remarkable. At the same time, I was told that the low number is a consequence of the requirements, such as profound knowledge of the German language.

I know companies with a migrant rate of 80 percent. That is because they got to do there many easy tasks that anyone can do. Here, it is different, and therefore I think it [rate of migrant temporary workers] gets filtered out. (Felzmann, 2019)

Felzmann further explains that this is due to safety reasons so that profound knowledge of German is necessary to understand safety instructions and the like. He also told that this already led to a conflict situation with an agency that accused the organization the be "racist" as they send back a temporary worker whose German skills were not according to their acquirements. What can be learned from his report is that there is an exclusion in the

more skilled domain and tendency towards the exploitation of foreign temporary workers in the low-skilled sector. Temporary workers with migration background find themselves in positions, where categories of class and race intersect. Just quickly, I want to refer to Specht (2016, p. 188), who claims that ethnicity is a negative predictor for an inauguration, meaning that foreigners are improbable to become part of the core-workforce, similarly to the finding provided here, that suggests at least some suspicion of client organizations towards foreign temporary workers. Notably, the high-skilled domain is more exhaustively aiming for a long-term inauguration.

Apart from the increased appearance of temporary workers with migrants background, if we reconsider the working structure discussed above, in high-skilled domains, there are much smaller working groups, which allow for close personal contact, which is positive for finding into a group generally, independent of ethnicity. Besides, a high degree of interdependent work is also contributing to a smoother integration into the smaller working group.

To sum up, the first assumption of the role of ethnicity in the relationship is very likely to play a role indeed. Also, ethnicity decided whether one gets a ticket inside the core workforce or not (ibid.) Ethnicity is influencing the probability of either being in the low- or high-skilled sector. Seemingly, these sectors differ in a high segregated versus a highly interdependent mode of practice, which additionally appears to be relevant in the quality of the companionship. Hence, ethnicity can be a predictor of the likelihood in which domain one works, which furthermore can indicate segregation or interdependence of work, which has an apparent effect on group dynamics.

The question must be raised how the high percentage of migrant agency workers in low-skilled domains comparatively to a relatively low percentage of migrant agency workers among high-skilled can be explained. One might consider structural discrimination based on the ethnicity of temporary workers, which denies them access to better positions in skilled domains. At the same time, this finding can be harmonized with the conclusion of a cordial relationship within the blended workforce in skilled arenas. The missing (or small number) of foreign agency workers might contribute to the result of a positive constitution of the relationship of a blended workforce there. So that finally, the question must be raised, whether it might be to a more significant extend a discussion of ethnicity, how core workers interact with temporary workers.

8.3.7 A new framework

Starting with quite a simple assumption of a downward spiral caused by blending a workforce leading to desolidarization as a result of being threatened, this assumption needs to be revised after the analysis of the data. Following lessons have been learned:

Firstly, “desolidarization” as a result needs to be exchanged with “relationship among a blended workforce.” The substitution is due to a wrong simplification of the conceptions of solidarization and desolidarization, whose meaning is more accurately narrowed down. The problem of solidarity as an outcome is further elaborated and discussed in the next section, however. In rethinking a framework, however, it would only be wrong to claim it is a necessary outcome. As shown above and discussed in more detail below, solidarity can be a result and seems to be positively influenced by certain conditions, but surely not a necessary outcome.

Secondly, the mechanism of being threatened is another wrong simplification that is reconsidered according to the data analysis. Threat already implies the existence of factors that lead to a perception of threat. The workers’ councils helped to illuminate these factors. As shown above, a threat is driven by external factors, such as economic situation; however, internal states of mind, such as feeling appreciated, perception of fairness, contribute to the perception of threat.

It seems to be more helpful to shift light on the different layers of these factors, which can influence an outcome. I suggest that the individual factors can be summarized by the following three drivers, that are crucial:

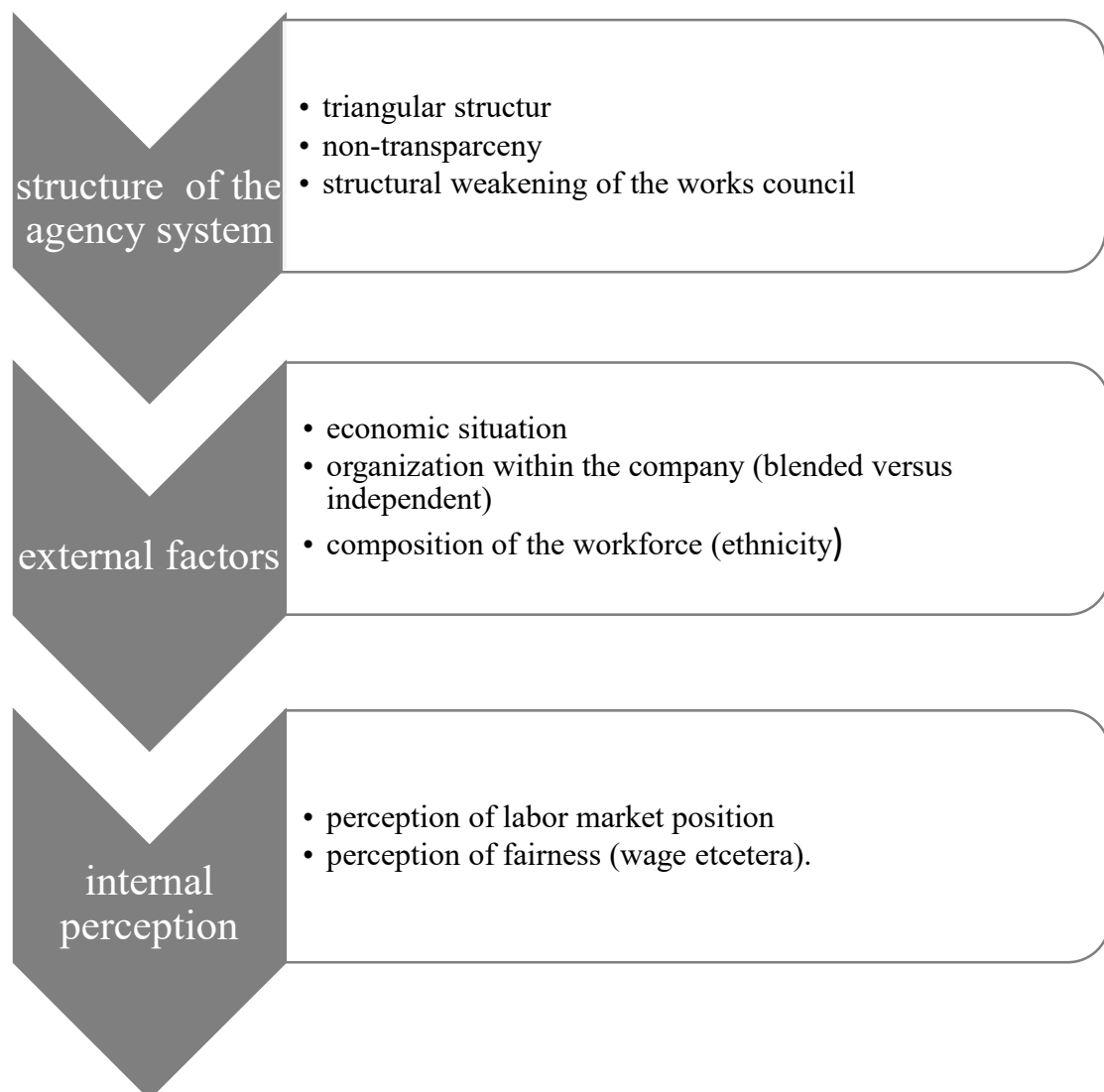
First and foremost, it is the triangular structure that is most importantly interfering—secondly, external factors such as the economic situation, the organizational structure within a company, and the composition of the blended workforce. The latter means whether it is homogeneous or heterogeneous. Lastly, individual perceptions are the third driver, which hence are dependent on the external factors. Individual perception shifts focus on core-workers stance within the labor market and of the temporary worker. The individual-level thus is mostly about feelings such as appreciation, esteem, and fairness.

Notably, the existence of one factor does not necessarily outweigh all the others, so that an organization that is mainly employing low-skilled workers and employing additional temporary workers does not necessarily lead to a negative outcome. It seems like the more

relevant variables correspondent with a positive or negative relationship of a blended workforce, the more likely a particular outcome is.

These considerations lead to the necessity to revise the assumptions and lead to a new framework by inaugurating two additional levels, which is provided below.

Figure 4: New framework representing the different levels that influence the relationship between temporary and core workers; own illustration based on the data analysis.



8.4 Solidarity

The core question of the thesis focuses on whether a framework of solidarity can be useful in describing the relationship between core- and temporary workers. The critical elements of a definition of solidarity are elaborated in the entrance. One of the key elements is that solidarity needs to be understood as an action, which is precisely the first point to prepare further analysis as the workers' councils' understanding of what solidarity ought to be, differs tremendously.

8.4.1 A mystified and misunderstood term

To elaborate further, what is understood when talking to the interviewees about solidarity will shift light on why, according to them, their core-workers are all enacting solidarity with their fellow temporary workers. As a rule, solidarity is a term that is commonly a victim of mystification. What is meant is that solidarity has been a battle cry in the working movement ever since this had a significant effect on its inflationary use. However, solidarity, as suggested in the is exchanged with concepts such as charity or altruism. The workers' councils as well commonly had a completely different understanding of the term. It is simply used interchangeably with help, community, or inclusion.

Regular answers, when asked for examples of solidarity enacted within the workforce, referred to other concepts. Also, Maria explained, when she was asked, why she would describe the relationship between core and temporary workers as solidary:

Because there are, as I already said, no differences. And if a team fits, then it fits – and then they feel connected and a team, independently of being a temporary worker or a core-worker. (Riegler, 2020)

The broad and unspecified definition of solidarity of the interviewees is demonstrated in Riegler's utterance. In the example above, it is confused with equality ("no differences") and friendship ("a team"). Nevertheless, it also suggests the relevance of the term solidarity as a such, within the worker's councils. Even though the term itself, is often an empty signifier, it is inflationary used and seems to be an idealized state that they want for their

workforce. Still, the question is not answered whether solidarity, as defined above, can be found.

8.4.2 Works councils: An institution towards solidarity

A standard answer was that core-workers enact solidarity by sending temporary workers to the works' council in case they need help. Therefore, they act as mediating institutions by providing information on how to get help. Then, the works council members can act and help in those cases, that are within their area of responsibility and within the capacity to act. In those cases, the core-workforce and the works' council can operate together in order to act solidary. The core-worker is identifying a problem, inequality, or another issue in which a temporary worker needs assistance. The core-workers fungates as an intermediary, whose steps are the ground for finding a solution to the problem. The actual executer is a member of the works council. So, to say core-workers in some cases build together with members of the works council, an institution that acts solidarity in divided steps.

It is essential to mention that identifying and providing information on how to find help is a step of no minor importance. Temporary workers are very seldom, as Specht (2010; 2013) found, well-informed on their rights. Plus, workers' councils often must oversee plenty of workers and cannot keep their eyes on every single worker. Therefore, well-working communication and consultation in between the workforce and the workers' council can shift light on domains that else would stay uncovered, as Mario, for example, explains:

So, what they [core-workers] do, for example, is that like not long ago someone from another shift group came to me and said. "Hey, can you talk to our temporary worker, because there is something wrong with his pay. He is afraid of doing something because, in his old company, he got fired as he talked to the workers' council, which is the reason why he fears talking to you." So, the core-workers are behind them [temporary workers] by saying: [to the workers' council] Hey, he got a problem, talk to him. Help him. (Felzmann, 2019)

While this shows, next to difficulties, temporary workers face when claiming their rights or asking for help while being unprotected and victims of illegal practice, as the temporary

workers in the quotation above experienced in his last job, works council members rely on core-workers observations to act.

How can we fit this inside the framework of solidarity, which is provided in the section of definitions? At least two elements can be found, which are similarity in at least one point (being a worker – at least one relevant similarity). Secondly, we can assume that workers in this domain tend to feel appreciated, according to Felzmann's reports. Besides, there is an action requested, which is operated by the workers' council. It can also be discussed if it does not, at least to a certain degree, contain a particular criticism of existing conditions and the handling of temporary workers. However, there is no potential cost for the worker to mediate. One could, however, argue that a long-term intention can be expected, which is the prevention of social dumping. When the core-workforce knows that temporary workers are paid accurately, and they are not a cheaper option, this is beneficial for their position. Drawing on those arguments, I assume tendencies towards solidarity are underlying cooperation between core workers and works council members. However, this does not fit entirely inside the elaborated framework.

Notably, when talking about solidarity among the core force with the works councils, this was a regular answer to what they consider as solidarity. However, this is according to the critical elements set in the entrance, not entirely the case. One major problem, which makes it difficult, is the growing individualism, that often was thematized.

8.4.3 Growing Individualism as an obstacle for solidarity?

Another issue, which seems to be a big topic concerning the enactment of solidarity, is an observed growth of individualism among the workers. Growth of individualism might also be the reason why solidarity is so often perceived by workers' councils as the mere forwarding of temporary workers in need to the representatives of the works council, as described above. Maria explained how core-workers perceive dismissal of temporary workers, while simultaneously describing a disposition towards the self and increased indifference among the workforce:

Well, generally people talk about it [dismissal of temporary workers], but differently. I think that many see it pragmatically, right? Because at the end of the

day, if you are not concerned about it [dismissal], then you are not so much into it! (Riegler, 2020)

Riegler's observation is similar to unions' assumptions of a shrinking union-engaged workforce through growing individualism (Fürstenberg, 2013, p. 309). This report of increased individualism, a tendency of individualizing former collective destinies (Nachtwey, 2018, p. 109) rather than developing a common criticism against conditions and work pro-actively on a draft of the future, was frequently sensed when talking to the interviewees. However, their reports did not necessarily imply a negative connotation when talking about a tendency of focusing on single interests.

The interim conclusion is disillusioning partly: The concept of solidarity is central for works council members; however, it seems to be a catchword. There is a perceivable tendency of increased individualism and self-focus among the workforce. Tendencies of solidarity are visible in the collaboration of the core-workforce and representatives of the works council, but not all critical elements elaborated are applicable. Therefore, is the structure of agency work, as assumed, necessarily leading to desolidarization?

8.4.4 The breeding ground for solidarity

The answer to the question above is no. The structure of the triangular system facilitates negative feelings, bad emotions, such as threats and envy, and increases competition. However, as far as the data suggest, when additional factors that contribute to a negative outcome are softened, indeed, even actions of solidarity can be possible.

Notably, examples of 'actual solidary' enactment have been an exception to the rule. Nonetheless, concrete actions exist. Franz depicted the situation as follows:

I got a beautiful example: We have a workshop here at this location, and there we have on-call duty. This means that from Monday to Monday, one week after regular working hours from five or six in the evening to six in the morning [call-on duty needs to be made]. Our staff but also temporary workers can act as stand-by. Once, the colleagues realized that temporary workers for the same stand-by duty earn much less; even less than half for the same time. Then the colleagues came over to me and said that they would not stand-by anymore, which means that

we break the contract with our company as we are obligated to do it [call-on duty]. This was pretty cool, as we could pressure our company with that action as much that in the end our company voluntarily paid the difference to the agency, so that the temporary workers also receive the same amount as our staff. So, this is really working! (Freyenschlag, 2020)

Although this is the most delightful story with a triumphant end, there was also another similar story in which core-workers refused to accept to disadvantage fellow-temporary workers. The engagement does not mean to not have own advantages in mind as well: By accepting cost of not having extra pay through on-call duties, which as Freyenschlag also explained is good money for core-worker, and by demanding for better pay for temporary work, they can for the long run avoid social dumping and prevent from their suppression.

As this is central for this paper, let us see why solidarity, can be found in the two cases, as cited before in Freyenschlags' company and Auer and Steiner's company. In both cases relevant fields might positively contribute to a climate of solidarity.

Firstly, the table provided at the beginning of the preceding chapter, we could see that in both cases, the situation is very alike; the conditions of temporary workers and core-workers are pretty much the same. Similar conditions are a good starting point for a blended workforce.

Secondly, both are in high skilled branches, which has more beneficial impacts. While the core-workers might sense a high degree of stability considering their employment and their position on the labor market, there is also a tendency of interdependence in the working groups. The own perceived stance they hold in the firm influences their esteem positively, by knowing that the firm is depending on them and not being easily replaceable. Mutual appreciation is of utter importance for solidarity (Honneth, 2003, cited in Zandonella et al., 2019, p. 403).

Plus, both works councils' chairmen describe the economic situation for their company as very positive, which is another stabilizing factor for the core-workers considering their position and their esteem. They are not directly threatened by unemployment as compared to Schörgenhubers' place of business that is reducing staff massively and provides a fertile soil of insecurity and in a broader sense for animosity, as he suggested.

Moreover, the use of temporary work is in both cases applied as a recruitment strategy as compared to balance short term demand for human resources. Therefore, it is not far to seek that temporary workers that are employed to stay after an extended trial period are bound more tightly into the workforce. Yet, one should not forget that this, on the other hand, means to undermine insiders' rights as agreements on probation are systematically suspended. These conflicts result in trying to balance out insider and outsider interests, which is the issue of the following chapter.

In the end, both chairmen of the works councils describe temporary work as an especially relevant topic for them. Steiner and Auer already have an employment agreement on temporary work while Freyenschlag is negotiating on one. Therefore, they show, in both cases, personal engagement. Moreover, in both environments, there is a vivid discourse on temporary workers' inclusion and the betterment of their condition, which might also impact the core workforce.

As demonstrated in certain conditions, solidarity can be possible. When these conditions interact, then they can outweigh structural forced division. Again, these results are not universally applicable; however, they can be a reference point when further researching.

8.5 Institutional barriers against the interest of temporary workers

As shown already, workers' councils are willing to represent temporary workers as part of their workforce. They try to find solutions to uncovered domains. In some cases, however, or at a certain level, they must accept borders. Flabbiness of institutional responsibility regularly results from the non-transparency caused by the triangle of dispatcher – dispatched and client firms. In the following, the revealed institutional problems are discussed.

8.5.1 Communication with representatives of the works council of the PSAs

A good practice to represent or assist temporary workers as a member of the works council of the client company is the maintenance of a network with the dispatchers' works council. However, this is already where the central dilemma appears: It is essential to mention that in only the minority of PSAs, the institution of a works council is existing. To speak in numbers, this means out of 1.200 PSAs, only 20 agencies have a works council to represent the temporary workers. It is essential to mention that these 20 PSAs are the biggest and therefore hold 50 percent of temporary workers dispatched in Austria (Mayrhofer, 2020).

Nevertheless, even if temporary workers have a works council in their agency there is a range of obstacles to overcome: Firstly, temporary workers often do not know whether they have a works council or not. Specht (2010, p. 108) found that about 40 percent of temporary workers do not know about having a works council. To be concrete while an agencies' works council chairman might be in Wels, the fellow workers might operate from Vorarlberg to Vienna, spread among the whole country. Being spread among Austria leads to the predominance of anonymity within the agency system. Similarly, the works council elections show a low voter turnout. Of those who vote, 90 percent vote via postal vote, and of these, 20 percent are destroyed because they arrive too late (Mayrhofer, 2020).

However, also the daily business of a dispatchers' works council is affected by the triangular structure. While as a general rule, people holding a works councils' mandate

know the people they represent personally or at least sometimes have personal contact with them. Personal ties are more an exception in the agency business – as already said, the employees often do not know that there is a works council they can vote for. If they know that there is one, they often do not know the person that holds the position. One could argue that this might also negatively affect a good representation because the necessary trust to share problems cannot be guaranteed then.

One thing that improves the connection of organizations' work councils and agencies' works council can be the specific use of social media to create tighter networks to communicate and exchange. Even in order to overcome the problems detected concerning temporary workers and agencies' works council. Social media in the future can help to connect and spread information on elections and candidates, or even can assist in avoiding that ballots do not arrive in time.

8.5.2 Obstacles in establishing a works' council in the agencies

Returning to works councils of PSAs, it is crucial to mention that in the agency branch, it seems to be much harder to fund a works council because the management tends to lobby heavily against the establishment of workers' representation. A reason for the difficulties of establishing a works council is the market pressure agencies underly, in order to be competitive and sell their laborers. This pressure demands to keep workers' rights low and to work with exploiting methods. To be competitive is the source of the avoidance of the establishment of a works council within agencies (Specht, 2016, p. 192).

However, there are other difficulties, such as finding sympathizers to help establish a works council within the temporary workers. Besides, agency work specific troubles, such as contacting the fellow agency workers, as there is not a building, in which all gather together and the like. Usually, there is no such thing as a bond between the colleagues as most of them do not know each other. These obstacles result from the structure of agency work. Another difficulty arrives from not having a common collective identity of temporary workers that they can use for any form of organization. Von Hippel (1998., p. 106) already pointed at the fact that there is no common identity of temporary workers, which hinders

them from unionizing. This argument can be further elaborated so that non-identification can also impact the foundation of a works council, which also relies on common ground. Another point, which needs to be considered is the democratic legitimacy of the agency's works council, considering the missing knowledge of the existence of the institution among temporary workers and, additionally, the exclusion of many ballots that arrive too late.

Even if temporary workers can finally achieve the establishment of a works council, it is essential to consider that the institutions' ability to act is restricted to the affairs of the agency. The agency is the employer, and this is where the works council has participation right, however, not in the client organization. Notably, the agency is restricted to administrative work. Consequently, the works council of a PSA cannot influence the working conditions (Nachtwey, 2018, p. 104).

Finally, just a quick look showed many difficulties due to the structure of the agency system, which make it difficult to establish a works council successfully. However, there is another implication, whether the works council in an agency is democratically legitimate. As shown above, many ballots cannot be counted, as they are too late, and nearly half of the agency workers do not even know whether there is a works council in their agency or not. Lastly, if there is a works council elected, another question is raised, which is whether there is a tremendous power cutback compared to a non-agency works council.

8.5.3 Works' council contribution as a source for conflict

Another promising finding that seems to affect the representation of temporary workers' interests and their integration within the workforce is whether temporary workers pay works council contribution or not. To benefit from the works council's funds, unions advise including the temporary workers in levying contribution (Kaba et al., 2018, p. 13). Nevertheless, only Felzmann and Auer/Steiner reported that also temporary workers contribute. Notably, they are both working under similar conditions: they work in the high-skilled chemical industry, aim to employ agency workers long-term, and aim to inaugurate them into the core-workforce. According to Specht and Stummer (2014, p. 207), only 16 percent of temporary workers levy works' council contribution. Franz explained that levying works council contribution is a highly complicated affair:

It is pretty difficult as they [temporary workers] also do not pay works council contribution. Which is extremely difficult from the perspective of the works council, because of course... if I organize an event or the like... I give Christmas presents to the staff, which is financed by the contributions, the works' council contribution, which is exclusively paid by our staff. Admittedly, there is the possibility to include temporary workers in paying works council contribution, but this is unbelievably difficult and also inconsistent. One has to make sure that the system stays fair. Therefore, from the perspective of the works council, it [temporary work] is not good at all, especially not for long. (Freyenschlag, 2020)

Self-explicatory the difficulty derives from the triangular system: Temporary workers are as a rule part of the material cost of a company (Schönbauer, 2014, p. 19). Their payroll office is operating in the PSA, which has no connection with the organization's works council's funds. Moreover, the uncertainty concerning the duration of being dispatched plays a role in including temporary workers in the funds. The aspect of 'fairness' as Freyenschlag also mentions above seems to be a relevant topic when talking about the inclusion of temporary workers in the contribution. Similarly, Schönbauer (2014, p. 24) refers to this aspect, which came up in the frame of a focus group. Schönbauer (ibid.) points at the fear of some works council members of arousing suspicion of core-workers when temporary workers just levy a limited time of period and pick out the best benefits.

However, including agency workers in contributing can work. Mario explained how they handled this issue in their company by making it obligatory for everyone, whether core worker or temporary worker:

They [temporary workers] voluntarily do it [participate in paying works' council contribution], because they receive a long list of benefits for many occasions. You basically get everything for just 0.5 percent of your pay. For sure, this [0.5 percent] is not a lot! Many [temporary workers] know this [paying contribution] from their previous employer, and many missed it while working for the agencies [...] there are some staffing agencies with a works councils' funds, and then we regularly had arguments at the beginning, because they saw us [workers' councils] as opponents.[...] In the beginning, even we didn't know if it works for temporary workers to pay double. He [the temporary worker] pays 0.5 there and also in ours – however, also pockets twice! So that, let's say, he can bring the receipt of his

glasses to the PSA and to our company. Then you get around 200 Euros for the glasses, which is not too much in reality, but if you also get it from the agency, you already got 400 [Euros].” (Felzmann, 2019)

The works’ council’s contribution is an issue that can be a source of conflict, yet, provides another dilemma for the works councils. Firstly, it is challenging to include temporary workers in contributing as they receive their wages from the agency. Secondly, as they often just stay in a firm for a restricted period, there is sometimes a sense of unfairness among core-workers. Core-workers sometimes perceive that temporary workers exploit a system, by cherry-picking, which they mainly finance. Thirdly, an agreement of contributing no matter which contract one has seems to be working, as in the case of Felzmann.

8.5.4 Not their business!

When it comes to concrete actions, away from the inclusion of certain benefits etcetera, another hardship seems to result from the fact that agency workers are the employees from the dispatcher and not the client company. To be employed in another organization makes it hardly surprising that workers’ councils feel like at a certain point their hands are bind as they feel like intervening in the PSAs businesses is no concern of them. Mario Felzmann described this as followed:

There [interfering in affairs beyond consultations], I got to take care!’ Cause I just can’t interfere in the affairs of the agency! Me [member of the works council in the client organization] I can say: I can talk to you works council in the agency but not care for problems that he [temporary worker] has with his company. Cause it’s just none of my business! (Felzmann, 2020)

The workers’ councils perceive the agency as independent, out of their area of responsibility and acting ability. This perception again results from the triangular structure of temporary staffing. A way to overcome is to communicate and network with the dispatchers’ works council members if existing. Notably, the restricted acting ability is a similar situation like the agency’s work council has. The agency’s works council has the rights to intervene within the agency- however, it has no say in the organization.

8.5.5 Pressuring PSAs with support of the management

Nevertheless, some workers' council, on the other hand, use their market power, or better their client position to put pressure on the PSAs if, in any case, they are not acting accordingly. In these cases, workers' councils regularly reported that the support of the own management was crucial in succeeding in intervening. Phillip told about one such incidence:

I remember this case, we once had. He [a temporary worker] was sick, and as a result, his agency fired him. Although he was still in an employment relationship with our company! They are not allowed to do that! Then we asked the personnel manager and their boss to come. Over there [points outside] in the staff department, I gave those two a lecture! Then they employed him [fired temporary worker] again. They took back everything. One of them asked if it is common here that the works council's chairman is in charge of personnel policy. I answered: If you behave like assholes, then yes. Because that just can't be! They are not allowed to act like that. We didn't give him [temporary worker] back to the PSA. Just because he was three or four weeks in sick leave. Our company doesn't accept that, and the PSA just gets rid of him. Although we didn't send him back. For sure, not like this! (Steiner, 2020)

As the PSA applied illegal methods, the ability to act was broad. Moreover, there was the support of the management. Primarily when PSAs do not act according to the law, workers' councils might also pressure as the companies own reputation is endangered by contracting with dubious agencies. The endangering of the organization's reputation is a valid argument for the management to talk to the PSAs or even to end contracts.

Some businesses make use of ranking lists of service agencies and actively decide to only engage with PSAs at the top of the list, which are considered to be "serious." Often, their high status is because the workers are organized and vote for a works council as Franz explained:

Meanwhile, we work with around 15 different agencies in total. These are ranked from one to three – between those agencies that we have to keep an eye on and

those that work seriously. We have main suppliers, which are treated preferably. Since we work like this everything works much better, because currently we are just in contract with 15 different agencies and of those 15, more than half of them [temporary workers] come from just two agencies. This means, that we know exactly what is written inside the contracts, what he [temporary worker] has to bring along, how it is working and what he [temporary worker] gets paid. (Freyenschlag, 2020)

Freyenschlag explained how they fight against the non-transparency, and introduced a strategy to sort out the agencies. Again, this system provides space to create more inequality among temporary workers. Freyenschlag says that they cut down to 15 different agencies – which still means 15 different contracts and therefore variations of conditions among all the temporary workers employed at their place of business. The trend here is that workers' councils tend not to be too sensitive about the consequences – which is creating a heterogeneity concerning contract conditions among temporary workers – or as I argue later on classes within the organization.

An instrument, which can at least help to determine the conditions and the how of temporary work is to set policies in the form of a works council agreement, which is legally enforceable from the works council (Schönbauer, 2014, p. 16). Seemingly this is not demanded as a rule. As from the interviewees, just two reported using a works council agreement to set the rules of the game, when inaugurating temporary workers.

8.5.6 Strategic disempowerment of the works council through outsourcing

Although, as explained above under certain conditions, the works councils can act, outsourcing by engaging agencies is a good strategy for enterprises to disempower the institution of the works council within the organization. The disempowerment is especially well-working if tools such as a works council agreement do not exist. Auer and Steiner are workers council chairmen that feel in a stable position within their company and tell proudly about the works council agreement they negotiated. They also helped to shift some light on why enterprises are willing to pay more for temporary workers compared to core-

workers. Steiner and Auer explained their views about the motive of the popularity of recruiting mostly solely temporary workers:

No, it [motives to hire temporary workers] is just considering getting fired. It is pretty difficult to fire someone here. There is no dismissal. That's it. We as a works council, guarantee that no one is getting fired here. It is pretty difficult for them [management] to fire a core-worker. However, a temporary worker can be sent back easily. In that case, we [the works council] cannot do anything at all legally seen. With our staff this is not working, because then they have war. There are only mutually agreed contract terminations, and those mean money! That is not working without the works council, and our company does not like that too much! (Steiner, 2020)

The recruitment strategy, which relies on the exhaustive engagement of outsiders, is increasingly weakening insiders' positions but also their institutions for demanding their interests and rights. The works council is weakened by employing agency workers.

Disempowerment is not only the case by the circumvention of insiders' dismissal protection. Far more issues are relevant in the disempowerment of the works' council, as firstly, non-transparency is contributing to even more confusion. However, while the need for representation through the works council is growing, when temporary workers are employed, in most cases, their resources are not growing the same way, as in just sporadic cases, temporary workers are levying works council contribution. According to Nachtwey et al. (2013, p. 64-67), temporary workers are often not considered in the mandates of the work council. So, while there is personnel cutback at the same time in the works council, the workload is intensified, which means that codetermination shrinks in total.

To sum up, there are significant difficulties considering the works council's ability to act in the field of temporary work. All of them seem to be structural: The triangular system leads to confusion of competence and is communicating is often not working. Related issues such as the aggravating circumstance of funding a works council in an agency, which is accompanied by a lack of democratic justification due to tendencies of restricted knowledge, information, and range of potential voters, are moreover domains, which need to be revised. The turmoil caused by the contribution leads either to the exclusion of agency workers or a feeling of unfairness among core workers. Again, this dilemma origins in the system's structure. Hence, the need to ease levy the contribution of temporary workers is

undeniable. One way is to ask all workers independently of their contract to contribute, as demonstrated by Felzmann. There was also a sense of interference perceivable that workers' councils tend to feel, which hinders them from acting. However, in some instances, the triangular structure of the system is beneficial to the works council's efforts, especially when the management can be convinced to use their client status to pressure. Though even more, the engagement of agency workers is contributing to a power shift towards the management and capital interest, by simultaneously circumventing rights of insiders and representative institutions

9. Discussion

At this point, I would like to return to the quotation in the preface. A German works council member, who was leading a strike for prohibiting temporary work, was quoted. In his opinion no regulating of temporary work is possible. He clearly states that he is opposing any regulation as inequality cannot be eliminated by regulation (Kupfer, 2017, p.33). As concluded the triangular structure has mayor aggravating effects on the relationship of the workforce. However, also the ability to act of the works council in both the agency and client organization is limited.

Still, in Austria, temporary work appears to be well regulated. Works council members show immense satisfaction regarding the recent situation of temporary work. When asking the interviewees, a common wish was to have more specific standards regarding the maximum time and maximum amount of temporary workers an organization can employ. Just one entirely rejected temporary work. However, they simultaneously accepted the fact that further regulations in this field might offer loopholes plus disadvantages for many companies that are subjected to fluctuation and seasonal variations. So, there is excellent awareness of possible dangers when regulating this field. Nevertheless, as one of the significant results of this qualitative study suggests in total Austrian workers' councils seem to be confident about the situation.

To move further, I want to enlighten the results by discussing them in light of the emergence of classes within the organizations, which I argue results from outsourcing. Move on with solidarity as an (im)possible relation between the two groups and then closing with the role of the works council in representing temporary workers' interest. In the end, all the thoughts, debating on the issue, can maybe help to find a satisfying solution to the problem stated by the German workers' council.

9.1 The emergence of classes within organizations

Temporary workers are, even in a well-regulated system, not the same as core workers. The postulation of equalizing the situation for temporary workers and core workers need to be

seen in the background of moving deeper inside an unregulated labor market that generally views regulations as economically inefficient and unwanted (Specht, 2016, p. 193). Thus, regulations are often too superficial and ineffective. Even though temporary workers participate in many activities, many aspects concerning the protection of their interests differ from core workers. Therefore, I strongly argue for the emergence of classes within the organizations through outsourcing caused by the structure and even reflected in restricted rights of temporary workers compared with core workers. The argument firmly draws on the findings above and Nachtwey (2013; 2014; 2018), who drew attention to the different legal situations among them. The structure of the system causes this development.

The interviewees doubtlessly want to see temporary workers as equal fellow workers in their organizations. One example to prove the equality of temporary workers was to state that the temporary fellows have the right to vote for the works council. However, their voting right is restricted, depending on the duration of their job. Nonetheless, they have the active right to vote after being employed six months in a row in a client organization, if they are ‘incorporated appropriately’ (Bruckmüller, 2007, p. 2-3). The formulation already implicates uncertainties, as it cannot be entirely clarified what is meant by ‘incorporated appropriately’. Also, agency workers are already disadvantaged compared to core-workers, considering active right to vote, who do not need to be employed six months. Comparingly, they need to be employed on the day of the appointment of the election board and the election of the works council, respectively. According to the Statista Research Department (2020, n.p.), the average duration of being dispatched was 64,3 days in the last year.¹¹ Thus, many temporary workers are excluded due to their short ‘gigs’ and cannot make a draft of their right to vote for the works council, as they are not dispatched for the necessary period.

There are as elaborated above other domains in which temporary workers are excluded, which are more obvious, such as extra remuneration or gifts from the works councils’ contribution, if they do not pay the levy, which yet is frequently the case.

It might not be very apparent, as temporary workers mostly dress the same as core-workers and superficially are included in certain activities; they have not the same rights within the client organization. The latent exclusion is also, in a sense, perceived by the workforce and the works council, suggested by the narrative of the second-class worker, which is highly

¹¹ The exact time span for the calculation of the average duration of being dispatched was from the 1st of July 2018 to 30th of June 2019.

vivid. The truth inside this narrative, however, comes apparent, when looking at restricted access to active and passive right to vote, which at the end also restricts their “industrial citizenship” (Marshall, 1992 cited in Nachtwey, 2018, p. 25)

9.1 The (im)possibility of solidarity

Works ‘councils should be an institution to bridge between insiders and outsiders – at least since the diversion of the ÖGB to a more inclusive strategy emerged. The works council became a significant institution to mediate in between those two groups and communicate on behalf of the unions’ (nowadays, not so) new course of “solidarity.”

One issue that is clear through the results of the interviews is to establish a new understanding of solidarity. Often, solidarity is mystified as an interwoven part of the glorious history of the proletariat. Moreover, it is reduced to be a norm or interchanged with similar concepts. However, adopting a more narrow definition can be fruitful, especially considering dilemmas in a blended workforce. To demand industrial citizenship for all of the workers equally hinders the establishment of classes within the organization and benefits all the same way. Insecurities among the labor market at least can be reduced.

The essential lesson, however, is that although structural difficulties are powerful, solidarity is not impossible, and core-workers are ready to enact solidarity in some instances.

9.2 Representing temporary workers – the gap between theoretical double representation and practice

One agency worker and two works councils that represent him or her – at least theoretically, this is how it is supposed to be (Specht, 2010, p. 108). The results above suggest a very different picture: There is a gap between how things are and what theoretically should be. The reason why there are significant differences, however, in each case is grounded in the triangular system of agency work. Workers’ councils of the client company, as a rule, feel

responsible for temporary workers and try to include them without making any difference. However, the difference is existing. It is a system intrinsically. The temporary worker at the end of the day is not an own employee but the employee of someone else, and this impairs the capacity to act. The systemic forces, however, do not mean that there is no capacity to act at all—some examples above suggest that when conditions allow workers' council to react to temporary workers' requests.

Secondly, also if there is a works council in the PSA, which is often not the case, it is working under extraordinary conditions. The structure of agency work also impairs the agencies' works councils' capacity to act. They often must be in charge of many more workers, do not know them personally and they are spread everywhere in Austria. Vice versa, the temporary workers often do not even know of the existence of a works' council within their agency.

Nevertheless, there is another striking issue. As reported, the initial purpose of temporary work, which is the covering of production peaks, is especially dangerous for temporary workers as short time employment means the exclusion of further rights such as an active and passive vote of the works council and restricts their claims on welfare service. On the other hand, the inclusion of long-term temporary workers is undermining insiders' rights, such as the circumvention of the probation period. Agency work causes a chain of inequalities, which cannot be solved easily.

While talking to the interviewees, many solutions to the problem came up. First and foremost, there is a necessity for better communication with the agencies' works councils. Social Media offers plenty of options in order to guarantee a well-working and quick communication, which needs to be developed further in the future. The recourse of new platforms can also be used to create more exchange among temporary workers in order to fund a works council (as many agencies do not have). Social media even might be considered to increase the democratic lack, which needs to be considered critically due to the frequent lack of information of the voters and the low voter participation. To raise the numbers of agencies' works councils and enhance their democratic legitimation, Social Media can be the first step towards improvement.

Furthermore, another step that seems to be beneficial for both groups, core- and temporary workers, is to set rules in the frame of a works council agreement with the management in order to reduce potential threat and pressure and brings along more transparency. To force

an agreement is possible for any works council, whose company employs agency workers. The agreement can help to negotiate benevolent conditions; insiders can be protected while still guaranteeing at least to some degree benefits for temporary workers, such as inclusion in extra-remuneration and the guarantee of inauguration after a certain period.

Finally, there is another possibility for the works councils to get some control, which is to monitor the different PSAs available through a ranking list. The list gives information on aspects such as remuneration according to collective bargaining, information to jobs and helps to understand whether an agency is severe or not (Schönbauer, 2014, pp. 29-31). Also, just to compare the prices among different agencies gives an impression on their methods. The non-compliance with demanded worker standards in some agencies is due to the concurrence within the staffing industry to provide the best offers (Specht, 2016, p. 191).

To sum up, for structural reasons, several difficulties for the relationship between core workers and temporary workers considering enacting solidarity have been found. However, also for the works council conditions to represent temporary workers are challenging. Both problems are found to originate in the triangular system, and the conclusion is that some conditions can positively and negatively influence the workforce. Additionally, regulations shape how the works council can take action considering the agency workers. However, while these influences and aggravated conditions can be softened, they cannot be erased as, in the end, they are still two very different animals, speaking figuratively. As at a macro level, the dualization's outcome is shaped by policies; this can also be applied on a micro level based on present results. The result, therefore, indicates that regulation also on the micro-level can reduce insider-outsider cleavages but not eliminate them.

10. Domains for further research

This short section revises domains which are recommended to get closer scientific attention, that have been uncovered in the course of the thesis.

Firstly, further investigation of the institution of works councils of client organization is strongly advised as the interview method might be prone to failure by social desirability. Especially when talking of the possible relevance of migration background as an influential factor in the relationship between core and temporary workers, a significant discomfort was suspected. Additionally, the questions concerning solidarity left space for failure due to social desirability, as of course, workers' councils want a solidaristic workforce. Participating observation can be taken into consideration for further research to minimize the suspected failure, especially concerning the relationship between core and temporary workers.

The election of works councils in both fields client companies and agencies and its implications is another relevant field, which deserves some more scientific attention. Research needs to be done in controversial fields such as lacking democracy within the institution of the agencies' works council or restricted industrial citizenship (Marshall, 1992 cited in Nachtwey, 2018, p. 25) within client organization.

Besides, another fruitful insight might be due to the interviewing of members of the works council of the PSAs to give an in-depth insight into its specific mode of operating and institutional problems. Unfortunately, not much literature is giving attention to the specificity of works councils in outsider fields such as temporary work. A closer understanding might be especially relevant in the field of political science.

Last but not least, it seems that further research within the field of temporary work needs to be more sensitive to the specific differences of agency work, which seem to not only be by sector, but also by skilled or unskilled. Often agency work (also in the present thesis) is treated as we are talking in terms of a homogeneous field. However, the field is very heterogeneous, differing in many aspects.

11. Conclusion

In conclusion, some significant changes took place in the labor market. The process of dualization into insiders and outsiders led to division into a primary and secondary labor market. Austria has also not been immune to this global trend. Dualization can be observed on the example of temporary workers and core workers, a form of outsidership and insidership, respectively. While Austria made great endeavors to equalize the situation of temporary and the core workforce, the résumé of this thesis is that through the triangular structure of the temporary agency system, these were just partly effective. However, not only the triangular structure, but also other factors, which can be broadly divided into external factors and individual perception, have an impact.

Having started with a straightforward assumption in mind on how a blended workforce is composed and what shapes this relationship, the results of this qualitative research, however, painted more complex picture of the reality, suggesting a framework with multiple variables that influence a relationship among them, that have been summarized in two broad drivers. These influencing factors are to repeat them shortly:

Starting with the individual perception, perceived inequalities from the core-workforce, which are often based on monetary issues, negatively influence a blended workforce. Perceived overpay of temporary workers make core workers feel dragged behind. In the vein of the individual's perception, additionally, prior experiences, that shape the perception of temporary workers can be named. Besides, the perception of one's position within the labor market is crucial for how temporary workers are perceived. The easier one is replaced, the more one is threatened, and the more likely negative attitudes towards temporary workers are prevailing. The position one holds within the labor market affects perceived appreciation, additionally. A lack of appreciation fuels negative sentiments towards fellow temporary workers and prevents from solidarity. Skills play a significant role in ones' place within the labor market, ergo whether one needs to be frightened and insecure or is feeling safe in holding ones' position. However, skills can also influence as an external factor; as sometimes they affects the way work is organized within an organization.

External factors, such as the organizational structures within an organization, the composition of the workforce, and the economic situation, additionally shape the outcome of the relationship between core and temporary workers. By organizational structures, the high interdependence in the working process of skilled workers is contributing positively through participation in a small working group. The mainly homogeneous composition in high-skilled domains points at a discriminating recruitment strategy, which excludes people with a migration background; however, it is in suspicion of contributing to the harmonious relationship of a skilled-blended workforce. This opens the discourse of solidarity to be exclusive and dependent on demographic constitution of a workforce. The economic situation of the workers' company is essential according to the findings: Recessions pressure even insiders – especially insiders that are closer to the border of outsidersness – and this pressure results, as observed by workers' councils to a more aggravated competition and also to intrigues of both, temporary workers and core-workers with the hope to keep their position.

Solidarity is an inflationary used term that all workers' councils claim to have within their workforce, independently of which contract a worker holds. Often, solidarity is exchanged with similar concepts such as friendship, inclusion, or equality; however, not seen as defined here. It is suggested to refill the term with a new definition that is more action-oriented.

However, the more surprising finding shows that solidarity is possible in rare cases. Often a soft version of solidarity is enacted by the cooperation of the core-workforce and workers' councils, whereby the first is functioning as an identifier of a relevant situation and the works' council as executing institution. However, most examples did not acquire the necessary elements of the definition provided here. In some cases, the workforce is organizing itself, threatening a strike, or striking to overcome given or perceived inequalities. As shown in these cases, the conditions for enacting solidarity were given.

The most important finding, however, is the necessity of re-organization of temporary workers' representation: While, as also highlighted by Specht (2010, p. 108) there is a theoretical double representation, so that a temporary worker can, on the one hand, ask dispatchers' works council plus if existent their agencies' councils for help. However, there is often confusion about the area of responsibility. Even more often, there is no works

council in the agency. Plenty of difficulties accompany the establishment of a works' council in an agency.

Secondly, there is a democratic deficit detected in the agency's works council. The democratic deficit is due to lacking information on the existence of a works council plus low interest in the elections of the works councils and problems with the count of the votes. Thirdly, there seem to be communication problems if both organizations have works' councils. Similarly, also, organizations' works' councils are affected by temporary work: Regularly, this means more work and simultaneously fewer resources.

These results are drawn from a tiny panel and therefore require validation by further research without any doubt. It became clear that there are many more uncovered domains that cry out for excessive research and the application of different methods. Finally, the indicated institutional problems of works' councils, both dispatcher or the client company, need to have more intention in political science.

Regarding the current situation, the Corona Crisis, one last thing that needs to be added. As in some cases, information was obtained through newspaper articles¹², and in one case, a personal phone call one was clear immediately: Temporary workers have been in the significant majority of cases the first ones to leave. In one case, I was informed that the workers' council Freyenschlag could achieve an agreement also to make short-time working possible to the temporary workers in their organization in the same way as the core workforce. The inclusion of temporary workers in the short-time working model is good news but an exception of the rule. In most of the cases, however, the fired temporary workers are facing common problems of temporary workers: In the best, yet rare case, they are in a proper PSA that pays them also in dead-periods as it is supposed to be.

In many cases, a mutually agreed contract termination will be forced by some agencies in order to avoid paying them. This assumption is based on hints in a relevant research (Specht, 2016, p. 184), and recent reports of the councils confirm this practice.

To close the thesis with how I began from an analytical stance, I need to strongly agree with Kupfer (2017, p. 33), whom I quoted at the preface of this paper. No matter how much agency work is equalized, it is not going to be the same as core workers. It creates a class society within the company consisting of insiders with more and outsiders with fewer

¹² In order to guarantee anonymity to my interviewees these will not be cited.

rights, that are systematically played both against the middle. Works council agreements, engagement of members of the works' councils, and some additional factors can soften these tendencies. However, they cannot be expunged.

12. Literature

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Appendix I

Leitfaden für das Interview mit Betriebsräten

Block I: Einleitende, aufwärmende Fragen

1. Welche Vor- und Nachteile sehen Sie in Bezug auf Leiharbeit?
2. Inwiefern tangieren Sie Leiharbeiter*innen in ihren Arbeitsalltag als Betriebsrat?
3. Wenden sich Leiharbeiter*innen an Sie in Ihrer Position als Betriebsrat? Haben Sie konkrete Beispiele?

Block II: Fragen bezüglich Leiharbeit [zur Erfragung wie Beziehung sich gestaltet und welche möglichen Einflussfaktoren diese konstituieren]

4. Statistisch gesehen ist Leiharbeit migrantische Arbeit. In wie fern trifft das Ihrer Erfahrung nach zu und welche Gedanken haben Sie dazu?
5. Was denken Sie, hat sich konkret durch Leiharbeit für die Stammbesellschaft geändert und wie werden diese Veränderungen wahrgenommen?
6. Wie würden die Einstellungen der Stammarbeiter den Leiharbeitern gegenüber beschreiben, speziell hinsichtlich der eigenen Position und ihres Status?
7. Welche Faktoren beeinflussen die Beziehung zwischen Stammbesellschaft und Leiharbeiterinnen und warum?
8. Wie würden Sie die Beziehung zwischen Leiharbeiter*innen und Stammbesellschaft beschreiben?

Block III: Gleichstellung beziehungsweise Unterschiede zwischen Stammbesellschaft und Leiharbeiter*innen

9. Ist es unter Kollegen und Kolleginnen ersichtlich wer Leiharbeiter*in ist und wer nicht?
10. Werden Leiharbeiter*innen für die gleichen Tätigkeiten eingesetzt wie die Stammbesellschaft?
11. Unterscheiden sich Leiharbeiter*innen und Stammarbeiter in irgendeiner Form?

Block IV: Solidarität beziehungsweise Verantwortung

12. [Wenn Block III positiv beantwortet wird] Fühlen sich Stammarbeiter*innen verantwortlich für die Besserung der Lage der Leiharbeiter*innen? Haben Sie konkrete Beispiele?
13. [Wenn Block positiv beantwortet wird] Fühlen Sie sich als Betriebsrat/ Betriebsrätin verantwortlich für die Besserung der Lage der Leiharbeiter*innen? Haben Sie konkrete Beispiele hierzu?
14. Was bedeutet für Sie solidarisch?
15. Würden Sie die Beziehung zwischen Leiharbeiter*innen und Stammschicht als solidarisch beschreiben? Warum, beziehungsweise warum nicht?
16. Sind Sie als Betriebsrat solidarisch mit den Leiharbeiter*innen? Wie zeichnet sich Solidarität für Sie hinsichtlich Leiharbeiter*innen ab?

Block V: Aussichten

17. Auf betrieblicher Ebene: Welche Veränderungen bezüglich Leiharbeit würden Sie sich als Betriebsrat in Ihrem Unternehmen wünschen?
18. Aus Ihrer Sicht, würden Sie sich Änderungen hinsichtlich aktueller Regulierungen, Gesetze bezüglich Leiharbeit wünschen? Wie würden diese aussehen?

Ende

19. Liegt Ihnen noch etwas am Herzen, das Ihnen wichtig erscheint?

Appendix II

Anonymous list of interviews

Name	Date	Company
Patrick Meyer	10.12.2019	Chemicals. Varnish/ Wall paint/ mainly low-skilled
Kevin Neulinger	17.12.2019	Construction/ mainly skilled/ unskilled usually by agency worker
Jörg Schörgenhuber	18.12.2019	Metal Industry/ Employees' workers' council/ high and low skilled
Mario Felzmann	18.12.2019	Chemical Industry/ high-skilled
Franz Freyenschlag	09.01.2020	Chemical industry/ low skilled but mainly high skilled
Robert Auer Phillip Steiner	17.01.2020	Chemical industry/ high skilled
Maria Riegler	20.01.2020	Chemical industry/ low and high skilled

Abstract

Today, due to the process of dualization, a growing part of the working population finds themselves working in precarious labor market conditions, while a shrinking part can hold a standard working contract. Temporary work is one such field where labor market insiders and outsiders, holding a standard and non-standard contract, respectively, directly interact with each other. The paper, therefore, asks to understand the mechanisms better that underlay a blended workforce: How do representatives of the works councils in Austria perceive temporary work, especially considering the relationship among core and temporary workers and what drives this relationship? The perspective of representatives of the works council is crucial to see potential institutional conflict, which results from the process of dualization at the micro-level. Based on interviews, the findings suggest consensus and satisfaction by employing temporary workers. While demonstrated, that the structure which underlays temporary work is taking a big part in negatively influencing the relationship between core and temporary workers, however also external factors, and individuals' perception matter. Through placing a concept of solidarity, defined by five key elements, in the focus of the analysis, the results are sobering: When solidarity is defined as an action, then one can hardly find it within a blended workforce. The introduction of a definition of solidarity to describe the relationship between core and temporary workers showed that the concept is a victim of mystification and confusion with other similar concepts. Moreover, the institutional perspective uncovered controversial domains resulting from outsourcing. However, some solutions to potentially problematic areas are provided.

Keywords: codetermination, core workforce, solidarity, temporary work, works council

Zusammenfassung

Aufgrund des Dualisierungsprozesses befindet sich heute ein wachsender Teil der Erwerbsarbeitenden in prekären Arbeitsmarktbedingungen, während ein immer kleiner werdender Teil in Normalarbeitsverhältnissen beschäftigt ist. Zeitarbeit ist ein solcher Bereich, in dem Arbeitsmarkt-Insider*innen und -Outsider*innen, die eine Standard- bzw. eine Nicht-Standard-Beschäftigung haben, direkt miteinander interagieren. In der vorliegenden Arbeit werden die Mechanismen, die einer gemischten Belegschaft zugrunde liegen, erarbeitet: Wie nehmen die Betriebsrät*innen in Österreich Leiharbeit wahr, insbesondere angesichts der Beziehung zwischen Kern- und Leiharbeiter*innen, und welche Mechanismen formen diese Beziehung? Die Perspektive der Vertreter*innen des Betriebsrats ist entscheidend, um mögliche institutionelle Konflikte zu erkennen, die sich aus dem Dualisierungsprozess auf der Mikroebene ergeben. Basierend auf Interviews deuten die empirischen Befunde auf Konsens und Zufriedenheit mit der Beschäftigung von Leiharbeiter*innen hin. Obwohl gezeigt wurde, dass die trianguläre Struktur, die der Zeitarbeit zugrunde liegt, einen großen Einfluss auf die Ausgestaltung der Beziehung zwischen Kern- und Zeitarbeiter*innen hat, beeinflussen außerdem externe Faktoren und die individuelle Wahrnehmung der Stammarbeiter*innen, die Konstitution dieses Verhältnis. Indem ein Konzept der Solidarität, das durch fünf Schlüsselemente definiert wird, in den Fokus der Analyse gestellt wird, sind die Ergebnisse ernüchternd: Wenn Solidarität im Kern als Handlung definiert wird, kann man sie in einer gemischten Belegschaft kaum finden. Durch die Einführung einer Definition von Solidarität zur Beschreibung der Beziehung zwischen Kern- und Zeitarbeiter*innen wurde gezeigt, dass das Konzept Opfer von Mystifizierung und Verwechslung mit ähnlichen Konzepten ist. Darüber hinaus deckt die institutionelle Perspektive kontroverse Bereiche auf, die sich durch Outsourcing ergeben. Es werden jedoch einige Lösungen für potenziell problematische Bereiche bereitgestellt.

Schlagwörter: Betriebliche Mitbestimmung, Betriebsrat, Leiharbeiter*innen, Solidarität, Stammbelegschaft