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## Labour Market Development During the Financial Market and Economic Crisis

**Since the end of 2008, the financial and economic crisis has been resulting in substantial job losses and a massive rise in unemployment. Depending on the course of the business cycle, a number of suitable labour market policies are available. A substantial boost to the funds used as well as adjustments to various existing tools can mitigate job losses, dampen the rise in unemployment and support efforts to cope with structural change on the labour market.**

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The ongoing financial and economic crisis has engendered the most far-reaching slump the real economy has suffered in 50 years. By the end of 2008, the downturn reached dramatic proportions, spreading to all economic areas. Austria's economy lost momentum throughout 2008. By the fourth quarter of 2008, a recession was diagnosed in Austria as well, and it was not until the third quarter of 2009 that a slight growth of GDP (seasonally adjusted) was again reported compared to the previous quarter. Collapsing international demand had made export-focused manufacturers the most directly crisis-affected sector.

The labour market responded to the crisis in the form of shrinking employment and a rapid rise in unemployment, both of which are expected to continue throughout 2010.

Between 2006 and 2008, Austria experienced a phase of high employment, with the rate of active jobs growing on average by more than 2 percent p.a. Fuelled by the export boom which continued into mid-2008, the country found itself in the unusual situation that its manufacturing sector created new jobs at, occasionally, extraordinary rates.

In the first half of 2008, and due to the lagged effect of a favourable economic situation in the second half of 2007 and a good winter season, actively dependent employment continued to rise (+2.9 percent vis-à-vis the first half of 2007, +2.5 percent for men and +3.4 percent for women)<sup>1</sup>. Over the next six months, the beginning downturn slowed this rise down. Nevertheless, as an annual average of 3,304,100 jobs, active dependent employment was still higher by 2.4 percent than in 2007. With the incipient slump concentrating on the – male-dominated – manufacturing sector, male employment developed less dynamic compared to female employment from about mid-2008 and, by December 2008, recorded its first year-on-year drop since March 2004. Still, as an average of 2008, the number of active dependently employed men was higher by 1.8 percent than in 2007, whereas the corresponding figure for women was +3 percent.

### Deteriorating labour market situation

**Significant job losses following years of a booming economy**

<sup>1</sup> Figures were further pushed up by a new rule that hirings have to be reported to the Federation of Austrian Social Security Institutions before the start of work.

Figure 1: Active dependent employment

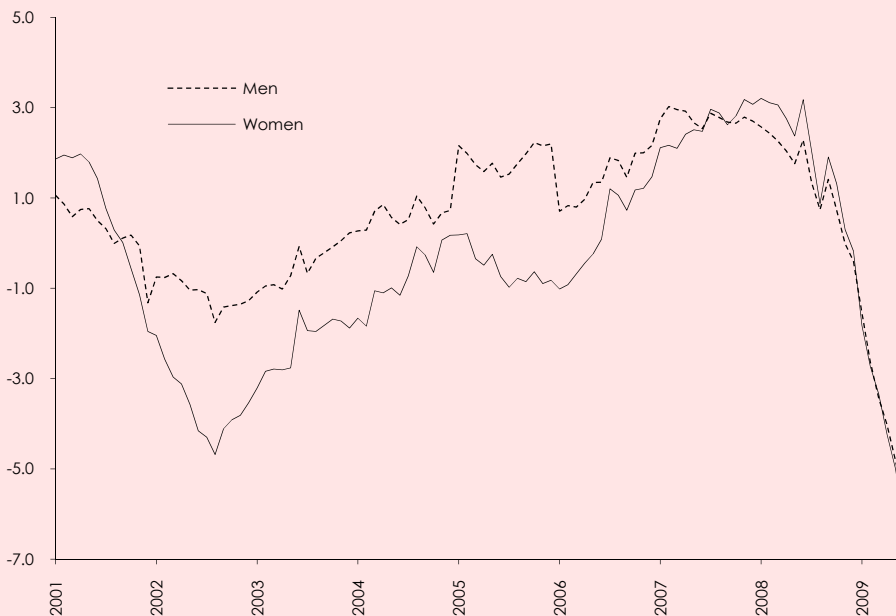
Percentage changes of stock from previous year



Source: Federation of Austrian Social Security Institutions, WIFO calculations.

Figure 2: Employment in manufacturing

Percentage changes from previous year



Source: Labour market database (DWH business monitoring), status as of 27 November 2009, last available month: June 2009. ÖNACE 2008, Section C: "Manufacturing of products". Values previous to 2008 transcoded from ÖNACE 2003 to ÖNACE 2008.

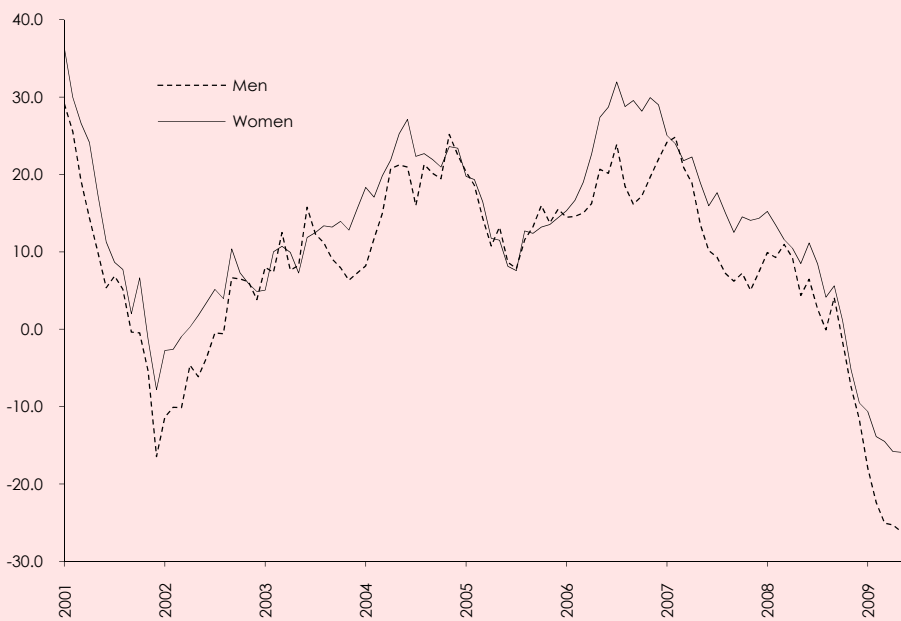
By February 2009, figures – measured as active dependent employment – showed the first job losses; in 2009 the job losses reached on average 1.4 percent. While male employment had been on a decline since December 2008, that of women has been faltering only since May 2009. These figures confirm that male employment re-

sponds much more strongly to business cycle fluctuations (see box); with about 75 percent of the active dependently employed in manufacturing being male, an export-driven downswing affects men much more strongly and directly than it does women (Figure 1).

Employment in manufacturing fell off throughout 2009 and by mid-year had dropped by more than 7 percent below the previous year's level. With this, the growth gained in the boom years since 2006 got lost again. The contraction was even more drastic in the temporary agency work sector (a loss of more than 15 percent since early 2009, –25 percent in May)<sup>2</sup>. Temps apparently work at the fringes of a company and are thus the first to go in a redundancy situation (Figures 2 and 3).

Figure 3: Temporary agency work

Percentage changes from previous year



Source: Labour market database (DWH business monitoring), status as of 27 November 2009, last available month: June 2009. ÖNACE 2008, section N78: "Temporary agency work". Values previous to 2008 transcribed from ÖNACE 2003 to ÖNACE 2008.

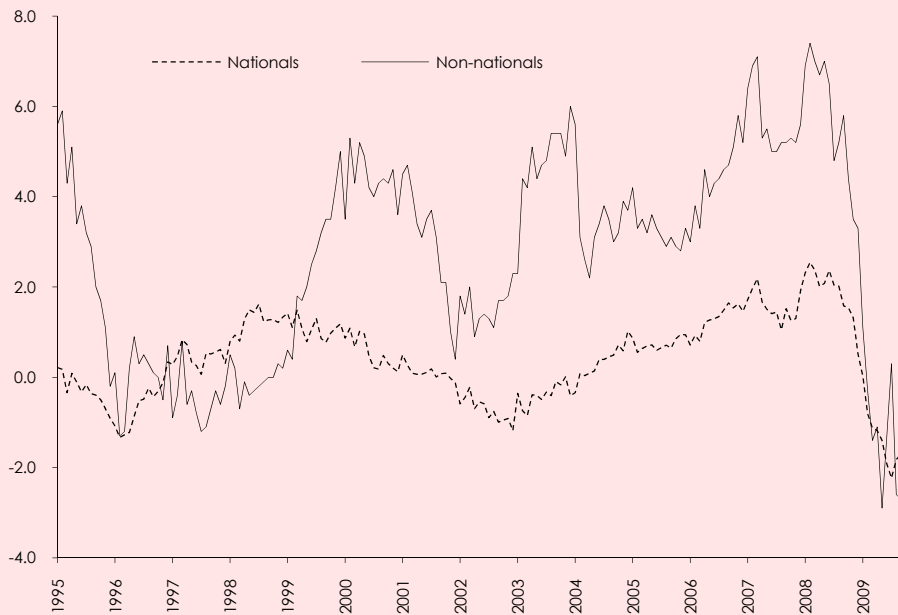
The rate of employment of non-nationals shows a similar response to fluctuations in the business cycle. From about 10 percent in the late 1990s, the non-nationals' share in Austrian employment continued its steady growth, reaching just over 13 percent in 2008, before the rise diminished in late 2008. By the second half of 2009, employment of non-nationals was shrinking at an above-average rate (October –3.1 percent, versus –1.4 percent in the employment of nationals), so that its overall share experienced a slight contraction (Figure 4).

The labour market situation of youths is similarly dependent on the fluctuations of the business cycle. Employment among 15- to 24-year olds has been declining at an above-average rate since December 2008 (January to October 2009 –3.7 percent), both among men (–4.5 percent) and women (–2.8 percent, Figure 5). In total, active dependent employment shrank by 1.4 percent over this period (–2.5 percent for men, –0.1 percent for women).

<sup>2</sup> Temporary agency work is counted among business services but the labour force involved typically works in the manufacturing sector.

Figure 4: Active dependent employment by citizenship

Percentage changes from previous year



Source: Federation of Austrian Social Security Institutions, WIFO calculations.

Figure 5: Dependently employed aged 15 to 24

Percentage changes from previous year



Source: Federation of Austrian Social Security Institutions, WIFO calculations.

The rise in employment in 2008 was accompanied by a distinctive rise in the supply of labour (+1.9 percent). As a consequence, the reaction of the unemployment rate was only modest (a reduction of just 0.4 percentage points), reaching 5.8 percent in 2008 (according to the traditional Austrian definition). On average 212,300 people were without a job (-10,000 or -4.5 percent against 2007), and another 50,500 job-

**Massive rise in unemployment**

less attended training courses (-4.1 percent against 2007). With these figures, the number of unemployed at the peak of the boom in 2008 exceeded that of the 2000 peak by 17,900, or 39,900 when including those in training courses. In spite of strong growth and a dynamic rise in employment between 2006 and 2008, unemployment could not be reduced to the level of 2000.

Up until mid-2008 unemployment continued to decline sharply when compared to the previous year, but then the trend was reversed and an increase was recorded in the fourth quarter. That increase accelerated throughout 2009, from +12.2 percent in January to +33 percent in June, after which it crawled back to +14.3 percent in November (+19.9 percent when including training courses). Even when seasonally adjusted, this resulted in another increase in November 2009, although it had been slowed down considerably. For 2009, the unemployment rate reached 7.2 percent (calculated by the Austrian method; a rise of 1.4 percentage points over 2008).

The greatest increase in the unemployment rate, as an average of December 2008 to November 2009, was found in Carinthia (+2.2 percentage points), followed by the industrial Länder of Vorarlberg and Styria (+1.7 percentage points each) and Upper and Lower Austria (+1.4 percentage points each). The rise was more moderate in Salzburg and Tyrol (+1.2 percentage points each), as well as in Burgenland (+1.1 percentage points), and lowest in service-intensive Vienna (+0.7 percentage points). With this, unemployment in Carinthia, at 9.3 percent as an average of December 2008 to November 2009, is by far higher than in Vienna and Burgenland (8.5 percent each). The rate is lowest in Upper Austria and Salzburg (4.8 percent and 5.1 percent, respectively).

In manufacturing, the labour market situation had begun to worsen already in October 2008, when male unemployment started to rise. This increase has continued ever since, reaching a peak of +45.6 percent in June 2009, even though the Public Employment Service (AMS) has stepped up its training courses and extended its measures to shore up jobs at company level (including specifically short-term work and educational leave schemes).

Figure 6: Unemployed and persons in training courses

Stock, percentage changes from previous year



Source: Public Employment Service, WIFO calculations.

Among women unemployment has also grown substantially, albeit with a delay, since December 2008 (June to September 2009 about +20 percent; Figure 6), when

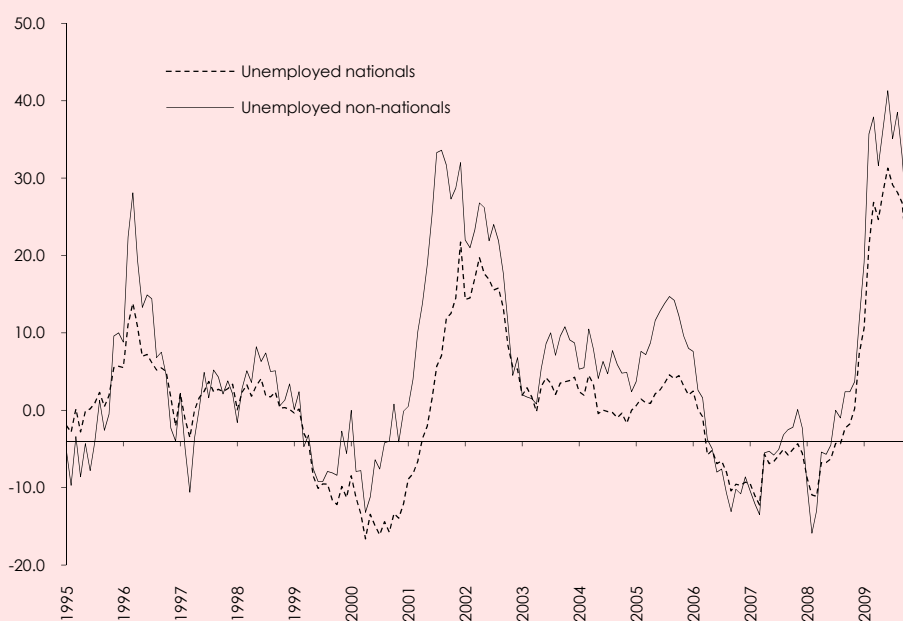
the slump began to encroach on the services sector. The rise in women's unemployment of +15.8 percent (when including workers in training courses) was much closer to that of men (+23.7 percent) in November 2009 than during the summer (June +44.5 percent among men and +21.5 percent among women).

Broken down by business sectors, the increase in unemployment was concentrated in manufacturing (more than +80 percent between May and July 2009). The worst affected fields were metal production/working and machinery and vehicles production. More than a quarter of the rise in unemployment between December 2008 and November 2009 involved workers formerly employed in manufacturing, another 19 percent derived from workers in the services sector, most of them temporary agency workers deployed in the manufacturing sector. Construction (which suffered from a worse winter season than in the previous year), trade, as well as the hotel and restaurant sector also experienced a marked surge in unemployment in the course of the crisis.

Among non-nationals the increase was more pronounced and occurred earlier than among nationals: since September 2008, growth of unemployment has been regularly and at times markedly brisker in that group than among nationals, reaching its peak in June 2009 with +41.3 percent over the previous year (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Unemployed, by citizenship

Percentage changes from previous year



Source: Public Employment Service, WIFO calculations.

The young (age 15 to 24) were directly and disproportionately affected by both the rise in unemployment and the decline in employment. The number of unemployed youth has been on the rise since September 2008 (December 2008 to November 2009 +28.2 percent, total unemployment +23.7 percent; Figure 8). In response, additional labour market policy measures were used to combat youth unemployment, which slowed down the rise to 10.2 percent in November (compared to – at times – considerably in excess of 30 percent in February to July 2009). Although 21.2 percent more youths (when including those participating in training courses) were searching for work in November than did in the previous year, the increase was not much above the average rate (+19.9 percent including training course attendants).

Youth unemployment reflected the earlier and faster deterioration for the men's situation compared to that of women: when including training course attendants, the rise among young men peaked at +51.2 percent in June 2009, while for young

women it reached its maximum of +26.1 percent in August. Between December 2008 and November 2009, unemployment among young men rose by 37.5 percent, that of women below the age of 25 by 17.4 percent.

The economic crisis also impacted on the market for apprenticeships in that it slashed training slots at company level. Compared to 2008, there were fewer slots available in 2009, although figures have been on a (modest) rise since October 2009. Nevertheless, the number of those looking for an apprenticeship exploded, particularly during the summer of 2009, although the situation has been relaxing since September. This appears to be result of the federal governments training guarantee which intends to offer publicly provided apprentice training outside the company level for young people who do not find a regular apprenticeship position.

Figure 8: 15- to 24-year old unemployed and individuals attending training courses  
Percentage changes from previous year



Source: Public Employment Service, WIFO calculations.

An economic crisis tends to accelerate structural change because sectors and enterprises strongly exposed to the international competition are forced to make use of their productivity and innovation potentials. The result is a decline in the demand for workers as well as a greater risk for remaining workers to lose their jobs and/or to be faced with the need to adjust to changing production conditions.

Each of the three typical phases of a cyclical downturn – slump, weak growth and incipient upswing – is accompanied by different priorities for labour market policy. As can be seen from the response of the labour market over the past months and an empirical analysis of past business cycles (see box on "Labour market response to business cycle fluctuations"), these phases vary in terms of the group mainly affected by unemployment and the prospects of those looking for work on the labour market.

Thus at the onset of a downturn, which is frequently triggered by a clouding of the international business outlook, it is mostly the export-oriented manufacturing businesses which see demand for their products slackening. As these sectors employ a disproportionate number of male workers, it is men who are more directly and strongly affected than women. Similarly, youths and marginal workers are harder hit than are core employees of prime working age, because companies typically respond to production losses by retrenching on their labour pool so that youths encounter difficulties in entering or remaining in the labour market. What's more, re-

## Response at labour market policy level

## The fluctuations of the business cycle and active labour market policy

dundancies normally affect marginal workers first (e.g., temps, non-nationals, youths who have acquired little in-company experience and, possibly, also workers nearing retirement age).

The downturn phase is also characterised by widespread insecurity, both at company level (order book outlook) and in the overall economy (scope of downswing). As a result, some enterprises will fire more workers than is necessary.

### *Labour Market Response to Business Cycle Fluctuations*

The labour market responds to the current crisis in line with a typical pattern also found in past cyclical downturns, although this time its fluctuations are more attenuated. Normally, men and youths are more rapidly affected by a crisis than are women and individuals in the prime of their working life. For men, this can be explained by the large number of workers employed by the producing, export-oriented sector. Youths have only just entered their working life or are about to do so, and they are on average more likely to change jobs. Both factors impact on the probability of employment problems in a downswing: the smaller number of open positions reduces opportunities for getting or changing a job. As an added factor, even businesses who cut down on their labour make an effort to hold on to the experienced part of their workforce, a group which normally, considering their lack of experience, does not include youths.

There is empirical evidence for these response patterns across a business cycle. Using figures for Upper Austria, Huber (2008)<sup>1</sup>) determined the lead and lag structures of the cyclical variations in the time series for unemployment and employment relative to a GDP reference series. The same method is applied to Austria based on quarterly time series from 1998 to 2008. The business cycle component of the time series is identified by means of a Baxter-King filter. Next a computation is made for each labour market time series  $Z_t$  to determine the time lag (Lag  $i$ ) at which correlation with GDP ( $BIP_t$ ) is greatest:

$$\text{Correlation}[BIP_t, Z_{t-i}]$$

According to this formula, unemployment among youths already peaks in the quarter in which the fluctuation first registers, while unemployment among workers of prime working age responds with a delay of a quarter and that among 55- to 59-year olds with a delay of fully three quarters.

With a delay of one quarter, unemployment among nationals shows the most distinct response to the fluctuation, while the response among non-nationals occurs almost immediately. The correlation between male unemployment and GDP reaches its peak value after one quarter, while that for women peaks after two quarters. Unemployment of unskilled workers responds promptly to business cycle fluctuations, while that of skilled workers follows at a quarter's delay.

Gender-related responses to cyclical fluctuations also differ greatly among the dependently employed: while male employment shows the strongest spike already in the quarter of the downturn, that of women does not peak until three quarters later. Compared to the – immediate – response of unemployment among non-nationals that of nationals is delayed by two quarters.

<sup>1</sup> Huber, P., Konjunkturabschwung und Arbeitsmarktpolitik: Herausforderungen für die regionale Arbeitsmarktpolitik in Oberösterreich, WIFO study commissioned by the State Government of Upper Austria, Vienna, 2009.

In a heavy slump, labour market policy should therefore be designed to prevent unnecessary job losses and allow businesses to flexibly adjust their supply of labour, e.g., by introducing temporary short-time work schemes or other methods to adjust working hours at company level so as to avoid firings while retaining human resources and improving them by training schemes. The problem is aggravated by a rise in youth unemployment and the lack of in-house training slots for the dual apprenticeship system. Those in marginal employment and workers in sectors that are particularly sensitive to business cycle variations (typically men working in manufacturing or construction) are significantly more likely to lose their jobs. In these sectors, measures aimed at long-term up- or reskilling can help facilitate ongoing structural



change. Foreseeable redundancy waves in major companies or sectors can be staved off by the creation of labour foundations.

In the subsequent phase of low growth we find a change in the structure of those affected by unemployment. With the downswing becoming broader, unemployment increasingly envelops the services sector and thus also women and, in part, the better qualified. In this phase, labour market policy should be focused on maintaining and improving the skills of those made redundant. This requires early intervention in order to have the unemployed acquire new skills, stepping up training measures with a view to adapting skills to demands, and rapid placement of those unemployed who already have the required skills.

Table 1: Delayed response of the labour market to business cycle fluctuations

	At $t = 0$	Peak	Delay $i$ at maximal correlation
<i>Employment</i>			
Total	0.585	0.620	0
<i>Gender</i>			
Men	0.773	0.773	0
Women	0.177	0.412	3
<i>Nationality</i>			
Non-nationals	0.424	0.424	0
Nationals	0.428	0.542	2
<i>Unemployment</i>			
<i>Gender</i>			
Men	- 0.775	- 0.806	1
Women	- 0.700	- 0.772	2
<i>Nationality</i>			
Non-nationals	- 0.757	- 0.757	0
Nationals	- 0.753	- 0.813	1
<i>Age</i>			
15 to 19 years	- 0.788	- 0.788	0
20 to 24 years	- 0.686	- 0.686	0
25 to 29 years	- 0.602	- 0.639	1
30 to 34 years	- 0.689	- 0.724	1
35 to 39 years	- 0.725	- 0.758	1
40 to 44 years	- 0.654	- 0.687	1
45 to 49 years	- 0.751	- 0.761	1
50 to 54 years	- 0.239	- 0.247	1
55 to 59 years	- 0.154	- 0.383	3
<i>Education (highest level completed)</i>			
Statutory school	- 0.836	- 0.836	0
Apprenticeship	- 0.880	- 0.880	0
Lower secondary school	- 0.908	- 0.908	0
Higher secondary school	- 0.620	- 0.690	1
University	- 0.697	- 0.728	1

Source: WIFO calculations. Highest possible correlation between the business cycle components of the GDP time series and the respective time series for employment and unemployment at the time  $t - i$ , first quarter of 1988 to fourth quarter of 2008.

Compared to the downswing leg of the cycle, there is more information on expected economic developments available in this phase. Accordingly, it is necessary to cut back on defensive measures aimed at preventing job losses, in order to avoid deadweight effects. The development of a systematic forecast of skills requirements is important to get a proper focus on skilling measures.

Once the economy starts to grow again and new jobs are created, unemployment slowly begins to decline. Accordingly, it is the acquisition of job offers and support of job seekers which returns to the centre of labour market policy, as does the reduction of incipient skills bottlenecks. In addition, this phase requires increased efforts to raise the labour force participation rate (e.g., of older workers and women). A key goal is to combat persistence of unemployment. With the highly skilled again able to easily get a job and those relegated to the pool of reserve labour during the crisis once again pushing into the labour market, the focus should be on activating and placing the long-term jobless (e.g., by subsidising their wage costs).

**Crisis-driven expansion  
of active labour market  
policy**

The massive and rapid impact of the current financial and economic crisis on key sectors of the Austrian economy and labour market produced distinct responses of the country's economic and labour market policies. In addition to the economic stimulus packages, two labour market packages and a string of other measures have been implemented to provide momentum for the labour market; and a third labour market package is currently in the pipeline. Through these activities, the funds used for active labour market policy (including subsidies for short-time work, excluding the premiums for training apprentices and funds pursuant to Section 19 of the Vocational Training Act) were set to be increased to € 1.312 billion in 2009, a rise of 44 percent over the previous year (see the Austrian reform programme for growth and employment, implementation report 2009).

Already during the first phase of the slump, a number of measures were taken to reduce labour supply in the companies while maintaining employment (short-time work, educational leave, solidarity premium model). Some of these created explicit incentives for further education (educational leave, short-time work combined with skills training). The short-time work allowance, a tool that has been around for years but had hardly been used, was made more flexible already in February 2009 and its maximum application was extended to 18 months. In addition, it became possible to combine it with in-company skills training schemes. Consequently, demand for this tool grew at a dynamic rate: in April 2009, a peak was reached with some 56,700 persons registered for a short-time work scheme, although in actual terms a short-time work allowance was paid for not more than 65 percent of the envisaged cases in the first half of 2009<sup>3</sup>. Since then, the number of workers registered for short-time work has been declining. By 1 December 2009, there were only some 33,500 workers in 253 companies still registered for the scheme. In July 2009 a second labour market package was passed which added further attractive features to the scheme (option to extend short-time work to up to two years, social insurance contribution due from the employee for the hours not worked under the scheme paid by the state from the seventh month).

Claiming educational leave (temporary leave for the purpose of further education/training for which the Public Employment Service pays subsistence benefits) was eased, as well as the use of the solidarity premium model (reduction of in-house working hours provided that an unemployed worker is hired, now extended to hiring an apprentice from a state training scheme).

Other schemes include initiatives to explore and exploit additional employment potentials: thus, the community employment programme "Action 4000" provides for the creation of jobs in community, church and welfare organisations; one-person companies can get a subsidy for their first employee; and a income supplementation program (Kombilohn) was developed that is strongly focused on the target groups.

Measures for intense upskilling and reorientation were extended: these include labour foundations, which were also set up for new target groups (youths, temps), as well as continued intensive upskilling measures to train skilled workers. Within the scope of the training guarantee, state-run training slots are available for youths in search of an apprenticeship<sup>4</sup>.

With measures generally directed at maintaining jobs, utilising employment potentials (including the use of public employment), as well as providing reorientation, upskilling and training, the course taken corresponds to the requirements to be met by labour market policy in the phase of a major slump as discussed above. The rapid implementation of short-time work and educational leave schemes made it possible to stabilise the employment level already during the downswing phase. Assuming some 43,000 registrees on short-time work as an annual average of 2009, and assum-

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<sup>3</sup> For those workers not accounted for in the allowance, short-time work had been applied for but not taken, possibly because the order book situation ultimately was less negative than had been expected.

<sup>4</sup> In addition, some adjustments were made with regard to benefit regulations (e.g., reevaluating the assessment basis, extending the applicability of regulations governing the transitional allowance) and contribution levels.

ing furthermore that some 65 percent of those are actually on short-time work and have reduced their work volume by 30 percent, and that deadweight effects are of no importance, then the use of this scheme saved almost 8,400 jobs at least in the short term and reducing the rise of unemployment. Educational leave was taken by some 4,900 workers as an average of 2009, some 3,300 more than in the previous year. Provided that deadweight effects did not play any role, the strain on the labour market was actually eased by this scale<sup>5</sup>.

As an annual average of 2009, some 64,100 people participated in labour-market training schemes. At an increase of about 27 percent, their number seems to have grown slightly more strongly than unemployment (some 23 percent). The share of high-quality training courses (especially within the scope of labour foundations and upskilling) has grown substantially.

On the other hand, given the current phase of the business cycle, measures to extend the blocked-years version of the part-time scheme for older workers do not contribute much to coping with the labour market policy challenges. Similarly, variants to circumvent short-time work schemes (such as "suspension agreements" by which employees are temporarily fired with the promise to be rehired) counteract the goal of avoiding unemployment.

### *Labour Market Development During the Financial Market and Economic Crisis – Summary*

The ongoing financial market and economic crisis has caused the producing economy to experience its deepest slump in 50 years. The Austrian labour market has been responding by a decrease in employment and a substantial increase in unemployment, both of which are expected to continue well into 2010. A phase of pronounced employment expansion from 2006 to 2008, when the job count on average rose by more than 2 percent a year, was followed by an equally clear-cut collapse in employment (–1.4 percent) and a dramatically increasing unemployment rate (by 1.4 percentage points to 7.2 percent, or if training courses are included by 1.6 percentage points to 8.8 percent).

The impact of the economic downturn on the labour market has been particularly felt by the young and the mostly male workers in the export-oriented manufacturing sectors (including temps). Over the course of the crisis unemployment continues to be on the rise and is spreading to women and the services sector.

Already at the onset of the crisis, when companies were still very uncertain about its scope and their perspectives for production, clear-cut labour market initiatives were launched at the political level. The reform of short-time work schemes in February 2009 prepared a previously rarely deployed tool for much broader use, helping to stabilise employment and to attenuate the rise of unemployment. Some 8,400 jobs appear to have been secured by this tool in 2009. Similarly, educational leave schemes were made easier to enter and widely used to temporarily reduce labour supply while preserving individuals' jobs. Additionally, this instrument contributes to workers' further education and training (some 4,900 cases as an average of 2009). Furthermore, a priority was set on measures targeted at youths and non-company-based apprenticeship training to compensate for the decreasing supply of apprenticeship training positions in companies.

In the further course of the crisis and with a better perception of its consequences, attention is being devoted to measures accompanying the structural change accelerated by the crisis and the resulting demands to be met by the work force: greater emphasis on upskilling, both at the company level and of the unemployed, and measures to help individuals reorient in the labour market, e.g., through labour foundations. For some target groups (such as youths or long-term unemployed), it is possible for the state to create (temporary) jobs (e.g., in socio-economic enterprises) or to use its employer's function for the targeted improvement of the employment situation. Short-time work schemes, on the other hand, should increasingly be phased out or, if reduced demand for workers is expected to continue in the longer term, be changed into permanent working-hours models agreed at company level.

<sup>5</sup> Other measures, such as the "Action 4000", have not yet reached their full level of implementation, so that their quantitative effect in 2009 is still low. However, reducing the labour supply in a crisis may actually slow down a decline in unemployment. A rising demand for labour in an upswing is fed not just from the pool of unemployed. As is apparent from the current weak development of the labour supply, an influx of labour from other sources must be expected when the labour market situation improves: these should include longer working hours actually put in, a greater labour participation rate of women and older workers, an increased inflow of youths after their training phases (which may have been extended due to the crisis) and the employment of non-nationals.

With the economy currently in transition to the low growth phase, priorities in labour market policy have been shifting to intense training schemes, while short-term measures to save jobs (short-time work) are losing their importance. With this, large deadweight effects are avoided and adjustment to structural change is supported<sup>6</sup>.

The effect of all these measures should undergo a comprehensive evaluation exercise – not least because many of the tools have so far been little used or used in another form. A better knowledge of their effect could help extend the repertory of active labour market policies.

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<sup>6</sup> Additional measures now considered are an extension of the skilling bonus (an added payment to the unemployment benefit for the time the worker takes skilling courses), intense training for skilled workers and workers in the health care and social sectors, and integration measures for non-nationals (see, e.g., Austrian Federal Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Consumer Protection, [http://www.bmask.gv.at/cms/site/attachments/9/5/2/CH0016/CMS1259931613670/091204\\_presseunterlage.pdf](http://www.bmask.gv.at/cms/site/attachments/9/5/2/CH0016/CMS1259931613670/091204_presseunterlage.pdf)).