FOLIA GEOGRAPHICA • ISSN 1336-6157 (hard copy) • ISSN 2454-1001 (online)

EFFICIENCY OF ACTIVE LABOUR MARKET POLICY IN HUNGARY: DETRANSITIVE SETTLEMENT STRUCTURE OF SUPPORTED PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT

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Received: May 22, 2019 | Revised: July 12, 2019 | Accepted: August 7, 2019
Paper No. 19-61/2-534

Abstract
The present study sets out to examine Hungary's active labour market policy tool, i.e. the effectiveness of supported public employment and leaving opportunities on a territorial basis as its most important objective. The relevance of the territorial examination of leaving supported public employment is explained by the fact that there are marked differences in this respect in Hungary, which can be attributed to the different level of development of the labour market. Building on this, the research intends to reveal settlements which are less prone to supported public employment detransitivity. The chance of leaving the employment policy tool can be determined by means of demotivating factors (endogenous factors) and factors outside of public employment behind the lock-in in supported public workers, as well as the vulnerability of the primary labour market (exogenous factors). The method of investigation was a complex geographical delimitation. The detransitive settlement structure of supported public employment shows significant cohesion with the respective beneficiary regions and settlements in Hungary. In the areas of Southern Transdanubia, in the border area of North-Eastern Hungary and Central Tisza Region, the greatest vulnerability can be found, hence in these regions, the low level of transition from the active labour market tool is more pronounced. The disadvantage of small village settlements is particularly worrying, where more and more cumulative problems (deprivation of the local economy, low mobility tendency, etc.) further reinforce the high degree of lock-in within the employment policy tool.

Keywords
detransitivity, supported public employment, active labour market policy, peripheral regions, primary labour market

INTRODUCTION

In today's globalized world, where workers can move freely, they can validate their intellectual capital less dependent on their local living environment from a territorial point of view, and more emphasis is placed on the continuous and sustained employment of economically active people. The inclusion of active labour market policies has been on the agenda since the 1970s (increasing unemployment), which can be explained by the decreasing role of welfare states. By bringing the

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activation of long-term unemployed (activating state) to the fore, in public thinking, the ideal of „self-care" has become increasingly accepted (Csoba, 2017). In recent years, decommodification[1] has been observed increasingly stronger, which raises the question of what is the territorial effectiveness of motivating/forcing the unemployed, and what aspects affect the employment of primary labour market?

In Hungary, active labour market policies, which are still important today, have been strengthened, in particular, as a result of the 2008 global economic crisis. As a result of the crisis, macro-level labour market territorial divergence became characteristic. As a result of the global economic crisis, typical crisis areas (through the degradation of labour market) have emerged (Lőcsei 2010, Egedy, 2012, Alpek, Tésits, 2014a). In the regions that were considered to be underdeveloped even before the drastic fragility caused by the crisis, dominant cumulative depressive labour market trends have become dominant. These areas have not been removed from the labour market vulnerability as a spatial shaping impact of supported public employment (employment expansion) - which can be rightly explained by the increasing income peripheralization of inhabitants in settlements, by getting people in less resilient settlements into a hopeless situation, which all strengthened peripherality during territorial delimitation. Among the types of active labour market policies (Bonoli, 2010), the study analyses the territorial effectiveness of the type of „direct job creation" program in Hungary. In reducing the trauma caused by the crisis, supported public employment (direct job creation), although it appeared as a temporary solution, did not solve the acute problems triggering labour market spatial inequalities that have been „pigeon-holing" for decades (low labour supply, etc.). The efficient management of the country's vulnerable labour market areas was becoming more and more acute from the point of view of spatial development policy and employment policy (reducing labour shortages) as well. A number of studies (e.g. Szabó, 2013, Cseres, Molnár, 2014, Alpek, 2017) have a clear thesis about that the chance of transition[2] of supported public employment to the primary labour market is minimal - thereby reducing the clear objective of the program as well as consistency increasingly promoted by decision makers. However, territorial analyses are key to the proper and effective territorial adaptation of spatial development support - in this case, referring to the backwardness of the labour market, which organically determines the chances of leaving supported public employment.

As in most OECD countries, more and more emphasis has been placed on active labour market policies, so it has also gained more and more ground in Hungary to

1 Stronger activation, motivation/coercion of employees related to welfare benefits in order to participate more in labour market (Csoba J. 2017).

2 The study considers those settlements as *transitive*, which have a relatively higher chance of appearing on the primary labour market and it considers those settlements as *detransitive*, which have quasi-lower chances of primary labour market integration.

deal effectively with unemployment. Launched in 2011, the active labour market tool is a policy instrument, and acted as the largest employer in the country, which is increasingly demanding for natural transition from supported public employment programs (primary labour market integration without state interventions). However, the relevance leaving supported public employment based on territorial studies is evidenced by the fact that homogeneous labour market areas with little territorial divergence can hardly be detected, which contributes to the marked territorial polarization of leaving supported public employment. Namely, leaving supported public employment - in addition to demotivating factors of supported public employees (endogenous factors) - is significantly determined by the level of development of the primary labour market (exogenous factors), where drastic territorial differences accumulate in Hungary. This explains the macro-level problem of high degree of lock-in in supported public employment, which can be attributed to both individual (transition willingness) and nation-state level (appropriate regional development targeting) factors which all emphasize the marginalized position of the program in peripheral living spaces (short-term leaving chances).

This paper focuses on effectiveness analysis based on regional basis of one of the key program types (supported public employment) of the Hungarian active labour market policy tool. It does so in the knowledge of that the most important objective is when introducing a unified supported public employment that the integration of long-term unemployed into the primary labour market should take place as soon as possible;

In order to discover the territorial reasons behind the detransitivity of supported public employment, the aim of the study is to show that since the years following the change of regime, from the labour market and economic indicators previously used to designate beneficiary areas with a tendency for territorial development, which explain the territorial underdevelopment the most. The study attempts to select the most optimal indicators influencing the program that determine labour market periphery (exogenous factors) which can provide a realistic answer to the transition chances of supported public employees. The study primarily seeks to identify areas or settlements with the highest detransitivity, which are determined by separating clusters generated from complex indicators resulting from the primary labour market vulnerability and the demotivating factors of supported public employees in Hungary.

MATERIAL AND METHOD

The present study aims to illustrate the detransitive settlements of Hungary's secondary labour market, and it aims to demonstrate them by exploring the factors that hinder the development of the labour market - with the strength of backwardness and the local economy - and the transition of supported public employees in

a complex way. In the course of our study, the main emphasis - besides the evaluation of the results - is on the conceptualization of the used indicators - with the description of the methodological issues (Nemes Nagy, 2009, Nagy, 2011, Pénzes, 2014, Pénzes, 2015).

The first phase of the research was the collection of basic data. In the course of our research, we tried to analyse indicators that have been widely used in the official governmental delimitations[3] so far - to explain local economy and labour market deprivation. In addition, such basic data have been included in the study that has not yet been applied in any delimitation (e.g., the lock-in indicator of supported public employment), but at the same time, by their explanatory power, are considered to be an adequate indicator not only to illustrate the chances of supported public employment transition, but also to explain the socio-economic backwardness. In the course of collecting the basic data, the review of literature closely related to the research topic (secondary analysis of national and international literature) was relevant, which made it possible to reveal the most important factors hindering the transition of supported public employees (e.g. Cseres, Molnár, 2014, Váradi, 2010, Kluve, 2010, Card et al., 2010, etc.). Finally, in order to select adequate indicators, we relied on the „field" experiences accumulated in our empirical research as well. We have tried to selectively target the particular indicators, seeking to include the most relevant indicators in the delimitation objective (avoiding the inclusion of unnecessary indicators) (Appendix 1). After this, in order to compare the individual indicators, we produced specific indicators - which also appeared as a condition for the applicability of statistical surveys.

Although some indicators (e.g.: number of registered businesses) define backwardness better at county or micro-region level, at the same time, when analysing the complexity of the peripherality, for the sake of full territorial detail[4], we considered the settlement level (LAU2) as standard within the research framework. The argument for settlement level is that while examining larger territorial levels (district - LAU1), such settlements could be removed from the detransitive category - which when typically tested without their centre - would be legitimately placed in cluster less prone to transition.

After collecting the indicators that are closely related to the research topic, we examined the indicators according to which territorial inequalities accumulate within them. Logarithmic weighted relative standard deviation was used for the

3 In Hungary, the delimitation of peripheral regions and settlements has been modified several times due to the relative hectic nature of changes in public administration systems. As a result, a number of governmental delimitations are available to compare changes in spatial trends.

4 In accordance with the European Union territorial positions, there is a vertical hierarchical territorial administrative division in Hungary, the so-called NUTS system.

analysis of the different indicators, which revealed the indicators showing relatively high territorial disparities[5], thus explaining high degree of divergence.

$$V = \sqrt{\frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n}\left(log\frac{y_i}{\bar{y}}\right)^2 f_i}{\sum_{i=1}^{n} f_i}} * 100$$

$y_i = \frac{x_i}{f_i}$ specific indicator value in i.unit area; $\bar{y} = y_i$ weighted average; f_i weight

We have abandoned the further investigation of indicators that showed light inequalities, aiming to rather define territorially more divergent indicators. The next step was the correlation analysis of data (Spearman's rank correlation), where the relationship between the indicators was determined.

Which responds to the further abandonment of well-correlated indicators that can be derived from each other (e.g. instead of the number of registered jobseekers, we have considered the number of long-term registered jobseekers to be decisive for a higher degree of peripherality) in order to avoid distortion of data. For the sake of clarity, it was necessary to turn the data series in one direction (reversal of the indicators representing development). Finally, the indicators included in the delimitation were adjusted to a unified level (undimensionality test), which made it possible to produce the complex indicator (by means of arithmetic averaging of the indicators) from different measurement units and sizes. We used the method of normalization (projection to the minimum-maximum interval) out of the dimensionality methods.

$$Z_i = \frac{X_i - X_{min}}{X_{max} - X_{min}}$$

Z_i= normalized variable; X_i= examined data series; X_{min}= minimum value; X_{max}= maximum value

The next neuralgic point was the determination of the thresholds, i.e. where should we draw the range of detransitive settlements? Similar to the recent governmental delimitations in Hungary, we drew the boundaries of underdeveloped settlements by one third, and we considered 1041 settlements to be detransitive. The settlements in the detransitive category were not considered homogeneous due to the differences in the level of development, therefore we created 3 clusters:

5 In the case of logarithmic weighted relative standard deviation, the order of elements does not change due to logarithmization, but the effect of extreme values decreases, so the extremes of the data series have less effect on the detected inequality values (Nemes Nagy, 2005).

strongly detransitive, basically detransitive, and typically detransitive. It is important to note that in a complex geographic delimitation - in this study, regarding the detransitivity of supported public employment - the author's sometimes inevitable subjectivity cannot be ignored. In fact, there are no two identical results in each delimitation based on the same criteria. At the same time, in Hungary, the relatively concentric spatial structure of developed and underdeveloped regions has been „stiffened" for the past 3 decades, which is also proved by the complex indicator values used in our present study.

The data needed for the research were based on the statistics of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (HCSO), the Regional Development and Spatial Planning Information System (TeIR), the National Tax and Customs Administration (NTCA), the Ministry of the Interior (MI) and GeoX Ltd geographic information system.

Data was processed using Microsoft Excel and SPSS software, while maps were displayed by Quantum GIS Lisboa Version 2.18.

CHARACTERISTICS OF UNIFIED SUPPORTED PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM IN HUNGARY

In this chapter, we would like to present the most important features of the political, direct job creation tool for the active labor market, which was significantly restructured in 2011, in order to make it possible for the participants, target and tools of the program to be explored - even though without completeness.

From the 1980s onwards in Hungary - initially within the framework of the „non-profit",„public purpose",„public work",„the way to work" and then the „unified supported public employment" program - the main emphasis was placed on reducing the onset of welfare policy, the process of redistribution, and increasingly focusing on forcing the unemployed (especially the long-term unemployed) into work (Csoba, 2010).

The current management of supported public employment and the designation of the most important strategies are centralized, which is a matter of law and duties of the Ministry of the Interior. In contrast, the program organization, the implementation is decentralized, and it is the responsibility of the municipalities (LAU 2) who can apply for the organization of supported public employment. The supported public employment relationship can only be decisive, which is different depending on the special program types (long-term, national, start-up work program) (Act CVI of 2011). The program is positive in that, during the supported public employment relationship, the participants' work competencies and skills can be sustained and improved, which can be positive for employers as well in the course of later employment.

The current direct job creation program offers a „gesture" primarily for disadvantaged, permanently inactive workers, according to which it provides the possibility

of a wage which is lower than the minimum wage, but higher than passive state aid (social welfare) (Kóti, 2018). Most of the participants have up to 8 primary education qualifications, but special types of supported public employment programs with higher qualifications (secondary, tertiary) can also be observed.

Activities in the framework of supported public work as well as the impact of programs on the development of settlements may vary greatly by each settlement. In addition to keeping the settlements clean (garbage collection, arranging green areas, etc.), value creation (e.g. bio- and renewable energy use) also appears, typically where the municipal leader (mayor) sets ambitious goals for the development of the settlement trough the political instrument of an active labor market.

Overall it can be concluded that at the time of the introduction of the program, the most important objective was the reintegration of the unemployed into the primary labor market. However, according to most researchers (see the following chapters), the program is less suitable for this purpose.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE APPLIED LABOUR MARKET AND ECONOMIC INDICATORS FOR THE SELECTION OF THE ADEQUATE INDICATORS

The delimitation of central and peripheral regions has been one of the most important regional development issues for decades. Act XXI. tv. (2§) about regional development and spatial planning mentions among its most important objectives that the anomalies between developed and underdeveloped regions and settlements should be mitigated as well as the further development of crisis areas should be prevented (Act XXI of 1996). Among the most important constituent factors of spatial structure, the indicators representing the level of development - backwardness- of the labour market play a prominent role, which were identified as a primary differentiating indicator in the delimitation of the respective beneficiary regions.

The multi-dimensional nature of the regional and settlement backwardness shows that the decision-makers have tried to grasp the complex peripherality with a number of indicators - giving considerable space for fluctuation - during the delimitation of beneficiary regions and settlements for regional development purposes dating back to more than three decades. Despite the fact that indicators perceived as traditional (e.g. taxable income) are sometimes able to grasp the range of peripheral areas themselves (Nagy, 2011), the dynamic growth of indicators (in 1993 - 11, in 2001 - 19, in 2015 - 23 indicators) has been observed from year to year.

The question arises that among the external labour market and economic indicators that hinder the transitivity of supported public employment, the application of which can capture the vulnerability of the labour market, which can also highlight the settlements with high levels of lock-in in supported public employment?

Table 1 The range of labour market and economic indicators used in the governmental delimitations between 1993 and 2015 to delimit the beneficiary regions and settlements

Indicator used 1993		Year of application				
		1997	2001	2004	2007	2015
Labour Market	• Rate of unemployed;	x	x	x	x	x
	• Rate of long-term unemployed;		x	x	x	x
	• Agricultural employees;	x	x		x	
	• Industrial employees;		x			
	• Employees in service sector;		x		x	
	• Rate of activity;				x	
	• Registered jobseekers with a maximum of eight classes of primary school qualification					x
Economic	• taxable income per inhabitant;	x	x			
	• Income forming a taxable income per permanent inhabitant;		x	x		
	• Number of economic organizations per thousand inhabitants;		x	x		
	• Operating business organizations;			x	x	x
	• Local tax revenue of local governments.				x	x

Note: *The exact names of the indicators can be found in the legislation referred to*
Source: *based on the legislation referred to, own editing*

In Hungary, a number of labour market and economic indicators have been used to delimit the settlements in the beneficiary regions over the past three decades (Table 1). In our study, we have taken into account the delimitation of both regional and settlement level, because - due to the methodological background that overlaps in many respects - it can be suitable for comparison and detecting temporal changes and a shift in emphasis.

In 1993, the widening territorial inequalities as a result of the transformational crisis (the collapse of socialist industry, bankruptcy of large agricultural farms, etc.) required the rethinking of delimitation of the beneficiary regions. The regions were considered to be in crisis where serious unemployment was observed alongside the historical backwardness. To this end, effective job creation in the areas facing the most severe employment problems has been treated as a high priority for economic restructuring. The labour market depression of underdeveloped regions was demonstrated by the ratio of long-term unemployed, while among the economic indicators, per capita taxable income was referred to the peripherality (84/1993 (XI.11) Parliamentary resolution).

Act XXI of 1996 established a new basis for the beneficiary regions of regional development, and as a result, the delimitation of peripheral regions was updated in 1997. Under this regulation, economic growth in underdeveloped regions as

well as employment-enhancing developments should be promoted - in synergy with the governmental delimitation of 1993, with a change that regions with long-term unemployment have been classified into a separate category during the development of clusters. The range of indicators used has increased significantly, as separate labour market indicator groups have been established (occupational structure, employment changes and unemployment indicators). They wanted to determine the backwardness with the ratio of the unemployed, the proportion of the long-term unemployed and the changes in the labour market sectors (primary, secondary, tertiary). While in addition to the economic development-backwardness explained by the taxable income, they referred to peripherality with the value of business organizations per 1000 inhabitants (30/1997. (IV.18) Parliamentary resolution).

In 2001, the types of areas that resulted in delimitation (rural development areas, industrial restructuring areas, and underdeveloped region from a socio-economic point of view) changed. The range of indicators used in governmental delimitations only affected the economic indicators, as the number of functioning economic bodies is intended to explain the peripherality as a new indicator (24/2001. (IV.20) Parliamentary resolution).

As a change in the number of micro-regions, the delimitation of the beneficiary regions was done again in 2004. At the same time, the range of indicators has not been updated, so the new delimitation has only been prepared for the new territorial frameworks (Pénzes, 2015, 64/2004. (IV.15) Parliamentary resolution).

In 2007, special attention was also paid to the delimitation of settlements affected by significant unemployment (1182 settlements) (exceeding the national average unemployment rate by 1,75 times). The range of indicators used has increased significantly. The employment indicators that have already been considered traditional (ratio of long-term unemployed, etc.) have not expanded, while the economic indicators (e.g. local tax revenue of local governments) have increased dynamically (67/2007 (VI.28) Parliamentary resolution, Faluvégi, Tipold, 2009).

In the delimitation of the last beneficiary regions, the local economy and the labour market formed a separate set of indicators, where the number of people with a maximum of eight classes of primary school qualification and the number of retail stores per thousand inhabitants appeared as a new indicator (105/2015 (IV.23) Governmental Decree).

Overall, it can be concluded that there are a number of indicators used in governmental delimitation that can be considered as relatively traditional (taxable income, proportion of unemployed, and long-term unemployed, number of registered/operating economic organizations), and those that have been used only once or twice to designate peripheral regions.

It raises an important research question, which of the indicators is the most relevant to explain lock-in in supported public employment? In addition, what

regional inequalities can be detected among the indicators of supported public employment detransitivity, and to what extent do they explain the peripherality of particular regions, settlements?

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND TO CHOOSING INDICATORS REPRESENTING DETRANSITIVITY OF SUPPORTED PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT

The time elapsed since the introduction of unified supported public employment (2011) is considered sufficient to examine the leave of supported public employees with more complex (quantitative and qualitative) methods. The dynamic increase in budgets for the employment policy tool (at the peak of 2016, 340 billion HUF was envisaged) is directly proportional to the increasing number of participants in the program (Southern Transdanubia, North-eastern Hungary and some of its regions are overrepresented). And this requires an interpretation of the primary objective of supported public employment (the integration of supported public employees into the primary labour market as soon as possible), as well as the analysis of factors behind lock-in in supported public employment. In addition to exogenous factors (labour market development-underdevelopment) that reduce the efficiency of supported public employment, an effective organizational deficiency in supported public employment and a number of endogenous factors of supported public employees (e.g. education level is less appropriate compared to the expectations of primary labour market) contribute to reducing the chances of leave.

In the literature on the effectiveness of supported public employment, research on micro-level (typically micro-regional and settlement case studies) is most likely to be found (Váradi, 2010; Szabó, 2013, etc.) apart from some studies taking into account the macro-territorial inequalities of efficiency (Alpek, Tésits, 2014, Cirfusz, 2015, Kóti, 2018). At the same time, the factors behind lock-in in supported public employment need to be handled in a nuanced manner, as the theses that inhibit the detransitivity of supported public employees can be highly differentiated by territoriality - through heterogeneous labour market and attitudinal differences.

The regionally depressive nature of the cyclical nature of leaving supported public employment is not a recent phenomenon. Examining the type of program that precedes unified supported public employment („Út a munkához") (typically in the most disadvantaged micro-regions), it can be stated that the participants in the program, despite their education for work, are not able to leave the primary labour market. The reason behind this is not only the insufficient absorption capacity of the labour market but also the fact that the likelihood of lock-in in supported public employment also increases with the increase in participation in supported public employment (Váradi, 2010, Csoba, 2010, Szabó, 2013), and even more, those outside the program are more likely to start working (Bass, 2010).

Even after the introduction of unified supported public employment, similar research results were drawn from the theses of analysts who analysed the effectiveness of the program. Namely, with the length of the supported public employment episode, there is an increasingly negative coherence in open labour market transition (Cseres, Molnár, 2015). One of the biggest obstacles to the transition of supported public employment is the low level of education[6] (Fay, 1996, Koltai, 2014), which shows significant regional (macro-level) homogeneity in Hungary (among supported public employees) - which is in fact due to the employment of disadvantaged target groups of supported public employment.

The willingness to mobility largely determines the chances of leaving the program and the integration into the labour market. The more mobile the worker is, the easier it is to find a job in the primary labour market. At the same time, the greater the distance (especially in the case of settlements with a smaller network of settlements), the lower willingness to mobility can be realized (Kiss, Szalkai, 2018). Of course, most immobile jobseekers are in underdeveloped regions, which can be traced back to the vulnerability of the labour market (Alpek, 2016). As a result, those are the areas with the most long-term commuting, where the size of the local labour market supply cannot keep up with the number of economically active people, thus creating a significant space for long-term and large-scale unemployment (Kiss, Szalkai, 2018). The chances of employment (commuting relations) of workers living in small village areas are thus significantly reduced (the chances of leaving of supported public employees even more marginalized by their immobility), with the proportion of distance from county seats with typically polycentric urban networks (Pénzes, 2013, Pálóczi, 2016). Cyclically circulating in local supported public employment, and „entrapment" in local unemployed registers can be observed significantly in areas where the construction of linear infrastructure is inappropriate[7], and the inadequacy of individual transport conditions is drastic. In addition, the marginalization of income of supported public employees (Pénzes, et al., 2014) culminates in the immobilization explaining detransitivity due to the high travel time-cost factor. It is worth mentioning the relevant study of Tamás Bartus, who examined the development of the unemployment rate in relation to commuting time - cost factor - and cost reimbursement in Hungary. From his analysis, it turned out that the level of reimbursement of the costs associated with different commuting activities greatly influences the commitment to the costly commuting. Where long-distance traffic conditions are lagging behind, most of all, it can be

6 Mainly characteristic of rotational supported public employees, and re-participants of the program (Koltai, 2014).

7 Insufficient infrastructure has a significant impact on the development of disadvantaged areas. Developing infrastructure can become a generator of further developments (Bujdosó, et al., 2016).

a solution to travel by car which may result in a much lower rate of return and it can be less incentive to the mobility of the unemployed (Bartus, 2011).

One of the most important principles of unified supported public employment is that employees should be entitled to lower income than the minimum wage, and thus to stimulate their primary labour market integration (Belügyminisztérium, 2016, p. 26). While there are no direct surveys available, it is common knowledge that a large proportion of supported public employees are of Roma origin. In some regions, a higher rate of fertility can be observed among the members of this social group, and a much higher income can be realized due to the different tax benefits that can be obtained. This fact reduces the „pay gap" between supported public employment wages and minimum wage, which is less incentive for participants to leave permanently, and instead choosing long-term employment in supported public employment that seems more comfortable.

Examining some policy tools of the active labour market - based on the regulation of European Commission in 2017 - the least incentive for direct reintegration into the primary labour market is direct job creation in the public sector (European Comission 2017). However, according to some research results (Calmfors et al., 2002), the more imitated the position of employment in the competitive sector when working in supported public employment, the greater the chance of transition, mainly due to the higher quality of work competences acquired. So, the quality of the work done under the program can be very important (e.g. in value-creating supported public employment).

The vulnerability of the active labour market tool is indicated by the long-term employment willingness of employers, which significantly affects the transition of disadvantaged supported public employees who are away from the labour market for a long time. Employers' prejudiced attitudes towards supported public employees - especially in the case of the Roma ethnic group - may lead to an accumulation of further disadvantages. As a result, in some regions - especially in those small villages[8], which are inhabited by a high proportion of Roma people (Pásztor, et al., 2016) - it pushes its „negative stamp" to the effectiveness of the program as a whole, which rightly explains the highly differentiated high degree of lock-in in supported public employment (Kóti, 2018).

8 Matlovicová Kvetoslava et al., 2012, Klimovsky et al., 2016, Brunn et al., 2018, and István Zoltán Pásztor et al., 2016 draw attention to the uncertain measurement results and methods of the actual number of Roma population. The development of a settlement is strongly determined by the quality of the existing human capital, which suggests the deprivation of settlements inhabited by a high proportion of Hungarians of Roma origin, due to their undereducation, which can still be observed significantly among them compared to the majority society. In the case of these settlements, prejudicial discrimination (e.g. in case of job creation) can be observed, which puts its „negative stamp" on the settlement's further breakaway.

Jochen Kluve has undertaken to examine the effectiveness of European active labour market policies at European level. In his study, he distinguished four different types (trainings, private sector incentive programs, direct employment programs, services, and sanctions) according to what elements of the program could help the integration of long-term unemployed into the primary labour market. In their results, supported public employment programs were considered to be effective, as with good central management, they are able to bring workers back into the world of work. At the same time, a modest improvement in employment was assumed with regard to the effectiveness of individual training, despite the fact that the main purpose of training is to increase the quality of human capital. In their research, it was emphasized that special attention should be paid to the development of appropriate services for recruiting the unemployed. The lack of different job search courses and professional counselling can have serious negative consequences regarding the transition into primary labour market (Kluve, 2010).

Lucas Fervers also attempted to analyse the effectiveness of various activating labour market policies. His initial hypothesis (e.g. Caliendo, Hujer, Thomsen study in 2008) was that supported public employment programs do not contribute to reducing long-term unemployment, they only increase public expenditures. The target group of the survey was primarily those in the primary labour market who has not been able to find work for a relatively long time. According to his results, supported public employment does not sufficiently develop the cognitive abilities of the unemployed (e.g. counting, literacy, Internet skills), but the acquisition of higher work competencies (teamwork, etc.) already suggests greater optimism. His theses also found a positive effect regarding the program and the fight against social exclusion, and even considered the expansion of social relationships as a generator of later employment. At the same time, serious concerns were raised about supported public employment trainings, which do not adequately help workers return to the primary labour market (Fervers, 2018).

Similar tendencies can be observed in the analysis of Hungarian training programs. József Bagó's work reveals that based on a questionnaire survey conducted by the Századvég Research Institute (2014), only a small proportion of supported public employees said they were informed about training opportunities in order to increase their qualifications. According to their findings, the lack of training programs can be attributed to the fact that they are less adapted to the individual needs of public employees and to the demand of employers. Trainings are less effective, they do not fulfil their function as expected, that is the move towards long-term open labour market employment (Bagó, 2016). Overall, we can say that making training more effective can be a major step forward in leaving the program, reducing unemployment if there is a close interaction between the appropriate organizational background, the training institution, and the mutual motivation of trained people.

RESULTS

In the followings, the background, analysis and conclusion of the selection of underlying indicators are presented.

The *ratio of long-term unemployed*[9] (beyond one year), ratio of unemployed in the working age population, were all adequate indicators in the official governmental delimitations, without an exception (Table 1) for delimiting the peripheral regions. However, in order to derive from one another, the former was considered to be standard, referring to a higher degree of peripherality.

The chances of leaving are largely determined by the territorially different nature of supply and demand in the labour market, which shows a very high divergence, thus „stigmatizing" the rural villages in the countryside, suggesting that the people living there are in a situation of hopelessness. It is desirable to measure the difference with the number of economic organizations. Although the number of operating businesses explains the chances of leaving - the database was not available in the year of the survey - and, in the absence of this, the number of registered companies was included in the survey, which needs to be treated somewhat nuanced (by static testing, we strived for uniformity). Indeed, there is a risk that non-performing, non-income-generating enterprises in certain regions (especially in small village areas) may significantly distort the supply-demand balance of the labour market. On the other hand, it considers all businesses homogeneous, regardless of the number of employees.

The endogenous factors of lock-in in public employment would, without exception, be suitable for the designation of detransitive geographical areas (see, for example, Kóti, 2018). The database of national coverage published by the Ministry of Interior, representing a complexity of efficiency – *the lock-in indicator*[10] – is capable of covering some of the indicators quasi in itself that explain low leaving chances (number of those with a maximum of eight classes of primary school qualification), however, due to the multi-dimensional nature of the problematic area, we could not consider all the factors behind lock-in to be homogeneous. Namely, there are such reasons for this, which are very different from one region to another. Therefore, due to the chiselled nature of the indicator, the use of another endogenous indicator (representing detransitivity well) is also required for completeness.

9 According to the European Commission regulation, efforts should be made to reduce long-term unemployment. Namely, with the rise in unemployment, labour market bonding deteriorates (EC, 2017).

10 The Ministry of Interior constantly examines persons who entered some supported public employment programmes by considering whether the employee spent at least one year in supported public employment in the three years preceding their entry into the programme (continuity is not a condition).

When examining the detransitivity of supported public employment, it is important to consider that there are a significant number of participants who are not or only less able (e.g. low skilled) to leave the program. In our study, in those settlements where the majority of employees *with a maximum of eight classes of primary school qualification,* we attributed much less chance of transition, mainly due to higher skill requirements in the primary labour market.

In order to illustrate the chances of mobility from supported public employment, we also considered the *everyday accessibility indicator* - which is also used by the HCSO to illustrate the peripheral regions in case of governmental delimitations. In fact, the farther a particular settlement is located from its centre (disctrict, county seat), the less is the chance of daily commuting - for the reasons outlined above.

Income peripheralization of supported public employees is considered to be an additional endogenous and at the same time exogenous factor, which encourages further detransitivity. Namely, the smaller the anomaly between the supported public wage and the minimum wage offered by the primary labour market, the greater the chance of lock-in in the supported public employment policy tool. This factor is illustrated by the *proportion of income earned from work per capita,* which is able to cover the income potential of individual regions, which can be used to identify areas with greater chances of leaving, transiting, and higher earnings.

An adequate indicator would have been the data series representing labour market demand (number of unfilled vacancies), in particular, explaining the employment willingness of supported public employees (labour market demand), however, the author's excuse to say is that such a data series was not available for him disaggregated to settlement level.

Finally, municipal employment „power" is highlighted by *the proportion of taxpayers per 1000 inhabitants*, transformation into the working age population. The indicator contributes to the definition of centres or decentres with higher employment potential. The settlements located in the catchment areas of centres with higher employment potential have a significantly higher chance of leaving supported public employment. Based on this, we considered it as a relevant indicator in our study.

Considering the target and instrument system of our study, we considered the inclusion of the following indicators to be justified:

- Proportion of job seekers registered for more than one year, of all jobseekers, 2016 [%]
- Value of registered businesses per 1,000 inhabitants, 2016 [%]
- Lock-in indicator in supported public employment, 2016 [%]
- The ratio of people with a maximum of eight classes of primary school qualification
- among supported public employees, 2016 [%]

- Everyday accessibility indicator[11], 2016 [%]
- Income from work per capita within the working age population, 2016 [Ft]
- The ratio of taxpayers to 1,000 inhabitants within the working age population, 2016 [%]

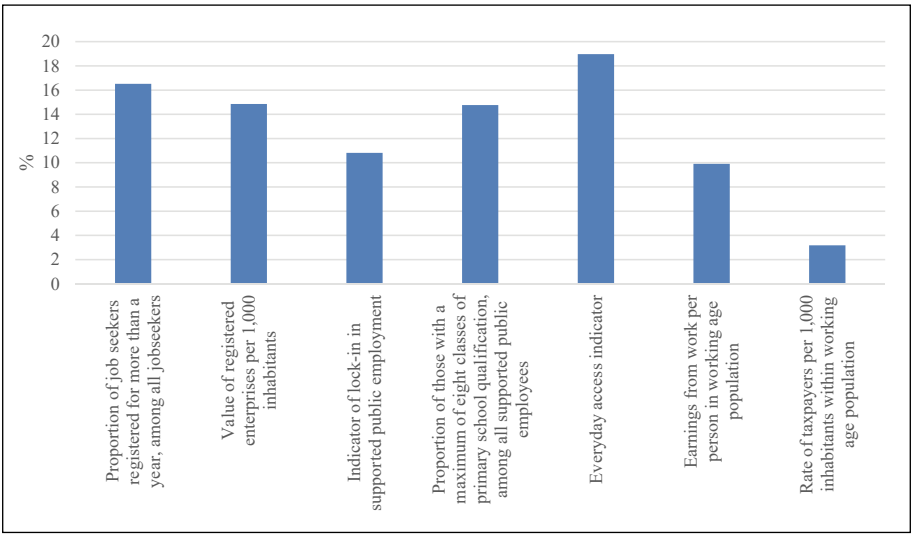

Figure 1
The values of the territorial inequality of the indicators that constitute the complex indicator based on the logarithmic weighted relative standard deviation in Hungary, 2016
Source: Based on the data of HCSO, TEIR, NTCA, MI, GeoX Ltd., own editing

Among the factors hindering the transition of supported public employment, we considered such indicators as adequate, which explain relatively high levels of territorial inequalities based on the results of the logarithmic weighted relative standard deviation (Figure 1) - thus showing the regionally different chances of integration.

The highest value was indicated by the *everyday accessibility indicator*. The high inequality ratio is basically explained by the different geographical areas of the counties. The larger the size of the particular administrative unit, the higher the number of settlements that are located at a higher distance from their centre (especially if the county seat is not in the geographical centre of the area). Although the distance from the district centres is of the same weight in the study, their administrative area shows much greater homogeneity. In the case of Hungary, the

11 The accessibility data measures the shortest distance measured on the road, expressed in minutes, with a weight of 50-50%, measuring the distance from the county seats and district centres.

greatest distance data can be observed in the case of Somogy, Bács-Kiskun, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén and Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg counties, measured from their centres, due to their large area. The results suggest (Figure 2) that the distance from the centres has a significant impact on the development-backwardness of the settlement. The southern, outer peripheral settlements of Bács-Kiskun County can be considered as highly detransitive settlements, which can be rightly explained by the considerable distance and isolation from the county seat, But there is also a high level of inequality at macro level, that is *the ratio of jobseekers registered for more than one year* (16.5%) *and registered enterprises per 1,000 inhabitants* (14.9%), which suggests a highly differentiated job supply. There is a similarly high level of endogenous factors explaining detransitivity, but smaller inequality values can already be observed. *The lock-in rate of supported public employment* is 10.8%, which implies concerns about the high level of macro-homogeneity, while *the proportion of those with a maximum of eight classes of primary school qualification* was 14.8% among supported public employees. Among the indicators, the lowest territorial inequalities were indicated by *the ratio of taxpayers per 1,000 inhabitants* within the working age population (3.2%). One of the main reasons for this is that supported public employees also appear in employment registers, which significantly transforms the spatial structure of employment, resulting in higher employment rates in Hungary. At the same time, in some regions, higher levels of inequalities may be cumulative in case of examination at smaller territorial levels, and therefore - referring to the reasons set out above - this was considered to be a relevant indicator.

In the followings, it is necessary to examine what kind of relationship can be observed among the indicators used.

The relationship of indicators to each other is illustrated by Spearman's correlation matrix (Table 2) - calculated by the indicators included in the delimitation. The adequacy of the indicators is answered by the fact that only a few indicators show a moderately strong relationship, which suggests that the complex indicator is undistorted. The highest correlation is between taxpayers and income per capita (0.505) as well as between supported public employees with a maximum of eight classes of primary school qualification and income per person (0.405). However, the strength of relationship between these indicators does not explain the deductibility of each other. The relationship between the indicators, at lower regional levels (region, county), may indicate greater differentiation. However, the current macro-level framework for delimitation does not justify the detection of correlation at lower regional levels.

Overall, it can be concluded that the indicators included in the study reinforce in a non-distorted way the complex indicator indicating the settlements which are disadvantaged in the labour market which are of almost the same importance. The complex indicator shows the strongest relationship with the income per capita (0.782), while a moderately strong relationship with a maximum of eight classes of

primary school qualification (0.624), the ratio of taxpayers (0.521) and the lock-in indicator (0.402) - when examining the relationship with a complex indicator. The smallest relationship is with the number of registered companies (0.211).

Table 2 Correlation matrix of normalized values of complex indicators at national level, based on Spearman Rank Correlation

	LOCK-IN	JOB.SEEK	EIGHT. CLA	1.P.EARN	EVRY.ACC	REG.ENT	RAT.TAX
LOCK-IN	1.000	-0.097	0.065(**)	0.139(**)	0.150(**)	-0.058(**)	-0.149(**)
JOB.SEEK	-0.097(**)	1.000	-0.030	0.018	-0.059(**)	0.007	0.142(**)
EIGHT.CLA	0.065(**)	-0.030	1.000	**0.405(**)**	0.123(**)	**0.298(**)**	0.188(**)
1.P.EARN	0.139(**)	0.018	**0.405(**)**	1.000	**0.297(**)**	0.150(**)	**0.505(**)**
EVRY.ACC	0.150(**)	-0.059(**)	0.123(**)	**0.297(**)**	1.000	-0.116(**)	0.047(**)
REG.ENT	-0.058(**)	0.007	0.298(**)	0.150(**)	-0.116(**)	1.000	0.228(**)
RAT.TAX	-0.149(**)	0.142(**)	0.188(**)	**0.505(**)**	0.047(**)	0.228(**)	1.000

** *Correlation is significant at the 0,01 level*
Explanation of symbols: *[BERAG]: Indicator of lock-in in supported public employment; [EGY. TÚL]: Proportion of job seekers registered for more than a year, among all jobseekers; [LEG.8.ÁLT]: Proportion of those with a maximum of eight classes of primary school qualification, among all supported public employees; [1.F.JÖV]: Earnings from work per person in working age population; [HÉT. ELÉR]: Everyday accessibility indicator; [REG.VÁLL]: Value of registered enterprises per 1,000 inhabitants; [ADÓ.FIZ]: Rate of taxpayers per 1,000 inhabitants within working age population*
Source: *Own calculation based on referenced databases*

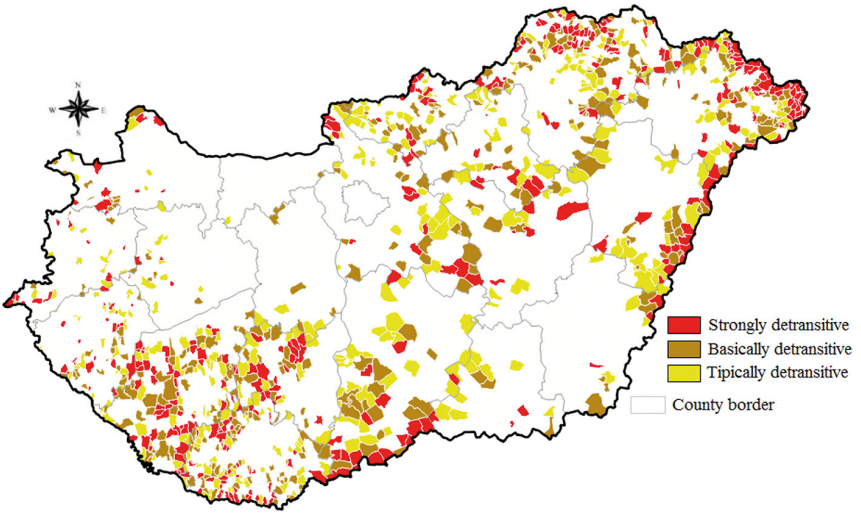

Figure 2
Macro structure of detransitive settlements of supported public employment in Hungary
Source: Based on the legislation referred to, own editing

Macro structure seems to show significant territorial overlapping indicating the detransitive settlements of supported public employment outlined as a result of delimitation with the respective beneficiary regions and settlements (see Government Decree 105/2015), which suggests the „stiff" spatial structure of the country. The settlements in the area of Southern Transdanubia Region, Border Region of Northern Hungary Region, Central Tisza Region, Szatmár-Tiszahát and Border Region of Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County form a major contiguous zone, which, although differently, but indicate a significant labour market vulnerability. The most alarming situation is in the border areas of Hungary, where most of the highly detransitive settlements are concentrated. The border area of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg, Hajdú-Bihar Baranya and Bács-Kiskun County is outstanding when examining this cluster. The other clusters (basically and typically detransitive) already exhibit significant spatial dispersion. The greatest chance of transition can be observed in the following settlements in order: Iborfi, Megyer, Hegyesd, Sénye, Lendvadedes, Tornabarakony, Csér and Gombosszeg, based on the values of the complex indicator[12]. In the ranking, the worst position can be observed in the following settlements in order: Tornanádaska, Alsószölnök, Uszka, Kispalád, Felsővadász, Pusztaapatin, Botpalád, Bácsszentgyörgy, Szinpetrin, Szárász and Tornaszentjakab.

Table 3 Absolute and relative regional differences of detransitive settlements and comparing with the delimitation of governmental, peripheral settlements in 2015, pcs

Region	Detransitivity			Total	Relative position – %*	Underdeveloped, during both delimitation
	Strongly	Basically	Typically			
Western Transdanubia	38	32	37	*107*	16,3	38
Central Transdanubia	4	10	15	*29*	7,2	11
Southern Transdanubia	113	118	94	**325**	49,5	252
Central Hungary	13	18	21	*52*	27,7	3
Northern Hungary	80	87	82	*249*	40,8	190
Northern Great Plain	76	57	60	*193*	49,6	165
Southern Great Plain	23	25	38	*86*	33,9	51
Total	*347*	*347*	*347*	*1041*	*33,5*	*710*

Source: *Based on own editing*
** As a percentage of all settlements in the region*

12 Most of these settlements are small settlements and small villages without exception. It is worth noting, of course, that due to the lower number of populations, a lower number of supported public employees is accumulated in these settlements, where it is easier to achieve results even with one or two leaving in absolute terms.

On the basis of the absolute values of detransitive settlements (Table 1), the labour market vulnerability of Southern Transdanubia, Northern Hungary and Northern Great Plain stands out. Southern Transdanubia's peripherality is shown by the fact that both absolute (325 settlements) and relative (49.5% of the region's settlements) are ranked among the top runners, when examining the distribution of detransitive settlements. In the ranking, the second worst-ranking (in absolute sense) is Northern Hungary - with 249 detransitive settlements. At the same time, due to its small village spatial structure, a more favourable relative position (40.8% of settlements in the region) can be observed compared to Southern Transdanubia and the Northern Great Plain (49.6%). Among the most favourable regions of the country, with the greatest chance of transition, the settlements of the Central Transdanubia region can be highlighted, where 7.2% of the settlements of the whole region belonged to one of the detransitive categories. This is followed by Western Transdanubia (16.3%) and Central Hungary (27.7%) - based on relative values.

It is worth mentioning the system of relations between the currently official 2015 governmental and the present delimitation based on the various indicator groups. Out of the 1041 settlements found in our study, 710 were considered to be underdeveloped during the government delimitation. In the Northern Great Plain, showing the highest periphery, 85.4%, in Northern Hungary, 76.3% and 77.5% agreement can be realized. At the same time, it can also be seen that only 35% of the detransitive settlements in the more developed Western-Hungarian region are in line with governmental delimitation. The reason for this is that in the course of the governmental delimitation (taking into account much more factors - social, economic, infrastructural underdevelopment) much less settlements fell into one of the underdeveloped categories. On the other hand, the exit from the supported public employment as the subject of this study is a macro-level problem, which is also worrying in more developed regions, mainly due to the homogeneous characteristics of supported public workers and the specific vulnerabilities of small villages.

Table 4 Distribution of detransitive settlements by population categories, pcs

Population - category	Detransitivity			
	Strongly	Basically	Typically	Total
– 499	164	135	111	*410*
500 – 999	92	78	86	*256*
1000 – 1999	58	73	74	*205*
2000 – 4999	31	51	64	*146*
5000 – 9999	2	8	10	*20*
10000 – 49999	–	2	2	*4*

Source: *Based on own editing*

Lock-in of supported public employment causes the biggest problems in small villages (Table 3). Settlements with less than 1,000 people represent 63.9% of all settlements with less chance of transitivity. Due to the economic deprivation because of the size of the settlement, the only way out of the active labour market tool is if employees undertake commuting on a daily or weekly basis. The problem of expansion of small villages, which in some regions (mainly in Baranya, and Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén counties) is the „hotbed" of developing long-term unemployment due to increasing travel time and cost from the centres because of the region's large spatial extent.

Only 4 settlements with more than 10,000 inhabitants (Albertirsa, Nagykáta, Abony, Hajdúhadház) showed labour market depression. In the case of Albertirsa, Nagykáta, Abony triangle - despite the favourable infrastructure and attraction centres (e.g. in case of Abony, the proximity of Cegléd and Szolnok) - a high proportion of long-term unemployment can be observed, which reinforces the cyclical rotation of supported public employment. In case of Albertirsa and Nagykáta, their 64 km and 71 km distances from the capital indicate that the 60 km distance mentioned many times in the literature significantly reduces the willingness to mobility of workers (especially disadvantaged individuals in supported public employment). Further detransitivity of the 3 settlements is explained by the fact that the majority of public employees have a low (at most basic) educational level (in the case of Nagykáta - e.g. 75.5% of supported public employees have up to 8 primary education qualifications), which strengthens the lock-in within the program. In the case of Hajdúhadház, the question also arises as to why the economically inactive persons living in the suburbanisation of Debrecen do not profit from the abundant labour demand of the region centre? A significant part of the „reserves" of human resources of the settlement is underdeveloped (high proportion of Roma population), as it is less suited to the expectations of the primary labour market, which contributes significantly to the lock-in of supported public employment (40.6%). And it continues to peak the detransitivity that earnings from work per capita show relative lower values (689,669 HUF), which does not encourage exit, due to the low differential value between the minimum wage and supported public employment wage.

Overall, it can be stated that the biggest problem of the disadvantaged regions and settlements resulting from the delimitation is the high level of lack of jobs. This fact predicts the vulnerability of leaving supported public employment. In the future, regional development policy should pay more attention to job creation in peripheral regions. As long as this trend does not change, employment transitions (from the secondary labour market to the primary labour market) will be a „foreign" definition for inactive job seekers living in settlements farther away from regional centres. In order to achieve „abundant" job creation in the future, human resource

development, which is the most determining factor in today's competitiveness, is essential, especially in highly detransitive settlements, in order to provide high-quality human capital to potential employers.

SUMMARY

This study has attempted to examine the transition chances of the active labour market policy tool in Hungary, which has been playing an increasing role in recent decades, from a territorial perspective. The primary objective of the employment policy tool is to bring supported public employees back to the labour market of the competitive sector as soon as possible. However, it is worrying that the chances of leaving supported public employment are very different from one area to another, due to differences in development. The method used in the study can provide an appropriate contribution to the territorial evaluation of the effectiveness of the active labour market program (direct job creation in the public sector). As a basis of geographic delimitation, exogenous and endogenous indicators influencing the leaving of supported public employees were all used - which, on an objective basis, explains settlements showing a greater and lesser chance of detransitivity.

The lock-in of supported public employment primarily indicates the high degree of periphery of the settlements, especially the settlements with less than 1000 inhabitants. Social, economic, and infrastructural underdevelopment explain the significantly marginal situation for these types of areas. Settlements less susceptible to detransitivity are overrepresented in the regions of Southern Transdanubia, Northern Hungary, Northern Great Plain, and Southern Great Plain (especially in Bács-Kiskun County). The most deprived settlements can be found on the outer peripheries of the border, especially in the areas of Southern Transdanubia and North-eastern Hungary. As a result of the investigation, the detransitive settlements - apart from some regions - show a high correlation with the beneficiary settlements serving the purpose of the governmental delimitation. It also draws attention to the country's „stiff" spatial problems that have been going on for decades, and the issue of compliance with the effectiveness of spatial development policy.

Overall, it can be concluded that the delimited types of settlements may give rise to further studies - to discover specificities that hinder local detransitivity, which can give the policy a good direction - in order to make the future spatial development policy more effective.

APPENDIX 1

Indicators included in the study

Number	Name of indicators
1.	**Value of registered businesses per 1000 inhabitants, 2016, %**
2.	Value of active businesses per 1000 inhabitants, 2015, %
3.	Value of discontinued businesses per 1000 inhabitants, 2016, %
4.	Distribution of the number of registered jobseekers within the working age population, 2016, %
5.	**Distribution of permanently registered jobseekers within working age population, 2016, %**
6.	The ratio of jobseekers with a maximum of eight classes of primary school qualification among all job seekers, 2016, %
7.	The ratio of people with a maximum of eight classes of primary school qualification among all supported public employees, 2016, %
8.	Migration Difference, 2016, %
9.	**Everyday accessibility indicator, 2016, %**
10.	**Income from work per person, within the working age population, Ft**
11.	**The ratio of taxpayers per thousand inhabitants within the working age population, 2016 %**
12.	Distribution of 24-year olds and under, among all supported public workers, 2016, %
13.	**Lock-in indicator in supported public employment, 2016, %**
14.	Change in the number of supported public employees compared to the number of public employees of the previous year
15.	The proportion of people in value-creating supported public employment among all supported public workers, 2016, %

Source: *based on own editing*
** The indicators that make up the complex indicator are bold*

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67/2007. (VI. 28) Országgyűlési határozat – a területfejlesztési támogatások és a decentralizáció elveiről, a kedvezményezett térségek besorolásának feltételrendszeréről.

84/1993. (XI.11) Országgyűlési határozat – a területfejlesztési támogatás irányelveiről és a kedvezményezett területek besorolásának feltételrendszereiről.

64/2004. (IV.15) kormányrendelet – a területfejlesztés kedvezményezett térségeinek jegyzékéről.

106/2011. (VII. 19) kormányrendelet – a közfoglalkoztatásról és a közfoglalkoztatáshoz kapcsolódó, valamint egyéb törvények módosításáról.